Small Aboriginal enterprise in Australia: re-thinking the silent dichotomy of their uncomfortable two-world situation

by

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study explores the nature of small Aboriginal enterprises (SAE) in Australia when they are misunderstood by non-Aboriginal organisations (NAO). More specifically, the work focuses upon Aboriginal enterprises in remote and regional areas and takes a fresh look across all parts of the SAE and their relationships with NAO and others. New ideas emerge which show the importance of interconnected relationships for SAE, and that misunderstood SAE exist within a silent dichotomy. This situation is reinforced by NAOs use of macro level ideas to understand the local level. This information is used to build a descriptive theory of SAE relationships which pictures the SAE as an interconnected whole process that operates under an instinctive 'tri-lectic'.

The misunderstood nature of SAE is developed through an exploration of a two-world situation in order to show the fraught dialectic that operates with NAO. This problem situation is built up by a contrast to both academic literature and government practices. This background analysis shows the difficulty that small organisations experience when relating to much larger ones. In order to explore the nature of misunderstood SAE when they are caught between two-worlds; their internal and external world is used to frame the analysis. This is developed by a combination of grounded theory and narrative methods under a grounded methodology.

Data was collected from 71 research participants through 87 semi-structured interviews across vast distances of central and regional Australia. Of these, 47 were Aboriginal enterprise owners and/or managers and 24 were other participants. Their interviews were analysed interpretively to emerge early theories about the SAE internal and external worlds. Contrasting data and information was gathered from a range of fields, with a primary focus on Aboriginal socio-economic literature, government papers and mainstream small business research. This literature is used to inform the research problem, develop the research interpretations, and then to answer the research questions. Lastly, a descriptive theory of SAE relationships is presented.

The main ideas emerging from this research centre upon misunderstood relationships. It was found that SAE are highly instinctive whilst NAO operate differently through instructions. This difference creates problems, ranging from enterprise definitions and types, through to policy design and implementation. As such, this two-world dialectic reinforces SAEs silent dichotomy. It is posited that a 'tri-lectic' situation (in response to Hegel's dialectic) through SAEs middle ground may relieve their silent dichotomy.

A contribution to knowledge is based upon a new interpretation of SAE through four areas. First, this research offers a new interpretation of SAE based upon wholeness. Next, the study defines the effect of NAO on SAE when they are misunderstood from a macro position over the local level. Third, an alternative way for SAE and NAO to relate to each other is proposed through interchange places under a SAE 'tri-lectic'. Lastly, a descriptive theory building activity is used to connect the day-to-day practices of SAE with government policies. These contributions are all designed to increase the number of SAE operating in Australia.

CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION

For a thesis that does not contain work already in the public domain

Name _____ Programme _____

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

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PUBLICATIONS ARISING FROM THIS RESEARCH

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This thesis was edited using the Harvard Style as prescribed by the *Australian Government Style Manual* (Commonwealth of Australia 2002).

All errors are my responsibility.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my late grandparents:
Marj and Ron Chilcott, Frances and Howard Poxon,
and my Uncle Geoff and the late Auntie Irene New.
You gave me a childhood filled with dreams, inspiration and love.
Thank you.

PREFACE

A background in small business, experiences with the mining industry and government, coupled with and undergraduate Honours degree in Asian studies, Australian studies and international relations all came together in this research and thesis. In these situations, respecting and preserving peoples' stories threaded the parts together. I bring to the study of small business an understanding of relationships, connections and interpretations, rather than quantifying numbers or measuring and testing ideas.

It is this underlying knowledge base that guided some major changes in the research direction over the years. This thesis considers the nature of Aboriginal enterprise through a two-world situation. Yet, the research did not begin this way. Initially, I considered Aboriginal enterprise success and relationships with government and industry and later the influence upon Aboriginal enterprise forms and types. Yet, as the research developed however, it became evident that other factors were involved. Relying on my background skills, it was revealed in preliminary discussions with government and industry research participants, and in the analysis stages that many people did not see or understand the Aboriginal enterprise. Furthermore, preliminary interviews with Aboriginal enterprise participants suggested that in some regards, Aboriginal enterprises were different to each other, but in many ways very connected to each other. However, this circumstance went mostly unrecognised by government and industry participants.

The challenge was to reconcile these research efforts with the growing body of knowledge about the research participants and the apparent conflicts in their two-world situations. This was accepted, the research course was re-directed and the themes growing from the participant stories followed, which suggested the way government and industry representatives define and interpret Aboriginal enterprise was problematic, and how it operated was therefore misunderstood. As such, two issues drove the research challenge about the two-world situation: interpreting Aboriginal enterprise for government and industry, relaying the practice of Aboriginal enterprise to non-Aboriginal peoples.

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS – General

ALPA	Arnhem Land Progress Association
CLC	Central Land Council
CRC	Cooperative Research Centre
DKCRC	Desert Knowledge Cooperative Research Centre
IAD	Institute for Aboriginal Development
MAC WH GNE	Mungabareena Aboriginal Corporation, Women's Health, Goulburn North East
NT	The area called the Northern Territory
NLC	Northern Land Council
Pty Ltd	Proprietary Limited Company
QLD	The state of Queensland
SA	The state of South Australia
SACOME	South Australian Chamber of Mines and Energy
SME	Small and medium sized enterprises
UAM	United Aborigines Mission
Vic	The state of Victoria
WA	The state of Western Australia

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS – Government

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
APSC	Australian Public Service Commission
ATSIC	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission
CDEP	Community Development Employment Projects
COAG	Council of Australian Governments
CSIRO	Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation
Cth	Commonwealth
DEEWR	Department of Employment, Education and Workplace Relations (Federal Government)
DIMIA	Department of Immigration, Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (previous Federal Government department)
DKCRC	Desert Knowledge Cooperative Research Centre
FaHCSIA	Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs (Federal Government)
IBA	Indigenous Business Australia (Federal Government agency)
ICAS	Indigenous Capital Assistance Scheme (under DEEWR)
IEP	Indigenous Employment Policy (under DEEWR)
IIEO	Increasing Indigenous Employment Opportunity (under FaHCSIA)
ILC	Indigenous Land Council (Federal Government agency)
ISBF	Indigenous Small Business Fund (under DEEWR)
OEA	Office of Evaluation and Audit (under Attorney General's Department, Federal Government)
PIRSA	Primary Resources and Industries South Australia
SCGRSP	Steering Committee for the Review of Government Service Provision (under the Productivity Commission, Federal Government)
TAFE	Technical and Further Education (Federally funded State Government education agencies and institutions for trade and work place training)

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS – Academic

MGAP	Motivations, goals, aims and priorities. A group of ideas used in this research to describe a characteristic of the small Aboriginal enterprise.
NAO	Non-Aboriginal organisations. A term used to describe the bureaucracy and corporate organisations of government and industry.
SAE	Small Aboriginal enterprise. A term used to describe the Aboriginal enterprise participants in this study whose enterprises were defined by size and ones that self-identified as an Aboriginal small business.

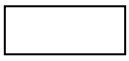
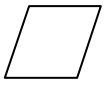
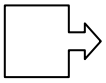
GLOSSARY OF TERMS – Aboriginal

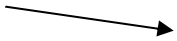
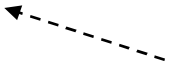
Aboriginal	Is used to mean the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders of Australia. The term is used within the thesis in accordance with participant's use of the word.
Anangu	The Aboriginal people an area south-west of Alice Springs in central Australia.
Anangu Pitjantjatjara	The Aboriginal people of the Pitjantjatjara language group in north west South Australia.
Black fella	A word used by many Aboriginal people to describe themselves. The term black fella, can appear derogatory if used by a non-Aboriginal person. In this thesis, black fella is used in participant quotes and stories as needed.
Country	Country is used to mean Aboriginal language groups and their ancestral links to land.
Culture business	The day-to-day business and cultural practices used by Aboriginal people, covering a range of times, spaces and locations.
Family business	Similar to culture business, except a focus on family, community and cultural responsibilities.
Gatekeeper	Describes individuals or organisations that provide or prohibit the means to access certain groups of individuals.
Humbug	Pressure applied to Aboriginal and some non-Aboriginal people through cultural values, judgements, actions and decisions.
Indigenous	With an upper case 'I' is used to mean an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander person in Australia and is reported when other authors use this term.
indigenous	With a lower case 'ı' is used to mean an Aboriginal person outside of Australia and similarly is reported when other authors use this term.
Land	Land is more than physical geography, because it is understood through social, cultural, and broader universe and earth connections between place and Aboriginal people. The term land is used alongside the term country, and use of it is guided by participant voice.
Small Aboriginal enterprise	The following working definition developed in this research is used: Aboriginal enterprises are small businesses operating with less than 200 people, are owned or operated by a minimum of 50% Aboriginal content, and self-identify as an Aboriginal enterprise.
Traditional owner	Aboriginal people who have ownership over an area of country, and have the cultural right and authority to speak for that country.
White fella	A colloquial word used by many Aboriginal people to talk about non-Aboriginal people.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS – Academic

Descriptive theory	A descriptive theory is built at the end of the research which pools all elements together including the emerging theories.
Emerging theory	Emerging theory is built from both grounded theory and narrative inquiry steps and informs the descriptive theory.
Enterprise	The term enterprise is primarily used to describe an Aboriginal small business in this research. It is also used to avoid confusion with Aboriginal terms culture business and family business.
Grounded methodology	The underlying methodology which draws the work together by connecting the theoretical paradigms with the methods. It is used to guide the building of a descriptive theory in this research.
Grounded theory	One of the methods used in this research and is based on a constructivist grounded theory.
Inductive ideas	Throughout the research, information is gradually inducted from analysis, rather than presented and argued. Inductive ideas are emerged informally and loosely, they act as a glue to tie the grounded methodology together.
Keyword phrases	A term used when building the descriptive theory. Keyword phrases are inducted from the discussions between the emerging theories and the literature.
Mainstream	Used to describe non-Aboriginal entities, people or organisations that represent the bulk of people living in Australia.
Narrative research inquiry	The other methods used in this research based upon thematic interpretations.
Small business	Used intermittently to describe a small Aboriginal enterprise, but the term is mostly used to describe a mainstream small business.
Small firm	Same as small business.
Statements of association	Associations are made between various relationships so that specific conditions are given. They are part of the grounded methodology process which helps to define the range of an emerging idea before a descriptive theory is presented.
Theoretical paradigm	Describes a belief system and way of viewing knowledge through multiple frameworks.
Theory building	An exercise to induct ideas and emerging theory by observation, categorisation and association through systematic interpretation of results.

GLOSSARY OF GRAPHIC LANGUAGE

Function	Sample	Description	Meaning and Use
Line size – normal		Normal width	Observation, comment or description
		Thick dashes	Unconfirmed process
		Thick width	Confirmed process
		Double lines	Start and finish
		Light dashes	Chapter numbers in figures
		Double dashes	Supporting qualitative processes
Font	Floating text	10 pt	Comments
	Arial	11 pt	Thesis text
	Arial	10 pt	Information in dot points, tables, diagrams and footnotes
	Arial	*11 pt italics*	*Participant voice*
	Dashed and underlined text	11 pt Arial	Keyword phrases in Chapter 7
Shapes		Rectangle or box	Comments, steps or themes
		Arrowed box	Follow direction
		Parallelogram	Action, decision or transition
		Circle or oval	Aboriginal enterprise process or statement
		Trapezoid	Analysis and logic explanation
		Arrow callouts	Linking processes, ideas or events

Function	Sample	Description	Meaning and Use
Arrows		Straight arrow	Directly links processes or ideas
		Curved arrow	Circular links, often indirect
		Circular arrow	Follow inwards
		Angular arrow	Disconnection point
		Dashed arrow	Unconfirmed link or connection
		Block arrow	Broad connection
		Moving arrow	Moving inwards
		3D arrow	Iterative process
		Curls	Influences
		Swirls	Intermixing and interconnections

Chapter 1 – Introduction

Revealing a misunderstanding about SAE (small Aboriginal enterprise) in Australia

Non-Aboriginal organisations (NAO) such as government and industry intersect small Aboriginal[1] enterprises (SAE) in Australia through their support, assessment, regulation and measurements of them. This means that NAO have an active presence in SAE lives, but what if, NAO involvement is predicated on a misunderstanding of the SAE? This is a crucial question because any misunderstanding of SAE would create an unsatisfactory condition; giving SAE owners and/or managers few choices.

Interestingly, across the three levels of Australian government (Federal, State and local) and selected industries (occasional mining developments or tourism initiatives) few support programmes have managed to increase the SAE rate. Despite the active presence of NAO in SAE lives, a low enterprise rate suggests that NAO are unable to meet their needs, thus perhaps – misunderstanding the nature of SAE.

To add to this misunderstanding about SAE, there is a difference between research literature and government practices. It is evident from reading academic literature that government and industry do not fully understand and incorporate SAE complexities, whilst NAO assume they do have a relative accurate picture of SAE. Furthermore, NAO believe they understand what Aboriginal people need because they consult, whilst academic literature counters this idea. As evident in this disjunction between academic literature and NAO perspectives, it begins to reveal that a wider problem exists: that any misunderstandings about SAE are deeply entrenched in a conflict between Aboriginal culture and Western processes.

This two-world dynamic compounds any misunderstanding about SAE. As the SAE is contrarily pictured therefore, this research aims to:

> Explore the nature of SAE when they are caught between two-worlds.

It is envisaged that researching this aim will lead to a reduction in the misunderstanding of SAE in Australia, with the goal of improving their low enterprise participation rate.

[1]To follow the same language used by the research participants, the term ‘Aboriginal’ is used instead of ‘Indigenous’.

To illustrate the interactions between Aboriginality and Western society, the following example is used to show the tensions underway. Ronald's circumstances are real, but his example is used to represent other SAE experiences identified in this research.

> Ronald[2] grew up in remote northern South Australia, living both Aboriginal culture and 'white fella'[3] ways. He worked for the railways until the government closed them down. Together with his family, he set up a community group which evolved into a small enterprise. This helped Aboriginal people keep their culture, land and heritage in a changing and confrontational white fella's world. To begin with, government and the local mining industry supported them, but as Ronald wanted to do more independent activities in contrast with government programmes and industry beliefs about small business – their funding stopped.
>
> Ronald's enterprise set out battling for money, equipment and people by begging, borrowing, and buying where they could. This placed them at the heart of a very uncomfortable situation between non-Aboriginal institutions, large company systems and their own cultural ways. In culturally appropriate ways, help arrived from two non-Aboriginal women who volunteered their time to do administration work. Ronald, his family and friends dug deep and found a way to teach white fella children about his Aboriginal culture. Not to sell his story, but to show young ones about the ways of his people, through cultural tourism. Ronald is determined to achieve his dream to live both Aboriginal culture and small business, despite the difficulties of being caught between two-worlds. His family and culture, together with volunteer support and donations from a few city-based private companies, help keep Ronald's dream alive; separate from government and surrounding industry pressures.

[2] His name was changed to preserve anonymity.
[3] A common colloquial word used by many Aboriginal people to talk about non-Aboriginal people.

Ronald's story suggests that government and industry are misunderstanding this (and potentially other) small Aboriginal enterprises. At the heart of Ronald's example, is the tension between Western expectations of small business and what Ronald is motivated by – his Aboriginality.

The lessons from Ronald's example are many. First, his SAE does not wish to identify with government. Second, Ronald does not wish to align with the commercial values of the local mining company. Third, the SAE cultural beliefs are minimised by non-Aboriginal people, despite Ronald's protests. Fourth, some white fellas do understand the SAE, but to help Ronald they need to operate outside of Western processes and institutions. Lastly, that government and industry support to Ronald's SAE is only provided when he conforms to a dominant view of 'how SAE should behave and think'.

The urgency in Ronald's example is one of identity and power. In other words, the very heart and purpose of Ronald's enterprise is overlooked and cast aside in favour of commercial models couched in corporate and governance systems.

This study into the nature of SAE engages with this acute situation between identity and power, and the dynamic between small and large business. Specifically, a two-world[4] concept is used to show the inability of SAE to promote their identity and how they cope with a dominant white fella power, where Aboriginality is marginalised, and therefore misunderstood.

As evident in Ronald's example, it is common that being directed, classified and organised by others is often the case. As information and insights are unfolded in this research, it becomes evident that for many SAE, they have a lack of control over their circumstances. Thus, living with tensions and misunderstanding between Western systems and Aboriginality are revealed to be a day-to-day reality for SAE owners and/or managers.

[4] It is acknowledged that a two-world concept can be controversial. This is addressed in Chapter 3 (see p.50).

Detailing SAEs misunderstood situation

Just like Ronald's tourism business, many other small Aboriginal enterprises (SAE) are caught between two worlds; sitting in the middle of an uncomfortable situation, where they are misunderstood. Living in the middle of this misunderstanding, caught between two-worlds takes much effort, where often:

> *… everything around us is being done for us and not controlled by us.*
> Participant A21

More particularly, the research introductory paragraphs suggested that a problem exists because SAE have to operate in tension between two-worlds; that of Aboriginality and Western society. This observation is evident in Hindle and Lansdowne's (2005) research on Indigenous[5] entrepreneurship where they suggested that dominant cultures misunderstand Indigenous cultures' world-view. Yet this is not new knowledge, as research over 20 years ago into Aboriginal economic development came to a similar conclusion: the notion of enterprise needs to be redefined in order to meet current Aboriginal requirements (Crough, Howitt & Pritchard 1989). Other work by Altman (2001a); McDonnell and Martin (2002) and Foley (2004) arrived at similar sentiments. To capture these and other academic efforts, it can be observed that Aboriginal enterprise and economic participation is often understood through a wide picture of Aboriginality; yet, this is quite different to the way that government have traditionally understood and supported the SAE.

In contrast, the majority of government and industry platforms to support SAE appear to be framed through a dominant cultural perspective, based on corporate and commercial mindsets. As an example, this preference for a Western and commercial focus by NAO is evident in their use of mainstream enterprise types, such as commercial and non-commercial entities (Australian Government 2008). This Western and commercial approach to typing SAE becomes problematic for the Australian Bureau of Statistics, where it 'finds it difficult to define the Aboriginal enterprise' (Brown 2007). Other Western economic perspectives of Aboriginal enterprise (including types) are evident in the *Report on the Indigenous Programmes* (OEA 2008); the *National Indigenous Reform Agreement* – Council of Australian Governments (COAG 2009); and in the report *Overcoming Indigenous Disadvantage* 2008-09 (SCRGSP 2009). In these examples: NAO have continuously ignored or misunderstood or minimised the importance of a wide picture of Aboriginality (including Aboriginal enterprise types) that

[5] Where other authors have used the term 'Indigenous' or 'indigenous' in their work, the word is reported as published.

has been established over the last 20 years of research. However, this circumstance remains unacknowledged by NAO.

Quite alternatively to the government picture of SAE, the tensions between Aboriginal culture and NAO are identified and discussed in Aboriginal enterprise literature, yet not incorporated into NAO policies and programmes. Authors such as Altman (2001a; 2002); Altman and Dillon (2004); Foley (2003a; 2004; 2006); Fuller (2002); Fuller, Howard and Cummings (2004); Fuller and Parker (2002); Hindle (2005; 2007) and Howitt and Suchet (2004) have talked extensively about opposing issues such as cultural and commercial demands for Aboriginal people. Well before these current observations however, early Aboriginal enterprise research by Ellanna, Loveday, Stanley and Young (1988); Young (1988); and Crough et al. (1989) in their studies of Aboriginal economic enterprises in the Northern Territory voiced the same issues. The complex social and commercial issues identified by these researchers in the late 1980s still resonate today – ideas that Altman, Foley, Fuller, Hindle and Howitt continue to reinforce. Together, all these authors said that a complex combination of cultural and commercial issues makes up the Aboriginal enterprise. However as revealed shortly, this complexity is poorly acknowledged or incorporated into policies and/or programmes by NAO.

Interestingly however, government report after government report has experienced difficulty translating these complex cultural and commercial issues into effective programmes and policies. This means that enterprise complexity and any misunderstandings about Aboriginal enterprise have been sparsely acknowledged and included into NAO practices.

This lack of regard for Aboriginal enterprise complexity is strongly evident through seven Federal Government documents: *Achieving Indigenous Economic Independence* (Federal Government 2006a); *National Indigenous Reform Agreement* (COAG 2009); *Closing the Gap* (Federal Government 2009); *Overcoming Indigenous Disadvantage* (SCRGSP 2009); *Inquiry into Indigenous Business* (House of Representatives Standing Committee of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs 1997); *Report on Support for Indigenous Business* (Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs 2003); and *Open for Business, Developing Indigenous enterprise in Australia* (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs 2008). These reports have guided Federal Government's

Indigenous economic development for the past 15 years. Consequently, government processes have highly influenced the development of SAE in Australia.

Combined, all seven reports hold a commercial focus to frame and understand the SAE and Aboriginal economic participation. In contrast, scant regard was given to identified cultural components of Aboriginal enterprise such as family pressures (Young 1988); cultural identity (Fuller et al. 2004); entrepreneur motivations and attitudes (Foley 2004; and Lindsay 2005); impact of dominant society on Aboriginal enterprise beliefs (Altman 2001a; 2001b; and Altman & Dillon 2004); and the strong impact of linear development narratives on indigenous people (Howitt & Suchet 2004) . This inability to account for a wide picture of SAE outside of Western economic frames, further amplifies the two-world situation that SAE are caught within thus, leaving them open to greater misunderstanding.

Returning to the problem at hand, it is evident that SAE two-world tensions are further complicated because of 'definition difficulties' (Altman 2001a, p.3) and the inability to identify exact Aboriginal enterprise numbers or size of SAE operating in Australia (Schaper, Carlsen & Jennings 2007). The Australian Bureau of Statistics for example, provides Aboriginal self-employment figures (ABS 2006; 2007c) yet, they are unable to identify the number of Aboriginal enterprises in Australia (Brown 2007). This was noted earlier by a Federal Government department, 'there is no central agency for the collection and collation of data on Indigenous economic development' (Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs 2003, p.23). This is a problem for government, as Foley (2006, p.6) commented, 'how can government policy be informed if the basic building blocks of empirical data are not available?' Furthermore, if the SAE cannot be effectively defined and identified in the first place, how can support measures which account for SAE complexity, be established?

This disjunction may also indicate that any potential misunderstanding of SAE may well begin with their baseline definitions and types. It also follows that if quantifiable and definitional information about SAE are missing (which NAO tend to favour over qualitative information), then an Aboriginal view of SAE is also missing from government practice.

Dismissing Aboriginal complexity means that any two-world situation for SAE is made more uncomfortable. It appears that this uncomfortable situation is aggravated by overarching and dominant systems that rely upon corporate, governance and highly

economic practices. Thus, the SAE two-world situation is one of inherent tensions, where Aboriginal people are required to adapt themselves to fit or align with a government and a corporate view of small business, whilst minimising their Aboriginal complexity that other academic research has detailed.

As such the research phenomena identified so far is:

> That SAE are researched and reported one way, but are supported, assessed, managed and measured in another way.

These phenomena form the basis of this study. They are explored by a combination of field work, data analysis, theory development and conceptual interpretations which include a range of Aboriginal voices and my reflexivity. These phenomena are used to underscore the research aim, to explore the nature of SAE when they are caught between two-worlds. In Chapter 3, the phenomena are developed further (p.64) and more specifically they are addressed in Chapter 7 (p.254) once the SAE two-world situation is characterised. Before this however, the research directions are defined.

Ordering the information into research directions

The majority of Aboriginal enterprise research efforts have discussed enterprise complexity through financial reasons or cultural conflicts under well used social – economic and cultural – commercial debates. However this raises the question, whether these well used approaches are meaningful for NAO, and if not, could this explain the disjunction between NAO practices and academic research? Furthermore, could a grounded methodology provide fresh clues about the nature of SAE, and a different perspective that NAO may find helpful?

This research responds to these broad questions by using the macro level disjunction between NAO and academic research efforts as a two-world concept to re-think the way we view SAE, and the relationships that SAE hold with NAO. To determine the pathway forward, current Aboriginal socio-economic debates are acknowledged, but a new direction is also established. This combination of macro and micro level activities, and the garnering of fresh ideas against old concepts, means that a grounded methodology could be used to work with such wide variables. Before the methodology is introduced, the research directions are now clarified.

The main research question is:

> MRQ: How does the SAE two-world situation operate when NAO appear to misunderstand them?

Four research sub-questions are designed to reveal this by exploring ideas from the grassroots up:

> Q1. What are the main SAE patterns and can they be described outside the socio-economic debate?
>
> Q2. What comprises the main problem of SAE enterprise success in relation to 'white dominated' or non-Aboriginal Australian society?
>
> Q3. More specifically, what is the nature of the relationship between SAEs and mainstream non-Aboriginal Australian society, notably in the form of government that provide various kinds of regulation and assistance?
>
> Q4. What strategies and policies are needed to alleviate the 'two-world' situation that SAEs find themselves in relation to NAOs?

These questions are a guide on a journey into the middle of the phenomena: that SAE are reported one way but supported, assessed and measured in another. In Chapter 3, the two-world situation, its tensions and misunderstandings are unravelled and introduced through the literature. Here it is established how difficult the situation is for SAE and why it needs resolving. These are explored through four objectives in Chapters 5, 6 and 7:

> Objective 1. Going into the core of SAE to understand their nature, identity, characteristics, patterns and ideas of success.
>
> Objective 2. Charting SAE relationships with non-Aboriginal organisations and secondarily with others.
>
> Objective 3. Developing a theory to help address the SAE two-world situation.
>
> Objective 4. Interpreting the theory to help NAO understand SAE in order to improve enterprise numbers.

In order to re-frame the way we see the SAE, this research is designed to reveal a complex relationship between SAE and NAO, particularly with Federal Government. This research does not position itself behind NAO to understand their reasons for not translating academic research efforts into practice, or their reasons for misunderstanding SAE. That is, the focus of this research is clearly on the nature of SAE, their experiences and the impact upon them, rather than expressing government and industry voices.

A broad-based research methodology can assist with linking these macro and micro level details together and to help develop a theory about SAEs misunderstood situation. As there is an absence of an extant theory about combined SAE two-world situations; SAE low enterprise numbers; and NAO misunderstandings of them, a theory

building exercise is used. An approach was selected to build descriptive theory via an inductive grounded methodology (Carlile & Christensen 2004). Here, inductivity and emergence are used to establish a stronger baseline from which to understand the nature of SAE and to link with current Aboriginal socio-economic debates and government practices.

An inductive grounded methodology was chosen because it meant preservation of many Aboriginal voices through to the theory stage; the opportunity to build upon the Aboriginal socio-economic debates; and the chance to emerge new ideas about SAE. Specifically, grounded theory and narrative methods are combined under the broader methodology to emerge a descriptive theory about the nature of SAE. This theory is then interpreted back to the problem situation, important literature of practice and theoretical insights.

What the research discovers

At the end of the research cycle, a set of interpretations emerge through descriptive theory building tasks, and these are related to literature in order to answer the research questions. This verifies that SAE operate with inherent tensions which are largely misunderstood; however this occurs due to a marginalisation of the SAE silent dichotomy.

At first, a literature review establishes the two-world situation, its tensions and misunderstandings which can be viewed as an internal world and an external world. This perspective sits outside the traditional socio-economic debate and is a concept which offers new ideas about SAE patterns and relationships with NAO.

As the thesis unfolds, the uncomfortable two-world situation is revealed to be a lop-sided one that over emphasises non-Aboriginal perspectives through a one-sided focus on SAEs external world. This leaves the SAE spending much time balancing out two-world issues rather than attending to their internal world or their middle ground. This results in a silent dichotomy which deeply influences the operation of the Aboriginal enterprise because their inherent differences are not preserved. Instead SAE differences are marginalised. This circumstance ignores SAE relationship patterns with ‘some others’ based on compromise and reciprocity, and marginalising differences also ignores SAE instinctive and whole process thinking. This situation compounds the problem for SAE, that they are reported one way, but measured and supported in another way.

It is suggested that SAE are unable to change their uncomfortable two-world situation because NAO are too busy instructing and homogenising them. As such, SAE are unable to draw upon their instinctive and compromising patterns thus, further entrenching any misunderstandings of them. However, control could be returned to the SAE layer-by-layer, by NAO focussing upon local level solutions through a SAE 'tri-lectic'. This approach would incorporate the middle ground between SAEs internal and external world. However, these ideas are tempered by the observation that NAO are not using research to improve the low Aboriginal enterprise rate.

To illustrate how these research discoveries were unfolded, the focus returns to the thesis organisation and planning issues.

Thesis organisation

As illustrated in Figure 1.1, the thesis is organised through eight chapters with a research postscript. In the following diagram, the left column notes the chapter and its function, whilst the right column introduces their major components. Each chapter was planned by creating flow maps. These flow maps were a helpful tool that linked emerging ideas with the research directions. The individual chapter maps are presented in Appendix A.

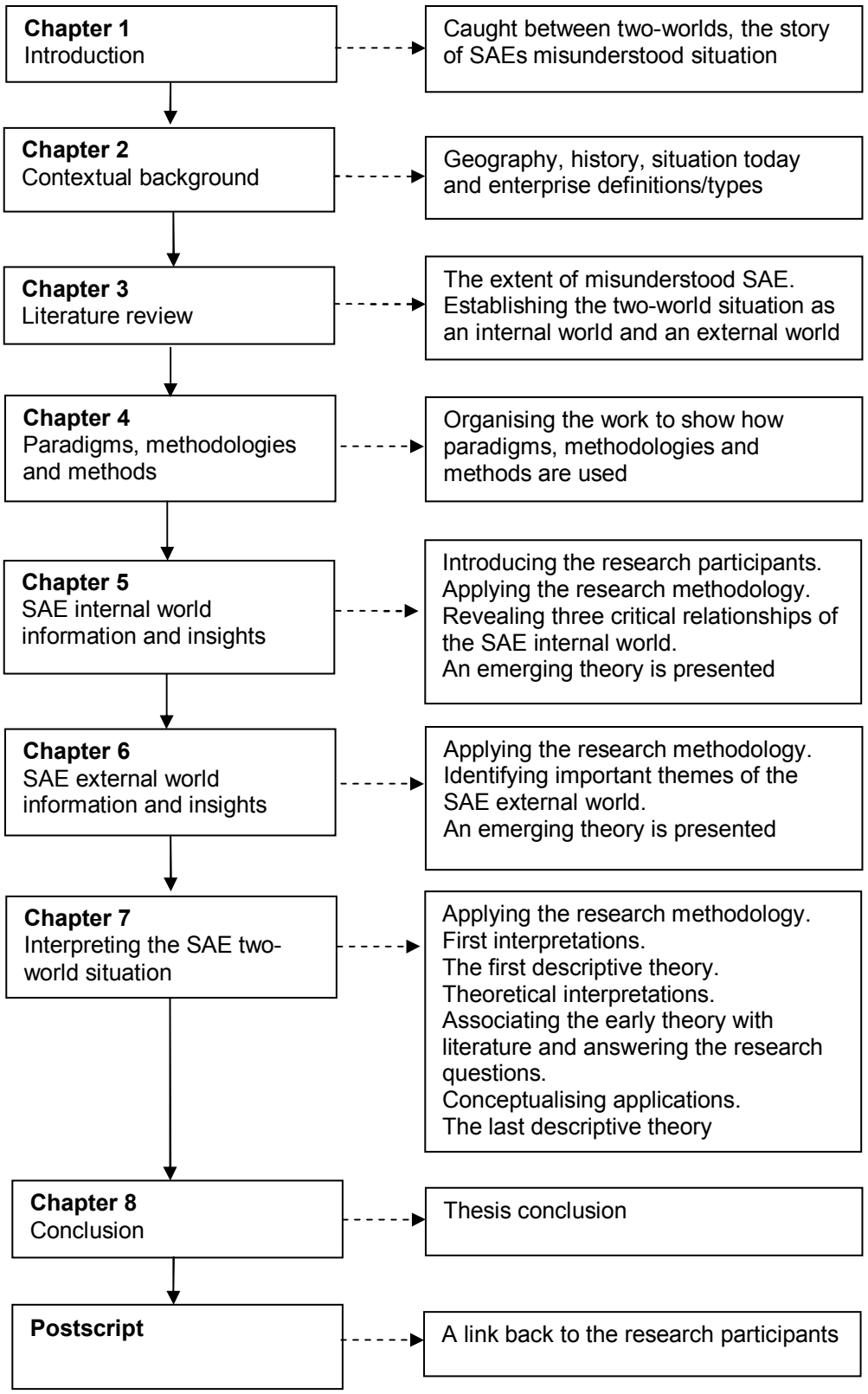


Figure 1.1: Thesis chapter layout and functions

This chapter structure was developed further by drawing two maps. First, Carlile and Christensen's (2004) descriptive theory building process based on three steps is given. This is reflected in a small diagram through Figure 1.2. It illustrates how Carlile and Christensen's (2004) grounded methodology is applied to the research process. The double lined box on the left side of this diagram represents the start and end point of the process. Specifically, the diagram shows how descriptive theory is built through each chapter and what types of data are incorporated at what time.

Second, a large A3 map is presented (refer to Figure 1.3). This map is read anticlockwise once more, beginning and ending with the top boxes drawn in double lines. This large map is used as a tool to connect emerging ideas with the research directions while keeping the research within an academic frame. In particular, the research process map displays the flow of methodological and method events to establish answers to the research problem that SAE are misunderstood.

First however, the small grounded methodology map is presented overleaf.

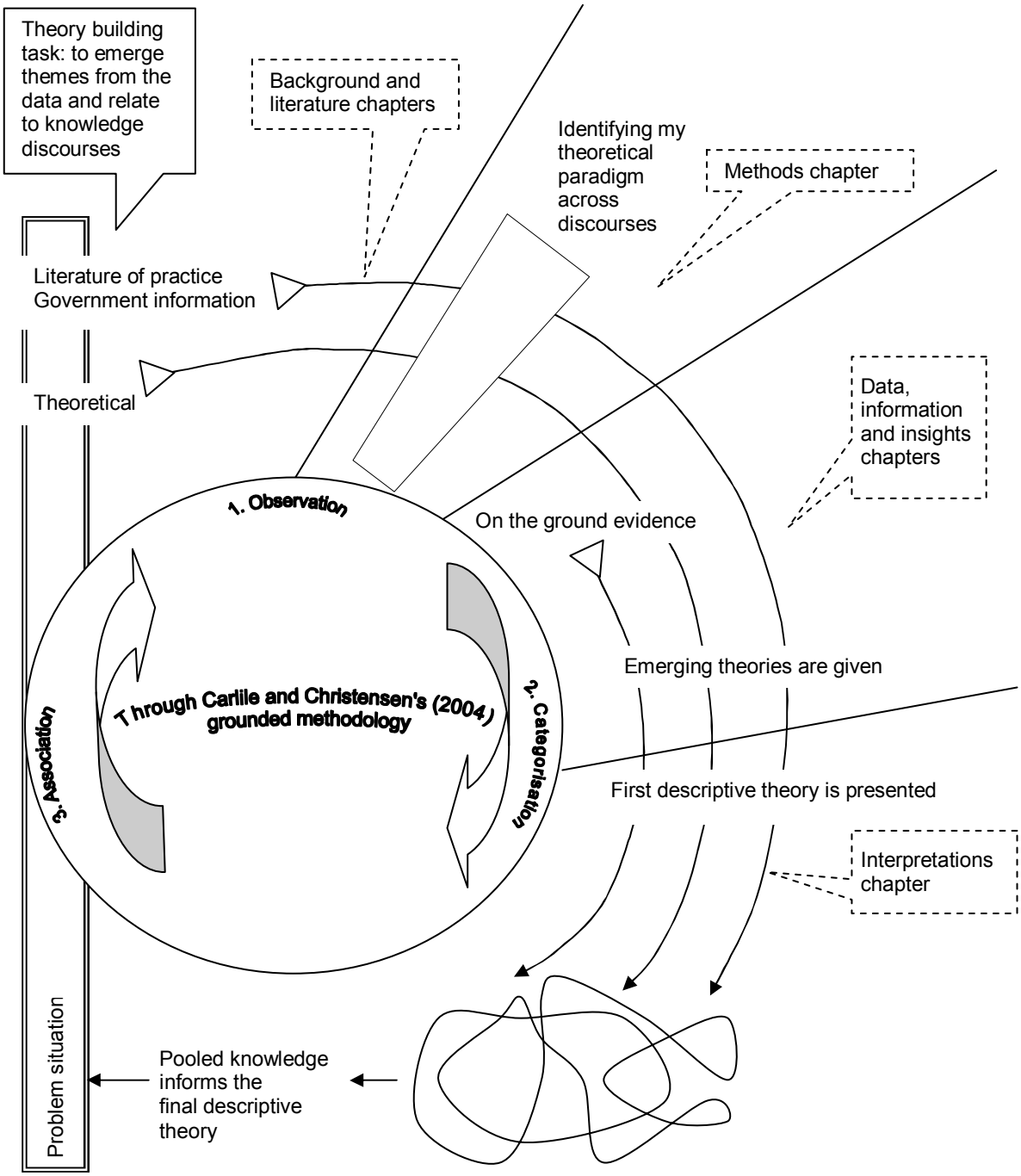


Figure 1.2: Grounded methodology – relating Carlile and Christensen's (2004) theory building process to the research on SAE and the thesis structure

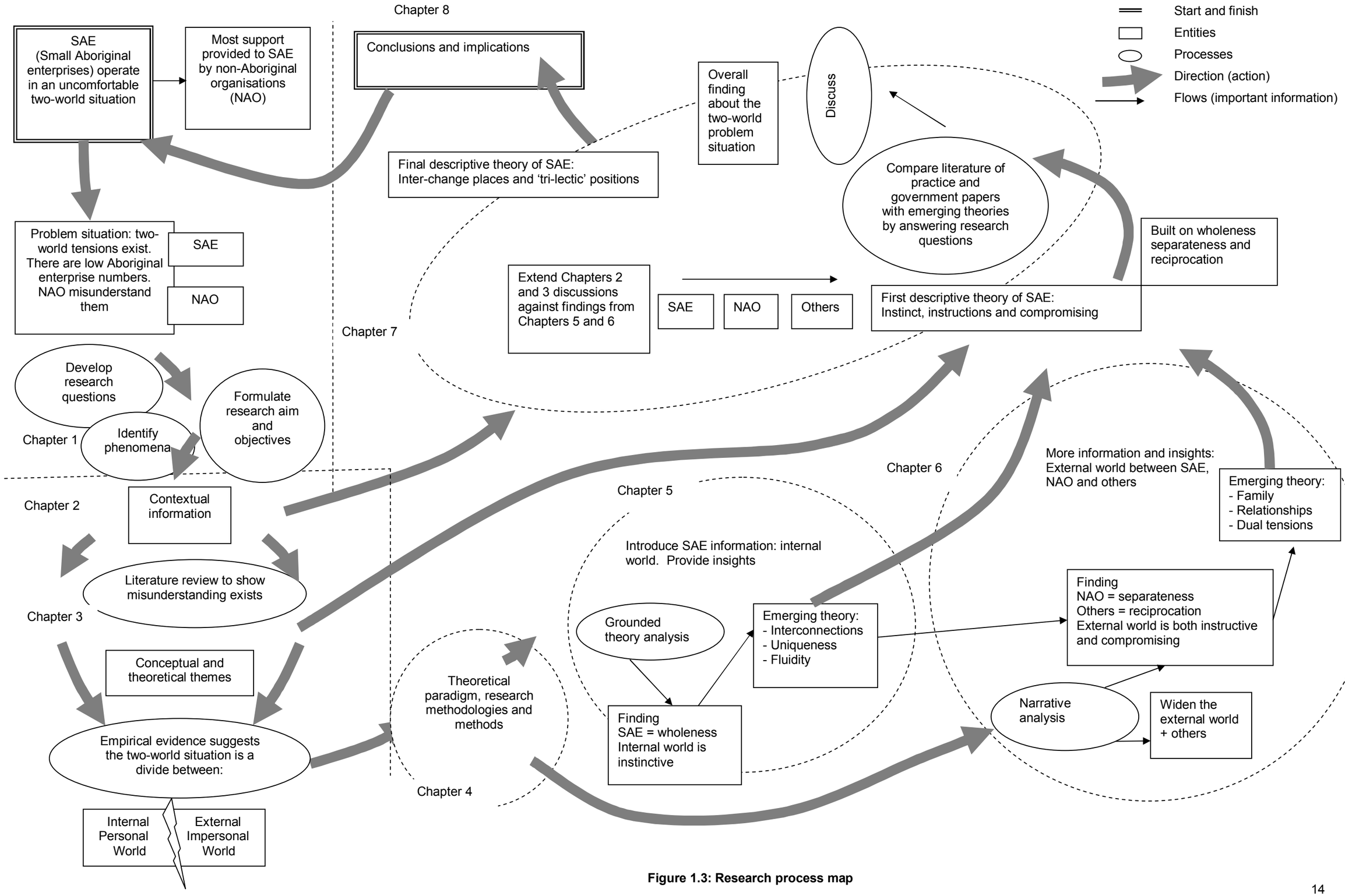


Figure 1.3: Research process map

The smaller diagram (Figure 1.2) showed how Carlile and Christensen's (2004) grounded methodology is applied to the research process through points 1, 2 and 3. In order to answer the misunderstood SAE two-world situation, the research begins and ends with the problem situation (this is highlighted by the double lined box). At first, theoretical, literature of practice and government programme information is used to establish ideas. Emerging theories are built by point 1: observing the 'on the ground evidence' and point 2: categorising it. The first descriptive theory is linked back to previous literature and point 3: associations are made. Interpretations are given followed by a final descriptive theory. This completes the descriptive theory building cycle.

Next, the large diagram (Figure 1.3) presented the research process across the thesis. Importantly, Chapters 2 and 3 introduce the problem, that SAE are misunderstood and explain the reasons for this. The research is designed, before Chapters 5 and 6 reveal participant information through grounded theory categories and narrative method themes. Throughout these two chapters theory is emerged and consolidated in Chapter 7. Alongside this task, the emerging ideas and theories are related to literature and government practices. Both activities respond back to the problem situation, that SAE are misunderstood.

Research planning issues

Research planning also set out to preserve Aboriginal voices before insights and interpretations were made. It was a complex task to help identify and preserve these voices; more difficult than initially drawn in research planning. In fact, academic perspectives and my own life experiences complicated the situation by adding more interpretations to unravel. Coupled with my own non-Aboriginal identity, this meant approaching the study in ways that preserved the many aspects of Aboriginal voice for as long as possible. In essence, I placed myself as an observer across the shoulders of Aboriginal enterprise. In practice, this meant lifting up the varied Aboriginal ideas through grounded theory and narrative processes. I was highly aware that interpreting SAE information and using this to construct ideas was my main goal, rather than telling SAE how they should operate and fix their problems.

My interpretations about SAE owners and/or managers began with the previous Honours research activities, in which I examined an Aboriginal enterprise in north-west Queensland that operated a transport contract for a national mining company. The study concluded that Aboriginal entrepreneurs linked social and commercial issues

together, yet it was unclear whether or not Aboriginal enterprise could operate commercially, or whether success was different for Aboriginal entrepreneurs than mainstream small business (Moylan 2001). This current research into Aboriginal enterprise is also informed by these observations.

Previous experiences as a junior manager in transport and logistics in remote and regional areas put me in contact with Aboriginal people, whom I found wanted to be involved with work and enterprise. Later self-employment in a retail small business in remote northern South Australia confirmed this sentiment. Aboriginal people wanted to be involved in enterprise, but in their own way.

Despite these practical motivations, it was a different issue to begin writing as a non-Aboriginal person. These points are addressed shortly in Chapter 2 (see p.27).

Research constraints and limitations

This research is limited to exploring the nature of SAE and their relationship with NAO, principally that with Federal Government. At times a link with others, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, show deeper insights. The research focuses on selected SAE operating in remote and regional areas of Australia during 2004 and 2005 (details are in Chapter 4 and maps are given in Chapter 5). This study does not consider SAE in cities and large towns, nor does it consider Torres Strait Islander peoples. This inquiry was also constrained by time, finances, remoteness, access to Aboriginal people and regions, language barriers, gender and the small number of Aboriginal enterprises to draw upon. These constraints were overcome by attempting to capture variety and extremes from across the SAE sample, where 47 SAE participants and 40 non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal organisations were interviewed across vast distances of Australia. Other research constraints are given and resolved at Appendix B.

Use of literature

Literature is considered in a variety of ways. First, literature is used to introduce and verify the problem situation. Second, literature is used to acknowledge my impact on the research, and outline the paradigms, methodologies and methods. Third, during the research design stage, literature is introduced to verify qualitative processes, grounded theory and narrative research practices. Fourth, literature is introduced to associate the first descriptive theory to Aboriginal socio-economic debates and

mainstream small business literature, and then to answer the research questions. Lastly, literature is introduced theoretically to provide alternative interpretations.

Literature is principally used to background relevant issues and to use as comparative materials. The current Aboriginal socio-economic debates are extended rather than challenged, and theoretical interpretations are used to offer fresh ideas about the nature of SAE. The preservation of Aboriginal views, alignment with my chosen methodology and methods, and literature that links with inductive theory building processes are all used as the principle determinant for choosing any of the comparative materials.

Contribution to knowledge

The current knowledge about Aboriginal enterprise is mostly organised through social and economic debates, generally composed during the late 1980s to mid 1990s, with further efforts from 2003 onwards. It has been suggested that 'there are wide discussions but very little carefully focussed research on Indigenous entrepreneurship in Australia' (Hindle 2005, p.93), and similarly very little discussion surrounds application to government and industry. This provides few alternatives for NAO. This gap in knowledge enables a contribution both academically and in practice. Understanding how the SAE operates when caught up in a two-world situation is one contribution. The insights about SAEs fraught and complex relationship with NAO are another contribution, whilst a descriptive theory, which identifies and formalises a 'tri-lectic' is the third contribution. These contributions are developed to illustrate how NAO can help improve low Aboriginal enterprise numbers in Australia.

Secondary contributions include findings about the role of culture in enterprise, and the impact on enterprise operations, with suggestions for how industry and government can better work with Aboriginal enterprise culture. The effect of Western economic systems on Aboriginal culture and the various interpretations of enterprise success provide further contributions. This research aims to contribute to the overall discourse of Aboriginal livelihoods in Western economies. Yet, by peeling apart the two-world situation outside the socio-economic debate, a contribution to academic research can also be made through highlighting the transitory nature of Aboriginal enterprise, which exists across multiple academic fields.

Terminology

Terms such as 'white fella', 'mainstream' and 'non-Aboriginal' are used to represent the broader society. Following the lead of the Aboriginal participants, the term 'Aboriginal' is used rather than 'Indigenous'. Where other authors have used the term 'Indigenous' in their work, the word 'Indigenous' is reported and 'indigenous' (with a lower case 'i') is used to reflect international indigenous peoples. The term 'country' is used to mean Aboriginal language groups and their ancestral links to land. The term 'enterprise' is used to mean Aboriginal small businesses or small firms and is used to avoid confusion with the terms 'culture business'[6] and 'family business'. 'Mainstream small business' is used to mean non-Aboriginal enterprise. More specific terms are defined throughout the thesis as needed, with a complete list presented in the Glossary of Terms (p.xxiii).

Chapter summary

The introductory chapter began by outlining two debates. First, it is acknowledged that NAO fail to draw the lessons and ideas from enterprise literature into their policies and programmes for SAE. Second, that research has identified why SAE are complex because social and economic issues are combined. However, it is also apparent that NAO are not translating academic research into Aboriginal enterprise support mechanisms. This situation therefore, may well link into the continuously low Aboriginal enterprise participation rate in Australia.

It can be inferred through these circumstances that NAOs and SAEs relationship is jaded. It can also be concluded that potentially, a misunderstanding of the SAE exists, which NAO do not recognise, or if they do, they are not actively addressing. In order to seek a new understanding of SAE, and to redress NAOs misunderstanding of them, the nature of SAE is explored when they are caught between two-worlds.

This research responds to the misunderstanding of SAE, by using an inductive research project design. This design is based upon a combined grounded theory and narrative method, captured under a grounded methodology. The purpose of this methodology is to reveal new ideas about SAE through emergence. As such, ideas and interpretations are gradually developed in order to address the research problem that SAE are misunderstood.

[6] Culture business refers to the day-to day-cultural activities of Aboriginal people that operate across various times, spaces and locations.

Chapter 2 – Contextual background

Introduction

Chapter 2 provides background information about the two-world situation of small Aboriginal enterprise (SAE). Specifically, the geography, history and the nature of writing about Indigenous issues as a non-Aboriginal person are addressed. The current circumstances of SAE in Australia are outlined, a series of working definitions are established, and enterprise types are introduced.

The purpose of this contextual background chapter is to show that information about SAE is available. Yet, a review of literature reveals that much information remains unused by NAO which leads to a baseline misunderstanding of SAE.

Sketching out the small Aboriginal enterprise

In this first section of Chapter 2, the geography that SAE operate within today, the history of SAE, and their current circumstances are outlined. This indicates the importance of defining and quantifying them. In doing so however, it becomes problematic for the SAE and NAO, as well as for the research process.

Geography

This research is geographically located in remote and regional areas of Australia and often incorporates desert communities. These regions and communities support a small number of Aboriginal enterprises that hold a range of entrepreneurial and enterprise success experiences. Remote and regional areas are inherently difficult for any enterprise, through increased mobility problems, access to markets, increased operating costs and access to a pool of skilled labour. This subsection establishes common knowledge about these regions and Aboriginal people.

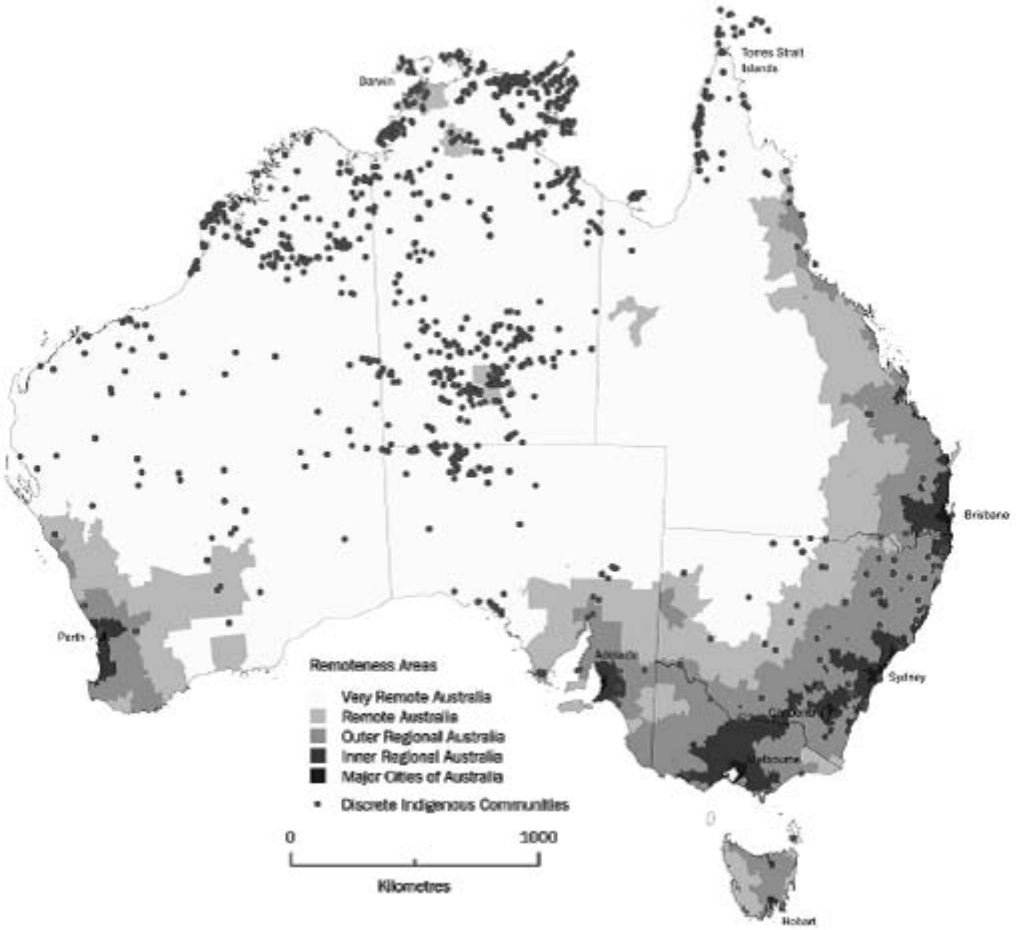
The research region

In 2001, the majority of Aboriginal people (over three quarters) lived in cities and major centres (Taylor, J 2005, p.70). However, in remote areas from the Torres Strait Islands to desert Western Australia, the Aboriginal population constituted the majority of people (ibid., p.71). Aboriginal people in remote areas are highly mobile within the region, with up to 48% living somewhere else since the last census (ibid., p.75) and mostly living in Aboriginal communities with populations less than 3,000 (ibid., p.70-71). Yet, remote and regional Australia also supports other cultures, predominately an Anglo-Saxon

culture. Remote and regional Australia is categorised through the Australian Standard Geographical Classification (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2001) into five parts:

1. Major cities of Australia.
2. Inner regional Australia.
3. Outer regional Australia.
4. Remote Australia.
5. Very remote Australia.

These classifications are shown below (Figure 2.1) by the lighter colours, with small dots indicating discrete Indigenous settlements.



Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics (2007a)

Figure 2.1: Discrete Indigenous settlements by remoteness

In this research, classifications 3, 4, and 5 (outer regional, remote and very remote Australia) are relevant. Yet, in order to simplify classifications, the term 'regional' is used in this research to reflect outer regional Australia, and the term 'remote' is used to reflect both remote and very remote areas.

Desert regions

Remote and some regional areas also occupy a large percentage of desert areas in Australia. 'Semi arid and arid lands (deserts) cover two thirds of the Australian continent …and includes large parts of the Northern Territory, Western Australia and South Australia and smaller parts of Queensland and New South Wales' (Guenther, Young, Boyle, Schaber & Richardson 2005, p.1). The following map (Figure 2.2) illustrates the desert region, with shaded areas indicating the desert and the lined areas indicating statistical local areas.

NOTE:
This figure is included on page 21 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Source: Guenther et al. (2005)

Figure 2.2: Extent of arid zone (desert region) in Australia

The desert comprises 45 per cent of Australia's landmass, and at the time of the 2001 Population and Housing Census, the reported residential population was 163,045 with 33,186 of those Indigenous people (Guenther et al. 2005, p.4). Indigenous people comprise one-fifth of the total desert population – nearly one third for youth aged 15-24;

compared with about two per cent nationally. This proportion of youth is predicted to increase to 23.7 per cent by 2016 with a 34 per cent increase in the prime working age cohort of 25-64 years (Taylor, J 2002, p.vii). In contrast, the population of non-Indigenous people in desert regions has decreased since 1986 (Taylor, J 2003, p.2). Furthermore, Guenther et al. (2005, p.5) also noted that 72 per cent of discrete Indigenous communities in the desert region have a population of less than 50, and that desert regions comprise less than one third of the total Indigenous population of remote Australia (Taylor, J 2005, p.70).

Yet before European settlement of remote and regional Australia, Aboriginal people held strong economic and cultural trading patterns.

History of Aboriginal enterprise in Australia

This sub-section establishes that Aboriginal enterprise existed before white settlement, and has continued on despite the devastating impact of colonisation. In this research Aboriginal trade and bartering activities is considered a form of enterprise, and as such, it has operated for thousands of years; both within Australia and externally to islands to the north. This sub-section focuses on South Australia. Refer to Appendix C for a map which pinpoints each location discussed in this historical section.

Aboriginal trade in the pre-European era

Before white settlement, Aboriginal enterprise was about trading goods, foods, people, skills and favours; it was always heavily woven into social customs (McCarthy 1938, p.410). The arrival of white colonisers meant that money was introduced into the enterprise trading dynamic and white fella material goods such as tent pegs, match boxes and metal saddle frames were also traded (Carnegie, in McCarthy 1938, p.434). However, from the outset of colonisation, Western frameworks of business were imposed over Aborigines which suppressed their established trade routes, knowledge and cultural practices.

Trade routes existed across Australia, where pearl shells of the north were treasured as magic in the deserts of the south (McCarthy 1938). As an example, the trade route between Lake Eyre in South Australia and western Queensland was regarded by McCarthy (1938, p.438) as '… the most striking example of barter exchange in Australia'. The author was impressed by the enormous distances involved and how trade practices were 'enshrined in the myth and legend associated with the migration

routes of the forefathers, … where each tribe owned separate parts of the total ritual' (Marsh 2010, p.2). Part of Lake Eyre's trade routes involved South Australia's Parachilna ochre, which was renowned for its colour, quality and sheen. Aboriginal people travelled down from the north and collected the ochre dust, mixed it with water and formed it into large 30kg cakes with an indentation to carry on their heads (Brock 1985, p.28). Permission was sought from the *Wilyaru* (initiated men) of the northern Flinders Ranges and trade was undertaken (ibid.). Trading of this ochre also involved cultural ceremonies and the practice of mythology (ibid.).

Some of the rituals associated with trade are varied. Often when a tribe separated after trading goods, an agreement was made again to barter (McCarthy 1938, p.408). At times an exchange of goods occurred after a meeting, 'for instance the inland blacks would give weapons, opossum rugs, dogs et cetera, to the coast blacks for dillies made of rushes, shells and reed necklaces' (Petrie, in McCarthy 1938, p.414). At other times seasonal flooding provided trading signals, especially in central Australia (Horne & Aiston 1924 in McCarthy 1938, p.425).

McCarthy (1938) noted there were no particular individuals that controlled the exchange or barter. Instead he found that each person was free to act on their own, including women (ibid.). There were also established trade centres where larger scale barter occurred. One of these centres operated at Kopperamanna in northern South Australia on the Cooper Creek. The Aboriginal word is *Koppara-mara*, meaning that 'as all the fingers all come together in the root of the hand, so do the tribes come together' (Howitt, in McCarthy 1938, p.423). McCarthy indicated that inter-tribal areas existed around Koppara-mara, which was also verified by Horne and Aiston (1924). They both advised that Koppara-mara was the bartering post for the blacks and has been as far back as memory goes.

Other observers such as Howitt (in McCarthy 1938, p.42) found that at times 'agents' or nominated Aborigines were sent to trade on their behalf. For example, the Dieri[7] people near Lake Eyre in South Australia nominated a *Yutchin* to bring back articles from neighbours. Aboriginal young men or boys were nominated to carry a string of opossum hair or native reed and his duty was to bring back articles for his Yutchin. Under no circumstances could these requests be broken, or the Dieri man or boy would be seen as untrustworthy (McCarthy 1938, p.423).

[7] The Dieri people are identified as an Aboriginal language group in north eastern South Australia.

Often the exchange of goods was for something used to settle debts, for example the use of *Kopara* in the Lake Eyre district. A Kopara could be made against other persons and their group, through gifts, women, lives, injuries or initiation rites (Elkin, in McCarthy 1938, p.426). The exchange underway was a symbol of settlement of renewed social cohesion between moieties.[8] McCarthy (1938) advised that Kopara was not a business transaction, but a means of expressing and cementing friendship.

The focus of these examples from northern South Australia shows that enterprise has always existed in rich ways for Aboriginal people, with its own laws, customs, rites, stories and connections to land. These enterprise practices were un-monetised, and as such, unrecognised by the white colonisers. McCarthy (1938, pp.426-427) made a very pertinent observation that has ramifications for this research. He noted that Aboriginal exchange of goods was seldom, if ever, a mere business transaction, but rather it was symbolical, as in the settlement of Kopara, or as a method of fulfilling mutual obligations between relations, own and legal. McCarthy (1938) indicated that economic trade and business was interrelated with cultural, customs and rites. This means that over 100 years ago white explorers, observers and researchers noted the intricate patterning between both economic and cultural interests. It can be inferred therefore, that cultural and economic intersections were strong and not separated out by Aboriginal people, but were a result of European customs.

These historical insights from European researchers from the 1800s and early 1900s clearly show the blurred mix between business, bartering, trade and the social ceremonies, rituals and exchanges that go with them. For Aboriginal people, the practice of enterprise went hand-in-hand with the practice of culture – they were inseparable. Thus, as Adnyamathanha[9] woman and researcher Marsh (2010) concluded, the extent of interchange linked vast distances and relationships between trade routes, cultural trends and migration practices. She said that a broad connection between peoples, from very different lands based on customary beliefs and knowledge, still exists in a fragmented way today.

[8] The term moieties were used by McCarthy (1938) to represent two different groups of people. Berndt and Berndt (1996, p.44) provide more detail whereby moieties were described as representing a division when someone of one moiety must marry someone in the opposite moiety. Descent in them is either patrilineal or matrilineal.

[9] The Adnyamathanha people are identified as an Aboriginal language group in the Flinders Ranges of northern South Australia.

Aboriginal enterprise post-European arrival

With the arrival of the white colonisers just over 200 years ago, it meant that many thousands of years of trade routes, traditions, mythologies and relationships were broken; in many cases they ceased altogether. Colonisation meant that Aboriginal people were forced to change their lives, from living as part of the essence of the land, to being controlled and directed by invading people. The impact on trading knowledge was devastating, particularly during the mission and assimilation eras where Aborigines were removed from their country and forced to adopt white European lifestyles.

However, some evidence of trade continued through these conformist eras. As an example, Aboriginal people in the northern Flinders Ranges still traded goods where they could, such as tools, white fella items and foodstuffs (Brock 1985). Some Aboriginal men adapted their Aboriginal trading practices to accommodate the new white fella law and ways. For instance, Ted Coulthard owned a team of donkeys which pulled a broken motor vehicle body from Mount Serle station, to Ram Paddock Gate and Nepabunna mission (ibid., p.46). He used the team to bring in stores from Copley and cart fencing materials and other supplies. In 1924-25 he won a contract from the Vermin Board to build the netting fence (dog fence) in the Mount Serle area, and this provided employment for many Mount Serle people (ibid.). Another example of Aboriginal enterprise occurred during the drought of 1890, where some Adnymathanha men resorted to catching dingo pups for which they received rations from white colonisers, not cash. The rations were a term of payment they resented (ibid., p.38).

Other men, such as Henry Wilton got occasional contract work at different stations. Henry and his wife May would work, but also live by setting up camp in traditional areas, which had personal meaning to them marked by their birth trees, marriage tree and graves of members of their family (Brock 1985, pp.43-44). Another example of Aboriginal involvement in enterprise, although somewhat stalled by Christian missionaries, is the R.M. Williams story. In 1933, R.M. Williams, a white European man worked for the United Aborigines Mission (UAM). The UAM ran the Nepabunna mission, where R.M. Williams set up a leather workshop in a brushwood hut and claimed the enterprise was supporting 11 Adnymathanha people. However, the UAM would not allow him to continue his workshop unless the money went back to UAM. The money was not permitted to return to the enterprise or the Aboriginal people. In 1934, Williams left the mission leaving the Aboriginal people with no enterprise to continue on, despite having started an industry which was to become the multimillion dollar business of R.M. Williams Bushman's Outfitters (ibid., p.50).

In the 1900s, other evidence of Aboriginal enterprise occurred on the west coast of South Australia included a large farm at Poonindie, and the entrepreneurial activities of Whipstick Billy and Barney Lennon. The Poonindie farm and settlement was set up by the Native Training Institution and it operated between 1850 and 1894 by a small section of Adelaide white settlers who regretted the effects their presence had on the Aborigines (Brock & Kartinyeri 1989, p.11). By 1865, Poonindie held over 15,455 acres of prime agricultural land. It operated as a commercial enterprise carrying sheep, cattle, horses and pigs, and growing wheat and hay. Most of the farm work was done by Aborigines such as droving, shearing, riding, ploughing and training bullocks and horses. Poonindie closed in 1894 following a decade of pressure from the white population of Port Lincoln (ibid., p.53). The Aboriginal inhabitants fought and argued for their land, but this was denied to them and the land was given to white settlers (ibid., p.77). Another example of Aboriginal enterprise involves Whipstick Billy in the 1930s. Whipstick Billy, from the West Coast of South Australia, was reportedly sent away to die after offending tribal law (Sultan & Bradley 2004, p.3). Instead, he lived a fringe existence on the edge of local towns, appearing with his dogs and dingoes at the white settlers' homes and offering to do little jobs in return for some payment. He supplemented this by sometimes driving camels laden with wool for a living (ibid.).

Another story of Aboriginal enterprise involved Barney Lennon, born in 1918 and with his brother Bill mined for opal at Coober Pedy in northern South Australia. They purchased assets and Barney contracted for local pastoral stations, building yards, breaking in horses and putting sleepers on railway bridges (Skewes 1997, pp.9-10). All these stories from regional South Australia show that despite the imposition of the white fella ways and the controls placed over them, some Aboriginal men took on new ways to conduct enterprise, whilst their traditional ways were suppressed. This indicates that Aboriginality was not removed through colonisation; it was instead dismissed, ignored or minimised by the European settlers.

Today, SAE are supported and funded through Federal and/or State Government or their agencies, where few industry or philanthropic organisations are involved. There are some SAE that seek private commercial funding, and many others that seek funding through government agencies (Foley 2006). However, all SAE just like mainstream small businesses, are measured, assessed and legislated through government processes such as taxation, business structures, legal requirements and employment responsibilities. These processes are based on Western and commercial

frames of enterprise, ones not based on McCarthy's (1938) observation that Aboriginal trade involves exchange, symbolism and culture.

The remnants of Aboriginal trading behaviour, motivations and patterns may well exist today. However as later revealed, NAO do not acknowledge these at all. As follows in this thesis, inter-relating cultural practices, family traditions and customary beliefs with trade, business and enterprise remain non-negotiable practices for NAO. Rather as revealed, the SAE is expected to conform and operate under a Western notion of enterprise, based on the monetised system that was brought to Australia by white settlers. A financial system that has gradually taken on international dimensions couched in corporate, management, and governance terminology and techniques; something quite alien to Aboriginal enterprise trading and cultural patterns. Despite this incongruence, the SAE always has a relationship with government whether they like it or not. This is no different to Aboriginal people in general, that wherever they live and whatever they do, contact with NAO will occur. However fraught and complex that relationship may be, it will be revealed later, for many SAE this contact means that relationships with NAO are built on difficult and unstable layers. This tenuous situation frames the difficulty of operating SAE between two-worlds and produces much tension, including that of writing as a non-Aboriginal person.

Writing and reflecting as a non-Aboriginal person

Aboriginal researcher Blair (2006) noted the disparity between Aboriginal peoples' opinions and those of the experts, advising that Indigenous Australians might have been better off today if research had told different stories. Respecting the integrity of the many Aboriginal voices was considered critical, 'as the word research is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary' (Smith, LT 2006, p.1). Furthermore, many Maori people believe that researchers are simply intent on taking or 'stealing' knowledge in a non-reciprocal and under-handed way (ibid.). Whilst Marcela Gilbert found that researchers come into Indian communities promising things they never produce or with big ideas that they never see through (Castle 2003). It has been suggested 'the doors previously open for doing research on an indigenous community in the name of science are closing, and very soon, these doors will be shut for good' (Louis 2007, p.130). With these frank observations in mind, it reinforced that to reflect 'things' Aboriginal I need to clearly designate that I am interpreting and constructing rather than objectifying, subjecting and testing.

This means that I, as a non-Aboriginal person, cannot understand Aboriginal culture and authentically know about it. The position I take therefore, is one of continual reflection between experience, knowledge and self. This position accords with Maclellan's (2004) dialogical and critical reflection. The implications for this thesis, is that I have to sit 'outside' culture, and as such, 'outside' the Aboriginal enterprise; continually reflecting between many parts. I contend that being an 'outsider', looking in and only offering one interpretation is a respectful and ethical place for a non-Aboriginal person to be. This position sits away from the tendency to want to define, tell and know what traditional Aboriginal culture and values are.

Respecting these viewpoints, listening to Aboriginal people and reporting what I hear and see – I acknowledge begins to contract the original Aboriginal voices that I transcribed. In effect, I act as another layer of interpretation. To counter this loss, preservation of Aboriginal voices is emphasised (Department of Families Community Services and Indigenous Affairs 2006), noting how their conversations are mixed and reflective of multiple viewpoints and cultural traditions; all with different ideas and attitudes towards the research process. To help maintain the many Aboriginal voices, this research centres on understanding SAE from the 'grass roots' upwards, rather than a 'top down' industry and government perspective. This accords with Denzin's (2005, pp.935-6) precept that theory must be 'localised, grounded in specific meanings, traditions, customs and community relations that operate in each indigenous setting'.

This story of Aboriginal enterprise is developed through this research by using a combination of first and third person accounts, whereby each part is told from a different point of view (Caulley 2008). These stories are guided by Denzin and Lincoln's (2005, p.x) advice, that 'experimental, reflexive ways of writing first-person are now commonplace'. In addition, I follow the lead of Douglas (2005) and Gartner (2007) and actively discuss entrepreneurs' stories. As the story and the story-teller serve to connect the past with the future, one generation with the other, the land with the people and the people with the story. To help address each story, first person writing indicates both Aboriginal stories and my voice, leaving third person accounts for the research process and literature.[10] More particularly, past tense reflects the research participants, other authors and previous thesis writing, whilst present tense

[10] Using first person to depict the researcher was a tool employed by Charmaz (2006), who employed first person to sensitize the reader to her thoughts and ideas separate from the literature and others. Using first person is common within ethnographic, narrative and action research, in order to unearth those biases and informing assumptions that will influence the researcher's sense-making capacity (Ladkin 2005, p.539).

indicates the analysis and construction of ideas at hand and any future steps. By keeping tenses in 'writing families' it is envisaged that clear divisions are seen between the Aboriginal voices, other authors, and my interpretations.

By capturing Aboriginal enterprise stories it produces an interaction between the research steps and me – named reflexivity. Specifically, I turn back and reflect on the research process (Turner, in Alexander 2005). Reflexivity is used to understand the personal pictures of Aboriginal enterprise derived from the many Aboriginal voices, and my impact on them. Reflexivity aims to capture the Aboriginal experience of enterprise and my relationship to it. Reflexivity is drawn across Chapters 4, 5 and 6. It is here, that I show the impact of academic processes on the participant voices and what I did along the way to preserve it.

Writing as a non-Aboriginal person means the way I interpret Aboriginal circumstances is guided by my own paradigm (see p.80), as well as the current circumstances of Aboriginal people today.

Circumstances today

Aboriginal people in Australia are the most disadvantaged economic group in the nation (Young 1995, p.33; Hunt & Smith 2005, p.1), and in remote Australia, many Aboriginal settlements operate in an extreme economic context (Stafford Smith, Moran & Seeman 2008). The following statistics outline their circumstances:

- In general, Indigenous people have poor health in comparison to other Australians, wherever they live. The causes are complex. Environmental factors play a part, but so do socio-economic factors such as poverty and marginalisation, which in turn feed into behaviours that affect health (Brady & Paradies 2005, p.171).
- In the remotest regions, where the market is relatively absent, the State sector dominates the economy (Altman & Hunter 2005, p.193).
- In many areas, adults whose main source of income was either government payment or CDEP income accounted for 85 per cent of adult income in 1994 (Altman & Hunter 2005, p.190).[11]
- In remote areas, more than 61% of adults have an income of less than $300 per week in 2001 (Altman & Hunter 2005, p.190).
- 20% of Australia is under Aboriginal ownership (Altman, Buchanan & Larsen 2007).

These statistics show the strong presence of NAO for Aboriginal people, so much so, that Aboriginal enterprises operate in a society dominated by mainstream cultural

[11] The ABS does not collect data on government payments or welfare, refer to Brown (2008).

values based on capitalism, rather than their own unique cultural blend. Furthermore, SAE are mostly structured and financed through Federal Government programmes (Fuller, Howard & Buultjens 2005) which encourage all Aboriginal enterprise owners and/or managers to strive for commercial goals (Indigenous Business Australia 2007), and develop sustainable business models (Macklin & Snowdon 2007). However, a number of Aboriginal enterprises are not commercially viable (Australian Government 2008). Yet, due to a low Aboriginal enterprise rate, various government schemes have been developed to overcome this situation (Fuller, Buultjens & Cummings 2005, p.893), but they are often difficult for Indigenous people to access (Buultjens, Waller, Graham & Carson 2005). Such measures and schemes were designed to relieve a growing social crisis that was occurring in the Aboriginal population (Smith, T 2006) where Aboriginal people struggled between Aboriginality and the Western world.

Prominent Aboriginal socio-economic research (Altman 1987; 1990; 2001a; 2001b; 2006; Byrnes 1988; Crough et al. 1989; Fuller & Parker 2002; Morse 2005) commonly identified that Aboriginal enterprise was highly complex and required specific social and cultural knowledge to understand it. Other prominent socio-economic research themes included: Aboriginal employment and enterprise (Smith, DE 1996; Arthur 1999a); the impact of enterprise on culture and its history (Young 1982; Gill 2000; Phillpot 2000; Smith, LT 2006); and relationships between enterprise, industry and government (Ellana, Loveday, Stanley & Young 1988; Bain 2005; Buultjens et al. 2005). Much less is written about Aboriginal entrepreneurship (Foley 2004; Hindle, Anderson, Giberson & Kayseas 2005) and linkages between Australian Aboriginal enterprise and international counterparts (Byrnes 1990; Young 1995; Hindle 2005). Overarching poverty, health and social problems have guided these research efforts into Aboriginal enterprise. However, little of this work has been contrasted against mainstream international small business literature. Nor has it been used to identify why NAO have different views of SAE to research, and if this impacts Aboriginal enterprise numbers.

Defining SAE

In order to understand how people interpret the SAE today, a range of definitions are explored. This shows that many ideas are intermixed between social, commercial, cultural and identity characteristics. It unfolds that definitions of an entrepreneur, owner and/or manager, the notion of business success, and enterprise types require establishment before the research proceeds. These definitions preface literature discussions of SAE two-world circumstances in Chapter 3. What is evident so far is that, any definition of Aboriginal enterprise involves opposites, where combining social

and economic qualities often sit uncomfortably for NAO, but in relative ease for academic researchers and SAE.

There are multiple ways to understand small business, and exploring these ideas show how the idea of opposites is reinforced. As an example, government and industry mostly define mainstream small business based on size or financial performance. However, they define Aboriginal enterprise differently, through their Aboriginal identity, but measure them economically without drawing upon culture. Despite this obvious dialectic, there are also many ways to define an Aboriginal enterprise, mostly unrecognised by government and industry. Other ways to define an Aboriginal enterprise come from the Aboriginal people themselves, such as looking after culture; looking after country; family-friendly business; setting good examples; being proud; and achieving community success (sourced from various Aboriginal enterprise participants).

Interestingly, there is no agreed definition or criteria of Aboriginal enterprise to identify them. Thus, the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) cannot accurately define SAE.[12] However, it is known that Aboriginal enterprises operate across many industries, and in remote and regional areas of Australia. They are often associated with tourism, arts and crafts, retail, mining, pastoralism[13] or machinery; although statistics are unavailable to define their numbers or their characteristics (ABS 2007c). At present, Aboriginal enterprises are only identified by the ABS as self-employed, incorporated or unincorporated enterprises (ABS 2007b). However, over 20 years ago, researchers recognised that 'Aboriginal enterprise requires re-defining' (Crough et al. 1989, p.81).

A conundrum exists therefore. How can mainstream society support Aboriginal enterprise if the definition and concept of enterprise are so different to Aboriginal descriptions? This is a puzzling question because it may well shape the way that NAO begin to misunderstand the SAE. As such, does this mean that Western society misunderstands Aboriginal enterprise and Aboriginal people misunderstand mainstream small business?

In an attempt to define an Aboriginal enterprise, the following sub-section establishes details about mainstream small businesses and Aboriginal enterprise. A comparison

[12] A plan is underway to develop a definition for Indigenous businesses to incorporate into Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) surveys and Australian Taxation Office business registers (Brown 2007).
[13] Pastoralism is a term used in Australia to describe people operating, owning or managing a pastoral station in remote areas of Australia. They operate in arid or semi-arid lands and are based on livestock grazing.

between the two highlights the differences and similarities which results in a working definition for this research. As such, this begins to address the puzzling question, just what is an Aboriginal enterprise.

Government definition of a small business enterprise

The Federal Government defines small business in Australia through terms described by Fair Work Australia and the Australian Bureau of Statistics. Fair Work Australia (2010, p.S) define a small business employer, as one who 'employs less than 15 full-time equivalent employees, including full time, part time, regular and systematic casual employees'. The ABS (2002) defines small business (enterprise) more broadly by describing them as employing less than 20 people and medium business as employing more than 20 people, specifically:[14]

- Non-employing businesses – sole proprietorships and partnerships without employees.
- Micro-businesses – businesses employing less than 5 people, including non-employing businesses.
- Other small businesses – businesses employing 5 or more people, but less than 20 people.
- Medium businesses – businesses employing 20 or more people, but less than 200 people.
- Large businesses – businesses employing 200 people or more.

International descriptions of small business

Small firms, small enterprise or small business, however they are defined, constitute the bulk of enterprises in all economies in the world (Jutla, Bodorik & Dhaliwal 2002; Reijonen & Komppula 2007). Prosperous small businesses are crucial to performance of all national domestic economies (Beaver 2002) and in the UK, small and medium sized enterprises comprise 99.8% of businesses (Curran & Blackburn 2001). Small firms are not just scaled down versions of large ones (Culkin & Smith 2000; Storey 2002) and to date, there is no agreed definition of a small business (Beaver 2002). However, they have some special characteristics that set them apart from large business. The features of a small business include: an absence of functional managers; use of on-the-job learning; use of personal money and resources; informal procedures; lower financial thresholds; top-down management; more personalised

[14] The definition of small business is similar to the European Commission, who also define small business based on three sizes (Beaver 2002, p.3).

decision-making; simple organisational structures; control exercised by direct supervision; and a lack of objectivity (Bridge, O'Neill & Cromie 2003).

Other small enterprise characteristics suggest they can be viewed as job generators, as holding transactional costs, behavioural, institutionalist (sic), networked, embedded and discursive qualities (Taylor, M 1999). Other research also indicates that small firms are not the same, that is, they are not homogeneous (Burns & Dewhurst 1996; Basu 2004; Westhead & Howorth 2007) because they hold multiple differences. Since the 1980s it has been advocated that variations in small business economic and social dynamics need recognition (Curran, Stanworth & Watkins 1986). Today, similar messages still apply about the diversity of small business (Bellamy, Bowen & Simpson 2003a). However, the literature also indicates there are different ways to categorise and define small businesses (Bellamy et al. 2003a; 2003b). Although any definition of a small enterprise may be reflected in local ideas and the cultural patterns of an industry sector, as well as more typical descriptions, such as size and finances (Curran & Blackburn 2001). Yet, Torrès and Julien (2005) suggested that enterprise size was an inappropriate way to define small business. However, a response to this suggestion was given by Curran (2006) who argued that dismissing size as a measure of small business across regions and countries, meant dismissing other underlying variations. Importantly, there is no agreed concept of a typical small business.

International research into mainstream small business indicates that enterprise form and type are difficult to define (Culkin & Smith 2000; Curran & Blackburn 2001; Beaver 2002; Bellamy et al. 2003b; Ayyagari, Beck & Demirgu-Kunt 2007); with definitions that vary widely between countries (Parker, Redmond & Simpson 2009). It has been found that small business is highly sensitive to any definition employed (Westhead & Cowling 1998). Authors such as Curran and Blackburn (2001, p.6) suggested that 'small enterprises have an extreme range of forms', from industry sectors, to gender, culture, education, age, through to ownership, goals, skills and access to capital. However, some authors do not see an advantage in defining form because multiple definitions make comparisons difficult (Neubauer & Lank 1998; Ayyagari et al. 2007). More recently, Westhead and Howorth (2007, p.423) advised that, in order to identify types of family firms, both practitioner and researchers' attention needs to explore the gap in the knowledge over private firm diversity (or types).[15] This advice aligns with Altman's (2001a) call to investigate Australian Aboriginal enterprise form in order to support them better. However by doing so, any definition of enterprise form and type risks

[15] The term 'firm' is used by some authors and in this thesis is used to mean 'small business'.

generalisations that do not fit wider situations of small business (Curran & Blackburn 2001; Simpson, Tuck & Bellamy 2004).

How government defines the SAE

Are Aboriginal enterprises defined differently to the ABS and international descriptions? The Federal Government's previous Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (2003, p.24) defined Aboriginal enterprise as an 'Indigenous controlled business' and also a business in which 'Indigenous people are in joint ventures with non-Indigenous people'. Unlike the ABS and international descriptions of small business, the Federal Government does not refer to enterprise size to define Aboriginal enterprise. In fact, the only recent alternative definition of SAE found was in the *Open for Business, Developing Indigenous Enterprises in Australia* report (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs 2008). In this report, an Indigenous business was only defined through ownership percentages and any description of size, culture, patterns or beliefs was not included in their definitions at all (ibid., p.9). Furthermore, it was found that in many Federal Government documents there are few definitions about Aboriginal enterprise; even within these prominent guiding policies *Overcoming Indigenous Disadvantage* (SCRGSP 2009); *Closing the Gap* (Federal Government 2009); *Increasing Indigenous Employment Opportunity* (Australian Government 2008); and the *Achieving Indigenous Economic Independence* report (Federal Government 2006a). Government's definition of an Aboriginal enterprise are mostly based upon 'Indigenous control' and 'percentages', yet this is quite different from the range of definitions produced from research.

Many definitions of SAE with no clear description

In contrast to government, a number of definitions of Aboriginal enterprise were available at the start of this research. The Allen Consulting Group (2001, p.xiii) and their report to the Business Council of Australia defined an Aboriginal enterprise as 'community-centred'. Academic authors, Crough et al. (1989, p.83) believed that most Aboriginal enterprises were 'characterised through ownership and administration by Aboriginal Corporations, with broad community participation, rather than by individuals or families'. Dacks (1983, p.295) argued that many indigenous enterprises in Canada, 'structure their business around culture'. Byrnes (1988, p.8) defined Aboriginal enterprise through two major elements: owned or controlled by Aboriginal people or a commercially oriented activity. Further to this, Curry (2005) found that indigenous

enterprises in Papua New Guinea reproduce social relationships within the community. Whilst in Australia, Fuller et al. (2005) defined Indigenous owned and operated enterprises through opportunity costs (if returns generated are greater than labour and capital costs). Earlier, Ellana et al. (1988, p.6) found that Aboriginal enterprises 'were not restricted to simply operating in the market economy'. Whereas, Martin (1995, p.12) advised that Aboriginal relations are 'personalised and embedded' within social, political and economic relationships, and therefore impact enterprise structures. At this point, it can be observed that the multiple ways that Aboriginal enterprise can be defined in multiple ways and this may be indicative of the inability to homogenise them.

Culture as part of an Aboriginal enterprise definition

In defining Aboriginal enterprise, many researchers often include the word culture in their description. Young (1988, p.ii) investigated Aboriginal-owned pastoral stations in the east Kimberley of north Western Australia and found that culture and economy in Aboriginal enterprise intimately fitted together: 'to them, station ownership is valuable for cultural and religious reasons as well as providing an opportunity to generate some degree of economic self-sufficiency'. Similarly, Altman (2001a, p.20) agreed that commercial and cultural issues in Aboriginal enterprise fitted together: 'it is impossible to differentiate the commercial from the cultural or the economic from the cultural in Indigenous business'. In another example, Altman, McDonnell and Ward (2002) advised that cultural tensions in community stores were a critical issue that is reiterated in much of the literature. They said that cultural tensions operated regardless of the location and governance structures used. Other research into Aboriginal pastoral stations has suggested similar relationships between enterprise and culture (Gill 2000; Phillpot 2000) remain tightly interconnected. Similar to McCarthy in 1938, it remains today that culture is an integral part of Aboriginal enterprise, despite Federal Government not including the word 'culture' in their definition of SAE (refer back to p.34).

Defining Aboriginal enterprise in this study

A range of authors, both internationally and nationally have attempted to define an Aboriginal enterprise in a variety of ways and, similar to mainstream small business, there is no clear definition of an Aboriginal enterprise. The ABS, Federal Government and academic researchers each provide a different viewpoint, according to size, organisational structure, management and cultural identity or cultural practices. Yet, this undefined nature of Aboriginal enterprise restricts the research aim, because to

explore the nature of SAE when they are caught between two-worlds I need to know what an Aboriginal enterprise looks like. In response to this, a working definition of Aboriginal enterprise was proposed to inform the research process and selection of research participants:

> Aboriginal enterprises are small businesses operating with less than 200 people, are owned or operated by a minimum of 50% Aboriginal content and self-identify as an Aboriginal enterprise.

The entrepreneur, the owner and/or manager

In addition to defining the Aboriginal enterprise, it is also vital to define the terms 'Aboriginal entrepreneur' and 'enterprise owner and/or manager', as both are frequently used. The term 'entrepreneur' is often used when researching Aboriginal enterprise in Australia (see Foley 2003a; Hindle 2005; Rio Tinto 2005), similarly the term 'owners and/or managers' (Ah Mat 2003b; Davis 2004; Smith, T 2006) and 'owners-operators' (Fuller at al. 2005) are also used. In Australia, a small number of academic authors are beginning to address Aboriginal entrepreneurship, including Byrnes (1990); Foley (2000; 2003a); Hindle (2005); Hindle and Lansdowne (2005); and Holcombe (2005). However, a fundamental issue exists. Is entrepreneurship and the defining characteristics of the entrepreneur perceived through an ethnocentric lens (Thomas & Mueller 2000)? As such, are Aboriginal people in small business entrepreneurs, and do they display mainstream entrepreneurial business qualities, or are they simply owners and/or managers?

Internationally, entrepreneurs have been defined in a variety of ways, although there is no clear definition of an entrepreneur (Curran & Blackburn 2001). Authors such as Beaver (2002) advised that different interpretations exist between the small business owner and an entrepreneur, each with a specific meaning mostly centred on the perceptions and use of money. Sharma and Chrisman (1999) acknowledged that entrepreneurship encompasses acts of organisational creation, renewal, or innovation. Other authors have often described entrepreneurship in broader management terms via trait-based research or the cognitive view of entrepreneurship (Mitchell, Busenitz, Lant, McDougall, Morse & Brock Smith 2002) or through personality traits, psychological constructs, values and motives, sociological variables and minority entrepreneurs (Morris 2002). Other inquiries suggest a more complete picture of entrepreneurship should be followed (Kuratko, Hornsby & Naffziger 1997; Mitchell et al. 2002; Dana 2007; Williams 2007), including consideration of family issues (Aldrich & Cliff 2003). These alternate ideas suggest that a multidimensional entrepreneur exists rather than entrepreneurship framed through individuals, finances or management.

A common theme in regard to minority entrepreneurship, is that enterprise remains a response to the lack of opportunities in the dominant culture (Reynolds 1991; Bridge et al. 2003). Similarly, the development of Aboriginal social enterprises under the CDEP scheme occurred in response to very limited employment opportunities in mainstream Australia (Fuller et al. 2005). Yet Hindle (2005) suggested, Indigenous entrepreneurship appears to hold irresolvable contradictions. As a consequence for this research, 'irresolvable contradictions' begins to explain why there are multiple interpretations and definitions of the Aboriginal enterprise participant, depending on who is defining them and their world-view or perspective they take. This means for example, that each attempt to define or capture the SAE results in vast differences. These differences reinforce the SAE and NAO strong dialectic because there are few common threads to link SAE and NAO or to connect Aboriginality and Western economic thinking. However, there remains the question: are Aboriginal small business people entrepreneurs or owners and/or managers?

The Aboriginal entrepreneur

Discussions about the Aboriginal entrepreneur commonly identify that culture and social connections are important components. Anderson (2002) described Aboriginal entrepreneurship through links to wider cultural institutions, not centred on the small business itself. Anderson (2002) also found that Aboriginal views on entrepreneurship are different, arguing that Aboriginal entrepreneurs aim to create successful businesses and use supporting institutions to meet the needs of their prospective customers. The early work by Foley (2003a) indicated that an Indigenous Australian entrepreneur needed to acknowledge their social and economic conditions in order to succeed. By capturing these ideas across the literature, it suggests that Aboriginal people in enterprise are mostly termed entrepreneurs. Yet when matched against interpretations of mainstream business entrepreneurs, a strong dialectic remains at a baseline level. Mainstream discussions of an entrepreneur focus on money, profit and growth (Beaver 2002), whilst Aboriginal entrepreneur discussions focus on social and cultural connections (Dana 2007).

Defining the Aboriginal entrepreneur in this study

Similar to the working definition of Aboriginal enterprise, any attempt to define the Aboriginal entrepreneur incorporates culture. It also appears that entrepreneurship is reflective of multiple ideas, experiences and interpretations by researchers. However,

at the start of this research, there is no clear definition about Aboriginal entrepreneurs, which is recognised by mainstream entrepreneurial research.[16] As Dana and Anderson (2007b, p.601) advised, 'Indigenous entrepreneurship often has non-economic explanatory variables that mainstream entrepreneur researchers are grappling with'.

To avoid confusion with entrepreneur debates through mainstream management and business literature, the terms enterprise 'owners and/or managers' is proposed. However, the term 'entrepreneur' could readily be applied. Similar to the previous definition of Aboriginal enterprise, the mainstream definition of entrepreneur, together with an Aboriginal entrepreneur, is used to produce a working definition of enterprise owners and/or managers for this research. Furthermore in this research, the term also allows for non-Aboriginal managers to be interviewed where their participants self-identify as an Aboriginal enterprise, thus providing a wider group of people to interview. The following definition is proposed:

> Aboriginal enterprise owners and/or managers actively bring culture and broader social goals into the pursuit of achieving enterprise success.

Small business success

Any discussions of enterprise owner and/or manager often includes the term 'success', but whose criteria of success is being used to judge Aboriginal enterprise? Small business success is difficult to define because researchers do not take into account many problems specific to small business (Curran & Blackburn 2001) or the wide interpretations of enterprise success (Beaver 2002). Many authors acknowledge success in enterprise can be represented through money, status, family values as well as non-monetary rewards (Clark & Sorrenson 2002), yet this definition does not include success based on social, cultural and spiritual measures (as advocated by Findlay & Wuttunee 2007). It has also been suggested that small business success has yet to be defined for all small and medium sized enterprises (Beaver 2002). However, it is acknowledged the reasons for starting a business impacts on how a small business owner measures success (Walker 2001). Bellamy et al. (2003b) suggested that success in enterprise, as defined by business owners themselves, is an ideal starting point.

[16] Recent arguments by Dana and Anderson (2007a) put forward a strong case for defining the Indigenous entrepreneur, and these may slowly challenge previous mainstream assumptions.

Aboriginal enterprise success

Attempts to understand Aboriginal enterprise success are varied, but remain undeveloped in the literature (Arthur 1999b). More specifically, Altman (2001a, p.18) believed there is no single explanation of enterprise success, 'that any analysis of success and failure has tended to obfuscate ownership, management and effective Indigenous participation'. Internationally, work by Jorgensen and Taylor (2000) highlighted three critical areas for American Indian economic development success: that Indigenous sovereignty does matter, culture matters and institutions matter. Locally here in Australia, work by Smith, DE (1996) found that Aboriginal enterprise success is the combined effect of cultural and economic functions. In addition, the early and significant work by Ellana et al. (1988) identified factors affecting Aboriginal economic enterprise success. They found that enterprise success is related to both Aboriginal values and factors stemming from historical and contemporary circumstances. Similarly, the work by Crough et al. (1989) found that:

> 'success in normal commercial terms is not the most appropriate criterion by which to judge all Aboriginal enterprises. For many Aboriginal enterprises, which have cultural goals, such as service, improved health, communications and so on, as well as financial goals, profits or financial surpluses are not the only measure of success' (ibid., p.84).

In later work Gill (2000, p.301), in his study of central Australian pastoral stations, found the consequence of enterprise success meant that 'those in positions of authority in pastoral enterprises have come under pressure to use the resources of the business (money, vehicles, materials et cetera) to meet (their cultural) obligations'. Gill's research indicates that Aboriginal enterprise success rests on a combination of both cultural and commercial considerations. Success therefore, means respecting cultural obligations based on the knowledge and authority of elders, kinship, responsibility to family and reciprocity between Aboriginal people.

Defining Aboriginal enterprise success in this study

These varied responses about Aboriginal enterprise success show that a consistent and accepted definition of Aboriginal enterprise success remains elusive from the literature. This can be partly attributed to no clear definition of enterprise success for international small business and similarly, that there is no clear definition of Aboriginal enterprise or entrepreneurship either. Thus, the very nature of what is used to judge enterprise success also remains unresolved. However, I propose the following definition of Aboriginal enterprise success to be used throughout this research.

> Aboriginal enterprise success is based on meeting the needs and goals of the owner and/or manager.

The previous working definitions about Aboriginal enterprise, owners and/or managers and enterprise success remain propositions only. Underlying these, the wide variety of views people hold about mainstream small business as well as Aboriginal enterprise remains. Similarly, differing views exist about government and industry and the Aboriginal enterprise. These changing and variable understandings about ways to see and define the SAE mean that exploring the nature of them when they are caught between two-worlds requires an open research design. As such, a series of methods that could explain diversity across groups and their sizes and cultures was needed. There is more about this idea shortly (p.46) under the sub-heading 'research design'..

The definitions explored so far, indicate that difference and variability are due to cultural identity and perception. Yet, enterprise types are also problematic alongside the definitions of SAE.

Aboriginal enterprise types

In Australia, the use of social and commercial enterprise types is a popular way to identify SAE outside of the previous definitions. Social and commercial types are helpful because they begin to classify the SAE into Western frames, therefore making them easier to understand. Yet, social and commercial types of enterprise, despite being well used, may not be a useful way for NAO to understand SAE and adopt academic research efforts.

Alongside a social and commercial typology, other researchers have variously identified Aboriginal and indigenous enterprise types as:

- Legal structures (Byrnes 1988).
- Indigenous owned or managed (Fuller & Parker 2002).
- Self-employed, incorporated and unincorporated enterprises (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2007b).
- Commercially independent, subsidised non-commercial enterprise, non-subsidised non-commercial enterprises (Phillpot 2000).
- Indigenous community and standalone business venture (Foley 2006).
- Business-Indigenous community collaborative activities (Allen Consulting Group 2001).
- Aboriginal-owned properties (Young 1988).
- Family enterprises, commercial enterprises and development projects (Wells 1993).
- Subsistence, market and service sector enterprises (Ellanna et al. 1988).
- Socially embedded enterprises (Gill 2005).
- Private and public enterprises (Moisseeff, Houseman & McKenzie 1999).
- Individual and family business or community-owned business (Arthur 1999b).
- Commercial and social viability (Martin, DF 1995).
- Culture or profit (McDonnell & Martin 2002).
- Culture business or money business (Martin, DF 1995).

- Hybrid organisations (Altman 2001b).
- Full government management or total tribal control enterprises (Krepps 1991).
- Community-based enterprises (Peredo & Chrisman 2006).
- Individual citizen or band-owned enterprises (Wuttunee 2007).
- Iwi-based and individually owned (Warriner 2007).
- Compatibility with Indigenous economy, either full, part or not (Curry 2005).
- Kin-based enterprises (Peredo 2001).

These many Aboriginal or indigenous enterprise typologies further mystify the nature of SAE because NAO classify them differently through social and commercial types.

Yet academically, social and commercial types have been used to identify SAE in Australia (Smith, DE 1996). Similarly, Ah Mat (2003a) used social business and social entrepreneur to highlight Indigenous enterprise types in Cape York in far north Queensland. More recently, the Australian Indigenous Stock Exchange (Botsman 2008), a philanthropic organisation which coordinates support for Aboriginal people to start enterprises, are using the terms 'social business' and 'commercial business'. Yet, Gill (2005) has suggested the terms 'social' and 'commercial' were inadequate when defining Aboriginal pastoral enterprises because all enterprises were socially embedded. Except for Smith, DE (1996), Ah Mat (2003a) and Botsman (2008), the terms 'social' and 'commercial enterprise' to define Aboriginal small business were not widely understood or used (Young 1982; 1995; Arthur 1999b; Altman 2001a; 2006). Thus, definitions of enterprise types appear to be multifarious depending on the researcher, the topic, the participants and the location.

Commonly, NAO use social and commercial types when categorising SAE (Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs 2003; Indigenous Business Australia 2005; Indigenous Land Council 2006; and Queensland Government 2007). This social and commercial typology, despite being mostly different to academic research, is highly important for the SAE. The dual typologies cannot be dismissed – as it is the way that NAO determine their support, assessments management strategies and measurements of SAE. Similarly, a social and commercial typology is also commonly used to distinguish enterprise types in mainstream business (Dees 1998; OECD [Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development] 1999; Chell 2007; Haugh 2007; and Shaw & Carter 2007). Despite its widespread use, a social and commercial typology may influence the relationship between NAO and SAE, because culture and other Indigenous characteristics are not readily identifiable.

In addition, social and economic types loosely align to Aboriginal enterprise socio-economic literature debates, but these may well be unhelpful to interpreting the Aboriginal voice from a grounded methodological position, more about this point shortly (see p.59). This unhelpfulness rests with the possibility that current knowledge could colour and shade emerging ideas through social and commercial nomenclature. Yet, it is posited that any intense categorisation of SAE, whether it is through type, debate, definition or frame, begins to churn ideas through Western economic concepts. This further enmeshes the Aboriginal enterprise with NAO, and creates a stronger dialectic from which to identify and explore the nature of SAE outside of current debates.

However, as the sentiment of this research is to explore new ways to see the nature of Aboriginal enterprise by building upon the work of other people – the differing nomenclature, principally the social and commercial types, and socio-economic debates are used. To show comparative ideas, social and commercial terminology is used in Chapters 5 and 6 (beginning at p.133). This means that social and commercial enterprise types, alongside the working definitions of this research are used to identify people and small businesses, but not to emerge and induct new ideas out of these concepts. Similarly, the socio-economic debates are preserved and used later as comparative materials once the emerging ideas in this research are established in Chapter 7 (p.267).

As such, a division between social and economic issues (including types) is complex and controversial, but also necessary because the division reflects current knowledge and practices.

Quantifying SAE

Similar to the difficulty of defining the SAE and identifying them as either a social or a commercial type, so does quantifying the SAE bring about further complexities. Any qualifications and categorisations of SAE reveal further differences and opposite ideas, thus further reinforcing the Western and Aboriginal enterprise dialectic that appears to be so powerful.

As an example, the Australian Bureau of Statistics (as reported by the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs 2003, p.21) found the number of Indigenous self-employed, as a percentage of the labour force (Australia wide and in cities), is significantly lower than the rest of the population. They cited that across

Australia in 2001, only 4.8% of the Indigenous population were self-employed compared to 16% of the non-Indigenous population. See Appendix D for further analysis, which shows that Aboriginal enterprise, is static or declining in remote and regional Australia, despite increasing Indigenous population figures.

Internationally, if a cursory glance is taken to 'black businesses' in the UK; the opposite is occurring. In this example, 'black business' start ups are the 'fastest mutating phenomena in London' (Nwankwo 2005, p.120). Despite their growing numbers however, 'black businesses' are reluctant to use business advisors to help them (Nwankwo, Akunuri & Madichie 2010). This example links back to low Aboriginal enterprise numbers in Australia when this question is asked: Why are 'black businesses' in a white dominated society such as London increasing, but Aboriginal enterprise figures remain small and static in a white dominated society such as Australia? This may suggest that our misunderstanding of SAE may well be greater in Australia than that experienced by black businesses in the UK. Therefore, the nature of Aboriginal enterprise may require deeper understanding by NAO if they are to increase the SAE rate along with the increasing Aboriginal population in Australia and their international counterparts in the UK. Thus, including more creative ways to see the Aboriginal enterprise, which align to Aboriginal motivations and enterprise patterns may well be another option for NAO.

The inability to understand the SAE at a baseline and definitional level might well mean that, overly framing SAE through a Western economic lens of small business is problematic.

A Western lens to define and type the SAE adds to their misunderstanding

Similar to previous attempts to define the nature of SAE through quantifiable, measureable and assessable terms; it appears that when an overly Western lens is placed over SAE, it becomes problematic. This is evident at a Federal Government level, even at a baseline definitional stage, as shown in the following example between two departments that manage SAE support.

The Federal Government Department, DEEWR (Australian Government 2008) administer the *Emerging Indigenous Entrepreneur Initiative* under the Indigenous Employment Policy (IEP). In this policy, Aboriginal community organisations can apply

for enterprise funding as part of the broader Indigenous Small Business Fund (ISBF) where profit is returned back to the community. Yet in this document, a definition of an Aboriginal enterprise community organisation is not given. This ISBF programme operates alongside another Federal Government department, FaCHSIA (Australian Government 2008), who administer the Increasing Indigenous Employment Opportunity (IIEO) programme. In contrast to the ISBF, the IIEO programme uses a definition to separate the SAE through a commercial and non-commercial typology, rather than a community organisation type. Yet, when these terms are contrasted to Federal Government agencies such as ILC (Indigenous Land Council 2006); IBA (Indigenous Business Australia 2009); or the Queensland State Government (2007) who provide Indigenous enterprise support, it is evident that social or commercial typologies are used to categorise SAE before assessing their viability or potential funding sources. This conflicting way to categorise Aboriginal enterprise by Federal Government creates confusion.

Other examples of NAO continually re-typing the SAE also exist. As an example during the 30 odd years that CDEP operated, the terms community-based enterprise was widely used (Fuller et al. 2005). However these days as evident by DEEWR, the term community organisation is preferred, yet this is not aligned with FaCHSIA's use of the term non-commercial, and ILC, IBA and Queensland Government's use of social and commercial types. Interestingly, CDEP still operates in very remote areas of Australia where Aboriginal enterprises are now called non-commercial types. This means use of the word 'social enterprise', has ceased altogether (Australian Government 2008). These 'revolving types' add more confusing layers to the SAE. This circumstance was partially identified by Foley (2006), where he suggested that community-based enterprise falls into a grey area between not-for-profit and market enterprise.

These 'various ways' to describe the SAE by NAO just add more layers to the two-world tensions that SAE already experience. It can be observed that these government efforts to identify and define the SAE create circular patterns that do not improve NAOs understanding of the SAE, nor as later substantiated, have government drawn Aboriginal enterprise research into their practices.

This baseline confusion about identifying and understanding the SAE through definitions and types is paramount to misunderstanding the SAE. This small example illustrates that differing terminology within Federal Government, and their departments

and agencies is problematic. Furthermore, they did not include any of the wider definitions, types or categorisations offered in the academic literature. This confusion creates another question: Just what is the SAE for NAO and how do government identify and understand them?

The inability of NAO to consistently define SAE type, form or nature shows that NAO do not have a clear grasp of the different ways that Aboriginal enterprise operates. For the SAE, there are limited opportunities to change NAOs firm economic ideas of who they are. This raises even more questions: How can low SAE numbers increase if the support they deliver is based on different definitions, categories and types between departments and agencies under the same government? It appears as if NAO are confused, moving across a commercial understanding of enterprise and back again to a non-commercial understanding of enterprise. This leaves wider alternatives poorly considered, such as socially infused terms: community-based enterprise, family enterprise, or cultural enterprise. This reduction of social alternatives to define and categorise SAE is further evidence that a misunderstanding of SAE exists.

It appears that NAO are not able to adjust their support, assessments and measurements to the variable ways that SAE present. This situation rests at the heart of the research phenomena, where SAE are reported a one way in research, but assessed and supported in another way by government. This strong dialectic is problematic for SAE owners and/or managers.

Problematic for SAE owners and/or managers

The variance between the NAO view of small business and academic research shows how the SAE two-world situation is further complicated by the difficulties defining, and quantifying and typing Aboriginal enterprise. This disjunction is a fork in their relationship, whereby the basic definitions and interpretations of SAE by NAO begin to lead their policy and programmes away from research evidence. This indicates that if NAO are not listening to and incorporating research efforts at baseline definitional levels: Are they in fact listening to and incorporating local Aboriginal experiences? Defining and quantifying SAE is problematic as it shows the very basis of defining SAE is misunderstood.

Problematic for the research design

Defining and quantifying SAE is also problematic for this research, as there is no baseline information to frame the SAE. This means a research design needs to account for differing perspectives across academic, government and SAE viewpoints, without dismissing current understandings. This gave some motivation for a research design that attempts to identify new patterns of SAE. A design that can still incorporate current social and commercial types and continue with socio-economic economic debates, but offer something new in terms of understanding SAE relationships with NAO without dismissing Aboriginal voices. This complex situation further reinforces the need for a grounded methodology to put aside some of our current understanding of SAE in order to explore their nature in alternative ways. As such, this research begins to develop an interpretation of Aboriginal enterprise at first separate to the literature, and then with the literature, once emerging ideas are contrasted to other work.

Pooling ideas

The discussions so far identified that defining and quantifying SAE is problematic because it views the SAE through a Western and government lens of what small business is. This Western lens remains conflicted by changing baseline ideas about the type and nature of Aboriginal enterprise. If the numbers and quantifying information about SAE are missing, it follows that an Aboriginal view of SAE is also missing from NAO support, assessment and regulations. It is suggested that any inability of NAO to grasp an Aboriginal view of SAE, one that involves complex social, economic, cultural, commercial, and community interactions further pressures the SAE, thus, leaving their two-world situation as a harsh and uncomfortable reality. In this circumstance, it appears that an overly strong commercial focus from a Western frame of thinking, rather than emanating from previous Aboriginal enterprise trading patterns, is drawn into current NAO qualifications of SAE.

It could therefore be inferred that if NAO focussed on the nature of SAE and understood their complexities, this may begin to settle the revolving door approach to Aboriginal enterprise definitions, categories and types. If resolved, then this may begin to impact the way that SAE are supported and how research efforts can be drawn into practice. By establishing these foothold ideas, Aboriginal enterprise policy and programmes may well align more closely to each other and to academic research already available. However, the low uptake of Aboriginal enterprise research by NAO may indicate that the current research is difficult to understand or put into reality, or that

NAO are not moving out of their frame of reference to understand SAE or academic positions.

Yet, at a deeper level than defining and identifying the SAE, remains the difficulty of operating an Aboriginal enterprise between two-worlds, and this is addressed in the following chapter.

Chapter summary

In this second chapter, the geography, history and current circumstances of Aboriginal enterprise trade were used to position the debate between pre-European times and modern Western society. This indicated that enterprise and trade are not new concepts for Aboriginal people, but date back many thousands of years. The discussion also suggested that government have a strong presence in SAE lives which discounts these historical and cultural patterns.

The other discussions chapter reflected upon enterprise definitions and types, across both mainstream and Aboriginal small business. Due to local level variances, the discussions showed the difficulty of accurately defining both SAE and mainstream small business. As such, a series of working definitions for this thesis were proposed. However, it was found that defining and typing SAE according to government norms may well be the first indicator of how NAO misunderstand Aboriginal enterprise in Australia.

Chapter 3 – Literature review

Introduction

A review of important literature is presented in this chapter by exploring the two-world scenario for SAE. To read this literature review, the underlying proposition from Chapters 1 and 2 is developed: that SAE two-world tensions are complex, interrelated and involve competing world-views between Aboriginality and Western society.

The purpose of this literature review is to show how SAEs are caught within a two-world situation. By revealing these details, this review explains how SAEs are encased within a misunderstood dialectic with NAO.

Specifically, SAE two-world tensions are explored before an assessment of them begins through government and academic literature. This is summarised by showing the features, causes, and effect of misunderstanding SAE. This enables the research phenomena to be clarified. An alternative way to understand SAE two-world tensions is proposed through an internal and an external world which informs the gap in knowledge.

Chapter 3 then concludes by reinforcing that SAE are misunderstood; this is evident in current literature, but mostly not adopted by government and industry.

Revealing two-world tensions through practices and research literature

The two-world concept is explored first, followed by a review of SAEs two-world situation. This shows how SAE are misunderstood within government policy and programmes.

What is a two-world situation?

The term two-cultures was used by Snow in 1959 (Snow 1990) and he believed that communication breakdowns were the result of clashing humanities and science views of the world. Similarly, the use of the word two-worlds within Indigenous education literature, is a metaphor often used to describe local conditions in the larger context of educational programmes (Henze & Vanett 1993, p.118); or bicultural Aboriginal and Western schooling (Harris 1990). Within anthropological and Indigenous education and entrepreneurship studies, the two-world concept is used to reflect differences

between cultures (Hindle & Lansdowne 2005); cultural values (Butler & Hinch 2007); and both-ways knowledge (Schwab 1996). More commonly the terms 'domain' (Trigger 1986; Martin, DF 2003); or 'inter-ethnic domain' (Smith, BR 2005); or 'two-way' (Folds 2001) are used to represent the different world-views between Western and Aboriginal society. Similarly within narrative literature, the term two-worlds was used by Durack (1977) in her observations of Tjakamarra, an Aboriginal boy caught between two-worlds, and by Barker and Mathews (1977) in describing the life of Aboriginal man Jimmie Barker from 1900 to 1972. Commonly each phrase, whether it be: two-worlds, or domains, or two-ways, involves a contrasting perspective between the coloniser as Western society and the impact on the Indigenous people as the colonised. Regardless of the word or phrase used, each portrayed the difficulties that Aboriginal people experience under the domination from a larger force such as a Western and commercial society. Consequently the same portrayal is used in this research.

Two-worlds as contested ground

Yet, the dual way to perceive Aboriginal enterprise between Aboriginality and Western society creates inherent tensions. As such, the use of a two-world concept is not without fault. For example, the two-world position creates a quandary when identifying and locating the SAE as either a business, or a social activity. However, the purpose of using the two-world concept in this study is not to polarise ideas, but to navigate a way through the literature in order to show the disjunction between small business characteristics and government practices, academic ways and the impact on SAE. This task primarily shows that Aboriginal enterprises are measured and supported quite differently to the way they are reported in the literature. At a macro level, this two-world dynamic is used to understand the detailed nature of SAEs circumstance at a micro level. That is, that SAE are misunderstood because Western frameworks pull their nature apart into two-worlds, when locally at a micro level, they are later revealed to be something else.

However, the purpose of this research is not to examine Western frameworks, but to reveal the identity of SAE across a broad and interlinked picture in order to show that they are misunderstood. Therefore it is acknowledged, that a two-world concept is not beyond criticism, and that it holds much ambiguity concerning identity and power. Yet, a two-world concept is highly useful when viewed as a way to entrée the research problem about misunderstood SAE. The benefit of using a two-world approach is that both the macro level from government can be linked to a micro level through each individual enterprise.

Dividing people into two-worlds

Interestingly, some authors are uncomfortable with the impact of dividing Aboriginal people into types and worlds. As an example, Folds (2001) challenged the validity of a two-world concept in which he described Aboriginal people as 'speaking and talking two-way'. More specifically, Folds (2001, pp.124-138) criticised the two-world situation, arguing that for the Pintupi people in central Australia, two-worlds meant that Aboriginal people had to adapt to and take on mainstream ways in addition to their own. Folds challenged this colonial domination and believed that two-way is a contemporary disguise applied to Indigenous societies to 'Westernise' them. Similarly, Trudgen (2003, pp.176-197) discussed the Yolnu of Arnhem Land, in the Northern Territory as living between two cultures and the shock of doing so. He indicated that Aboriginal culture is marginalised because government committees and people do not hear what people are saying because they fail to culturally listen. These observations by Folds and Trudgen have wide implications for this research. If government representatives are not 'culturally listening' and respecting the Aboriginal world-view across Indigenous perspectives, then it follows that an Aboriginal view of enterprise is likely to remain unlistened to as well.

Two-world tensions and role of NAO (non-Aboriginal organisations)

It is posited that a two-world situation between Aboriginality and Western society remains in tension and problematic because of the inability of Aboriginal people 'to ultimately escape from the pressures of the dominant society' (Bain 2005, p.40). This tension surfaced in other reports about Aboriginal enterprise too. As an example, Phillpot (2000) found that Aboriginal pastoralists spoke of living 'in-between' two worlds with its inherent tensions. Similarly, Aboriginal leader Ah Mat (2003a) talked about the need for Indigenous children to flourish between two-worlds with facility and creativity, yet advising this is constantly stifled by government bureaucracy. In addition, Gill (2005) discovered that tensions existed between Aboriginal land owners and non-Aboriginal funding agencies and managers which left the pastoralists denying their interrelationships with culture. Furthermore, Foley (2004) in researching Indigenous entrepreneurship, found that a 'twin skills' inventory was important. Twin skills he advocated, was based upon Indigenous culture and mainstream small business – he found this was a fundamental feature of their two-world circumstances.

In these examples, the relationship between Western society and Aboriginality was tensioned further if Western or Aboriginal culture 'pushed too hard' into their two-world 'operating space'. In other words, it appears that SAE owners and/or managers have a comfort zone or operating space that helps them balance out their influences and demands between Aboriginality and Western influences. In other Aboriginal enterprise work by McDonnell and Martin (2002), this two-world operating space was called a frontier economy. The frontier concept was used to show the intersection between Aboriginal economic values and practices and the market based economy. However as revealed shortly, it remains that two-world tension, or a frontier economy, twin skills inventories and in-between worlds were not incorporated into NAO regulations, assessments, measurements and support for SAE. In addition to the previous definitional and type characteristics identified in Chapter 2 (see p.40) it appears that NAO are not acknowledging two-world tensions for SAE either.

Conflicting messages from government

It is evident from different academic research papers that conflicting messages exist about government and Aboriginal enterprise. 'There is a government view that enhanced Indigenous involvement in business will improve Indigenous socio-economic status' (Altman 2001a, p.2). Similarly there is a view from many UK policy makers that enterprise can overcome social exclusion (Blackburn & Ram 2006). Similarly and locally, Crough et al. (1989, p.84) suggested that government over emphasise the benefits of economic factors whereby, Australian government policy would 'produce some commercially successful Aboriginals, but will not overcome the wider problems of poverty, powerlessness and alienation' (ibid.). More specifically, my earlier case study research (Moylan 2001, p. 70) determined that 'once an Aboriginal enterprise is established there continues to be a problem at the interface between the enterprise, government agencies and non-Aboriginal business'. These research observations indicate that governments' idea of what small business and enterprise can achieve for Aboriginal people might well hamper their efforts to understand the nature of SAE in the first place.

An academic view of SAE is much wider than government's view

The view of Aboriginal enterprise by government is in many cases different to the view of Aboriginal enterprise presented within academic research. The research by Ellanna et al. (1988); Wells (1993); Young, Crough and Christopherson (1993); Young (1995); Fuller and Parker (2002); Fuller et al. (2005); and Smith, DE (2005) specifically focused

upon Aboriginal entities (some as semi-commercial operations, others as cultural groups) and their relationship with government. These case studies were based in remote and regional Australia and related the experiences of Aboriginal people and their interactions to wider society. These authors showed the diverse and complex issues faced by Aboriginal entities, such as the complications between economics and culture; the impact by attempting to meet them; and the effect of economic and cultural barriers. It can be inferred from these examples that culture could potentially be used to develop baseline Aboriginal enterprise characteristics in government policies and programmes, rather than simply adopting Western economic measurements.

The impact of government on Aboriginal enterprise was also noted by Hindle (2005, p.95) and he said that 'in Australia Indigenous entrepreneurship is probably in decline'. More particularly, Hindle (2005) also indicated that Australia's low Aboriginal entrepreneurship rate results from demonstrable policy failure that fails to acknowledge Aboriginal cultural aspects and research activities. However, specific programme examples were not provided by the author. Furthermore, Foley (2006) also agreed that poorly informed policies impacted the Aboriginal enterprise, particularly because basic quantifiable information is missing. However, these two authors did not indicate why government are not incorporating the well researched social, cultural, family and community dimensions of Aboriginal enterprise and Indigenous entrepreneurship into their policies and programmes. So despite over 20 years of research into Aboriginal enterprise, the application of research to NAO practices appears to be elusive. As noted earlier in Chapter 2, the multiple ways to define, quantify and type SAE may be one area that confuses government's ability to apply these research efforts. Yet, some other obstacles remain between research and government's application of them.

A wide picture of SAE is not used by government

More particularly, obstacles to using a wider picture of Aboriginal enterprise are evident within COAGs (2009) *National Indigenous Reform Agreement*. This document guides Federal Government, States' and Territory relationships with Indigenous people, yet there are no indicators for SAE under the economic participation section (pp.9-15). However, there are plenty of markers for health, education and employment objectives. Interestingly, COAG have acknowledged that barriers to Indigenous economic participation have become entrenched over the years (p.A-32). However, there is no indication that enterprise complexity through combining culture with commercial functions will be addressed by them. Rather than Federal Government focussing on economic participation through SAE development, a new theme is evident in this

policy, and that aims to transfer some responsibility to the corporate sector through partnerships (p.A-32). By devolving this responsibility, it appears that Federal Government are stalled or at a loss in their approach to SAE.[17] This circumstance implies that Federal Government have failed to consider if they themselves have their baseline perceptions of SAE right in the first place. It can therefore be inferred, that government are quite happy to pass the misunderstanding of SAE onto a third party (industry) to resolve. At this point it could be further inferred, that SAEs nature and characteristics are poorly considered by NAO when trying to increase Aboriginal enterprise participation rates.

Yet following up the industry theme advocated in COAGs Indigenous Programs (2009) document, shows that misunderstandings may exist between industry and SAE as well. If the conflicting messages between Aboriginal people and the mining industry are explored, even briefly, an interesting and unresolved dialectic remains. Research by Howitt and Douglas (1983); Cousins and Nieuwenhuysen (1984); Dixon and Dillon (1990); Kauffman (1998); Holcombe (2005); and Lawrence (2005) described relationships between miners and Aboriginal people in Australia. These analyses indicated that Aboriginal culture was poorly recognised in their relationship, with mining companies dismissing local practices and underlying motivations. Over the years, mining and Aboriginal relations have improved somewhat, particularly between some large mining companies and Aboriginal people, although Howitt (2001) argued they have much further to go because mining companies are poor listeners. The inability to draw Aboriginal culture into industry support mechanisms is a small example about misunderstanding the SAE, one that sits alongside governments' inability to understand their nature as well. If both government and the mining industry are failing to incorporate the cultural, social, family and community elements into enterprise support measures, it suggests that Aboriginal socio-economic debates may require additional ways to build connections between SAE, government and industry.

The world-view of NAO masks the SAE

The inability of NAO to translate Aboriginal enterprise research efforts into policies and programmes can to some extent be explained by their world-view. The concept of an audit society, one that governs by rules with a specific accounting language can be used to explain this. An audit society (Groundwater-Smith & Sachs 2002, p.341) 'uses its resources to achieve predetermined outcomes which themselves are measurable'.

[17] Also see Foley's (2006, p.22) work where he found that zero budget appropriations were allocated to Indigenous economic independence, up to 2008-09, despite Federal Government rhetoric.

Some interesting parallels can be drawn against the audit society and the role that NAO take with SAE. Groundwater-Smith and Sachs (ibid.) indicated that little room is available for negotiation as the desire to achieve pre-determined outcomes is paramount, where bureaucratic domination is the norm. Similar themes are found in NAOs support, measurements and assessments of SAE through IBA or the newly established Indigenous Employment Policy (IEP [under DEEWR]) through their economic measures (Australian Government 2008). In fact, the Federal Government's Office of Evaluation and Audit *Indigenous Programmes Report* (OEA 2008, p.9) suggested that DEEWR and IBA increase their level of surveillance over SAE and they need to provide stronger measurements of them by setting much stronger performance frameworks.

However, the OEA *Indigenous Programmes Report* (2008) sits in stark contrast to the way SAE are reported in research efforts, as interrelated cultural, social, family, community and commercial relationships. As an example, the concept of relatedness impacts the way financial accounting can meet the needs of Aboriginal people. Accounting is the official language of business and government, yet as Greer and Patel (2000) indicated, this governing system is in contrast with complex and multidisciplinary social and political lives of Aboriginal people which rely upon relatedness (Dudgeon & Oxenham 1990). In the research by Greer and Patel (2000) they found that an incompatibly between Western quantification, productivity and logic, and Aboriginal relatedness of kinship and cultural obligations is strong; whereby the imposition of strict financial accounting does little to support Indigenous disadvantage. This world-view example begins to show how the audit society, one governed by rules and characterised by the official accounting language can begin to dissolve the character of SAE, by increasing the volume of Western controls and decreasing the nature of Aboriginality.

NAOs world-view and SAE as a wicked problem

An interesting world-view contrast is to explore NAOs misunderstanding of SAE as a 'wicked problem'. As applied to organisations, a wicked problem is a class of problem that is difficult to define, has no stopping rules and no ultimate 'best solution' (Rittel & Weber 1973). Despite DEEWR, FaCHSIA, OEA and IBAs desire to support commercial and non-commercial SAE; it is conducted through mainstream economic processes organised through rules, governing processes, audit and accounting practices. This is evidenced in their various reports and policies which continually use economic terms to describe SAE such as: sustainable economic development

opportunities under the *Bilateral Agreement with the Northern Territory on Indigenous Affairs* (Federal Government 2006b); and FaCHSIAs use of commercial and non-commercial ventures in the *Increasing Indigenous Employment Opportunity* report (Australian Government 2008). This occurs despite OEA (2008) advocating in the *Indigenous Programs Report* to define, regulate and audit the SAE even further. This regulation sits in contrast to another arm of government, the Australian Public Service Commission (2007) who encourages an opposite tact when solving Indigenous issues. The APSC (2007, p.2) identified that Indigenous disadvantage was 'a seemingly intractable wicked problem'.

To solve these wicked problems, the APSC (2007) suggested that big picture thinking is required. They suggested that interrelationships across a wide range of factors, require collaborative and innovative approaches that are holistic when supporting Aboriginal issues (ibid., p.iii and p.35). Furthermore, the APSC also advocated a stronger focus on flexible, principles-based approach to internal governance rather than governance by specific rules. This idea to 'see' Indigenous issues differently has ramifications for the way that SAE are understood by NAO.

As an example, the previous CDEP scheme supported both commercial and social enterprises, however recent changes means that only non-commercial ventures in very remote areas will be assisted (Australian Government 2008). So, just how government intends to support these newly labelled 'non-commercial' enterprises remains unknown. Presumably this will occur through current structures of the small business and capital assistance funds (ISBF and ICAS [Australian Government 2008]) through IBA, DEEWR, FaCHSIA and in some instances the ILC and their role supporting Aboriginal pastoral station enterprises. Yet, in this CDEP reform policy document, *Increasing Indigenous Employment Opportunity* (Australian Government 2008) only scant regard was given to how and why this would be achieved. Instead the document focussed on training and making Aboriginal people job ready. As such, the changes to CDEP mean a much reduced focus on Aboriginal enterprise. This does little to fulfil APSCs (2007) request for bigger picture and inter-related thinking. Similarly, the approach by government to change CDEP and reduce enterprise opportunities does little to incorporate APSCs (2007) concerns about the need to provide flexibility and principle based-decisions when dealing with Aboriginal issues.

As a summary, all these Aboriginal economic development policies rely upon governance by rules, regulation and audit processes, something quite opposite to

APSCs (2007) holistic and interrelated approaches under a 'wicked problem' scenario. Yet, all these ideas ignore mainstream ideas of how people learn and understand the world. As an example, Gardner (2003) talked about multiple intelligences in education literature, and it is apparent that government's audit society, one governed by rules equates to Gardner's logico-mathematical intelligence. Meanwhile the other eight intelligences have not been used to understand and better support the SAE. One that appeals to the linguistic, spatial, musical, bodily-kinaesthetic, intrapersonal, interpersonal, naturalist and existential intelligences could well offer alternative ways to 'see' the SAE. This alternative literature source was used to show that economic frames to measure and support SAE easily align to Western economic rules and regulations, but do not offer a wider or bigger picture of Aboriginality. By understanding SAE more broadly and more locally, this may well align more closely with their Aboriginality, one that sits outside NAOs governance and audit world-view.

An assessment about SAE two-world tensions and NAO

The reality for SAE, is that operating enterprise in Western society (particularly if government support is involved), means they are caught in tension between their Aboriginality and Western systems through economic governance and audit. Government dominance over the SAE is reflected in their measurable and quantifiable approach to relationships rather than interrelated approaches, which Aboriginal enterprise research suggests they need.

SAE two-world tensions as a social and commercial dynamic

A common theme in Aboriginal enterprise and Indigenous entrepreneur literature centres upon socio-economic debates. These terms draw in sub-debates regarding governance, culture, resources, community and family, environment and land. Yet, although these socio-economic debates can run counter to each other, they are seen differently by researchers and government.

These social, cultural, resource, community, family, environment and land sub-debates often reflect the Aboriginal world whilst the terms economic, commercial and governance often reflect the Western economic world. Through these counter socio-economic debates, much effort is placed on describing conditions for the Aboriginal entrepreneur (Foley 2004); the economic and social clashes within Aboriginal enterprise (Altman 2001a, 2001b); and the disjunctions between cultural land and the market economy (Altman & Dillon 2004). The socio-economic debates also outline the

need for Aboriginal people to mix social and commercial goals whilst government insist that this mixed approach is flawed (Arthur 1999b). In contrast, the successful blending of culture and commerce in an urban Aboriginal enterprise (Smith, DE 1996) has been reported. Yet counter to this, government continues to insist that SAE strive for commercial goals (IBA 2007), and develop sustainable business economic models (Macklin & Snowdon 2007). These conflicting messages further amplify the gap between academic research and government policy.

This conflicting knowledge base about Aboriginal enterprise and Indigenous entrepreneurship has grown from early socio-economic debates identified by Young (1982) in her examination of Aboriginal community stores and from Crough et al.'s (1989) research into economic development in central Australia. This and other Aboriginal enterprise research showed how important it is for cultural and economic issues to remain together. Yet, this combination is continually challenged by Federal Government's insistence that social and commercial functions, definitions and types should be separated (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs 2008).

Separating social and commercial functions is unhelpful to SAE

The separation of social and commercial functions is also evident in the changes to CDEP, where social enterprise was re-typed as non-commercial enterprise, and commercial enterprises were no longer supported by this programme (Australian Government 2008). Yet academic researchers have acknowledged that by combining, rather than separating social and commercial functions, that it brings about a set of problems when relating their combination to government (Altman 2002; Trudgen 2003; and Fuller et al. 2005). However as previously noted, there is little evidence that NAO are bringing culture into SAE policies and programmes (Australian Government 2008; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs 2008; OEA 2008; and SCRGSP 2009). Of interest, little research effort has been re-directed away from these traditional socio-economic debates, despite much recognition that NAO are failing to incorporate their ideas. This infers that new ways of describing the SAE and relating it to NAO may well be required. As such, there is a need to maintain current research efforts, but to also shed light on other possibilities, and other ways to frame and explain the nature of SAE.

The (in) ability of the socio-economic debate or government to respond to misunderstood SAE?

It appears the socio-economic debate might be somewhat counterproductive to supporting the SAE through government processes. As an example, the Federal Government's report *Closing the Gap on Indigenous Disadvantage* (Federal Government 2009) provided the rhetoric to increase Aboriginal economic participation, yet social and cultural aspects were not drawn into this despite advocating these aspects in their health, housing and education goals. In a small way, the SCRGSP report on *Overcoming Indigenous Disadvantage* (2009) did note the importance of the Aboriginal customary economy and how it can provide fresh and healthy food. Interestingly however, the report did not link Altman's (2001a) customary economy (to which they referenced) to Aboriginal enterprise, which was his original intention.

It appears that cultural and social debates in this government report are not being translated into practice or action for Aboriginal enterprise or economic development. It appears that cultural and social debates are a comfortable way for government to approach health, housing and education issues, but not Aboriginal enterprise policy. It can therefore be inferred, that supporting, assessing, measuring and regulating the SAE are at juggernaut between economics and culture. Perhaps finding a middle solution between commerce and culture is an overwhelming obstacle for NAO? This lends further support to the notion that socio-economic debates may well be a limiting concept for NAO to work with SAE, as interconnecting social with commercial functions are poorly understood by government.

As further evidence of government's inability to translate social and cultural issues into action, a Western business model is used to support, assess and measure the SAE in Queensland State Government's Indigenous partnerships programme for small business entrepreneurs (Queensland Government 2007). This programme only supports SAE that fit government's idea of small business, one that is a commercial model. This is because the State Government programme is part-funded by the Federal Government through DEEWR (ibid.), the Department that similarly does not recognise or support social enterprises. This leaves other potential owners and/or managers that want to rely on Aboriginal cultural and social ties in enterprise as unsupported. However the ILC (a Federal Government agency), does support the purchase of some cattle stations for cultural reasons. Yet, Phillpot (2001) and Gill (2005) both indicated how the 'cultural part' remains troublesome because of non-

Aboriginal management values. These authors found the tensions created by managing the interface between governance and Aboriginal cultural systems inhibited the potential of pastoralists' motivations. This occurred because NAO are driven by non-Aboriginal land use norms which leads to projects funded and managed accordingly.

Thus, social and cultural issues are minimised once more which begins to question the (in) ability of the socio-economic debates (despite being vital and evidence-based) to be heard above government's governance and audit world-views.

Summary of SAE two-world tensions and impact of NAO

An attempt has been made to establish in the previous discussions that many government reports and practices are not translating social and cultural issues into policies and programmes for SAE. From this review, it is evident that a commercial focus is heavily relied upon to frame and understand SAE, which gives scant regard to meeting SAE cultural needs. In essence, SAE need to meet NAO labels, that of economic and commercial outcomes. The inherent nature of SAE trading and cultural practices is not included in NAO assessments, programme support and regulations because NAO cannot understand and apply socio-economic debates that research encourages. This lack of transition between research and application begins to marginalise the very differences that government profess to uphold through diversity policies such as FaHCSIAs (Australian Government 2009) *Reconciliation Action Plan* where social and cultural differences are encouraged. In practice, Federal Government's (SCRGSP 2009) desire to reset the relationship with Indigenous Australia could potentially be seen as conflicting and shallow rhetoric. Interestingly there is no indication by NAO, if they see themselves as misunderstanding Indigenous circumstances; this raises the question: Who has to reset the relationship with whom, and why?

The subtlety of power

This commercial versus cultural dynamic between the Western world and Aboriginality shows a power relationship in action; that NAO dismiss the inherent nature of SAE as evident through SAE characteristics missing from their policies and programmes. It appears that NAO do not want to share their power, instead they wish to use commercial and economic frames to order their small business support to Aboriginal people. This circumstance exists because of subtle differences; it appears that NAO

are uncomfortable with Aboriginality (philosophically), or that current NAO models of enterprise support cannot account for cultural and social diversity. The relationship between SAE and NAO becomes invasive because of this subtlety. Thus, the power relationship in its current form relies on keeping social and cultural issues minimal, contained, invisible or distant in Aboriginal enterprise policies and programmes. This circumstance reinforces the social and economic dialectic with few bridges operating between Aboriginality and Western economic processes.

This power subtlety between NAO and SAE exists despite the APSC (2007) in their report *Tackling Wicked Problems* clearly stating that power from government can completely influence the 'wicked problems'; the very problems it is meant to address. Instead the APSC advocates collaborative strategies. The term, 'collaborative' is a well used government key word, yet once more there is little evidence of cultural, social, family, community, land issues being collaborated with commercial, economic and governance frameworks. This leaves the SAE controlled by a Western government way of doing small business. This leads to the question for SAE: Are they businesses in the mainstream sense or are they something else? Research efforts can report local level SAE complexity, but if NAO ignore these interpretations of the Aboriginal world and take only a commercial, Western and big business mindset, framed through governance, this leaves SAE with increasing tensions. Therefore, SAE are prevented from fully becoming who they inherently are because of NAO dominance. Thus, it is evident that SAE find it difficult to be heard at a macro level, and this reinforces their negative power relationship. This negative power cycle traps the SAE in perpetual misinterpretation.

The impact of two-world tensions adds to the misunderstanding of SAE

The previous discussions have attempted to show that socio-economic debates are well used frameworks to pull apart SAE with much work already done. Yet these ideas are not drawn into government and NAO practice because of their inability to be heard above economics. Additionally, it appears that SAEs inherent nature conflicts with a Western government idea of what small business is and Aboriginal enterprise are. These circumstances further encase the SAE into a two-world situation because of NAOs dominant patterns. These tensions between large and small organisations, Western culture and Aboriginality, as well as government and academic debates also contribute to misunderstanding the SAE. This idea is further developed in Chapter 7, before this however; a link to low SAE numbers is presented.

A link to low Aboriginal enterprise numbers

Amongst the debates identified so far, that SAE naturally combine commercial with cultural functions in complex ways, and that potentially NAO have a baseline misunderstanding of SAE; research to date has not identified any links between this and a SAE two-world situation and the low Aboriginal enterprise numbers in Australia. Recently Schaper et al. (2007) offered six broad reasons for low Aboriginal enterprise numbers: historical legacies; geographical barriers; role models; human capital; land title; and values. Earlier, DIMIA (Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs 2003) identified six barriers to Aboriginal enterprise: economic circumstances; business readiness; cultural conflicts; access to capital; governance procedures; and skill levels. However, both Schaper et al. (2007) and DIMIA (2003) did not indicate whether Western society misunderstands the nature, characteristics and identity of SAE and if this contributes to low rates, or indeed as Crough et al. (1989) advised over 20 years ago, that the notion of enterprise itself needs to be redefined to suit Aboriginal people. It is evident that NAO understanding of SAE has grown from a Western economic view of business. Indeed it could be suggested that NAO view SAE through a corporate lens and not that of small business at all. A similar sentiment was expressed by Hill and McGowan (1999) and Storey (2002) in the examination of mainstream small business in the UK.

As revealed, research to date has not identified if there are potential links between a baseline misunderstanding of SAE, their two-world situation and low enterprise numbers. Schaper et al. (2007) and DIMIA (2003) offer reasons, but did not indicate whether Western society misunderstand the nature of SAE in the first place. This observation begins to sharpen the research phenomena and open the gap in knowledge for this research project to explore.

Capturing ideas from these discussions

This sub-section condenses the debates so far in order to show the features, causes and the effect of misunderstanding the SAE two-world tensions. The discussion also suggests why misunderstanding the SAE creates discomfort.

Features and causes

Any contrast between the Aboriginal and Western world, find points of similarity and difference which are often represented as socio-economic debates in the research literature. These twin debates bring about philosophical perspectives: Just how do

NAO see Aboriginal enterprise; and how do NAO relate these ideas to Indigenous people? These debates and NAO understanding of them shows differences between the Western systems based on audits, control and assessments and Aboriginality. This Western world-view places great tension on the SAE, which does do not operate in this way. The world-views of NAO and SAE are very different thus, leading to many interpretations of Aboriginality depending upon viewpoints and backgrounds. Yet, it is evident that government are using a governance and audit world-views of enterprise, ordered by economic rules and measurements to shape their policies and programmes with SAE. These contrasting world-views results in a relationship between SAE and NAO which is unresolved and bogged down. Thus, a major cause of the misunderstanding of the SAE two-world situation is the inability to understand and incorporate differences.

Much is written in government reports about Aboriginal enterprise owners and/or managers not understanding Western business practices, but the reverse is poorly acknowledged by NAO; that government and industry do not understand SAE business practices. However, this circumstance is evident in the research literature, but the difficulty remains that most research is not drawn into NAO policies and practices. This leaves social, cultural, community, family and land issues marginalised in favour of commercial, economic and governance issues. This is evident in baseline definitions and enterprise types as well as government policy documents. It is acknowledged that SAE numbers are low in comparison to mainstream small business numbers, and this may well exist because of NAOs inability to translate social and definitional issues into Aboriginal economic development and enterprise support practices. Thus, a misunderstanding the SAE two-world situation results in a power dynamic between the NAO and SAE, where Western economic and government frames of large business are used to measure, support and assess the SAE.

Effect of the misunderstanding

The effect of a governance and large business mindset over SAE, further envelopes them into a negative power dynamic with NAO through access to government support services by SAE. This places them into a dependency setting, which is governed by rules and measured through a Western concept of enterprise. NAO appear to dismiss or minimise cultural integrity and Aboriginal history of trade and entrepreneurship. This leaves the SAE scrambling for an ‘operating space’ which can account for both world-views. As noted by Fuller, Caldicott, Cairncross and Wilde (2007), balancing cultural integrity with concepts of commercialisation is a difficult task. Yet, SAE have to

balance corporate and commercial mindsets that are influenced by government support, regulations and assessments of them with their own cultural practices. This is evident through the *Aboriginal Councils and Associations Act 1976* (Cth) (Attorney General's Department 2001); and ILC (Indigenous Land Council 2006); and IBA (Indigenous Business Australia 2009) funding and support requirements. Yet it appears that, SAEs inherent nature is actually something else.

The SAE two-world situation becomes a problem because much effort is placed upon balancing out competing two-world ideas, rather than operating enterprise with confidence. These two-worlds for SAE produce a 'bind' and an 'uncomfortable' situation that have to be constantly negotiated by each SAE, with little or no guidance. SAE are not permitted to incorporate their natural character and identity into enterprise without receiving judgements and pressure from government and industry to adopt governance or large business procedures. Thus, the effect of misunderstanding the SAE two-world situation is denial and subjectivity; the basis for strengthening NAO power.

Why the misunderstanding creates discomfort

SAE are unable to reflect their patterns of living in their enterprise, because culture, community and family become insignificant against commerce. SAE are not encouraged to develop their own entrepreneurial spirit based upon their historical trading practices. SAE tensions between Aboriginal culture and NAO are discussed in the literature (as evident in the socio-economic debates), yet previous discussions showed that, government report after government report is not translating this information, along with definitional and basic typology into programmes and policies. As such, there appears to be an overarching commercial and economic focus, and scant regard for a social and cultural focus. This creates discomfort because the SAE has to minimise their cultural differences; has to fit under the NAO power dynamic; and has to reduce their natural character in order to meet NAO economic determinations of who they are. Thus, choices are unavailable for SAE.

Clarifying the phenomena

The early development of the phenomena from Chapter 1: that SAE operate and are reported in the research one way, but are supported, assessed, managed and measured in another way can now be reinforced. This contrasting circumstance where operations and reporting sit against assessments and measurements – produce a

strong and unresolved dialectic between the SAE and the NAO. This dialectic is misunderstood by NAO which therefore increases Aboriginal enterprise two-world tensions. The unresolved dialectic between SAE and NAO operates in terms of size (large versus small); philosophy (legislative control versus on the ground issues); culture (governance and control versus self-motivation and values); and beliefs (financial motivations versus family, culture and community motivations). The unresolved dialectic provides deeper phenomena; it shows the SAE and NAO to be in a fraught and tenuous relationship.

However, this SAE and NAO fraught relationship is also complicated by unresolved colonial and Aboriginal history. As an example, this unresolved colonial history is something that UK researcher, Pryce (1979) suggested was the basis of relationship difficulties between the West Indian population and local people in Bristol. In the Aboriginal case, the dialectic with NAO has been reinforced partly because research has continued to use similar socio-economic debates, which NAO have been unable to successfully apply. However, this observation should not form the basis of NAOs inability to resolve the dialectic with SAE.

Three prominent themes emerge from the literature review

Despite the difficulty NAO have translating academic research into policy and programmes, three prominent themes are evident in the SAE and NAO dialectic:

- The first prominent theme reflects *opposing issues* between social and economic debates.
- The second theme can be identified as *dismissive ways*, where NAO have not taken up research work and addressed the SAE/NAO dialectic.
- The third prominent theme is *relationships*, where much larger organisations, such as government have found it difficult to understand and relate to much smaller organisations such as small business.

These three themes influence the direction of the research, but before these are developed further, opposing issues, dismissive ways and relationships are briefly extended through theoretical insights.

Extending the prominent themes through theoretical literature

The inability of NAO to grasp an Aboriginal view of SAE, one that involves complex social, economic, cultural, commercial, and family, community and land interactions further pressures the SAE. This leaves the SAE two-world situation as an uncomfortable and harsh reality. These circumstances mean that opposing issues are factors of the SAE and NAO dialectic, which compounds their two-world situation.

These can be explored through links to dialectics and oppression, difference and power and thus form the basis of theoretical and conceptual ideas from which to further understand the SAE two-world situation in Chapter 7.

Relevant theorists

The two-world situation is used in this section as an umbrella concept to link together various push and pull functions of the SAE, their differences, power dynamics and their relationship with NAO. The opposing issues can philosophically be explained from Hegel's (Buchwalter 1991) work on dialectics and the dismissive ways of NAO can be explained through Freire's (1972) work on oppressors and the oppressed. Difference can be explained through Henderson's (2004) work with Aboriginal school children, whilst power can be interpreted through Friedmann's (1966) centre-periphery concepts and Foucault's (Gordon 2002) positive and negative power.

The differences between SAE and NAO, and the inability of NAO to understand and incorporate difference means that opposing issues and dismissive ways are in part responsible for the tensions that SAE experience. The result of this tension is a power dynamic between SAE and NAO, and this leaves their relationship further strained than that, already under tension from colonisation.

Opposing issues and dialecticism

SAE operate through a dialogue of opposites, which can be seen as dialectic, whether it be Aboriginal to Western society, or social to economic, or large to small businesses. Dialectics is described as the perpetual resolution of binary opposites (Gregory 2000a). An early version of dialectics was developed by Hegel in the early 1800s, and developed further by Karl Marx in the mid 1800s. Hegel used the word dialectic – something that has a polar opposite – as a circumstance that must be criticised (Mueller 1958). More specifically, Hegel identified that a two-part dialectic, that of internal contradictions between the two parts required a third element, that of resolution. Hegel formed these dialectic ideas by development of three terms: internal contradictions, dissolution, and resolution of complexity that incorporates the contradictions (Buchwalter 1991). In addition, the terms thesis, antithesis and synthesis were also commonly used by Hegel (Mueller 1958). Each three-part term represents a step beyond a two-part reduction of ideas, with the hope of finding an answer or solution.

Translated across to this research, the SAE two-world tension is a Hegelian contradiction or a thesis, one that is formed by NAO misunderstanding their social and cultural world and how it fits with economics and commercial factors. The NAO are the very organisations that attempt to measure, support and regulate SAE but, in doing so are not incorporating their inherent character. This contradiction leads to a Hegelian dissolution or antithesis which is reflected in this research as NAOs reduction or dissolving of Aboriginal enterprise literature which encourages a greater social and cultural emphasis. Dissolution is also evident by NAO minimisation of SAEs natural character, by example 'relying upon the audit society to constantly survey and inspect them' (Groundwater-Smith & Sachs 2002, p.347) rather than incorporating their interrelationships. However, Hegel's third element, producing a complex resolution or adopting a synthesis to draw in the contradictions and resolve them, is not evident in NAO policies and programmes. Hegel saw that complexity would help to concrete in or unify the contradictions. Yet in this case, NAO reduce and water down SAE complexity (their social and cultural world), because it is outside their Western governance and audit world-views.

Thus, NAO avoid solving the problem in the first place, and as a result de-unify attempts to understand SAE presented in the research literature. Thus in broad dialectic terms, there is no resolution of the binary opposites because NAO are not willing to address SAE complexity, through resolution or synthesis. This leaves the relationship between SAE and NAO as abrasive and sharp because their social and economic complexities are not drawn into NAO policies and programmes. Instead NAO prefer to operate with Hegelian contradictions and maintain that thesis. This indicates that NAO cannot help resolve the SAE two-world tension as their dialectic with SAE is at impasse, where opposing issues are tightly caught in contradictions which NAO do not wish to address.

Dismissive ways and oppression

Similar to Hegel's dialectic concept between opposites, the work by Freire (1972) shows how a relationship between opposites can be one of oppression. Oppression can operate as a metaphor for dismissive ways of the NAO, specifically when SAE are potentially misunderstood by a larger force, in this case the NAO as an oppressor. NAOs propensity to dismiss cultural, social, family and community issues result in oppression for SAE. This is further evident when Aboriginal enterprise research efforts are dismissed in favour of Western government's concept of Aboriginal business. The SAE and NAO dialectic fits with Freire's oppressed and oppressor concepts. Freire's

(1972) work on the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed,* examined the struggle for justice and equity within the educational system and highlighted ways that oppressed people can overcome oppression from a larger force through their own ways to fight for emancipation. He indicated that freedom is acquired by conquest not by gift, and it must be pursued constantly and responsibly. Another of Freire's ideas centred on 'dialogics' as an instrument to free the colonised by cooperation, unity, organisation and cultural synthesis.

Two major Freirean ideas, freedom and dialogics, can be adapted to this research. It is posited that SAE freedom is denied to them. If extended against Freire's ideas, the freedom that SAE are seeking (that is, to be themselves and understood) will not arrive as a gift from government, instead SAE have to pursue their freedom constantly and responsibly themselves. For instance, it is established that Aboriginal enterprise research literature constantly refers to the need to incorporate social and cultural dimensions into SAE policies and programmes, however this has not occurred and therefore, it can be inferred that freedom is denied. A Freirean approach would be to seek to challenge this denial by conquest, not physically, but in terms of knowledge. Thus, SAE waiting for government to fix the misunderstanding is similar to 'waiting for a gift'. An option being to re-frame the social and commercial debate for NAO and to pursue a new understanding at the political level through elected parliamentarians. It may mean that SAE have to seek greater recognition for their two-world situation and the tensions created by NAO by generating local community action.

In a Freirean sense, it is also posited that SAE can free themselves from the coloniser through dialogics. Friere (1972) believed that populist dialogue could overcome the coloniser. This may mean that SAE need to rely upon cooperation from the wider business community. To unify and organise, it might mean that SAE form action committees to advocate for change through local small business groups and regional development boards. To achieve cultural synthesis (that is for NAO to overcome the 'problem' of misunderstanding SAE), there might be a stronger push for cultural rights through all aspects of NAO practices, not just ones the government are comfortable with. The point being made through these examples is that, SAE are oppressed by the dismissive ways of NAO. Yet however marginalised and minimised SAE circumstances are; Freire offers hope that a new understanding can help colonised people find freedom by informing and giving them knowledge.

Both the Hegelian and Freirean approaches are similar, in that responsibility is placed back on the SAE to challenge NAOs relationship with them. If NAO are unable to understand SAE because, as a Hegelian approach indicated their contradictions are at impasse; a Freirean perspective encourages the oppressed as SAE, to take up the problem themselves. This knowledge leaves both approaches advocating the colonised or those caught up in the contradictions, to actively search for a resolution. However, any attempt to change is tempered by the fact that SAE are caught up in a power relationship with NAO that minimises their differences.

Relationships through difference

Difference can variously be defined. Commonly it is identified through cultural geographic thinking whereby 'difference is present in all economic and political situations … difference is continuous and connected to all social processes' (Gupta & Ferguson 1992 p.14). Difference often sits within academic constructed meanings with few discussions of differences reflecting more practical government and industry applications. Yet Henderson (2004) reframed the term difference by applying it to Indigenous students in the Australian education sector. She identified difference three fold: by acknowledging that difference is invisible; that it is important to try to recognise and see difference; and third to integrate difference.

The ideas captured from earlier chapter discussions found that a main feature of the SAE two-world situation is differences between people and organisations, and that a major cause of misunderstanding the SAE is the inability of NAO to understand and incorporate differences. These ideas are extended by following through Henderson's (2004) first point about invisible differences. It is evident that NAO struggle to see SAE social, cultural, community, family, community and land differences, even when they are represented in the research. Other researchers indicate that at the centre of this invisibility lies 'misunderstanding Indigenous world-view' (Hindle 2005, p.101), and the 'abstraction of Aboriginality through general talk, notions and possibilities, rather than specific examples and actual operating circumstances' (Bain 2005, p.18). It is a great leap of faith for one culture to trust what they hear, see and sense about another culture, rather than continuing to use their dominant beliefs. The difficulty here is convincing Western society that they are making SAE differences invisible. Overused dominant world-views based on economic, commercial and governance frames to support, assess and measure SAE inflame Aboriginal invisibility. Therefore the point being made here is that, any change to the SAE and NAO dialectic may well have to be driven external to government and academic research efforts.

Henderson's (2004) second and third point delved into ways to recognise and see difference then integrate it. Contrasted to NAO practices, Henderson's points reach a stalemate, and is further evidence the SAE and NAO dialectic requires attention. NAO have poorly delved into other ways to see SAE differences and then integrate them, despite attempts through the now mostly defunct CDEP programmes to do so (Australian Government 2008). Therefore, government's inability to digest cultural differences and transfer that to interrelated support programmes keeps the SAE at best, disconnected from their inherent nature. At its worst, the inability to digest cultural differences means we ignore SAE and their intractable 'wicked problem' which gives room for the 'we can't fix it' malaise.

Yet, Henderson (2004) does not go as far to suggest ways to manage difference, nevertheless this next step is far beyond the practices of NAO at present. Henderson also described how a wide lens, multiple lenses, questioning your own assumptions about learning, identifying strengths and talking with people to understand their circumstances wherever possible, are vital to working with differences. She encouraged the dominant culture to move away from imposed education structures and to develop their own interpretations based on local situations, communications and reflections. Interestingly these ideas align with the APSC (2007) sentiments about working with Indigenous issues as wicked problems (a willingness to think and work in new and innovate ways), yet are lacking in current SAE support practices.

It is acknowledged the term difference is 'thick and awkward'. Difference is hard to pinpoint. Therein lies the important idea of this sub-section, difference is all about the other person. Difference relies on people to look both outside and inside themselves, and to understand other cultures and ways of operating. This means acting differently, open to the unknown. It is expected this open concept, based upon self-responsibility and outlook will grate against NAOs favoured approach to audit, control, govern and measure. Thus, the ability of NAO to work with differences lies in their ability to also conceive ways to balance out the entrenched power dynamic with Aboriginal people.

Relationships through power

There are multiple ways to understand power. The ideas from Friedmann (1966) and Foucault (Gordon 2002) do hold resonance because of their transferability to applications across cultures and between group sizes. Foucault's idea that 'there is no difference without power, and neither power nor difference has an essential moral

value' (Wilson Gilmore 2002, p.16), philosophically underpins the following discussion. In other words, power is intricately wrapped up in understanding and working with difference, and by coming to terms with this and its futility, means they can be distanced from societies' values. This therefore, may well free up the SAE from the NAO moral judgements and assessments so they can operate more in line with their inherent nature.

The words of Aboriginal academic Huggins (1996), are an appropriate way to begin this introduction to power:

> 'White constructions of history have been charged with ethnocentrism which keeps us by and large excluded and marginalised, on the peripheries of existence. What we are saying is, rather than be at the margins, we should be at the centre' (ibid., p.2).

Huggins (1996) indicated that power can also be interpreted through Aboriginal voices that are based on a different perspective of colonialism. She suggested that removing Aboriginal people from the centre of power means that exclusion and marginalisation will continue. Huggins' reference to locating Aboriginal people, either conceptually or physically between a centre or a periphery, aligns with research into economic geography and study of global economics by Friedmann (1966); Wallerstein (1974); and Lloyd and Dicken (1977). Specifically, advantaged areas of the world economy were called core states and disadvantaged areas were called the periphery and included indigenous states (Wallerstein 1974, p.349). The dimension of centre reflected power, control and strong economic characteristics whilst the dimension of periphery reflected less power, less control and less economic characteristics. As such, the further away from the centre or core, the less power and economic benefits existed.

These power dimensions can be contrasted to the ideas captured already about SAE. It is known that two-world tensions are drawn from uncomfortable relationships between SAE and NAO. However, government (who lie at the centre of Western power) distance themselves from SAE simply by using an economic frame of reference to understand them. To destabilise this status quo would challenge NAOs fundamental notion of what is small business and how enterprise operates; which as previously found in the chapter, remains problematic. If NAO were to account for SAE social, cultural, family, community and land differences: it would then alter the power dynamic between them. This would mean that SAE could operate with their inherent nature as the centre of their power alongside Western commercial, economic and governance

frames. However, this situation would be quite alien to current support, assessments and measurements of SAE. Government support for a different view of SAE is not specifically mentioned by NAO. The fact that APSC (2007) suggested that government power over Indigenous circumstances can often perpetuate the 'wicked problems' and their intractability, is at least one acknowledgement that a different approach to supporting SAE is required. However, SAE power can only be moved away from the periphery if the dominant world-view is challenged and held accountable for the minimisation of their differences.

Incorporating difference and power

Incorporating SAE differences into NAO practices would realign the centre of power between them, and this potentially changed circumstance can be understood through Foucault's positive and negative power. Foucault was interested in showing that power comes from below, that is, global and hierarchical structures of domination within a society depend on and operate through more local, low-level, 'capillary circuits of power relationships' (Gordon 2002, p.xxiv). He also suggested that power 'is not solely negative, working to repress or control people: it was also highly productive' (Danaher, Schirato & Webb 2000, p.xiv). For Foucault, government and power were inseparable from other social processes; with both positive and negative processes involved. As such, to realign SAEs centre of power that is, to bring social, cultural family, community and land characteristics into NAO understanding – means that SAE inherent nature is power in itself. This represents Foucault's power from below and this means the SAE local level capillary circuits of power could be used positively to reverse the negative controls that NAO exert over their Aboriginality. This power dynamic could also let NAO use their power positively, to think differently, in more creative and open ways about SAE. In contrast, SAE could use their power negatively to counter NAO by ignoring or accepting domination. Thus the implication for SAE, is that NAO dismissive ways can be challenged.

Difference and power operate with each other. An understanding of difference provides an alternative pathway for NAO to include SAE inherent nature. Yet an understanding of their power dynamic, shows that SAE are cast to the periphery because NAO use economics, commercial and governance to operate from a powerful economic centre. If these ideas are contrasted to earlier theoretical work based on opposing issues, dismissive ways and relationships, further insights are gained. A theoretical contrast showed that SAE can address their circumstances through recognising the dialectic that NAO have in place with SAE – that NAO are operating

their support, assessment and measures with contradictions. A theoretical contrast also showed that NAO do oppress SAE, however this can be addressed through cooperation and unity. The inference here is that options and alternative pathways are available, and that SAE and academic researchers alike need not accept NAO misunderstanding of SAE. Understanding differences and how power moves between SAE and NAO can help people see the futility of ignoring or minimising culture. This may well mean that enterprise values need widening in order to free government from their moral judgements and assessment about what is right and what is wrong. This may well give SAE the option to develop entrepreneurship based on their inherent nature.

Summary of the theoretical section

The purpose of this theoretical discussion was to show how SAE are caught in tension with NAO and what the impact is on their fraught relationship. Dialectics and oppression were used to illustrate the effect of marginalising their differences, which leaves them further trapped in a power dynamic with government. Yet, differences and power were also used to show that NAO misunderstanding of SAE can be challenged, and that SAE can use creative tools to challenge government domination over their inherent character. By pooling theoretical and conceptual ideas with the SAE and NAO misunderstood dialectic they can be drawn upon in Chapter 7 to extend research insights and interpretations. Before this however, the research phenomena are revisited in light of these theoretical insights.

Refining the research direction

This last section of Chapter 3, transfers the emerging ideas to the research directions presented in Chapter 1 (p.7). This updated direction builds upon the work of other people, but shows that a grounded methodology is helpful to identify fresh ideas.

Re-interpreting the phenomena as an internal and an external world

Throughout this chapter it has unfolded that a misunderstanding of the SAE two-world situation exists because NAO create tensions which leaves their dialectic with SAE stronger and unresolved. Principally this misunderstanding appears to stem from a strong Western lens of what Aboriginal enterprise is. As such, holding this Western economic lens minimises the underlying nature of SAE. This is most evident in the disjunction between academic research on Aboriginal enterprise which says one thing and government policy and programmes which do another. Therefore, it is inferred that

current research on SAE has little meaning for NAO due to the dominance of their Western mindsets over Aboriginal enterprise differences.

This indicates that an alternative way to understand the SAE and NAO dialectic may well be needed, one that does not rely completely upon the current socio-economic debates, but takes into account the powerful position that NAO occupy. It appears that many of the academic debates reflect relationships, either within or external to the SAE. As such, it is posited that an exploration of the SAE two-world situation through an internal world and an external world may reveal fresh ideas about SAE relationships and by doing so, generate some interest from NAO to use current research ideas.

By alternatively describing the SAE two-world situation through an internal world and an external world, it would continue to reveal opposing issues, dismissive ways, difference, and power relationships. It could reveal tensions, misunderstandings and world-views. An exploration of the SAE internal and external world could also consider socio-economic debates, as well as social and commercial enterprise types.

An internal and an external focus of mainstream small enterprises were similarly used by Parker et al. (2009) when establishing the typology of SMEs and their environmental improvements. In their example, external factors were used to divide regulations and assistance, from internal aspects, such as knowledge and commitment to them. However, the authors went on to describe how the internal and external typology can miss such details as people's behaviour and the provision of a useable framework. The ability of single typologies can therefore, impact the diversity of SAE. In their research, Parker et al. (2009) advised that using typologies risks homogenising SMEs. As such, internal and external divisions of the SAE situation are used loosely, whereby they reframe the Aboriginal enterprise outside of commonly used socio-economic debates, but to show as much diversity as possible under each division.

Despite this 'new term' to describe the SAE situation, in reality the SAE remains 'stuck' between their internal world and their external reality. The internal world is not about the way NAO understand SAE, but is a concept proposed in this research to explain how SAE see themselves internally and how they relate this externally to NAO and others. For the research phenomena, where SAE are reported one way, but are assessed and measured in another way; an internal and external world focus means that re-describing relationships can begin to re-balance the economic dominance they live with.

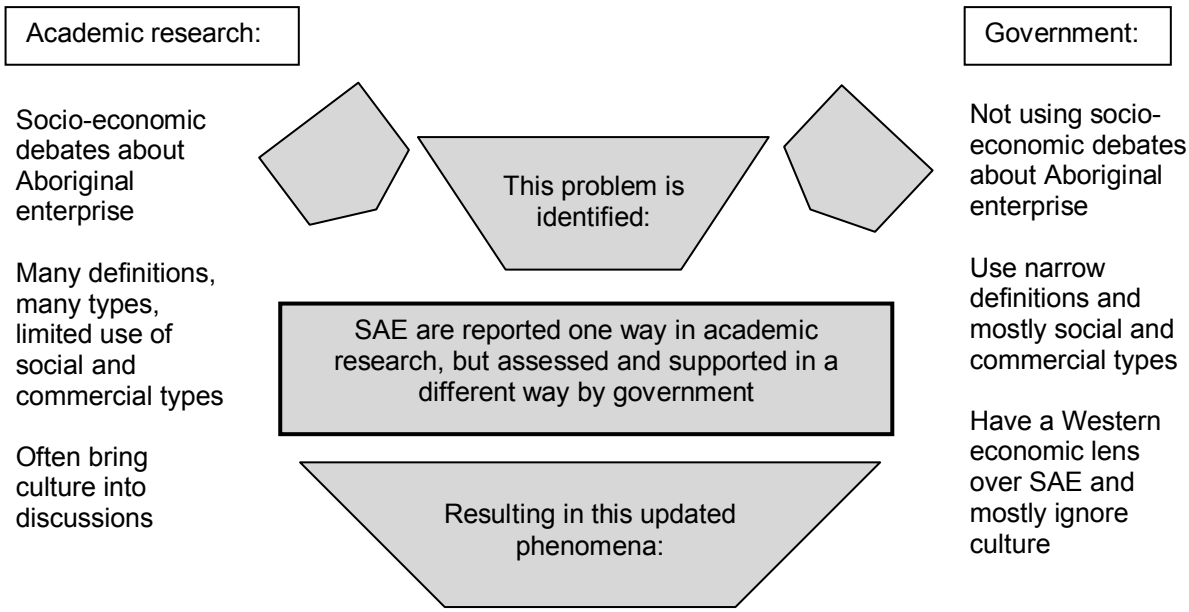
Clarifying the gap in knowledge

It is unclear why NAOs misunderstanding of SAE has not been used more extensively to work through any connections to low Aboriginal enterprise rates. Instead, the bulk of the reasons given for low enterprise numbers are drawn from research into macro level comparisons with mainstream small business (House of Representatives 2008); or identifying that Aboriginal people have financial literacy problems (*Indigenous Business Review* DIMIA 2003); or that Aboriginal culture misunderstands Western business processes (ibid.; *Overcoming Indigenous Disadvantage* SCRGSP 2009). However these reports reflect Western perspectives, that is, why NAO believe that Aboriginal enterprise is not working, rather than if any misunderstanding of SAE are evident. This is where an internal and external world focus on SAE can begin to build upon current socio-economic debates, and offer some fresh ideas. This therefore, forms the basis for the gap in knowledge.

Thus, a gap in knowledge can be identified from the updated research phenomena. It is posited that SAE and NAO have a fraught relationship which operates as a strong and unresolved dialectic. This situation allows SAE to be reported one way by academic research, but supported, assessed and measured in another way by NAO. This leads to a misunderstanding of SAE, which influences their low enterprise numbers. This research position is used to inform the research design and then inform theory development.

An open research methodology is required

It has been established that SAE are complex because of tensions between Aboriginality and NAO. It follows that a research approach that can account for multiple perspectives is required. To achieve this, a grounded methodology is used to frame the research methods by identifying categories and themes of the two-world situation. The application of the grounded methodology is presented in the next chapter (p.95). Using this methodology leads to a search for new ideas to identify, describe and characterise the nature of SAE through their internal and external world when they are caught between two-worlds. First this occurs outside of current research and literature debates then second, builds upon these literature debates once the emerging ideas are established. These ideas are consolidated through a diagram (refer to Figure 3.1).



The mixed interpretations about SAE create confusion and tension, and this leaves them misunderstood. The SAE dialectic with NAO is unresolved and strong

ADDRESSED BY:

Building upon current socio-economic debates to posit that a Western economic lens is unhelpful to SAE, but commonly used to support, assess and measure SAE

A LITERATURE REVIEW FINDING THAT:

The socio-economic debates may help to reinforce opposing issues between SAE and NAO
The dismissive ways of NAO complicate the problem
Relationships between small and large organisations cloud the picture of SAE

This is reason to:

Re-look at the nature of SAE and provide a wider perspective, including meta-theoretical ideas through dialectics, oppression, difference, and power

Identify that an exploration of SAEs internal and external world could build upon previous research and offer fresh ideas

BY:

Emerging ideas through a grounded methodology

THEN:

Relating emerging ideas back to academic literature and government practices

IN ORDER TO:

Finalise a descriptive theory of SAE to help improve the low SAE rate in Australia

Figure 3.1: Capturing the literature debates against the research process before the research is designed

This diagram illustrates the different ways that SAE are viewed between academic research and NAO practices. This leads to a confusing situation for SAE. This situation is used to develop a research project to explore the nature of SAE from an internal and external world. The purpose of which is to seek wider perspectives and a new understanding of Aboriginal people in enterprise. A series of emerging ideas are then aggregated into a descriptive theory and related to current research debates and government policies. The research project design is presented in the following chapter (see p.85).

Chapter summary

This third chapter began by outlining the two-world concept and its ability to transit a macro and micro level between Aboriginality and Western society. However, it was noted that a two-world concept is also limiting because it begins to divide rather than reveal linkages. This disparity was addressed by continuously looking for connections between the emerging ideas.

Additionally, a review of literature indicated that socio-economic debates operate as part of a two-world concept. The debates are well used frameworks to understand SAE with much work already done. Yet, the underlying details behind these debates are poorly drawn into government and NAO practices. In some cases culture and social issues are pulled into NAO rhetoric, but very little of this is drawn into programme support where economic frameworks consistently far outweigh any other. This indicates that SAE are misunderstood by NAO and that current socio-economic debates may be unhelpful for NAO.

It is posited that this misunderstanding of SAE by NAO is a phenomena which compounds their two-world situation. This therefore, makes the relationship with NAO fraught and tensioned. This misunderstanding is exacerbated by various opinions about Aboriginal enterprise which question its purpose as either a social or a commercial activity; one that is either a Western construct or something different altogether. This results in a dialogue of opposites that were linked to Hegel's dialecticism and Freire's notion of the oppressed. It was suggested that NAO dismiss the SAE two-world situation and this indicates that differences are marginalised because their fraught relationship is built on dominant power.

The inability of NAO to consider SAEs natural character and identity creates discomfort and thus further strains their fraught and complex relationship. The inability to consider

SAEs nature further enlarges the power distance with NAO. This makes SAE invisible because the relationships between SAE and NAO are jaded. So much so, that NAO look at SAE in narrow ways, limited by their own Western and corporate perception of what is small business, and what is Aboriginality.

It is here, that a two-world situation is used to umbrella a new concept based upon the SAEs internal and an external world. Yet social and commercial typologies and Aboriginal socio-economic literature are also retained in order to show differences and similarities amongst other characteristics. This chapter concluded by indicating that a gap in knowledge is based upon SAEs and NAOs fraught relationship which operates as a strong and unresolved dialectic.

These ideas are placed to one side, as the methods, research results, and my insights are presented. After these processes, the literature review themes from this chapter are used to inform the research interpretations and theory building tasks in Chapter 7.

Chapter 4 – Paradigms, methodologies and methods

Introduction

In this chapter, my paradigms and the research methodologies are presented first, followed by six steps which outline the methods. Chapter 4 concludes by addressing the complexities of exploring Aboriginality through Western academic epistemologies.

More specifically, a theoretical paradigm is used in Chapter 4 to pool different streams of knowledge together. A grounded methodology is proposed to connect the theoretical paradigm with the methods. The discussion then shows how both grounded theory and narrative inquiry methods are woven into this study. Here it is identified that grounded theory is suited to exploring the SAE internal world, whilst narrative based discussions are relevant to exploring the SAE external world. Commentary throughout this chapter shows my reflexivity between the research design and the practice of it. This is identified by use of personal pronouns. As needed, illustrations are used to capture complex ideas and any lengthy details are given in the Appendices.

The broad research approach

My adopted paradigms or approaches are highly interwoven with the methodologies and methods; one cannot be discussed without influencing the other. However, they are commonly connected in this research through a grounded perspective. That is, evidence is built up through grounded actions. In particular, Carlile and Christensen's (2004) descriptive theory building model is used. This grounded methodology is explored later in this chapter (p.92), but beforehand my research approach and the paradigms are discussed through this grounded mindset.

Guba and Lincoln (2005) advised that a research paradigm influences the application of the research methodologies and methods. This means that my interpretation of Aboriginality influences the design of the research. In particular, my paradigm can be illustrated through constructivism which I understand through symbolic interactionism and interpretivist perspectives. This paradigm allows for the process of inductive research (Patton 1990; Fuller et al. 2005; Walter 2006; and Eisenhardt & Graebner 2007) to unfold uninhibited by grand scale theories (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Atkinson & Delamont 2005) and hypothesis testing. This means that I seek to understand social patterns and social meanings Walter (2006) about Aboriginal enterprise by relying upon the range of Aboriginal voices to guide me. I attempt, as much as possible, to identify

Western perspectives, for 'scholars must resist the legacy of the Western colonizing the other' (Denzin 2005, p.935). However, this remains difficult because of my non-Aboriginal identity. To help overcome or soften my cultural position, a grounded methodology is used to develop inductive ideas about enterprise based on the range of participant voices. This in part, reflects my desire as a non-Aboriginal researcher to encourage Aboriginal voices, by trying to minimise Western knowledge and academic practices for a while.

A research paradigm

The adopted research theoretical paradigm attempts to provide a wide view across knowledge discourses by bringing forward my epistemological assumptions and theoretical perspectives, before the research is designed.[18] My epistemological assumptions reflect the broader assertions I hold about knowledge, the way I understand, and thus how I perceive the research and the participants. In contrast, my theoretical perspectives outline the assumptions I hold about applying this knowledge to Aboriginal enterprise research through questioning their reality.

Charting my theoretical paradigm

Gubrium and Silverman (1989, p.7) advised that 'researchers often do not question their role in supplying concepts and information to the research participants'. Consequently, being aware of the ambiguous nature of Aboriginality and my role in conceptualising SAE, numerous attempts were made to identify and bracket my pre-held beliefs. Here I used diagrams in project books to connect my theoretical paradigm to this research. As a result of this exercise, a theoretical paradigm evolved based upon: epistemology, theoretical perspectives, research disciplines, methodology and methods.

Before qualifying the theoretical paradigm, the term theoretical perspectives are addressed, as for some authors, the term conflicts with use of the term ontology. For example, Crotty (1998, p.11) preferred to use the term 'theoretical perspectives' instead of 'ontology', reserving use of ontological assumptions for discussions when 'we do need to talk about being'. In contrast, Denzin and Lincoln (2005, p.22) actively used the term ontology 'to determine what kind of being the human is and the nature of reality'. To begin with I align with Crotty (1998), as I see ontology for use in practical application of knowledge. This means the early inductive research processes are

[18] My interpretation of epistemology and theoretical perspectives are informed by Crotty (1998).

informed by my theoretical perspectives in Chapters 5 and 6. This leaves ontological considerations re-voiced and used prominently within Chapter 7 when the emerging theories are linked and associated with the non-Aboriginal organisations (NAO).

The following Table (4.1) outlines where my research is located against Crotty's (1998) four elements. In addition, a fifth element is used whereby research disciplines are identified to illustrate further connections to this inquiry. Crotty's (1998) concept of the 'whole research process' is used in this table, although the term 'research paradigm' is borrowed from Denzin and Lincoln (2005).

Table 4.1: Locating the whole research process through my theoretical paradigm, adapted from Crotty (1998)

Epistemologies	Theoretical perspectives	Research disciplines	Methodologies	Methods
Social constructionism Contructivism	Interpretivism ↓ Symbolic interactionism	Small business field Aboriginal socio-economic field	Case study A grounded methodology: - Grounded theory - Narrative research Indigenous perspectives Cultural geography	Semi-structured interviews Participant observation Grounded theory techniques Narrative techniques Content analysis Cross-interview analysis Voice lens analysis

This table places my epistemological position as a precursor to other research processes. Epistemologically, I identify with constructivism as part of broader social contructionism ideas. Theoretical perspectives of interpretivism and specifically symbolic interactionism guide my approaches. Importantly, the qualitative research process and my interpretations reflect a range of perspectives. Early awareness of the research disciplines that I identify with enables my theoretical perspectives to inform subsequent methods. Grounded theory and narrative methodologies, supported by other qualitative techniques, enact the previous epistemological and theoretical

perspectives. As a summary, this theoretical paradigm and its relationship to the research show the multiple Western knowledge sources that can be used to understand and frame Aboriginality. The significant elements of my paradigm are now discussed.

Epistemological assumptions

An epistemological assumption is concerned with the way I frame knowledge and state my position before the research begins. Crotty (1998, p.10) identified epistemology as a certain way of understanding and what it means to know, whilst Dooley (1990, p.6) defined epistemology as the relationship between the knower and the known. Specifically, the epistemological understanding I bring to interpreting Aboriginal enterprise is positioned through social constructionism and constructivism. First, social constructionism indicates that my collective culture as a non-Aboriginal person will influence the way I perceive Aboriginal enterprise. As such, my ideas are representative of a modern Western society, not an Indigenous one. Second and more specifically, a constructivist position acknowledges the unique experiences I hold. This means that I hold an individual and personal view of Aboriginal enterprise based on my experiences living and working in remote and regional Australia.

These two ways that I construct and frame knowledge, as a Westerner with local level experiences with Aboriginal people begins to influence, the way I interpret Aboriginality, and how I see the impact of larger organisations on small ones. These personal positions are my epistemological assumptions, that reflects my 'individual meaning-making' (Crotty 1998, p.58) of SAE.

Importantly, a constructivist epistemological position asks the researcher (I) to observe and interpret someone else's episteme (way of thinking). Thus, I seek to reflect on how Aboriginal enterprise owners and/or managers know and understand their world. To begin to understand their views, I acknowledge that I construct the world around me. Therefore, I construct the way I use information and knowledge, between the participants and myself; I see this as one way to generate a grounded understanding of Aboriginal enterprise. The other way, being an Aboriginal viewpoint.

Theoretical perspectives

Specifically, I attempt to understand a grounded perspective of Aboriginality through interpretivism, which can be linked to Max Weber's idea that considers the 'individual

and his action as the basic unit of social experiences' (Crotty 1998, p.67). As such, I want to preserve (as much as possible) these individual actions by establishing a culturally derived understanding of the collected data. That is, I want to understand how Aboriginal people see their and other enterprises, and how the participants see me as a researcher, even if their perspectives are very different to my own.

An interpretivist position informs my theoretical perspectives in this research (Crotty 1998, p.5). As such, I interpret the meaning of my epistemological constructions between the Aboriginal enterprise participant and myself. An interpretivist position also provides for an inquiry into Aboriginal enterprises where 'we lay aside, as best we can, the prevailing understandings… and re-visit our immediate experiences of them, where the possibilities for new meaning emerge' (ibid., p.78). That is, although I construct and frame ideas of SAE, I attempt to put them aside until data is analysed.

An interpretivist position is one theoretical stance behind my methodology; another is symbolic interactionism (cultural meanings are learned through interaction). When theory is related back to NAO practices I rely upon symbolic interactionism to guide my research efforts. In this case, symbolic interactionism encourages the researcher (I) to view relationships in social settings as critical to gaining deeper understandings of Aboriginal cultural symbols. Accordingly, relationships between and within small and large organisations, and their surrounding social discourse are influences that remain inseparable for me. I see these disparate relationships as social products by, 'creations that are formed in and through the defining activities of people as they interact' (Blumer 1969, p.5). This means that I am not separated from the social processes in which I interpret small Aboriginal enterprises; but it means that interactions rather than the overarching methods remain important to me.

Both grounded theory and narrative research resonate with interpretivism and symbolic interactionism. As an example, interpretivist positions were used by these grounded theorists: Locke, K (2001); Goulding (2005); Klunklin and Greenwood 2006) and Charmaz (2006). An interpretivist grounded theorist believes that: 'we try to understand but do not necessarily adopt or reproduce their views as our own; rather we interpret them' (Charmaz 2006, p.19). Furthermore, narrative research also aligns with symbolic interactionism. Narrative methods show 'the marginal, local, everyday, heterogeneous and indeterminate alongside the socially constructed, emergent and plural' (Shalin 1993, p.304). That is, the rich fabric of Aboriginal enterprise is used to

construct my ideas both socially through emergence, and through many perspectives. As such, social processes are important to me at an individual and cultural level.

These theoretical positions begin to influence the way I use the methodologies and methods to understand the nature of SAE. Yet, rather than rely upon one method, I follow Knox's (2004) suggestion that an ability to blend and use numerous methods is important when matching the unfolding ideas to the underlying theoretical paradigm. Before the methods are given, the application of my theoretical paradigm is presented.

Application of my theoretical paradigm

My theoretical paradigm can be positioned spatially (see Figure 4.1) which expands the previous Table 4.1 to the research process. My paradigm is directed by an internal methodology which guides and informs the research. As an overarching guide, the internal processes are supported by an external methodology which begins to contrast the results against other literature.

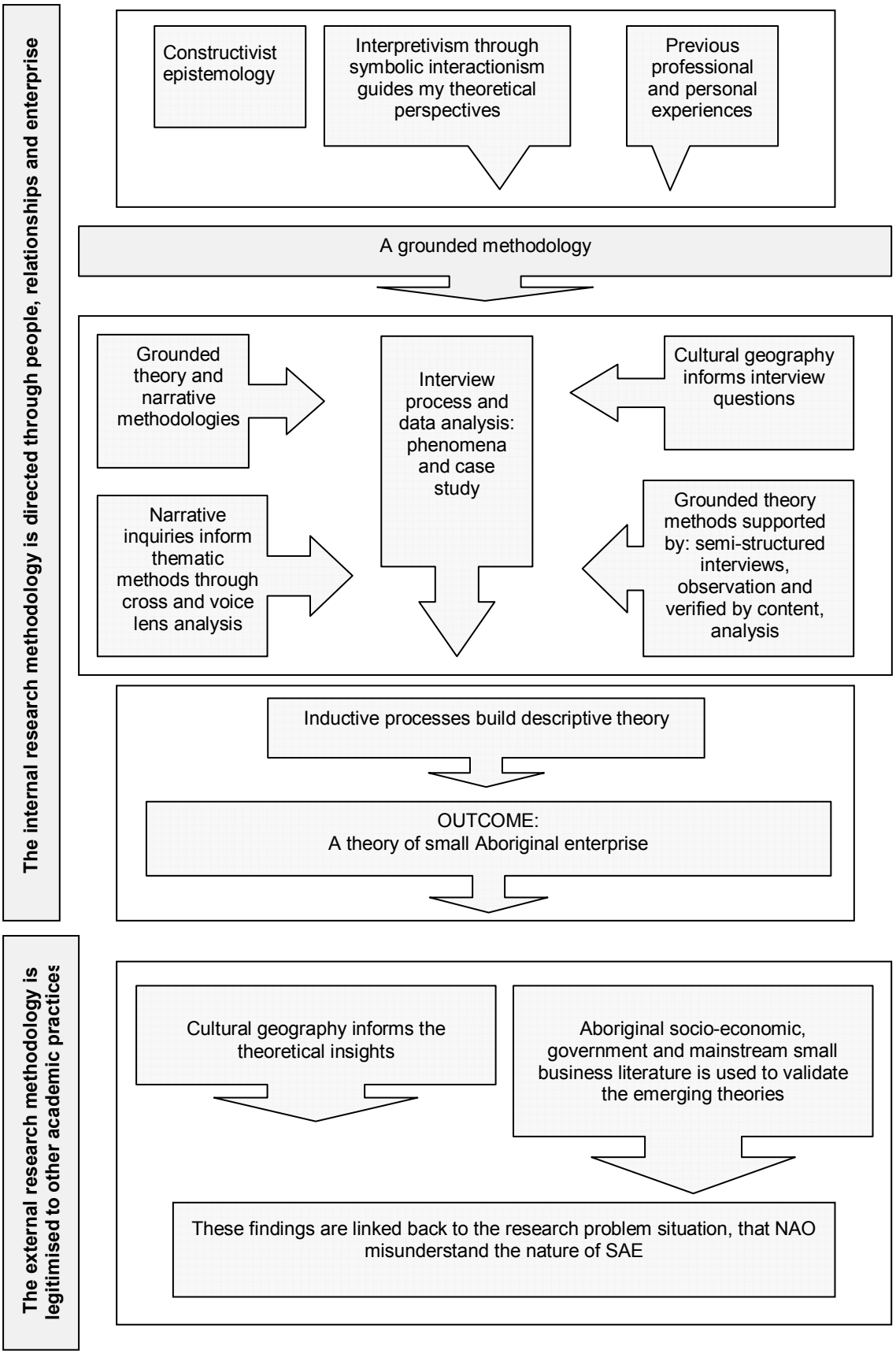


Figure 4.1: Application of my theoretical paradigm to the research process

The diagram shows how multiple research processes are linked together. The epistemological and theoretical perspectives incorporate my professional and personal experiences. These perspectives inform both the methodology and the methods. Cultural geography is used to direct my line of questioning within a framework of grounded theory and narrative research. They are both informed through constructivism, which encourages interpretivist practices to unfold. I interpret the world around me through symbolic interactionism 'frames'.[19] In other words, reality is constructed through my social interactions with the participants which occur through a grounded methodology.

Another way to reflect this research process is through a circular pattern. The advantage of this is that iteration is revealed between the research processes; the participants and the unfolding story of SAE (see Figure 4.2). However, this time the diagram uses the three-part methodology of Carlile and Christensen's (2004) descriptive theory building process: observation, categorisation and association.

[19] The word 'frames' is used conceptually to represent a lens, an approach, a focus or a picture. This frame reflects what I create and then see. In this case, the cultural symbols from my interpretations of SAE and my role become a frame of reference to understand the social interactions around me. A symbolic interactionism frame means that I see interactions and connections between many parts, rather than isolated and unrelated frames.

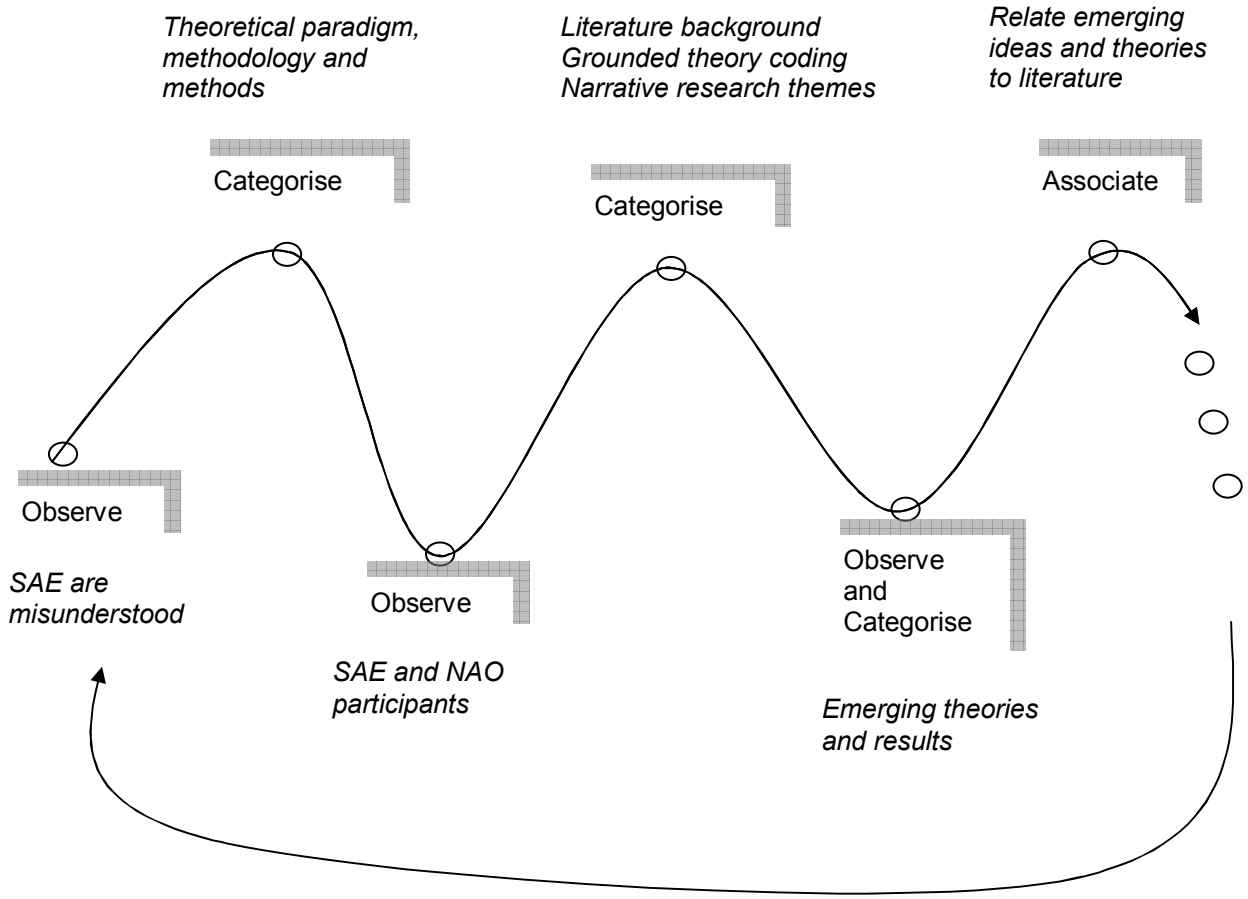


Figure 4.2: Reflecting the iterative nature of the grounded methodology through a circular research process, adapted from Carlile and Christensen (2004)

This conceptualisation of the grounded methodology against the research process shows that 'observation' and 'categorisation' were the major components used throughout the study. The third step 'association' is used at the end of the study to contrast the work to government practices and academic literature. The italicised text in the diagram shows the research process that occurred at each stage. This reveals how the problem situation (that SAE are misunderstood), is the start point and remains the direction of the research. This results in the descriptive theory. Importantly, iteration between the parts is used to pool the work together.

This grounded methodology diagram and the previous one aim to show how the application of my theoretical paradigm to the research process is designed to reflect inductive research principles. This goes part way to meeting the request by Indigenous researchers to think of methodology that is fluid, circular and accomplished in a more sympathetic, respectful and ethically correct fashion from an Indigenous perspective

(Louis 2007). Narrative discourses support the interview process and data analysis by preserving Aboriginal voices and enterprise stories.

To connect these ideas into the methodologies, a discussion of qualitative research practice unfolds. This outlines the importance of using an internal and external methodology, phenomena and case study thinking. Later paragraphs connect these ideas to the grounded methodology.

Qualitative research practice

Qualitative research practice can be framed through a research methodology, which Seale, Gobo, Gubrium and Silverman (2005) described through internal and external functions. An internal methodology helps to frame and guide a research topic during the whole process of producing knowledge, whilst an external methodology legitimises the work against other social practices (ibid., p.7). In this research (refer back to Figure 4.1), an internal methodology captures widespread topics and social issues, the vast array of textual inputs and the multitude of research participants and their viewpoints. This internal methodology keeps the research analysis on track. An external methodology, such as conducting experiments to contrast findings, and compliance to formal investigative rules, such as hypothesis testing and theory verification, do not follow. I felt that any rigid conformance to a broader external methodology to direct the research would restrict ideas growing inductively from the Aboriginal voices, which could be constrained through more established academic beliefs, often reliant on external methodologies.[20] This belief accords with a grounded methodology. In other words, ideas are grown from the data, rather than imposed through extant theories over the data. Despite its impact, an external methodology is used, but primarily to embed the emerging theories with literature and offer interpretations about NAO relationships. Thus, reflecting Carlile and Christensen's (2004) concept of association.

Informed but not directed by case study thinking

To capture interpretations of the SAE participants, a case study approach is used alongside exploration of phenomena. However, it is acknowledged that these two approaches may conflict with each other. This circumstance is managed by prioritising

[20] See a valuable discussion about the need for linguistic competence as a requisite for research in Indigenous issues in Blair (2006, p.3). The author advised that researchers cannot rely on colonial languages and thoughts to define Indigenous reality. To address this doubt, I encouraged a grounded methodology to preserve many Aboriginal voices. As the Aboriginal tradition of story-telling is reflected in story-building, theory development and inclusion of Indigenous researcher's material as much as possible.

one approach over the other, with each holding different responsibilities. As such, the findings are established by exploring phenomena, yet this is conducted through a case study approach to find generalisations and to understand what is going on (Evans & Gruba 2002, p.95). This basic assumption where phenomena lead and case study informs; shapes the research design.

A case study approach based on understanding multiple enterprises supports a flexible design and multiple triangulation points (Yin 2003), but does not direct this research. Similarly, a case study approach informs the research design whilst the story of Aboriginal enterprise leads the inquiry; but is revealed by grounded theory methods and narrative insights. In essence, case study thinking informs and colours the research approach by focussing on the individual case, rather than the methods of inquiry (Stake 2005). This means the case study approach gives primacy to SAE participants and my interpretations rather than rigorous presentation of the analysis through methods. However, it remains that phenomena surrounding the misunderstood SAE two-world situation directs the research. This is supported by case study thinking. By combining these ideas it provides a research focus based on individual SAE owners and/or managers, not broader social systems as government or industry.

Determining the research methodology

A number of qualitative methodologies were investigated (refer to Appendix E). This section summarises these methodologies before an approach is selected.

It was found that conversation analysis (Peräkylä 2005; Holstein & Gubrium 2005); and critical discourse analysis (Delamont 2005) would focus the research on the fine details of each enterprise and contrast these against numerous theoretical perspectives. Although these approaches may restrict broader perspectives of SAE, they recognise and keep the participant voices as the primary focus.

Feminist approaches (Kitzinger 2005) to Aboriginal enterprise are poorly represented. A feminist approach to this study would bring forward women's voices and experience of Aboriginal enterprise together with my role as a feminist researcher. Similar to the previous two approaches, the feminist perspective is less flexible in addressing the vast array of SAE characteristics, particularly as many Aboriginal enterprises are operated or managed by men.

Ethnography (Delamont 2005) and participant observation (ibid.) would immerse this research into a geographical area by providing thick descriptions and intimate details about Aboriginal enterprises and their relationships. These approaches permit a deeper understanding of a few Aboriginal enterprises, particularly of the surrounding social environment. However, ethnographic and participant observation would be an unsuitable way to address the vast array of enterprises and the research aim; because the level of detail restricts the number of Aboriginal people and stakeholders interviewed.

Alternative qualitative approaches include applied research (Patton 1990) and action research (McKernan 1991). These two approaches focus upon problem solving, whereas the bulk of this research is informed through an exploratory case study framework, which aims to generate new ideas, not solve problems. Although applied research could inform the application of new theory to the research stakeholders, an action research project in total may limit the opportunity for descriptive theory building, which was considered necessary to gain fresh ideas about the SAE two-world situation. This means that to maintain a case study approach where many Aboriginal voices and stories are preserved, it was felt that applied and action research might move the study into problem solving rather than an open ended exploration of SAE.

Narrative research is flexible enough to highlight the complex relationships between Western and traditional livelihoods across multiple enterprises. The use of story-telling through narrative insights can help preserve the many Aboriginal voices, and to provide windows of knowledge (Evelyn 2005). Similarly, Westphalen (2006) and Louis (2007) both suggested that stories are central to Aboriginal society, because stories show how Aboriginal people collaborate and affiliate to their external world through culture.

Grounded theory offers similar advantages to narrative research, because both have the potential to consider wider social processes. More particularly, grounded theory has two distinct traditions (Dey 2005) through an objectivist and interpretivist approach. Both approaches are flexible enough to consider an array of information from people with vast life experiences. Nevertheless, as the research moves across both Western society and traditional Aboriginal culture, and that my paradigm gives primacy to relationships in and between these social circumstances, an interpretivist approach

was favoured. An interpretivist position aligns more closely to my beliefs, rather than a more process driven approach of an objectivist grounded theory.[21]

Both narrative and ethnographic research offer approaches well suited to explore the SAE two-world situation because they return the focus back to the Aboriginal participant. Rather than prioritising one methodology over the other, both grounded theory and narrative research are used,[22] but in different ways. More particularly, grounded theory is used to develop fresh ideas about the workings of the SAE internal world, separate from the literature. On the other hand, narrative research is used to understand the SAE external world, and develop their stories about relating to NAO. However, both methodologies can be captured under Carlile and Christensen's (2004) grounded methodology.

A grounded methodology is used to emerge theory through both grounded theory and narrative methods by using Carlile and Christensen's (2004) descriptive theory building model. This grounded methodology is based upon induction and emergence of ideas. This means the research can move freely across cultures, enterprise sizes, stakeholder groups and multiple locations without having to test or prove a theory. A grounded methodology can be supported by Indigenous perspectives to help preserve Aboriginal voices and stories. More details about grounded theory and narrative research methodologies are presented shortly, but beforehand the concept of a grounded methodology is further explained.

Methodologies

The concept of a grounded methodology is used in this study to reflect the principles of reasoning, and the relationships between sub-disciplines (Sloman 1999). This means that methodology is used to connect my epistemologies and theoretical perspectives across to the research disciplines and methods. Considering that a grounded methodology was recently selected based upon a combined grounded theory and narrative approach, these details are now discussed.

[21] The other way to inform grounded theory is an objectivist approach which has a positivist tradition. This erases the social context, influence of the researcher and interactions with the participants, essentially assuming that I am an unbiased observer (Charmaz 2006, p.131). Also see O'Connor, Netting and Thomas (2008) for positivist and interpretive paradigmatic differences within grounded theory.
[22] Ethnographic methods remain unused due to multiple methods already underway.

Using a grounded methodology

A grounded methodology in this study pools two belief systems. First, it is derived from grounded theory, where methodology is described as inductive theory discovery that 'allows the researcher to develop a theoretical account of the general features of the topic while grounding the work in empirical observations of data' (Martin, PY & Turner 1986, p.141). Second the research grounded methodology aligns with Mello's (2002, p.231) narrative concept, that is: 'there is a reliance on the philosophical constructs and meaning-making procedures derived from, and grounded in, narrative and discourse processes'. These two belief systems show Sloman's (1999) methodological concepts in action: that is, the relationship between concepts and sub-disciplines.

Grounded theory and narrative methodologies are different. A grounded theory methodology relies on theoretical accounts and techniques to establish features from the data, whilst a narrative methodology is focussed more on meaning-making, by revealing meaning through textual, socio-cultural, educative and transactional operations (Smeyers & Verhesschen 2001). These two disciplines can be adapted to this research if grounded theory is considered as a technique and a method driven activity, and narrative research is considered as a co-locating method which align themes with each other. However both methodologies have in common, the desire to induct information, describe situations by observing, and then gather these to make inferences. Rather than taking a piece from each and establishing a new methodology for this research, the two methodologies are separately acknowledged, despite operating alongside each other. Together they are called a grounded methodology.

To make the grounded methodology more accessible in this research, grounded theory is used to frame the data analysis needed to unveil the SAE internal world whilst narrative methodology is used to co-locate themes arising out of the SAE external world. The benefit of this is that, grounded theory emergence of the SAE internal world is free-ranging and unlinked back to current knowledge. In contrast narrative methods are then used to develop the SAE external world which are influenced by previous internal world interpretations. This makes it easier to unveil fresh ideas (grounded theory) and identify relationships (narrative analysis).

This combined grounded methodology fits into Carlile and Christensen's (2004) concept of a descriptive theory building model which iterates information between three steps in order to build emerging theory. Before their descriptive theory building model

is discussed, a short overview of grounded theory and a narrative methodology is given.

Grounded theory as methodology

Grounded theory began with the original 1967 work by Glaser and Strauss, yet each theorist was from different sociological backgrounds. Glaser was influenced by Columbia University positivism, where 'theory is variable and definitions and hypotheses can be tested through accurate and reliable measurement' (Charmaz 2006, p.7). In contrast, Strauss was influenced by Chicago school pragmatism, believing that human beings are active agents in their lives and their world (ibid.). Grounded theory changed direction during the 1980s, one set of ideas following Glaser and the other Strauss. The differences were considered to be within their methods, particularly the application of coding principles to data. In this example, Glaser remained consistent with the early publication and believed that coding categories emerged naturally from the data. Glaser also favoured comparative strategies to understand relationships in the data, whilst Strauss teamed up with Corbin and further developed grounded theory by introducing more rigid and analytical coding practices. Strauss and Corbin (1998) advocated verification, more technical procedures in their methods, with an emphasis upon pre-conceived coding categories, thus contradicting Glaser's (1992) view of fundamental grounded theory principles based on natural emergence.

More recently it appears that grounded theory methodology is changing direction again, with Charmaz (2006) building upon the foundation ideas of these theorists. Specifically, Charmaz (2006, p.xii) viewed grounded theory as 'a method to enhance possibilities to transform knowledge, to actively move the methodology back to the research participants'. Glaser's original ideas developed theories inductively and Charmaz's (2006, p.xii) recent ideas encouraged strong participant-driven research. Both concepts are employed in this research, thus abiding by a constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz 2006, p.130), through natural emergence. These are supported by Strauss and Corbin's (1998) techniques as required. To actively incorporate grounded theory into the writing process, Glaser (1978, pp.128-9), Strauss and Corbin (1998, p.249) and Charmaz (2006, p.xi) advised that it was a process that few researchers successfully achieve.[23] The grounded theory practice (Glaser 1978; Charmaz 2006) of

[23] Glaser argued that theory was often left implicit in the write-up because analysts get caught up in the richness of data (Glaser 1978, p.129), whilst Charmaz (2006, p. xi) argued that numerous researchers have invoked grounded theory as a methodological rationale rather than adopting its guidelines to inform

developing information, data and ideas without the use of literature (academic and government or industry practices) meant that insights about the SAE internal world occurred very early in the research process, well before the problem situation was fully developed. This allowed for fresh development of ideas before later work made associations and contrasts to literature in order to understand and position the results.

Narrative research as methodology

Recently, narrative ways to explore and express ideas have become more popular (Clandinin & Connelly 2000). In 1997, Gubrium and Holstein suggested that narrative research was the new language of the qualitative method. Furthermore, Chase (2005, p.651) suggested that a narrative methodology was defined as one that 'amalgams inter-disciplinary lenses, diverse disciplinary approaches, and both traditional and innovate methods – all revolving around an interest in biographical particulars as narrated by the one who lives them'.

Chase (2005) advised that methodologically, it is important to transform the interviewer-interviewee relationship into one of narrator and listener. This means continually re-orienting the questions and pace of the interview to suit each different occasion. Here the author indicated that the researcher's own voice can get in the way of the story under narration. She suggested that three researcher voices can assist with the ability to listen carefully: the researcher's authoritative, supportive and interactive voice. As such, bracketing my 'researcher voice' allows for the particular and general details to be interpreted from the Aboriginal participant's story.

Methodologically, this means the SAE external world is understood by the way the researcher sees themselves in relation to the participant's story. As an example, this can then be understood through biographical, social, economic and historical circumstances. The point being made here is that, a narrative methodology can provide a broad way to pool information sources across individuals, families, communities and organisational types. Unlike a grounded theory methodology, a narrative one places emphasis on continual reflection of the researcher's beliefs and positions in relation to each unique narration. Conversely, grounded theory is immersed within processes to induct new and fresh ideas. Thus, a combined grounded methodology in this research generates two responses: grounded theory to

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their studies. Furthermore, Charmaz (2006, p.176) indicated that writing with grounded theory incorporated strategies that mirrored how you constructed grounded theory. Thus, enhancing the power of the theory and the power of your writing (ibid.).

systematically emerge new ideas; and narrative research to emerge ideas through understanding the researcher influence and position.

Application of two combined grounded methodologies under a descriptive theory building model – the three points

The work of Carlile and Christensen (2004) can be used to activate the combined grounded methodology described above. Specifically a descriptive theory building model, based on a three-point inductive process between observing, categorising and associating is helpful (see Chapter 1, p.13). Carlile and Christensen made an important point, that development of theory is only an instrument along the way to achieving an answer. Acknowledging this sentiment means that grounded methodology can be used to facilitate the induction of ideas through structured methods. However, answers and explanations about the misunderstood SAE two-world situation can only be provided after the theory is related out to other work. In this case, theory is related and associated with literature and government practices. This offers an opportunity to continue on or challenge the emergent theory from this study, albeit from a grounded theory or a narrative position.

Carlile and Christensen (2004) advocated the use of a three-point descriptive theory building model based upon:

1. *Observing* and carefully describing what you see.
2. Classifying phenomena then *categorising* it through their attributes.
3. Defining relationships through *association*.

In this study however, defining relationships are limited to relating emerging theory out to literature and NAOs relationship with SAE, not deducting or confirming theory. To do so would transfer this step into testing and the basis of normative theory, which is not the intention of this study.

Specifically in this research, Carlile and Christensen's (2004) first step 'observations', are made about the SAE internal world; these interpret the SAE experience and occur through grounded theory methods. Similarly, observations are made through narrative insights about the SAE external world which describe relationships; these are inducted through themes. The second step, 'categorisation', occurs once both grounded theory and narrative inquiry steps begin to classify ideas into categories and themes.

Categorisation begins the more rigid aspects, by transforming the interpretations into related groups, thus beginning to re-construct SAE reality. The third step 'association',

occurs when the emerging theories are related from this study against literature and to the NAO context. Thus, association means revealing the relationship between what was developed through observations and categorisation against 'what is said elsewhere'.

The descriptive theory building model is used because it allows for fresh insights about the misunderstood SAE two-world phenomena by pooling both grounded theory and narrative methods. A grounded methodology also relates this new knowledge to what is already known about SAE. By doing this, a grounded perspective based upon the many voices of Aboriginal people can continue through until emerging theories are built.

The application of Carlile and Christensen's (2004) descriptive theory building model is outlined at the beginning of Chapters 5, 6, and 7. However before these occur, the detailed research methods are discussed.

Methods

The research methods are organised into six steps. The first three steps prepare the data, then the following three steps show how grounded theory and narrative inquiry was used to develop the research results. Each step begins by fitting the grounded methodology through Carlile and Christensen's (2004) three points to the method under discussion.

Steps 1-3 – Preparation (grounded methodology point one – observation)

Steps 1 to 3 reflects the grounded methodology through descriptive theory building techniques under point one, observation. Specifically, observations are made through data gathering, conducting interviews with SAE and NAO, completing the preliminary interviews, and through participant observation techniques.

Step 1 – Consultation

Consulting both SAE and NAO was the first step when framing the research project. See Appendix F for an overview of NAO who participated in this research. Consultation enabled the principle factors, and the problems and questions to be identified by the participants (see Appendix G for the guiding questions to NAO). Their responses informed the research design, and this meant considering Aboriginal

enterprise more widely than just a commercial activity. More details about this wide view of SAE are unfolded in Chapter 5 (p.133).

Research stakeholders

Early discussions brought out a range of ideas from Aboriginal enterprise owners and/or managers, Aboriginal bureaucrats, government agencies, mining companies, mining representative bodies and interested small business people. The discussions were held informally, managed through a semi-structured interview with the aim to discover stakeholder problems and questions about Aboriginal enterprise. These stakeholders were identified through networking, attending industry presentations and by snowball and purposeful sampling (Patton 1990), more about this type of sampling shortly (p.104).

Many of the NAO offered a large range of ideas to explore that, if followed, would send this research in opposing directions. To maintain connection to the research aim, these ideas were synthesised to help identify Aboriginal enterprise characteristics within remote and regional areas.

Stakeholder problems

Aboriginal people, government agencies and mining industry representatives identified a number of common and independent problems about Aboriginal enterprise. Broadly, NAO stated that often it found Aboriginal enterprise more difficult to understand than non-Aboriginal small businesses; whereas Aboriginal participants stated that non-Aboriginal people were dismissive of enterprises with an Aboriginal cultural content. Combined, NAO identified a series of eight other sub-problems; which were important to understanding relationships between Aboriginal enterprise, government and industry:

- The perception and/or the interaction of commercial, cultural and family issues appeared to be troublesome for some Aboriginal enterprise owners and/or managers.
- It appeared that strategic thinking by many Aboriginal small enterprises was problematic.
- Previous Federal Government Aboriginal economic policy has failed many Aboriginal people.
- The history of Aboriginal and mining relations has been difficult.
- The misuse of power within and external to the Aboriginal enterprise was partly understood, but mostly misunderstood.
- Decision-making within Aboriginal enterprises could be difficult for non-Aboriginal people to understand.
- Sustainable development was cited as a system to help manage relationships between miners and Aboriginal people, but this was not well explained.

- The interfaces between Aboriginal enterprise, government and mainstream businesses were strained.

Content analysis of these NAO research problems reflected common patterns: the internal workings of Aboriginal enterprise were problematic; or the perception by non-Aboriginals of enterprise itself was an issue; or alternatively a combination of both. These patterns formed the basis of the following questions from NAO to me.

When I spoke to the NAO they wanted to know this about Aboriginal enterprise:

- How do Aboriginal enterprise owners and/or managers understand cultural, family and commercial issues?
- How do commercial and family issues interact and affect an Aboriginal enterprise?
- What thinking occurs by the owner and/or manager before an Aboriginal enterprise begins?
- Are commercial, family and cultural issues considered separately or together in Aboriginal enterprise? What are their interactions and effects?
- What are the power relations between stakeholders in the Aboriginal enterprise? What is the effect upon the enterprise?
- Do enterprise practices detract from cultural practices?
- Who makes decisions and how?
- How important is profit and commercial thinking in enterprise?
- What are the priorities of the enterprise? Are they based on family, culture or commercial considerations?
- Can enterprise success be measured against commercial and cultural goals?
- Do mainstream social enterprises hold similar characteristics to Aboriginal enterprise?

In contrast, the SAE wanted to know this about relationships with government and industry:

- How can Aboriginal enterprises bring family and culture into enterprise and be accepted by government and industry?
- How similar are we to mainstream small business?
- Why do government and industry struggle with our culture in enterprise?
- Why do big business and government ignore what we want?
- How can our land rights be protected, and how we can develop enterprise that suits our needs?
- We want more kids involved in enterprise, why do government hold us back?
- How can I grow an enterprise so I can help others?

It appeared from consulting the research stakeholders that Aboriginal enterprises could readily understand each other, yet larger organisations and mainstream businesses could not understand Aboriginal enterprises very well. This misunderstanding reinforced the research phenomena that SAE are misunderstood and as such, their ideas were incorporated into question development for participant interviews.

It was evident from the content analysis of the stakeholder meetings that, problems about each other developed as a result of negative experiences and misinformation.

Incorporating these observations into the participant interviews was therefore considered a critical step in seeking answers about Aboriginal enterprise.

Step 1 was designed as a broad process to account for the wide number of opinions about Aboriginal enterprise. I found the views of NAO accorded with the conclusions drawn from the background literature chapter however, NAO held more rigid and commercial ideas about Aboriginal enterprise than later academic literature revealed. Step 1 enabled all viewpoints to be gathered and considered, even though many of the ideas were widespread and unrelated to the research aim. This first step effectively cast a large net over the research topic, gathering in critical problems, ideas and questions before the research was designed.

Step 2 – Design

Research design considerations targeted the way interviews were constructed and information gathered as well as the role of a non-Aboriginal researcher, and corresponding ethical considerations. The considerations put forward by Louis (2007) remained prominent in this research: to encourage participation by Aboriginal people; accept and acknowledge Aboriginal knowledge systems; define the position of the researcher with the community; determine a research agenda together; and share knowledge back to Aboriginal people.

Theoretical explanations

The work of Patton (1990) and Crotty (1998) provides a theoretical basis for the design of the semi-structured interviews. In addition, the advice from Charmaz (2006) and Travers (2006) provides helpful comparative literature.

First, Patton (1990, p.317) discussed researcher neutrality, saying: 'I cannot be shocked, I cannot be angered, I cannot be embarrassed, I cannot be saddened – indeed, nothing the person tells me will make me think more or less of them'. This attempt at recognising a neutral listening position offered by Patton (1990) was attempted throughout the data gathering process, to help bracket my non-Aboriginal beliefs.[24] However, bracketing myself from the research was not entirely successful, rather I paid attention to the differences between the participant and myself (Enosh, Ben-Ari & Buchbinder 2008); rendering my beliefs; being flexible during interviews;

[24] The technique of bracketing has been adapted from phenomenology (Patton 1990) to manage the interview design, regardless of cultural background.

attending to ethical considerations; and respecting participants' changing circumstances.

Second, the interview design was assisted by phenomenology. Crotty (1998, p.83) suggested that it was important to 'identify, understand, describe and maintain the subjective experiences of the respondents'. This was considered vital to describing the grass roots experiences and stories of the Aboriginal enterprises. I attempted to place myself in the position of the other (the participant), to understand their point of view and to get a sense of why the participants expressed themselves in the way they did. This phenomenological and narrative approach was useful in understanding the different points of view offered by some research stakeholders about Aboriginal people and by some Aboriginal people about NAO. Often, the perceptions of each other were emotive and based upon their negative images of each other.

Seeing these diverse views, allowed me to apply my reflexivity (refer to p.27) between the research participants and the research processes. In practice, I scrutinised my research experiences, my decisions and the interpretations in ways that brought me into the process (see Charmaz 2006, pp.188-9). This reflexivity sought to align with Louis' (2007) earlier considerations (p.27) to continually reflect upon the Aboriginal experience, regardless of how challenging it was personally.

Theoretically, the interview design fitted with Charmaz's (2006, p.29) idea that 'questions must explore the interviewer's topic and fit the participant's experience'. Therefore, participant questions reflected the research aim, but also responded to the NAO problems and questions. To ask direct questions about SAE characteristics may well produce answers to the research aim, but offered little connection to SAE problems identified in Step 1. Instead of asking direct questions, importantly I needed to understand the Aboriginal view of enterprise before any specific topics could be explored. Critically, this approach also accorded with cultural practices to avoid direct questioning of Aboriginal participants (see Appendix H). Understanding the multiple inputs to Aboriginal enterprise were considered a vital link to characterising Aboriginal enterprise two-world situation however, this needed to occur in subtle ways.

Travers (2006, p.98) highlighted the importance of obtaining vivid examples or stories from the research participants, whilst trying to avoid short, uninformative answers. Additionally, establishing rapport with the participants through trust and ease of communication was considered an effective method to understand the other person's

model of the world (ibid.). Thus, a successful interview would not only be based upon my preparation of effective questions, but my ability to make the participant feel comfortable and valued in the research process by encouraging the free flow of their personal stories of enterprise.

Intensive interviewing and semi-structured interview design

The interview process itself became the testing ground for the research design. Data collection in the field represented the application of these beliefs and methods. I followed advice from Charmaz (2006, p.25) and in practice applied intensive interviewing techniques. Intensive interviewing permits an in-depth exploration of a particular topic or experience, although the risk of employing this technique was that in some cases, participants may see the interview as 'interrogation'. To avoid this, I let the conversation drift and flow and I built upon the participant verbal and non-verbal cues. To illustrate these, refer once more to Appendix H for an outline of Aboriginal communication, behaviour and etiquette protocols encountered in this research.

Intensive interview techniques were supported through semi-structured interviews (see p.106). This type of interview was flexible enough to allow for changing circumstances, essentially aiding the flow of the conversation without being formal and restrictive. It meant that some interviews took a few hours, some occurred over a few days and other interviews conducted piecemeal over a week or two. The conduct of intensive and semi-structured interviews meant fitting in with enterprise owners and/or managers practical responsibilities: I became the background to their enterprise, not their main subject.

Semi-structured interview questions were informed through cultural geographic tenets, such as power, culture, gender, identity, reflexivity and difference (Blunt, Gruffudd, May, Ogborn & Pinder 2003). The questions also reflected the cultural and biased views of each other, as well as the degree of trust between me and my participants. The questions were used as a guide, with some added or deleted to suit the participant and the situation. The questions were also refined as a result of new concepts that surfaced from grounded theory analysis. Examples of the questions used in the interviews with SAE are at Appendix I.

Participant observation

In qualitative research, participant observation is a common analytical tool. In light of my theoretical paradigm, the following discussion illustrates the benefits and costs of using participant observation in this research. Charmaz (2006, p.25) believed that participant observation encourages the researcher to explore issues deeply, but 'does not let a grounded theory study move around'. For Strauss and Corbin (1998, p.58), participant observation was different. They saw interpretation of events, objects, happenings and actions gained in participant observation to be one of three major aspects of grounded theory analysis.

However, the full spectrum of participant observation methods, as proposed by Strauss and Corbin (1998), were not used because it began to compartmentalise this research; placing it within pre-determined categories rather than evolving the theory through iterative and inductive analysis. Instead, Charmaz's (2006) signal about the restrictiveness of participant observation was noted and, as such, my observations were used to help understand the range of verbal and non-verbal participant cues. As an example, voice tone, posture and participant's interest in the topic, were useful cues.

The task of observing participants was also valuable because it highlighted the various enterprise ideas, and the nature of family and cultural interactions at the time of the interview. Participant observation methods were useful to gauge reliability and consistency of answers. However, the methods did not always fit with the two guiding interview principles offered by Patton (1990) and Crotty (1998) (the neutrality/listening roles and understanding answers from the participants' position). In other words, participant observation restricted reflexivity. Furthermore, I was unable to observe events before and after the interview, and interactions with other enterprise stakeholders, other than owners and/or managers.

I found that my interpretations made participant observation methods less rigorous in this research. Despite attempts at bracketing myself, any observation and explanation of participant actions was clouded by my own personal judgements. Participant observation was used to a lesser degree than other methods, simply because it included a degree of error, which did not suit my interpretivist and constructivist perspectives. After each interview, participant observation notes were made, which added context and 'feel', but were not included as an integral part of grounded theory or narrative analysis. It was felt that participant observation would take this research

away from the goal of preserving many Aboriginal voices and thus, further increase my influence as a non-Aboriginal researcher.

Ethics process and relationship to methods

Part of the requirements of the University of Adelaide when researching Aboriginal people involved a detailed application with yearly updates to the Human Ethics Committee. These ethical considerations took into account Aboriginal enterprise stakeholders, the manner in which I would make contact and establish dialogue with Aboriginal owners and/or managers, and how I would manage sensitive and confidential issues. To assist production of clear language interview documents, a standard consent letter for research participants, a research project information sheet and a complaints document were made available (see Appendix J).

In practice, I found three of the ethical considerations (cultural sensitivity, economic benefit and gender) put forward to the Committee and those put forward by Indigenous woman Blair (2006), were challenged during my interviews with Aboriginal owners and/or managers. They wanted to know what 'they would get from the research meeting', 'what I was doing as a white woman researching Aboriginal issues and taking away their information for my own personal benefit', and 'why mining companies were sponsoring part of the research into Aboriginal enterprise', and 'are you working for them?' I discussed each one of these issues as they were presented, with openness and honesty. I also acknowledged the validity of their questions and I encouraged discussion to understand their point of view more clearly. Advising participants of my own small business experiences in a remote area, my family history of small business, my intention to work in the field with Aboriginal enterprises after the research, and providing feedback about the research findings so far (after the interview) assisted in negotiating these ethical situations. By assisting in this way, I met Aboriginal cultural expectations of reciprocation, that is giving something back (my help) after I took something away (their knowledge) from them. To protect both the participant and myself, signed consent forms were completed by all participants and stored with original interview transcripts. The majority of the participants wished to be quoted anonymously in the research thesis (e.g. mostly as person 'A from location C'), with approximately 40 per cent agreeing to use of their name and any comments.

Step 2 outlined the interview preparation and techniques used for the field-work, and the relevant explanatory literature. It accounted for interview theoretical considerations, intensive and semi-structured interview techniques, participant

observation and ethical considerations as a non-Aboriginal researcher. This step positioned the interview process before starting the data collection.

Step 3 – Data collection

Data collection was approached creatively, allowing for complete flexibility of participants' needs. Depending on the level of interest shown by each research participant, the content of the interviews was either expanded or reduced. The selection of the interview participants was voluntary. The working definition of an Aboriginal enterprise (p.37) was used to qualify the participants. The Aboriginal enterprises were primarily selected by word of mouth via another participant, and to a lesser degree through knowledge of their existence via newspaper articles, internet searches and references from Aboriginal bureaucrats and mining companies. Eight to ten people were normally approached for each field trip.

Sampling

This interview selection technique represented both snowball and purposeful sampling (Patton 1990, p.169) or purposive sampling (Gobo 2005, p.448). In particular, the sub type, extreme or deviant case sampling (Patton 1990, pp.169-171) was employed to indicate the wide range of Aboriginal enterprises from numerous locations reflecting different sizes, profitability, industries and cultures. Extreme purposeful sampling captured as many different Aboriginal enterprises as possible within a defined geographical region, with the belief that capturing vast differences would show variance. This type of sampling meant that leads, networks and recommendations were the primary source of building connections to other potential participants. This technique meant that 'difficult to access people' could participate in this project.

Purposeful sampling procedures resulted in positive stories about Aboriginal enterprise, as those participants who were hostile or uninterested in this research did not want their stories publicised or in some cases to be formally interviewed. Often these potential participants had experienced some form of enterprise failure or were uncomfortable about the University taking knowledge from them. However, almost all of the Aboriginal owners and/or managers who were interviewed had experienced some form of enterprise failure and readily wished to reflect on the lessons learnt.

Triangulation

In social research in its broadest sense, triangulation implies combining more than one set of insights in an investigation (Downward & Mearman 2007). The insights can be combined through four triangulation taxonomies: data; investigator; theoretical; and methodological (Denzin 1970, in Downward & Mearman 2007). The benefit of using triangulation means greater research rigour. In this research, triangulation occurred during data gathering, others through data analysis or thesis writing. Specifically, these triangulation methods were used:

- Data triangulation
  - Interview more than one enterprise from the same region.
  - Talk to enterprise associates, where possible.
  - Write up participant observation notes after each interview.
  - Group similar-themed, semi-structured interview questions for each participant.
  - Refer to government policies and programme guides.
- Theoretical triangulation
  - Employ a range of academic theories to understand the findings informed by cultural geography.
- Methodological triangulation
  - Use grounded methodology to inform the methods.
  - Use content analysis for stakeholder meetings and to verify grounded theory results.
  - Use cross-interview analysis for preliminary interviews and to build out narrative insights.
  - Develop findings and check back to selected Aboriginal enterprise participants.

Triangulation techniques strengthened the research process, by double checking my ideas, and highlighting the gaps in the qualitative methods. These gaps mostly centred on my role as a researcher and the interpretations I was making during analytical coding steps.

Interview recording and note-taking

All interviews with SAE were recorded manually by note-taking. Nine interviews were also recorded on tape. The tape recorder was used early in the interview schedule, but was found to inhibit the data gathering process as many participants, particularly Aboriginal ones, were highly sensitive to their voice recording. Most participants spoke guardedly with the recorder on. Once the recorder was switched off, the participants engaged freely and advised they no longer felt under scrutiny. It was therefore decided to stop using the tape recorder. Instead each handwritten interview transcript was typed up by me under a Word programme and sent back to each person for checking

Management of data coding through NVIVO

To counteract the loss of the recording and the effects of any misinterpretation of their meanings, all typed interviews were returned in a self-addressed envelope for participant checking. Approximately 95% of participants returned their interview with either corrections or additional information. To manage the large amount of gathered interview data from Aboriginal enterprises, each typed interview was downloaded into a social science analytical computer programme, called NVIVO (QSR 2000). By doing so, I was aware that a software package should only support the study and not influence the researchers approach in any way (Hunter, Hari, Egb & Kelly 2005). NVIVO was used to: hold information in one location; apply grounded theory categories and narrative research themes; and to provide a meta-matrix table to compare selected attributes (see p.114). More information about these last two practices is given shortly.

Conduct of the preliminary interviews

Initially, seven preliminary interviews were conducted with Aboriginal owners and/or managers from Ceduna, South Australia. Their responses guided the development of the main interview schedule. These preliminary interviews were very detailed and provided rich information. They were processed using cross-interview analysis, and their important insights are presented in Chapter 5 (from p.153). The Ceduna participants held a range of innovative enterprise ideas, and they held many years of experience in enterprise and working with communities. Their insights were valuable and informed many of the key ideas and themes. Cross-interview analysis was effective in organising the complicated ideas that emerged from these early interviews, and this enabled strong themes to be followed up in later grounded theory and narrative methods.

Conduct of all the interviews

In total, 87 interviews were conducted with various research stakeholders. Of these, sixteen were repeats to gather extra information and to confirm research findings. Seventy-one people participated in the research, being 47 individual Aboriginal enterprises, 11 mining related organisations and 13 general interest participants. All of the mining related organisations and general interest participants had a strong interest in Aboriginal enterprise and provided useful inputs to define research problems, triangulate the Aboriginal enterprise data and identify opportunities for the Aboriginal enterprises in their own organisations.

The 47 Aboriginal enterprises were from remote and regional areas of Australia from Victoria, Queensland, Northern Territory, Western Australia and South Australia. The industries were varied, from pastoral to mining, from retail to arts and crafts, from service industry to trades and from cultural tourism to machinery. Individuals, partnerships, families, joint ventures or community owned structures, managed or operated the Aboriginal enterprises, with an even mix from remote and regional areas. The participants were mostly Aboriginal men from their late 40s to 50s and almost all participants responded enthusiastically to the research, wanting their voice to be heard.

Interview numbering system

To preserve anonymity and to allow the research data to be freely engaged, the participant's name and enterprise identification were removed and replaced with a numbering system, as described below (Table 4.2). In the following chapters, these enterprise numbers are inserted after participant comments or ideas, and are a substitute for traditional name citations.

Table 4.2: Interview numbering system

Enterprise number	**Interview group**
A1 to A47	Aboriginal enterprise participants
M1 to M11	Mining companies
G1 to G13	General interview participants
Total participants = 71[25]	

Through both grounded theory and narrative methods, all these participants were used in the research analysis. However due to word restrictions and to be concise, a smaller range of these participant responses were used in the thesis. All participant responses were drawn directly from the NVIVO database where the research interviews were collated and coded. The SAE excerpts that follow in Chapters 5 and 6, were selected because they best represent the category of theme under discussion. Refer to Appendix K which accounts for the spread of enterprises used in the thesis.

Additionally, five SAE owner and/or manager stories were developed more fully (Enterprise Numbers A9, A18, A28, A31, and A42). These stories are identified through a personal name, and they are presented shortly in Chapter 5 (p.137).

[25] Plus 16 repeat interviews with Aboriginal enterprise participants totals 87 separate interviews.

Step 3 has shown that data collection was a creative process based on snowball and purposeful sampling techniques, where preliminary interviews were an important indicator for future meetings. Collected data was managed through NVIVO, with names replaced by numbers to preserve privacy. The gathered data was ready for qualitative analysis.

Step 4 – Grounded theory methods (grounded methodology point two – categorisation)

This next step reflects grounded methodology through descriptive theory building techniques by categorisation. Specifically, categorisation begins by identifying raw findings from grounded theory coding methods.

The first qualitative method used in this study is drawn from grounded theory. These methods are used in Step 4 begin to analyse and verify information before preparing the way for emerging a theory about the SAE internal world. To help organise this, a sequence was developed and it is shown through the following diagram (Figure 4.3). This diagram indicates a selection of grounded theory analytical methods and the verification process. Following this diagram, each sub-step is discussed, through 4A, 4B and 4C.

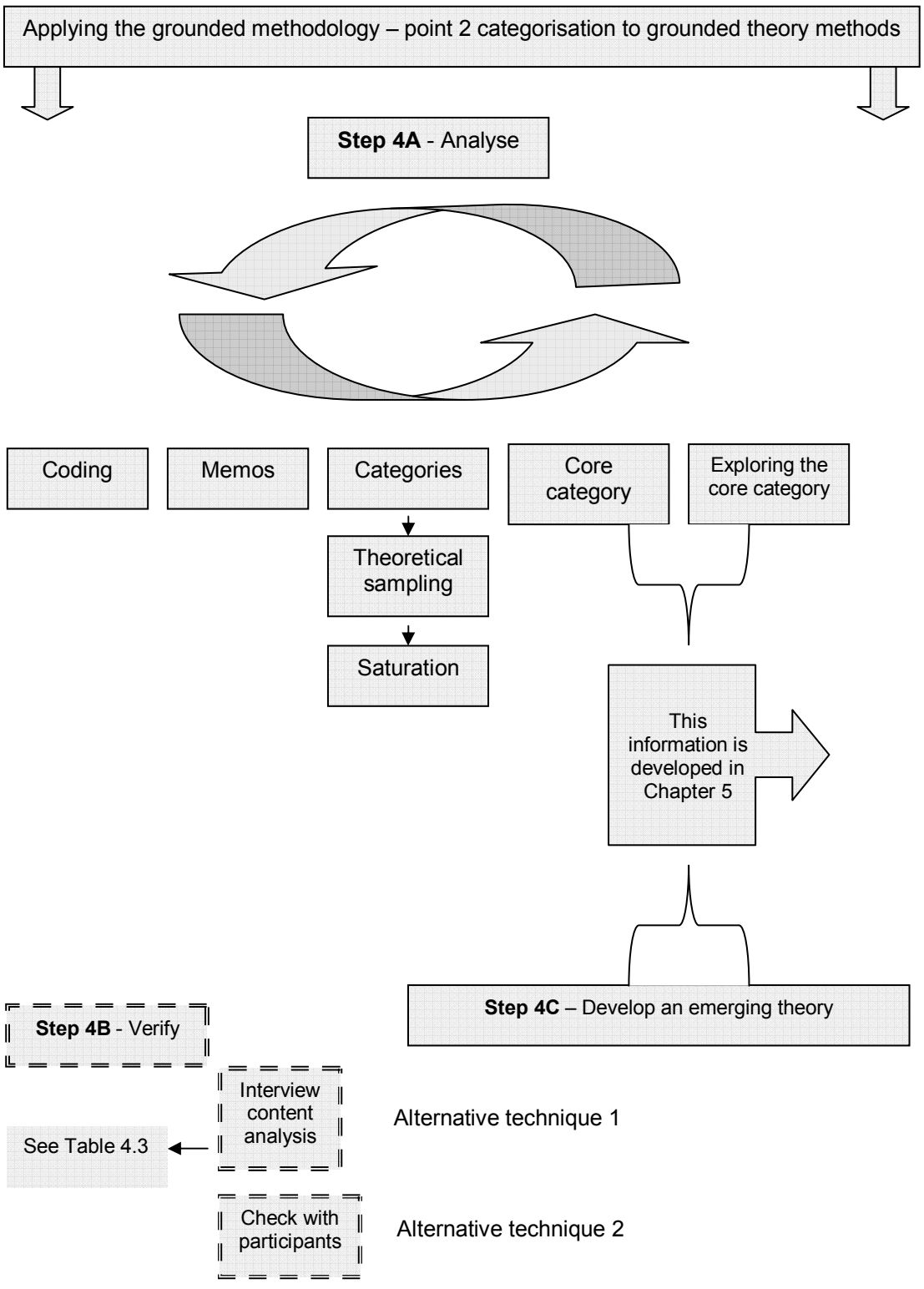


Figure 4.3: Selected grounded theory processes before verification and development of an emergent theory, adapted from Charmaz (2006) and Carlile and Christensen (2004)

This diagram pieces together grounded theory methods with two alternative techniques to verify information. Grounded theory methods were used to establish the core category about the SAE internal world. The circular arrows indicate the iterative nature of this process under Carlile and Christensen's (2004) grounded methodology (refer back to Figure 1.2, p.13). Iteration means that participant interviews were coded, memos found and categories emerged before going back to participant interviews once more. This accords with Suddaby (2006) who advised there is no clean separation between data collection and analysis. After theoretical sampling and saturation, this process led to the identification of the core category. This paved the way for an emerging theory.

The grounded theory step of constant comparative analysis is not used. Constant comparative analysis traditionally generates more and more abstract concepts and theories which compare data with categories then with concepts (Charmaz 2006). However in this research, constant comparative analysis was removed from category development steps because the task of constantly comparing began to envelope and wrap up the research problem in more layers of tighter methods. This meant the research problem situation and phenomena were becoming more distant from the emerging ideas. Instead of comparing within the research ideas, the grounded methodology (Carlile & Christensen 2004) through association (see p.250) is used to compare this work to other research and government practices.

Step 4A – Analyse

Grounded theory coding

The grounded theory coding methods advocated by Charmaz (2006, pp.50-63) were applied to each Aboriginal enterprise as well as ancillary interviews with NAO. Line-by-line coding was applied first, followed by focussed coding. These coding processes occurred in the data management programme, called NVIVO. Specifically, line-by-line coding provided initial observations such as time management, family dispute or cultural attachment. The next step focussed the coding, and sharpened earlier ideas established under the line-by-line coding. These two methods produced codes which umbrella emerging concepts such as family, decisions, history and success. Their application is presented in Chapter 5 (p.143).

Grounded theory memos

After the coding, a series of questions were established, through grounded theory memos. Memo writing was a pivotal step. Analysis of emerging ideas occurs in whatever way appeals to the researcher, and it allows for early detection of crucial categories and key ideas (Charmaz 2006, p.188). Memos were written mostly by hand, and aimed to question the codes. Cluster diagrams were employed to conceptualise the memos. Memo writing and cluster diagram techniques allowed wide ranging concepts to grow intuitively from the research, separate from literature and NAO perspectives. Examples of these are presented in Chapter 5 (p.146 and p.147).

Grounded theory data categories

The process of developing data categories from the memos and cluster diagrams became a critical step, as it was the first attempt to synthesise the many participant voices into common themes. The pre-imposed categories as advocated by Strauss and Corbin (1998, p.19) were not employed. Instead, a more inductive process of information flow was used where the major data categories evolved over time. Category development occurred in a circular manner , which began with interviews, where coding properties were identified, and then refined further, and returned back to interviewing others again. Some categories emerged at the start of the interviewing process, and other categories appeared after coding of the data itself. Some categories did not emerge at all until the actual writing stage. In fact, the continual category changes was accepted and looked for. Continual change aligned closely with ideas put forward by both Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Charmaz (2006) that is, to induct ideas back and forth.

Theoretical sampling

Theoretical sampling represented a loop back into the enterprise data after the first categories emerged. Specifically, theoretical sampling also saturated the categories with as much data as possible, resulting in what Charmaz (2006, p.103) called ‘a pivotal grounded theory strategy which helps to delineate and develop the properties of each category and its range of variation’. Theoretical sampling was achieved by relating the early categories back to previous interviews and then out to the interviews. This occurred until no new categories emerged, and this helped to organise the categories into related and prioritised groups.

Saturation and identification of the core category

This process of continual category development occurred until saturation (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Strauss & Corbin 1998; Charmaz 2006) was achieved and therefore no new categories emerged from the interviews. This resulted in identification of the core category based on connections. As I later discovered however, saturation was not completely achieved until data was verified with content analysis, and results were written up. Saturation was difficult to identify until the final descriptive theory evolved well into the thesis writing stage. Through each step, new interactions and consequences surfaced as data was theorised, this again confirmed the iterative nature of doing grounded theory research. See Chapter 5 (p.150) for an illustration of how the core category emerged.

Step 4B – Verify

Verification was conducted two fold: checking via a separate qualitative technique (content analysis), and by taking the findings back to the field.

The verification process was a critical step in the qualitative research design, because it provided confidence in the grounded theory raw findings. However, verification and validity are contested areas which show differences between positivists and others (Guba & Lincoln 2005, p.205) because verification is open to subjective bias (Flyvbjerg 2005, p.428). The controversy over verification was highlighted by Guba and Lincoln (2005, p.205). They suggested that the underlying methodology can inform the verification processes. As this research uses a combined grounded methodology, the narrative technique of content analysis is used to verify the grounded theory findings.

Verification helped to produce a rigorous data set from which to develop definitive research findings that were used to emerge theory. Verification is based on Strauss and Corbin's (1998, p.161) selective coding process which aims to integrate and refine the findings. The authors say that selective coding is achieved when the findings or theories are taken to respondents for their reactions (ibid.). As this research is located within a constructivist and interpretivist theoretical paradigm, it meant acknowledging that I was verifying my own interpretations, not SAE knowledge. This may have a double meaning as noted by Harrison (2003) in his observations about Indigenous students and teachers. By acknowledging the double meaning in the SAE responses, it meant seeing my interpretations and the participant words as separate but interrelated narratives. This means the SAE voices are made 'murky' by my own way

to ‘see’. This was partly overcome by identifying the rich descriptions of each narrative, searching for hidden meanings and noting my biases; this is something that I did not do when applying grounded theory methods.

Content analysis

The findings that emerged from the grounded theory methods were challenged by employing content analysis. By engaging this separate technique it became a check to see how I preserved the varied Aboriginal voices and to see if the core category was rigorous enough.

Content analysis is a widely used narrative technique and in this case it was used to verify the internal world of SAE that grounded theory methods had unfolded. Content analysis was described by Patton (1990, p.381) as ‘the process of identifying, coding and categorising the primary patterns in the data’. Content analysis was the first part of the verification process, and sought to capture the insights into the daily lives of enterprise managers and/or owners; understanding the patterns of the personal interactions of family members; and their decision-making functions. A four-part content analysis system was developed (see Table 4.3).

Table 4.3: A four-part content analysis system

Part	Type	Aims
Part 1	Interview administration	Locate the voice and position of each participant. Understand their discourse, hidden words and meanings. Place answers into a wider context
Part 2	Interview data sheets	Complete a summary table of basic interview data. Conduct initial analysis and identify the narrative in each response. Note my biases
Part 3	Links to research questions	Identify the 'rich' information as per the research questions, and use 'thick' description to inform the analysis. Identify major themes
Part 4	Insights and interpretations	Contrast to grounded theory findings. Note the similarities and differences

Once all 47 SAE interviews were processed through the grounded theory methods, each participant interview was also processed through the content analysis system. This double method set up the verification process. Specifically, notes were manually used to record their main characteristics, hidden messages and beliefs, along with my biases. Content analysis was determined to be more useful than other analytical methods such as observation and impacts, communications through metaphors, and logical analysis (see Patton 1990, pp.379-425) because it allowed for re-checking of Aboriginal words and phrases against my interpretive ideas. See Appendix L for a sample from a participant interview after content analysis occurred.

Using the meta-matrix table

To manage the content analysis, a meta-matrix table was established under NVIVO, through the attributes function (see an example at Appendix M). This table was also used as a database for subsequent comparative methods through cross-interview analysis (see p.119). However, each process produced slightly different results. Coding through NVIVO was an important step in organising the data, but was not employed to analyse the emerging themes or to provide clear answers to the research

aims and questions. NVIVO was not used to describe patterns or contrast ideas or to perform the grounded theory methods, or develop theory.[26] To complete these functions, manual analytical steps were employed and these followed both grounded theory and narrative inquiry techniques.

To ensure the validity of the analysis, each part of the content analysis system was checked back to the original interview transcripts and if necessary back to the participant or a third party. Content analysis permitted me to look at the interview as a 'whole', not just the coded participant responses from the grounded theory methods. Importantly, content analysis supported my earlier goals to hold a neutrality/listening role and to preserve participants' voice. These questions were asked:

- Did I listen correctly?
- Did I attempt to maintain a neutral position unclouded by my experiences?
- Have I preserved the participant's sentiments in recording their stories?

Content analysis results were subsequently contrasted back to the grounded theory categories. It was found that content analysis produced similar themes to the memos, but content analysis revealed the critical importance of relationships. This meant the grounded theory core category identified earlier, required updating. Therefore the new core category was updated.

Participant checking

The second verifications step used participant checking. Once the grounded theory findings were verified through content analysis and the core category adjusted, the findings were returned to the field for participant checking. Sixteen participants were selected that had previously engaged deeply with the research, and these new meetings gave them an opportunity to criticise the research findings. The findings were taken directly back to both Aboriginal enterprise participants, (from a range of locations, representing a range of responses) and to selected NAO. Surprisingly few findings were changed and most commonly the meetings generated more ideas. Feedback on the findings surrounded the need to use easy to understand language; the nuances of Aboriginal culture in the enterprise; and the individual nature of each response ('don't group all the enterprises together – recognise our diversity').

Verifying the data proved to be an important step in validating the research methods. Specifically, the practical verification technique of taking the results to the field for

[26] See a similar response by Curran and Blackburn (2001, p.112).

checking and testing – were 'moment of truth' functions – did I listen correctly and have I understood the participants and their point of view? Visits to verify the findings occurred through a field trip to nine SAE participants (A3, A10, A13, A17, A23, A28, A31, A42 and A45) and to seven NAO (M3, M4, M8, M9, G2, G4 and G8). These sixteen meetings verified the differences between the grounded theory results found through content analysis. This represented the last verification step before enterprise findings began to take shape through emerging theory.

Step 4C – Emerging a theory

By using the updated core category, an emerging theory develops about the SAE internal world. Later work shows that SAE are very heterogeneous and that each enterprise has its own unique identity. This internal world emerging theory is used later in the thesis, along with narrative insights about the external world, to build out the final descriptive theory of SAE. More specific theory building details are given through Step 6, developing the findings (p.121).

Prior to this, the detailed narrative steps are presented. By doing so, it focuses on developing insights about the SAE external world.

Step 5 – Narrative methods (grounded methodology point two – categorisation)

Step 5 reflects a grounded methodology through descriptive theory building techniques by categorisation. Specifically categorisation is made by identifying and inducting themes through narrative analysis.

The narrative methods used in Step 5 were more streamlined than previous grounded theory analytical methods which were highly process driven. Specifically, this narrative inquiry prepares the way for emerging a theory about the SAE external world. The narrative inquiry is conducted through three sub-steps: analysing (using content, cross and voice lens analysis); exploring themes; and emerging a theory.

Part of analysing the Aboriginal owner and/or manager narratives is to recognise that I am only capturing them 'at various moments' (Rapley 2004, p.29), whether as an individual, representative of an organisation, family member, gender, Aboriginal person or as reflexive of my questions. Thus, an examination of Aboriginal participant

comments represents many voices and many interpretations. An interpretation can illustrate their nuances, finer details and interconnections, which previous grounded theory analytical steps may have overlooked through its 'condensing' methods.

To account for this perspective, the narrative analysis used in this study is summarised and reflected through Figure 4.4. The ideas are adapted from Miles and Huberman's (1994) work on cross-interview analysis.

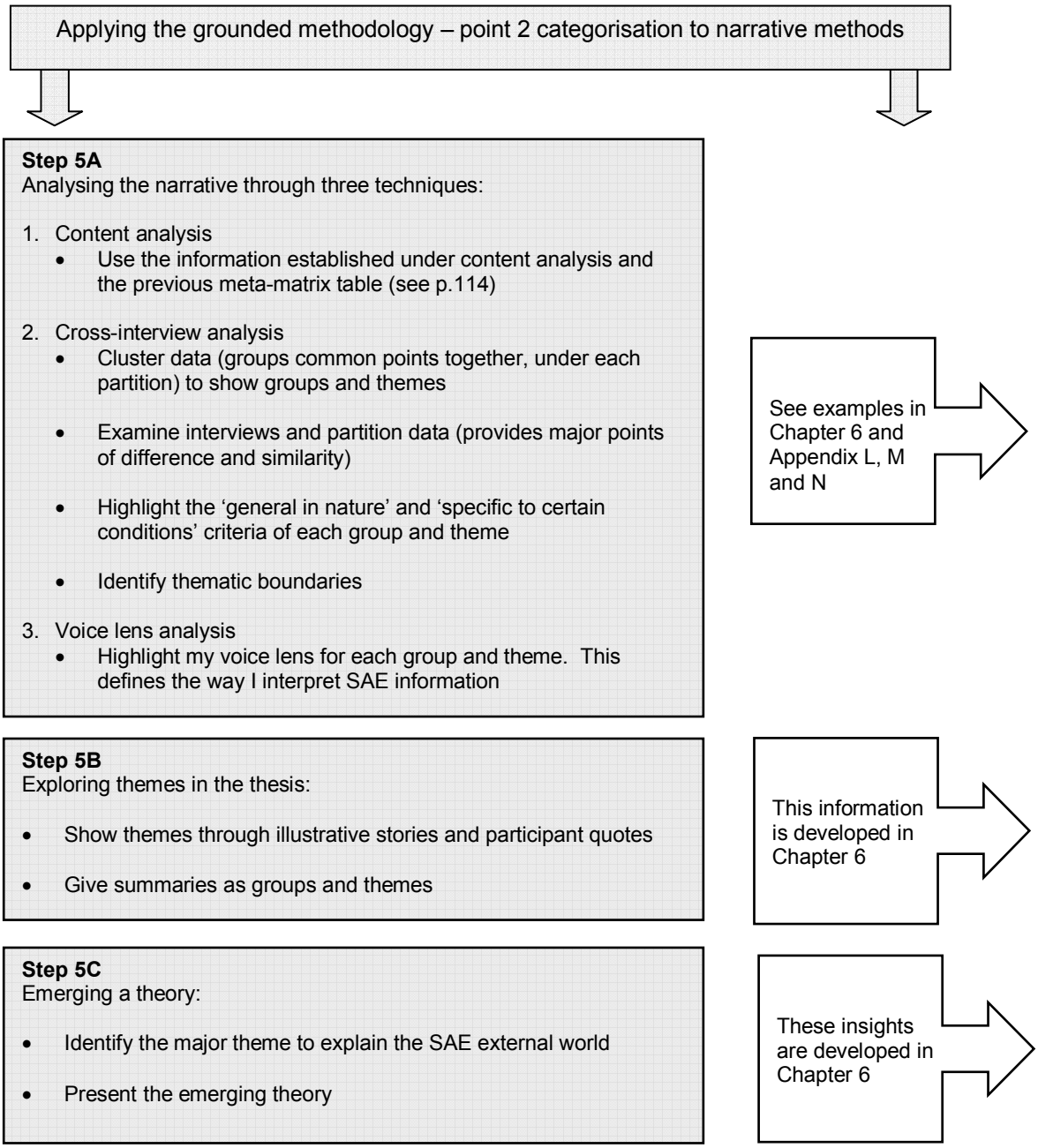


Figure 4.4: Relating three narrative techniques to the research process, adapted from Miles and Huberman (1994)

This diagram shows how three techniques were used to apply the narrative methods. Step 5A begins with the previous content analysis results, then progresses to cross-interview and voice lens analysis. Steps 5B and 5C relate the narrative analysis to the research process whereby important narrative themes are explored and a theory about the SAE external world is emerged. See Appendix L for an example of content analysis, Appendix M for an example of the meta-matrix table, and Appendix N for an

example of cross-interview analysis between two SAE. The three sub-steps are now explained.

Step 5 A – Analysing the narrative through three techniques

In order to understand my interpretations, three techniques were used for narrative analysis. The first two techniques were administered through a meta-matrix table under the NVIVO programme. The following three techniques build upon each other, whereby my interpretations and voice lens are accounted for at the end.

Content analysis

The meta-matrix table set up for content analysis (refer back to verification of grounded theory categories, at p.106 and the meta-matrix table at p.114) was re-used. This time the table collated themes about SAEs external world. These themes were refined into a manageable set, and this accommodates Mello's (2002) idea to process data by dividing them into small bites. Refer to Chapter 6 for details (p.187). The interview data was now ready for cross-interview analysis.

Cross-interview analysis

Cross-interview analysis was used to analyse between SAE, and to a smaller extent to NAO. This type of analysis first occurred when comparing the preliminary interviews. It occurs more fully now as the SAE external world is explored.

Cross-interview analysis compares sites or cases, and can establish the range of generality of a finding or explanation, and at the same time, pin down the conditions under which that finding will occur (Miles & Huberman 1994, p.151). Cross-interview analysis is achieved by establishing thematic boundaries (Mello 2002) between the SAE, NAO and my beliefs. In contrast to previous content analysis, cross-interview analysis helped to understand information between cultural groups, within SAE and the impact of my own beliefs on this information.

To begin with, data was clustered where differences and similarities were noted between interviews. These themes were related across to other interviews to establish relevance. Related data was clustered to show groups and themes. Next, the 'general in nature' and 'specific to certain conditions' criteria were established followed by thematic boundaries. This two-level focus was recommended by Miles and Huberman (1994), and assisted with revealing the nuances of a conversation,

particularly the impact of NAO on the SAE. Once these were established, my voice lens was addressed.

Voice lens analysis

By examining my voice lens last, it allowed for my beliefs to emerge freely beforehand. In each interview, my beliefs were highlighted through Chase's (2005) analytic voice lens (authoritative, supportive and interactive). For an example of analysing a SAE narrative and how the voice lens was applied, refer to Chapter 6 (p.193).

More specifically, the voice lens was used against the groups and themes identified from each interview, which was previously identified through cross-interview analysis. From this process, the impact of my ideas about the relationships between large and small organisations became clear. This was addressed in Chapter 6 (see p.193).

Step 5 B – Exploring themes

The groups and themes that emerged from content, cross-interview and voice lens analysis were developed further through discussions in Chapter 6. In particular, illustrative stories and participant quotes are used to present and explore these narrative themes. Summaries about each group and theme are also made. This represents the bulk of Chapter 6 and shows both participant information and my insights.

Step 5 C – Emerging a theory

The groups and themes, in order of importance to the phenomena, were then identified. This led to the identification of the major theme at the end of the chapter. Again, this meant bracketing my personal beliefs, such as the impact of large organisations on small ones and the effect of colonisation over Indigenous peoples. A major theme based on the centrality and adaptability of family was used to produce the emerging theory of the SAE external world.

Step 5 described how narrative research methods were used to explore the SAE external world. These steps were less process driven than previous grounded theory methods. The narrative insights were designed to draw out subtle themes from the SAE stories, without imposing the research processes over them.

Step 6 – Developing the findings (grounded methodology point three – association)

Step 6 reflects the grounded methodology through descriptive theory building techniques by association. By linking the research findings to current knowledge, an association is formed whereby the nature of SAE (through their internal and external world), and their relationships with NAO can be qualified.

Step 6 is presented in three parts: first to provide an overview of how the findings will be developed; next to provide a theoretical reference point; and third to address issues of research validation.

Step 6A – Moving findings into a descriptive theory

As the research findings and emerging theories are associated with literature a number of interpretations are made. These are pooled before finalising the descriptive theory. A theoretical discussion is woven through the interpretations made in Chapter 3 (see p.65).

More particularly, theory is built systematically by further induction throughout the course of Chapter 7. This continuous inductive process blends the emerging theories from Chapters 5 and 6, along with making interpretations by association with literature. Specifically, the insights from Chapters 5 and 6 are pooled into a first descriptive theory; these are related to the research directions, whereby the first research interpretations are made. Associations are subsequently made between the first descriptive theory and literature of practice and government policies by linking the main ideas to current knowledge. The research questions are answered by building upon the interpretations so far. This step primarily associates the new ideas with current literature. A series of keyword phrases and statements of association are identified to help build out the relationships within SAE and to NAO. This produces wider interpretations. The final descriptive theory represents a combination of all the previous research processes, findings, emerging theories and interpretations. A diagram is used to aggregate these ideas (p.304), and this results in the final theory of SAE relationships. This theory is presented at the end of Chapter 7 (p.305).

Step 6B – Theoretical positioning

A grounded methodology is used to extend this work and connect it to other practices, in this case, using Carlile and Christensen's (2004) third step of the descriptive theory

building model, association. Alternatively, grounded theory's constant comparative technique could also be used. This technique is designed to generate and plausibly suggest, but not provisionally test, many categories and their properties (Glaser & Strauss 1967). However, the constant comparative technique was found to be too mechanical in its approach, which resulted in less flexibility in conceptualising a descriptive theory. In other words, the comparisons between the emerging ideas continually returned the research into thicker layers of information where it was difficult to account for iterative narrative insights.

Rather than force this research into constant comparative analysis, the unexpected patterns and their mechanisms (Shah & Corley 2006) from narrative analysis were used to guide the link with current knowledge. This 'free-form' approach, sat comfortably with Carlile and Christensen's (2004) idea of association, whereby the results and interpretations from answering the research questions were used to guide the development of the final theory, albeit guided by interpretive grounded theory principles as noted below.

Additionally, the development of theory through association aligned with my theoretical paradigm as a constructivist and an interpretivist. First, the construction of accurate conceptual maps that both describe and predict different phenomena in the real world (Hofer & Bygrave 1992) were helpful to pool ideas. Second, this was informed by constructing theory based on understanding rather than explaining. To account for these ideas, an interpretative definition of theory building helped to identify and preserve patterns and connections rather than produce linear reasoning (Charmaz 2006).

This meant I used 'imaginative understanding' (Charmaz 2006) to frame theory development, where I see things afresh and can offer new insights (Zahra 2007) about Aboriginal enterprise and their relationships with NAO. Creativity was used to illustrate uniqueness and interlaying variables based on rich descriptions (Douglas 2005). However, this creativity was tempered by Locke, EA's (2007) advice that theory-building is a careful, painstaking and gradual process. It is acknowledged that it is difficult to disengage from the data to create theory (Backman & Kyngäs 1999), which as an example, is why grounded theory's constant comparative technique was not used to link this work to current knowledge.

In summary, disengaging from the data to develop a theory is accomplished through Charmaz's (2006) imaginative understanding, by using conceptual diagrams as well as, a series of keyword phrases and statements of association (Carlile & Christensen 2004) to identify important ideas. Yet, any development of a new theory requires some form of validation.

Step 6C – Validation

Validation was described by Carlile and Christensen (2004) as either an internal or an external validation process. This research does not externally validate the work, as this would mean testing hypothesis and establishing normative processes in different contexts outside this research. However, Carlile and Christensen's (2004) internal validation is achieved if Yin's (2003) two premises are observed: that research conclusions are logically drawn from the work; and that plausible alternatives have been ruled out.

The purpose of this work is to increase SAE numbers in Australia by re-looking at the nature of SAE and their relationships with NAO. This means the usefulness of descriptive theory building is to chart early ideas and logically develop conclusions through emergence, in order to offer an explanation. Carlile and Christensen (2004) suggested that relating emerging theories to other academic disciplines was a way to strengthen internal validity. Accordingly, literature of practice through Aboriginal socio-economic research, supported by mainstream small business fields is related to the descriptive theories along with relevant government policy. Yet, it remains that other academic disciplines would need to be related to the emerging descriptive theories before internal validity was strengthened again. Thus, emerging theory in this research is very much the beginning, rather than refinement of others' theory.

Step 6 aimed to describe how theory will evolve through Chapter 7 without being constrained or overly directed by the methods. By using a 'free-form' approach which moves with the emerging theories and interpretations, a descriptive theory is built which considers ideas from both grounded theory and narrative insights.

Linking the six method steps to convert evidence into results

The six steps used to convert information into results can be represented under Carlile and Christensen's (2004) grounded methodology (see Figure 4.5.).

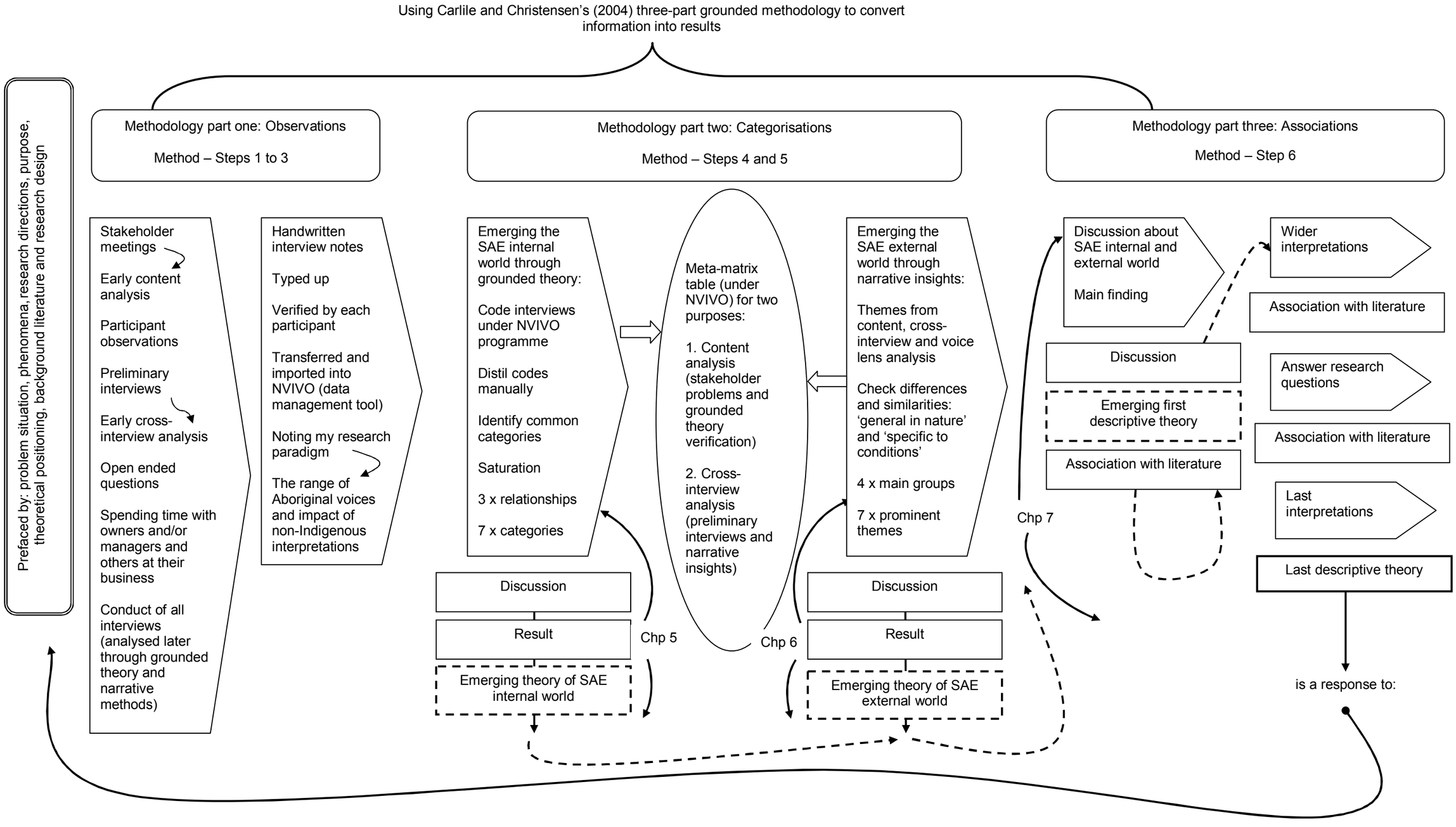


Figure 4.5: Conversion of evidence about SAEs internal and external world into results under Carlile and Christensen's (2004) grounded methodology

This diagram shows the conversion of evidence into results. Importantly, Chapters 5 and 6 focus on discussing the emerging categories and themes in preparation for the final descriptive theory in Chapter 7. Of importance, is the intention of the final theory to answer the research problem, that SAE are misunderstood.

Now the research methods have been outlined and situated, it is important to revisit an earlier sentiment from the start of this chapter; how exploring the nature of SAE two-worlds remains a Western view of Aboriginality.

Another way?

Previously, (see Chapter 2, p. 27) the difficulties of researching Aboriginal people as a non-Aboriginal person were outlined, indicating that Western research epistemologies can be a controversial way to understand the Aboriginality of SAE. A number of these issues were addressed through the University of Adelaide ethics procedures (see p.103), however, many other controversial and sensitive issues were not prepared for.

In a lecture, Aboriginal researcher Blair (2006), questioned the ethics of mainstream academics researching Aboriginal people. Blair (2006) cited numerous responses from Aboriginal people, and when she asked Aboriginal people: 'when you hear the word research, what do you feel, what do you think of?' The responses included: 'they want something from me, what do I have to give up?' 'Part of me feels like my soul is being given away.' 'Every time research is done, a piece of my culture is erased.' The author also made this point:

> 'People come in with an agenda and don't make their position clear. They use local Aboriginal people to connect. Local people get held to ransom when nothing happens and nothing comes back. It damages their connections, their trust with families and other mob. The researchers walk off with nothing to care about. They move on and the researchers get their ticket, their PhD. Their agenda is met; they leave behind a damaged community' (ibid., p.7).

The commentary put forward by Blair and others (Anderson, K & Jacobs 1997; Department of Families Community Services and Indigenous Affairs 2006; and Smith, LT 2006) was certainly a common obstacle put forward to me by many Aboriginal owners and/or managers.

I found it important to acknowledge the unhelpful research experiences of Aboriginal people. Importantly, I let the participant decide if they wanted to be part of the research, with a small number of owners and/or managers declining. Additionally, I

assisted owners and/or managers in their enterprise where possible, always after the interview, at which time the participants were updated with interesting enterprise practices and research findings, and by drawing on my own small business experiences. This practice, met Aboriginal cultural expectations of reciprocation: what I took away, I needed to return. This meant that I also assisted with any small business questions, and written research updates were forwarded to participants after critical stages of the research.

I acknowledge there are considerable doubts about non-Aboriginal people researching Aboriginals, yet enterprise owner and/or manager opinions are valuable and, as I found, were not always centred on Aboriginality. Yet, the way that Aboriginality is understood is based on my beliefs, which similarly Harrison (2003, p.102) discovered in his research with Indigenous students. They 'had recognised long before me that the way I would come to interpret the data would govern the ways in which they themselves would come to be seen by others' (ibid.).

Nintini Tjukurpa – palya!

However, this interpretation of SAEs two-world situation can only be just that – construction of someone else's reality, and this means a reduction in the quality of the Aboriginal voices. The original SAE voice belongs with culture; belongs with a knowing outside of Western and academic frames of knowledge. SAEs cultural knowing is verbal, visual and expressive – it is deeply interconnected with the Law, the ceremony, the song, the language, the people, the country, the animals and the spirit. SAE knowing is not paradigms, methodologies and methods, it is not about analysis and measurements and results – instead it seeks to exist outside of these Western frames.

A Western way to understand this alternative way of knowing is to touch upon the Pitjantjatjara[27] language of central Australia. As an example, Pitjantjatjara language is put into the chapter sub-heading as 'another way'. It captures an insight into a different understanding. Knowing and teaching the Law is good! *Nintini Tjukurpa – palya!* The Law is the strongest bind within Aboriginal cultures, and yet remains mostly inaccessible for non-Aboriginal people. The Law for Anangu (Aboriginal people of central Australia) is lived through many parts including: *inma* (ceremony); *inma inkanyi* (song); through *kulini* and *wangkanyi* (hear, think, understand and talk); *manta, puli,*

[27] This section was based on the Indigenous text by Goddard, C (1998) *A Learner's Guide to Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara*, Institute for Aboriginal Development Press, Alice Springs, Australia.

pila, tjata, karu, and *tali* (types of landforms); *kaku* (animals) and *malu, kuniya and kipara* (some animal types) and *kurun(pa)* (spirit). The purpose of introducing these terms is to show how SAE can access and use other ways to 'see' that sit outside of our Western understanding. However, it remains that SAEs in Australia are expected to operate their enterprise through Western frames that fit within an audit, commercial and economic mindset. This leaves alternative ways through cultural interconnections underutilised and set aside by the broader mainstream 'system'.

It is suggested that non-Aboriginal frames of Western epistemology and discourse can potentially distort the cultural and authentic picture of SAE. In this research, I have relied upon an interpretive position to construct ideas about enterprise through inductive principles where participant voice is considered paramount. It is acknowledged that I can only partly bring forward the many Aboriginal voices. The original Aboriginal voices I listened to can only be understood by relating to SAE through cultural practices that I, as a non-Aboriginal woman from a Western academic institution were unable to access. Therefore, the different Aboriginal voices were eventually subsumed by English words written by me as a non-Aboriginal person.

The inability to access original Aboriginal voices has implications for this research. That is, further misinterpretations, beyond the NAO misinterpretation of SAE two-world situation are likely. No matter how comprehensive I have been, this work is Western knowledge, a Western and academic way of knowing – it is not Indigenous. This I posit, is another dimension that as non-Aboriginal academics we are unable to fully access. We might be able to surmise and theorise, but this is not SAE knowing. This dialectic between Western and Indigenous circumstance is accepted. This leaves the potential usefulness of this research as a genuine attempt to refresh our ideas about the misunderstanding between SAE and NAO where Aboriginal enterprise numbers have remained static. As such, the usefulness of this research lies in my attempt to qualify the impact of large organisations over small, of the powerful over the powerless and the dominant over the marginalised.

Chapter summary

This research design chapter began by outlining my theoretical paradigm and approaches and what this means for the conduct of this study. As my underlying constructivist and interpretivist beliefs have me sitting outside of SAE, I therefore look across their shoulders and offer an interpretation of what I see through a non-

Aboriginal understanding. This cultural interpretive role has implications for the methods, whereby emergence was considered more important than deduction.

As such, emergence is framed through using Carlile and Christensen's (2004) grounded methodology to develop fresh ideas about SAE. This study builds on the underlying ideas from Chapters 2 and 3 and allows for my cultural interpretation of SAE and their misunderstood two-world situation. Therefore, the research phenomena are used to guide theory development and understand the problem situation however; these are tempered through my interpretivist and constructivist beliefs.

Carlile and Christensen's (2004) descriptive theory building model under a combined grounded methodology is used to engage grounded theory and narrative methods. Three parts of the descriptive theory building model: observing, categorising and associating are used to guide then apply these methods. These were reflected through six method steps. More specifically, grounded theory analytical steps are used to observe the data, then categorise them, by highlighting the core category and emerge a theory of the SAE internal world. Alternatively, narrative steps are used to observe and categorise the themes about the SAE external world and similarly emerge a theory. These two emerging theories are used to produce the first descriptive theory of SAE, which is associated with literature.

This chapter concluded by reminding us that exploring SAE is an academic task which is operated and framed through Western constructs. The discussion indicated that an Aboriginal way of understanding and seeing the world uses very different tools which are separate to the written English word. Despite this epistemology, this research as an interpretative activity can be useful; as reasons can be established to show why NAO misunderstand SAE, and how this impacts low enterprise numbers. Additionally, this work can also highlight the cultural blockages in Western thinking that create obstacles for SAE.

The following chapter presents information and insights about the SAE internal world and begins to unfold the first emerging theory.

Chapter 5 – The internal world of small Aboriginal enterprises

Introduction

This chapter provides information about the small Aboriginal enterprises (SAE) and their internal world. This information is drawn from grounded theory analysis based upon a range of participant voices. A series of insights are made from this information. To achieve this, the chapter is organised into three parts: introducing the SAE participants; using grounded theory to emerge results; and an exploration of the SAE internal world.

Two research objectives are developed in Chapter 5. First, Objective 1 is designed to explore SAE by going into their core to understand their nature, identity, characteristics, patterns and ideas of success. Then Objective 3 is addressed to develop a theory about the SAE internal world.

To achieve these objectives, part one of this chapter presents an overview of the participants, and the details of five Aboriginal enterprises whose story will be followed in this chapter and the subsequent one. Part two describes the application of the grounded methodology and presents the major results through grounded theory methods. These methods show the iterative processes at work, as well as the complexity involved in using grounded theory processes. Part three of this chapter explores the internal world of SAE, separate from previous literature discussions, research activities and government and industry practices. An emerging grounded theory of the SAE internal world is produced from this exploration.

Part one – The SAE participants

Part one of this chapter provides an overview of the SAE in this study. To qualify as a SAE, the criteria set in Chapter 2 (p.35) was used and that is: Aboriginal enterprises are small businesses operating with less than 200 people, are owned or operated by a minimum of 50% Aboriginal content and self-identify as an Aboriginal enterprise.

Mapping SAE geographical locations

The following illustration (Figure 5.1) indicates the geographical locations of the Aboriginal enterprises in this research.

NOTE:
This figure is included on page 130 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Source: Geoscience Australia (2005)

Figure 5.1: Map of Australia showing Aboriginal enterprise geographical locations in this research

The majority of the SAE participants were from northern South Australia and central regions in Australia. Enterprises operating in remote areas of New South Wales were not interviewed and other parts of northern Australia less interviewed, principally due to time and financial constraints.

The geographical locations listed in the legend from Figure 5.1 range from Point A to Point H, and these can be further divided into townships. However to preserve the anonymity of each participant, the places are not linked to enterprise numbers or names.

- Location A: Paraburdoo and Tom Price.
- Location B: Alice Springs, Finke, Uluru, Ernabella, Watarru, Amata, Fregon, Umuwa, Indulkana, Kenmore and Wallatina.
- Location C: Gawler, Coorong and Murray Bridge.
- Location D: Coober Pedy, Marla, Oodnadatta, Marree, Iga Warta, Nepabunna, Copley, Hawker and Quorn.
- Location E: Whyalla, Ceduna, Head of Bight, Yalata and Penong.
- Location F: Cloncurry.
- Location G: Katherine.
- Location H: Shepparton, Echuca, Robinvale and Warrnambool.

These specific locations are noted on a map of Australia at Appendix O and the details of each SAE participant are given at Appendix P. For further details about population, history and cultural practices of selected regions please refer back to Chapter 2 (p.19).

SAE participants and their brief details

Further to the information above, Table 5.1 overleaf presents other characteristics, in particular ownership and industry details of the Aboriginal enterprises (*n*=47).

Table 5.1: Synopsis of Aboriginal enterprise participants

• Enterprises managed by their owners – 18
• Enterprises managed by other people – 29
• Enterprises owned and operated by Aboriginal people – 35
• Enterprises owned by Aboriginal but managed by non-Aboriginals – 12
• Enterprises managed by women – 12 (8 Aboriginal women)
• Enterprises managed by men – 35 (27 Aboriginal men)
• Enterprise sizes:
o Micro and self-employed – 11
o Small – 24
o Medium – 12
• Enterprise regions:
o City – 2 enterprises
o Regional – 21 enterprises
o Remote – 24 enterprises
• Enterprise geographical locations (also see Figure 4.1):
o Northern Western Australia – 3
o North west South Australia and southern Northern Territory (called Central Australia) – 13
o Regional South Australia – 4
o Northern South Australia – 8
o Western South Australia – 9
o North western Queensland – 1
o Far Northern Territory – 1
o Regional Victoria – 8
• Enterprise and type of industry:[28]
o Arts and Crafts – 9
o Tourism – 8
o Retail – 7
o Agriculture – 5
o Combination of industries – 6
o Transport and earthmoving, maintenance and construction – 5
o Graphics and advertising and public relations – 3
o Health – 2
o Employment – 1
o Food and catering – 1

This table shows that some SAE were operated by non-Aboriginal managers (*n*=12), but the majority were operated by Aboriginal people (*n*=35). The most common industries centred on arts and crafts, tourism and retail which represented 51% of all owners and/or managers interviewed. Relatively few Aboriginal women were involved in SAE with only eight represented.

[28] According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics & Statistics New Zealand (2006), industries are classified into codes. However, in order to show precise enterprise markets, the industry types in this research are more detailed than the ABS descriptions.

Revealing early SAE characteristics through social and commercial types

Before grounded theory methods began, a series of enterprise characteristics were identified using social and commercial types. This information was sourced from the detailed preliminary interviews. Enterprise types were used to show the early differences between the owners and/or managers (refer below to Table 5.2). A social enterprise type was determined to be those SAE in receipt of subsidised operating funds from either government, industry, philanthropic group or other third party. A commercial enterprise type on the other hand, did not receive enterprise subsidies. The enterprises were sorted in this way to begin early analysis before the grounded processes were used to evolve new ideas. Their enterprise characteristics were determined through early cross-interview analysis (p.119).

Table 5.2: Major differences between social and commercial enterprise types identified from preliminary interviews

Theme	Social enterprises	Commercial enterprises
Goals	Mostly have social goals	Mostly have commercial goals
Incorporated Body	The majority operate under the Aboriginal Councils and Associations Act 1976 (Cth)	Very few operate under the Aboriginal Councils and Associations Act 1976 (Cth)
Benefits	Mostly want benefits to go back to broader community	Mostly want benefits to go back to immediate family
Size	Mostly run larger enterprises of small to medium size	Mostly run small to micro-sized enterprises
Commercial knowledge	Mostly did not know their legal structure and believed they were not operating commercially	Strong awareness of legal structure
Constitution	Mostly used a constitution to run their enterprise.	Said they did not use a constitution.
Decision-making	Mostly made decisions through a Board involving 6-10 people.	Mostly made decisions by a family, partner or individual, with 1-2 people
Funding	All require on-going funding for operating costs	Do not require ongoing funding for operating costs. This represents the major difference between the two types of Aboriginal enterprise
Traditional Aboriginal identity	Mostly influenced by traditional values	Mostly influenced by Western values
Land title	Mostly operated on Aboriginal land or via government land	Mostly operated with a land tenure that provided a commercial benefit
Location	Mostly operated in remote regions	Mostly operated in regional areas
Number of organisations	Controlling Boards always had other organisations to manage	Mostly have one organisation to manage

Table 5.2 (continued): Major differences between social and commercial enterprise types identified from preliminary interviews

Type of market	Often operated outside the market economy	Operated within the market economy
Owner and/or manager	Always stated they had enterprise managers	Mostly stated they had enterprise owners, but also enterprise managers, if community-managed
Ownership over money	Said profit was 'nice to have'	Said profit was critical to their operation and survival
Culture	Said that culture did not have to be managed.	Said culture had to be managed in enterprise
Motivations	Were motivated by family and community.	Motivated by family and financial independence
Cultural power	Held power in a dominant family in the community	Held power in a dominant family, separate to community
Start-up capital	Used start-up capital mostly through government and/or industry	Used start-up capital through government, a bank or private funds

The major differences between the social and commercial enterprise types fell into two themes: the associated physical differences (size, locations, land title, type of market and structures); and the application of owner and/or managerial skills to the enterprise (aims, goals, decision-making styles, benefits, identity, culture and judgements).

There are also similarities between social and commercial enterprise types (refer to Table 5.3).

Table 5.3: Similarities between social and commercial enterprise types identified from preliminary interviews

Theme	**Social enterprises**	**Commercial enterprises**
Cultural power	Said they were influenced by cultural power	Similar
Responses to research interviews	Mostly positive, but some negative responses to the research	Similar
Working hours	Spend similar hours working in the enterprise, social enterprises: 30-40 hours	Spend similar hours working in the enterprise, commercial enterprises 40 hours plus
Industries	They often ran more than one enterprise, which often centred on tourism, arts and crafts or service industry	They only ran one enterprise, mostly centred on tourism or retail
On country	Mostly operated on 'country'	Operated on 'country' or next door to it
Family	Said family was critical and often used extended family	Said family was critical and often used immediate family

Most notably, this table shows that strong similarities exist between social and commercial types through family, country and cultural power.

The two tables indicate the differences and similarities between social and commercial enterprise types based upon seven detailed preliminary interviews. These characteristics often reflected the motivations, goals, aims and priorities of the participants as well as more structurally orientated factors, such as the legal entity, number of organisations and capital. Social enterprises were often motivated by a desire to provide for a wider group of people, and to provide a long-term social advantage to as many people as possible, regardless of its source. In contrast, commercial enterprises were motivated by money in order to attain financial success, because supporting their family independently was important to them.

The differences between social and commercial enterprises were also reflected in their goals and aims. Social enterprises aimed mostly to provide a benefit to broader community, whereas the aims for commercial enterprise rested mostly with benefits to individual or immediate family. The priorities and hence decision-making processes of social and commercial enterprises were vastly different. Social enterprises had large numbers of decision makers (mostly 6-10 people) with culturally centred decision-making styles, whereas commercial enterprises had smaller numbers of decision makers (mostly 1-2 people) with commercially centred decision-making styles.

The structural differences between the two types (size, funding, land title, location, and the number of organisations managed, market, manager or owner) also reflected their enterprise identity and motivations. As an example, social enterprises preferred to operate larger enterprises with complicated funding sources, where financial success was not the imperative it was for commercial enterprises.

The emerging themes from these early comparisons indicate that social enterprises are less concerned with financial motivations than commercial enterprises. This means, social enterprises prefer to link enterprise more closely with cultural practices. Alternatively, it appears that commercial SAE hold stronger financial motivations which align more closely with individual family practices. At a broader level, the similarities and differences between SAE social and commercial types suggest that interlinking processes are important, regardless of enterprise type. This is evidenced through the important role that family, access to country and culture took in both enterprise types.

Thus, an early theme emerging from cross-interview analysis of the preliminary interviews is the centrality and fluidity of family and connections to culture.

These themes are now set aside. Shortly they are compared to the emerging results across the full range of 47 SAE (p.150) once the interviews are processed through grounded theory methods. At this point, a discussion now follows which introduces more details about the SAE participants. The aim of this section is to bring the SAE stories to life.

How participant information will be used and why

In this chapter and the next one, SAE owner and/or manager information is revealed in two ways: through illustrative stories and participant interview notes. The dual representation of the Aboriginal voices is designed to preserve their words and ideas for as long as possible. Aboriginal voices are then incorporated into my interpretations once the theories are emerged at the end of this Chapter, end of Chapter 6, and at the start of Chapter 7.

Describing the five stories

In this chapter, five SAE stories are used to pattern out each category identified through grounded theory steps. Similarly this occurs in Chapter 6 under narrative theme development. By building out each story, it begins to reveal how the SAE two-world situation is complicated by operating between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal world. It also shows how personal pride in keeping culture alive and strong is integral to SAE owner and/or manager success. Many of the maps and models that follow in these two chapters were created in meetings with these SAE story participants and were re-presented to other SAE owners and/or managers to refine or check ideas. This means the unfolding stories are drawn from in-depth and lengthy conversations over many visits in a variety of cultural and commercial settings.

Describing the other participants

Information from the remaining SAE participants is also used to pattern out and explain each grounded theory category and narrative theme over the next two chapters. This additional information is used to expand, verify and to suggest alternative ideas. This participant information is equally valuable as the five illustrative stories however; these details are not drawn into detailed descriptions.

Why personal details are not divulged

A balance is required between revealing the personal insights from these owners and/or managers and developing my narrative to explore and explain their two-world circumstances. This is a delicate exercise between competing interests. This balance means respecting both Aboriginal personal requests (as previously noted in Chapter 4, see p.107), as well as the academic task of writing the thesis to explore the SAE two-world situation. This task was undertaken by guidance from the University of Adelaide ethical processes outlined in Chapter 4 (p.103) and the etiquette protocols given from DKCRC (2008) and Institute for Aboriginal Development (n.d.). These were discussed in Chapter 4 (see p.102) and previously given at Appendix H.

To begin with, preserving SAE anonymity was essential because it respects Aboriginal cultural beliefs. As such, working with privacy requests and taking away Aboriginal knowledge; changing personal and health circumstances; and differing business attitudes since the interviews were conducted, were all respected. Second, to achieve an academic product, consideration of the research process was also paramount. So, in order for me as a researcher to analyse their comments and to provide alternative insights that SAE participants did not offer – the Aboriginal voices are condensed then theorised. Thus, the thesis is a combination of preserving many Aboriginal voices, then making non-Aboriginal interpretations about them.

Introducing the five illustrative stories

To give the data more depth, five illustrations which represent the nature of the 47 SAE experiences are used in Chapters 5 and 6. This detailed account of SAE life is based upon five actual Aboriginal enterprises that operated at the time of the field work in 2004 and 2005. They are paraphrases, that is, their personal stories are summarised and re-told. There are no 'add-ons' or fabricated pieces – their voices are synthesised into condensed parcels to explore and demonstrate ideas and information. Their personal names in these SAE illustrative stories are replaced by pseudonyms, whilst some geographical areas have changed in order to preserve their privacy.

The five illustrative stories are recognisable through a change in font and size (as evident below). The stories are introduced here in preparation for later discussions. The stories offer a window into the complex and interrelated lives of SAE owners and/or managers. This level of detail is necessary because it builds the emerging

pictures of the SAE two-world situation, and prepares the thesis for later analytical work which interprets the research problem in Chapter 7 – that SAE are misunderstood.

The background to each illustrative story is now presented.

> Participant A9 (Vincent) is a Yankunytjatjara man, aged in his 60s from northern South Australia. He operates a family owned and managed pastoral station on his country. The station also provides cultural tours and camping facilities for tourists. Vincent also provides high level negotiation and interpreting services for government and industry. He operates the enterprise on Aboriginal land through a lease from local Aboriginal management authority. However this arrangement, coupled with the underlying land tenure, provides no security for banks to lend money to him. So the enterprise is unable to borrow funds to develop their operations, with limited amounts available to improve some fixed assets. This circumstance creates friction between cultures and practical problems for family members. This means that some family members have to work away from the property to keep the pastoral station operating. The business operates part-commercially and is motivated both socially and economically.
>
> Participant A18 (Esther) is a Kalkadoon woman, aged in her 50s from the Cloncurry and the Mt Isa region of north-west Queensland. She has operated and managed a ground maintenance contract in addition to, a registered training organisation and, a mining industry transport contract. These last two enterprises operated as joint ventures with mainstream small businesses. Esther has a background with remote area health services and building community networks. She has actively worked for Aboriginal people to achieve social justice. The awarding of a transport contract to her organisation created many difficulties in the local community, not because of her employment background, but due to Aboriginality. Local white fella tensions created many obstacles, whilst cultural factors influenced Aboriginal behaviours towards her. Some government support was available from Brisbane, but local circumstances and biases often negated this support. The

business operated commercially, but she was motivated socially to help young Aboriginal people gain employment, and for families to access better health and education services. Esther no longer lives on country due to hostile relations with competing Aboriginal groups and the lack of support by changing mine managers.

Participant A28 (Ronald) is an Arabana man, aged in his 50s who grew up on a mission in northern South Australia. This mission was set up in 1922 and it closed in 1960. The mission was operated by a non-Aboriginal man, Francis Dunbar Warren who was married to a local Arabana woman, and together they had seven children. The mission was unique because Aboriginal families could live together, find part-time employment on the pastoral station, and the children received both traditional and European education. The mission operated two-fold: to keep Aboriginal culture alive, and to promote non-Aboriginal Christian values. The mission closed over 50 years ago, but the land is accessed by local Aboriginal people including Ronald. However, local Aboriginal people have experienced relationship difficulties with a large mining operation which has caused great dissent and cultural conflicts. The mining operations continue today. Ronald lives on country and is actively involved in both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal community activities. He has set up an Aboriginal community group and also runs an enterprise to teach school children from across Australia about his Aboriginal culture. His business operates part-commercially, but he is motivated socially to help local Aboriginal people. In addition to these motivations, Ronald wishes to reconcile with mainstream Australians, both locally and nationally.

Participant A31 (Daryl) is an Arrente man, who speaks Pertame (a southern Arrente dialect), aged in his 50s from the Alice Springs region. Daryl was kept away from Aboriginal culture as he was growing up as a child and as a young man. In later years, he re-connected with traditional culture and is active in both the Aboriginal and local white fella community. Daryl is an experienced small business owner, operating in retail and service industry sectors. He has tolerated both

> cultural and financial discrimination and this motivated him to advocate for Aboriginal people, both in small business and the local communities. He is actively represented on local community and management boards, and is passionate about linking up both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. He lives on country in a well-serviced large town. The business operates commercially, and he is motivated part-commercially. However, social issues are also prominent for Daryl, where he aims to set an example for Aboriginal people; to offer good employment to young ones; and to support his immediate family.
>
> Participant A42 (Ella) is a Wirangu woman, aged in her 40s from the west coast region of South Australia. She operates an art and craft enterprise, with products created and displayed from both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. In the art production room, Ella along with the women's cultural group, helps people recover from difficult lives by talking things through with the support of other women. A number of non-Aboriginal women are also employed in the business which aims to attract passing tourists. Ella comes from a family of entrepreneurs who encourage her to achieve. She is concerned about Aboriginal art copyright issues and the lack of acknowledgment about Aboriginal culture. She is motivated to help younger people through education and learning, and these strong values provide the social impetus for the enterprise which operates part-commercially.

The emergent themes from these five introductory stories show that each SAE owner and/or manager experiences difficulties. Many of these difficulties are about relationships with non-Aboriginal people and Western processes and the nature of their identity amongst these. Additionally, each SAE story reveals interconnecting relationships that move in and out of individual, family, community and cultural worlds and their experiences with non-Aboriginal institutions, Western norms and thinking. Combined with the previous emerging themes identified from the SAE social and commercial type data (p.133), the notion that interlinking processes occur across the SAE remain consistent. Thus, it appears at this very early stage that the SAE two-world situation is changeable, and that family and culture are crucial.

Part two – Using grounded theory to emerge results

After introducing the SAE participants, part two of Chapter 5 shows how grounded theory methods were used to reveal their internal world. To begin with however, a short discussion through grounded methodology is used to link the strategic processes together with the methods.

Applying the grounded methodology

Observing is the first part of Carlile and Christensen's (2004) descriptive theory building model (p.95), and this first step was conducted through three qualitative methods: consultation, design and data collection (refer back to p.96). This was achieved initially through cross-interview analysis of the preliminary interviews. These steps were used to complete the pre-grounded theory analysis which resulted in the social and commercial enterprise type characteristics. The qualitative steps also established early ideas through content analysis of the research stakeholder meetings. Ideas were generated such as: the role that government and large business take with SAE; that SAE appear complicated for NAO; and that SAE and NAO relationships can be strained. These observations further reinforced the dialectic between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal participants that were raised in Chapters 2 and 3. These ideas are developed later in Chapters 6 and 7.

The second part of Carlile and Christensen's (2004) descriptive theory building model is called categorisation. This is achieved in Chapter 5 through grounded theory methods by coding, memo development, category identification, theoretical sampling, saturation and the identification of the core category. The qualitative interviews from 47 SAE and 24 other participants were slowly reviewed through these methods until seven main categories emerged. Further analysis reduced the batch to one core category. The emergence of an early theory about the SAE internal world concludes this categorisation process. The results of each step follows in this chapter.

The third and last step of Carlile and Christensen's (2004) descriptive theory building model is association, where a theory is aggregated from Chapters 5 and 6 results and related to literature. Association occurs in Chapter 7.

To summarise this discussion, Carlile and Christensen's (2004) grounded methodology informs the grounded theory methods by providing a three point framework: observation, categorisation and association. However, before the results from

observation and categorisation are outlined, the parameters of the SAE internal world are re-defined to account for new ideas that have emerged.

How the SAE internal world was revealed to me

As described in Chapter 3, the internal world of SAE was arrived at by relating current NAO support measures, policies and programmes to current SAE literature (p.73). These contrasts indicated that something else was operating in the SAE. It was inferred that NAO could not 'see' the intangible parts of SAE, and if they could, they were not translating that to practice. Previous discussions indicated the internal world of SAE was a fairly closed process to non-Aboriginal people.

In this research, the internal world of SAE was revealed by establishing trust with the owners and/or managers. This meant a standard interview format was unlikely to gain SAE owner and/or manager support because pre-determined questions would concentrate the discussion into Western ideas and concepts. I was fortunate enough that the seven preliminary interviewees in Ceduna wanted to assist me. They openly discussed their experiences and inner ideas. The meetings were facilitated using 'conversation style' open questions to explore their stories in a range of physical settings that were comfortable to each owner and/or manager. This was aided by my small business intuition and experience of remote area living. Trust was built between us principally due to my own background living and working, then operating a remote area small business in northern South Australia. These preliminary interviews were contrasted to each other through cross-interview analysis, with the results previously given in Tables 5.2 and 5.3. As a result, the Aboriginal owners and/or managers could identify with me, even though I am a non-Aboriginal person. The SAE owners I talked with during the preliminary interviews then agreed for me to develop and explore their ideas with other Aboriginal people around Australia. Thus, iteration through grounded theory methods was underway and the SAE internal world began to open up.

Thus, the parameters of the SAE internal world were established by finding common ground and gaining trust. The preliminary interviews were insightful and this meant that other SAE participants could readily identify with their ideas. This therefore, gave the interviews a richness that grounded theory methods could easily emerge ideas from.

How the grounded theory categories were inducted

This section provides the dimensions of the SAE internal world by discussing the grounded theory results from category development through to theoretical sampling. These activities produced saturation which resulted in identification of the core category. A series of tables and diagrams are used to example major discussion points.

To position the following grounded theory analysis with the previous social and commercial type characteristics (that emerged from cross-interview analysis of the preliminary interviews), the following description is given. Pre-grounded theory analysis using social and commercial types suggested that family, access to country and cultural interlinks were crucial in the SAE (p.133). However in the following section, social and commercial types were not used to emerge new ideas through grounded theory methods. Instead, social and commercial types are used after this to highlight differences. Importantly, grounded theory analysis was conducted separate to current literature and current typologies.

The grounded theory categories were established through three steps by analysing, verifying, and then emerging a theory (refer back to p.109). The results are given in this chapter. The seven preliminary interviews at Ceduna were used as the starting point to induct the emerging ideas. As such, these interviews went through both cross-interview and grounded theory methods. The purpose of this was to begin iteration between the early ideas, the interview questions and the coding and memos.

The result of grounded theory coding

Coding of the preliminary interviews suggested these early ideas were important to SAE:

- Family values.
- Pathways.
- Balance.
- Links to past and future.
- Nothing operates in isolation.
- Cycles, systems and time.
- Family behaviours and influences.

These ideas from the seven preliminary interviews at Ceduna would eventually appear as integral to the SAE internal world. First however, these were developed further in the remaining interviews with the other 40 SAE. As each batch of new interviews was completed, grounded theory methods were used to analyse their information. Line-by-

line coding was used to start the process and these administrative steps occurred under the NVIVO data management programme (p.106).

Line-by-line coding

The purpose of line coding was to name important sections of the interview text. The following narrative excerpt from Participant A9 shows how line-by-line coding occurred (see Table 5.4). At this early stage, an internal world template was not placed over the interviews, instead coding freely occurred against participant text. Confirmation of the internal world emerged later, after saturation occurred (p.150).

Table 5.4: Example of line-by-line coding of interview text from Enterprise A9

A sample of interview text	**A sample of line-by-line coding**
Q.11 What jobs do the Aboriginals do and what jobs do the white fellas do?	
• A-P Lands – not much jobs for young people, no job or training, not much to do. Here at [ABCD] training to get workers from Indulkana, but not interested with work or horses or motor bikes, I was using old people, but now Tjilpi, so I thought I could get people from Indulkana, they have different interests not (young) but 40's and 50's still interested. Only if we pay them. Now and again get 2 people to do some work.	Employment Training No interest in work Elders Income
• Had young Aboriginals from down South and they have 'commodore V8 dreamings' to help fix fence and put up new ones, 10 young people came out and done it. They had to do community work. This was good, but they went back. Young adults at Point Pearce did the weaner paddock, but windmill, tank and trough they were not good.	Big money dreams Station work Helping in community Station work
• It does disappoint me and makes me sad that young people won't work from Indulkana – they get easy money. When I was young started 8-9 years doing odd jobs, it was okay to make money (chop wood and collect eggs). The police wanted to take me to Oodnadatta, but because I was working they did not take any mixed descent. Some see working as white fella and some don't care. It is okay if you get one feed a day. They should be doing something, do sport, education and training- sport and music young Aboriginals like this. Work was only in my time. I used to love riding horses and cattle work. We used to have some pack horses that even would go around trees.	Disappointment No interest in work Participant history Aboriginal culture Work ethic Attitude to no work Education and training Participant history Station work

The line-by-line coding was a time consuming, but necessary activity because it revealed richness. This type of coding was followed by focussed coding.

Focussed coding

Focussed coding inducted the line-by-line coding into a smaller set. The previous interview from Participant A9 and the line-by-line sample is used to illustrate this (see Table 5.5).

Table 5.5: Example of focussed coding of interview text from Enterprise A9

A Sample of line-by-line coding	A sample of focused coding
Employment Training No interest in work Elders Income	Employment, training and education Roles
Big money dreams Station work and jobs Helping in community Station work and jobs	Employment, training and education Community
Disappointment No interest in work Participant history Aboriginal culture Work ethic Attitude to no work Education and training Participant history Station work and jobs	Employment, training and education Culture Attitudes and beliefs

Focussed coding gradually synthesised the detailed line-by-line coding, and this process also occurred under NVIVO. This was the last step before memos were developed.

The result of the grounded theory memos

The memos were a challenging step because I realised I had to be clear and honest, but in doing so my previously acknowledged biases surfaced (p.112). This was not always the case, but an example memo of the previous line-by-line coding highlights the tensions between what I heard and what I understood (refer overleaf to Figure 5.2) through Participant A9 once more.

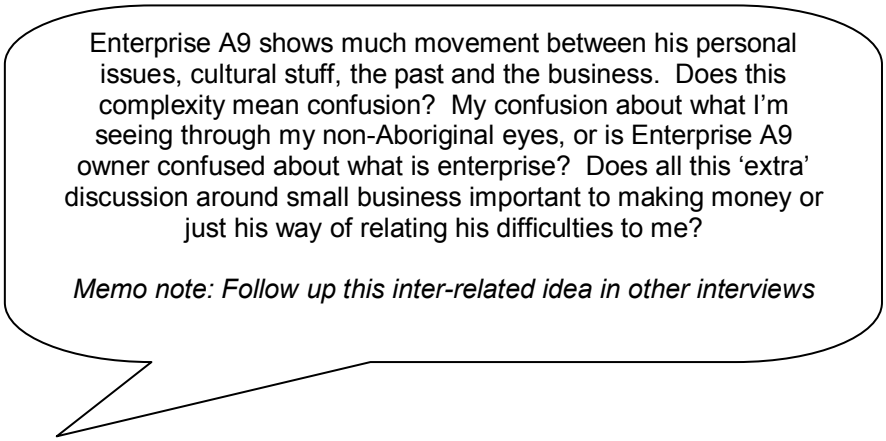


Figure 5.2: Example of a memo about Enterprise A9

The memos attempted to group together the interview coding results. However, this once more produced much information, more pathways to follow, and an increasing batch of related questions. As a first step to reduce the information, the memos were continually taken back to SAE participants as a group of ideas surfaced. This meant that some SAE participants were interviewed two to three times. To settle the information into a more manageable set, a cluster diagram of the main memos was produced (see Figure 5.3).

This diagram was derived from the memos and was initially constructed from preliminary interviews (*n*=7) with Aboriginal owners and/or managers from Ceduna in western South Australia. Somehow, these codes and memos were linked, interwoven and inter-dependent. They also reflected various cultural and commercial viewpoints. These linkages were developed iteratively throughout the subsequent interviews (*n*=40). The memos and codes were expanded as needed.

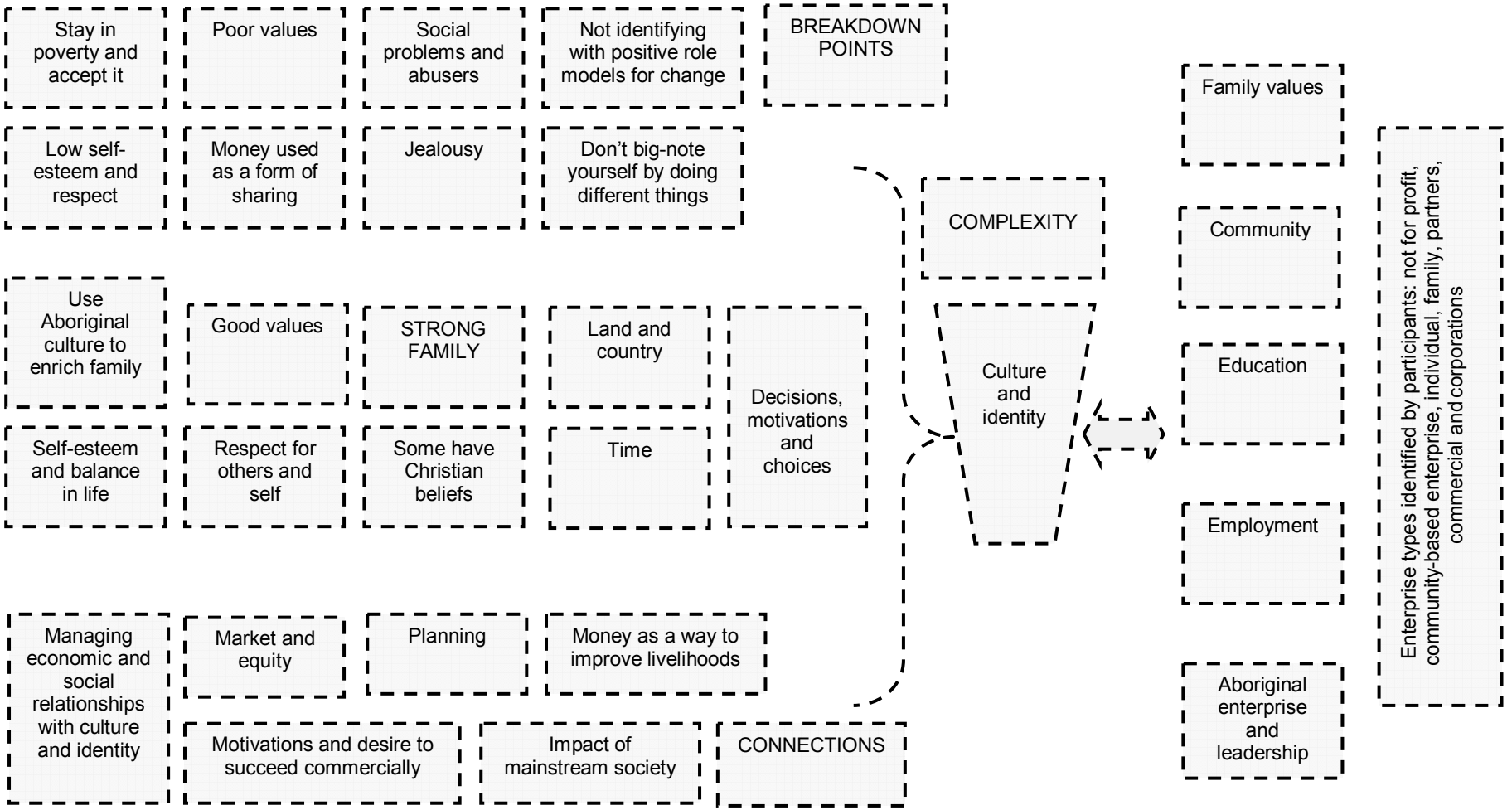


Figure 5.3: Cluster diagram of major SAE memos, derived from grounded theory coding

This cluster diagram reflected the complexity of SAE responses and people's competing ideas. This complexity was accepted and the cluster diagram was used to define important categories.

The result of grounded theory data categories

The grounded theory categories fell out of the coding and memo processes that were evident in the previous cluster diagram. They were synthesised into this set:

- Culture and identity.
- Values.
- Poverty.
- Self-esteem.
- Money.
- Family.
- Community.
- Influences.
- Respect.
- Spirituality and dreaming.
- Social and economic relationships.
- Connections and breakdown points.
- Complexity.
- Land and country.
- Time.
- Markets.
- Decisions, motivations and choices.
- Education.
- Leadership.
- Process of enterprise.
- Employment.
- Forms and types of enterprise.

In terms of grounded theory, the size of this set indicates that variety and wide influences were common, many of which sit outside an economic frame or lens. These numerous categories were ready for theoretical sampling.

The result of theoretical sampling

Theoretical sampling aimed to develop the properties of these categories. By continually returning to the field to talk to SAE participants, the focus was to understand the conditions under which the categories operated. As an example, the following properties occurred under the category 'money':

- Financial values impacted the use of money.
- Some money, such as capital, was difficult to obtain due to land tenure.
- Money at times was used to pressure owners and/or managers into giving cash to relatives and this impacted some SAE trading results.

By establishing the conditions of each category however, it meant theoretical sampling exploded the data out again. This gave the categories greater dimensions which the

cluster diagram had successfully tightened down. An example of theoretical sampling is given for Participant A9 (who was previously followed), see Table 5.6. Here Participant A9's focussed coding results are shown with questions derived after theoretical sampling.

Table 5.6: Example of theoretical sampling of interview text from Enterprise A9

A sample of focused coding	A sample of questions identified after theoretical sampling
Employment, training and education	Does the family and/or community impact views about employment?
Roles	What is the impact of family in the enterprise?
Employment, training and education	Who makes the enterprise decisions?
Community	What is the impact of the community in the enterprise?
Employment, training and education	What is the influence of traditional Aboriginal culture and Western culture?
Culture	
Attitudes and beliefs	

The table shows that many questions were raised from the theoretical sampling process. As before, the continual process of talking to people, identifying codes, analysing information, returning the field and conducting more analysing meant that many of the major questions were answered, but many minor ones were not. Therefore, iteration between the grounded theory codes, memos and writing showed that theoretical sampling was a cumbersome process.

The result of theoretical sampling reviewed the previous data categories, questioned them as needed by confirming their values.

Finalising the categories identified from the grounded theory analysis

The following seven main grounded theory categories were distilled from theoretical sampling analysis and the result of data category development (p.148). The following seven categories were identified as critical to the internal world of the SAE. Some sub-categories are represented two to three times under the main categories:

- Main category: building blocks.
  - Drawn from grounded theory categories: culture, money, family, community, decision-making and motivations.
- Main category: influences.
  - Drawn from grounded theory categories: process of enterprise, employment, markets, types of enterprise, poverty, family and community.
- Main category: family values.
  - Drawn from grounded theory categories: values, respect, education and leadership.
- Main category: personalised processes.
  - Drawn from grounded theory categories: identity, influences, spirituality and dreaming.
- Main category: fluidity.
  - Drawn from grounded theory categories: culture, spirituality, time, land and country.
- Main category: flux.
  - Drawn from grounded theory categories: decision-making, motivations and choices.
- Main category: micro level issues.
  - Drawn from grounded theory categories: self-esteem, identity, connections and breakdown points.

It became evident that interlinking was a strong theme. This resonated with the cross-interview analysis of the preliminary interviews through social and commercial types. Interlinking is explored shortly (p.153). Moving each interview through this iterative process finally resulted in saturation.

Saturation

Saturation (p.112) indicated that the grounded theory categories were full and no new ideas had surfaced. Thus, the categories and their dimensions were available for verification (p.112) and ready to emerge a new theory. Saturation also meant the core category of the SAE internal world could be confirmed.

The core category

The core category is critical as it pools the codes and ideas so far into a line of discussion. A core category therefore, acts as a central theme to draw in different parts from the exploding nature of grounded theory analysis. It was important for the core category to be representative of the previous ones. At this point, verification

processes (Step 4B of the grounded theory process identified in Chapter 4 [p.112]) were used as a check.

The core category 'inter-connections' emerged from grounded theory processes (see p.112). In addition, cultural linking emerged from the cross-interview analysis of the preliminary interviews, whilst verification steps using content analysis (see p.119) provided a slightly different answer – that relationships were integral to the inter-connections. Thus, the core category of the SAE internal world reflects these three inputs and is:

- Inter-connections between relationships through culture.

The three important relationships of this core category were found to be:

- Connecting up.
- Heterogeneity.
- Identity.

It appeared that interconnections between the three important relationships were a central activity of the SAE internal world. Yet, it was evident that inter-connections in the SAE relationships made it difficult to isolate and pin down their characteristics, due to culture. However, it was found that culture was the basis of inter-connections. This meant the SAE internal world was prefaced by and understood through culture. It seemed that culture was integral to each action and reaction; to each thought and emotion; and to each step and plan.

If these insights are compared back to the pre-grounded theory comparisons through cross-interview analysis (p.133 and p.134), it can be seen that 'inter-linking' aligns with 'interconnections' and that culture remains strong. However, the importance of family is yet to be revealed. These emerging ideas are now ready for further development.

Part three – The internal world of SAE

After showing how grounded theory was applied and what early results emerged, this part of Chapter 5 explores the SAE internal world through the three important relationships derived from the core category. Refer overleaf to Figure 5.4 for more details.

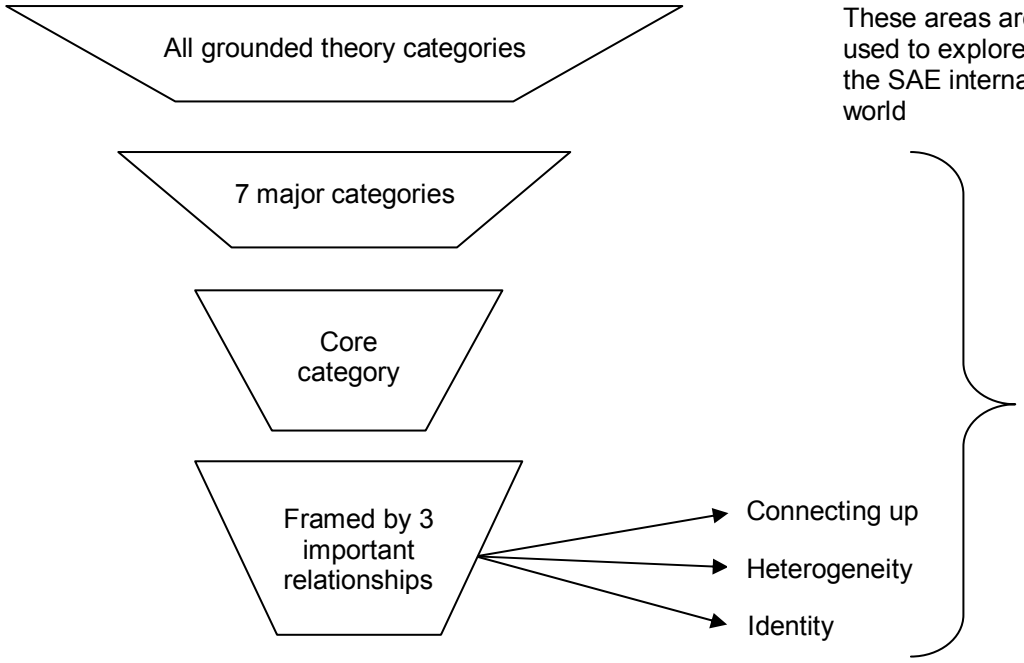


Figure 5.4: Types of grounded theory categories and the ones used to explore the SAE internal world

This diagram shows that seven main categories, the core category and the three important relationships frame the following discussion about SAEs external world.

Exploring the seven grounded theory categories through three important relationships

More specifically, diagrams are used to introduce important points, and this builds upon Aboriginal people's use of drawings to explain ideas to me. A range of participant voices and stories are used to provide examples and evidence whilst my analysis provides insights about their situation. The end result of this chapter produces an emerging theory of the internal world (p.182) which is later used to inform the first descriptive theory of SAE in Chapter 7 (p.259).

On some occasions, the participant voices are divided into a social or a commercial enterprise type whilst at other times, the Aboriginal voices are represented as individual owners and/or managers. This combination enables the work to be connected to current types, but also separated from it. Throughout this chapter however, the focus

is to weave the varied Aboriginal voices through illustrative stories or interview text. These voices help to explain the grounded theory category under consideration.

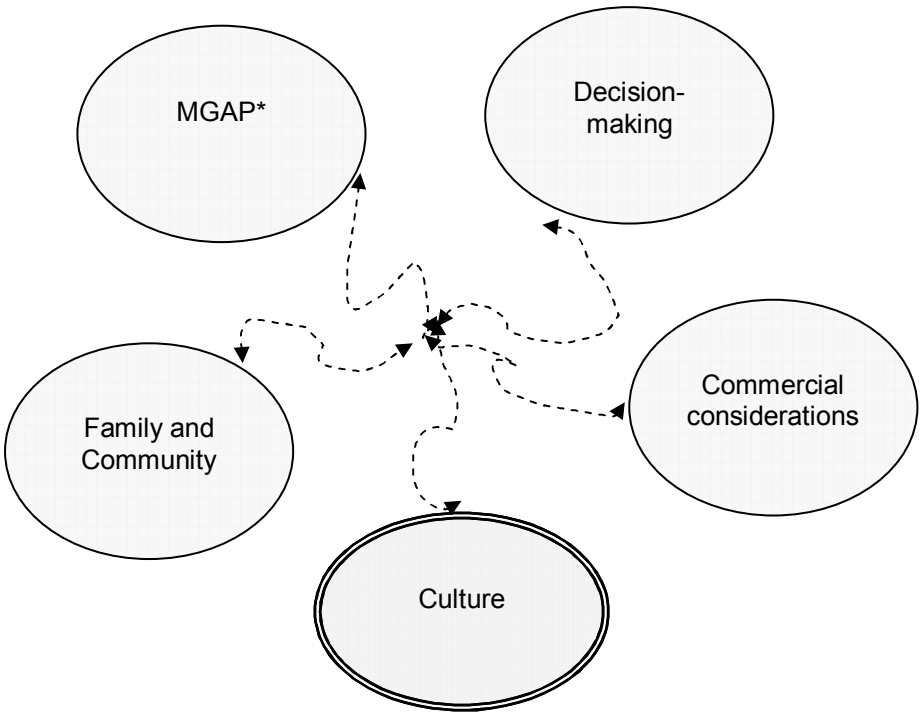
The internal world of SAE is a colourful picture, one that constantly changes. It is highly visible at a local level when working alongside SAE in person. Most prominently, the relationship 'connecting up' shows the colourful patterns that operate in SAE.

Grounded theory relationship one: connecting up

Relationship one, 'connecting up' is explained through these four main categories: building blocks, influences, family values and personalised processes. Each of these four categories is about 'connecting up' relationships. The following discussions begin with enterprise building blocks.

Building blocks

The five building blocks of SAE were found to be: culture; family and community; motivations, goals, aims and priorities (MGAP); decision-making and commercial considerations. It appears that these five building blocks categories operated together and were interdependent (refer to Figure 5.5).



* Motivations, goals, aims and priorities

Figure 5.5: Five major building blocks operated in each Aboriginal enterprise

Aboriginal participants said that culture was critical to each enterprise, effectively underpinning each building block, and this is represented by the double lined circle. Culture was the pivotal building block for all Aboriginal enterprises and provided a way for people to relate to family and community. Motivations, goals, aims and priorities (MGAP) and decision-making were sequentially linked to each other and were informed by the previous culture and family/community building blocks. The commercial building block was the last step and reflected the path taken before feeding back into culture. Within each SAE, a series of interconnections were evident, these grew from the culture building block, but the details were unknown at this early stage. These interconnections are represented by the dashed shape.

Connected to each other, the five major building blocks operated as an essential core of each Aboriginal enterprise. The building block term was not used by the participants, instead it was a term selected to represent interdependency and interconnections between the different parts. Each SAE owner and/or manager talked about their family and community, their culture, what motivates them, and how they go about making decisions. These points were variously woven into commercial issues by each participant.

This interdependency and interconnection between the building blocks can be seen when SAE combine finances with culture. This owner advised that culture was a natural part of each enterprise:

> *You cannot separate business from culture, they work hand in hand, it's what people come out here for.*
> Participant A16

This owner differed and indicated that financial and family motivations were important too:

> *My motivation is to make money, and to have good family values and strong culture. It's also about change and improving people.*
> Participant A17

The interdependent nature of culture can be explained through its ability to sit alongside Western culture. This owner wanted both Aboriginal and white fella culture to co-exist:

> *I say to a lot of my mob, you can still hold onto those cultural values but we as Indigenous people, if we're going to survive and progress, we need to be part of the Western culture as well, because that is the way of the world. Losing tradition and culture,* [well we've] *only lost a little bit of it, but you have to make decisions for yourself and where you want to be in life.*
> Participant A31

Alternatively, this manager acknowledged the efforts made to consider both culture and commercial considerations when making enterprise decisions, and he said:

> *Finding the right links between culture and enterprise is important. It's about findings ways for culture to fit with the business and for business to fit with culture.*
> Participant A24

Interdependency can also be revealed by linking culture to business practices.

> *It's good if you keep culturally minded, and* [this] *can help a business. They will be rewarded and profits can go into their pockets and* [this] *removes* [the] *harsh life of welfare.*
> Participant A12

Interdependent cultural and financial building blocks were common across all SAE, yet it was their volume or intensity that differed between each owner and/or manager. This uniqueness is explored shortly (p.174).

Interdependency is also evident through sharing practices between people and families. Despite the influence of family in all Aboriginal enterprises, social owners and/or managers in particular, advised that sharing with the broader community was an accepted and common practice. Community sharing was described by Aboriginal owners and/or managers in a variety of ways.

This social enterprise owner explained the importance of sharing with his people:

> *We do not have a 'thank you' in our Adnyamathanha language. We have sharing and we expect that if someone needs something it will be returned in some way, that they must obviously need it.*
> Participant A16

This coordinator of an Aboriginal commercial enterprise advised that sharing was taken into consideration when preparing employee shifts:

> *Work was shared with* [ABCD] *and* [EFGH] *to a smaller extent. If people wanted to be transient and move around, they could still have a job. We have a system of employee replacement for people out on cultural business.*
> Participant A27

Sharing within the Aboriginal community was an extension of SAEs culture. Sharing was commonly attached to business practices – it was not separated from it. As before, what was different between each SAE was the volume or intensity of the practice. These ideas are developed further in Chapter 6 (p.227).

Throughout the participant interviews, linkages across the building blocks were always described. This interdependency is also evident through Esther's experiences.

> Esther always put her family first. This occurred despite the pressures from surrounding Aboriginal groups who dismissed her belief that it was necessary to work with the mining companies to get jobs and better health services for local people. Esther wanted Aboriginal people to bring their culture with them, and she publicly stood up at many community meetings with local councillors, government, mining and pastoral station officials to explain this. Culture did not stop at the front gate for Esther. To improve the poor living conditions of local Aboriginal people, who did not go on holidays, or have the means to buy basic provisions, was the motivation behind her actions. This was a social situation where young people drifted into violence, drugs, alcohol and truancy because their Aboriginal culture was dismissed and deemed as unnecessary for a white fella job. Esther aimed to draw all cultures together, to let the mining companies know that Aboriginal people bring their interconnected relationships based on culture with them.

This story shows how wanting to connect and bring culture and family into the mainstream society through employment drew a hostile reaction. This circumstance occurred during the 1990s in north-west Queensland and today, little is resolved. As a result, Esther has relocated to southern Queensland to provide better education and employment opportunities for her children, although her mother and extended family still live in the town, but have little access to country. Interconnected cultural, family and community relationships motivated her – it was how she made decisions, and it was how she imagined commercial process could be, but in reality they were not.

These examples show that a building block process does not separate one part from the other by using a linear design with a neat beginning and an overarching plan or an

end. Instead, the building block process pools inter-related ideas together in a circular and irregular pattern with no start or finish. This circular and evolving building block process was integral to the way that SAE owners and/or managers related to themselves and others. As such, one part did not operate without the other parts. It could be seen that SAE interdependent building blocks are infused with culture.

To explore more of the relationship 'connecting up', SAE influences are now presented.

Influences

Influences from mainstream society and other Aboriginal people were significant and on-going and affected every Aboriginal owner and/or manager (see Figure 5.6).

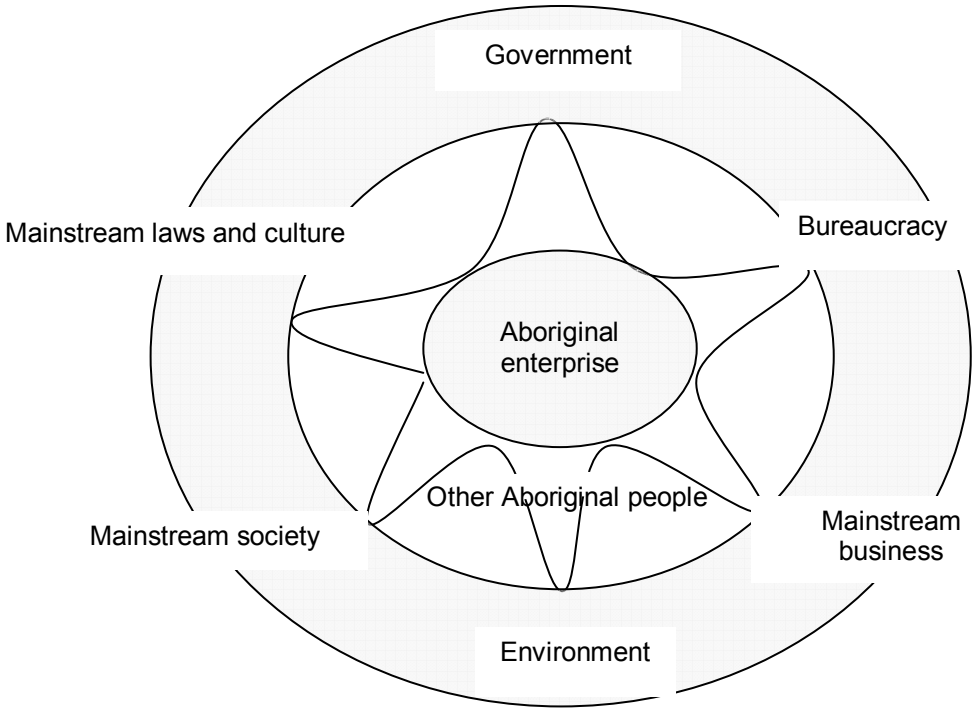


Figure 5.6: Influences on the Aboriginal enterprise

Many influences surrounded each SAE. On the outer circle of the diagram, government, bureaucracy, mainstream business, society, laws, environment and culture were not separate to Aboriginal enterprise. As an example, the term 'government' was often used by the participants to represent wider society; they were

not seen as separate to each other. The following example shows how government influences Aboriginal people even if they do not wish this to occur:

> *Most Aboriginal people don't want to fit into 'white fella' culture. The government has made them like it* [welfare]. [It's] *sit down money.*
> Participant A6

Influences on Aboriginal enterprise were constant, with many Aboriginal participants suspicious about government and its processes.

Similarly, the influences from other Aboriginal people were also constant. This brought about an inner circle of influences on the SAE (as represented by the swirled lines). In effect, many Aboriginal owners and/or managers had to choose between family and the broader needs of the community:

> *At times community people are dedicated to the enterprise, at other times, they try and get money because of the enterprise – like fuel, cars and cash.*
> Participant A32

The influences on the SAE can further be explained through dominant families.

Dominant families were a common occurrence in all Aboriginal enterprises. Yet, asking direct questions to owners and/or managers about dominant family groups controlling the enterprise were met with a common response by the commercial participants: dominant families in the community managed the enterprises, and they received the benefits first and others often missed out. As an example, this commercial owner advised that local politics and money distribution between traditional owners and the wider community were a big problem in Aboriginal communities:

> *One of the biggest problems here out on communities, particularly here, no matter what you want to do and where you want to do it, you will always have traditional owners for that specific area, and if you want to do something to benefit the community then I think the only alternative is to somehow come to an agreement where you lease that land off traditional owners and you pay them a return. But then the profit and income is generated from your own activity on that land then can be dispersed amongst community so to speak. It is not just amongst traditional owners because this where the* [ABCD] *enterprise fell down and to a certain extent at* [EFGH] *enterprise as well, all because of local politics. This was due to tensions between traditional owners and wider community and* [all over] *where the money went.*
> Participant A31

Participant A31 gave a valuable account of community politics. However, social owners and/or managers were not so forthcoming and mostly gave guarded responses. For instance, if the participant was part of the dominant family group

managing the enterprise, their answers often defended their controlling role in the enterprise. In the following case, the Aboriginal woman helped to manage the social enterprise, and was part of the dominant family group that controlled the enterprise. This participant defended the role of her family in the enterprise, but does not indicate why her own family is left to run the enterprise. She said:

> *Initially it was supposed to be all family representatives on the enterprise but now only* [ABCD] *family. Jealousy have and does happen, it puts some of the* [ABCD] *family under pressure, but* [ABCD] *want as many families involved as possible.*
> Participant A32

In contrast, if the participant was not part of the dominant family group and on the management periphery, the replies were stronger in tone and various examples were given to illustrate their exclusion from the dominant family by social participants. To help explain this occurrence, the following participant was also from a social enterprise, but not from the dominant family group. She was a non-Aboriginal manager whose message was different to the previous participant, but similar to the commercial owner's message. Participant A29 lived in a remote area with traditional Aboriginal people who consistently used dominant family power dynamics to control the relationships between the enterprise and the community.

> *Anangu up here are different. They have people in power and they do these things: they talk good,* [they're] *bigger and have a braver front than the others. They also have a smattering of English that white fellas can relate too, so they end up getting heard. But, what happens to little Johnny and the other Aboriginal people? They* [the powerful] *are part of the hype and the game for money. Some have worked out how to get money from others and* [they're] *subtle at getting what they want.*
> Participant A29

The issue of dominant family groups controlling Aboriginal enterprise was a sensitive one to explore. For commercial enterprises, the dominant family dynamics fitted with their nature; reflecting autonomy from government, individual and immediate family goals, and the desire to succeed through financial profit. Social enterprises and dominant family dynamics were different. These relationships often reflected a type of dependence on government or industry or philanthropic organisations through financial subsidies. Their relationships drew in the extended family and community, but gave preference to the dominant family, yet this was compounded by the desire to succeed through culture. Although many social enterprises were built through kinship and community, ultimate control, management and primary decision-making eventually returned to one dominant or controlling family unit. The dominant family groups may well be further entrenched in their dominance because NAO see them as successful.

These dominant family influences operated at the heart of the enterprise. This shows that interconnected relationships were not always about positive experiences, they brought with them the 'rough and tumble' of Aboriginality and its jagged interconnections with mainstream society. The interconnections between the SAE and the surrounding society, both mainstream and Aboriginal, can be expressed through Ronald's circumstances.

> Ronald is acutely aware of the influences from both mainstream society and Aboriginal people. The local level community influences such as racist remarks, pressure to work, unfriendliness, discrimination and idle gossip were easily managed through his sound education and employment background. As someone who contributed to the local community as a volunteer on progress associations and sporting fixtures, it made community life with Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people flow comfortably. What Ronald did not expect was the influence of non-Aboriginal corporate and government officials. Their ability to manipulate and control the local people through the promise of money and jobs and other benefits, highly influenced the community and polarised people's viewpoints which ultimately led to physical violence and confrontation. For Ronald, outside influences from government and the mining industry were far more destructive than anything produced locally.

This description about Ronald's circumstances show how he was caught between two pressures. The example also reveals how he managed local community influences. Yet, community is overbalanced if powerful influences were directed from outside, from an overwhelming and dominant culture, such as government and industry agendas to commercialise a mining deposit. In this example, Ronald managed the influences; he survived and built a small business. However, many others could not and resigned themselves to a changed cultural, physical and relationship environment. As such, the outside Western influences were too strong and the Aboriginal people just accepted the inevitable pressure.

It is inferred that influences on the SAE are constant, which each owner and/or manager cannot detach from. Locally, this means living with cultural and family pressure, whilst externally this means living with the mainstream influences from NAO.

If these influences are misdirected and valueless for SAE it appears to create stronger pressures for them. It also means that if SAE interconnections between their relationships are not respected, the SAE is therefore weakened.

Family values

Once the range of influences on the Aboriginal enterprise was established, the nature and complexity of family values became a pressing issue. How locally did family practices and values occur? Did the families involved with enterprise hold different values from families not involved with enterprise? How did families view enterprise success? Every Aboriginal participant talked about the importance of 'good family', 'strong family' or 'good values' in enterprise; this became the basis of local practices. The word 'strong' was often associated by all SAE participants with success. That is, 'strong culture' meant bringing culture with you and keeping the traditions alive. Some examples of 'good or strong family values' were described as: strong connections to family, respect for elders, helping each other, practising traditions such as caring for country and hunting, keeping culture strong, not replacing culture with white fella ways, and being connected to family values.

Examination of the 'family values' category shows that each family went about their business and life differently. This diversity created more complexity for grounded theory analysis. Yet once more, it was found that these differences were connected by broader cultural links to other families and other communities. Participant A18 from north-west Queensland constructed the following cluster diagram (Figure 5.7). This diagram represents beliefs about 'good' or 'strong' and 'poor' family values, and how Aboriginal participants saw the connections and disconnections to enterprise and culture. The diagram is complex because it pieces together the wide variety of influences and reflects the tedious reality of Aboriginal enterprise relationships. This family values concept was also taken to the other SAE participants for comment and input.

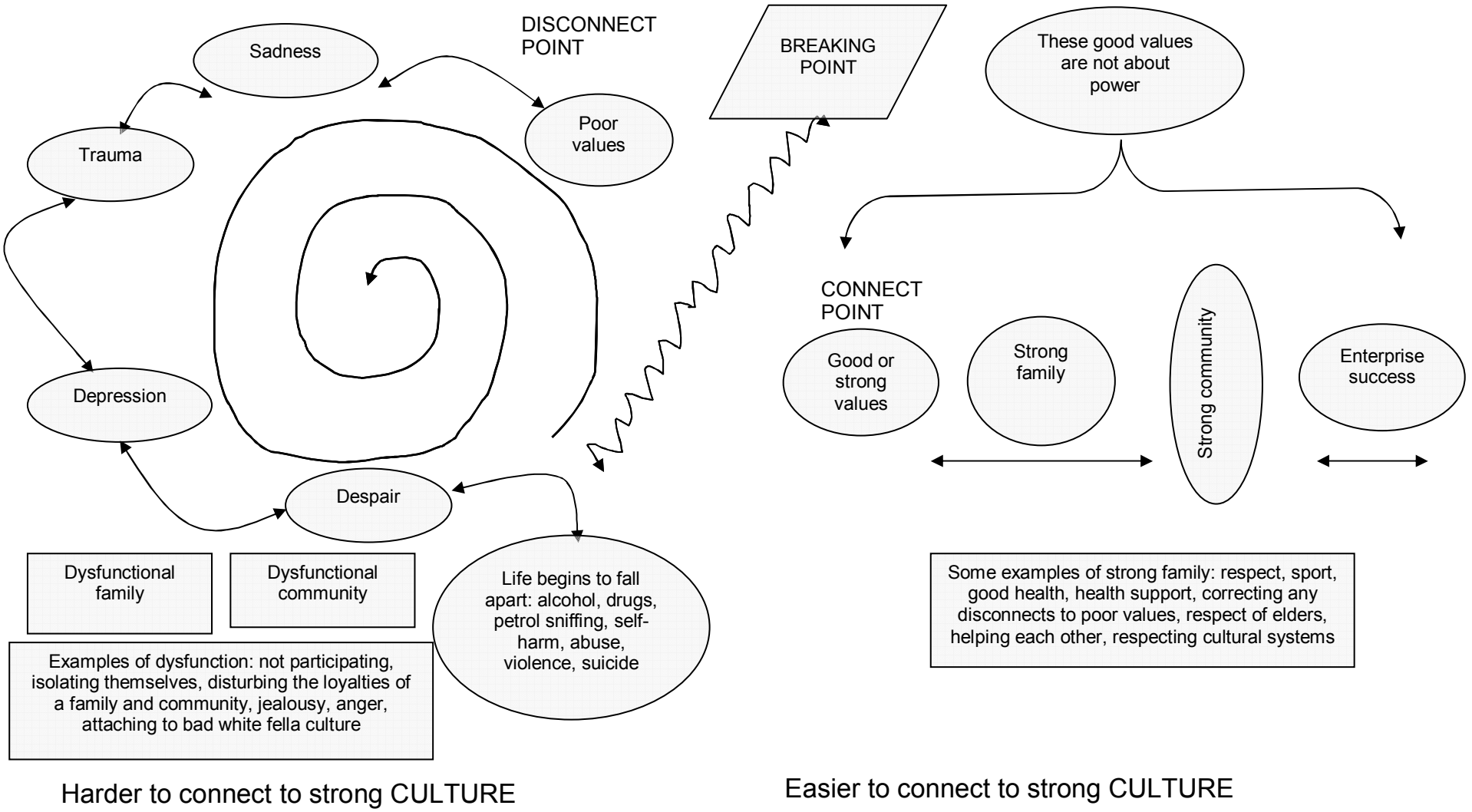


Figure 5.7: What Aboriginal participants say about family values as a breaking point for balance in life and pathways into enterprise. Source: ideas established by Participant A18 March 2004

The diagram shows how family values can alter a person's life and their ability to progress into enterprise. It was found that family values operate locally and are practised differently, often by regions. In particular, the diagram notes the 'breaking points' between connections and disconnections to family values. Good family values were able to connect more easily to strong culture. Yet the opposite was found for poor family values, where it was harder to connect with strong culture. It was carefully explained by many participants that a disconnection to family values also reflected a disconnection to strong culture. Poor values were often aligned with attaching to bad white fella ways, such as alcohol, drugs, TV, gambling, welfare and money. These bad white fella ways were often phrased this way: 'they are not a strong family' or 'they have no strong culture'.

Alongside good family values, many participants said that poor family values from other Aboriginal people also impacted their own enterprise, mostly through family and community breakdown. Participants said a disconnection to family values meant a cycle of sadness and depression built on dysfunctional families whose cultural ties were fractured:

> *I have seen where bad family values affect generations of people.*
> Participant A6

The breaking point for family values was important for Aboriginal owners and/or managers. Every participant actively voiced the importance of strong family values, and the following participant responses indicate this sentiment:

> *We acknowledge culture through traditional practices and family values,* [and our] *language.*
> Participant A6

> *Family values mean we question ourselves, in some respects yes. Even on* [my] *first cousin side, there is strong family bond and values. We look after family, work hard for what we got, but we still maintain strong extended family links.*
> Participant A23

Despite the vast range of family values discussed, it was very clear that each owner and/or manager wanted to separate out poor family values from the good ones. Every SAE participant said their family values were strong, and based on strong cultural respect and pride.

The effect of family values on the SAE can be expressed through Esther.

> Esther grew up in a family where both poor and good family values operated around her. As a young woman in a difficult marriage she and her children experienced domestic violence, sadness and trauma. She described these as growing from poor family values that disconnected her and the children from her extended family and from traditional culture. In time, Esther grew in many ways and was able to make changes, re-marry, welcome more children, become actively involved in the local community (both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal) and begin a series of both social and commercial enterprises. Esther described that breaking points were pivotal to either dropping into poor values or reconnecting with good values. On explaining this, she indicated that culture underpins everything, even if people's lives are falling apart – culture is still there to rely upon. She said: 'it's just that we get disconnected from it.' What helped her most was re-connecting with good values. She explained this was not using values as power to get more than others, but using values as a belief system, based on strong and principled family. Esther commented that family can withstand the influences and pressures from both worlds and this was critical for her progression into enterprise.

This personal background about Esther shows once more how relationships are pivotal and how interconnections can influence the family, its stability and its values. Esther saw herself as holding strong culture with strong family.

Family values were a highly personal process that acutely reflected the vigour of interconnecting relationships. Family values were brought into each SAE however; it was found the practise of family values was variable across the owners and/or managers. Interestingly poor family values were present as an influence around them, yet they chose not to take them on. At first glance, family values appears to be far distant from the commercial and trading realities of SAE, yet as later analysis reveals the family begins the enterprise path. Family sets up values which can be taken down poor or good value pathways. Ultimately for the SAE owner and/or manager, the connection to good values and strong family means the ability to recognise and step away from the poor values influencing their Aboriginality. Yet in doing so, it meant going back and helping those who are affected by poor values. As such, even if there

is no strong culture and no strong family, other Aboriginal people will go back and help re-connect those less fortunate people back to culture.

Personalised processes

Despite the prominence of poor family values around SAE owners and/or managers, they collectively talked about their 'balance in life' as a critical step for their family values. Participants believed that balance in life was critical to operating their enterprise. Yet it was found that balance in life was a personal activity. Owners and/or managers talked about their path into enterprise, a number calling them 'stepping-stones'. They strongly argued that stepping-stones helped them to achieve their balance in life. These ideas are reflected in Figure 5.8. Initial development of this diagram was undertaken with the help of Ceduna participants, with their messages reinforced by others throughout the remaining interviews.

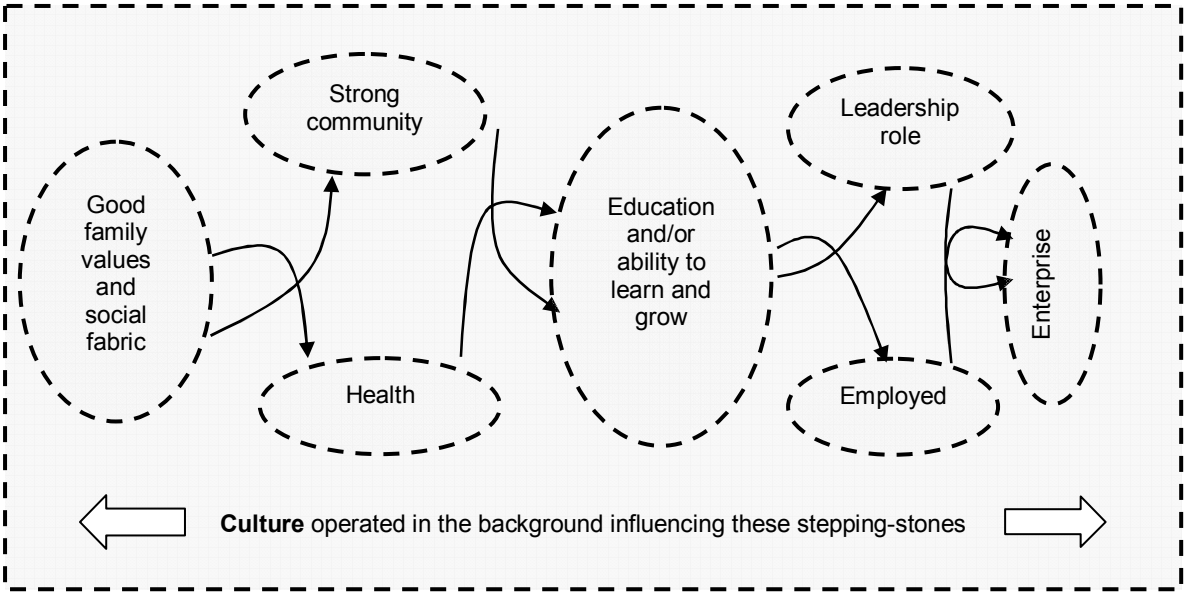


Figure 5.8: Stepping-stones to achieve balance in life and pathways into enterprise. Source: taken from butcher's paper drawing at Ceduna, South Australia, March 2004

This diagram shows how culture underpinned all the enterprise stepping-stones. Strong links were established between family values, social fabric and health stepping-stones. A link to community was important, but community was not as strong as the previous links to family and culture. For all the Aboriginal owners and/or managers, the family and health stepping-stones formed the basis from which to proceed into education, employment and leadership roles. Enterprise was the result of this process

for all participants; they followed this pathway into enterprise. No Aboriginal enterprise developed without participants having a background in long-term employment or experience with a leadership role. The importance of family values for Aboriginal enterprise became clear – family played a pivotal role to begin the stepping-stones.

These stepping stones were found to be a personalised process within each SAE. As an example, Participant A42 said:

> *I link education and family values together for success, also employment and small business.*
> Participant A42

In addition, this manager of a commercial business advised that enterprise was the first priority:

> *Culture is about third priority with us here, education and training and jobs come before our culture. Culture comes with us.*
> Participant A17

For this owner, the meaning of Aboriginal family values was important:

> *There is a strong link to family by good family values. Keeping family together is important, how you bring them up is how they will be. What my parents did to me, is how I am today.*
> Participant A17

It was found that priorities for SAE owners and/or managers differed. Yet what binds them all, is a desire to move from one stepping stone to another. This movement from good family values through to education and employment meant enterprise was about progression. The progress along the stepping stones was a personalised process that can be linked to motivations.

At times, commercial owner and/or manager motivations incorporated a mix of money, family and community. This commercial participant wanted to provide better access to quality food for surrounding Aboriginal communities:

> *My motivation was the poor quality fruit and vegetables and big prices in stores on the Lands and I wanted to do it better and cheaper.*
> Participant A31

In contrast, the following social participant was not motivated by community at all, but through his own vision of success, based on his family. Tensions existed between his family group who operated the social enterprise and the local Aboriginal community. This social enterprise owner was innovative and this caused local community tensions:

> …[I'm] *motivated by wanting to bring about change for long term benefits. In my life, I built this place to leave a legacy behind* [and this] *is very important. I do not want to die and be forgotten. …whereas here I can succeed,* [ABCD] *is this* [because] *I can see what I've done. This is my reward.*
> Participant A45

The personalised process was an interconnected one, where there was a range of motivations to move through each stepping stone. It was clear that SAE participants were unhappy just to sit with the first stepping stone of good family values; they wanted something more, even if this drew conflict and criticism from other Aboriginal people and created stronger tensions with the influential mainstream society.

As an example of stepping stones and self-motivation as a personalised process, Ella's experiences are re-told.

> Ella has a long held desire to improve the lives of Aboriginal women who are often silenced by their Aboriginal men. She commented that because the men feel jealous of the women's contributions, they end up holding uncomfortable feelings about women's requests to go out and complete a short course or undertake self-improvement or casual work. She said: 'the men feel this will shame a man, make him look bad.' Ella explained that often Aboriginal men have little to do because traditional practices are no longer required to support the family and that non-Aboriginal society does not value the role of Aboriginal men today unless he is employed in a white fella way.
>
> In her circumstances, Ella mentioned that she lived in an opposite environment where her Aboriginal men have encouraged her to achieve, do education and training courses, and to practise her culture. This she advocated, is because her men have undertaken similar things themselves. Ella explained that stepping stones were crucial to getting things done, being able to live with non-Aboriginal people and to help Aboriginal people recover from cultural stress. For her, the motivation to move along the stepping stones was about racial tolerance and harmony between people in a local community. She claimed these personal self-motivations led her to support other Aboriginal women. Often these meant repairing the damage caused by poor family values

> and ultimately encourage strong family values. She advised that family values were the start point for any stepping stones away from dysfunctional lives into the wider community with non-Aboriginal people.

The important point to make from Ella's experiences is that personalised processes can only be seen at the local level when trust is given between people. Once established, trust can help build relationships, and family values can be used as a basis for change, adaptability and growth. Without this, the ability to move along each stepping stone and into enterprise remain limited, regardless of the commercial viability of each business proposition. This indicates that if the SAE building blocks, influences, family values and stepping stones are not strong, then commercial considerations are under too much pressure.

It appears the personalised process of the SAE begins with the ability to see good family values as the basis for a strong family life. This subsequently provides people with opportunities to respect community and their health. These in turn can build and lead to enterprise. Yet again, the conduct of family values and how they were prioritised and actualised by each SAE remains different for each person. This dynamic is explored in relationship two and three. Before these differences are explored, the ideas about relationship one: connecting up, are pooled together.

Pooling the insights about relationship one: connecting up

Each of the four grounded theory categories discussed through 'connecting up' can be represented through a diagram. Connecting up can be called a whole process (see Figure 5.9). The four categories: building blocks, influences, family values and personalised processes show the basis of connecting relationships for SAE – is the family. Family values are the impetus behind all enterprises and culture is a natural and healthy part of enterprise relationships. All of these operate interdependently through a whole process.

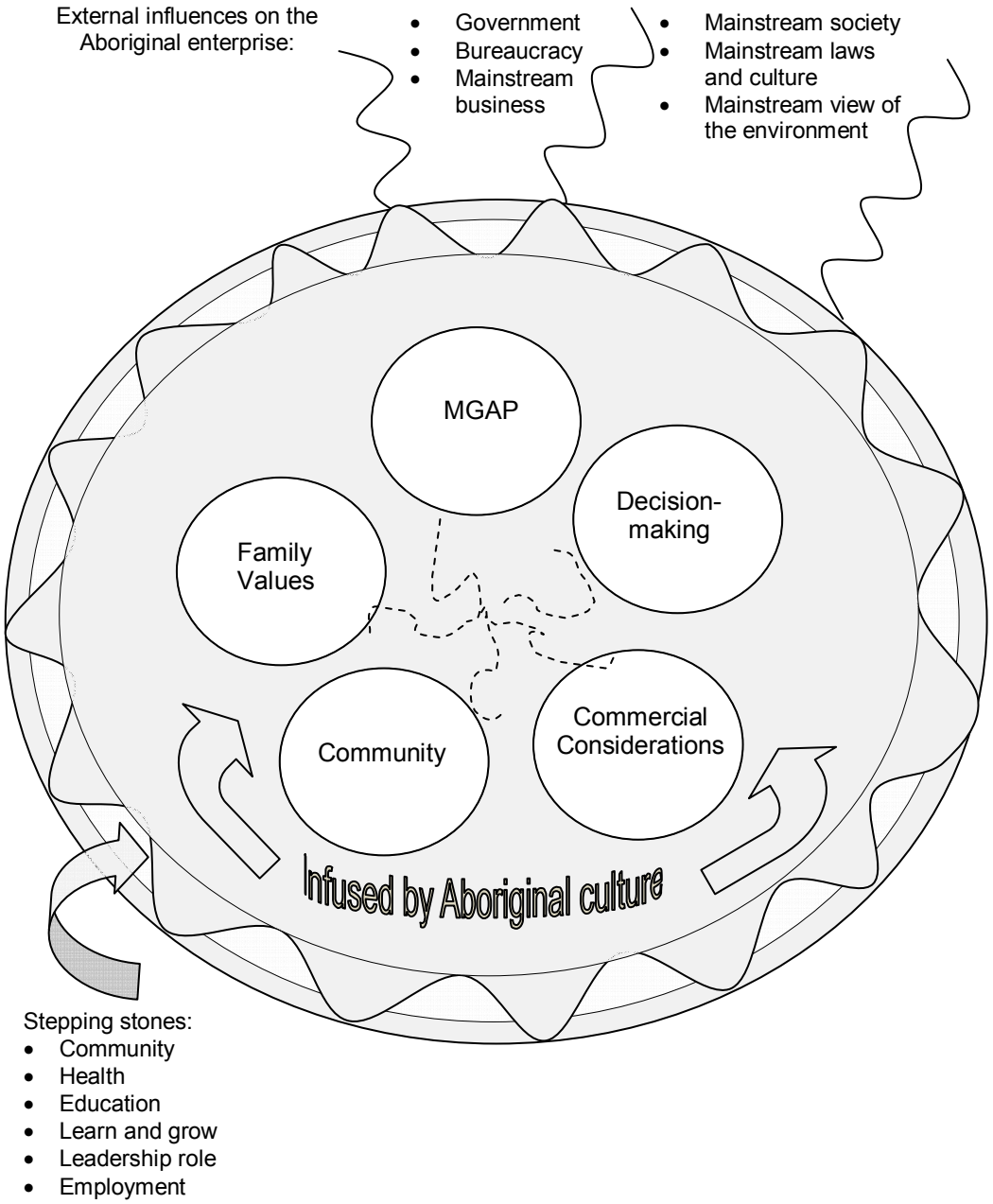


Figure 5.9: The inter-connections between SAE relationships can be drawn as a whole process

The whole process of Aboriginal enterprise takes into account the enterprise building blocks which have been adjusted to give prominence to family values and to place culture as a grounding element for all the parts. The whole process also accounts for external influences and the stepping stones along the way. The whole process is circular, operates together, whereby all the parts relate organically to each other. A

whole process means accounting for all circumstances and relationships, whether they are good or bad. Yet, the whole process is operated differently by each owner and/or manager, and this will be explored soon through relationship two and three.

A summary of relationship one, 'connecting up' suggests that:

- All Aboriginal enterprises found the influences from mainstream society and Aboriginal people to be significant and on-going.
- Culture, family, health and community provided balance in life. Education, health, leadership roles and employment provided the stepping stones into enterprise.
- Family values act as a breaking point for balance in life and the pathways into enterprise.
- The enterprise building blocks: culture, family/community, MGAP, decision-making and commercial considerations provide the basis of interconnected relationships.
- Together, all observations are combined to form an interlinked whole process.

Thus, the whole process of the SAE makes their internal world a complex and changing scene which at times may appear far distant from commercial practices. What will be revealed in relationship two and three, is just how unique the whole process is for each SAE owner and/or manager and how this uniqueness is crucial to their internal and personal identity.

Grounded theory relationship two: heterogeneity

Relationship two is about SAE heterogeneity and this can be explained through two main categories: fluidity and flux. Heterogeneity forms another layer over the interconnected relationships developed under the whole process of Aboriginal enterprise. Heterogeneous and interconnected relationships means the whole process of enterprise moves around, within, across and back out. This movement is called enterprise fluidity whilst flux identifies the process as unique.

Fluidity

The whole process of SAE is a fluid activity, this means attracting experiences and understandings inwards, around and back out; acculturating them as norms. The concept of time and how culture impacts the tempo of the SAE internal world is a useful way to express enterprise fluidity. Time for many SAE was acutely drawn from cultural values; however the tempo of time differed between social or commercial enterprise participants.

Participant G6, an Aboriginal man from central Australia, made a clear distinction between mainstream and Aboriginal time management. He believed that time management caused employment difficulties for a number of Aboriginal people:

> *Some people don't cope with time and the change to white fella time. Other Aboriginal people are driven by time and money.*
> Participant G6

The same research participant also believed that Aboriginal people need to work with white fella time and not against it:

> *For Aboriginal people to stay in employment, even before enterprise, they need to manage the white fella things,* [such as] *time and money.*
> Participant G6

Yet, Aboriginal cultural time can be more easily accommodated in an enterprise if there is fluidity between the parts. As an example, this manager believed that part-time work in the enterprise fitted with the cultural aspirations of local Aboriginal people:

> *Our work schedule of part-time fits with Aboriginal people's perception of time.*
> Participant A5

Linked closely to time management was the concept of motivations. What motivates the owner and/or manager to make decisions about time management? For Participant A45, the enterprise came first:

> *In my small business, the business comes first, even though it's a cultural tourism business.*
> Participant A45

For Participant A32, sport and family often came first:

> *…there is an effect on business because of the footy carnivals. We've had some success in getting people to work,* [but] *it's not easy.*
> Participant A32

In this example, the effect of football carnivals on the enterprise was substantial. A number of Aboriginal people involved in the enterprise would attend the sports carnival and conduct social and family networking. This meant they would not be available to work in the enterprise. This left the enterprise with few employees or none at all, effectively shutting down the social enterprise and turning customers away.

Consequently, social enterprise time was often shuffled around to suit culture, and this became their norm to carry out sporting commitments, kinship responsibilities and meeting obligations. The motivation to move time around often centred on non-financial priorities. In social enterprises, the enterprises would not open at all, close early or have minimal people attending to work duties. The distinction over time was known as either white fella or Aboriginal time (Anangu time in this example):

> *Anangu work with time, not against it, white fella say this is slow, but it suits us. White fella always in a hurry,* [they've] *jobs to do.*
> Participant A9

Time, it appeared, was closely linked to enterprise motivations, where:
Social enterprises = social motivations = managing time to suit culture and family.

The opposite was found in commercial enterprises. Time in commercial enterprise was mostly moved around to suit enterprise trade. Cultural activities were mostly conducted outside of enterprise work hours. Participant A9, who earlier said that he used Anangu time, then described that certain operations in the enterprise were done the white fella way. He advised:

> *You've got to do the cattle the white fella way, straight away, not the Anangu way, tomorrow.*
> Participant A9

Commercial owners and/or managers said they actively participated in culture where they could, but would attend or practise culture after enterprise trading hours, or during holidays. Commercial participants said they conducted their enterprise trade at a different time to cultural or family commitments, or would send a relative to attend cultural activities or in some cases employ a temporary manager.

Time for commercial enterprises was also closely linked to motivations, where:
Commercial enterprises = commercial motivations = managing time for enterprise first and second for family and culture.

What is evident through this discussion about social and commercial SAE use of time, is the fluidity between their parts. The more social motivations the Aboriginal enterprise held, the more fluid the tempo of time was between their interconnected parts. For commercial enterprise, some differences were evident such as their motivation to place enterprise time ahead of cultural and family time. However between the two types of enterprise, variance existed because maintaining a sense of fluidity within their whole process of enterprise gave them more options. This meant they could meet the interconnected demands of their relationships. As before, one part does not occur in isolation from another.

The ability to move fluidly between interconnected parts is based on the tendency of each SAE to draw surrounding issues into their enterprise operations. These ideas

about enterprise fluidity can be consolidated by adding another dimension to the whole process of enterprise diagram (see Figure 5.10).

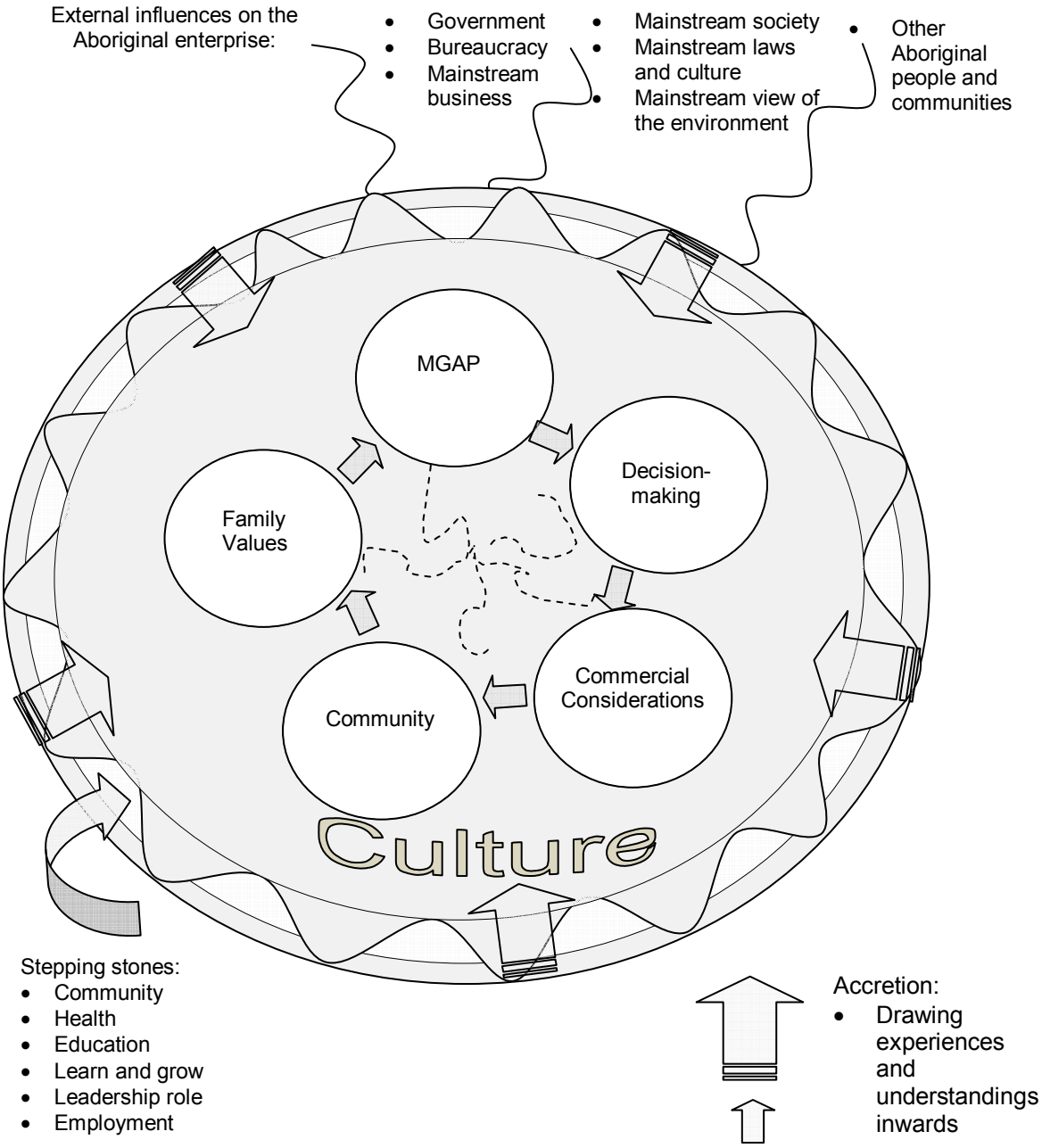


Figure 5.10: The whole process of SAE through fluidity and accretion

This diagram builds upon the whole process by adding wide arrows. These arrows indicate a process whereby outside experiences and understandings are attracted

inwards, around and back out. This fluidity is labelled accretion. Accretion occurs in a fluid and interactive manner and it means that different parts of the whole process are drawn inwards at different times. This enterprise fluidity relies on the inherent nature of SAE interconnected relationships, which makes accretion a moving process. It was found that all owners and/or managers drew inwards, acculturated and gathered external influences and building blocks through practices, events and experiences. This established them as cultural norms. These were drawn inwards to create their unique identities, and this will be discussed next through enterprise flux.

By returning back to the concept of fluidity and accretion it was found that all Aboriginal owners and/or managers interestingly used the enterprise building blocks in two ways: both cycling them through and via drawing them inwards. Cycling through the building blocks occurs in both sequence and at random, but also by drawing the building blocks inwards. At times this means drawing in broader and surrounding external influences, both mainstream and Aboriginal ones. As an example: an enterprise may cycle through family values, community, employment and commercial considerations before drawing inwards, whilst another enterprise may cycle through family values, community, government procedures and MGAP before drawing inwards. This suggests that each enterprise is personal and reflects its surrounds – thus heterogeneity is an underlying tenet of interconnected relationships.

However, the process of accretion can change depending upon location, the small business, the sample, people, environment and influences. As such, accretion adapts to local situations and, for each owner and/or manager in this research, accretion was different. Some gathered more cultural building blocks than financial practices, some owners and/or managers gathered many mainstream practices and others concentrated on their own immediate family building blocks. In effect, owners and/or managers adjusted the emphasis of the whole process and their accretion practices. In summary, the whole process was operated in a fluid manner through accretion.

Flux

The previous section established how SAE accretion is based on fluidity across the whole process, yet each SAE operates their whole process differently at different times. This variability and uniqueness is labelled as owner and/or manager flux. This flux back and forth in unique ways can be expressed through Vincent's experiences with decision-making.

> Vincent lives in remote northern South Australia and has to balance decision-making at his pastoral station through interconnecting with other relationships. He described in detail how he has to balance out the traditional Anangu demands, such as access to country; wanting 'killers' (cattle for local cooking); and putting pressure on his family for cash. Additionally, Vincent said that he also has to balance out the demands of operating a small business with the white fella rules and regulations given by people who live, work and think in big city white fella ways. He described a financial system that has concerns about lending money to him to improve his property because of his land tenure. Vincent indicated that balancing out the demands of non-Aboriginal tourists visiting his property was difficult as well. 'They stay at the bush camp and want information and experiences about us Anangu.' Yet, these people gave little or no return benefit to him, even though reciprocation is a strong characteristic of his Aboriginality. Vincent carefully explained that he has to account for his family members, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, their personal needs and motivations for business, and their attempts to keep the business going through droughts, low cattle prices and limited feedstuffs.

Vincent balances out these demands on his decision-making through fluidity that is, taking account of each point of view, and each demand then blending it through his whole process thinking. Yet, Vincent conducts fluidity differently to other Aboriginal owners and/or managers. In his case, he is aware that everything is changing and he cannot be sure what will happen or how he will go about doing it. This unique whole process thinking is labelled flux. Fluxing decision-making processes are based on recognition that his relationships are interconnected; they are fluid. These changing circumstances align with his underlying Aboriginal cultural beliefs of interconnected lands, 'dreamings', people, animals, plants and natural cycles. Vincent explained that decision-making is not separate to his whole process of enterprise; it is just his unique way of going about it that makes him different to others. This uniqueness creates his identity.

Vincent's story about decision-making flux can be illustrated through a concept called unique accretion (see overleaf for Figure 5.11). This builds upon the previous notion of accretion however, this time the new diagram shows how flux occurs in unique ways

that is specific to each owner and/or manager. This flux ultimately gives the SAE owner and/or manager his unique identity.

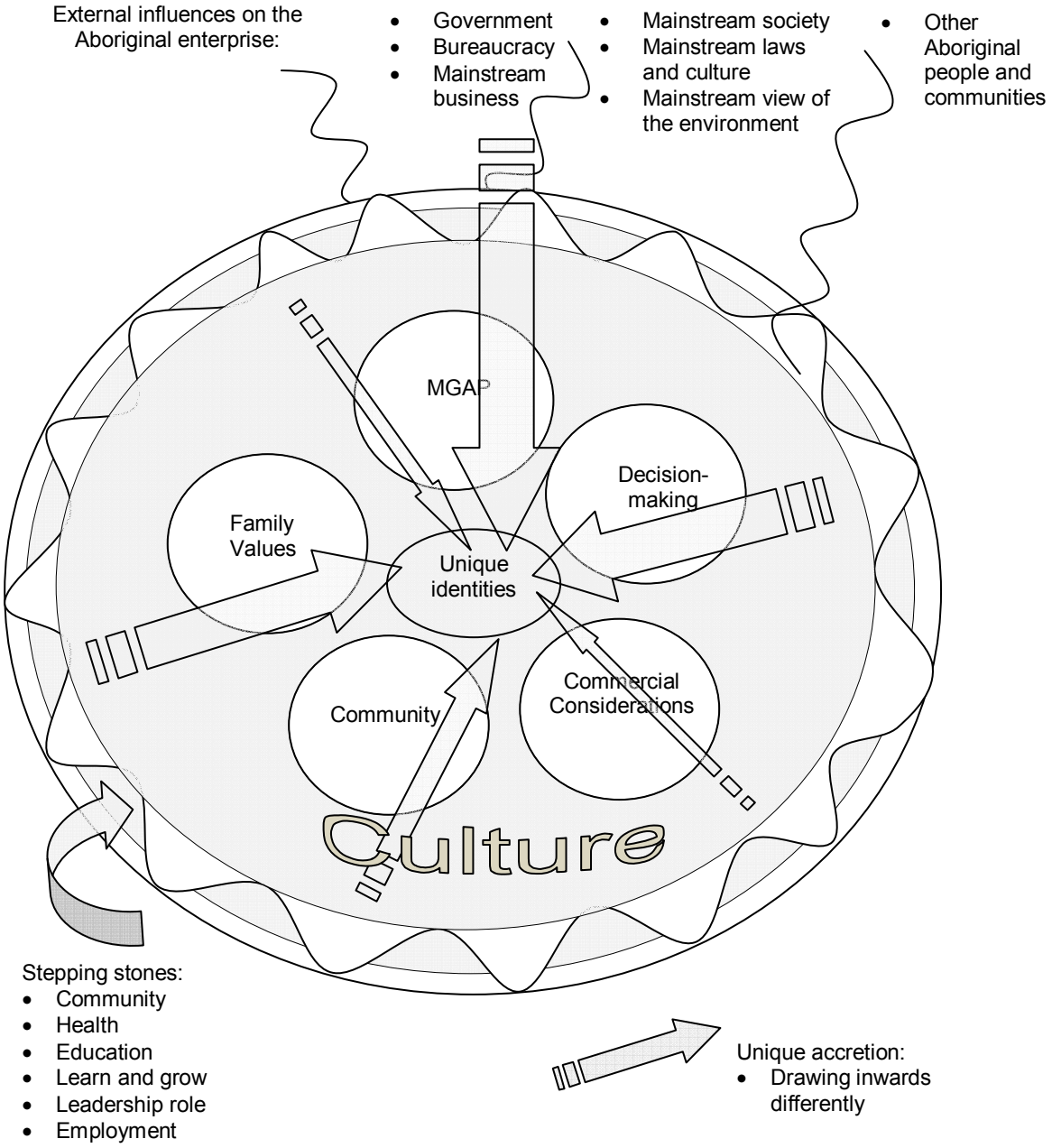


Figure 5.11: The whole process of SAE through flux and unique accretion

Unique accretion means that SAE owners and/or managers operate their whole process differently in ways that suit them. Unique accretion can be identified by the different sized arrow widths.

This diagram of unique accretion through flux can be discussed through Vincent's decision-making process (refer back to p.175). Vincent was caught up in government proposals to provide non-Aboriginal access to the Anangu-Pitjantjatjara Lands. His family had to either adapt or challenge this idea. He did this by placing a different emphasis on each building block and external influence. Vincent's unique identity was created through an individual emphasis on each part. In this case, Vincent drew in numerous government and decision-making viewpoints based on family values, but he had few interests in community and commercial building blocks at that time. This process is labelled unique accretion. It was found that unique accretion and enterprise identities frame the way the whole process of Aboriginal enterprise operates; thus it underscores owner and/or manager thinking.

As an umbrella concept, heterogeneity is a word to encapsulate both fluidity and flux of the whole process of Aboriginal enterprise. Whereby there is fluidity of interconnected whole process thinking and flux of unique ways to go about it. Heterogeneity is about difference; difference between and within parts. Therefore, the whole process of Aboriginal enterprise is about interconnected relationships whilst fluidity and flux are conducted heterogeneously. The terms accretion and unique accretion were given to identify these processes. It is interpreted that heterogeneity is a process that links vastly different parts together, but in unique ways. This uniqueness can be developed further by relationship three, identity.

Grounded theory relationship three: identity

Relationship three is about unique owner and/or manager identity and forms a third layer to understand the nature of SAE and their whole process. Identity is produced through the previous two relationships, connecting up through a whole process, and establishing heterogeneity through fluidity and flux. Identity is about recognising 'micro level issues', and this is the last main category to explore the SAE internal world.

It was found that each SAE identity was unique and operated at the centre of a whole process. Identity was created by unique accretion through the whole process of enterprise. Sometimes the SAE identity reflected community, at other times identity reflected cultural and family values. SAE identity could also reflect enterprise and personal identity. Yet, identity was not limited to these, with many other combinations possible. The important point to make is that identity changes – it too is in flux. Identity is produced and reproduced to reflect the unique accretion and whole process thinking

of each owner and /or manager. The pathways that produce the unique identity can be visualised through Figure 5.12.

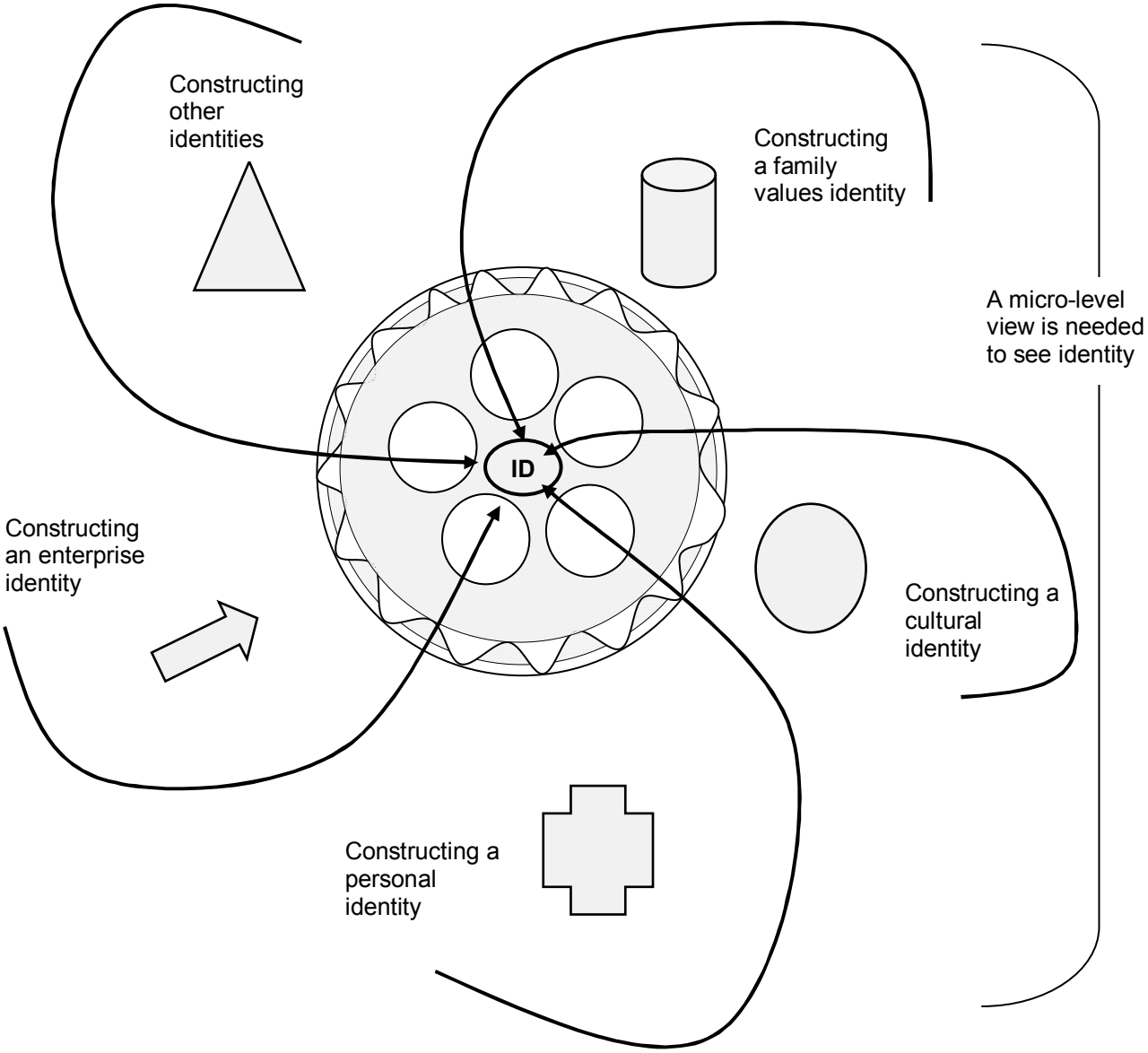


Figure 5.12: Multiple and changing unique identities through the whole process of SAE

Multiple and changing unique identities are at the heart of the whole process of Aboriginal enterprise. Multiple constructions of identity occur and as an example, different identities can be constructed through family values, cultural, personal or enterprise pathways. By using the participant stories unfolded so far, it shows that

identities can be difficult to 'see' depending upon who is looking at SAE identity, and where from. This shows the importance of looking at SAE from a micro level, where processes such as unique accretion are visible.

Vincent's example about decision-making flux (see p.175) illustrates changing identities. His ability to meet changing demands from different cultural and perspectives produces an identity for each occasion. At times, his identity may reflect community if he is willing to share his 'killers' with nearby Anangu. At other times his identity may reflect commercial considerations by meeting taxation regulations and establishing a break even yearly result.

As an alternative example, take Ella and her relationship with Aboriginal men. She is constructing an identity based upon her strong family values about the impact of poor behaviours (by men), and the benefits of women participating in a shared community culture with non-Aboriginal people. In each case, creating an identity that is connected through a whole process is critical to them. Their identity is visible by understanding their unique accretion processes.

The common theme linking these changing and unique identities is the distance from which they are observed and understood. That is, the distance from the SAE internal world (both geographically and personally) affects the ability of the distant viewer to 'see' identity. Thus, the further away from the SAE whole process – heterogeneity is less visible. This distance makes unique accretion within each enterprise appear blurred. The further away one is from SAE it also means that each unique identity cannot be determined, or indeed supported because distance produces invisibility. Yet, the closer the viewer is to the SAE whole process (geographically and personally) the more visible heterogeneity and unique identities become. Thus, working alongside SAE, building trust and rapport so that owners and/or managers share their interconnected relationships means that heterogeneity and identity can be revealed and the task of understanding could begin. A local and micro level view therefore, can provide a stronger platform to support the SAE. However as revealed next, a close proximity to SAE does not always equate to understanding them.

As an example of distance from SAE, take Ronald's next story about his relationship with a large mining company and the effect on his cultural traditions. At a distance, the SAE interconnected parts, their unique accretion as part of a whole process – are dismissed. This situation occurred when the mining company supported by

government decided that commercial and economic state priorities were more important than local Aboriginal beliefs. Thus, macro level issues dismissed the local and micro-level view.

> Ronald explained that government and industry groups saw local Aboriginal cultural values about groundwater and use of country as unimportant. That means that the flow of water, and the interconnections with ancestral country, cosmos, plants and animals were unimportant when compared to financial profit. Ronald carefully described how these Aboriginal cultural traditions were ignored by government and industry. He talked about his country and an example of a land form that represented a woman in labour (that mining people drive and walk all over); the mound springs that gave life for tens of thousands of years as evident by the stone tools, artefacts and cooking implements; and the plants whose medicinal qualities were traded along routes established for thousands of years at Koppara-mara. Ronald talked about dreaming stories that tie Aboriginal people to the land, and how the past and the future are richly patterned with differences. He passionately described how these Aboriginal traditions were ignored and money was considered more important for the white fella.

It can be interpreted from Ronald's example, that if the mining company and government representatives took a local level view, then interconnecting relationships could easily be seen. If the cultural richness, diversity and connections between land, spirit and practises were observed by the mining company; heterogeneity at the local level through whole process and its fluidity could be seen. By acknowledging this, it would mean that culture is woven into every aspect of Aboriginal life. By taking away, misusing, or denying cultural access to Aboriginal lands, and their water sources, the mining company misunderstands the local people and the nature of Ronald's tourism enterprise. By these mining company changes, SAE unique accretion and their ability to connect to their whole process thinking and beliefs is fractured.

In this example about Ronald, it shows the multiple and changing unique identity of each SAE is impacted by the distance the 'viewer' has from the whole process. Thus, distance sharpens the differences between them. However, a local presence of the

mining company could not incorporate Ronald's plea for cultural recognition. In this example, the mining company is geographically located beside the SAE, but this does not mean they can 'see' the SAE. Being able to see, means developing observations and understandings that is quite different to the Western ones already held. This means the local and micro level is the optimum distance required to 'see' interconnecting relationships of the SAE internal world, however foreign and uncomfortable they may seem.

Summarising the relationships

The categories presented about SAEs internal world can now be summarised under each relationship before an emerging theory is proposed.

Connecting up

- The ways that SAE inter-relate each component of their enterprise with their lives and beliefs is the basis of connecting up.
    - This is evidenced by identification of five building blocks, the varied influences on them, the strength of family values, and the stepping stones into enterprise. These characteristics can be visualised as a whole process.

Heterogeneity

- The interconnected parts of each SAE through their whole process can be thought of as enterprise heterogeneity.
    - This is evidenced by fluidity and flux. Moving relationships within and between SAE show fluidity. This fluidity occurs in unique ways, and this can be called enterprise flux. Each SAE operates their whole process through heterogeneity. The SAE is fluid and in flux, always drawing inwards through unique accretion.

Identity

- The operation of the SAE whole process in unique ways forms enterprise identity.
    - This is evidenced by micro level issues. Identity is visible when the SAE whole process is pieced together. Distance is a barrier to identity, thus the further away from the SAE whole process, identity is obscured, minimised or dismissed.

These three relationships revealed through grounded theory methods show the internal world of SAE to be deeply instinctive. Aboriginal enterprise instinctive natures can be observed at a micro and local level by focussing on interconnections, heterogeneity and identity.

The deeply instinctive nature of the SAE internal world signifies a process that grows from past patterns and culturally ingrained sense of self. That is, the SAE instinctive

nature does not work when separated from all its interconnected relationships and parts; it only operates in total connection with all parts.

Developing the emerging theory of the SAE internal world

The main elements of these three relationships discussed in this chapter are identified through Figure 5.13. These are used to develop an emerging theory.

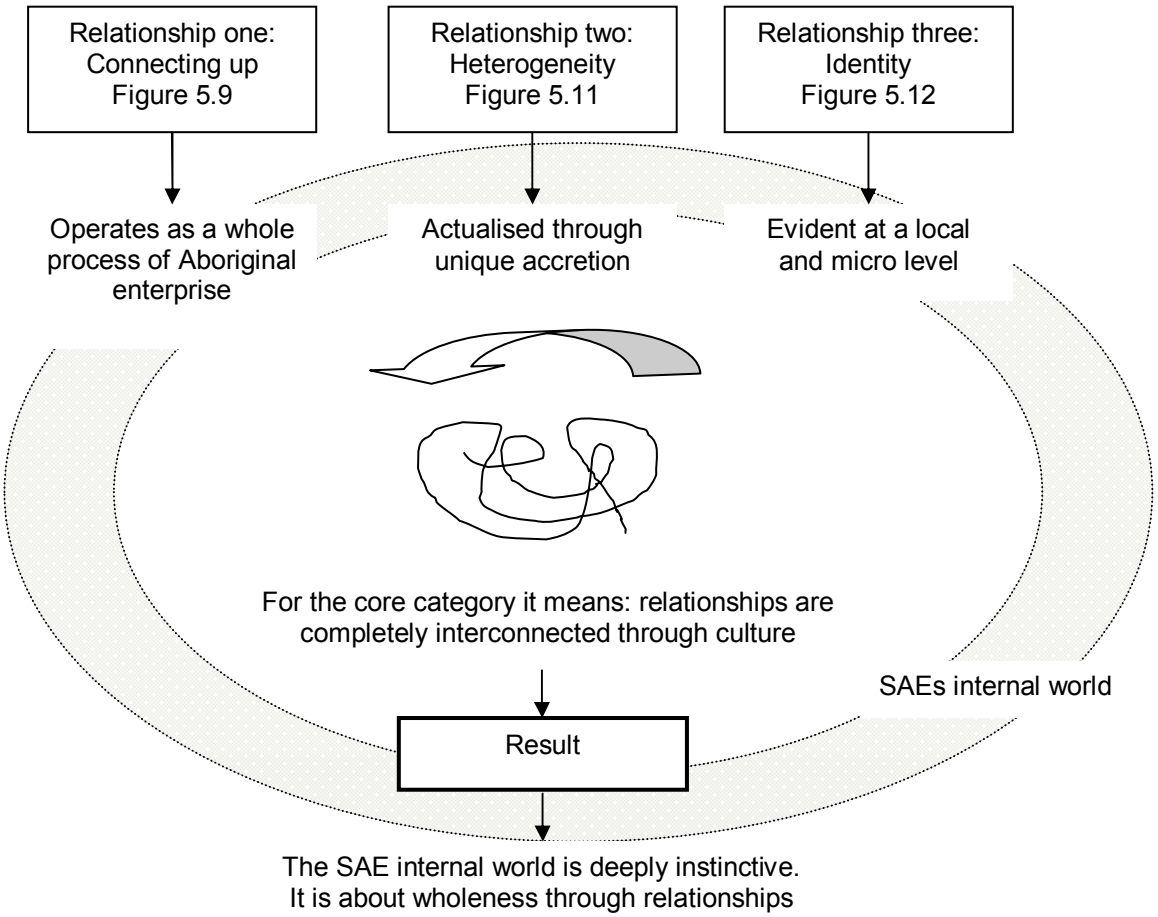


Figure 5.13: Summarising the elements of the SAE internal world

These summarising elements are distilled into a two-part emerging theory of the SAE internal world.

Emerging theory of the SAE internal world (part 1):

- SAE operate through a whole process based on interconnected building blocks, influences, family values and personalised processes.

Emerging theory of the SAE internal world (part 2):

- At a micro and local level, the SAE whole process is fluid and is operated with flux. This heterogeneity is informed through unique accretion and multiple identities. This makes the SAE internal world deeply instinctive based on completely interconnected relationships through wholeness and culture.

The result of this chapter is that: the SAE internal world is deeply instinctive. This instinct is highly heterogeneous and can be revealed by observing and understanding differences from a micro and local level. For the core category identified at the start of the grounded theory analysis, it means that interconnections between relationships operate with complete interconnection; there is no separation. This information about the instinctive nature of SAE is a baseline from which to develop insights about the SAE external world and to feed into the descriptive theory building tasks in Chapter 7. This information and insights chapter can now be concluded.

Chapter summary

The first part of Chapter 5 introduced the SAE participants in this research and their early characteristics. The second part of this chapter showed how grounded theory was used to induct a core category based on interconnections. The third part of the chapter used three critical relationships: connecting up, heterogeneity and identity to frame their internal world. This exploration formed the bulk of the chapter.

First, connecting up showed that interdependency exists between and within each part of the Aboriginal enterprise. This interdependency is critical to the operation of whole process thinking. This was further explored through participant experiences and SAE illustrative stories to show how they operate. Further analysis indicated that SAE relationships change. Thus, SAE are different at different times, at different places for different people from different cultures. Second, this showed that SAE relationships are heterogeneous within themselves and between each other. Third, more detailed analysis revealed that heterogeneity is underlined by various personal, family, community, cultural and enterprise identities which are seen at a micro and local level.

Together, whole processes, heterogeneity and identity formed the basis of an emerging theory and this indicated the instinctive nature of the SAE internal world is completely interconnected. This suggests that instinctive natures are partly invisible or can be misinterpreted because SAE differences are always moving, linked to other parts and are highly unique.

A distillation of the three relationships suggested that SAE are operated through fluidity and continuous flux. SAE are a kaleidoscope of interacting personal and internal beliefs which can be visualised at a micro and local level. For the remainder of the research this has implications whereby, instinctive patterns may conflict with government rules and regulations. Additionally, it means that a descriptive theory of SAE needs to account for wide variations in identity and relationships; this may create difficulties for NAO who operate with audit, accountable and measured society rules.

The exploration of the SAE external world follows in the next chapter and this takes into account the main finding about SAE instinctive natures, wholeness and interconnections.

Chapter 6 – The external world of small Aboriginal enterprises

Introduction

This chapter is about the SAE external world and it is presented in two parts. Part one of Chapter 6 outlines the preparatory narrative work before themes are used to build out the external world of SAE in part two. This two-part separation allows for a distinction between reporting what I did; showing what the participants said; and my insights about this.

This chapter is designed to meet Objective 2 by charting SAE relationships with non-Aboriginal organisations and secondarily, with others. This chapter also aims to meet Objective 3 to develop a theory to help address the SAE two-world situation.

Specifically in part one of Chapter 6, the grounded methodology is used to frame the narrative themes of the SAE external world. This accounts for a significant finding from the previous chapter, that other influences, such as mainstream society and other Aboriginal people are important, but less vocalised as the relationship with NAO. This updated circumstance now frames part two of this chapter.

Content, cross-interview and voice lens analysis are used to identify narrative themes. From this process seven themes emerge and they are used to order the second part of this chapter via illustrative stories and participant quotes. Together with my observations, the themes build up an emerging theory about the SAE external world. As before, this emerging theory feeds into the descriptive theory building activities in Chapter 7.

Part one – Using narrative steps to emerge results

This first part of Chapter 6 outlines the preparatory work to show how content, cross-interview and voice lens analysis was used to induct narrative themes from the 47 SAE interviews. Unlike grounded theory methods which operated back and forth between data collection and analysis, modifying ideas as they emerged, narrative analysis was different. Narrative analysis occurred after all the interviews were completed (except for the seven preliminary interviews from Ceduna, SA). However in doing so, this work was complicated by my voice lens, and this dynamic is discussed shortly. First however, the application of the grounded methodology is described.

Applying the grounded methodology

The second step of Carlile and Christensen's (2004) descriptive theory building model was used to develop grounded theory results and it is now used to develop the narrative insights about the SAE. In this chapter, the second step 'categorisation' is used to unfold the external world. Before categorisation, and as a reminder, Carlile and Christensen's (2004) first step 'observation', was used to frame the research, develop the questions, position the debate and interact with the participants. The authors' third step, 'association' occurs next in Chapter 7, as the emerging theories and ideas are associated with literature.

By now focussing on point two 'categorisation', it allows for narrative analysis to build out the SAE external world. The focus of this narrative inquiry was to regard each interview as a personal story shared with me with few overarching directions. To avoid over-framing the analysis with preconceived ideas about SAE circumstance, the ideas were gradually inducted from the data. Ideas about the external world were left loose and unattached, so that new concepts could emerge and, as needed related back to the previous chapter about SAEs internal world. This position meets a fundamental element of Carlile and Christensen's (2004) categorisation step, which is to rely upon inducting ideas from information as it evolves.

Identifying the parameters of the SAE external world

Before the narrative results are unfolded it is important to qualify the parameters of the SAE external world, as a widening of the definition is now required. The external world identified in Chapter 3 (see p.73) was confirmed through both grounded theory and narrative analysis by revealing the dominance of NAO in SAE lives. Yet it was found, that an external world can be expanded by including SAE relationships with other organisations, groups, entities, people, families and communities; whether Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal. This represents a shift from the research planning in Chapter 3 (see p.73) which posited that NAO should be the focus for exploring the SAE external world.

So, instead of solely using the NAOs to discuss the SAE external world, the current analysis now incorporates the finding from Chapter 5; that SAE influences occur more widely than posited earlier (see p.181). What surfaces during this and the following chapter however, indicates that NAO remain strongly problematic for SAE in their external world. Yet in contrast, relating to family, community and other parts of mainstream society were difficult for SAE, but these did not constitute the major

obstacle that relating to NAOs did. As such, the SAE external world in this chapter is expanded to include both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal influences.

As before, social and commercial enterprise types are used at times to order the information. This allows for current types to be used as comparative material. However, the narrative insights show broader and more instinctive patterns about SAE, than social and commercial type information.

In summary, the purpose of linking this chapter back to a grounded methodology was to show that narrative themes were emerged rather than identified from the literature. Yet, there was no iteration in the narrative analysis between the interviews and the emerging ideas as per the grounded theory methods. The following section also re-frames the parameters of the SAE external world to include broader external influences of family, other Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal relationships. The process of how the narrative themes emerged now follows.

How the narrative themes were unfolded

As outlined in Chapter 4 (p.116), the narrative themes were established through three techniques. This began with content analysis, which helped to identify early themes before cross-interview and voice lens analysis commenced.

The result of analysing the narrative

The three techniques begin under Step 5A (see Chapter 4, p.119) of the narrative analysis. Once established, the themes are explored in Part 2 of this chapter (Step 5B), before an emerging theory of the SAE external world is proposed (Step 5C).

Content analysis

Each SAE interview was initially processed through the content analysis framework used to verify the grounded theory categories (p.119), and to analyse the preliminary interviews (p.106). The SAE two-world situation, its internal and external divisions, or social and commercial types were not used to categorise the interviews. Similarly, no focus questions or problems were used to frame the narrative analysis. Instead, the conversations between me and the SAE owner and/or manager were regarded as ‘blank sheets’ to highlight major points emerging from our discussions. This content analysis process resulted in 47 analytical records.

Content analysis highlighted differences, similarities and complexities. The details were manually inducted, and then important characteristics were entered into the NVIVO data management programme (see p.106). Content analysis was crucial to identifying relationships, linkages and effect of other people and government. This form of detailed analysis was a preparatory step to the following two narrative processes.

Cross-interview analysis

Content analysis provided the basis to compare narratives through cross-interview analysis. After this step occurred under the SAE external world, themes were selected as a slice through the cross-interview findings. More information is provided about the themes shortly (p.195). To begin cross-interview analysis, the previous meta-matrix table established for content analysis (see p.114) under the NVIVO programme was re-used and this time extended.

Previously as each content analytical record was read, the major points were typed into the meta-matrix table. See Appendix M once more for an example of the meta-matrix table. As a backdrop to cross-interview analysis, new columns were set up and labelled cross-interview notes. In here, emerging comparative themes were typed in. These represented the major contrasting characteristics between the SAE and they were:

- Enterprise type.
- Enterprise structure.
- Planning.
- Goals.
- Work hours.
- Gender.
- Age.
- Industry.
- Reciprocation.
- Collateral.
- Land tenure.
- Beneficiaries.
- Decision-making and organisations.
- Government influence.
- Family and community influence.
- Ownership versus management.
- Years in the enterprise.
- Constitutions.
- Market failure.
- Funding sources.
- Subsidised funds.
- CDEP.
- Profit.
- Hybrid and market economy.

- Barriers.

Cross-interview analysis began when these ideas were compared across the 47 SAE interviews. This resulted in a very large spreadsheet under the NVIVO programme. The ideas were then distilled into four separate groups that represented the SAE external world. The relevant themes (as identified above) of each group are listed in brackets:

- Perception of SAE (enterprise type, structure, ownership versus management, market failure, profit, hybrid and market economy).
- Expressing the SAE (planning, goals work hours, gender, age, decision-making and organisations).
- NAO (industry, collateral, land tenure, government influence, years in enterprise, constitutions, funding sources, subsidised funds and CDEP).
- Other influences (reciprocation, beneficiaries, family and community influences, and barriers).

At this point, it became evident that SAE relationships with NAO only represented one part of their external world. This was the important juncture where the SAE external world required re-defining (and details were presented at the start of this chapter, see p.186).

The four emerging groups identified above, became the slice of information needed to fill out the SAE external world characteristics. As a result of this, it was discovered that much correlation existed between the previously discussed SAE internal world and the current focus on the external world. The 47 SAE were then compared again. This comparison suggested that seven themes were important to SAEs external world. Combined, the four groups and seven themes are:

- Narrative group one: perception of SAE.
  - Theme one: success and failure.
- Narrative group two: expressing the SAE.
  - Theme two: decision-making.
  - Theme three: power.
  - Theme four: finances.
- Narrative group three: NAO.
  - Theme five: relating to government.
- Narrative group four: other influences.
  - Theme six: family.
  - Theme seven: community.

An attempt was then made to further partition the groups to show differences and similarities. This indicated they could be identified as either ‘general in nature’ or ‘specific to a certain condition’. These two levels of analysis accorded with Miles and Huberman’s (1994) concept of cross-interview analysis. The differences and similarities between the SAE were also recorded on the meta-matrix table and a further

separate column was made for general and specific level of analysis. As an example, the narrative group 'expressing the SAE' could be both general in nature and an example of specific to certain conditions, depending upon the level of detail used and the relationship developed with the SAE.

At a broader and general in nature level of analysis, the allocation of differences and similarities from the data indicated that relationships and expressions of them were critical to the SAE external world. Similarly as found in Chapter 5, the groups intersected and interconnected with each other. Conversely, a more detailed and specific level of analysis showed great variation which was difficult to capture. So, rather than using a technique to further quantify each detailed and specific characteristic, the variation and complexities were accepted as an inherent and intangible part of the SAE external world. Therefore, further sectioning of the interview data ceased. This decision was similar in nature to the one made in Chapter 5 (p.148) when grounded theory's theoretical sampling exploded the data. Both grounded theory and narrative data sets were reduced significantly once the major categories and themes were distilled.

After the differences and similarities were noted, thematic boundaries were used to explain the conditions under which they occurred. These questions were asked to establish the boundaries of the four groups and seven themes:

- What was specific to an area or a region – their dynamics?
- What is the NAO involvement in the enterprise?
- Are there any specific trading and regional economic conditions?
- What cultural groups and backgrounds were found?
- When divided into social and commercial types, what is evident?

Establishing these thematic boundaries against each group and theme was a more difficult task than noting 'general in nature' differences and similarities. Establishing these boundaries showed there were many combinations which when answered, produced a vast range of combinations across the SAE. It was clear that what was specific to one enterprise was not to another. Thus, 'what occurs' in SAE is contingent upon local level specific conditions. This means the groups and themes could be identified and compared between interviews, but further specific details were difficult to identify due to their vast differences. This therefore, made the thematic boundaries a fluid concept and difficult to apply.

It was found that thematic boundaries revealed too many nuances, shades of difference and options, all depending upon each unique SAE circumstance. Their

uniqueness is an example of 'specific to certain conditions' criteria. As a further example, an Aboriginal enterprise operating in a remote area may well have financial ideas of success. Yet, SAE success can be complicated by the influences of community and family which are often poorly understood by nearby government bureaucracy that provides small business assistance. This example indicates that thematic boundaries were not only fluid, but complex and interrelated.

To follow up this idea of complexity at a detailed and specific level of analysis, an example based on SAE relating to NAO and others is used. When 12 prominent questions were used to reflect the narrative group, 'expressing the SAE' many differences emerged. The questions used to show this are:

1. Enterprise aims?
2. Influence of cultural power?
3. Influence of traditional identity?
4. The benefits to who?
5. Sharing?
6. Impact of family?
7. Goals?
8. Motivated by what?
9. Decisions by who?
10. Number of decision-makers?
11. Enterprise money values?
12. Use of profit in the enterprise?

The answers to each question were collated by each enterprise. Appendix Q shows the four steps taken, from identifying the 12 prominent questions to establishing them in an Excel spreadsheet, through to plotting them graphically. The final results appear next through Figure 6.1. In this graph, the enterprises are sorted through social and commercial enterprise types to further understand their differences.

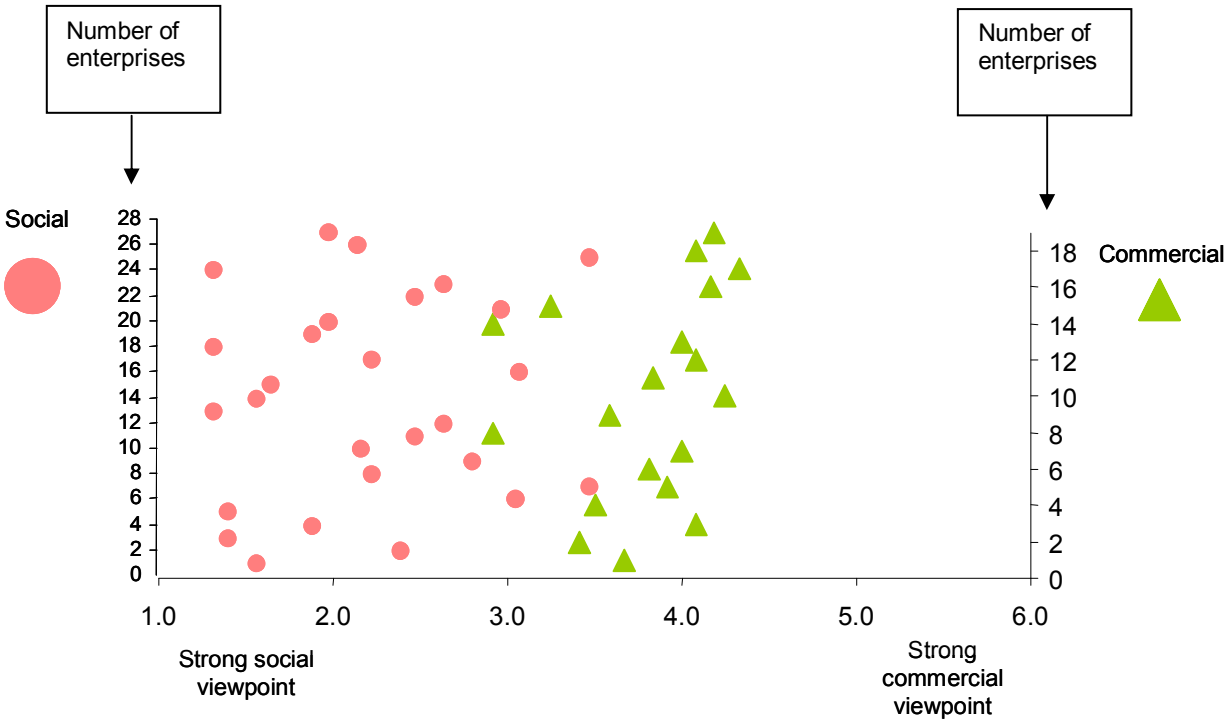


Figure 6.1: Final position of all enterprises to assess the narrative group: expressing the SAE

This diagram represents all the 47 SAE through 28 social and all 19 commercial enterprises and their final plot position after 12 questions were answered about 'expressing the SAE'. The figure indicates that some social enterprises held strong social viewpoints and that some commercial enterprises held mid-range commercial viewpoints. The chart also indicates that some social and commercial enterprises held shared social and commercial viewpoints. Interestingly, none of the commercial enterprises held strong commercial viewpoints. Plotting individual enterprise responses against the 12 prominent questions, showed uniqueness. Importantly, not one Aboriginal enterprise was the same.

Establishing uniqueness confirmed earlier indications through detailed specific level conditions and thematic boundaries that variation was difficult to capture. It meant the dissection of the data became too involved, circular and convoluted. This was a clue that cross-interview analysis was complete and voice lens analysis could begin.

Voice lens analysis

The last part of Step 5A, meant relating my voice lens to the groups and themes established under content and cross-interview analysis. Voice lens analysis was conducted using Chase's (2005) three-part guide (authoritative, supportive and interactive analysis). To ensure as much as possible that my voice and interpretations were kept to a minimum, voice lens analysis was conducted manually and after the cross-interview analysis was completed. Interestingly, the results produced ideas similar to the grounded theory memos which identified the tensions between what I heard and what I understood (refer back to p.145).

An example of voice lens analysis appears in Table 6.1. The table is illustrated with the theme 'relating to government'.

Table 6.1: An example of my voice lens against a narrative group and theme

Narrative group and theme	**My voice lens**
NAO Relating to government ↓	I have worked with both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal organisations and this means that I may well appreciate both points of view. I have operated a small business in a remote area so this means I may well hold sympathies for the way small enterprises try to relate to bigger organisations and the difficulty of working with bureaucracy
	Analysis against Chase's (2005) voice lens. *Authoritative:* My tendency to agree with SAE about the impact of big organisations on smaller ones. This viewpoint will need to be balanced against the context of each interview and the intention of each owner and/or manager. *Supportive:* My lens is to support those marginalised by broader social systems and bigger organisations. These sentiments will need to be tempered against the ability of NAO and their intent. *Interactive:* I can see that at a higher level of government, the differences are obscured as a strategic focus is required to make changes. Yet, I see the possibility for local level actions
	Therefore when identifying the importance of each theme, my voice lens will tend to 'see' from the SAE perspective and that of small business. This means that themes will require checking back to participant interviews to verify the context in which the SAE comments were made and that formulation of an emerging theory reflect both SAE comments and my insights

Each group and theme was related to my voice lens and that confirmed my previous experiences (outlined in Chapter 4, p.82) were a significant lens over the SAE narratives based on a small business and remote area perspectives. This lens forms

part of my research paradigm; a theoretical perspective where a small business and remote area focus captures my attention. Thus as an interpretivist, it means that I actively place this lens over the SAE narrative themes. Previously I acknowledged that I wish to preserve individual actions by understanding culturally derived meanings (see p.82). This means that: I understand that not all Aboriginal experiences will hold a small business and remote area lens as I do. SAE will in fact, have their own voice lens whether it be family, money, community, employment, practise of culture or some other factor or combination. As such, it also means that I need to be aware of my potential influences and distortion of the many SAE voices.

For the seven themes identified through cross-interview analysis, the consequence is that my small business and remote area lens may complicate emerging theories and the way literature is subsequently related to these emerging ideas. To incorporate my voice lens into this narrative inquiry, it meant that SAE illustrative stories and example quotes required a check through my small business and remote area lens first. An assessment was then made about the effect of my influences and a 'flatter' insight was then offered if needed.

As such, voice lens analysis was a smaller task, but a powerful one because it became a check of my influences, biases and neutrality. This type of analysis became a reminder that, it was important to keep the context and the emotional delivery of each conversation.

Part one of this chapter can now be summarised. Analysing the narrative commenced through content analysis which established details and context. This progressed to cross-interview analysis where groups and themes emerged through comparison. However, these became more complicated and convoluted as differences, similarities, general and specific levels of analysis, and thematic boundaries were used. As information became bogged in the process and methods; this difficulty represented the end of cross-interview analysis. The last narrative method involved application of voice lens analysis. My voice lens established the way I interpreted the SAEs and the precautions I undertook to try and preserve the story as it was told. The narrative themes are now ready for exploration and theory development.

Part two – The external world of SAE

This last part of Chapter 6 presents the SAE external world. At first, themes are explored through illustrative stories and participant quotes, then various insights are made about these themes. Second, once all seven themes are discussed the major theme is identified before the emerging theory of SAEs external world is revealed.

Exploring the seven narrative themes through four groups

It was noted earlier (p.189) that four groups emerged from cross-interview analysis, and they each represent different aspects of the SAE external world. First, 'perception of SAE' is shown through the theme success and failure. This discusses how people external to the SAE perceive and measure their performance. The second group, 'expressing the SAE' is revealed through the themes decision-making, power and finances. These themes are external representations of the SAE internal world. The third narrative group, 'NAO' is indicated by SAE relationships with government. This theme centres on SAE inherent mistrust of government. The fourth group, 'other influences' are presented through family and community themes. These themes illustrate the balance that SAE try to achieve between their two-world situations.

Each theme is discussed through a 'general in nature' and 'specific to conditions' level. These two levels of analysis show Miles and Huberman's (1984) narrative criteria in action. Practically, it also shows the degree of variation in the participant responses, depending upon the lens or position taken. In addition, social and commercial types are also used at times to show alternative positions.

Narrative group one: perception of SAE

This first narrative theme reveals the way that SAE are often perceived, is through NAOs measures of success and failure. Yet, this can be unhelpful to the SAE because it shows the difficulty of measuring progress from different cultural perspectives.

Success and failure

Success and failure are loaded words which conjure many images depending upon experiences, values and cultural backgrounds. For the SAE owner and/or manager, success and failure were bonded with culture, yet simultaneously attached in different ways to a Western understanding of small business and the use of money. Interviews with NAO found they often perceived the SAE as either successful because they achieved commercially, or failed in some way, usually because they believed the SAE

held poor commercial skills. However, the discussions here reflect a different idea of SAE success and failure.

The term 'pride' and culture was positively associated within Aboriginal enterprise success. This sentiment is reflected below:

> *Success also means having my family support and my cultural pride.*
> Participant A28

Pride in culture was linked to pride in enterprise, and this was interpreted by many participants as the principal ingredient for enterprise success. However at a general level of analysis, it was found that social and commercial owners and/or managers had different opinions about success.

The following comments from Participant A31 illustrate the link between enterprise commercial success, pride, family and culture. First, enterprise success was based on three functions:

> *We aim to have a successful commercial operation so it can directly benefit three things, in this order of priority: a. the enterprise, b. the immediate family, often including close extended family, and c. our culture.*
> Participant A31

The same commercial owner believed that pride in the business had transferred to other members of his family:

> *My family believes the enterprise is a success, the two* [children] *grew up in business and are proud of it and effective at it.*
> Participant A31

Participant A31 also said that his success was based upon money and that subsidised funding (such as that given to social enterprise) would be unsuccessful for him:

> *It is one of those things where I don't want people saying that we have been successful because we have got grants and used cheap labour and all those sorts of things.*
> Participant A31

Quite alternatively was the social owner and/or manager's perspective of success, where often community benefit was drawn into their ideas. The following participant said that cultural issues impacted people's perception of the local community store and specifically who manages it, even though the store was community owned:

> *The store is different. There are few complaints about the store. People focus on 'who' is in the store, not the financial success or failure of it, we're proud of the store.*
> Participant A2

At a general level of analysis, social and commercial ideas of enterprise success were often different to each other. Yet it was clear that various combinations made up success. However, success was focussed in different ways, where typically social enterprises often saw success focussed through cultural, community and social ideas. In contrast, commercial owners and/or managers often saw success framed through commercial ideas. This suggests that success was both a shared and unique characteristic for SAE. For some SAE, according with Western perceptions of success based on financial performance was of greater value than Aboriginal community acceptance, but this was not the case for the majority of SAE.

Yet amongst these perceptions of success, multiple other combinations and perceptions were also found, and this is evident at a specific level of analysis. Esther's experiences draw out this idea.

> Esther's relationship with a large mining company shows how enterprise success is different for different people. For the mining company, Esther explained that a combination of social and economic reasons to operate a small business confronted them. To overcome this she said, the mining company set up a Joint Venture with a successful non-Aboriginal remote area transport haulage company in northern Australia. Esther explained how the mining company argued that a Joint Venture was likely to satisfy their financial goals. Esther described to me how the mining company did not envisage that a poor relationship between the Joint Venture partner and her Aboriginal enterprise would create so many difficulties. She indicated that the level of cultural discrimination and lack of information given by the venture partner meant that Esther's enterprise suffered. She commented that Aboriginal employees were given the smaller and insignificant jobs. She further explained that training was not conducted in a graded way. Thus, young Aboriginal people were not developed into more experienced and technically competent drivers by operating different sized trucks in a range of other jobs. Esther

> described how: 'this kept the Aboriginal trainees out of any decent jobs.' She said: 'the Joint Venture partner was intent on making money out of us blacks and keeping us out of the good jobs.'

This story illustrates the different perceptions of small business success. For the mining company, they thought they could find success by bringing in a commercially successful Joint Venture partner. The transport haulage contractor thought they were successful because they were given a lucrative mining contract and could make money by keeping their own white fella employees in the job. For Esther, the SAE suffered, and this was not her idea of enterprise success at all. She described how there were poor jobs for the Aboriginal people and this cultural discrimination meant that the enterprise had failed, despite being financially successful. For Esther, this circumstance let down those people who were expecting a cultural exchange between white fellas and Aboriginal people based on trust. This dire SAE situation began to affirm the local community pessimists, racists and non-believers who applied pressure to Esther. Luckily for the SAE, the local mining company executive at that time, had a positive relationship with Esther. He listened to her concerns and the transport haulage Joint Venture partner was released from the contract and a new one installed. For Esther, a better relationship was underway, because the new Joint Venture partner tried to support both the social and commercial aspects of her enterprise. Thus for Esther, enterprise success could begin.

As can be seen by Esther's example, the specific to condition details reveal so much more. Her idea of success was much different to the first haulage contractor, and for her it meant that enterprise was failing, when financially it was working successfully. Yet, the second haulage contractor later found it difficult to meet some of the social needs, because the focus and measure of the Joint Venture contract by the mining company (outside of the local mine manager's role) was based on financial performance only. Despite the good relationship between the SAE and the new Joint Venture partner, the business mostly remained unsuccessful for Esther. For the new transport haulage contractor, the Joint Venture became partly-successful, yet for the mining company they deemed the contract a success because the ore concentrate was transported within the defined financial performance measures of the agreement. It appears that different ways to see success and failure were perhaps at the heart of this relationship between a SAE, a large transport business and a multi-national mining company.

The discussion now changes and focuses upon SAE ideas of failure.

However, after hearing a range of stories about enterprise success and culture, it was unclear if the Aboriginal owners and/or managers associated enterprise failure with culture at all. In the previous chapter, it was found that culture was good for each Aboriginal enterprise (p.153), but there was little indication of what owners and/or managers thought about culture failing their enterprise. The following Table (6.2) attempts to clarify these ideas at a general in nature level, where participants were asked if culture was failing their own enterprise.

Table 6.2: Is culture failing the Aboriginal enterprise?

Failure?	**Social *n*=28**	**Commercial *n*=19**
Yes, is failing us		
At times	5	
No, not failing us	20	19
Unknown	3	

The majority of social enterprises (71%) believed that culture was 'not failing' their enterprise compared to 100% of commercial enterprises. Interestingly, the 'at times' respondents advised that culture does get in the way of enterprise; four of the five respondents were non-Aboriginal managers of enterprise and the fifth manager was an Aboriginal owner of a commercial enterprise, who also managed a social enterprise. These five participants indicated that culture was at times failing their enterprise. This may well suggest that managing culture in Aboriginal enterprise is a greater problem for non-Aboriginal people. Alternatively, it may suggest that Aboriginal people are reluctant to blame culture for any enterprise difficulties.

At a general level of analysis the different enterprise priorities for success and failure can be reflected in the following diagram (Figure 6.2).

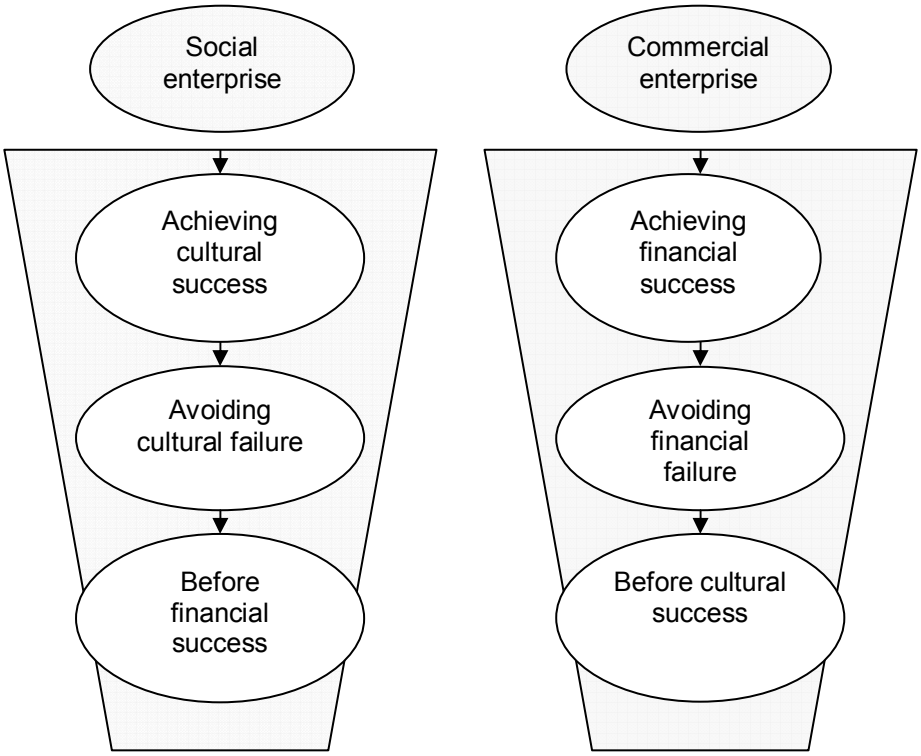


Figure 6.2: Comparing enterprise priorities with enterprise success and failure

The diagram symbolises social and commercial enterprises and their priority for measuring enterprise success and failure at a general level of analysis. For social enterprises, cultural success was far more important than achieving financial success. For them, it was more important to avoid cultural failure than achieve financial success. The opposite occurred in commercial enterprises. For them, financial success was far more important than achieving cultural success.

As such, enterprise success was different for social and commercial enterprises based upon culture or finances. Social enterprises saw cultural success as their most important priority, whereas commercial enterprises saw it as financial success. These general level observations are based on pooling the 47 SAE responses together. Yet, when each story is allowed to stand on its own, a stronger degree of uniqueness is revealed.

To account for differences at a specific level, Daryl's experiences of failure in the fruit and vegetable industry are re-told.

Daryl operated a retail enterprise in a remote area and as the operation expanded he decided to buy a fruit and vegetable wholesale business in a major city. However, little did he know that it would become his experience of failure.

> Daryl employed an experienced retail manager from a non-Aboriginal background. He managed the wholesale fruit and vegetable enterprise while Daryl continued to run his other operation thousands of kilometres away. Daryl explained that he would often travel down and work in the wholesale business. The idea he said: 'was to send cheaper fruit and vegetables to his other enterprise. That way I could provide better local prices, a greater range of food for people, and improved financial margins for my other retail outlet.' What Daryl did not expect: 'was the underhanded way that the manager behaved.' After putting in $100,000 of Daryl's own money in the early stages to keep the enterprise afloat, in later months he said he spent many a time tracking missing stock and cash trails. He advised that he dismissed the manager then relocated himself to the city for a time to resurrect the business. He described how: 'the business got back on its feet, but I felt disillusioned and went about selling the business as a going concern, with $5m turnover, 18 staff and 8 trucks.' Daryl indicated that it was necessary to experience enterprise failure, but he was keen now to only employ family members or people that he knew very well. He said that plenty of white fella knockers mouthed off at him when his businesses were struggling and, saying that: 'it's a black business he's bound to stuff it up.' Daryl strongly indicated how this level of cultural ignorance infuriated him.

This story about Daryl's experiences with enterprise failure show how failure occurred through mismanagement of finances by a manager he did not trust or know very well. Daryl was endlessly frustrated by the lack of trust shown by his manager, as well as the hostility he experienced by local non-Aboriginal people who thought he was wasting money and could not run a business. Daryl went on to turn this experience of enterprise failure into his own version of success by pooling both social and commercial aspects. Some 10 years later, his other enterprise (the retail shop in central Australia) became the largest fruit and vegetable shop in town, employing many

young Aboriginal people to give them a start in life. This business serviced 30 remote area communities across rugged dirt roads through dust storms, floods and droughts. His enterprise was popular because he provided what people wanted, he presented samples of stock for people to try, as well as selling smaller portions of fruit and vegetables to account for Aboriginal people's desire to shop for food each day. For Daryl, culture was with him through success and failure, it was just that some people used Aboriginal culture to blame and marginalise him.

Success and failure are vulnerable areas for SAE people because ideas and measures of it are often installed upon them by mainstream society. At a general level, success and failure are often measured against simplified concepts which begin to cloud the details at a specific level. This explains why a general separation between cultural and financial success can be seen, but at a detailed level the complexities, interdependencies and multiple pathways can be observed which make such divisions quite loose.

Both Esther and Daryl's experiences show how Aboriginal culture can be used to either financially leverage the SAE or as a way to bring the owner and/or manager down. It appears that for some SAE, managing culture maybe critical to their success and for others, culture can be used to reinforce or change circumstances. In each example, cultural nuances came with both success and failure. Yet this circumstance may well indicate, the way that SAE owners and/or managers continue on despite the external pressures around them. Their circumstances also indicate how their underlying motivations for framing ideas of SAE success and failure often sit outside or alongside the financial aspects of small business. Thus, external perceptions of success and failure are not separate to culture and their internal world.

Narrative group two: expressing the SAE

Three themes are used to show 'expressing the SAE': decision-making, power and finances. These themes are actively interconnected to relationships with NAO and show how SAE are caught between two-worlds.

Decision-making

The second theme, SAE decision-making reflects the process of relating their internal world externally. This theme and the following two represent the narrative group 'expressing the SAE'. Unlike Chapter 5 which discussed decision-making in terms of

Vincent's personal dynamics (p.175), a focus on the external world of decision-making now shows how other people are drawn into the SAE.

Decision-making was powerful, but at the same time precarious because many needs had to be met: that of family, cultural practices, Western business systems, mainstream beliefs, dealing with racist or uninformed viewpoints, making the enterprise profitable, trading operations, personal motivations and needs, as well as a myriad of other possibilities. The theme, decision-making attempts to relay both the difficulty and the ease of relating enterprise to others.

At a broader and general level, decision-making in social enterprises was quite different to decision-making in commercial enterprises. Social enterprises preferred to bring Aboriginal cultural practices into their decision-making. Yet, parallel to this, governance requirements under the *Aboriginal Councils and Associations Act 1976* (Cth) had to be met as well. This dual focus complicated social enterprises that were required to operate under this *Act*.

Social enterprises operated with these Western governance frameworks that were written, formal and complicated, and this often clashed with Aboriginal cultural decision-making systems.

Often, as an example, surrounding community members wanted active involvement in enterprise decision-making, even though the enterprises were managed separately to the local Aboriginal community. In the following example, decisions were made to account for the *Act,* but this created tensions with the wider community and traditional owners:

> *A lot of stuff happens here, we just go ahead and do it* [as per the requirements under the *Act*]. *Then the politics start.*
> Participant A45

The dynamic in social enterprises, between governance procedures under the *Act* and cultural decision-making practices are further complicated by family:

> *The community will take on enterprise if it can benefit the family and kids. But, if it gets messy, they have no problems in dumping it.*
> Participant A2

Alternatively and to a lesser degree, some social enterprises tried to minimise cultural and community power over SAE decision-making processes. The result of these procedures is evident in this response:

> *Our decisions very much reflect our strategic plan, we need to keep a focus, we get Board endorsements which is very tied to our action plan.*
> Participant A19

In contrast it was found that commercial participants preferred quick decisions, based on few people. However, their Western governance frameworks were much freer than those in social enterprises because they operated with unwritten and non-formal rules and regulations that were separate from the *Aboriginal Councils and Associations Act 1976* (Cth). This circumstance aligned with commercial enterprise feelings of independence and achievement, away from government.

When asked what it meant to make enterprise decisions separate from government influences and controls, a typical commercial enterprise response was:

> *I'm the decision-maker in my small business and I like that.*
> Participant A26

Some commercial owners had quite strong commercial views which guided their decision-making along with immediate family:

> *Business is business, nothing else before takes priority. Success in business means success for family and then we can do other cultural stuff.*
> Participant A17

At a more detailed and specific level of analysis however, more variations were found. Aboriginal enterprise decisions often reflect the 'here and now' of cultural responsibilities rather than the 'past and future'. The following participant extracts highlight these ideas. First, this supervisor in an Aboriginal enterprise said that flexibility was important when working with Aboriginal people and quite often the Aboriginal employees would:

> *…give me five minutes notice if they were not going to work that day.*
> Participant A27

This Aboriginal small business consultant believed that many Aboriginals accept and choose activities based on today, rather than making decisions based on their enterprise responsibilities:

> *Aboriginals like taking advantage of opportunities that come past their door, not necessarily going out to find them.*
> Participant M4

This commercial owner from a remote area enterprise, with many traditional Aboriginal people in the region, said that Aboriginal people were so focussed on today, they often forgot about working in the enterprise at all. He indicated that ad hoc work ethics were a difficult consequence for him to manage:

> *I've tried to give back to* [the] *community by giving people work but they don't want it, or* [they] *work for 5-6 days then want to leave for football, cultural stuff. They don't care that they're letting me down.* [I've] *tried Coober Pedy and Alice people. I let 'em go when they want to and sometimes have to let cattle out of yards. People here now are all related to me, except for partners of relatives.*
> Participant A9

Like Participant A9, the following owner also experienced problems with Aboriginal people making their decisions based on a choice between work and culture. She also experienced similar difficulties employing Aboriginals, because they made decisions based on the immediacy of cultural responsibilities. She said:

> *At* [ABCD] *Tours there is an effect on business because of footy carnivals, we've had some success here,* [but it's] *still hard getting people to work.*
> Participant A32

Depending on the location of the enterprise, the enterprise type, and the enterprise goals, some SAE had to manage cultural issues, and this impacted the way decisions were made. Some had both social obligation and customary law issues to consider whilst others had pressing extended family matters to attend to.

In particular, social enterprise decision-making was more complex and difficult to understand. Their decision-making drew in more cultural, family and community issues than commercial enterprise decision-making.

In order to make effective enterprise decisions, many owners and/or managers advised that culture and community had to be incorporated into decision-making, but in doing so this blurred the lens between traditional ways and Western processes:

> *Here is a set of rules, it's verbal. Decisions are made on behalf of Co-op by unanimous decision, all must agree. That is A<u>n</u>angu way. Not by popular vote. This unanimous decision-making is working but things may take longer. There have been a number of minutes written and instigated by A<u>n</u>angu at* [ABCD].
> Participant A11

By contrast, commercial owners and/or managers were motivated by their immediate family and their enterprise, with extended family and community issues considered less important. Thus for non-Aboriginal people, commercial enterprise decision-making processes were easier to understand and social enterprise decision-making appeared to be a balancing act between culture and Western society's imposed governance procedures.

Yet, SAE are more reflexive than a general level of analysis indicated. By using a specific level of analysis, this example shows Ronald's story about relating to a non-Aboriginal school boy and a tourist. This example indicates the careful decision-making style that Ronald has developed by working closely between many cultures since he himself was a small boy.

> Ronald owns and operates an Aboriginal enterprise which specialises in providing Aboriginal cultural tours for young school children and overseas tourists. Ronald explained that often, the children were the best teachers because they were the most honest and sincere. He said that during a presentation to families, there was this young boy and he was sitting beside him and at the end he just looked at Ronald and said: 'you're an Aborigine aren't you?' Ronald said that everyone just froze and looked. He said to the young boy: 'yes.' The boy replied with: 'yes, I know too because you've got a gap in your tooth.' Ronald said: 'no this is because I've been eating too many kangaroo tails.' Ronald said, 'you should've seen the mother, she was just shrinking in her seat, ha ha ha.'
>
> In this sort of situation Ronald said: 'you have to react in good spirits and help people along a bit.' Ronald also said that terrible things had happened to him as well and this usually involved non-Aboriginal tourists. An example he mentioned, concerned a male tourist who assumed mental telepathy was common amongst Aboriginal people. Ronald said: 'yes, I know what you're talking about.' The man replied: 'that your ears are sticking out, would that have anything to do with mental telepathy?' Ronald said he didn't think too much about it and just replied with: 'I grew up on a mission and the missionaries used to pull my ears apart.' Ronald said it was important to handle all

> situations sensitively and that he always liked to bring things back to the level of that person.

What Ronald's story shows is the different ways that he related to non-Aboriginal people in his business and how he made decisions; both to save his own face and that of the person involved. His careful decision-making style enabled him to make light and fun of racially difficult circumstances. However, Ronald felt that these vocalised beliefs were fairly easy to deal with. In contrast, he said the silent way some people held their racist views was the most difficult for him to handle. It can be seen that Ronald's decision-making style was reflexive between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal culture, between uninformed viewpoints and innocence.

The ability of the SAE owner and/or manager to relate to others, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal ones appear to be highly important for their decision-making style. These external reflections of their internal world meant a continual shuffling of enterprise priorities was underway.

At a general level of analysis it can be observed that Aboriginal social owners and/or managers said decisions reflected their local community, family and cultural concerns as well as the enterprise. In contrast, Aboriginal commercial owners and/or managers said decisions were based on a combined commercial and immediate family perspective. Yet at the specific level, decision-making does not appear to be separate from other influences identified in Chapter 5 (p.157), it is just that SAE decision-making has to account for both parts of the two-world situation. Thus, decision-making appears to be a pressured situation, where owners and/or managers are expected to meet competing Western and Aboriginal demands between the internal and external world.

Power

The discussion of the theme 'power' forms part of the narrative group 'expressing the SAE'. The word power, like the words success and failure, is an uncomfortable term for many people. In fact, the word power was not used by the 24 NAO in their interviews at all. Yet for SAE, the word power was commonly talked about, whether relating stories about Aboriginal people to me or not.

Culture and decision-making are two areas where the actions taken and the result of power are evident. Previous discussions found that SAE decision-making was a pressured situation, whilst these new discussions show the influential nature of power on SAE decisions. On this occasion, power is used to show relationships external to the SAE. Once more, the variation between the general and the specific is used to provide alternative insights.

Commonly, cultural power in enterprise was expressed through external relationships with family and community. This social enterprise manager commented on family pressure applied through culture in a remote region:

> *It's hard to have Anangu business* [enterprise] *on lands, especially a store, because family can come and take things and say they will re-pay later, but this did not happen and we lost money.* [You've] *got to think of your business and enterprise first. But this is hard. But* [you] *got to keep culture strong, so you have to help out people.*
> Participant A44

This commercial owner from a remote area personally experienced cultural power from surrounding community members:

> *Yes* [there is cultural power], *but they fight with each other. They fight because of power, money,* [they want to] *get their family in before anyone else, there is favouritism, nepotism, sadness and it makes me sick. How to solve it? I don't know what to do about it.*
> Participant A6

When asked what types of people were 'powerful', the same owner advised there were two types of power hungry people:

> *People who go, go, go and work, and people who want their families to be first.*
> Participant A6

The same owner said that being in a remote area made the power situation worse, because the same people (Aboriginal) who exert power were also the ones given the responsibility to operate Western processes such as meetings and administrative organisations:

> *Being in the outback, the bush, contributes to power. Us being out of town means no one knows how to run a meeting or to do training or know what is going on in the store or pub. People have resigned themselves to the power situation.*
> Participant A6

A different perspective was offered by this participant, citing non-Aboriginals as the reason for power imbalances in SAE. Participant A27 believed that power imbalances occurred when non-Aboriginal managers took over without considering others:

> *The most influence* [in the business] *was the white fella because they were overpowering and the majority of white fellas don't really listen. There are cultural differences, the white fellas are in management* [and they] *are not aware of being so overpowering.*
> Participant A27

In contrast, this non-Aboriginal manager of a social enterprise explained that power came from the Aboriginal community and it was pervasive, and difficult to control:

> *We are answerable to the community council, we try to keep everyone calm and with no jealousy. Yet, there is community power* [over everyone].
> Participant A29

In contrast, this social enterprise manager said that cultural power was very manageable in her enterprise. The enterprise was located in regional Victoria and was part of a large organisation that operated numerous small businesses. Any cultural power issues were dealt with as they arose and this was the responsibility of each manager:

> *The manager looks after the pressure from community power. The managers of* [ABCD] *have rules for CDEP*[29] *which help to manage pressures within those businesses. We've a senior management and the Board you can go to for support.*
> Participant A12

For commercial owners and/or managers cultural power was also an important issue. This owner believed that sorting out power issues was a personal responsibility:

> *The solution must come from within. Aboriginal people themselves must work it out. The individual has the power within themselves to stop bad habits.*
> Participant A23

Almost every Aboriginal owner and/or manager had a story about cultural power. For some participants, this was about managing white fella power, and for many social enterprises, it was about managing internal Aboriginal community politics and power. Power struggles were often incorporated into their daily enterprise transactions. In contrast, for commercial enterprises, it was about putting some distance between cultural power struggles and their enterprise. Many commercial participants said they enjoyed the freedom of being separate or away from the cultural power dramas of

[29] CDEP is the Community Development Employment Projects programme coordinated and financed through the Federal Government.

many community organised enterprises. Managing cultural power was difficult for many social enterprises.

It appeared through a more detailed level of analysis that for a number for SAE, cultural power was a typical expression. It seemed that cultural power meant using traditional ways to gain or withdraw support. At times this cultural power was linked to Western process, especially if it meant gaining money or resources. Often this pressure was connected to powerful and dominant families as discussed in Chapter 5 (p.158). Yet by expressing power, it resulted in many conflicts for many social enterprises.

A governance approach to SAE decision-making did not omit cultural power from many social enterprises; it just hid it in other areas. In many cases the powerful people were the ones able to understand Western governance systems and then be able to influence cultural power over others. In this example community management of the enterprise draws the extended family networks into enterprise humbug:

> *…it's not running the business properly, but it means jealousy and people grabbing what they can.*
> Participant A31

For many commercial enterprises, decisions were less complicated by community and cultural power instead; decisions were made solely by the owner or immediate family:

> *Me, I make the most decisions, I talk about my decisions, also with my girls and I can also ring up a lot of people for advice too.*
> Participant A22

For commercial enterprises, the focus was often an individual's power to control their own destiny:

> *Money, you live and die in small business by your decisions. That's the challenge, but it is also the satisfaction.*
> Participant A31

These findings indicate that cultural power is a major influence on enterprise decision-making. Cultural power was pervasive in enterprise decision-making and was often wrapped up with reciprocation responsibilities. It appears that social enterprise used cultural power to make decisions through family and community whilst attending to Western governance requirements. Alternatively, commercial enterprises were less impacted by cultural power and reciprocation, preferring to make decisions away from community.

A general level of analysis indicated that power dynamics were different in social and commercial enterprises. Yet at a specific level, the conditions change. This shows the pervasive nature of power, its influences, how many factors and people are drawn into it, the variations and its connections. This complex and interrelating nature of power is revealed through Vincent's story about traditional owners.

> Vincent said that enterprise and community power is too much in his enterprise, and at times and they interfere where they shouldn't. This he said was from: 'wanting the money in hand too much makes the power bad.' He said that traditional owners have a say in his enterprise because the country is shared with other traditional owners. It's a fine line he stated, that: 'yes, you can look after rock holes and soak pits, looking after land management, this is looking after country.' However Vincent said that: 'enterprise is my own' and 'other Anangu coming onto country was okay if that's what they did, but they pressure me to give money, to give cattle, and it's too much for my enterprise.' He said: 'I tell 'em cattle skinny, but they still want the fuel and I say I only have enough for work.' Sometimes its okay he stated: 'but enterprise not a success if giving away fuel, tools and meat.'
>
> Vincent said it was important to 'make playa' (make oaky), you can do an agreement with other traditional owners, but the white fellas don't let us process the meat here on the Lands. He said that butchering was done in Adelaide and we buy the meat from the community stores which he said: 'is not right for us.' Vincent described how ties to his extended family have not been broken, but ties to some other traditional owners for this place do worry him because: 'this enterprise for me, for me and my family. Maybe if we made a profit I might think about other traditional owners.' For Vincent, enterprise makes his culture stronger, because he still runs the cattle and looks after the culture, but on the other hand, he is cornered by traditional owners' responsibilities to country. This opposing situation is continually played out in his cattle operation.

Vincent's experience of operating an enterprise on Aboriginal land often brings about a tension with other traditional owners, even though Vincent is one himself. The tension

is reflected in the power dynamic between traditional requests for help that are placed on Vincent's Western parts of his enterprise, the cash, the fuel, the tools and the cattle. These he described are not traditional items, but the Anangu still want them from him. The relationship between Vincent's family and other Anangu is pressured because of the enterprise, where others believe he has plenty of money. Yet in reality, the enterprise rarely breaks even financially, as evident in other family members working part-time to keep the enterprise going.

The other power dynamic evident in Vincent's story is indicated by the white fellas who will not let Anangu or others process meat on the Lands. This draws his enterprise into a tension between the traditional owners who want locally killed meat and the mainstream system that will not permit this practice locally. This tension is not understood by the many local Anangu and neither by government – this leaves Vincent circling between different cultures and different expectations whilst he struggles to keep his pastoral station financially viable. As Vincent pointed out, processing livestock locally could be an easy way for him to make money and for Anangu employment.

To summarise this section, power can be seen as an external representation of the SAE internal world which operates between and within non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal people. At a general level, SAE power can be seen separate to NAO, but a more specific level of analysis indicates that power moves around, and is increased by the presence of living as a minority group in mainstream society who have an economically dominant mindset. The SAE has to balance both community and extended family power and the effect of non-Aboriginal managers, and bureaucrats. Yet, the SAE appears remarkably resilient to the ebb and flows of local level power – perhaps indicating that power dynamics were part of their upbringing. Yet, it was the non-negotiable power from NAO that bothered SAE the most. This was evident through government's inability to adopt local ideas and their inflexible rules and regulations that all SAE found difficult.

Finances

The last theme under the narrative group 'expressing the SAE' is finances. This theme reflects the Western product of enterprise trading – money. This external reflection of the SAE often places the owner and/or manager between Aboriginal culture and Western economic values. The areas of market failure and hybrid economy are used to show the tensions with Western economic values, whilst the area of money values

and use of profit show the tensions with Aboriginal values. Beforehand however, SAE ideas of small business finances are explored.

SAE ideas of small business finance

Many SAE, whether a social or commercial type, were proud of operating a small business alongside mainstream people. This circumstance gave many Aboriginal people a sense of equality. This owner from western South Australia believed that he was no different to a non-Aboriginal small business:

> *Aboriginal enterprises are no different to other white fella business, when I set up my business I wanted to use this as a model …anyone can go do it and go far, the opportunities are out there.*
> Participant A23

Similarly, this commercial owner talked about the pride he felt by having a commercial loan the same as a non-Aboriginal small business:

> *A loan can give you dignity …that if you go into a loan it's a commitment to business and to repayments …it makes people appreciate their business if you have a commitment to repaying loans.*
> Participant A10

This commercial owner from regional Victoria acknowledged that he held different financial values than many social enterprises and he was pleased with this:

> *I am comfortable* [with making money] *but I want to know how much money you charge them. People see money as more valuable. I put a value on things, different to others, …there are rewards. You don't get those unless you learn or are taught.*
> Participant A39

However, greedy enterprises were unpopular especially if they separated social issues out from their commercial benefits. This commercial owner said that as large Aboriginal businesses got bigger with stronger commercial goals they:

> *…don't give a hoot about social issues.*
> Participant A31

For many social participants, a different view of finances was evident. Many social managers and/or owners did not wish to talk about finances. In a number of cases no financial management was performed by the enterprise at all:

> *…the accountant does the finances. The store* [just] *does the operations with* [the] *customers.*
> Participant A35

In this example, an independent accountant performed the most basic bookwork tasks for Participant A35. The accountant was located in the nearest regional town and performed a similar role for many other Aboriginal social enterprises.

Some social enterprises struggled with the way finances were viewed in their community. This participant described how she wanted money re-invested back into the enterprise, but many community members did not:

> *At times, community people dedicated to the enterprise cause, and others try to get money because of the enterprise. Like car, fuel and food.*
> Participant A32

Likewise, this social manager agreed with the level of community misunderstanding about enterprise finances, she said:

> *Anangu have to learn how to rebuild money back into enterprise.*
> Participant A30

It seems that commercial owners and/or managers commonly managed their enterprise finances themselves, and in many cases this gave them pride, and ownership, because they felt comparable to mainstream small business owners. For social owners and/or managers, the management of enterprise finances appeared different. Some social enterprises managed their own finances, with a number of participants sending the most basic financial transactions to an accountant. At a general level of analysis, there appears to be a link between the degree of commercial ability of the enterprise owner and/or manager and the nature of financial management within their enterprise.

Market failure and the hybrid economy

At a specific level of analysis, a consideration of market failure and the hybrid economy show the tensions between SAE and Western economic values. To illustrate this, Altman's (2001b) hybrid economic concept is used to develop ideas about SAE finances. Altman's (2001b) hybrid concept is flexible because it gives an equal voice to culture. He identified three economies: the market, the State and the customary, and all three combine to become what Altman terms the 'hybrid economy'.

Table 6.3 uses Altman's (2001b) hybrid economic concept and matches it to the number of Aboriginal enterprises in this research. In this example, market failure is used to demonstrate the relationship to hybrid sectors.

Table 6.3: Altman's (2001b) hybrid economy and SAE operating with market failure

Hybrid economy and sectors

Sectors	**Social *n*=28**	**Commercial *n*=19**
Market/State/customary	17	
State/customary	7	
Market /State	2	
Market (with industry subsidy)	2	
Market		5
Market/customary		14

Operating with market failure

Benefits to	**Social *n*=28**	**Commercial *n*=19**
None		14
Occasionally	6	5
Moderately	17	
Completely	5	

At a specific level of analysis, comparing social and commercial enterprises to Altman's (2001b) hybrid economy, the table illustrates a consistent characteristic for social enterprises. All social enterprises operated or overlapped with the State economy and they operated with market failure. A different result was found for commercial enterprises. Within Altman's (2001b) hybrid economy, commercial enterprises operated through the market economy and a few through the customary market. Commercial enterprises operated with access to the market. The State sector did not cross into commercial enterprise operations.[30]

To financially enable the social enterprise, it meant operating within the State economy by using government, industry or philanthropic support. This was a direct result of market failure, revealing that economic barriers were too high for social enterprise commercial operations. As such, the State provided subsidisation to the social enterprise as a result of market failure. The majority of these social enterprises operated with CDEP support, and the remainder operated with industry assistance for selected operating costs. For these enterprises, subsidies were an essential

[30] Although government can be a customer/client to the Aboriginal enterprise, it was not included in this calculation.

component. Despite the dependence on CDEP for many operating costs in social enterprises, there was a reluctance to use it and there was reluctance for Aboriginal people to talk about it.

In contrast, non-Aboriginal managers were open to CDEP financing many operations. This manager of an Arts Centre said:

> *The Centre works on CDEP. But CDEP does not work,* [it only does] *if there is an incentive there to earn money.*
> Participant A29

Similarly, this social enterprise manager from a very remote area was unhappy with CDEP, but indicated that few options existed:

> *…we're trying to find meaningful employment because CDEP is not meaningful. CDEP* [is] *another form of welfare,* [it's] *created a problem, between CDEP and Centrelink. Centrelink is sit down money. CDEP is a false sense of security – where people think they are working and they are not.*
> Participant A11

Alternatively, the employees in this Arts Centre were either in receipt of CDEP or in receipt of Centrelink[31] payments. This was the only option to pay employees because the enterprise could not finance its operations:

> *All communities have CDEP and Centrelink. Some artists on CDEP, some choose Centrelink. …on the Lands people are on one or the other – it's a matter of choice for people here.*
> Participant A4

The use of CDEP also produced strong feelings from commercial participants. In the following example, Participant A28 had opportunities to use CDEP in his enterprise, but he refused. He said:

> *I would say no to CDEP. We want to run it the way we see it, if other people are a part of it, we lose our independence, and we don't make our own decisions. Answering to yourself is important.*
> Participant A28

Commercial participants readily acknowledged that many Aboriginal enterprises operated with government support and could not fund themselves. Alternatively, few social participants said this directly. This circumstance reflects the tensions with Western economic systems whereby accepting government support was a hidden and uncomfortable consequence of operating a social enterprise.

[31]Centrelink is the Federal Government's income support organisation for Australian citizens, including Aboriginal people.

Therefore, social enterprises readily accepted funding support from government to access the market, but few readily promoted this subsidy and this relationship. In contrast, commercial enterprises operated without continual subsidies from government and actively promoted this difference.

Money values and use of profit

At a specific level of analysis, money values and use of profit can show the tension externally between the SAE and Aboriginal values. To begin with, these observations are made about money. This commercial owner held strong money values:

> *Success and non-success of Aboriginal enterprises, well the lynch pin* [is you] *must have a commercial reality.*
> Participant A31

This social owner held money values as a priority for his family enterprise:

> *To a smaller degree, some community managed enterprises are commercially successful and they make commercial aims the priority, but these organisations are few.*
> Participant A45

In contrast, this social manager held mostly money values:

> *Do people want enterprise? Some people say they do …but a lot of people still think very much for themselves.*
> Participant A32

This social manager held part money values:

> *We must work them together – our business and culture is together, hand in hand, if not, we make it work.*
> Participant A16

At a general level of analysis, it was found that strong money values were only present in commercial enterprises, whereas social enterprises held the greatest range of money values. Commercial reality was a common theme for all commercial owners and/or managers and also for a few of the more commercially orientated social enterprises. Softer money values were presented by the majority of the social enterprises, many of the responses indicated that culture, family and community influenced management practices.

A clear distinction also surfaced over the use of enterprise profits and the link to enterprise money values. All commercial participants advised it was critical for enterprise profit to service enterprise needs first, before any other benefits were

distributed to others (i.e. including to their immediate family). Commercial participants advised that financial stability was very important and this stability was the platform to support their immediate family:

> *If the enterprise got enough money to support family members, it's working …by enterprise paying a little, it means our head is above water and* [we're] *paying the bills, it means the lifestyle we live is good.*
> Participant A9

Social owners and/or managers did not highlight the critical importance of enterprise profit returning back to their business as commercial ones did. Unlike commercial enterprises, there appeared to be little mutual interdependence between the commercial stability of the enterprise and the strength of immediate family. The majority of social enterprises (57%) advised that generally profit was considered for return to the enterprise, but it could easily be re-prioritised back to extended and dominant families and community benefits. This manager of a social enterprise explained that enterprise profits were distributed to both enterprise and the community:

> [We're a] *not-for-profit organisation* [and] *the funds go back into the Arts Centre and to the community, from our art work.*
> Participant A29

This manager of a social enterprise said:

> *Our enterprises try to make a profit, but mostly* [they] *don't.*
> Participant A2

When the Participant A2 was asked why profit was not so important for the community, he advised that:

> *People view personal relationships more important than a business working economically or not.*
> Participant A2

At a more specific level of analysis, it was found that commercial enterprise participants commonly desired enterprise profits for the small business first. This was closely followed by benefits to the immediate family. Social participants saw it differently, advising that enterprise profits could be used for Aboriginal community and families, without servicing the business first. These discussions show that when compared to social enterprises, commercial ones operated with less social demands on their enterprise profits.

Across the finance theme it was found that holding small business financial skills gave some people a sense of pride, whilst for others, financial skills were far less important

than family, community and relationships. At a general level of analysis, this diversity indicates the vast underlying motivations of each SAE and that money was not always the focus of their operations.

At a more specific level of analysis, market failure and the hybrid economy show the dialectic underway between social and commercial issues through the use of enterprise subsidies, and surreptitiously the effect of government policy. Specifically, social enterprises needed government financial assistance to operate, but this support was kept mostly silent by owners and/or managers. Yet, market failure was the reason the social enterprise existed in the first place. This circumstance is a competing dialectic which further envelopes the social enterprise in a power relationship between government and Aboriginal people. Something they wish to be free from, but unfortunately tied to if they want to practice enterprise in a region with market failure.

Quite specifically, tensions exist between Aboriginal cultural values, finances and Western economic system however, this is different in each SAE. Those SAE whose underlying motivations aligned with the mainstream Western economic system were less likely to have conflicting financial and social values. This was not always matched to social or commercial type. This indicates that some SAE are able to survive their unique qualities despite the financial demands around them. Thus, finances for SAE are active reminders about connections and relationships to NAO that some SAE wish to minimise.

Narrative group three: Non-Aboriginal organisations

The third narrative group involves relationships to non-Aboriginal organisations. This discussion reveals the distrust SAE owners and/or managers hold for government, their institutions and the processes used.

Relationships to government

The narrative group ‘NAO’ is discussed through the theme relating to government. By exploring the fifth theme ‘relating to government’, two prominent areas emerged. First, it was clear that SAE, whether a social or commercial type did not like government involvement in their enterprise. Second, that land title was a major cause of angst which shaped the way many SAE viewed government and bureaucracy.

At a general level of analysis, it was evident that enterprise planning was linked to government involvement. This was mostly experienced by social enterprises rather than commercial types. Enterprise stakeholders, such as government, industry or philanthropic organisations, had greater interests and/or involvement with social enterprises than commercial ones, simply through the dependency of social enterprises on these stakeholders for some or all of their operating funds. To receive this support, a number of regulatory, financial and governance frameworks were imposed on the social enterprise through formal and/or written procedures, mostly through the *Aboriginal Councils and Associations Act 1976* (Cth).

The nature of government involvement for the social enterprise was quite circular – what was given on the one hand (advice and financial support) was taken with the other (regulations and control over cultural, family and community practices in enterprise). Many commercial enterprises tried hard to avoid this give and take approach by government whereas the social enterprises were mostly bonded with it, whether they liked it or not.

The majority of social enterprises were required to operate within the *Aboriginal Councils and Associations Act 1976* (Cth). Commercial enterprise did not have to abide by this *Act*. The use of formal and written systems to oversee the social enterprise tied them to highly bureaucratic systems in order to satisfy their mainstream stakeholders' interests. This comment from a social enterprise participant reflected some of their suspicion about government processes and their relationship to their enterprise:

> *Yes, go and get outside support, but never let them* [Government] *control you* [Aboriginal Government agencies such as ATSIC].
> Participant A3

In Participant A3's case, he worked alongside government for many years operating an Aboriginal sobriety and rehabilitation service as a social enterprise. He felt that government bureaucrats would give and take without any regard to the long term viability of his organisation or the grass roots effective work his organisation completed.

Other participants had very similar experiences, and it appears that government roles within enterprise were contentious issues. Participant A17 said he was cut off from government when he looked for enterprise money elsewhere. He goes on to say:

> *There is favouritism played out by ATSIC when allocating out money, also nepotism and administration. So it's kind of, if you'll scratch my back, I'll scratch yours. It is good for the people that benefited and built up their social or commercial businesses. But for the rest of us, it is not.*
> Participant A17

A non-Aboriginal manager of a remote area large social enterprise held very similar sentiments about government:

> *Difficult things are not being addressed by government.* [They] *are free to take political advantage of black culture, both commercial and political, and not adequately addressing it. The problems are much bigger than people* [government] *acknowledge.*
> Participant A2

A commercial participant said he enjoyed the freedom of commercial enterprise, because it gave him separation from government. He was concerned that many Aboriginal people and social enterprises were too tied to government:

> *When do they* [social enterprises] *start thinking for themselves away from government? If it's government money, they tell you how to think.*
> Participant A28

Commercial enterprises were less tied to government because they used mostly unwritten and informal systems and sourced their funds privately; this reflected a sense of independence from government processes and their bureaucratic performance frameworks. Unwritten and informal decision-making systems offered many opportunities for the commercial owners and/or managers to choose their own destiny, level of economic participation and type of cultural activity.

Participant A28 said this about his own commercial enterprise:

> *We want to have independence. Once you have others* [government] *being part of it, you lose your independence. The independence lets you make your own decisions. You answer to yourself.*
> Participant A28

At a more specific level of analysis, this illustrative story from Esther tells of her experiences with government.

> Esther worked for government health and administration bureaucracies before embarking on a series of SAEs. She explained that: 'never did I believe government could cause so many troubles for people until I went

into enterprise.' After Esther's small business experience with a mining company and transport haulage contract she then started a training group Joint Venture with a non-Aboriginal registered training group provider. She conveyed how both parties agreed that it was highly important to get Aboriginal people into jobs. This was something Esther explained that the previous transport contract barely achieved. She indicated that once more, financial responsibility was given to the non-Aboriginal Joint Venture partner, rather than the SAE. She described how the Federal Government awarded a training group contract to the non-Aboriginal partner as they believed they were more qualified to manage the finances than the Aboriginal enterprise.

Despite having a Joint Venture agreement, Esther said she discovered they were under financial stress. This meant that a limited number of Aboriginal traineeships could be offered through her SAE. The Joint Venture partner managed the east coast region and her part of the Joint Venture managed the inland region. Esther described how she visited the Joint Venture partner numerous times to find out why the funding was so restricted to her inland sub-region. She explained how the Joint Venture partner dismissed her and told her that: 'government has reduced our funding and there is limited money for you.' Separately, Esther followed this up with the Federal Government department that awarded the training contract. She said: 'I discovered that my Joint Venture partner was allegedly siphoning funds away from our SAE and into their own private business and home loan.' Esther stated that she made numerous complaints to the Joint Venture partner, and personally visited them to try and have the funds allocated to her inland region. She said her remaining share of the training contract funds was never received. Esther said she contacted the Federal Government department again, and made more complaints, but the situation was dismissed and never resolved.

Esther believed: 'I was ignored by Federal Government because the situation was too difficult and they didn't want to work it out. I was seen as a black trouble maker.' She told me that to this day, her name

> is treated with disrespect by members of that government department and when Esther applied for a training group contract in her own right as a SAE (after the Joint Venture folded), she was deemed to be inexperienced and unqualified. This Esther explained, was the last straw and she no longer has any small business motivations left. For Esther, 'government supported the white Joint Venture partner over my Aboriginal business and it left me with illness.'

Esther's story clearly shows the balancing act that SAE need to take in their external world. The pain that Esther felt by not getting more Aboriginal people into work is still with her today. The alleged blocking of funds by the Joint Venture partner and the dismissing of her complaints to government show the immense pressure that Esther was under. This left her SAE in survival mode, unable to budge, caught between mainstream small business denials and government inactions. The pressure of this, tipped Esther out of small business altogether and this reveals the delicate nature of SAEs relationship to government. This leaves the question: what do SAE do and where do they go when government blocking behaviour and rigidity stifles SAE? This question is accommodated when developing the descriptive theories in the following chapter (p.251 and p.302).

The case of government rigidity and single mindedness can be discussed through land tenure. Before this is explored, the issue of land tenure was verified.

Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal land tenure is often misunderstood. To alleviate this, a concise information sheet was produced with help from the University of Adelaide legal department, and a guide to land tenure was prepared for this research. This task set out to understand inalienable and alienable land title before the analysis began. Please refer to the guide at Appendix R.

Returning back to government rigid patterns, it was found that such behaviour caused many SAE to become static, and unable to grow their enterprises. First these comments show the importance of land[32] for SAE:

[32] The terms land and country are used alternatively here to reflect Aboriginal people's substitution of the terms.

> *Because we love our land and have opportunities to live on it and can cope with tourists, we can balance the business, economic side, with the land and its cultural, spiritual side.*
> Participant A13

The same owner showed that he can put up with long hours at work:

> *…we're prepared to work the long hours in business, as long as we can be on our land.*
> Participant A13

At a more detailed level of analysis, the issue of land title was critical for almost every SAE owner and/or manager in this study. Specifically, Aboriginal land and country are central to all the Aboriginal owners and/or managers involved in this study, regardless of enterprise type.

It was found that commercial enterprises tried to operate with a land title that suited them commercially, many held either alienable freehold title; access to personal assets; or operated a commercial lease over private property.

The inability to borrow funds against Aboriginal land assets was a common catchcry for many Aboriginal participants, arguing that no access to alienable land title was holding back their enterprise. All participants, regardless of enterprise type believed that inappropriate land title prevented progress and challenged enterprise security. Thus, government rigidity over land tenure was an important factor for SAE.

This social participant was passionate about resolving land title. He was unable to borrow funds commercially, and he did not have a lease over the land on which his tourism enterprise was situated:

> *We're stuck between the deep sea and the devil. Land tenure is killing us.*
> Participant A45

A similar situation existed for this commercial owner. Despite operating commercially and un-subsidised, no access to alienable freehold was a disappointing outcome of enterprise:

> *In our business, we can never increase our equity enough to own our land.*
> Participant A13

It was the same for this commercial owner. His enterprise was located on Aboriginal freehold land, but the title was inalienable. He did not operate with a commercial lease,

but with an agreement for him to use the land as a pastoral station. Participant A9 said that:

> *Inalienable title meant that my enterprise could not grow, but the white fella pastoral station next door can.*
> Participant A9

He advised that his neighbours operated a traditional pastoral lease from government, which was alienable (they could actually sell their lease) and they could borrow funds commercially against that pastoral lease. In his circumstances he could not, and he said:

> *…because it's only Aboriginal land and not freehold, we cannot get a business loan, only get loan for livestock, not for capital. This is real bad thing for Aboriginal people.*
> Participant A9

Many enterprise participants discussed Western land tenure arrangements and the tensions it caused for SAE. The following example from a tourism operator in northern South Australia highlights this tension. The enterprise is in dispute with the government, and the local Aboriginal community:

> *Land tenure, if it's the last thing I do, it's to get this thing sorted out. So we can develop our business.*
> Participant A45

An Aboriginal manager of a regional development board in regional South Australia described relationships between Aboriginal enterprise and government as difficult, he said:

> *It is a falsehood saying to Aboriginal people – 'Here is your land!' …it's a form of control by the government.*
> Participant G3

A passionate response from this Aboriginal tourism enterprise along the Coorong in South Australia said:

> *We're in a position where we can't grow. Government must hold some responsibility* [for this].
> Participant A13

Enterprise finance and land title were emotive issues for all owners and/or managers. It was troublesome for social participants who wanted to become more commercial and could not because of their inalienable title. Similarly, land title was troublesome for commercial participants who can never own their land or use it as financial collateral. This shows that government rigidity and single mindedness are major obstacles for all SAE.

The general level of analysis revealed that even though social enterprises were forced to work with government departments, principally through subsidised funding arrangements and capital grants, their relationship was an uncomfortable one that stifled many social enterprises. In contrast, commercial enterprises were much freer and not bound so closely to government frameworks. However, this was not always the case as evident in Esther's example. The close relationships between social enterprises and government frameworks impacted their decision-making practices, principally through formal and written rules and policies. These rules and policies were also used in many social enterprises, in conjunction with cultural decision-making processes, which effectively blended the two.

At a more specific level of analysis land title appears to be troublesome. Social enterprises with clearly social aims without commercial desires, found that alienable land title were of little consequence. Similarly, commercial enterprises with clear commercial aims and with access to alienable title were less concerned about land title. Land title was heavily linked with enterprise commercial aims, indicating that, during the enterprise development phase, enterprise aims impacted land title options, and commercial success. Coupled with the conditions of market failure for social enterprises it further ties the enterprise into the inflexible and rigid thinking of government and bureaucracy, which SAE actively disliked.

At a detailed level of analysis, it is clear that a 'bigger picture' was underway. That is, a complex and interrelating series of external influences and the level of involvement of government interference in the SAE determines the nature of their relationship with NAO. This circumstance is something that each SAE worked through uniquely, but it must be said that very few positive examples were given about government support to SAE. The SAEs were highly uncomfortable with NAOs separating their parts because it conflicted with their instinctive nature to build on relationships.

Narrative group four: other influences

This last narrative group 'other influences' is explored through both family and community. These two themes link closely back to SAE internal world through culture. These themes clearly show the influence of interconnections and the importance of reciprocation.

Family

First, the sixth theme is represented in this discussion through Aboriginal family and non-family members. This two-part focus shows how family is integral to a balance between the internal and external world. So much so, that family is the source of interdependency. That is: family is central to change, connections and relationships between the two-world situations. However as previously found, exploring the SAE by either categories or themes leads to much cross over between them – thus re-affirming ideas from exploring the SAE internal world, that SAE operate as a whole process, not as separate parts.

Aboriginal family

The impact of Aboriginal family in enterprise portrays itself in many ways: as negative and positive, as small or large, as helpful or destructive, or sometimes a combination of all these characteristics. Family offered the strongest way to influence the enterprise, both in success and failure. Working through family disagreements was a common theme for all Aboriginal owners and/or managers and this is evident from a general level of analysis.

All participants recognised that any disagreements severely impacted the effectiveness of the enterprise, and the following participant comments illustrate the impact of family. After trading through some business difficulties Participant A26 said that enterprise divided their family relationship:

> *We were really close friends, it hurt our relationship, but I still talk to him. We made a good team. I think my cousin had to choose between his own immediate family, his partner, and me, his extended family.*
> Participant A26

Another family enterprise tackled disagreements by sending a senior member to a family well-being course, and adapting the ideas to suit their enterprise operations:

> *Sometimes we have a problem-solving system that we refer to when things are not working out, it's the iceburg situation. I did a family well-being course and was inspired by some things and took certain parts away. I use* [this] *system to suit our family. It is successful for us.*
> Participant A45

However, family disagreements also involved exerting power over other Aboriginal families connected to the enterprise. This behaviour was mostly evident in social enterprises, where numerous Western management structures and practices were

used. Often to pressure other families, Western governance procedures were used in conjunction with many Aboriginal cultural patterns. This therefore clashed Aboriginal ways with non-Aboriginal ways and drew upon dominant family dynamics (p.158) and power (p.207).

The following behavioural pattern about the effect of family power was suggested by a commercial owner:

> *Yes, community enterprises are harder to run, you get one family that is more powerful and more power hungry. They take over and every one misses out.*
> Participant A6

The same participant also linked the idea of Aboriginal people becoming more power hungry to 'chasing the money' and a lack of family values:

> *Aboriginal culture was never like this with power hungry behaviour. We all had boundaries and places to be and we did not cross them. Today you can do anything. Why changed? I don't know, maybe money, …no values any more. No family values.*
> Participant A6

Another participant who worked with Aboriginal elders advised that old people's way of family has disappeared. When questioned, he advised there were two types of family now:

> *Aboriginals* [have] *completely taken on white fella ways or Aboriginals taken on poverty and substance abuse. There is no middle ground for Aboriginal people.*
> Participant A20

For some Aboriginal enterprises, family ties and connection to culture often remained stronger than enterprise operations as this non-Aboriginal bureaucrat described:

> *Family and social ties are much stronger than a feeling of pride over an enterprise. If there was a death, no one would attend enterprise.*
> Participant G10

When asked if culture required careful management in Aboriginal enterprise, many participants advised that it did, stating that family was the critical link to managing culture:

> *…yes, we have to manage culture …if you can't manage culture, you would be feuding with every family around. It's important to keep it fair for everybody.*
> Participant A12

Although family disagreements were common, the family also worked in many positive ways for Aboriginal enterprise. Positive family influences on Aboriginal enterprise were often characterised by a work ethic, and in the following example family was cited as the main reason behind this manager's success:

> *Yes, it is a family thing, our family history. Of our family of ten, 80% have worked hard their whole lives, we treat everybody equally and give everybody the same time. The* [Aboriginal] *council does not have the balance in communities, but family groups do.*
> Participant A35

It appears from a general level of analysis, that family considerably impacts Aboriginal enterprises in a variety of ways. Family disagreements created much friction and detracted from enterprise operations, particularly if outside or extended family groups were involved. In many of these circumstances, the disagreements drew in family power, whilst positive family values impacted the enterprise in many unvoiced ways. It was found that good family values were used to help both the enterprise and the community. Quite often those enterprises were managing culture and family issues in creative and supportive ways. Family was very much centred on looking after each other through kinship. Thus, family became an interconnector between the internal and external world.

Non-family members

The role of non-family members was often a tenuous one. Some non-family members were considered quite separate to culture and enterprise whilst others were drawn closely into the family group. Quite often non-family members had to tread a careful line, balancing between Aboriginal cultural practices, small business management processes, family dynamics and government involvement. Non-family members present another layer of interdependencies within the SAE that were rarely discussed by NAO.

Non-family members in Aboriginal enterprise were often non-Aboriginals and Participant A31 advised that:

> *…they come with good intent, but Aboriginals have a habit of saying yes when they mean no.*
> Participant A31

He said that many Aboriginal community enterprise stakeholders would discuss the impact of non-Aboriginal enterprise managers in their community and would confide to him about the difficulties of their relationship. After he gave them advice, the Aboriginal

community people would respond by saying, 'well, one day they will go'. Participant A31 said that non-Aboriginal managers could be detrimental to an Aboriginal enterprise, but this concern was voiced internally within the community rather than to the non-Aboriginal manager. He said:

> *The white fellas are paternal and speaking for Aboriginal people is not good. Aboriginals have learnt to be managed by white fellas and to be patient about it. Aboriginal people would rather wait until the white fella leaves, than confront them.*
> Participant A31

Employing non-Aboriginal people in Aboriginal enterprises was a common practice, particularly for social enterprises. However, few Aboriginal participants were as open as Participant A31 about the impact of non-Aboriginal managers, although the underlying sentiment was observed in many interviews. Non-Aboriginal managers were employed within ten of the social enterprises, representing 35% of interviewees, whereas non-Aboriginal managers in commercial enterprises represented three at 16% of interviewees. Non-family members and non-Aboriginal managers were important to all enterprises but were often viewed with suspicion. In contrast, all Aboriginal enterprises preferred to employ family members. Coupled with the ideas presented by Participant A31, these ideas suggest that non-family members are considered differently in Aboriginal enterprise, depending upon the quality of the relationships built.

In particular, non-Aboriginal managers provided a talking point for many participants, and the following quotations indicate some of the impact Westerners had in Aboriginal enterprise decision-making. As an example, this supervisor worked for an Aboriginal enterprise in central Australia and said that non-Aboriginal managers were too strong:

> *The most influence in decision-making was the white fellas because they were over powering. The majority of white fellas don't really listen.*
> Participant A27

When asked what tasks the non-Aboriginal people performed and what tasks the Aboriginal people performed in the same social enterprise, he replied:

> *The white fella does the management, administration and finance; the Aboriginals do the touring and interpreting.*
> Participant A27

Despite acknowledging the differences, many Aboriginal participants were concerned about the poor skill transfers across to the Aboriginal managers. In the following example, Participant A3 said he was highly concerned about non-Aboriginal managers, because they did not help Aboriginals learn:

> *If no Aboriginal manager is trained up, and the white fella does not provide succession plans for younger people to take over …it's a failing for Aboriginal people.*
> Participant A3

The following non-Aboriginal small business consultant, with years of experience working with Aboriginal enterprise, advised that:

> *Non-Aboriginals in enterprise take on a variety of roles, some are do-gooders, others act poor, some act as Aboriginals, others help grow an enterprise, some even rip off businesses and some believe they are indispensable.*
> Participant M4

A non-Aboriginal manager of a social enterprise said he was aware of the difference between himself and the local Aboriginal people:

> *We white fellas are part of a chaotic community and we want to change things before* [Aboriginal] *people really get a handle on it.*
> Participant A2

Other decision-making influences resulted from non-Aboriginal managers. Many carefully separated Western management practices from Aboriginal culture:

> *As a white fella it's not my job to manage culture. This is not to be played with.*
> Participant A26

Whilst this non-Aboriginal manager dealt with highly complex relations and said:

> *Yes, there's cultural pressure* [on me] *as a white fella in an Aboriginal enterprise.*
> Participant A29

This non-Aboriginal supervisor was in a unique position, as a non-Aboriginal woman, working alongside Aboriginal employees. She believed that enterprise decisions often did not involve Aboriginal people at all:

> *…I think that Aboriginal and white fellas should work together.*
> [This doesn't happen] *and I thought this was poor because you're working with another culture. Good things should have happened, but didn't.*
> Participant A27

She also said that Aboriginal people wanted to do enterprise decision-making, but the people were marginalised:

> *Anangu wanted to learn more about the enterprise, the way it's run and the money line, but the big bosses don't and weren't listening. Anangu do teach each other and others really well, like telling Anangu about white fella cultural issues. Best way of learning is Anangu teaching other Anangu.*
> Participant A27

Aboriginal enterprise decision-making often involved both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. Aboriginal people said they preferred to have their own people making decisions for them, because such decisions reflected their local community, family and cultural concerns as well as the enterprise itself. In contrast, they said a non-Aboriginal manager often prioritised financial decisions ahead of culture and community and minimised the importance of family.

Non-family managers were mostly non-Aboriginals, and some Aboriginal participants viewed them with suspicion, although further research needs to confirm this observation. In some cases, a non-Aboriginal manager was considered detrimental to an Aboriginal enterprise and the local Aboriginal community rarely raised this concern. Aboriginal owners and/or managers preferred to employ Aboriginal family members as managers.

To show analysis at a specific level, Ronald's story is presented. It shows the effect of non-Aboriginal people in the SAE.

> Ronald's experience of relating his SAE to non-family members has enabled him to live his dream: to teach white fellas about his Aboriginal customs and beliefs. Ronald has the help of two non-Aboriginal ladies who have committed themselves to helping his SAE develop into a tourist education centre. The two ladies Jill and Doris, were described by Ronald as: 'well they're fostered or adopted into our family organisation. They're the same as family. That's why we continue for so long.' Ronald explained how Jill and Doris shared the decisions and communications with him. He said he recognises what the ladies are experienced with: 'we go into good communication. We find out what the interests are of our tourists and work out how we can best help our non-Aboriginal visitors.'

> Ronald explained that at times, his son replaces him: 'to do the Aboriginal tours,' but he would be quite lost without the support of Jill and Doris. He carefully explained how the two ladies respect his cultural stories and beliefs, and how he practises culture by handing down the legends by observing the law of the land. Ronald described how Jill and Doris are not like other white fellas because they don't judge and classify him. Instead, the two ladies said that Ronald supported them through genuine respect. He described how this level of support was a trust of each other and that we can all produce a local solution and believe in our local community. He described how: 'the ladies have sat down with our people and understood our past.' This he said: 'is respectful and unites us all.'

The story highlights Ronald's, Jill's, and Doris' inter-cultural sensitivities. Ronald actively brought two non-Aboriginal women into his family because trust and respect were given by each person. The women took the time to understand Ronald's culture. Yet, this did not involve a financial or measured transaction, but an activity undertaken in good faith. The two women did not try and take over Ronald's enterprise and make it mainstream, corporate and 'Westernised'. Instead, the two women supported Ronald behind the scenes; led by their common beliefs and genuine respect.

The people involved in Ronald's SAE were motivated in similar ways, they all held common beliefs about the inflexible and demanding role of government in Aboriginal enterprise. By experiencing this rigidity, some Aboriginal enterprises sourced more creative avenues for financial support. In Ronald's case, a few philanthropic organisations from Sydney supported his SAE by sending equipment, used vehicles and computers to him. As Ronald now operates a commercial enterprise outside of the *Aboriginal Councils and Associations Act 1976* (Cth), it meant he was not tied to government controls. This lack of government involvement was also important for Jill and Doris. Ronald's story shows how important it is, to find good staff; not just to align with experience and financial affordability, but also match the SAE ethos, motivations and world-views to the employees. In Ronald's case, Jill and Doris were brought into his extended family and made their homes in a remote area, rather than wanting to do the job, get the money and leave.

To summarise this section on family, it can be seen that family is a powerful dynamic. A general level of analysis finds that social enterprises were more complicated by family than commercial enterprises. Similarly at a broad view, non-family members, particularly non-Aboriginal people were seen to be distracting as they hold different motivations and were too ready to take over and control things and align with government.

At a specific level of analysis the intricacies between relationships are evident. Family disagreements often involved members external to the immediate family. Yet, each SAE said they could operate their enterprise with difficult family tensions by finding ways to resolve or get around the conflict. So at a specific level, family disagreements and tensions in SAE may be more of a problem for non-Aboriginal people. Similarly for non-family members, their relationship depends upon the quality and trust in each other, where SAE owners and/or managers' motivations and beliefs were respected. The impact of non-family members could be fruitful, distracting or destructive.

It appears that family is the critical link between the internal and external world of SAE. Family offered a connection point between the two worlds, even though family complexity and tensions were an inherent characteristic that many non-Aboriginal people and NAO were uncomfortable with. Family connects to others by reciprocation and compromising between Western processes, Aboriginality and their SAE responsibilities.

Community

The narrative group 'other influences' is also explored through the theme community. This seventh and last theme often intersected closely with family and at times, there were few discernable differences. However, what was clear was the way that community was viewed as an important part of enterprise life, but not the critical link that culture held in the SAE internal world and family held in the external world.

Instead, community was the most complicated theme evolving from the narrative analysis because it was very multidimensional and layered. In other words, community was about a range of unique differences that were influenced in a myriad of ways. For the SAE external world, community meant that both local Aboriginal as well as non-Aboriginal people is included.

As before, general in nature and specific details are given. The social and commercial types show some differences at a general level whilst various participant quotes and a further illustrative story show a specific level of analysis.

To begin with, this advice from an Aboriginal government employee provides the basis to explore the different ways that enterprise and community intersect with each other. This quote shows the variability of community and how this personal process of relating externally to others is critical to SAEs character:

> *To benefit the whole community, or to create wealth personally or to help out the extended family, it's all individual choice amongst Aboriginal people. Some give material wealth to* [their] *own family, then give and distribute wealth to extended family and some give to* [the] *whole community, you see Aboriginal culture is very broad.*
> Participant G3

For many commercial owners and/or managers however, their relationships were commonly expressed differently as a:

> *…a distinct line between community and family and enterprise.*
> Participant A31

Yet, there were few distinct lines between family and community for Participant A17. He said it was important to remember that, as an individual, you can help community in more ways than communities involved in enterprise can help you:

> *…as an individual* [you] *can succeed and your community comes with you. The trouble with community funding and community enterprise, is for them to succeed the money comes from government. Then the families in control get the money.*
> Participant A17

Similarly in the following example family, community and finances continually cross boundaries with each other:

> *For social and community reasons* [we found it] *important to give back to people and families that need financial support in the local Aboriginal community.*
> Participant A18

The *Aboriginal Councils and Associations Act 1976* (Cth) can be used to show how in many cases, accountability to government draws community into the enterprise which is complicated further by dominant family relationships. The following example shows this situation:

> *As an Incorporated Body, we are answerable to community, if people don't feel we have done the right thing, you get told. It makes for competing entities. Families are happy and unhappy, it's competition.*
> Participant A19

Some social owners and/or managers separated the enterprise from the wider community in order to stop the competition between families. This example shows how the multiple connections were contained through a Western business model:

> *This is a separate business, separately incorporated and not answerable to the community council, only to its own members.*
> Participant A4

At a general level of analysis, it was found that to maintain enterprise operations, social enterprises had to negotiate much more closely with community than commercial enterprises did. Social enterprises were tied strongly to community and their web of interactions between family and community were complex. In contrast, commercial owners and/or managers either negotiated with community in a more straight forward way or bypassed community altogether. Yet, both types were reinforced and underpinned by culture.

At a more detailed level of analysis, the relationship with non-Aboriginal people in the community and the complications that Aboriginal community created was also discussed by a number of participants. To begin with, the way that Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal community was viewed by SAE also differed. This manager of a social enterprise indicated that Aboriginal people were caught between two worlds:

> *We're part of a chaotic community, based on the white fella ways, they want to change things before people really get a handle on it. White fella means paperwork, and this is seen as not essential by Aboriginals.*
> Participant A2

The same social enterprise manager was shocked about the state of Aboriginal communities and how being caught between two-worlds came as a complete surprise to him:

> *I have travelled widely throughout Australia before I came to the job at* [ABCD]. *I had no background with Aboriginal people, but nothing prepares you for working in an Aboriginal community, it's a third world country. They are locked away from most Australians.*
> Participant A2

In other Aboriginal communities, it was advised that enterprise can help build good community. The following comment aligns well to NAOs preference for economic success:

> *…with empowerment, you can see a flow-on effect to employees through their own family and community, you can build skills and confidence, in private or community business.*
> Participant A3

Alternatively this manager explained that community consisted of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people and that artwork helped all of them to succeed. Unlike the previous example, this enterprise manager did not promote an economic focus:

> *Art and crafts brings the community together, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginals.*
> Participant A42

Similarly, a regional employment agency in Victoria actively promoted the engagement of the wider non-Aboriginal community to help solve local Aboriginal issues:

> *It's about engaging the wider community to solve Aboriginal issues and it's about sharing Aboriginal issues around. We've a business luncheon in two weeks. We're rolling out second lot of CDEP and our …findings. We have a guest speaker from the World Bank to talk on water issues. From white fella and Aboriginal business leaders* [perspective], *we try and engage white fellas at committee level and at community level. We pay for these out of our funds and it's huge in terms of* [our] *market position.*
> Participant A19

Yet community can also be uncomfortable for the SAE, and create difficulties. Often this occurs over clashing Aboriginal and Western beliefs and the role that community undertake as evident in this example:

> *Most Aboriginal community-based enterprises are governed by committees, they grow too far and too fast and get the tall poppy syndrome in their own community and this is no good for business.*
> Participant A13

The following owner was unique because he owned and operated his own commercial enterprise but also managed a separate Aboriginal social enterprise. He made the following observations about Aboriginal community:

> *From our community perspective, as an individual you can only do so much to enhance and set up community, to look for opportunities and then you get to a stage and say look what I've done here. So I now start doing things for myself and take these opportunities also.*
> Participant A10

In more remote regions, the community also impacted local commercial enterprises, and even prevented their start-up. The following participant managed an Aboriginal social enterprise in a remote area, which was heavily influenced by traditional Aboriginal culture. She described how commercial enterprises were stifled and discouraged by community:

> *…no one is allowed to operate as individual enterprise without careful assessment from* [ABCD], *because politics here are self-interested.*
> Participant A4

Elly's illustrative story is given to further reveal the complexities encountered by SAE when relating to community. At a specific level of analysis, this story shows how other conditions such as family values and leadership are drawn into the social enterprise community relationship dynamic.

Elly described how breaking down 'the barrier of race' between Aboriginal people and white fellas was important to her community in the west coast of South Australia. She described how an experienced white fella small business mentor really helped her Arts Centre succeed, although she said: 'they need to be a good person before I let them help me.' However, more important than this Elly explained, was the way she looked up to her eldest brother for advice and: 'here I am building up my own business!' She said that when she works in the business, she becomes the boss not auntie to her nieces. Elly described how treating people equally stopped the favouritism that brings lots of Aboriginal community groups down. Avoiding this she mentioned, allowed her to bring other ladies from the area into the business and to attract tourists from a range of cultural backgrounds. She explained that although she takes on the boss role at work: 'I am more like a counsellor to the workers. Family problems and finances, I talk to them to calm them down.' She said that when people were upset you could see it in their artwork. 'I ask them what happened with their painting and do they want to talk about it? You see when they relieve the pressure, their painting changes again.'

Elly also explained that previously shy Aboriginal ladies who wouldn't mix with the local community, are now creating art and talking with

> tourists: 'well, it opens them up and gives the ladies a chance.' She also explained that respect of yourself and others is important to getting on with community. That if you have this she said, then you can work alongside other members of the community, black or white. That even when community and extended family pressure or humbug you, the respect lets you move through employment, education, family values, parents and elders. All this Elly explained: 'gives you self-confidence and peace, something you need before you do small business because you have to sit between family and community.' She explained that at school, this is where community lets everyone down, black and white. That school doesn't sit between family and community; they keep away. Elly thought is was important for Aboriginal people and families to mix with the white fellas, but they (the non-Aboriginal teaching staff): 'need to go out and meet us and get to know us personally in the community.'

Elly's community story shows how relying on the immediate family rather than wider community allowed her to follow a pathway based on family values. This family values path was conducted by operating the social enterprise to help local Aboriginal women join with non-Aboriginal women. For Elly, breaking down racial barriers was important, but not doing this, meant hostilities occurred because some people could not understand why she wanted to bring community together. Elly tried to keep away from the complicated maze of community politics, and she attempted her own idea of Aboriginal reciprocity by giving Aboriginal ladies a chance to follow her example and working with white fellas. For Elly, the Art Centre was about cultural exchange with others and personal growth.

At a general level of analysis, it was found that the concept of Aboriginal community held a variety of meanings depending on people's experiences. For some SAE owners and/or managers, it meant including non-Aboriginal people whilst for others, community was about protecting their immediate family interests. Broadly, the majority of social enterprises preferred to link their enterprise with the wider community, whereas the majority of commercial enterprises preferred to keep their enterprise quite separate from mainstream community. These relationships with community appear to be distinguishing features of social and commercial enterprise.

At a more detailed and specific level, community was important for social enterprises, but preference was given to immediate family and connections before the broader Aboriginal community. Yet, family was the backbone for both social and commercial enterprises. Despite the demands that community placed on family, it was the family unit which remained the core of each Aboriginal enterprise. Family held more influence in Aboriginal enterprise than community did. The impact and importance of family were common to both enterprise types.

The theme community clearly shows the interdependencies between the SAE, the family and external influences. Community, like family involves reciprocation and compromising which is based on the quality of fluxing and changing relationships, as revealed in the previous chapter.

Summarising the groups and themes

The seven themes presented about SAEs external world can now be summarised under each group before an emerging theory is proposed. The following insights also draw upon the SAE internal world as needed.

Perception of SAE

- The way cultures 'view' enterprise effect the way that SAE are perceived, understood, measured, supported and assessed, because the 'view' of SAE is different at a local level.
    - This is evidenced by the different ways that success and failure can be framed by SAE, where success and failure can sit alongside or outside financial aspects of their small business. Success and failure are not separate to culture and their internal world.

Expressing the SAE

- Western economic processes are used in the SAE, but these can alter the expression of SAE natural instinctive behaviour if unsuitable practices are used.
    - This is evidenced by SAE continuously shuffling decision-making priorities. The SAE flexes between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal power dynamics; between local and outsider viewpoints; social and financial influences; and between micro and macro aspects of their internal and external world.

NAO

- Quality relationships are vital to SAE, and this is only achieved by local level respect which runs counter to NAO instructive behaviours.
    - This is evidenced by SAE having to work with government processes that separate their parts and categorise them. This separation makes NAO appear rigid and controlling. This conflicts sharply with fluxing relationships of the SAE inner world. Government presence, their influences and involvement in the SAE stifles their instinctive nature.

Other influences

- Family and community are a natural part of SAE external world, even if their tensions and dynamics are uncomfortable for others. Family provides the point of balance between the SAE internal and external world.
    - This is evidenced by family. It is the central focus of both the internal and external world with community variously extended around this. Quality relationships built on reciprocity mean compromising and these conditions provide a stronger basis to relate the SAE externally.

These overarching characteristics are now discussed in preparation for emerging a theory about the SAE external world.

Developing the emerging theory of the SAE external world

The SAE external world is a pressured one complicated by NAO and many others. This is because NAO appear to dismiss the importance of family in the expression of the SAE. The external world involves a relationship with NAO and others, which SAE try and weave back to their instinctive nature of their internal world. Yet, this instinct sharply conflicts SAE with the instructive nature of NAO.

From a SAE position, it means that a relationship with NAO is based upon survival; surviving the instructive relationships with NAO in unique ways. Yet, SAE have more open relationships with some others (but not all people) based on developing quality relationships through reciprocity.

These seven themes and four groups show the inherent external world of SAE to be a dual responsibility – operating between instructiveness from NAO and reciprocity with some others. What is important for the SAE, is the quality of their relationships and this defines the way they relate their internal world externally.

The dual responsibility of the SAE external world reflects a balance between tensions: expression of the internal world, and the perceptions by NAO and others. This balancing act performed by SAE is deeply interconnected with culture, family and community and separation from it, alters the ability of the SAE to relate externally. As found in the SAE internal world, separation from interconnections denies the natural instinct of the SAE. Yet for SAE, the interconnections are often minimised, dismissed or pulled apart by NAO and some non-Aboriginal people. They make decisions about SAE and reduce their uniqueness to a bland separation between a social or commercial type; Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal enterprise; remote or city business; micro or large sized enterprise; and successful or failing enterprise.

For others, such as family, community and some non-Aboriginal people, the SAE is not understood through these separations. Instead the SAE is seen through relationships, which draw in reciprocity, compromise and respect.

This information is reflected in the following diagram (Figure 6.3).

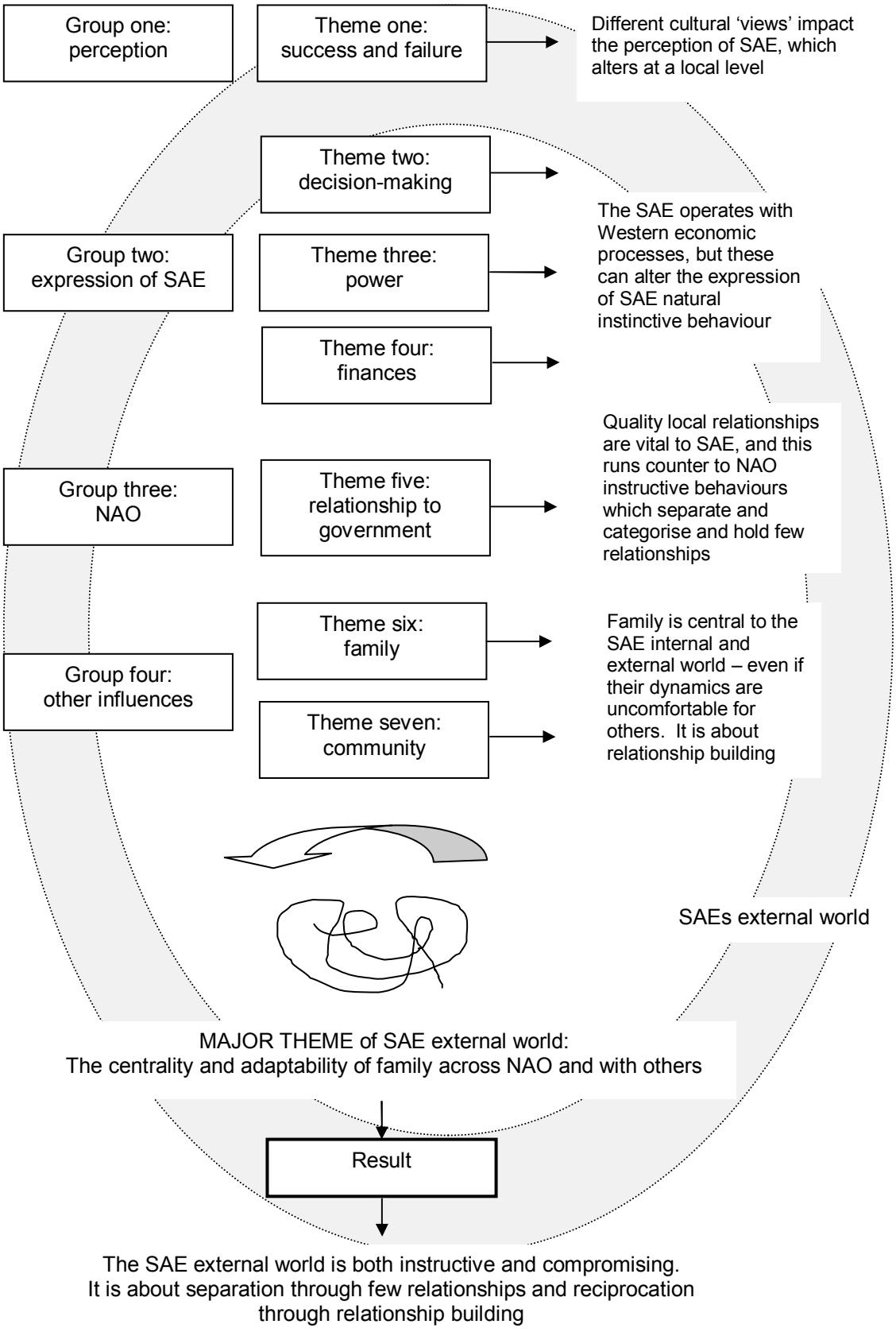


Figure 6.3: Summarising the elements of the SAE external world

These summarising elements are distilled into a two-part emerging theory of the SAE external world.

Emerging theory of the SAE external world (part 1)

- Family in the SAE is the point of balance between the internal and external world. It is about compromise.
- In the SAE external world, NAO appear rigid and instructive, wanting to separate and categorise their parts.

Emerging theory of the SAE external world (part 2)

- Led through family, SAE have a survival relationship with NAO and a reciprocity relationship with some others. This circumstance creates a dual tension.

The emerging theory suggests that SAE can only survive, rather than grow in their relationships with NAO. A survival relationship occurs because NAO veil SAE which reinforces government's instructive and rigid behaviours. The emerging theory also suggests that reciprocity means compromising between the instinctive nature of SAE, Aboriginal people and others, and this results in fluxing relationships. These interpretations and the emerging theory are further developed in Chapter 7. This information and insights chapter can now be concluded.

Chapter summary

The narrative process, its steps and results were presented in the first part of this chapter. This work indicated how the SAE external world was extended to include other people as well as NAO. The second part of this chapter explored the seven themes identified from content, cross-interview and voice lens analysis and this revealed important characteristics of the SAE external world. This exploration formed the bulk of this chapter where it was found the SAE external world was closely interwoven with their internal world, regardless of the theme under review.

Insights were developed from each theme, organised through four groups: perception of SAE, expression of SAE, NAO and other influences. The first theme success and failure, are vulnerable areas for SAE because mainstream ideas of right or wrong are placed over them. Yet SAE ideas of success or failure sit alongside or outside financial aspects of SAE small business, rather than directed by it. Second, SAE decision-making is reflexive between changing people, organisations, demands, cultures and families. Trying to meet these vast demands creates a pressured situation for SAE. Third, a review of power showed that a simple presence of NAO creates more pressure for the SAE than their invisibility. Yet, SAE are quite resilient to their local level power

dynamics. Fourth, there is dialectic underway between social and commercial issues in SAE; this compounds the effect of power and is an active reminder that finances are a direct connection to NAO and mainstream ways of living and thinking that some SAE are still uncomfortable with. Fifth, rigid and instructive behaviours from NAO create blocking patterns for SAE which they can rarely negotiate with. This leaves the SAE tied into the complexities of governance that many wish to be free from. Sixth, family is the connector between relationships and the two-world situation. Despite the continual presence of external influences, a strong SAE family could weather both mainstream and cultural pressures. Seventh, community was less important to SAE than family, but community was where family dynamics were played out and lessons learnt.

The seven themes were distilled through their four groups and it was posited that family is the central tenet of the SAE external world. It was found that NAO primarily relate to the SAE through separateness – as a social and commercial type, cultural identity, regions, sizes and success. In contrast the relationship externally between SAE and some others rested on relationships, respect and reciprocity. This led to the identification of the major theme based on the adaptability of family.

The result of this narrative inquiry found the SAE external world to be a dual responsibility with NAO and others. This informed the emerging theory which acknowledged the centrality of family which links the instructive nature of NAO and relationships with some others through reciprocity. This therefore, suggests that a two-world situation is problematic for SAE because owners and/or managers place much effort on balancing out competing two-world tensions, rather than operating enterprise with natural and instinctive confidence.

These insights provide the platform to emerge the descriptive theory of SAE in the next chapter.

Chapter 7 – Interpreting the SAE two-world situation

Introduction

The purpose of this discussion and theory building chapter is to move away from the formality of data in the previous chapters to a more open exploration of ideas between the emerging theories and relevant literature. As such, Chapter 7 is organised to meet two objectives of the research: to develop a theory to help address the SAE two-world situation (Objective 3); and second to interpret the theory in order to help NAO understand SAE and improve enterprise numbers (Objective 4). To achieve these, this chapter is divided into five parts: pooling previous work and applying the methodology; emerging the first descriptive theory; associating emerging ideas with literature and interpreting them; starting to apply the interpretations; and finalising the descriptive theory. These sections then lead into the thesis conclusion in the following chapter.

To begin with, this chapter describes how Chapter 5 and 6 emerging theories about the SAE internal and external worlds will be pooled into a final descriptive theory using Carlile and Christensen's (2004) grounded methodology. The second part of Chapter 7 emerges the first descriptive theory, whereby Chapters 5 and 6 theories are related back to early research directions and first interpretations are made. The third part of this chapter is organised through the research questions and builds upon the literature insights garnered from Chapters 2 and 3. Wider interpretations are made after association with Aboriginal socio-economic research and government literature. At times the discussions draw in mainstream small business literature, whilst theoretical insights provide deeper interpretations. The last two parts of Chapter 7 start to conceptualise how the interpretations could be applied and offers the final descriptive theory.

This discussion and descriptive theory building chapter concludes by saying how SAE operate with inherent tensions which are exacerbated, dominated and misunderstood by NAO, but in contrast variously understood by others. This three-part relationship is based upon the SAE middle ground, which is poorly considered by NAO. These ideas are subsequently drawn into a thesis conclusion in Chapter 8 where implications and further research directions are given.

Pooling previous work and applying the methodology

To begin building the descriptive theory for this research, the emerging theories developed so far and their early interpretations are pooled under the Carlile and Christensen's (2004) grounded methodology. The previous work from Chapters 5 and 6 are first summarised before a diagram shows the next stage of their methodological development.

Capturing the previous insights

Chapters 5 and 6 were designed to present information and offer insights about the SAE internal and external world. This occurred through both grounded theory and narrative methods. In these chapters, examples from research participants and a series of illustrative stories were used to provide in-depth and contextual ideas. Both chapters resulted in an emergent theory about the SAE internal and the external world. These ideas emerged from observation and categorisation techniques under the grounded methodology. These SAE insights are now re-captured and lightly discussed before linked into interpretative discussions later in this chapter.

Summary of Chapter 5

In Chapter 5, a series of findings based upon three important SAE internal relationships were used to emerge the core category – relationships. The main finding of relationship one, connecting up; found that SAE operate as a whole process which took into account everything around them, whether good or bad. The main finding of relationship two, heterogeneity; found that SAE whole processes are actualised through accretion by drawing everything inwards in unique ways. The main finding of relationship three, identity; found that whole processes and unique accretion are evident at a local and micro level through multiple and changing identities – this can be seen as enterprise flux. Across all three relationships however, the further away people are, the less visible the SAE internal world is, and therefore the less chance of it being understood.

Across and within these three relationship areas, it was found that interconnections were always present. That is, family linked with motivations, which linked to commercial considerations which linked to decision-making, community and culture. All relationships were linked to external influences, whether mainstream or Aboriginal people. Thus, the grounded theory core category was refined to be – interconnected relationships through culture. The result of Chapter 5 internal world analysis showed

that SAE were deeply instinctive based upon wholeness, uniqueness, flux and interconnections. All these elements were then distilled into a two-part emerging theory which is used shortly to develop further interpretations. In summary, the emerging theory of the SAE internal world is about connecting up disparate qualities, by using interconnected relationships, even if this means accepting uncomfortable relationships and awkward situations.

Summary of Chapter 6

In Chapter 6, the SAE external world was explored through four umbrella groups: perception, expression, NAO, and others. Thematic insights were further developed through seven emerging sub-themes: success and failure, decision-making, power, finances, relationship to government, family and community. This resulted in the major theme – family. In this analysis, an interesting observation was made, that much cross-over exists between the internal and external world, which was facilitated by family. All these elements combined to inform the result; that the SAE external world is both instructive and compromising, which is linked through family. The SAE external world is a dual and contesting experience for SAE, at times one of separation through few relationships, yet at other times one of reciprocation through relationship building.

These groups, themes and insights were then distilled once more into a two-part emerging theory. They are used shortly to inform the research interpretations. However before this, and in opposition to the SAE internal world, the emerging theory of the external world can be mostly identified as a two-fold experience. It means connecting with some and being dismissed by others. More particularly, a relationship with NAO is about separation and dismissing SAE. Principally this separation is comfortable and acceptable to NAO, but disconcerting for SAE. Second however, some other people have a different relationship with SAE based on connecting disparate elements and building relationships. This is something that NAO poorly consider. In summary, the emerging theory of the SAE external world is about NAO separating SAE wholeness as well as one of compromise with some others, where family is present throughout.

These discussions about Chapter 5 and 6 are set aside whilst the methodology is applied.

Applying the grounded methodology

The third and last step of Carlile and Christensen's (2004) descriptive theory building model is used in Chapter 7 to develop the final descriptive theory. Association is the last step of their descriptive model and builds upon step one observations, and step two categorisations (identified in Chapter 4 and applied in Chapters 5 and 6).

Using Carlile and Christensen's (2004) descriptive theory building model

In essence, association means the emergent ideas so far are related out and associated with other work. As Carlile and Christensen (2004) outlined, and was presented in Chapter 4 (p.95), the purpose of association is to logically develop conclusions. However, testing the conclusions is the basis of normative theory and as such, does not occur in this inductive research thesis.

The task of association under Carlile and Christensen's (2004) descriptive theory building model is conducted primarily through a contrast to Aboriginal socio-economic literature and government documents. Interpretations are widened through theoretical concepts of difference, power, oppression and dialectics and mainstream small business research literature. The research phenomena, that SAE operate and are reported one way, but are assessed, measured and supported in another way; remains the guiding path for associations with literature.

Using the third step: association

More specifically, association is more than just comparison. As described by Carlile and Chistensen (2004), the purpose of associating new emerging ideas with other work is to locate it within an academic field and to make interpretations by using a series of 'statements of association'. A statement provides the basis for the interpretations, thus achieving internal and part-validation by logically developing conclusions.[33] In addition, a statement of association is about defining relationships and making explicit what they are associated with. More specifically, it means: defining what relationships in the SAE two-world situation are misunderstood; and what parts are not. Thus, the purpose of association is to identify what actions lead to what results.

[33] Association is the first step in Carlile and Christensen's (2004) validity process, specifically internal validity. However, to fully develop and rule out plausible alternative explanations (Carlile & Christensen 2004; Yin 2003) is not yet achievable, although qualifying the emerging ideas through statements of association is a beginning. As the emerging theories in this research are early propositions, and built on early descriptive theory building processes of observation, categorisation and association – this means that formal external validity is not yet possible.

Developing emerging theory by keyword phrases

To assist in the production of statements of association, a series of keyword phrases are drawn from my interpretations and/or comparisons between this research and other knowledge. Carlile and Christensen (2004) did not use keyword phrases; rather they were created in this research to help emerge theory through association with literature. Instead of continually updating the Chapter 5 and 6 emerging theories – and potentially lose the connections to the varied Aboriginal 'voices', these previous emerging theories are left in situ. From here, a series of keyword phrases[34] are emerged from the first interpretations which feed into Carlile and Christensen's (2004) statements of association. Thus, keyword phrases act as an emergent link.

A diagram to show how the descriptive theory emerges

The ideas presented so far can be visualised through Figure 7.1. The third step, 'association' is underpinned by the earlier steps of 'observation' and 'categorisation' from Carlile and Christensen's (2004) descriptive theory building model.

[34] The phrases are similar in nature to Chapter 5 grounded theory categories and Chapter 6 narrative themes, except in this chapter, keyword phrases represent deeper level inductions back to research directions against current opinions and practices.

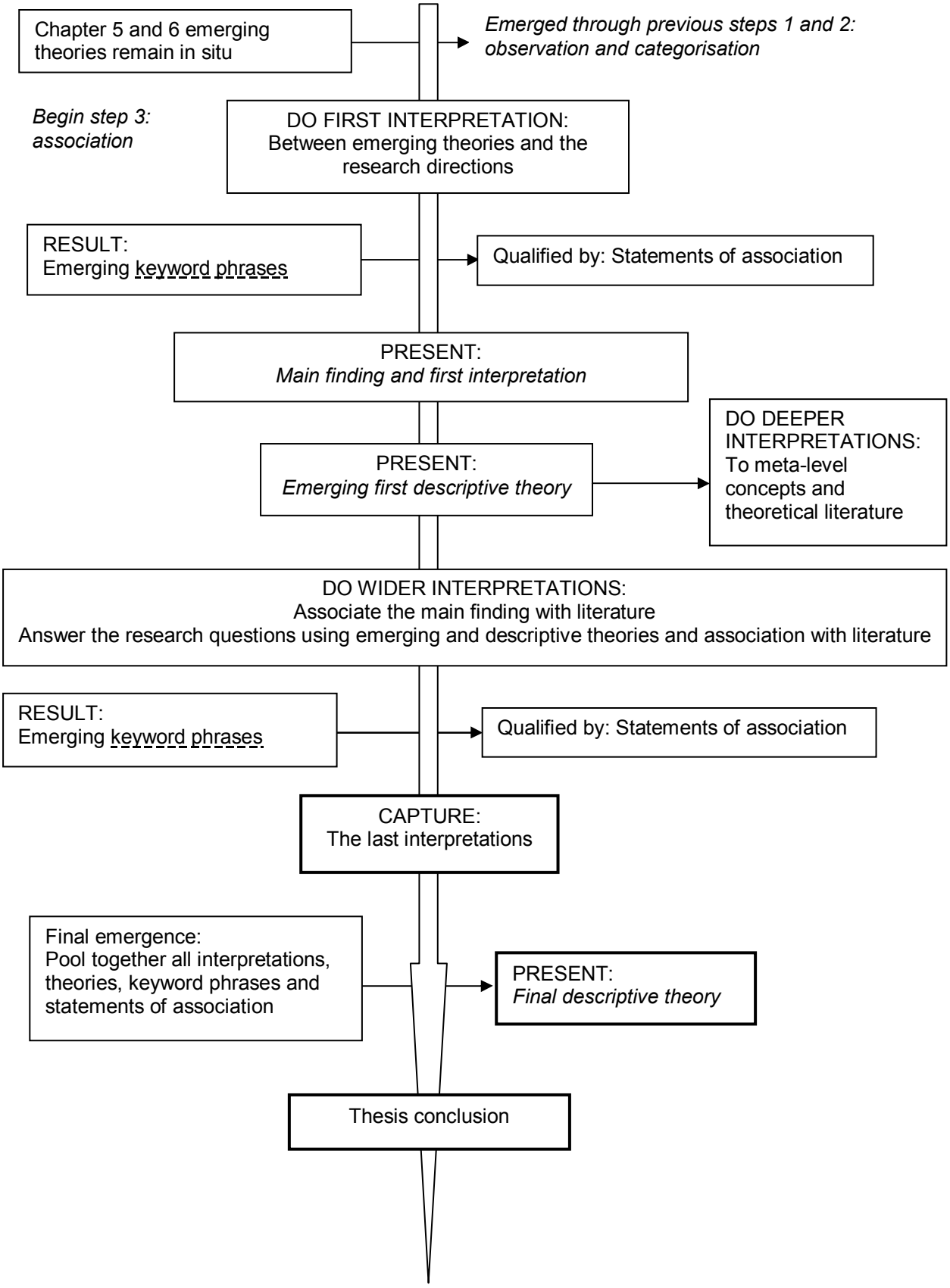


Figure 7.1: The process of aggregating theory in Chapter 7 by building upon Carlile and Christensen's (2004) descriptive theory building model

The diagram shows how the first descriptive theory is built by drawing upon the previous emerging theories and interpretations about the SAE internal and external world. These are then pooled along with emerging keyword phrases, statements of association, and literature interpretations before the descriptive theory is finalised. Importantly, this emergent process and the interpretations guide the chapter layout, whose task it is to respond to the research questions and wider research directions by explaining what is going on.

Association through Carlile and Christensen's (2004) descriptive theory building model now begins.

Emerging the first descriptive theory

In this second section of Chapter 7, the first descriptive theory is produced from early interpretations. To begin with, Aboriginal culture is positioned in the discussion, before the main elements of Chapter 5 and 6 emerging theories are related back to the early research directions – the problem situation, its effect and the research aim. This contrast between the results and research directions produce the main finding and first interpretations of this research. The first descriptive theory is then presented, followed by deeper insights from meta-level theoretical discussions.

Positioning Aboriginal culture in the following discussions

So that my non-Aboriginal voice is clearly identified in the following interpretations, the paramount relationship of culture is re-visited. In particular, Western perceptions of Aboriginal people have an impact on the way that Aboriginal culture is understood and this therefore, impacts how I will portray culture in following discourse with the literature.

The primary result of the previous work in Chapter 6 (see p.182) found that Aboriginal enterprises were deeply instinctive and this was imbued throughout with culture. However, culture was not pulled apart and dissected in this study, partly because SAE participants asked me not to do this, and partly because dissecting culture begins to fracture wholeness – the very base concept about the SAE character that has emerged from this study. This means that writing about Aboriginal culture has been left somewhat elusive and partly unknown – on purpose. This therefore, left the Aboriginal participants satisfied that I would not further categorise, order and label aspects of their

culture that Western words cannot necessarily describe and explain accurately anyway.

To answer the research questions later in this chapter (p.277), it means accepting that culture is an unknown entity in the SAE because of Western interpretations. So to undertake this association with literature however, culture is used as an overarching term to show distinct qualities that are different to me, and others, but well known amongst those with shared Aboriginal identities. The research contribution to be made here is that: culture is different for different people, in different locations depending on who is listening.

An example of a Western interpretation of Aboriginal culture can be captured by returning back to Ronald's small business in northern South Australia (refer back to p.2 and p.139). In his enterprise, government measures through CDEP and other funding programmes watered down his entrepreneurial spirit based on wholeness and interconnections. This meant that Ronald's cultural aspirations to develop meaningful cultural tourism did not fit with NAO governance procedures. This left Ronald with a distinct two-world difficulty whereby no compromise position was available. This rigidity forced Ronald to withdraw from government programmes and try and operate enterprise sales and customer philanthropic donations. This means that Ronald's Aboriginal culture was different to the NAO view of Aboriginal culture and its role in his small business.

The impact of this discussion about Ronald's enterprise shows that assuming Aboriginal culture is fixed and well known to non-Aboriginal people and institutions may be a falsehood. Consequently for this study, it means the research questions refer to Aboriginal culture in a general way, with a cautionary note, that culture is so very different wherever you go.

First interpretations by relating emerging ideas to the research directions

The research directions and the main elements of the two emerging theories from Chapters 5 and 6 can be illustrated this way (see Figure 7.2).

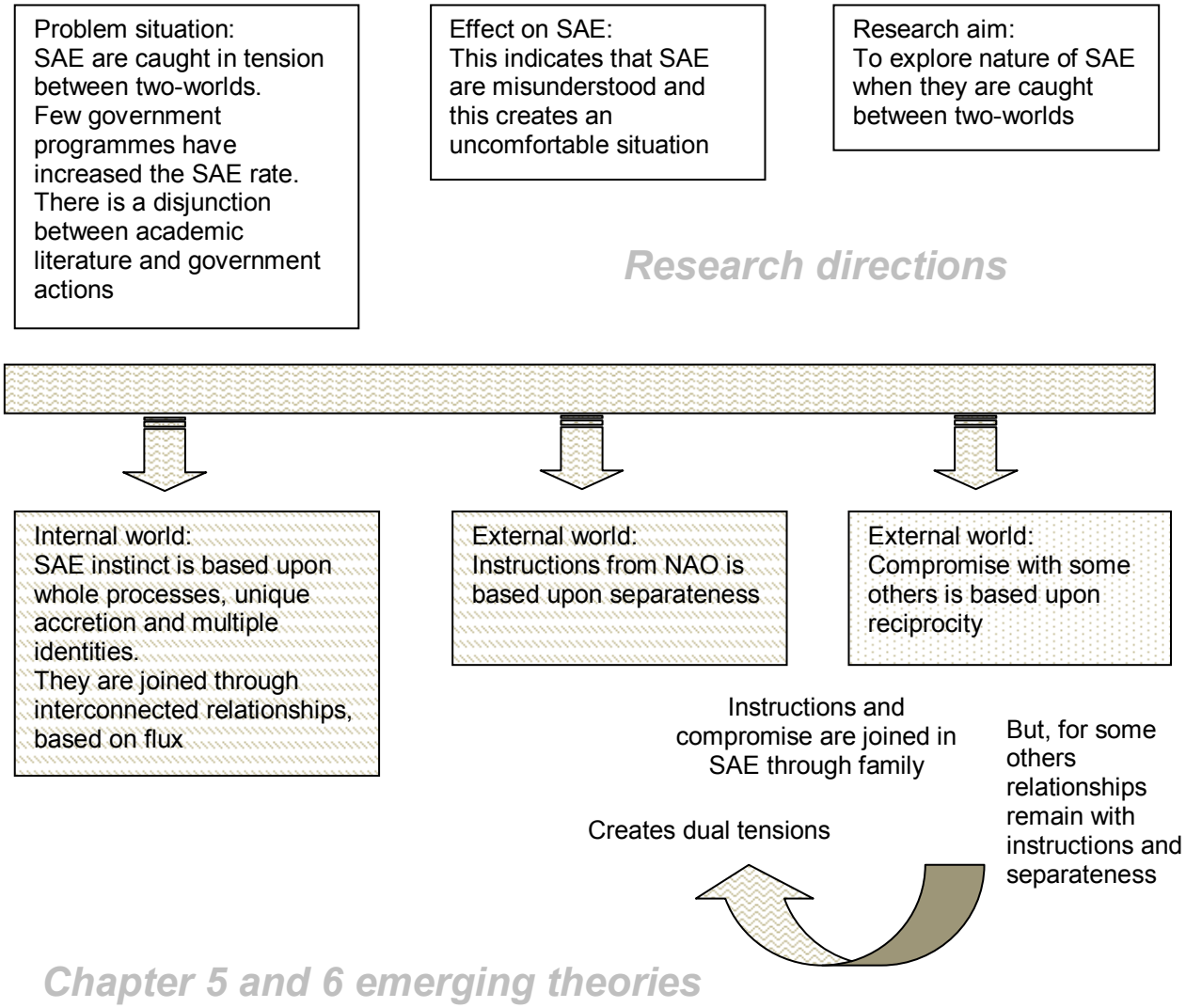


Figure 7.2: Capturing the research directions and the Chapter 5 and 6 emerging theories

This diagram captures the research directions together with the emerging results from each theory about the SAE internal and external world. These insights provide a clear reference point to begin the following discussion. In addition, the dissonance established in Chapter 3 between SAE and NAO provide the underlying tone of this first interpretative section.

A number of inferences can be made by contrasting the ideas from Chapter 5 and 6 emerging theories against the problem situation: that SAE are caught in tension between two-worlds. It follows most logically, that SAE tensions may well increase if their natural instinct is ignored or minimised by NAO and some others. As such, government programmes that are not aligned or consider then apply whole process

thinking, and just focus on one or two aspects of the Aboriginal enterprise world, may well challenge the interconnections between SAE instinctive behaviour and patterns.

It was found previously (p.57) that academic efforts to understand SAE have recommended using a combined social and economic approach which pool in culture. Yet, it has emerged from the present study that another approach based upon wider and more inclusive terms, such as flux, interconnected relationships, uniqueness, accretion, instinct and wholeness; may well capture the nature of SAE in addition to these current socio-economic debates.

It was also established in Chapter 3 (p.59) that by using a socio-economic debate to represent the SAE, it remains difficult for many governments to adopt because of NAOs dominant Western, macro and economic perspectives. However, a greater difficulty might well be – how can government adopt an even wider and more interconnected picture of SAE based on instinct and wholeness? Particularly when current social and economic observations already in the literature remain mostly unused? The answers to these questions are woven into associations with literature as they are crucial to the adoption of this research and its descriptive theory.

Currently, NAO use instructions to separate out parts of the SAE into economic, health, education, training and welfare areas for example. By doing so however, this grates sharply against the inclusive and instinctive nature of SAE; which bring everything together through whole processes in fluxing ways through multiple and changing identities. As such, what is a family health issue becomes an enterprise issue; or what is a wage issue becomes a training and/or cultural issue. This leaves NAO instructions and separateness as unhelpful world-views because it minimises SAE instinct and whole process thinking.

If the effect of the two-world tensions on SAE, is misunderstanding them, then it may well be generated by separate, rigid and instructive behaviours of NAO. Yet, a contrasting situation is evident, as some other people (such as other Aboriginal people and some non-Aboriginal people) relate to SAE differently by compromising. Despite SAE experiencing these dual tensions within their external world, it begins to challenge the dominance created by the NAO separateness and instructive patterns. In other words, the dual tensions are an indicator that NAO are missing something in their relationship with SAE. The missing element is compromise and reciprocation, a process that SAE already use in their daily lives through family.

What can be interpreted from the emerging theories so far is that, the two-world situation of SAE may actually be a three-world situation. Accordingly: SAE operate internally with instinct and wholeness, but are caught externally in tension with NAO, yet relate to some others in a three-world situation by compromise in the 'middle ground'. This three-world interconnected relationship operates in the SAE through family.

However, despite this wider view of SAE, current relationships with NAO strongly draw the SAE into the two-world dialectic; against SAEs natural patterns. This means the two-world dialectic runs against SAE natural instinctive patterns of interconnected relationships and family. As SAE prefer to operate through compromise and reciprocation, it leaves a two-world situation enmeshed within a more powerful, larger and dominant Western system, where interconnections between fluxing parts are ignored or minimised. As the SAE cannot remove themselves altogether from Western systems and therefore NAO instructions, it is proposed that development of a relationship with SAE through a three-world situation may address the misunderstanding of SAE by NAO. Yet, a three-world situation would be a difficult concept for NAO to adjust to.

From this first contrast between the emerging results and the research directions, the following keyword phrases and statements of association can be made. These phrases aim to tighten the interpretations made so far.

Identifying keyword phrases

These keyword phrases can be identified:

- Relationships in the two-world situation are lop-sided because SAE are trying to balance out the dominant and instructive NAO behaviours, with their own SAE instinctive patterns.
- Yet, a three-world situation is evident, as relationships with some others involve compromising. This can be called a middle ground – between the SAE internal and external worlds.

Making statements of association

The following associations can be inferred back to the Chapter 5 and 6 emerging theories:

- SAE instincts clash sharply with NAO instructions which are enmeshed within a wider and more dominant Western discourse with Aboriginal people.
- SAE instincts align more closely with some others through compromise and working through the middle ground as this represents family relationship patterns.

Main finding and first interpretations of this research

Further interpretations can be made about the tensioned and NAO dominated two-world situation of SAE that does not account for SAE preference to relate to some others through compromise and reciprocation. Most notably, the effect of this two-world situation may well represent a silent dichotomy for the SAE because it was found that NAO ignore SAE whole and instinctive processes and their natural tendency to relate to some others through compromise. This means the silent dichotomy of SAE is reinforced by NAO instructions based on separateness. This silent dichotomy is wrapped up in many layers of NAOs dominant power. *The SAE silent dichotomy is the result of being caught between two-worlds and being misunderstood.*

Yet if a stronger voice was given to compromise and reciprocation, through the SAE middle ground, it would begin to lift the veil of the silent dichotomy of SAE two-world experience. Voicing the silent dichotomy provides a respectful place for the SAE middle ground to operate. Opening up the SAE middle ground begins to move the silent dichotomy of the two-world dialectic with NAO into a three-world 'tri-lectic'. This construction of a new word is designed in this context to mean the SAEs internal world, middle ground and external world. The SAE tri-lectic[35] is now included throughout the remaining discussions.

Showing how SAE are caught between two-worlds reveals the presence of a silent dichotomy which is reinforced by NAO. This situation sits in contrast to SAEs preference for tri-lectic relationships and characteristics. This interpretation provides the main finding of this research and now infuses the remainder of this chapter.

[35] A SAE tri-lectic is proposed in response to Hegel's use of a three-part dialectic through internal contradictions, dissolution and resolution (Buchwalter 1991), or thesis, antithesis and synthesis (Mueller 1958). A similar term, called 'trialectics' was proposed by Third Space advocate E.W. Soja (1996). The 'trialectics of being and spatiality' (Gregory 2000b, p.862) were used by Soja to conceptualise how we lived and thought about our world. Soja's trialectic has also been interpreted as the space between the 'perceived, the conceived and lived' (Merrifield 1999, p.346). In terms of Soja's (1996) work, the components of the SAE tri-lectic aligns loosely with Soja's First Space concept as the dominated (the SAE internal world); Soja's Second Space as the dominant (the SAE external world); and Soja's Third Space or trialectic (the SAE middle ground). Rather than focussing on Soja's Third Space or trialectic (SAEs middle ground), the SAE tri-lectic of this research is different because it rests across all three elements (internal world, middle ground and external world). In this research, the SAE tri-lectic is used to show a bigger picture than that given by Soja and that imagined by Western processes and government thinking. As such, a SAE tri-lectic is defined at this early stage, as a way to consider other knowledge and cultures even if we cannot see it or understand it. This concept is further developed throughout this chapter.

As the silent dichotomy is highly entrenched and mostly invisible, it will be difficult for NAO to adjust to the SAE tri-lectic. The presence of a SAE silent dichotomy means that differences are not preserved, instead they are mostly marginalised or minimised by NAO and some others who do not use compromise. Yet, NAOs find it difficult to build relationships with SAE that incorporate such heterogeneity and compromise. However, if NAO use compromise and reciprocity to incorporate local level differences with SAE, then this third way to understand SAE, one based on the 'already available and functioning' middle ground; becomes more accessible for the Aboriginal enterprise.

However, incorporating SAE heterogeneity begins to challenge NAO Western, corporate, homogenous and economic processes. Yet if SAE differences are not included, it continues the status quo of the silent dichotomy. This competing two-world situation therefore, leaves compromise and reciprocation as poorly understood and used in Aboriginal enterprise support mechanisms and guiding policies. Thus, any opportunity to develop a 'tri-lectic' is firmly lodged with NAO power and the ability of NAO to diffuse the silent dichotomy between large organisations and Aboriginal enterprises.

These first interpretations about the SAE and NAO relationships are shortly drawn forward to answer the research questions. Before this however, the first descriptive theory is presented.

Presenting the first descriptive theory

The first descriptive theory represents the final interpretation from the results and analysis sections of the thesis in Chapters 5 and 6. This first theory is a step along the way to building the final descriptive theory which is presented after association with the literature.

To account for the recent interpretations, the title of the first descriptive theory has widened to incorporate the pivotal role that relationships hold for SAE.

First descriptive theory of SAE relationships

Part one

- The SAE situation operates through three relationships: the internal world, the middle ground and the external world. A silent dichotomy results for SAE if these three relationships are ignored by NAO.

Part two

- The three SAE relationships are characterised through interconnections with family, which variously connect to NAO separateness and instructions; SAE wholeness and instinct; and to some others through compromise and reciprocation. SAE relationships and its characteristics operate as a tri-lectic across all parts.

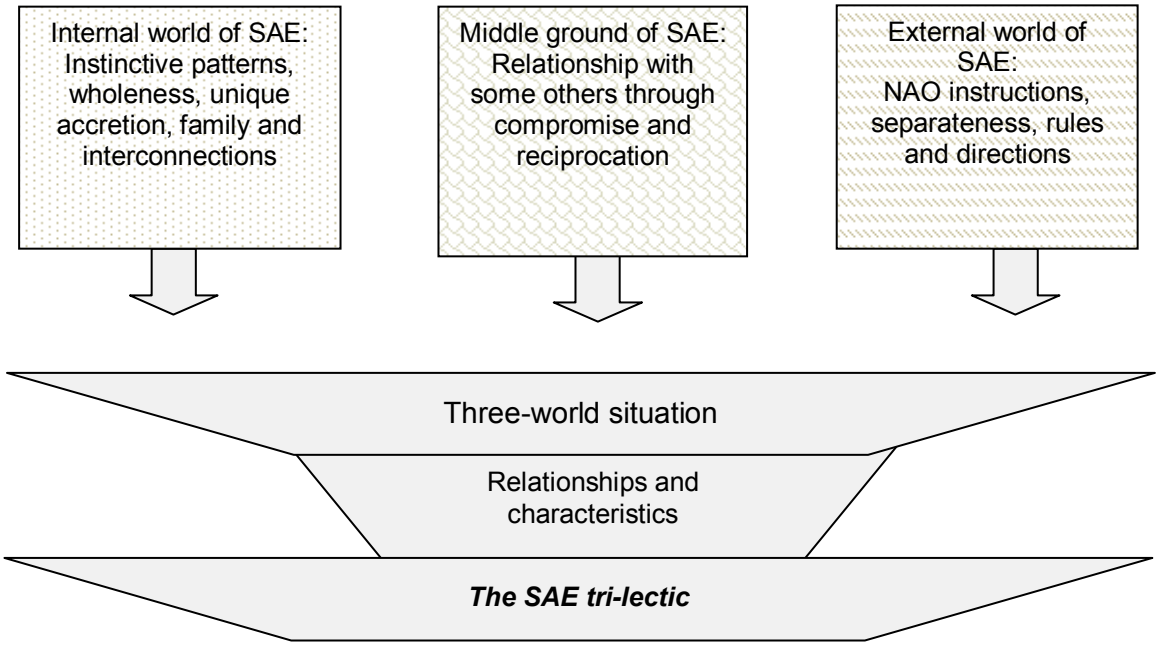
The SAE tri-lectic can be interpreted at a meta-level through theoretical insights. By doing so, it shows the potential usefulness of broader interpretations to understand SAE tri-lectic relationships and characteristics before association with literature.

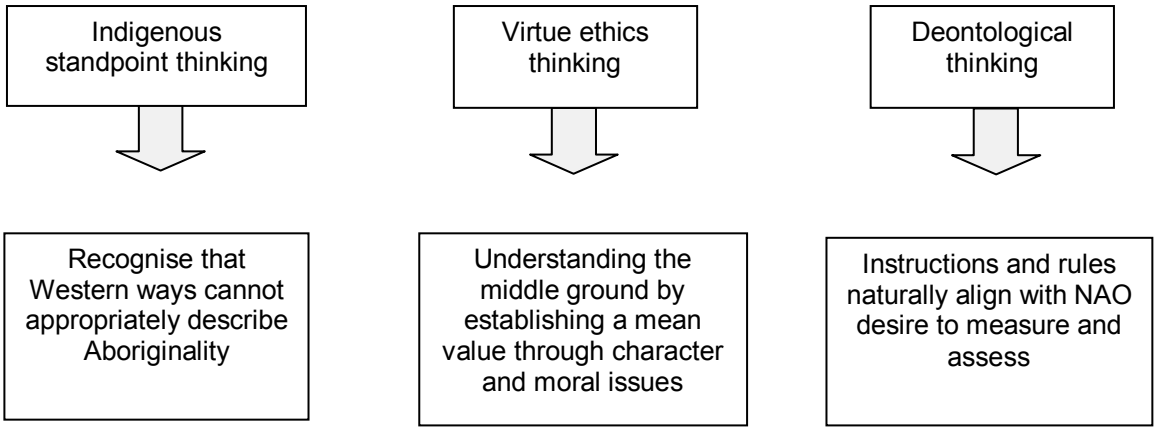
Offering deeper interpretations of the first descriptive theory

At a meta-level, the three main components of the SAE tri-lectic (internal world of SAE; the compromising world with some others through the middle ground; and the external world with NAO) appear to hold loose correlations with three meta-level approaches. These three approaches are not definitive answers, or the only possible conceptual fames to use, but show how beliefs and ideas can be seen in different ways. This therefore, challenges our perception of what we see as Aboriginal or Western, as rightful or responsible, will be different for different organisations, cultures and peoples. This conceptualisation (refer to Figure 7.3) aims to show how all perspectives of SAE require acknowledgement. The diagram also indicates that searching for a common phrase or term could partly connect the SAE tri-lectic with NAO.

First descriptive theory of SAE relationships:

- The SAE situation operates through three relationships: the internal world, the middle ground and the external world. A silent dichotomy results for SAE if these three relationships are ignored by NAO.
- The three SAE relationships are characterised through interconnections with family, which variously connect to NAO separateness and instructions; SAE wholeness and instinct; and to some others through compromise and reciprocation. The SAE relationships and its characteristics operate as a tri-lectic across all parts.





The connecting phrase derived from meta-level theoretical views of the SAE:

WORKING THROUGH DIFFERENCE

Figure 7.3: Meta-level theoretical views about SAE relationships

This illustration shows as an example, how SAE instinctive patterns align with Indigenous standpoint thinking. It also shows how instructive behaviours of NAO resonate with deontological thinking, which is organised through instructions and rules. Alternatively the third approach, based on compromise with some others, can be understood through virtue ethics, based on finding a mean between two corresponding values by using character and moral issues.

These three meta-level theoretical approaches begin to lift the SAE tri-lectic into broader considerations about ways to see difference. By doing so, it shows that whatever position or view is taken, multiple differences and divergences are evident. The implication here is that: our understanding of SAE needs to be grounded in the respect of local level circumstances and the differences presented to us. As such, finding other ways to communicate, to syncretise viewpoints and differences outside of the NAO dominated dialectic with SAE, will be critical to improving Aboriginal enterprise numbers.

It is posited that working through difference by respecting the SAE tri-lectic is crucial to understanding the SAE. Working through difference is not about dividing people and creating hostility, but means showing that NAO and SAE need to face their differences and work through them by establishing a set of corresponding values. As such, both NAO and SAE may well need to let go a little, and give something up. A conceptual exploration of deontological thinking, Indigenous standpoint theory, and virtue ethics begins to show how differences can be both maintained (as they need to be) whilst some differences can be syncretised (if the middle ground is to be beneficial) to find a set of shared values.

As an example, in the field of ethics, deontological thinking is used to conceptualise how people act so they meet unbreakable principles (Edwards & Mauthner 2002); and do one's duty and follow rules (Hursthouse 2003). Deontological thinking has its roots with Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), where deontology was described as needing to meet a higher moral absolute (Hursthouse 2003). In terms of NAO instructive patterns based on separateness, deontological thinking shows that NAO are simply following rules. These are, rules set by the moral absolute of a democratically elected government. While this does not remove NAO from a moral responsibility of supporting something as different as SAE, deontological thinking does suggest that NAO are bound to the unbreakable process and rules of government and therefore, they are

unlikely to change. This therefore, may explain why NAO rigidity sits so sharply against SAE flux.

Standpoint theory can be used to illustrate Indigenous thinking, as they 'speak from historically and culturally specific situations' (Foley [Douglas] and Valenzuela 2005). More specifically, an Indigenous standpoint model was proposed by Australian Indigenous researcher Foley ([Dennis] 2003b and 2004). He suggested that Indigenous standpoint theory however, was still aligned with Western academic processes. This sentiment was also expressed in Rigney's (1997) work, where he suggested that that no cultural homogeneity exists amongst Indigenous Australians, therefore the minds of Indigenous researchers are not free from colonial hegemony. Foley (2004) overcome this belief somewhat, by pooling together two local Aboriginal viewpoints in order to develop his own Indigenous standpoint model based upon the physical world, human world and sacred world. Other Indigenous standpoint thinking derives from a Hawaiian epistemology (Meyer 2001); a Maori pedagogy (Bishop 1998); and an American Indian pedagogy (Grande 2000).

Regardless of the Indigenous thinking offered, an Indigenous standpoint reflects interrelatedness and the meta-physical. This means the environment, the land, the Law, the spirit, the stories and the people,[36] are more crucial to SAE meaning than Western rules, instructions, governance systems and structures. The fundamental difference here is that, Indigenous thinking is about connections as part of a greater whole through nature, whereas Western thinking via deontology is about abiding by processes and rules with an economic focus, often quite separate to nature. These vast differences in world-views can theoretically explain their misunderstanding.

In terms of the SAE internal world of instinctive patterns, an Indigenous standpoint may well include wholeness, flux and interconnections or it may not.[37] This does not mean however, that Indigenous thinking is separate from modern Western society, but means that a special instinctively infused character exists – that only Aboriginal people will understand. This instinctive character is deeply interwoven back to nature and is quite different to NAOs, who follow the rules and directions of the guiding moral absolute (government processes and systems).

[36] Refer back to Chapter 4 discussion about alternative ways to perceive Aboriginality (p.125).
[37] As to hold an Indigenous standpoint, you need to be an Aboriginal person.

Both deontological thinking and Indigenous standpoint approaches show the polarised ways that authenticate SAE and NAO respective behaviours, patterns and customs. As such, each approach is equally valid, but when presented alongside each other their stark differences create waves of dominance and submission – the very essence of centre and periphery power (Friedmann 1966; Wallerstein 1974). Yet a third concept, through virtue ethics can reveal how compromise and reciprocity, the natural way that SAE relate to some others, could be used to connect the vast differences between Indigenous instinct and NAO instructions, while aiming to preserve the cultural identity of each. Virtue ethics as a conceptual idea, can pinpoint the middle ground between the SAE internal and external worlds and thus, begin to apply SAE tri-lectic relationships and characteristics more widely.

To begin with, a virtue has been described as a state or disposition of a person which requires a person to act (Annas 2006). If the term virtue is unfolded further, then virtues mean ‘following rules or models in your own social and cultural context' (ibid.). However, this requires people to make decisions by ‘embodying a commitment to some ethical value, such as justice or benevolence’ (ibid.). Virtue ethics thinking can be a valued approach for NAO to relate to SAE and their instinctive preference for relationships built on compromise and reciprocity through family. As an example, this could mean acknowledging local conditions, social mores and cultural contexts as a first step. A joiner step could mean looking beyond our own cultural understandings and deciding to act outside of dominant economic thinking. Another step may well involve identifying common ethical values between NAO and SAE, such as inclusivity, and the desire to improve Aboriginal livelihoods. Other examples might include: the preference for building personal local level relationships; re-visiting historical and cultural stories to give meaning and purpose; or giving benefit to family members.

For compromise and reciprocity (the basis of the SAE middle ground), virtue ethics may be an approach to open up and soften NAO instructions and rigidity over SAE. Virtue ethics by using character and moral issues, could potentially guide the way that SAE instinct and wholeness could be appreciated and drawn into government policies, programmes, plans and practices.

What is reinforced here, is that virtue ethics is a potential way to maintain the differences between SAE and NAO, by acknowledging the dominance of the centre over the periphery, yet to locate a space in-between to syncretise some differences by using SAE instinctive ways through compromise and reciprocity. However by doing so,

it would mean that SAE do not have to adopt government rhetoric. This suggests that Western economic centred procedures, job-readiness plans, programme outcomes, performance measures and rigid macro level rules are not the most relevant way to support the SAE. Instead, the language, patterns and interconnections of their internal world and middle ground are used to guide SAE support and assessment practices.

The two approaches of SAE and NAO shows their differences to be vast and strong. However, some differences can potentially be recognised and supported. Currently SAE are forced into a two-world dialectic dominated by NAO, and this minimises SAE preference for compromise and reciprocation. By continuing to use the NAO dominated two-world dialectic, it continues the silent dichotomy of SAE. This can be viewed as cultural or colonial oppression. Yet virtue ethics, by its ability to consider ethical values based on practical wisdom and situational appreciation (Hursthouse 2003) may be able to open up the SAE tri-lectic and soften colonial oppression.

Deontological thinking, Indigenous standpoint and virtue ethics have implications for the way the following research questions are answered. In practice this means that what ever SAE instinctive pattern is identified or theory developed, it is deeply entrenched within Indigenous and colonial contact histories with polarised world-views and cultural approaches. The purpose of this meta-level discussion was to show the way we see ourselves and others through difference; is at the heart of relationships between Western society and Aboriginal people. The important point made through this sub-section is that meta-level thinking can inform how we understand, then begin to apply the emerging ideas. Thus, these meta-level concepts may act as a potential way for NAO to learn from the SAE.

A link forward to the last descriptive theory

These meta-level interpretations, the first descriptive theory, and the SAE tri-lectic will be used to answer the following research questions by association with relevant literature. Together these interpretations will be used to form the basis of the final descriptive theory of SAE relationships. Before these steps occur, the first associations between the interpretations made so far and the literature of practice is presented.

Associating emerging ideas with literature and making interpretations

This third section of Chapter 7 associates the emerging ideas from the first descriptive theory out to literature in order to make stronger interpretations. Association occurs by bringing forward the relevant literature used in Chapters 2 and 3 and contrasting it to the emerging theories and recent interpretations whilst answering the research questions. In particular, the three themes from the literature review in Chapter 3 (p.65) are woven as needed throughout the following discussions:

- *Opposing issues* between socio-economic debates are well used concepts.
- *Dismissive ways* exist, where NAO have not taken up research work and addressed the SAE/NAO dialectic.
- *Relationships* are strained, where much larger organisations, such as government have found it difficult to understand and relate to much smaller organisations such as small business.

To begin with, the main interpretation and finding of this research (the presence of a silent dichotomy for SAE that sits in contrast to SAEs preference for tri-lectic relationships and characteristics) is positioned within the Aboriginal socio-economic debate.

The previous meta-level discussions were used to show the different characteristics between SAE and NAO and how they are connected to a specific episteme. The acknowledgement of deontological thinking, Indigenous standpoint theory and virtue ethics means that vast differences exist. Yet, it is posited that these differences are not as intractable (Australian Public Service Commission 2007; COAG 2009) or irreconcilable (Hindle 2007) as some suggest. Instead, it is suggested that alternative ways are required to open up the SAE tri-lectic and to minimise their silent dichotomy. This indicates that more agitation from the periphery is required, and thus abides by the Freirean position (Freire 1972) established in Chapter 3 (p.67). This contrast to Friere means that, change and freedom will not arrive through a gift from NAO, but rather by SAE actively searching and pursuing freedom by challenging the dominant power to re-think its ways.

To activate the pursuit of Aboriginal freedom, the SAE tri-lectic is proposed as a stronger way for SAE to relate to NAO. Securing freedom from the NAO dominated two-world dialectic by relying upon the Aboriginal cultural practices of compromise and

reciprocation begins the challenge. These ideas are first developed through an association with five Aboriginal socio-economic debates.

Associating the SAE tri-lectic with current Aboriginal socio-economic debates

The first interpretative section (p.258) concluded that a two-world situation operates for SAE through NAO dominance of their external world. Additionally, it was found that tri-lectic relationships and characteristics operate through SAE instinctive patterns and connection with some others through compromise and reciprocation. Yet, the SAE tri-lectic may well be problematic as evidenced in the following discussions.

The SAE tri-lectic can be alternatively understood through the term interchange. The Collins Australian Dictionary (Krebs & Wilkes 1981, p.446) describes interchange as 'a means to give and take mutually, or to put each of two things in the other's place'. Central to the SAE tri-lectic, is the ability to interchange ideas and beliefs in the middle ground, but still be able to maintain cultural identity and values.

It is posited that interchange already exists within the SAE internal world and middle ground, but is yet to operate between these SAE areas and NAO. This difference with NAO draws the SAE into a debate between Aboriginality and Western processes, where Aboriginal complexity is not drawn into a relationship with NAO; this remains the nub of the misunderstanding between them. This misunderstanding has its roots in colonial-Indigenous relationships, as identified by Pryce (1979) in his research into West Indian lifestyles in the UK and complex colonial tensions. Before this concept is explored more fully (p.273), relevant Aboriginal socio-economic literature is re-visited to associate the SAE tri-lectic to current debates.

To illustrate interchange and the SAE tri-lectic, theoretical insights through difference, power, oppression and dialectics are used alongside five pieces of Aboriginal socio-economic research. These authors provide helpful socio-economic examples to associate the emerging ideas of interchange and tri-lectic with current knowledge; Altman's (2001b, 2005, 2009) hybrid economy; Smith, BR's (2005) concept of an inter-ethnic domain; Lindsay's (2005) influences on Indigenous entrepreneurship attitudes; McDonnell and Martin's (2002) frontier economy; and lastly Foley's (2004; 2006) work on Australian Indigenous entrepreneurship. The term interchange builds upon their research by attempting to move the academic debate about SAE towards application.

By doing so, this re-direction attempts to address the low uptake of SAE research by NAO.

Interchange can be used to explain why the middle ground is a way to maintain cultural traditions, but not to lose identity in the face of Western dominance. Importantly each of these five authors and the SAE tri-lectic identified from this research, provide an opportunity for Aboriginal enterprise or Aboriginal people to relate to Westernisation in culturally safer and more respectable ways than currently underway. Interchange can be used to represent the safe and respectable place where differences are aired, traded, exposed and discussed through compromise and reciprocation, without concern that a NAO dominated discourse will overtake the SAE internal world and crowd out their middle ground. Yet, as will be revealed through association with the literature and theoretical insights, this safe and respectable interchange place may well remain unattainable.

An Aboriginal hybrid economy based upon the market, the state, and the Aboriginal customary economy was put forward by Altman (2001b; 2009) to show that Aboriginal economic life is more than a Western economic system. The hybrid economic model[38] was proposed as an analytical construct to assess the particulars and linkages of Aboriginal economic life. Altman (2001b) found that rather than operating in isolation, that many cross-cutting cleavages were evident between the mainstream economy, government and Aboriginal cultural ways. In addition, Altman (2009, p.325) said that by advocating mainstream employment and economics, governments 'fail to recognise the complex interdependencies between the market, the state and the customary sectors in remote Indigenous communities'. He advised that much variability exists in the application of the three sectors. It is these cross-cutting cleavages, in the hybrid economy that resonates with the SAE tri-lectic.

The interchanging character of the middle ground under the SAE tri-lectic reflects the hybrid nature of Altman's (2009) three-part economic model. The SAE tri-lectic builds upon Altman's work by indicating that SAE need to dip into a safe interchange place in the middle ground to build upon and actualise their hybrid economy, rather than rely upon NAO instructions. In Altman's (2009) model, this safe interchange place would be the customary economy, and the intersections of this, to the state and market

[38] Altman (2001b) based his ideas of the Aboriginal hybrid economy on the work of Yang (2000) in rural China.

sectors. A place to exchange, compromise and reciprocate with the market and the state and not to lose customary economic ways – is vital to building upon SAE instinct. Yet, interchange is more than using the hybrid economy to build relationships, because interchange draws in and activates the SAE tri-lectic, which includes the economy as one element amongst many others. So, in terms of Altman's (2009) hybrid economy, the SAE tri-lectic is much broader and inclusive. Thus, an interchange place to activate the SAE tri-lectic is a step in which to formalise and apply Altman's sectoral interdependencies between the customary, state and market economies.

Yet, an interchange place could well be controversial if viewed through the lens of power. The ability of a minority and oppressed entity; the SAE, to relate to NAO (as the oppressor), without their Aboriginal identity being dominated or lost, remains problematic. If interchange is interpreted through Paulo Friere's (1972) theoretical work, the tensions between SAE and NAO might be resolved if SAE pursue emancipation through education, cooperation and organisation. However, if SAE seek freedom through a gift from government, by waiting for a result, this will further entrench the SAE within the NAO colonial struggle because the hybrid nature of the SAE economy and their interchange in the middle ground will continue to be ignored. This means that a hybrid economy and any interchange under a SAE tri-lectic needs to be actively promoted and actively pursued. As such, projecting SAE differences (through their instinctive ways and middle ground positions) to the mainstream may begin to overcome NAOs misunderstanding of them.

Theoretically, the SAE tri-lectic also resounds with the work of Henderson (2004) to respect, maintain and incorporate differences. It was found that SAE naturally respect, and maintain their own differences, whilst incorporating some others, even if this appears testy and confrontational to outsiders. A strong element of this research indicated the need to understand local level differences. The inference here is that, interchange places need to be actively identified amongst local level differences. So for example, an interchange place can apply Altman's (2001b) hybrid economy, whilst maintaining NAO instructions and SAE instinct. Thus, preserving some differences and adjusting others.

The concept of an interchange place between the SAE and NAO (as in the manner of the SAE internal world and relationship to some others in the middle ground), can also be explored through Smith, BR's (2005) inter-ethnic domain. This domain conceptualises Aboriginal ways and their relationship with mainstream ways. However,

Smith, BR (2005) pointed out that an inter-ethnic domain reflects hegemonic domination by the mainstream, regardless of the intent. He also reminded us that increasing imitative relationships (Merlan 1998) between Aboriginal people and the State begin to pull the inter-ethnic domain into a mainstream frame. The implication for the SAE tri-lectic is that any potential interchange place will also be dominated, or controlled or highly influenced by NAO. It also means that SAE may well imitate NAO processes rather than promoting their own instinct, middle ground or hybrid economic ways.

It is useful at this point, to focus attention back to a theoretical understanding. In terms of Hegel's dialecticism, the ability to see the dialectic is important, but so is the resolution of binary opposites (Gregory 2000a). Thus, an interchange place, based on what SAE naturally use, could potentially reduce the binary between SAE and NAO because SAE differences are given more prominence. To further explain this link to Hegel, an interchange place where SAEs middle ground operates, accords with Hegel's use of a third term, resolution of contradictions (Buchwalter 1991) or synthesis (Mueller 1958) or Soja's (1996) third space or 'trialectic'. An interchange place aligns with these 'third' ideas because it opens up unknown possibilities where the mainstream and dominant (NAO) are prepared to resolve or synthesise with the dominated (SAE) through their SAE tri-lectic of the internal and external world and middle ground. At this early stage, an interchange place means a conceptual way to apply these 'third' terms. As such, interchange places and the overall concept of a SAE tri-lectic is used as a response to the hegemonic domination of NAO in Aboriginal people's lives.

In addition and more locally, the work of Lindsay (2005) is useful to the exploration of an interchange place. The Indigenous entrepreneurial attitude was described by the author as one that involves high complexity. Lindsay (2005) illustrated how the Indigenous entrepreneurial attitude weaves its way randomly through community and cultural values and practices, but also through Western economic functions via owners, directors and management teams, and importantly organised through the family and extended family. Lindsay (2005) made the point that culture effects not only attitude, but also perception and behaviour. As such, the Indigenous family and extended family appear to cradle the emerging entrepreneur attitudes which are inherent in culture. This means, there is no separation of Aboriginality from their enterprise practice.

Lindsay's (2005) work also involved comparing these findings to mainstream non-Aboriginal family businesses and entrepreneur attitudes where he discovered that family was also crucial, but far less complex than the Indigenous group. Regardless of entrepreneur attitude, it was found that: family, complexity, and culture operated together. If compared to this research, it indicates that maintaining these combined characteristics (as evident in the concept of SAE wholeness, interconnected relationship and flux), will pre-dispose the SAE to rely upon compromise and reciprocation – their natural relationship patterns with some others. Thus, the knowledge about Indigenous entrepreneur attitudes could be deepened to include comprise and reciprocation, which builds on Lindsay's (2005) combined characteristic of complexity, family and culture. What Lindsay's (2005) work does, is to remind us that an interchange place between SAE and NAO may well need to be based on this entrepreneurial evidence, rather than imitating Western processes through governance systems, committee instructions and programme rules.

The ability to step into an interchange place without falling into a NAO dominated inter-ethnic domain; or two-world situation; or dialectic; remains the challenge ahead for SAE. Establishing an interchange place means keeping a strong voice from the periphery, so that NAO power does not dominate so strongly from the centre. Yet, current circumstances may negate this. The ability to preserve different Aboriginal identities and SAE instinct is a tumultuous exercise for the SAE, which means little energy is left over to convince NAO about their SAE tri-lectic. This complexity can be developed further through McDonnell and Martin's (2002) work on the frontier economy, and Foley's (2004; 2006) work on the Indigenous Australian entrepreneur.

McDonnell and Martin's (2002) frontier economy was derived from local level observations of Aboriginal community stores where purchase decisions, cash transactions and cultural pressures were used to develop their findings. An Aboriginal frontier economy (McDonnell & Martin 2002) consists of the non-Aboriginal domain, such as market economic practices, and the Aboriginal domain such as specific cultural values and practices. These two domains are joined in part, by a frontier economy which operates between the two. If related back to Altman's (2001b) hybrid economy, a frontier economy does not divide the non-Aboriginal domain into the market and state economy (as in Altman's case), but combines them. Conceptually however, they are both similar as they give voice to the Aboriginal economy and both concepts move towards a middle ground position of compromise and reciprocation. Yet, both conceptualisations require further links to make them more appealing for NAO.

The frontier economy however, is a contentious 'intercultural zone' (Merlan 1998). The frontier economy is not an easy place for Aboriginal people to operate within because mainstream tensions pull at them, as evidenced in Smith, BR's (2005) inter-ethnic domain. This further shows the pull of the centre and the inability of the periphery to make changes (Friedmann 1966; Wallerstein 1974). Despite the inherent tensions between cultures, an important point about the frontier economy resonates with this research: 'that where a high degree of inequality exists between the market economy and Aboriginal domain, the Aboriginal consumer will be dependant upon the knowledge and skills, honesty and goodwill of the provider' (McDonnell & Martin 2002, p.9). This inequality between Aboriginal people and Western society sets up a dependency relationship which has ramifications for the SAE tri-lectic. It means that any establishment of an interchange place between SAE and NAO will require a softening and part-resolution of their binary opposites (Gregory, D 2000), and for NAO to release some power from their centre, back to the periphery, at the local level (Friedman 1966). Therefore, dependency may be central to understanding the Aboriginal past and the way that interchange places work with compromise and reciprocation.

Yet, McDonnell and Martin (2002) remind us that dependency is also positioned within the Aboriginal cultural domain which also demands and receives resources from others – the basis of SAE middle ground through reciprocation with some others. However, the work of Henderson (2004) indicates that any dependency is reinforced when differences remain invisible, unacknowledged and unresolved. Therefore, an interchange place, whether seen through McDonnell and Martin's (2002) frontier economy or the wider perspective of the SAE tri-lectic, means that dependency pulls will also be an inherent characteristic and will require acknowledgement and resolution.

This knowledge therefore, leads the SAE tri-lectic concept and a potential interchange place into contested waters and diverse positions. This means that any interchange place through the middle ground would involve variable cross-cutting cleavages in the hybrid economy (Altman 2001b); overly strong Western influences (Smith, BR 2005); while attempting to maintain highly complex family and cultural values that drive entrepreneurship attitudes (Lindsay 2005). In addition (and as McDonnell & Martin 2002 indicated): any relationships between the mainstream economy and Aboriginal domain results in a conflicted frontier economy where there are dependency pulls. These various conceptual positions therefore, could potentially draw the SAE and NAO back into their two-world dialectic. All of these possibilities and scenarios are further

understood by the oppressive circumstance that SAE face: the dominance of NAO power in the centre; and the dismissing of SAE differences at the periphery.

To show the effect of NAO power at the centre, an interesting activity at this point, is to relate the SAE situation and their relationship with NAO to Pryce's (1979) book, *Endless Pressure*. In this text, the author crystallises the relationship between West Indian people and the wider community in Bristol, UK. Pryce's (1979) work remains timeless because the British-colonial relationships between a dominant cultural power and a migrant group at the periphery – show the effect of an unresolved dialectic. Pryce (1979) suggested that people left the West Indies in search of the Promised Land, but merely exchanged one colonial context for another once they arrived in the UK. He described the Bristol West Indian population as holding a class character, which is the result of centuries of colonialism and underdevelopment – thus holding similarities to the Australian Indigenous experience. Pryce (1979) suggested that poverty, race and hardships under British colonialism are not clearly understood, and this leads to their misunderstanding. He concluded by saying that many West Indians remain caught between Rastafarian attitudes and law abiding orientations. His most salient recommendation attempts to resolve the cultural dialectic: 'the past history of West Indians is the key to their adaptation to the present' (ibid., p.271).

Disappointingly, the NAO dominated SAE dialectic does not meet Pryce's (1979) aspirations that: past history is the key to adaption in the present. Thus, NAO have not understood the past enough to help SAE adapt to the present. This means the continuing SAE and NAO dialectic is drawn directly from colonial experiences rather than incorporating SAE natural characteristics. In other words, the colonial experience of dispossession from land, removal of culture, generations of poverty and race discrimination have imbued current relationships between SAE and NAO. Despite the breadth of Aboriginal socio-economic research available (see p.284), relatively few alternatives have been attempted by NAO to improve the misunderstood dialectic

Pryce's (1979) identification of a West Indian class characteristic that has derived from many years of colonial rule is important to this study. Similarly, this correlates with the dominance of NAO power over the SAE – the nub of the misunderstanding between them. Thus, if related back to earlier paragraphs, it means that Western dominance over Aboriginal people (Smith, BR 2005), where dependency pulls remain embedded in relationships (McDonnell & Martin 2002) offer the same message that Pryce does. That is: oppression caused by a greater and larger force can only be softened or

reduced by the larger force; as the ability of the SAE to effect change from the periphery has been difficult to date. Yet, this perspective of NAO dominance is countered by Friere's (1972) position, that freedom must be driven by the oppressed people from the margins through education. The inference of this counter-debate is that, active voices from the margins need to continually pressure the dominant culture for change, and for the dominant culture to recognise what they have created. The implication here is that any relationship or connection between NAO and SAE is entrenched within their past colonial circumstances, and NAO need reminding of this.

This contrast between the SAE tri-lectic to relevant Aboriginal socio-economic and theoretical literature reveals once more the dire circumstances that SAE operate in – how they are drawn heavily into the NAO dominated two-world situation which they 'ultimately cannot escape from' (Bain 2005). However, if these difficulties are related to the work of Foley (2004; 2006) it begins to reinforce Lindsay's (2005) message about including complex Indigenous family and cultural interactions. Thus, understanding Indigenous attitudes to business may well be another start point for establishing an interchange place in the middle ground, based on compromise and reciprocation.

A major tenet of Foley's (2004) work on the exploration of the Indigenous entrepreneur is his own Aboriginal identity. Foley (2004) suggested that Indigenous entrepreneurs have distinctive cultural traits that are different to the non-Aboriginal mainstream entrepreneur. He revealed that family and extended family is crucial to entrepreneurs, but the Indigenous entrepreneur is forced to live according to the rules of the non-Indigenous dominant socio-economic system. This observation acutely shows the dialectic between the internal and external world, that SAE are forced to operate with, but ultimately cannot escape from (Bain 2005). In addition, Foley's (2004) work also found that Indigenous entrepreneurs have adapted traditional values to suit their urban environment. He called these traditional contemporary urban values, and this was seen as adaption to cultural and economic survival. However, Foley (2003; 2004) suggested that they do not consider themselves any less Indigenous.

If this Indigenous position is related to the SAE tri-lectic, it shows that a middle ground in some ways is already underway, but more formally addressed in this research. As evident in Foley's (2003; 2004) research, the Indigenous entrepreneur moves into the NAO instructions and rules, adapts to meet the dominant Western system, but is able to return back to their cultural traditions through family and extended family. What has emerged from this research however; begins to build upon Foley's (2004) observations.

That is, SAE do operate in a NAO dominated two-world situation, however their preference for and what already exists is that – SAE prefer to operate in a tri-lectic. Yet, this tri-lectic concept, which incorporates three-world-views have not actively been promoted or developed as a way to increase low Aboriginal enterprise numbers.

Where different world-views have been alternatively framed (Altman 2001b; McDonnell & Martin 2002; Smith, BR 2005), practical applications have not followed to begin cross-cultural conversations with NAO. As such, a way to recognise and open up the SAE tri-lectic, has yet to be adopted by NAO, despite SAE actively relating this way to some others. In terms of Foley's (2004) work, this means that Indigenous entrepreneurs may well need to promote more strongly their inherent natural instincts and middle ground as a way for mainstream society to better support them.

In terms of the hybrid economy, inter-ethnic domain and frontier economy it means that developing an interchange place, through the SAE tri-lectic, could well be used to promote these combined economic ways and differing world-view perspectives. In terms of Lindsay's (2005) research on Indigenous entrepreneur attitudes, it means that complexity and differences in entrepreneurial attitudes require recognition at the mainstream and macro level. Yet, Pryce's (1979) work reminds us that historical colonial experiences are vast and strong and require recognition if present day relationships are to improve between two diverse cultures. However, without an active Aboriginal voice, the promotion and presence, of any SAE or entrepreneurial differences may well continue to be subsumed into the NAO dominated dialectic and centre of power.

If these interpretations are contrasted back to the themes that emerged from the literature review, it means that social and economic debates provide useful information to report, describe and theorise SAE, but perhaps not to apply. It also shows that NAO dismissive ways need to be more strongly voiced to them, and that corporate ways of seeing Aboriginal enterprise through measurements are clouding the picture of SAE.

Once more, keyword phrases and statements of association are used to distil the interpretations so far and provide a link to later theory building tasks.

Identifying keyword phrases

These keyword phrases can be identified:

- Conceptualisations about Aboriginal people and Western society show that Aboriginal socio-economic knowledge is contested because of vastly different world-views, thus making their dialectic unresolved.
- Any potential use of an interchange place will be challenged by NAO power.
- Any relationship with NAO is deeply linked to historical cultural patterns.
- Various SAE characteristics have previously been identified, but many are not transferred into practical pathways for NAO.

Making statements of association

The following associations can be made back to the first descriptive theory:

- The SAE internal world is not actively used to re-position the relationship with NAO because of the overwhelming dominance and legacy of NAO which is difficult to address both conceptually and practically.
- The SAE middle ground is hinted at, or alternatively conceptualised by other authors, but not formalised into practical or linked on measures. This shows the difficulty of finding the middle ground between vastly different cultures and potentially applying an interchange place.
- The SAE situation continues to be overly lop-sided towards NAO, with little development and application of a middle ground. This means that SAE preference for a tri-lectic relationships and characteristics needs to be strongly voiced from many positions.

The main interpretation from this association to literature is that a SAE tri-lectic will be difficult to implement because it grates against current NAO world-views and practices. Thus, any opening of the tri-lectic changes the tone of SAEs silent dichotomy and thus, the way that NAO see Aboriginality. Despite the difficulty of doing so, an interchange place between the three parts of the tri-lectic can also challenge NAO about the static use of SAE research efforts. Yet, to pursue SAE freedom where potentially SAE and NAO can exchange and air differences without losing identity, remains the goal. This can be advanced somewhat by knowing that the SAE middle ground is already established. The pattern of SAE internal world instinct and relationships to some others through compromise and reciprocation already exists. It means that SAE arrive ready to do business with larger organisations – if only others would be prepared to open up and adapt their dominant Western views about Indigenous small business.

This contested debate about relationships between Aboriginality and Westernisation has shown that any interchange place between NAO and SAE is caught up in wider colonial, Western and Indigenous historical discourses. These debates are ‘thick and continuous’, but require acknowledgement before a potential interchange place through the SAE middle ground could be established. The debate also shows however, that creating an interchange place will draw in traditional Aboriginal patterns and behaviours that will grate against NAO desire for rules, rigidity and instructions.

The underlying sentiment from this association with Aboriginal socio-economic literature has considered how differences can be preserved, but also joined. This sentiment is woven throughout the following discussions in order to answer the research questions. This leads to identification of alternatives (p.300) which begins to open up the SAE tri-lectic and soften their silent dichotomy with NAOs dominant power.

In preparation for answering the research questions, the remaining two literature themes established in Chapter 3 and re-captured earlier (see p.266) infuse the association with literature. First, that opposing issues exist across the SAE internal and external world. Next, that dismissive ways exist because NAO have not taken up research work. Third, that relationships between NAO and SAE are strained because large organisations and government misunderstand much smaller organisations. These insights shape the underlying proposition of why SAE are misunderstood.

Answering the research questions and making wider interpretations

The research questions are answered in order from 1 to 3, and these respond to SAE, NAO and their relationship. The main research question is then answered, followed by the last one, number 4. These last two questions offer alternative pathways and suggestions for resolving the misunderstanding of SAE in order to increase their low numbers.

Question 1

The first question presented at the start of the research, asked: What are the main SAE patterns and can they be described outside the socio-economic debate? In response to this, the main patterns of the SAE are evident in their internal world and these involve wholeness, unique accretion and multiple identities.

It was found that SAE patterns occur through complex and changing relationships that are highly variable. Yet, these patterns were described in this research outside social and economic terminology – on purpose. However, if each pattern is related back to the literature insights from Chapter 3, it reveals that SAE natural instinctive behaviour is not always considered essential to supporting them. This minimal consideration of SAE instinct occurs more so by NAO, whereby instinct is poorly applied to government policies (as will be discussed shortly). Within academic literature, the downside of using socio-economic debates could be that SAE instinctive behaviour could be categorised into pre-determined fields which potentially begins to minimise the

Aboriginal voice, as evident in Smith, BR's (2005) concerns about Western power over the inter-ethnic domain.

More particularly, SAE wholeness involves a process that moves across differences and relationships through culture. The ability of wholeness to interconnect through culture can be contrasted to early Aboriginal trading literature from Horne and Aiston (1924) and McCarthy (1938). This comparison shows that nothing has changed. Almost 100 years later, culture still provides the union for Aboriginal people, their trading patterns and enterprise that it did when Europeans arrived in Australia. If time is taken forward to work by Brock (1985) and Crough et al. (1989), the vital importance of keeping culture together with economic functions remains the same. Once more, if time is taken forward to today, culture remains embedded within Aboriginal small business activities.

Internationally, the concept of inter-relatedness through wholeness is evident in the work by Nwankwo et al. (2010) on UK 'black businesses'. These authors found that holism was an essential component of these businesses. Yet, the authors found that advisors and others only provide business advice which is separate to the broader cultural issues of black business. This separation of culture from business is addressed in socio-economic research from Australia. As an example, embedded culture is evident in Altman's (2001b) work on the customary economy; Foley's (2004) thesis on understanding successful Indigenous entrepreneurs; and Phillpott (2000) and Gill's (2005) work on the Aboriginal pastoral industry. These research activities showed that culture was intimately connected to enterprise. Similarly, viewing culture more broadly through SAE wholeness shows the ability of culture to change and connect Aboriginal people from pre-European times until today. This reinforces Lindsay's (2005) position about the need to include complex Indigenous entrepreneurial attitudes into our Western understanding of SAE. Thus, wholeness is a cultural symbol for linking past with future.

Another aspect of the SAE internal world rests with a distinct pattern called unique accretion. This means that SAE draw everything in around them, whether good or bad in unique ways. By accreting all events, aspects and experiences into complex and changing relationships, the Aboriginal owner and/or manager remains true to their previous traditions of symbolical trade (McCarthy 1938) and patterns of expression (Marsh 2010). The term accretion is not visible in the previous literature; however, work by Hindle draws some parallels. As an example, Hindle (2005, p.100) discussed

the world of Indigenous entrepreneurship and said that 'Indigenous entrepreneurship seems fraught with irresolvable contradictions'. The idea of contradictions can be used to explain accretion and the variable ways that SAE draw everything in around them. It was found in this research that contradictions are not a difficult activity for the SAE at all. It was revealed that accretion actively pools all disparate elements and contradictions together, even in uncomfortable ways through awkward family dynamics. This indicates that SAE do not see their world as fraught with irresolvable contradictions (as Hindle 2005 suggested), but instead SAE naturally draw complexities inwards through accretion and leave their contradictions in place.

Two other authors can also highlight the potential usefulness of the SAE accretion characteristic. Both Folds (2001) and Trudgen (2003) found that many non-Aboriginal people, particularly government, were not culturally listening, or were forcing Aboriginal people to take on Western views and language in order to receive government support. The concept of accretion holds some similarities, to 'not culturally listening'. By being culturally based, accretion centres on an Aboriginal perspective; it does not see the world through NAO eyes – thus, reversing the practice of not culturally listening. Accretion pools conflicting and disparate elements and sorts them out through complex relationship dynamics. Accretion operates under a broad umbrella through SAE wholeness. Accretion is a normal and healthy activity for an Aboriginal person. In line with Folds (2001) and Trudgen's (2003) observations, accretion returns strength, focus and power, back to the SAE by respecting and maintaining differences. This suggests that identification of 'irresolvable contradictions' (Hindle 2005) might be a Western lens of small business or what Aboriginal enterprise is, and further indicates that a middle ground position is required.

The pattern of fluxing multiple identities is another aspect of the SAE. These identities are unique and reflect the whole process and accretion functions of each SAE. The SAE variously relates to people depending upon the quality or connectivity of the relationships back to their instinctive nature. SAE multiple identities can be explained through three views of Aboriginal enterprise. Young (1988) suggested that Aboriginal pastoral stations needed to resolve their conflict between social and economic priorities if they are to achieve what they really want. Similarly, Arthur (1999b) described how three large Aboriginal organisations, operated through government auspices (ILC, CDC and ALPA) experienced problems when social and commercial goals were mixed in enterprise. Converse to these two perspectives, the separation of social and commercial goals was identified by Crough et al. (1989) as a way to divide Aboriginal

people and create some commercial success while at the same time maintain poverty, powerlessness and alienation.

These three views show the tensions between economics and culture and the inability to easily resolve them. Yet, this research suggests that economics and culture do not need separation, but need action to keep them whole. Perhaps Young (1988) and the three large government-based Aboriginal organisations (Arthur 1999) found elusive, is to view these social and commercial tensions in a broader way? By asking how is the SAE perceived, defined, measured and assessed, and are these Western observations framed through economics helpful to SAE today? These macro level positions may have shown that social and commercial tensions were indistinguishable as Crough et al. (1989) indicated; by separating them may well weaken the Aboriginal enterprise. As both Phillpott (2000) and Gill (2005) later found, drawing hard distinctions between social and economic aspects in Aboriginal pastoral stations was difficult for the Aboriginal people involved. By building upon these ideas, this research suggests that a 'view of SAE' which considers wholeness, accretion and multiple identities, allows for the SAE instinctive nature to flex accordingly.

It is suggested that acknowledging SAE fluxing multiple identities can begin to address the prominent debate whether it is best to separate out or combine social and economic goals in small business. It was found in this study that SAE instinctively construct a different identity based upon the nature of their relationship. Thus, people close to the SAE owners and/or managers will see a different identity to a person who sits on the periphery of the SAE. The difficulty for people who sit outside the SAE is that, identity is continually in flux. That is, identity is produced and re-produced to reflect the way that accretion of the SAE whole process occurs. That is, SAE naturally combine social and economic ways, as well as a myriad of other perspectives, because identities operate with wholeness which does not separate out any part. This means that culture is not separate from enterprise and indeed when it is separated, the instinctive nature of SAE is challenged; thus weakening the very character of the SAE.

Therefore, SAE patterns are perhaps not always reflected in current social and economic debates because of our tendency to overlook whole process thinking and unique accretion. This further reinforces the literature review theme, that our ability to understand the small and the local, with large level management lenses are unhelpful to SAE.

From the discussions so far, these keyword phrases and statements of association can be made.

Keyword phrases

These keyword phrases can be identified:

- SAE patterns have evolved from trading practices that existed before European settlement. These were joined and activated by culture and remain unchanged today.
- SAE accretion involves pooling contradictions and allowing them to sit within a whole process without fixing or changing them.
- Multiple identities can begin to extend social and economic debates because they reflect fluxing relationships which are different in different situations.

Making statements of association

The following associations can be made back to the first descriptive theory:

- SAE patterns are deeply associated with a vast range of characteristics that will remain outside of NAO separateness and instructions.
- Social and economic debates to characterise the SAE may be too narrow and not capture a wider and interdependent range of qualities that SAE present.

The main interpretation from answering Question 1 is that in many ways, the SAE patterns (wholeness, accretion and multiple identities) will almost always remain outside of Western thinking. It is therefore important to provide the SAE with a 'respectful space' to operate, and to use mutually helpful language, even it that unknown area is uncomfortable for us. As Lindsay (2005) suggested, using Western non-Indigenous measurement scales to understand Indigenous entrepreneurs may actually result in something different outside of their experiences. In addition to the current socio-economic debate to understand that SAE, ideas about wholeness, accretion and multiple identities may well represent one possible angle to address the misunderstanding of SAE by NAO. However as it will be revealed shortly (p.284), this broad and instinctive understanding of SAE is more likely to be viewed at a local and micro level, and not within NAO practices.

Question 2

Once the main patterns of SAE were established, the second research question was concerned with: What is the composition of SAE enterprise success in relation to 'white dominated' or non-Aboriginal Australian society? To answer this question, SAE success can be explained through ideas about perception and complexity.

It was found in this study that different cultural 'views' impact the perception of SAE, that alters at a local level. For the SAE, success and failure can sit alongside or outside financial aspects of the SAE. This means that economic and commercial ways of judging people are not predominant. As such, success and failure are not separate to SAE culture and their internal world, but are hostile to their external world due to Western views of success and failure. This suggests that SAE are re-framed by NAO through their desire to measure SAE success through Western commercial frames. This reinforces Smith, BR's (2005) warning that government overtake Aboriginal attempts to bring their history and culture with them. This opposing view of success can be first unfolded by using the concepts of homogeneity and heterogeneity.

Within mainstream small business research, homogeneity and heterogeneity were discussed by Storey (1994); Bridge et al. (2003); and Westhead and Howorth (2007). These authors strongly suggested that the heterogeneity of mainstream small business often rails against the homogenous ways of the dominant corporate and government systems. It follows, that SAE have their own multiple differences and relationships between their internal and external world and middle ground, and they too would also rail against homogenous corporate and government processes. This apparent unresolved dialectic between big picture and the local level circumstances begins to weaken ideas of framing success through a dominant corporate and government model.

For the SAE, success centred upon the connectivity of family. A successful family resonated with a successful Aboriginal enterprise. This theme is also found through the mainstream small business research of Shaw (2006) who charted the links between family, friends and personal contacts and associated them with small business social and operational processes. Shaw (2006) found the influence of family in these small businesses to be far stronger, influential and diverse than previous literature had acknowledged. This infers that heterogeneity of small business may well be dissolved or faded as greater degrees of government homogenous processes are used.

The effect of homogenous processes on the heterogeneity of either mainstream small businesses or SAEs means that distance alters the local level perspective. As an example, the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2007b) has experienced difficulties in defining the SAE, and this may well reflect their inability to capture at a distance, the important role that family plays in connecting the enterprise and relating it to NAO.

However, as previously mentioned (p.32) there is no agreed definition of a mainstream small business either (Beaver 2002) which leaves the task of defining the SAE even more difficult. Similarly, the task of defining the entrepreneur is equally tedious (Curran & Blackburn 2001; Morris 2002). Similarly within Aboriginal research, SAE success remains undeveloped (Arthur 1999b) with no single explanation available (Altman 2001a). Much the same, is the practise of using social and commercial enterprise typologies over the SAE; as this can begin to cover up SAE differences. The implication is that macro positions to explain local level SAE reality may be impossible.

It is posited that each of these baseline characteristics about defining either the SAE or mainstream small business, is related to each other. It is evident that each definition remains variable and disparate and this circumstance appears to be unchanged despite the years of research, countries studied or cultures involved. One way to explain this circumstance, outside of macro and local level views, is to explain success through the notion of complexity.

However, complexity too can be understood in different ways depending upon the layers or views taken (Vidal & Marle 2008). Project management complexity was considered by Vidal and Marle (2008) and they found that a paradox exists within complexity. They suggested that each person has their own culture and reference points and this perception alters reality (ibid.). Therefore, each person will continue to arrive with different perceptions (ibid.). Vidal and Marle (2008) referred to an optimum use of complexity, whereby too much complexity and a situation becomes an impassable difficulty, and not enough complexity, and it means there is not enough reality to give 'good results'. Thus, complexity is about variability and disparate situations, rather than arriving at a universal or homogenous picture. A similar theme was identified by Parker et al. (2009) in their paper about SMEs and environmental improvements. Here they suggested that taking into account different types of SMEs is far more important than treating them as a homogenous group (ibid.). The inference for SAE success is that ignoring or prioritising one cultural complexity over another, or homogeneity over heterogeneity, means that Aboriginal local reality is missing from their relationship. SAE complexity is missing from NAO measures or definitions of SAE success, because SAE differences are not considered essential.

This association with literature suggests that our ways to define and measure SAE success may indeed require widening to include Aboriginal complexities, rather than

Western economic parameters. Yet, how this can be achieved remains the purpose of future studies.

These keyword phrases and statements of association are now proposed.

Keyword phrases

These keyword phrases can be identified:

- SAE success is framed by NAO, but this is different to how SAE define their success.
- Complexity is not used as a link or a way to connect with SAE, but rather to avoid resolving differences.

Making statements of association

The following associations can be made back to the first descriptive theory:

- SAE instinctive patterns remain outside of NAO measures of success and this means that no attempt is made to use or find a middle ground.
- As complexity of SAE is generally dismissed by NAO, it therefore significantly reduces the ability of SAE to be heard.
- Thus, SAE preference for a tri-lectic through instinctive ways, compromise and reciprocation requires acknowledgment if complexity is to be included.

The main interpretation from Question 2 indicates that SAE enterprise success will always be poorly understood until complexity is acknowledged and the SAE tri-lectic is opened up. This further reinforces the powerful centre that NAO operate from and the effect of their dismissive ways. It also reinforces the highly marginalised periphery where SAE exist – the very essence of their silent dichotomy. To open up the SAE tri-lectic, many layers need airing first (perceptions, differences, ways to define SAE success, and complexity) before SAE freedom from the NAO dominated dialectic can be addressed.

Question 3

The third question specifically wanted to understand the nature of the relationship between SAEs and mainstream non-Aboriginal Australian society, notably in the form of government that provide various kinds of regulation and assistance. As a summary, the nature of the relationship between SAE and NAO can be described as a strong dialectic which has not been resolved.

In this section it becomes evident that homogeneity, heterogeneity, macro and local perspectives are also important to the SAE situation. Furthermore, it will be shown that ‘complexity’ as used in the previous section, can be beneficial to addressing these

opposing relationships between SAE and NAO. Importantly, although the SAE and NAO relationships appear strained, the concept of an interchange place through the middle ground may well offer possibilities for an improved two-world situation.

It was found in this research that Western economic systems begin to alter the expression of SAE instinctive behaviour. This means that dominant Western management practices through governance, economic planning policies, and bureaucracies operating with complex plans, programmes impair the SAE. A function of government is to hold macro level objectives, measurements and performance indicators, yet these are quite separate to SAE reality. Emerging from this present study, the SAE is very different, as it operates in terms of wholeness, cycles and interconnected relationships by accreting everything inwards then outwards, as presented through fluxing identities. However, these instinctive processes of SAE are variously represented to people and organisations depending upon how close a relationship the person or agency has to the SAE. These opposite ways of operating at a micro and local level reinforce Smith, BR's (2005) observation that the inter-ethnic domain is dominated and contested.

This dialectic between NAO instructions and SAE instinct holds consequences for NAO regulations and assistance mechanisms. The dialectic is most obvious within COAGs (2009) guiding document into Federal Government, States' and Territories' relationship with Indigenous people, the *National Indigenous Reform Agreement*. This prominent document sets the tone and direction of relationships with Aboriginal Australians, with economic participation making up a small component. NAO instructions are evident in this document through the use of specific Indigenous markers through health, education, employment, economic participation, housing, governance, leadership, and communities.

Under the economic participation marker, COAG (2009) desired greater corporate sector involvement in developing Aboriginal economic relationships. Yet, COAG (2009) did not specify what they require from large business. This therefore, reveals government's difficult of relating to Aboriginal people at the participant and individual level. This inaction and rhetoric further reveals the static nature of government support to SAE. However as many authors have noted, and an example specific to industry: Aboriginal culture was poorly recognised in the relationship between mining companies and the local Indigenous population (Kauffman 1998; Holcombe 2005; and Lawrence 2005). So it follows that further misinterpretation is likely. Yet, this misunderstanding is

not just an Australian-Aboriginal enterprise phenomena, with similar sentiments expressed by Nwankwo et al. (2010). These authors found that 'government frameworks and business models for support provision is problematic and not catering adequately to the needs of black businesses' (ibid., p.575). This lack of cultural knowledge further questions if large business in Australia could provide culturally appropriate business support in frameworks, if internationally in the UK, black businesses struggle to receive adequate support.

It can be inferred that a 'white fella' mainstream approach to supporting and advising the Aboriginal enterprise may well leave the SAE as a 'hot potato' that NAO are reluctant to work with. In practice, this means Aboriginal people with enterprise dreams or active businesses that have specific instinctive needs, that by their very nature are required to transit the world of Aboriginality and Western economic processes, may well be supported in ways that deny their Aboriginal wholeness and instinctive patterns through culture. Yet, these SAE live with fading government support that is destined to move responsibility to the corporate sector whose similar homogenous and macro ways (Storey 1994; Bridge et al. 2003; and Westhead & Howorth 2007) appear to counter SAE instinct. This dilemma further fulfils Smith, BR's (2005) warning that Aboriginal people begin to imitate Western processes and can lose touch to their past. This homogenous colouring of SAE heterogeneity by NAO further entrenches the SAE into a silent dichotomy and away from their tri-lectic. Therefore, government homogeneity of SAE reduces Aboriginal culture and diminishes its presence from the whole process thinking and SAE instinctive patterns. As such, imitating Western procedures appears to be more important for NAO than building upon SAE instinct.

Stepping down from COAGs (2009) overseeing and guiding document, government organisations such as ILC and IBA have roles to promote and support Aboriginal enterprise. Yet this role is positioned within government, one that focuses upon commercial and management ways of operating a small business (Indigenous Land Council 2006; Indigenous Business Australia 2009). Similarly, the Federal Government Departments' FaCHSIA and DEEWR and Queensland Government's Indigenous Partnerships Programme (IPP, [Queensland Government 2007]) support to SAE is also designed to use only commercial aspects of doing small business. These programmes fail to account or include the current Aboriginal socio-economic debates, such as hybrid economies (Altman 2001b); family dynamics (Foley 2003a; 2004); reciprocity and dependency (McDonnell & Martin 2002); and working with complex entrepreneurial attitudes (Lindsay 2005). This circumstance suggests the new ideas of this research

(SAE instinct, wholeness, accretion and multiple identities) will similarly not be addressed by NAO.

As yet, there is no discussion that links COAGs (2009) desire to bring the corporate sector into current government SAE assistance programmes. Similarly, there is no evidence of further corporate sector involvement (other than current joint venture arrangements) devolved out to government organisations (ILC and IBA), or government departments (FaCHSIA and DEEWR). Once more, these circumstances indicate the strength of the NAO dominated dialectic with SAE, where their instinctive nature and middle ground remains on the periphery. This shows NAOs preference for maintaining strong dialectic. This colonial preference for maintaining a dialectic was also observed by Pryce (1979) in relationships between West Indian people in Bristol and UK society. Thus, the lop-sided way to perceive the SAE will continue to dismiss their instinctive patterns and further reinforce their unresolved colonial dialectic. Therefore, a two-world situation is clearly evident; and the effect of this – the SAE silent dichotomy, is reinforced.

For the SAE instinctive patterns and the middle ground to strengthen, it was found in this research that quality local level relationships are needed. It was also found that SAE relationships tune into symbolical trading instincts based on culture and flux. Yet, these run counter to NAO homogeneity and instructive ways. For this situation to change, it requires 'culturally listening', which further reinforces Foley (2001) and Trudgen's (2003) call for government to include Aboriginal ways of being at a local level.

Yet despite the calls for change, any efforts to include and open up the SAE tri-lectic may well be stalled by conflicting information and positions from government. As an example, this conflict is highly evident in the OEA Indigenous (2008) document which advocates stronger rules, measurements and regulation of Aboriginal enterprises and supporting programmes. Yet, this governance approach runs counter to the APSC (2007) document that identified Indigenous issues as 'an intractable wicked problem' that requires a flexible and principles based approach to build relationships with Aboriginal people. However, the OEA Indigenous (2008) document also runs counter to Greer and Patel's (2000) observation about accounting practices between government and Aboriginal enterprise where an incompatibility exists between Western quantification and Indigenous relatedness. In addition, the OEA (2008) document also runs counter to mainstream business research which talks about working with

Cynefin.[39] The concept of *Cynefin* signifies that multiple factors in our environment and our experiences influence us in ways we can never understand (Snowden & Boone 2007). In particular, the authors discuss that working with chaotic concepts and disorder, the basis of *Cynefin* (as evident in the perception of Aboriginality by NAO), can be addressed through giving people the freedom to be innovative.

These contrasting examples of a measured and performance approach to SAE, versus an open and flexible approach to SAE patterns show that, despite SAE instinctive ways remaining visible and active, they are firmly pulled into NAO Western complexities. It can be inferred that NAOs approach is to minimise SAE complex ways (their middle ground and their instinctive patterns), but aim to increase the volume of Western economic complexity based on measurements and performance regardless of any *Cynefin* that is present.

What is helpful is to return to complexity, homogeneity and heterogeneity to explain what is going on. The continuation of the NAO dominated dialectic means that Aboriginal complexity is dismissed or overlooked as individual perceptions remain clouded and skewed by Western complexity at a macro level. This strong macro level Western complexity obscures the need for Aboriginal complexity to exist at a local and micro level. This dialectic manner continues to foster the two-world situation and reinforce SAEs silent dichotomy because homogenous, governance and corporate processes continue to be more important that the heterogeneous and local level situations of SAE. The NAO dominated dialectic is made worse because alternative positions and ideas are available, but remain unused. As such, it can be interpreted that NAO actively put SAE into a binary which increases the strength of their two-world dialectic, because NAO are reluctant to engage with Aboriginal cultural complexity and heterogeneity.

This therefore, leaves very little room for the most vital part of the SAE, the family. The centrality and adaptability of family provides the opportunities to relate to others through compromise and reciprocation. The inability of NAO to perceive alternative enterprise frames through the local level and family begins to erode the possibility that NAO may relate to the SAE instinct differently. By using compromise and reciprocity, the natural extension and expression of the SAE is preserved. However, whilst NAO continue to pin-point SAE reality with Western economic complexity and governance, it

[39] *Cynefin* (pronounced Ku-nev-in) is a Welsh word (Snowden & Boone 2007) and is used to represent the inability to understand the unknown.

means that SAEs silent dichotomy is perpetuated because NAO preference the homogenous over the heterogeneous.

The following keyword phrases and statements of association are used to capture the ideas about NAOs relationship to SAE.

Keyword phrases

These keyword phrases can be identified:

- Government has a strong desire to homogenise and 'corporatise' relationships with Aboriginal people to make Aboriginal complexity manageable.
- Government propose that industry can provide better solutions for SAE, but few details are given.
- Government programmes do not account for current Aboriginal socio-economic debates.
- Any changes to SAE support measures, only pin-point the SAE with stronger NAO instructions and rigidity.
- Aboriginal complexity is overlooked, but NAO complexity is strengthened and extended into SAE support measures.

Making statements of association

The following associations can be made back to the first descriptive theory:

- NAO dominance of the two-world dialectic means that any instinctive patterns are poorly listened too, and therefore harder to identify and work with the SAE middle ground.
- Thus, any resolution of the dialectic would require a distinct shift by NAO, away from current homogenous ways and towards more heterogeneous and local ways so the SAE tri-lectic can be opened up.

The main interpretation from Question 3 indicates that any potential use of an interchange place relies upon recognition of SAE preference for tri-lectic relationships and characteristics. In contrast to this, government relationships with SAE reinforce a lop-sided approach, leaving any tri-lectic approaches on the periphery. This lop-sided position dominated by NAO further reinforces SAEs silent dichotomy through centralised Western power. The homogenous nature of NAO relationships with SAE continues to order, regulate and potentially use third parties to work with SAE. This macro level approach places SAE in a vulnerable position, where current corporate and management ways favoured by NAO can be repeated. This management approach does little to resolve Pryce's (1979) sentiment, that understanding the past is the key to helping people adapt to the present – thus further entrenching SAEs unresolved dialectic. These circumstances reinforce the observation from Chapter 3, that relationships between large and small organisations are problematic.

Main research question

To answer this and the next question, this research moves towards the conclusion, by establishing alternatives and potential possibilities. The main research question posited at the start of the research asked: How does the SAE two-world situation operate when NAO appear to misunderstand them?

The NAO dominated two-world situation for SAE primarily operates from a Western and government-centred economic perception of what small business is, and as such, is framed through a macro level approach that begins to homogenise the rich fabric beneath them. This dominant position creates oppression for the SAE from which they cannot escape from – the cause of their silent dichotomy. In reverse to this dominance, the SAE three-world situation, through a tri-lectic remains unused. This means the SAE way of framing experiences and living their world occurs through a micro and local level by preserving heterogeneity. This interpretation shapes the following discussion about the SAE situation.

It has emerged from this study that a SAE tri-lectic exists. Yet, this three-part circumstance is mostly obscured by the Western economic and homogenous ways of perceiving Aboriginal culture, as evident in NAOs domination of a two-world situation. As previously noted in Chapter 3 (p.49), a two-sided idea is commonly used to describe relations between cultures. Yet it is acknowledged that such a division begins to diminish variation. In response to this, a tri-lectic begins to open up or soften a two-sided view. Thus as an example, Hindle and Lansdowne's (2005) two-worlds concept and Smith, BR's (2005) inter-ethnic domain may hold a stronger and more resolute 'middle ground' positions than revealed to date. If the two-sided concept is taken back to its source work by Snow (1990), who believed clashing humanity and science views of the world were the basis of communication problems, then perhaps, a tri-lectic concept may begin the process of repairing or reconciling a communication problem? In doing so, this would mean achieving the theoretical purpose of dialectics – to resolve their binary opposites, as evident through Hegel's vision (Buchwalter 1991).

As found in this study, the SAE tri-lectic is available, but mostly ignored or minimised or misinterpreted. The SAE tri-lectic requires elements of the SAE and NAO dialectic to move towards a tri-lectic by applying the middle ground – just the way that SAE relate to other Aboriginal people and selected others. At a practitioner level, a tri-lectic relationship resonates with Folds' (2001) sentiments that, Pintupi people from central Australia should not have to take on mainstream ways. As such, a tri-lectic relationship

may well strengthen Aboriginal ways of doing enterprise by drawing upon symbolical trading instincts, such as trading without cash; learning from story telling; or earning respect by fulfilling responsibilities to country. This tri-lectic concept has potential to bring the NAO Western economic processes to local level relevancy, where wholeness, flux and interconnected relationships can be used alongside Western economic processes.

As evident at a practitioner level once more, a local level health promotion example from northern Victoria through MAC WH GNE (Mungabareena Aboriginal Corporation & Women's Health Goulburn North East 2008) is helpful. This community organisation used an Aboriginal lens to open up a potential middle ground with a mainstream local health service. This local level solution to work with different cultural positions begins to move the centre of power away from government and back to an interchange place between two local groups. The two groups talked about understanding different values and common values, based on community driven, community developed, and community implemented models. By using the Aboriginal lens concept, the two groups effectively linked social and economic issues locally. Examples include: short courses, cultural regeneration, playgroups, women's business, reconciliation week, a young mother's programme and an offender's art display. The examples connected Western ways with Aboriginality. The point being made here, is that a SAE tri-lectic is already in place, however their 'voice' is minimised, or dismissed in SAE support measures, whilst MAC WH GNE (2008) is attempting an interchange place in the middle ground by using local solutions.

Another example at the practitioner level involves the recently established *Marni Waiendi* Aboriginal Transition Pathways Centre in South Australia (Marni Waiendi 2010). This centre operates at the local council level and offers 'whole process' services through: family counselling; training and development; case management; healthy lifestyles; community support and school support. These services at *Marni Waiendi* begin to link economics with social issues, much the same way at MAC WH GNE (2008) in Victoria. In this example, *Marni Waiendi* could further open their centre to include enterprise development and support, health services, cultural links and histories, and elder care. In this instance, a SAE tri-lectic operates not just at enterprise level, but across the whole of Aboriginality.

In these examples, an attempt was made to show how the SAE tri-lectic increases Aboriginal complexity and decreases Western complexity – thus making the SAE feel

connected to their local reality rather than forced into Western homogenous processes and systems. Advancing and applying the SAE tri-lectic through the middle ground will be further explored in the next section (p.300).

In answering the main research question, yes a misunderstanding of the SAE exists because SAEs internal and external world, recognition of their middle ground and preference for tri-lectic relationships and characteristics are ignored or minimised. This misunderstanding has grown from the inability of people to discern difference, because NAO perceptions commonly frame the SAE. This is a timely reminder that small businesses are not just scaled down versions of big business (Culkin & Smith 2000; Curran & Blackburn 2001; and Storey 2002), but they are highly heterogeneous and localised. The difficulty here, is that NAO readily align with macro economic issues, leaving social issues disconnected from the Aboriginal enterprise policies (see OEA Indigenous 2008; COAG Indigenous programme 2009; and SCRGSP 2009) and programmes (FaCHSIA 2008; and Australian Government October 2008) and practices through two government agencies (Indigenous Land Council 2006; Indigenous Business Australia 2009).

The slow or limited application of social issues in SAE policies, programmes and practices has concerned researchers for many years (Ellanna et al. 1988; Wells 1993; Smith 1996; and Fuller et al. 2005). So much so, that alternative ideas such as Altman's (2001a) hybrid economy; McDonnell and Martin's (2002) frontier economy; and Fuller et al.'s (2007) proposal to balance cultural integrity with Western commercialisation are available for NAO, but not adopted by them. A similar theme was evident in Parker et al.'s (2009) research on mainstream SME environmental improvements, whereby policy makers found it difficult to take into account both theory and empirically derived frameworks to implement research. This suggests, that government's inability to digest Aboriginal enterprise research maybe more widespread than just an Indigenous issue.

The impact of the NAO dominated two-world situation for SAE, is the manner in which the silent dichotomy is reinforced by NAO. This dominant response by NAO to Aboriginal people and SAE has been extensively and variously reported (Phillpot 2000; Folds 2001; Trudgen 2003; Foley 2004; Bain 2005; and Gill 2005). Yet, rarely is the NAO dominance softened or broken down at a local level. In terms of SAE support, this is because the policies and programmes are framed from a macro and distant level, are infused with Western economic perceptions of what a small business is. This

creates a powerful dynamic because homogenous presides over heterogeneous; one culture over another; and one economic system over symbolical trading instincts. NAO rely upon restricting SAE social issues and this maintains economic dominance. As such, culture is kept minimal, separate, contained, invisible or distant from Aboriginal economic and enterprise policies, programmes and practices. This economic power dynamic pressures and catches the SAE into a two-world situation and thus, reinforces their silent dichotomy.

The misunderstood SAE situation means the silent dichotomy of the two-world situation is braced firmly against overly strong Western complexity which further entrenches the SAE into a misunderstood relationship with NAO. This interpretation further reinforces the idea proposed in Chapters 2 and 3 that NAO use dismissive ways to relate to SAE. This in turn 'feeds' the silent dichotomy, as turning away from differences restricts any potential use of the SAE tri-lectic. From a heterogeneous perspective, it means that SAE are unable to fully reflect their instinctive patterns in their enterprise because culture, community and family become insignificant against Western commerce. Yes, the SAE and NAO relationship is misunderstood, it is constantly in tension, but it remains unresolved and bogged down because differences, such as SAE instinct and the middle ground are seen as unhelpful or unimportant to SAE success.

To capture these interpretations, keyword phrases and statements of association are used to refine the ideas so far.

Keyword phrases

These keyword phrases can be identified:

- Macro ways obscure micro level details.
- Management from the macro level means NAO are unable to respond to SAE differences.
- SAE differences remain marginalised and unheard.

Making statements of association

The following associations can be made back to the first descriptive theory.

- The NAO dominated two-world situation for SAE operates because of government centred economic approaches. This clashes with SAE preference for tri-lectic relationships and characteristics where the SAE instinct and middle ground remain unused in NAO policies and programmes.
- The SAE tri-lectic is obscured by Western economic and homogenous ways of perceiving Aboriginal culture.
- A misunderstanding of SAE exists because the vast differences between their internal and internal world is poorly understood which means there is no recognition of the SAE middle ground.

The most significant interpretation from associating the Main Research Question to literature is that; any opening up of the SAE tri-lectic is hampered by NAO perceptions and inability to work at the local level. This means that using an interchange place to activate the SAE tri-lectic that incorporates both SAE and NAO differences will remain blocked and held within the SAE silent dichotomy. This makes the silent dichotomy a metaphor for NAO power, one that reduces or removes choices.

Therefore, the misunderstood SAE situation is about a lack of choices. SAE are unable to choose SAE tri-lectic relationships and characteristics to relate to NAO.

The result of these circumstances is to show that SAE continue to be drawn into an oppressive dialectic because homogeneity is preferred over heterogeneity. This lack of choice braces Western complexity against the way that SAE instinctively undertakes small business based upon wholeness and compromise.

Question 4

This last question is designed to open up alternatives and possibilities: What strategies and policies are needed to alleviate the two-world situation that SAEs find themselves in relation to NAOs? By answering this question, the first steps to alleviate the current silent dichotomy of the NAO dominated two-world situation are proposed, along with ways to open up and apply the SAE tri-lectic.

At first glance, the NAO dominated two-world situation for SAE may well remain as it stands today. Historically, government processes (Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs 2003; Federal Government 2006a; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs 2008; and Federal Government 2009) have poorly accounted for the long-standing social and economic debate, even when practical examples and extensive reports are produced (Altman 2001a; McDonnell & Martin 2002; Fuller 2002; Foley 2003a; and CAEPR 2005). At a longer glance, the two-world situation is unacceptable for SAE because it harbours the cultural divide between Western and Indigenous views. However, this research has endeavoured to show, that SAE can be re-interpreted outside of current socio-economic debates and NAO can still draw in other research efforts by using SAE instinctive patterns as a guide.

Surveying the NAO dominated two-world situation from length, it shows that complexity of the other person's world is avoided. That is, NAO do not wish to get involved with local level complexity about family relationships and vice versa, SAE do not wish to immerse themselves in governance procedures, corporate words, and policy intentions.

Yet, both SAE and the NAO hold a common belief: many people are aware that SAE regulation and support is not effective (as evident in the low enterprise rate) and most NAO would like to see Aboriginal enterprise owners and/or managers succeed in small business. What is contentious however; is the way ahead. Thus, the ways to describe and effect change are difficult and hampered by cultural views as well as macro and local views. What is evident so far, is that NAOs homogenous and Western approach is overly used, overly economic and therefore, overly complex for SAE. This overuse of Western systems is represented through the Indigenous Employment Programme (IEP), the Indigenous Small Business Fund (ISBF) and within Federal Government agencies, Indigenous Land Corporation (ILC)[40] and Indigenous Business Australia (IBA). These organisations minimally incorporate Aboriginal cultural approaches because economic measures and directions begin at the Federal policy level and are filtered downwards.[41]

What is undeveloped though; is the potential use of the middle ground between NAO and SAE by using the already established Aboriginal local level system of compromise and reciprocity. However by doing so, it would require government and other agencies to include local level perspectives and to adopt some of their own advice (through APSC 2007) and to counter the direction of OEA (2008) who desire greater controls and economic measures. However, the APSC (2007) advice is still limiting because it views Indigenous issues as an 'intractable wicked problem' when the problem may well be that NAO are not opening themselves up to alternative ways to see the SAE, such as through their tri-lectic. By re-focussing on SAE and local perspectives, from their instinct and middle ground, it may provide deeper positions for the APSC (2007) to address their concerns about intractable Indigenous issues. Importantly, tri-lectic relationships and characteristics naturally incorporate Aboriginal complexity, and thus begin to dissolve intractability.

[40] As part of ILC's Indigenous Pastoral Programme, social objectives are considered alongside economic viability measures as a small part of their land acquisition strategy, although social objectives are not a key priority area in this *Corporate Plan 2008-2012* (Indigenous Land Council 2008).

[41] Culture was partly addressed through the previous Community Development and Employment Projects (CDEP). However, CDEP is now a vastly reduced programme, which supports selected very remote community enterprises only (Australian Government 2008).

It follows that if the SAE currently operates with a middle ground, then NAO may well have their own middle ground too (this is partially evident in APSCs 2007 document). However, developing this concept is beyond the scope of this study. At the SAE and local level, the tri-lectic relationships and characteristics include their internal world, middle ground and external world, and this correlates with the theoretical concept of the third space. The concept of a third space could be used as SAEs interchange place because it can help (along with virtue ethics, p.264) identify possible strategies and policies to alleviate the silent dichotomy of the NAO dominated two-world situation.

By way of brief introduction, the concept of a third space was identified by Bhabha (1994) from research into intercultural communication. He described the possibility for a negotiated re-image when two cultures encounter one another. A third space concept also challenges the ideas of polarity or binary distinctions (Hannula 2001). This challenges the two-world situation between the polarised SAE and NAO worlds. However, third space theory is not connected very often to practice, and in particular, unequal power relations between cultures have not been addressed (Kalscheuer 2009). This means to connect SAE and NAO in their middle grounds is limited because of power dynamics: large over small; city over remote; Western over Indigenous; and money over the moneyless. Yet, the third space concept is flexible enough to inform some early strategic and policy changes at a macro level and at the local level as evident in the previous MAC WH GNE (2008) example.

Three prominent Federal Government strategic policy documents (COAG 2009; Federal Government 2009; and SCRGSP 2009) provide macro level guiding objectives about reducing Aboriginal poverty and increasing Aboriginal well-being. An element of these reports addresses Aboriginal economic development, however, these are organised from an economic and measurable focus. From what has emerged in this research so far, means that an economic approach preferences Western homogenous processes and not SAE instinct and compromise.

The third space can open up these strategic objectives and measurements by creating guiding statements or principles or values which align with SAE tri-lectic relationships and characteristics. Examples may include: combining culture with economic objectives; considering and including local level variables and uniqueness; or by setting up an interchange place where NAO and SAE middle grounds can develop a ‘combined cultural tradition’ (Ikas & Wagner 2009). The strategic objectives, principles

or values do not have to be detailed, but they do need bold and creative ways to connect with SAE and economic development. A vision that guides the organisations beneath them – the very belief in interchange places.

Yet, further exploration of the third space concept shows that each party must be prepared to give something up (English 2002). This is where the middle ground of both SAE and NAO begin to join. Through NAO policies and programmes (which are guided by the previous strategy statements), the details begin at the operational level. Currently, FaCHSIA and DEEWR, ILC and IBA provide guidance and funding to Aboriginal enterprise and economic development. As an example, DEEWR extend funding down to Queensland State Government's Indigenous Partnerships Programme (Queensland Government 2007) . As such, the reach of Federal Government into SAE lives is vast.

To begin applying a third space concept out to these programmes, the departments and agencies would have to identify their middle ground, just as the SAE know theirs so well. A middle ground for the NAO may also have similar characteristics to the SAE, based on compromise and reciprocation, or it may not. Applying third space thinking is a large task, as it is an area that is completely unchartered between SAE and Western economic development. Perhaps it is here, that current socio-economic debates and their practical examples may highlight the start of middle ground thinking for NAO? Previous research efforts could be used as potential tools to effect change from the third space. From here, the step is more adventurous, as both SAE and NAO with an undeveloped middle ground, need to step into the unknown and create a shared identity (Ikas & Wagner 2009). This is a new identity in the middle ground, one that reflects trust, compromise and reciprocation.

The third space concept could also be extended further, down to the local level. As it is here, that listening and giving to others the opportunity for self-expression (Hannula 2001) is most important. At a local level, SAE reality is at its highest. It is where SAE complexity can be incorporated, and where NAO complexity can soften and slip back. This is potentially where SAE can be understood and supported.

Currently, local level support to SAE is provided by relevant government departments (DEEWR, FaHCSIA) and agencies (IBA, ILC) or state programmes (Queensland Government Partnerships). Yet, this local level support is infused with the NAO dominated dialectic, where homogenous and Western economic ways are filtered down

from above and passed to the Aboriginal people considering enterprise or current owners and/or managers. This means that any potential tri-lectic relationships support by using a middle ground to build an interchange place and moving towards a third space, is at most danger of collapsing. As such, strategic statements, policies and programmes need to strongly support a shift away from an economic focus to a SAE instinctive model based on wholeness, flux and relationships. This is where virtue ethics (p.264), by finding a mean between differing values can guide behaviours and responses. The change to more instinctive SAE patterns could incorporate economic processes and systems, but not be dominated by them, as doing so reinforces the NAO dominated silent dichotomy for SAE.

Yet, the third space concept is not without fault, as it requires a level of trust, acceptance of the unknown (refer back to the discussion of *Cynefin* on p.288), and the ability to test out alternatives which go against current Western macro and homogenous ways. A third space approach would require adequate resourcing and commitment by both government and SAE. Yet by doing so, it would require a change in direction away from government's desire for large business to provide partnerships and support for SAE. As this large business focus presents an alternative homogenous and Western economic way of business; that is not instinctive for SAE. Perhaps there is scope here, for government and large business, the pillars of Western economic processes to connect to the heterogeneity of SAE? Through their middle grounds, a third space may never be achieved, but it becomes the overarching destination. However, any movement or aspiration for a third space to support SAE tri-lectic relationships requires the SAE two-world dialectic to be rolled away. That means, turning towards differences and not away; that means balancing out power dynamics and not reinforcing Western processes. Yet, these recommendations run counter to current NAO practices that dismiss SAE and current Aboriginal socio-economic debates. Dismissive ways further reinforce the inability of small business to be heard by larger and more dominant ones. However to change this, the ultimate goal is to open the SAE silent dichotomy into active tri-lectic relationships and thus, begin to soften the oppressive circumstance of being an Indigenous culture in a mainstream Western society.

These ideas are now transferred into the last set of keyword phrases and statements of association.

Keyword phrases

These keyword phrases can be identified:

- The complexity of the SAE internal world is avoided by NAO, however the complexity of the SAE external world through NAO is forced upon SAE with no escape from the pressure.
- Both NAO and SAE would like to see Aboriginal people succeed in business and this common belief can be used to improve enterprise numbers by re-focussing the NAO approach away from government and to open up the SAE preference for tri-lectic relationships and characteristics.

Making statements of association

The following associations can be made back to the first descriptive theory

- The 'third space' and 'virtue ethics' can be used as a theoretical guide to activate tri-lectic relationships and characteristics in mainstream society by using local interchange places.
- Third space thinking can open up the SAE silent dichotomy of the current NAO dominated two-world situation by finding common ground.

The prime contribution from this last interpretation rests once more with 'choices'. SAE are locked into a one-way choice with NAO and this reinforces SAEs silent dichotomy. However, guided by third space thinking and virtue ethics, a tri-lectic can grow without losing current SAE and NAO values. This potentially gives a voice to SAE instinctive patterns and middle ground positions, and begins to weaken the effect of the silent dichotomy of NAOs power. Yet, any aspirations to open up the SAE tri-lectic will be tempered by the ability of NAO to turn towards cultural differences, rather than away from them.

Capturing the last interpretations after the association with literature

This association to relevant literature provided an opportunity to help find solutions to the research problem that SAE are misunderstood because they operate and are reported one way, but are supported, measured and assessed in another. This means that being caught between two-worlds in a dominant power position with NAO remains the brace within the SAE silent dichotomy.

Any resolution of the SAE silent dichotomy rests on the Aboriginal practice of compromise and reciprocation. It is suggested that NAO have poorly brought these beliefs and standing practices into any interchange with SAE. Whether it is cross-cutting cleavages between the hybrid economies (Altman 2001b); the Western dominated inter-ethnic zone (Smith, BR 2005); the complex family and cultural entrepreneurial attitudes (Lindsay 2005); the dependency evident within the frontier economy (McDonnell & Martin 2002); or the ability to adapt and yet maintain

Indigenous cultural traditions (Foley 2003; 2004). What guides the underlying sentiment of opening up the SAE silent dichotomy – is choice.

That is, providing choices that align with SAE instinct, rather than only providing a one-way choice back to the power of a NAO dominated two-world situation through NAO instructions. Thus, choice is a metaphor for relieving NAO oppression of SAE. Choice means opening up the silent dichotomy of the NAO dominated and unresolved dialectic with SAE. Choice means acknowledging and incorporating differences by releasing centralised NAO power back to the periphery at a local level – thus beginning to open up the capillaries of power from below.

The result of exploring the misunderstood nature of SAE in this study is that – SAE have few choices. This result and the ideas so far can be conceptualised before the study is concluded.

Starting to conceptualise how the interpretations could be applied

This last interpretative element of Chapter 7 begins to apply the ideas before presenting the final descriptive theory. This last section could potentially be used as a start point for further research; or to address the silent dichotomy of SAEs uncomfortable NAO dominated two-world situation; or to apply tri-lectic relationships and characteristics through an inter-change place.

It is apparent that an interchange place requires activation for any benefit to be realised. This activation could bring in extant Aboriginal socio-economic ideas and research (as examples: hybrid economy; entrepreneurial attitudes and characteristics; or family connections) that NAO have left out of policies and programmes. Activating an interchange place could occur at the government policy and programme level, as well as the local level. Interchange places rely upon the three inter-related parts of the SAE tri-lectic: the internal world and instinct; the external world and instructions; and the middle ground through compromise and reciprocity. These can be guided by the use of virtue ethics and third space thinking, rather than measurements, rigidity and economic performance quotas.

Importantly, providing choices for SAE through a tri-lectic approach underscores any practical support. It can be visualised in this way (see Figure 7.4).

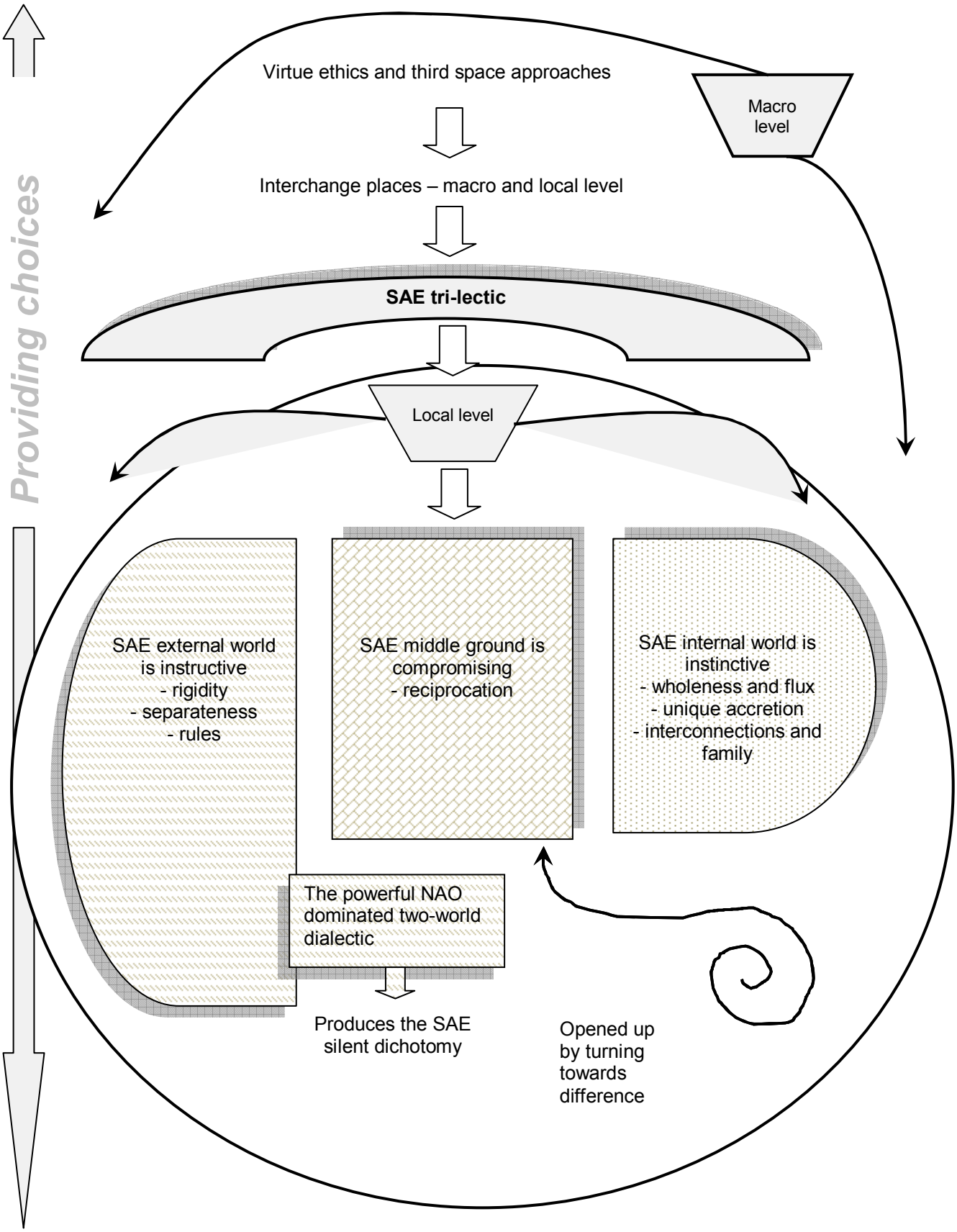


Figure 7.4: Conceptualising the SAE tri-lectic and its application in relation to the NAO dominated two-world dialectic

This diagram is a first step towards conceptualising how the SAE tri-lectic could be opened up. The diagram also indicates that wider, more expansive thinking needs to guide relationships with SAE, based on providing choices. This is different to current economic ways. The SAE tri-lectic is also a wider position than the current NAO dominated and unresolved dialectic. Yet, what is critical to the set up of interchange places is the ability of both NAO and SAE to turn towards difference.

The proposition for establishing interchange places by using the SAE tri-lectic means the final descriptive theory needs to include ideas about flux, wholeness and inter-connected parts, as this resembles SAE instinctive patterns. This whole picture perspective is considered in the final descriptive theory.

Starting to conceptualise how the SAE tri-lectic could be applied begins another step of research and offers a start point for later work. Further details are given under the research implications (p.310).

Finalising the last descriptive theory

The final descriptive theory is a product of extending the emerging theories outward to other research. This provides the first step towards building a normative theory about SAE relationships, which would occur in later research studies.

At a theoretical level, the final descriptive theory accounts for Hegel's desire to resolve dialectics through synthesis. In this research, the conflict between the two-world situation of SAE and their silent dichotomy is synthesised to produce an alternative way to relate to SAE. As well, the final descriptive theory acknowledges the influence of NAO power and their inability to work with difference. A Frierean theoretical link can be used to sum up the situation for SAE. The final descriptive theory is a move to address the oppression of SAE by NAO which results in their low enterprise numbers.

This final descriptive theory has emerged further since the first one was proposed (p.259). The final theory now includes the recent interpretations and associations with literature, which responded to the ideas set out in the first theory. As will be shown, the first theory has now widened, to include interchange places. The final theory also incorporates a response to the NAO dominated dialectic, through choices, whilst the major sentiment of the first theory, the SAE tri-lectic, is retained.

At the start of this research, it was identified that SAE operate and are reported one way, but are supported, assessed and measured in another way by NAO. This two-world situation is misunderstood by NAO and becomes problematic for SAE. It has been confirmed in this research that NAO create, and then powerfully reinforce this two-world situation. This braces the SAE into a silent dichotomy which gives them few or no choices. The final descriptive theory responds to this problem, by emerging the main ideas from this chapter through the following diagram (see Figure 7.5).

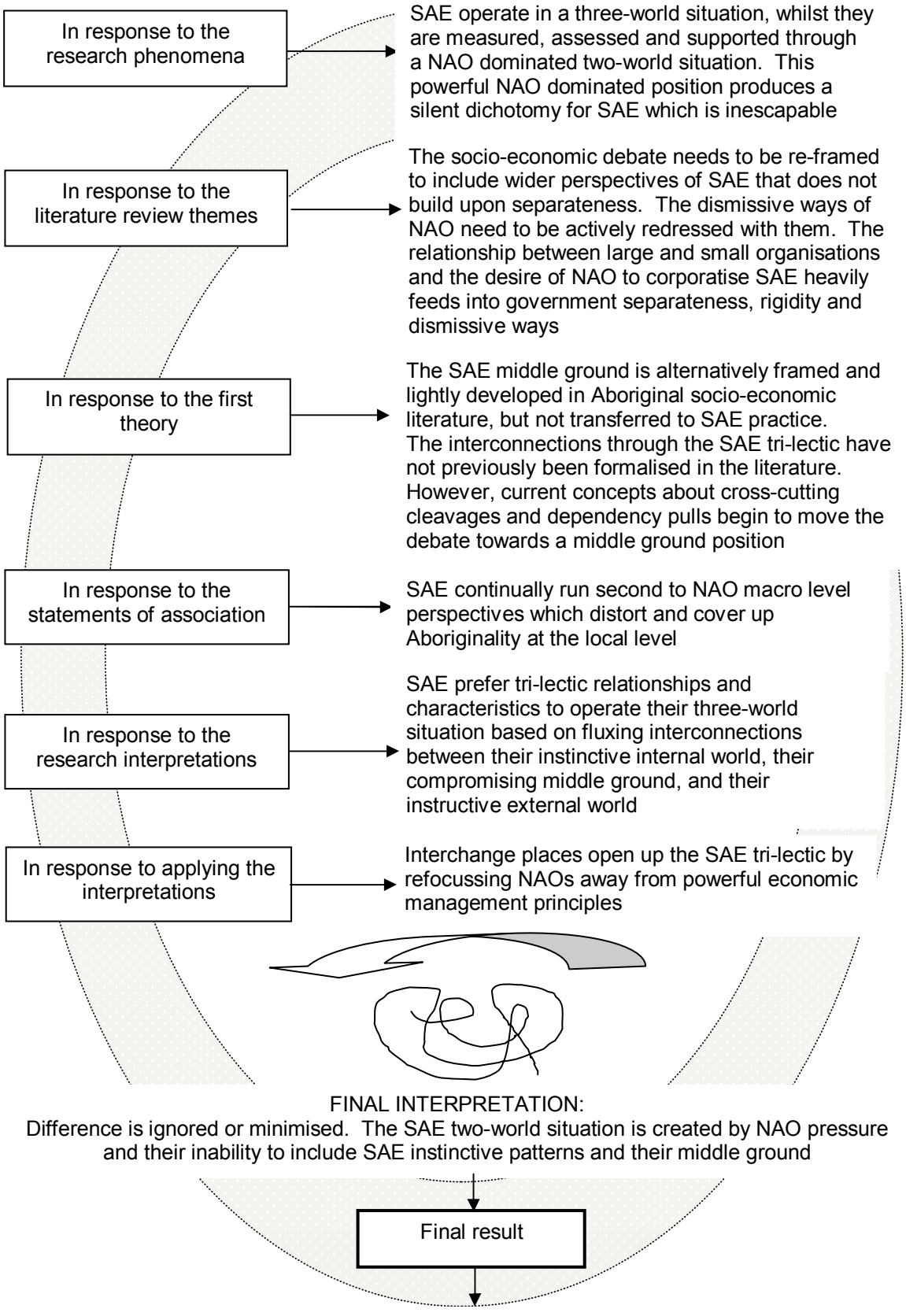


Figure 7.5: Distilling then aggregating the research results into a final descriptive theory of SAE relationships

The last descriptive theory of SAE relationships

This last descriptive theory is shown below in Figure 7.6.

- SAE relationships operate through a tri-lectic which involves their (1) internal world, (2) middle ground, and (3) external world.
- The SAE tri-lectic is characterised by instinctive and compromising patterns and relationships, which clash with NAOs instructive and rigid ways.
- The core problem between SAE and NAO is based upon a misunderstanding of differences, thus making the SAE tri-lectic invisible.
- This misunderstanding oppresses the SAE.
- This powerful position produces a silent dichotomy for SAE which they cannot escape from.
- However, opening up the SAE tri-lectic through interchange places, could provide SAE with *choices* to counter NAO dominance.

Figure 7.6: The descriptive theory of SAE relationships

This descriptive theory represents the last step of the research process and this chapter can now be concluded.

Chapter summary

This discussion and theory building chapter was designed to pool together the previous emerging ideas from Chapters 5 and 6; to develop these through association with relevant literature; in order to produce a final descriptive theory.

These steps occurred by relating the emergent ideas about SAEs internal and external world back to important Aboriginal socio-economic debates. These interpretations were conceptualised theoretically before the research questions were answered. This contrast resulted in the identification of an interchange place and the adoption of new term – the SAE 'tri-lectic'. A descriptive theory of SAE relationships was then offered under a grounded methodology, showing that choices are mostly unavailable for SAE.

The result of Chapter 7 is threefold: it captured new interpretations about SAE; explained the effect of NAO on SAE; and showed an alterative way for SAE and NAO to relate to each other. The research is now concluded in the following chapter.

Chapter 8 – Thesis conclusion

The thesis can now be concluded, implications noted and further directions highlighted. First however, the overall research is captured in order to respond to its purpose, to improve Aboriginal enterprise numbers.

What this research was about

At the beginning of this thesis, the research aim and problem situation suggested that small Aboriginal enterprises (SAE) are misunderstood by non-Aboriginal organisations (NAO) because they are caught within a two-world situation. As such, the nature of SAE was explored through their internal and external world. This misunderstanding can now be confirmed and attributed to the pressure that government create by powerfully dominating the SAE and poorly recognising their internal world. More specifically, the research explored the circumstances of SAE by looking over their shoulders at a range of relationships through their internal and external world. By doing so, it revealed the importance of the middle ground, but reinforced the dominance of NAO in SAE lives. This means that SAE and NAO relationships are frail and this therefore, impacts Aboriginal enterprise numbers because government regulate and assess SAE as well provide the majority of enterprise support programmes.

A thread was drawn across the thesis, based upon the idea that SAE are caught within this complex and fraught dialectic with NAO. This dialectic is now confirmed through the inability of SAE to escape their silent dichotomy with NAO. Other interpretations of the SAE outside Aboriginal socio-economic debates were also offered. This was achieved through a grounded methodology which revealed that SAE operate with a tri-lectic, but this is mostly ignored or minimised by NAO. These ideas informed the research findings and now the remainder of this conclusion.

The main findings of the research

The main finding of this research centres upon the SAE tri-lectic which is continuous, but overlooked by NAO. A tri-lectic runs counter to the NAO dominated dialectic, because a tri-lectic encompasses SAE internal world instinctive patterns with compromise and reciprocation in their middle ground. Thus, a tri-lectic begins to resolve the bind of the NAO dominated dialectic, where establishing local level interchange places is suggested. Elements of these circumstances are variously

reported within Aboriginal socio-economic debates, but not reported or formalised as this three-part and inter-related set. This interlinked relationship through a SAE tri-lectic is the main contribution of the study.

The implication for improving the low Aboriginal enterprise rate in Australia is that current circumstances will most likely remain because Western macro level, homogenous and economic ways mask the SAE tri-lectic, and any establishment of interchange places. The inability of NAO to turn towards differences and soften their central use of power conceals their view of the SAE tri-lectic, and this lies at the heart of the low Aboriginal enterprise rate.

More particularly, this research wanted to know why SAE were being misunderstood by NAO. From exploring this problem, it has emerged that a wider picture is possible, and when taken, intricate relationship patterns can be revealed that are in contrast to macro level policies and government programmes. A SAE is far more complex and inter-related than NAO currently understand. As such, instinctive patterns based on wholeness, flux and interconnections are poorly incorporated by NAO. Thus, an Aboriginal enterprise which actively draws everything in around them through accretion is far removed from NAO, who operate through instructions, separateness and rigidity. The main distinction between them therefore, becomes an obstacle as there is little middle ground to overcome it. SAE are inclusive through a tri-lectic and in contrast, NAO compartmentalise through dialectics. This pressured two-world situation traps SAE, and it will continue to fail their relationship with NAO unless alternative and wider views of SAE are taken.

By answering the research questions and the subsequent research objectives, further details emerged about a difficult and strained silent dichotomy for SAE that is created by NAO power and pressure. This circumstance is also evident in other research. However, the SAE is unable to relate to NAO through tri-lectic relationships and characteristics because NAO directions and instructions are limiting and controlling. Thus, macro level perspectives of the SAE, combined with a Western economic focus that dismisses Aboriginal variability, appear to also compound the silent dichotomy of SAEs two-world situation.

The inability of NAO to digest Aboriginal complexity means that Aboriginal traditional and instinctive ways of trading and doing enterprise remain unconsidered. As an example: family interconnections; cultural symbols; extended decision-making systems;

balancing priorities through culture; and linking motivations to enterprise activities – all remain secondary to NAO macro level economic policy objectives. Once more, this returns the focus to a dominant centre which is unable to appreciate the details at the periphery – the very effect of 'corporatising' the SAE through government processes. This observation is commonly represented within Aboriginal socio-economic literature, but as yet, the messages remain detached from NAO practices.

These main interpretations have an impact on the research results, which were gradually aggregated into emerging theories then into a descriptive theory of SAE relationships.

Emerging a descriptive theory achieved wider interpretations of SAE

The way that SAEs were perceived by NAO was an important concern; as it became the rationale behind this inductive research activity. This therefore, gave legitimacy to exploring the nature of SAE outside of current socio-economic debates, and to find ways to describe and advance their relationship with NAOs in order to improve Aboriginal enterprise numbers. So, rather than testing and determining the research problem, ideas were explored to show one possible explanation of misunderstanding SAE. As such, this research was not so bold to propose a normative theory, but to emerge a descriptive theory as a first idea about a wider picture of SAE.

The emerging descriptive theories built in Chapters 5 and 6 were pooled together by unfolding various categories and themes. These were exampled through participant quotes and illustrative stories. The emerging theories were subsequently distilled into a first descriptive theory in Chapter 7, and the main ideas were associated with literature, and interpretations made. These were lastly aggregated into the final descriptive theory about SAE relationships.

Despite proposing a final descriptive theory, it is not static; it can still move around, it remains open. Other elements of the SAE tri-lectic may emerge, or indeed a descriptive theory that responds to a different view of SAE and NAO relationships, could well alter the composition of the SAE tri-lectic. As the research problem suggested that a misunderstanding of SAE by NAO was a strong sticking point in their relationship; this suggests that not using research to inform policy was problematic.

Implications and recommendations

The research implications centre upon a common theme; it is time to move the Aboriginal socio-economic debates about SAE towards application. Yet by doing so, it rails against government policy and programmes which fence out SAE research.

Implications for NAO policy and practice

For NAO, the implication of this research moves across strategic, operational and local level circumstances.

Recommendation 1:
Strategically, the overarching COAG (2009) document, the *National Indigenous Reform Agreement* needs to include specific SAE policies that infuse the operations of the government departments and organisations below them. The COAG policy needs to state how SAE are to be defined, their typology, and how they can be supported, measured, assessed, reported, as well as how industry will be involved, and similarly how research will be used. The SAE policy should first address the dominance of the NAO over the silent dichotomy of the SAE. More specifically, the SAE policy should consider alternative ways to understand Aboriginal enterprise and ways to connect research with government programmes. As the current disconnection limits the ability of NAO to see SAEs through their middle ground and identify their instinctive patterns.

At a local level, the implications for NAO are numerous. The ability of NAO to open up and support the SAE tri-lectic will be critical to establishing NAOs credibility with SAE. Any development of interchange places or similar cultural exchange and information centres will depend upon local level involvement and resourcing.

Recommendation 2:
Potentially, an interchange place could act as a link into the middle ground, to connect SAE with a full range of services, cross-cultural and life options. As an example, an interchange place could link into mainstream small business resources and activities; Indigenous business products; family counselling; Technical and Further Education (TAFE) courses; Aboriginal cultural heritage matters; banking and accounting support; legal advice; and access to government departments. Locally, examples away from the SAE and NAO unresolved dialectic are underway in the community health sector. Similarly, the natural resource management and agriculture areas already rely upon grass-roots community driven groups with solid field extension services to action and

link government macro level policies to local level applications. These could potentially be used as an example to open up the SAE tri-lectic and develop interchange places.

Implications for SAE

For SAE, it means that actively voicing their needs, characteristics and relationship dynamics is vital to opening up their tri-lectic. The implication of this may well see different local areas advocating a different response to another. For example, what central Australia requires, will be different to what Cape York requires. Even within these areas, what one family group requires will be different to another family. Promoting individual differences from a local level, and seeking support to match inter-related whole process thinking in unique ways is a position that will challenge the NAO. Other ways need to be found so that SAE can actively voice their local level needs to NAO. The implication here is that: NAO will continue to ignore or minimise the SAE silent dichotomy unless Aboriginal people find ways to open up their SAE tri-lectic and promote it as a way to maintain values and to share other ones.

Recommendation 3:

The following options begin to redress the two-world imbalance for SAE: seeking support from alternative industries and sectors; searching for grass-roots community solutions across cultures; setting up local Aboriginal chambers of commerce; building networks with other small business people; test-driving enterprise through part-time and low risk businesses; setting up SAE advocacy centres that rely upon compromise and reciprocation; operating family-based social enterprises; tasking small and informal contract work in mainstream small businesses; considering interchange places that position themselves in the middle ground between NAO and SAE; promoting family links, interdependency and wholeness; and developing local level interchange places to promote the SAE tri-lectic.

Implications for others

For some others, such as community groups, and philanthropic organisations, the SAE silent dichotomy of being over-powered by NAO and pressured into an unresolved dialectic with government needs to be recognised and voiced back to them.

Recommendation 4:

These ‘third way’ organisations are ideally placed to provide advocacy for the SAE tri-lectic. As an example, community groups can link grass-roots local level resources

together and thus, be in a position to set up local level interchange places that cross-over family, enterprise, finances, motivations, culture and mainstream society functions. They can advocate for SAE wholeness.

The implication is that, local level resources are already available but disconnected from SAE support mechanisms. As macro level government departments or large scale Aboriginal organisations currently provide SAE support programmes, and assess them against corporate and Western economic measurements based on separateness and instructions – this places SAE instinct in a misunderstood position. This is where community groups and philanthropic organisations could potentially open up the SAE tri-lectic, between the local level and macro entities.

Implications for academic discourse

The implications for academic discourse indicate that theoretical insights are not applied to NAO practices. This shows that alternative and broader ways to perceive problems, such as low Aboriginal enterprise numbers, is kept within current Western and corporate ways to perceive Aboriginal economic development.

Recommendation 5:
This means that alternative ways to see SAE, through virtue ethics, the third space and through difference, or to appreciate NAO power, dominance and influences over SAE are not used to effect changes. This therefore, will keep NAO operating within the same cycle: governance mindsets that misinterpret local level wholeness. For these circumstances to change, Aboriginal socio-economic literature could draw in theoretical insights in order to make a conceptual bridge between NAO and SAE.

Implications for Aboriginal socio-economic debates

In terms of Aboriginal socio-economic research, this work provides another dimension to understand the SAE; that of instinct, wholeness, accretion, and multiple identities as well as the internal and external world, and middle ground. This study also begins to branch out from previous research, through potential use of an interchange place, based on the SAE middle ground under a SAE tri-lectic concept. This is not to suggest that socio-economic debates are unhelpful, but that further research is still required to link academic efforts into practical pathways for NAO.

Recommendation 6:
Aboriginal socio-economic research is currently under-valued by NAO, and to some extent limited by its terminology and scope. Thus, questions should be asked as to why.

Implications for Aboriginal ways

For Aboriginal ways of thinking, this research sits outside of culture. The interpretations of SAE in this research were constructed through careful cultural listening and experiences. Yet, only an Aboriginal person can position themselves with an Indigenous standpoint to NAO. The implication here is that Aboriginal ways need to be more strongly voiced and delivered to mainstream Australia.

Recommendation 7:
To authentically achieve this, Aboriginal enterprise owners and/or managers need to promote their achievements and foster young people into small business. This can only be activated by Aboriginal people constantly pressuring NAO to change and give them more choices.

Originality and contribution to knowledge

This research began by positioning the work within Aboriginal socio-economic debates, but wondering why NAO have not been able to take up their ideas. This observation generated the research topic, which sought to describe the nature of SAE and their relationships, differently. This resulted in viewing the SAE through an internal and external world, where ideas about compromise and reciprocity in the middle ground evolved as strong SAE characteristics, but these remain unused by NAO. This knowledge led to the identification of the SAE tri-lectic and potential use of interchange places to encourage more choices for SAE. Theoretical concepts indicated that wider and fuller pictures at both the macro and local level are required, if NAO are to turn towards difference, rather than away from them.

As such, the claim for originality is based up these alternative ways to see the full picture of SAE, and their relationship with NAO. This research attempted to cross-over many fields, perspectives and levels in order to explore the nature of SAE. This aim was threaded throughout by illustrating that SAE are caught within a complex, fraught and unresolved dialectic with NAO. Yet, other ideas are possible if the Aboriginal

socio-economic debate moves towards application and out of its current reference points.

As such, the contribution to knowledge is based upon four parts: (a) the nature of SAE as an interconnected whole process; (b) identification of a silent dichotomy for SAE because their internal and external world is conflicted by government rigidity; (c) the identification of a SAE tri-lectic which draws together the instinctive internal world, the instructive external world with the middle ground based on compromise and reciprocation; and (d) development of interchange places to connect the SAE tri-lectic with government processes.

Limitations

The research is limited first, by providing a view of SAE and their relationship with NAO by constructing a non-Aboriginal interpretation. Other views of this circumstance would be available from an Indigenous standpoint, or from looking across the shoulders of NAO or a philanthropic organisation. There are many ways to continue exploring the nature of SAE, such as anthropological interpretations based upon cultural patterns, as well as quantitative analysis based upon examining government policies against Aboriginal socio-economic debates.

Second, this research was also limited to a degree by the use of a two-world concept and the division into an internal and external world. By using this concept, the ability to show interconnections and patterns was reduced. However, by using this two-world division it provided an alternative to the well used socio-economic frames of reference. Additionally, a two-world concept provided an ideal entrée to the SAE because if captured the divisiveness of NAO policies and programmes. This conundrum indicates that more fluid and interactive concepts should be sourced that can represent SAE, but at the same time be useful to understand government practices that are based on divisions and dialectic thinking.

Third, this research is also limited by descriptive theory building, as applying any methodology means staying true to its intent. This means that observations and categorisations under a grounded methodology remain interpretative rather than the final answer. It also means that associating this research to other literature, such as community development, policy or management literature may produce an alternative descriptive theory.

Fourth, and at the conclusion of the research, a grounded methodology did encourage me to view the Aboriginal enterprise from a number of positions and let emergence set up the debates. However, this meant that many ideas remain undeveloped because grounded theory and narrative research provided a mass of leads to follow which were difficult to pool under a research project that took a multi-level view of SAE.

Future research directions

For future research directions, it is important to establish why NAO are not considering research efforts when developing policy then implementing it. It is suggested that baseline issues such as definitions, types and characteristics are missing from NAOs picture of SAE – thus reinforcing the SAE silent dichotomy and further misunderstanding them. As such, there is a missing link between available research and current NAO practices. This circumstance requires re-thinking if socio-economic debates are going to benefit Aboriginal people. As without NAO understanding and positioning their support, assessments and measurements on current research knowledge, it means that SAE will continue to be frustrated and enterprise levels will remain low.

Other research fields such as endogenous development principles may well guide the use of opening the SAE tri-lectic and setting up interchange places. Additionally, natural resource management, community development and agricultural practices that focus upon extension and practical work already link macro level ideas and academic research down to the local level. This may hold some clues for relating socio-economic research into NAO practices.

To establish a normative theory about SAE relationships, future research efforts could move in different directions. First, if the research phenomena are re-visited, it may lead to modifications or reinforcements to the current descriptive theory. Alternatively, the descriptive theory could be drawn into a deductive research exercise, to verify causes. Third, the NAO perspective about relationships could be developed, which would round the problem out further. Whatever path is taken, the development of further, or testing of this theory requires identification of reasons that produce the phenomena. In other words, the reasons why the Australian government and their agencies misunderstand SAE will continue until Aboriginal people feel accepted in their own country.

Postscript to the research

Introduction

This postscript follows up the small Aboriginal enterprise (SAE) participants who gave much of their time, their trust and themselves so that other Aboriginal people could perhaps one day benefit from their experiences, successes and failures. This last piece of writing is organised to show how the SAE participants as a group, and the five illustrative story participants are getting on with their lives today, and whether potentially their participation in the research was of benefit to them. For Aboriginal people, the product of a healthy relationship is to return back what was given, and this sentiment underscores this postscript.

SAE participants

In all, 47 individual SAE participated in this research with an additional 16 interviews conducted with 10 of these owners and/or managers. The vast majority of these SAEs wanted their voice heard beyond their relationship with bureaucracy and big business. However, in my interviews with 11 mining companies and 13 general interest participants, the many Aboriginal enterprise voices based on instinctive patterns was an alien concept. That is, many of these non-Aboriginal participants did not wish to address and take the steps to understand 'difference'. It appeared that most people were overly interested in placing their own 'mirrors', 'frames', 'lenses' and 'mindsets' over what was before them.

To show an alternative to this minimisation and dismissal of Aboriginal voice, this research attempted to provide both a big and small picture perspective across all parts of the SAE. By doing so, it revealed the impact of Western ways on traditional people. Quite often in academic work, the Aboriginal enterprise was represented in detailed segments, but less so as a 'fuller and interconnected picture'. In other words, a deliberate attempt was made by me to capture Aboriginal concepts outside of current socio-economic, business and government thinking. This perspective aimed to capture the whole of the enterprise, not just segments such as decision-making, culture, entrepreneurship, funding or relationships with Western people.

During the course of this research, the Federal Government (Australian Government 2008) implemented changes to the Community Development and Employment Projects (CDEP) programme which underpinned the vast majority of the social enterprises in

this study. CDEP provided operating funds for wages and some fixed costs for social enterprises. This support gave many people the chance to practise enterprise, even if quite 'loose' economic or financial goals were used. As a result of government changes, the CDEP was reduced down to a much smaller programme.

CDEP now operates in some very remote areas only, rather than its previous reach across city, regional and remote areas of Australia. The Federal Government advocated that a change was required to CDEP because Aboriginal people were not moving out of these enterprises and into 'real' jobs (Department of Employment and Workplace Relations 2005). For the SAE participants in this study, it meant that many of the social enterprises closed down their operations and turned their employees away, or had to find alternative funding sources within government, or business.

This leads to the question, just where are the SAE participants now? Some of the Aboriginal participants kept in touch with the research project, many others did not. Of the 47 participants, approximately 16 enterprises (34%) are believed to still be in enterprise. The majority of these being commercial participants who operated their business outside and away from government support programmes such as CDEP. Some enterprises were forced to close down because of the CDEP changes, such as the roadhouse and grocery enterprise run by Participant A15 in remote western South Australia. Similarly the Indigenous tourism enterprise run by the community and led by Participant A32 from remote northern South Australia also closed its doors. In other examples, some participants sold their enterprise and moved on to other ventures, such as Participant A31 and his retail fruit and vegetable shop in central Australia, and the retail fishing supplies shop run by Participant A23 on the west coast of South Australia.

Other Aboriginal owners and/or managers, such as Participant A13 and the family-based enterprise operating as a wilderness lodge, and Participant A28 who operates a remote area tourism venture (outside of government as much as possible) remain in their enterprise with little changed. That is, their relationship to government is still strained and difficult because these SAEs cannot access useable (alienable) land title. This continues to be a major obstacle for business growth and does little to convince the SAEs that government are committed to supporting Aboriginal connection to country.

It remains however, that the biggest change to the SAE resides with government CDEP policies and their funding support to social enterprises. This therefore, shows the fragility of their operations when government is a fundamental plank of their funding and support arrangements. This is something perhaps, government are less keen to acknowledge: the latent dominance they hold over Aboriginal people.

The five illustrative stories

Of the five illustrative stories, more details are known about their lives now. Vincent and his family remain at their pastoral station in central Australia where financial circumstances have changed little. They continue to operate a lease from the local Aboriginal land group which banking and financial authorities do not recognise as holding any commercial value. This circumstance places restrictions on them because of land tenure through native title. Some members of his extended family continue to work away from the station in order to keep it going. Vincent is unable to provide consultancy advice to government due to ill-health, but his daughters continue his role as interpreters. He is a well-known Indigenous leader and has actively voiced his concerns about land title, nuclear testing at Maralinga and the emancipation of the Anangu Pitjantjatjara-Yankunytjatjara people. Vincent did not operate his enterprise through CDEP, but accessed government funds for enterprise development. Yet as discussed earlier, this reliance upon government occurred because industry would not financially support his pastoral station because of the inalienable nature of the land title.

However, Esther has withdrawn from enterprise altogether because of her bad experiences with government in her mining transport, area maintenance and group training projects. She still wants the best for Aboriginal people, and recognises that some industry managers are able to assist and make better lives for her people. Yet, she knows, they too will move on and be replaced by someone who holds no value about Aboriginal people or her business and expertise. As for government, Esther no longer trusts them, as she believes that political motivations far outweigh the practicalities needed to support Aboriginal people and their enterprises. Her group training enterprise at the time was partly affected by the changes to CDEP, and this meant shuffling priorities, trying to find alternative funds, all while the non-Aboriginal joint venture partner was controlling the funds and obstructing Esther's requests about open and responsible finances. However despite these difficulties, Esther knows the true value of good leadership because she continues to remain the national Chair of Aboriginal Hostels, a large government funded organisation which provides much

needed hostels for Aboriginal people across Australia. Yet, through her personal enterprise experiences, it was revealed that government and the majority of industry were not culturally listening to her basic requests for on-going, reliable and ethical support that were appropriate for local level situations.

For the other three illustrative stories, Ronald also remains in his tourist and student education centre in northern South Australia. A linchpin of life in this small town remains his unique ability to connect with mainstream non-Aboriginal people. His life-long commitment to a remote town with both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people has seem him provide leadership to coordinate fundraisers for local community events, lead representative committees and provide advice to government heritage boards. Yet, he actively remains outside of government support so that he can avoid white fella assessments, controls and measurements as much as possible. Thus, CDEP changes had little effect on Ronald. He remains committed to reconciliation and practises this himself in so many ways. Yet, he remains deeply upset about the role of the nearby multi-national mining company that, he believes sold out his people, their connection to the land and water holes and continues to place corporate dividers between his local town, and the Aboriginal language groups. He remains suspicious of government and their desire to support large corporate business over Aboriginal culture and not respect people's customs.

For Ella, as founder of the community arts centre in remote western South Australia, she has now moved away from the group before the CDEP changes were made by Federal Government, although her associations are still strong. Ella went on to set up her own retail art small business in the same town, where she encouraged non-Aboriginal women to participate and sell their artwork alongside her own. She paints with synthetic polymer on canvas and her inspiration is the sea, shore line and the surrounding plant and animal life in the west coast community in South Australia. Ella continues to be deeply motivated by reconciliation and providing a better life for her family by providing a fine example for younger Aboriginal people. Ella is also involved with teaching Aboriginal people in the town. Ella's beliefs can be best summed up in her own words: 'I painted all the hand colours all different, on account of different cultures in the world. But there's a gap in between them because there's always a conflict. I don't care… whatever race you are (there's always a conflict). And my vision is one therefore of the gaps to be closed in. Like the circle in the middle… to live together in harmony' (Postcards of South Australia n.d.).

Soon after the research began, Daryl sold his retail fruit and vegetable business in central Australia before setting up another retail enterprise, this time providing culturally appropriate security services (which he has subsequently sold). He has actively been involved with local community change with both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. Daryl has led and participated in community forums, research and education groups, and developing local government policies. Daryl continues to find his source of connection to culture from extended family, as well as men's cultural activities out bush. His enterprises were not affected by the CDEP changes as he operated commercial enterprises away from government. He is proud of his family achievements and spends time mentoring young people. This motivation led Daryl to begin a small business consultancy service that supports very small enterprises, up to larger Aboriginal businesses. He is actively involved and passionate about education of Aboriginal people. Daryl's expertise makes him one of the most eminent and successful Aboriginal entrepreneurs in remote Australia.

By participating in the research, were there benefits to the SAE?

The stories that were respectfully related to me leads to a poignant question, and it is brave to ask: 'Have the Aboriginal participants benefited from this research?' As a direct response, no, there is no benefit – yet. No lives were enhanced, changed or enthused by the research interviews, meetings or information briefs sent back to people. Similarly, government practices remain the same or watered down with industry attempting to variously relate to Aboriginal enterprise in ways they see fit. Mostly these efforts continue to be fostered from governance or corporate views.

This leads to another question: 'Just why did Aboriginal people participate in this research?' To begin with, people wanted their voice heard above that of government and industry rhetoric, and many participants felt that an academic 'hearing' might get some stories out to the decision-makers. Over-riding these beliefs however, was the hope that one day; their story might well benefit even one Aboriginal person to have a go at something they know inherently very well – trading. Yet, Aboriginal trade and enterprise is a relatively unpractised custom in the white fella monetised economy that today, is highly regulated, controlled and 'corporatised'.

These questions are underpinned by the notion of Aboriginal culture and specifically relationships built on reciprocation that we, non-Aboriginal people, vaguely understand. The implication here is that, any research with Aboriginal people requires the 'take' from them to be returned back in the same way it was delivered to me the researcher –

with trust, openness and care of stories. This reciprocation unfortunately cannot be delivered back to the Aboriginal participants through the Western university PhD system which is required to report and analyse rather than to solve and return the favours given to me in the field. This process of 'hearing', 'taking', and then 'using' information for one's own benefit has been one of the fundamental tensions of working with Aboriginal people whilst having to abide by university systems and expectations.

Placing my personal conundrum to one side, this inescapable circumstance between 'taking from' and 'not returning to' actually further entrenches Aboriginal people in a gulf between the pull of their cultural voices and the overwhelming dominance of a colonised country, which they cannot escape from. This leads to a renewed focus that looks for 'another way' in our white fella thinking of things Aboriginal and Indigenous. Knowing that 'another way' to relate to Aboriginal people about enterprise is out there, it just means that 'taking' is used alongside with 'returning back'. As unfolded through this research, 'give and take' is about fluxing local situations, built on compromising relationships.

Returning back to 'Another way': Nintini Tjukurpa – palya!

By 'returning back' to Aboriginal people what we have 'taken' means that a local and cultural view may well be based on language group perspectives (the ones out there in the places we don't really know very well), rather than our designated and managed way of seeing people through what is built, orderly, structured and housed as a 'real' community. The previous discussions in Chapter 4 (p.125) 'Another way' was used to describe how Western research captures only an essence or an element of the Aboriginal experience. Now, the research has concluded and the direction, question and responsibility of 'giving back' has arrived, it leaves the question: 'Just how will the information in this thesis be returned to its story-tellers and owners?'

Returning information back to the Aboriginal people is about being verbal, visual and expressive, rather than being prescriptive, quantifiable, corporate, planned, ordered, and paper-based. To attempt to 'give back' requires local knowledge, as introduced in Chapter 4 (p.126), that is: knowing the Law, the ceremony, the song, the language, the people, the country, the animals and the spirit. This means making *palya* – that is making good for A<u>n</u>angu.[42] In doing so, this approach to make good for local

[42] Goddard, C (1998), *A Learner's Guide to Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara*, Institute of Aboriginal Development Press, Alice Springs, Northern Territory, Australia.

Aboriginal people would be quite the antithesis of current ‘giving back’ beliefs based on consultancy reports, training sessions and making people ‘enterprise and job ready’. Such a change in ‘returning information back via another way’ may well be an avenue for further research. Just how do Aboriginal enterprise people want to receive information and learn? In what ways can Aboriginal instinctive patterns connect with government and industry instructive behaviours? Thus for the Aboriginal people in this research, drawing upon traditional culture as a way to interpret the Western world currently informs their thinking, yet it remains to be seen whether government and industry can broaden and soften their thinking to ‘culturally listen’ to what has always been before them. Somewhere closer to SAEs internal world may well be a more respectful place for NAO to be.

APPENDICES

A. Chapter maps (Chapter 1)

B. Considering then resolving the constraints (Chapter 1)

C. Map to pinpoint selected history of Aboriginal enterprise and trade in South Australia (Chapter 2)

D. Quantifying the SAE through further analysis (Chapter 2)

E. Reviewing some of the qualitative methodologies available (Chapter 4)

F. An overview of the non-Aboriginal organisation participants (Chapter 4)

G. Sample of guiding questions for non-Aboriginal organisations (Chapter 4)

H. Communicating with Aboriginal people and etiquette protocols (Chapter 4)

I. Sample of guiding questions for small Aboriginal enterprises (Chapter 4)

J. Interview administrative documents (Chapter 4)

K. The number of times the participant is represented in the thesis (Chapter 4)

L. Sample from a small Aboriginal enterprise participant interview after content analysis (Chapter 4)

M. The meta-matrix table established under the NVIVO programme (Chapters 4 and 5)

N. Example of cross-interview analysis between the small Aboriginal organisations (Chapters 4 and 6)

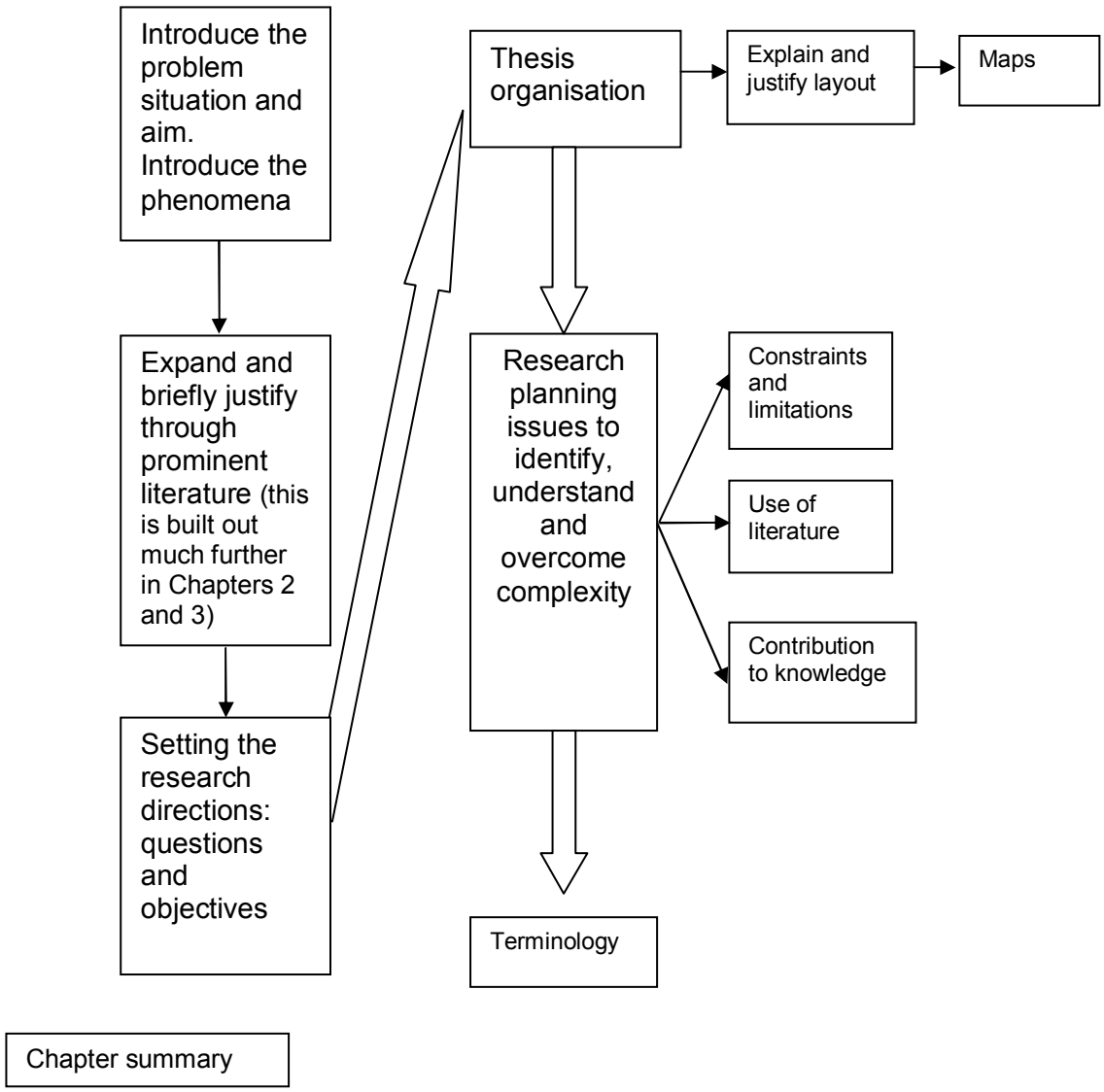
O. Map of Australia showing townships or places where small Aboriginal organisations of this study were located (Chapter 5)

P. Details about the individual small Aboriginal enterprise participants (Chapter 5)

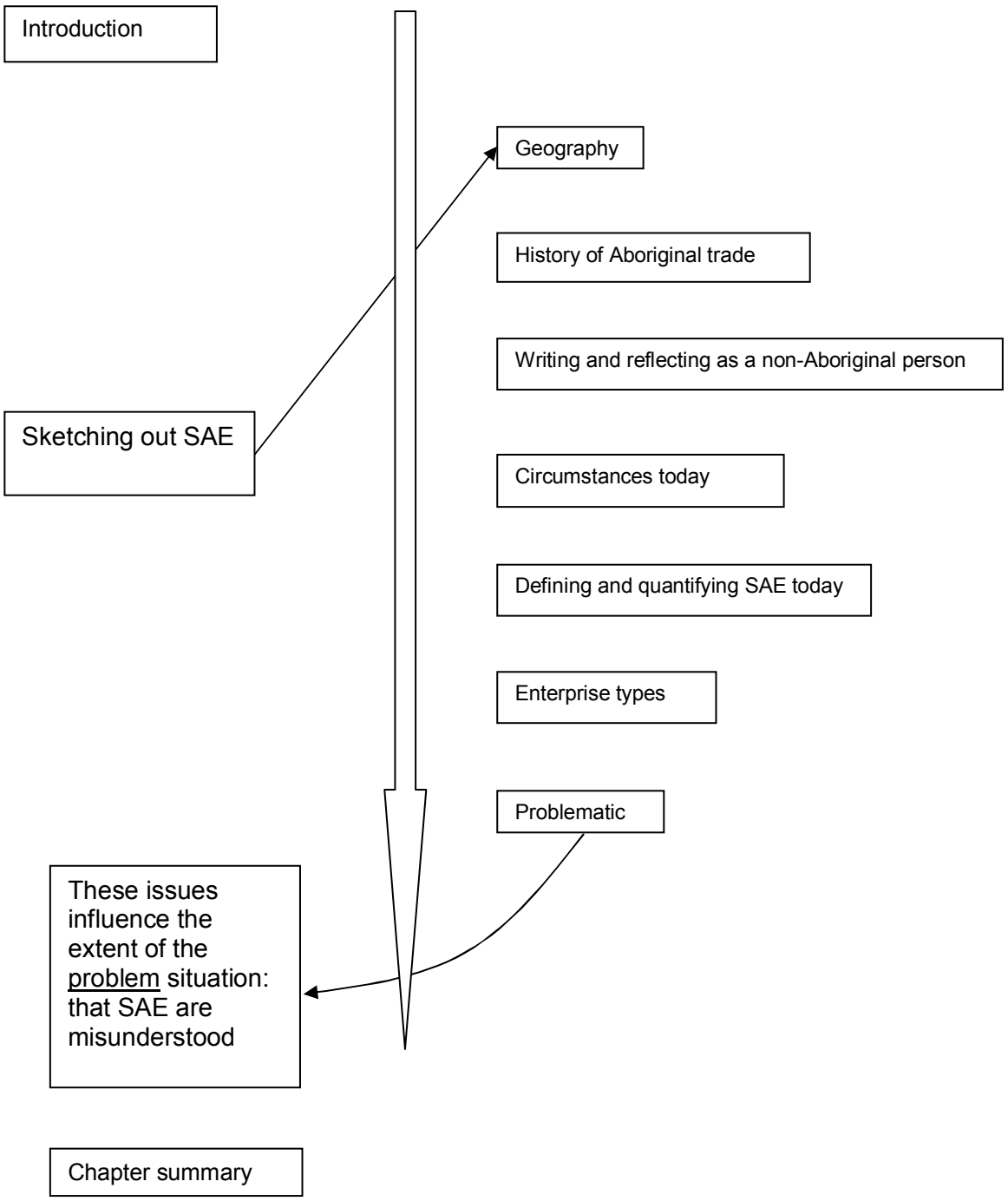
Q. Collating the results from narrative analysis using 12 prominent questions (Chapter 6)

R. Theoretical divisions or property in land and practical examples from Australian law – A guide to land tenure (Chapter 6)

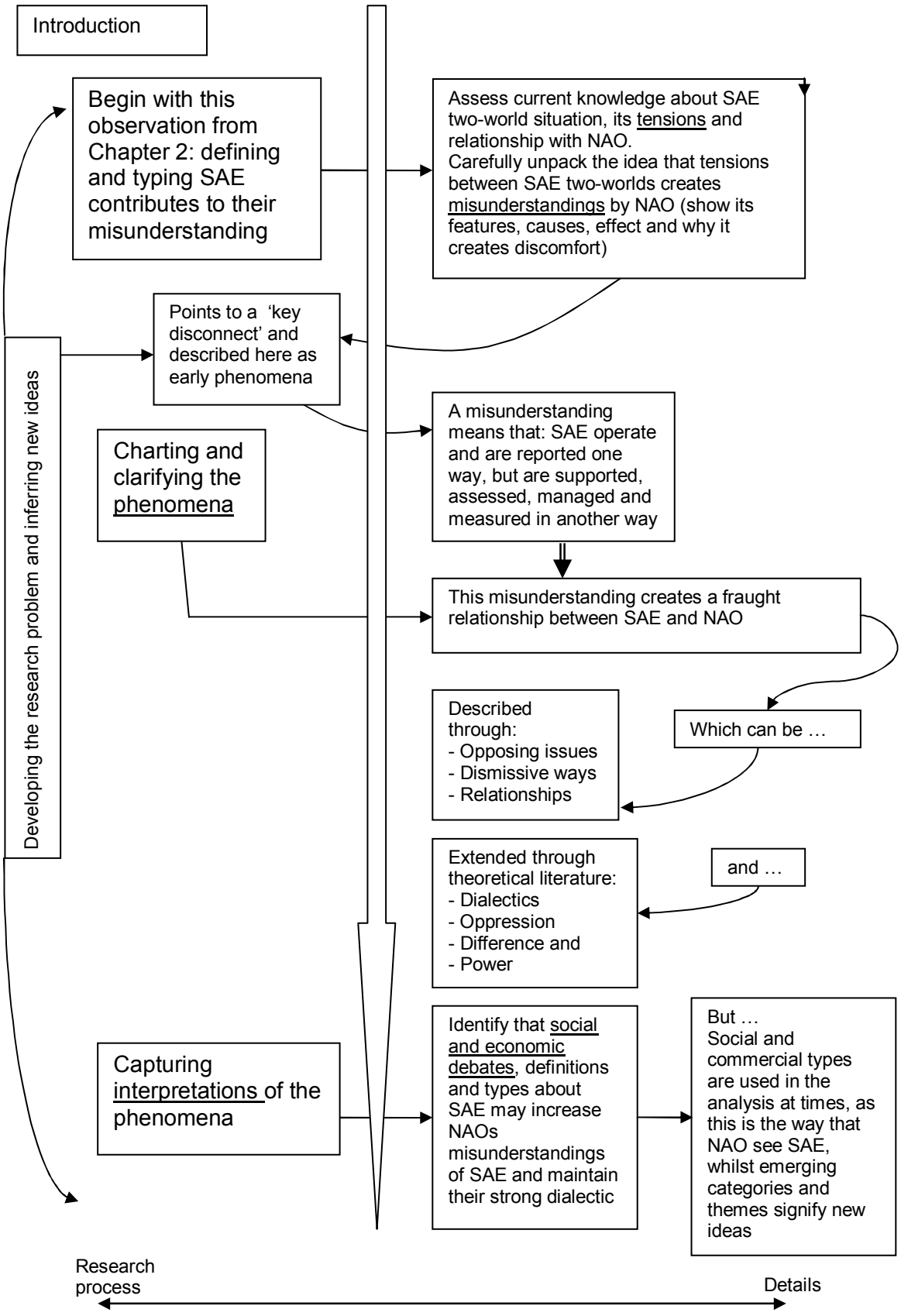
Appendix A (i): Chapter 1 map – Thesis introduction

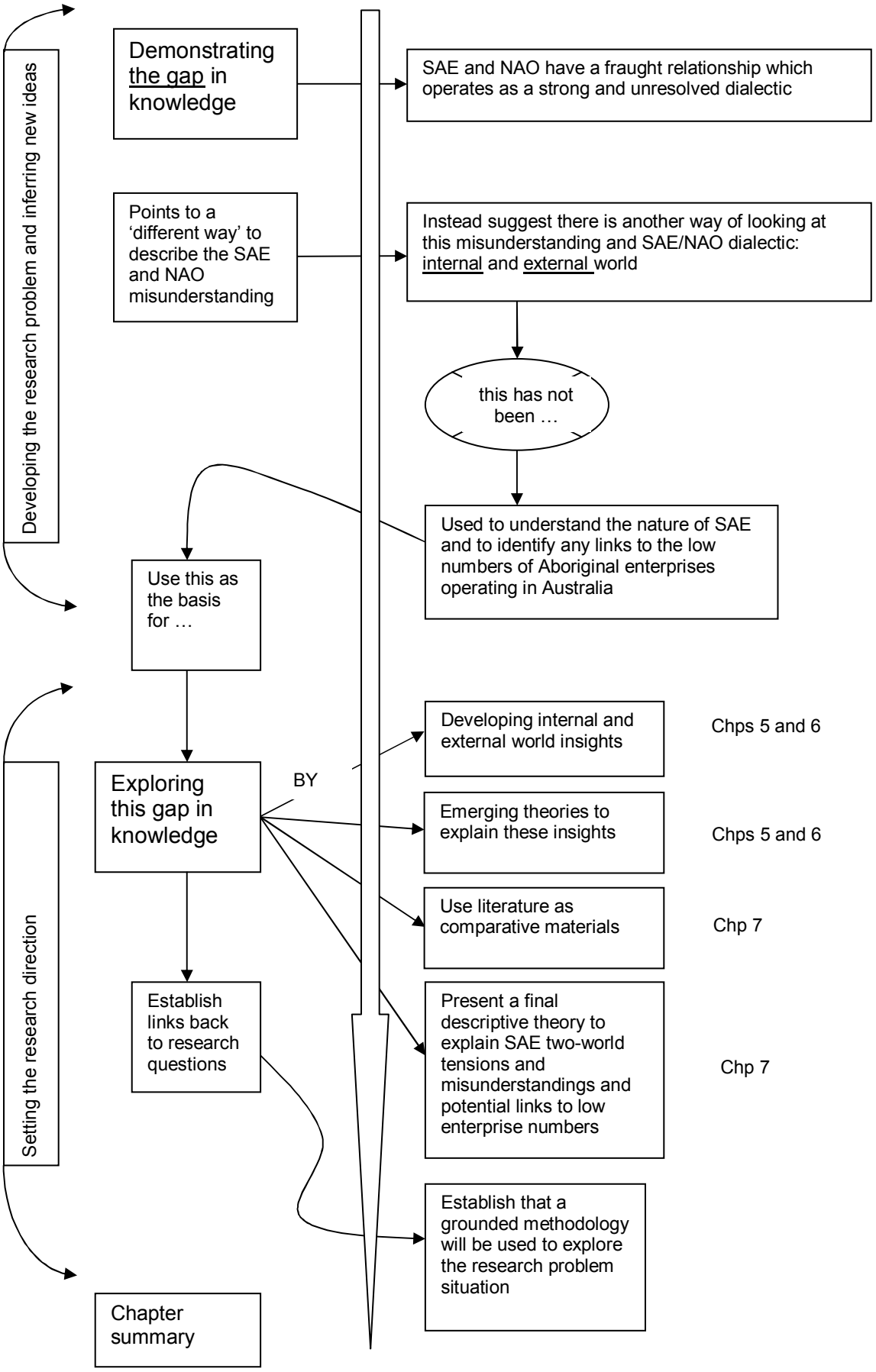


Appendix A (ii): Chapter 2 map – Contextual background

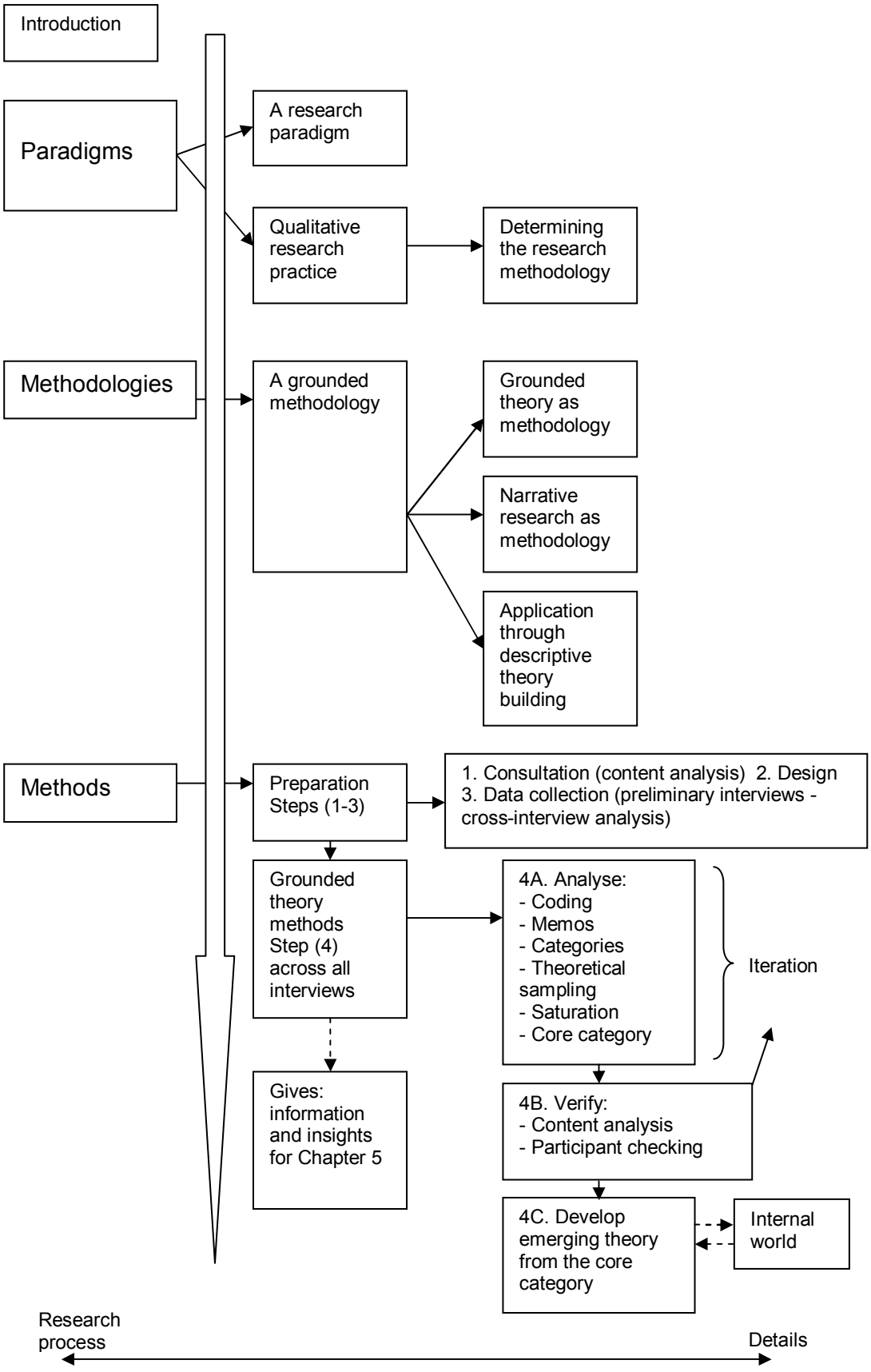


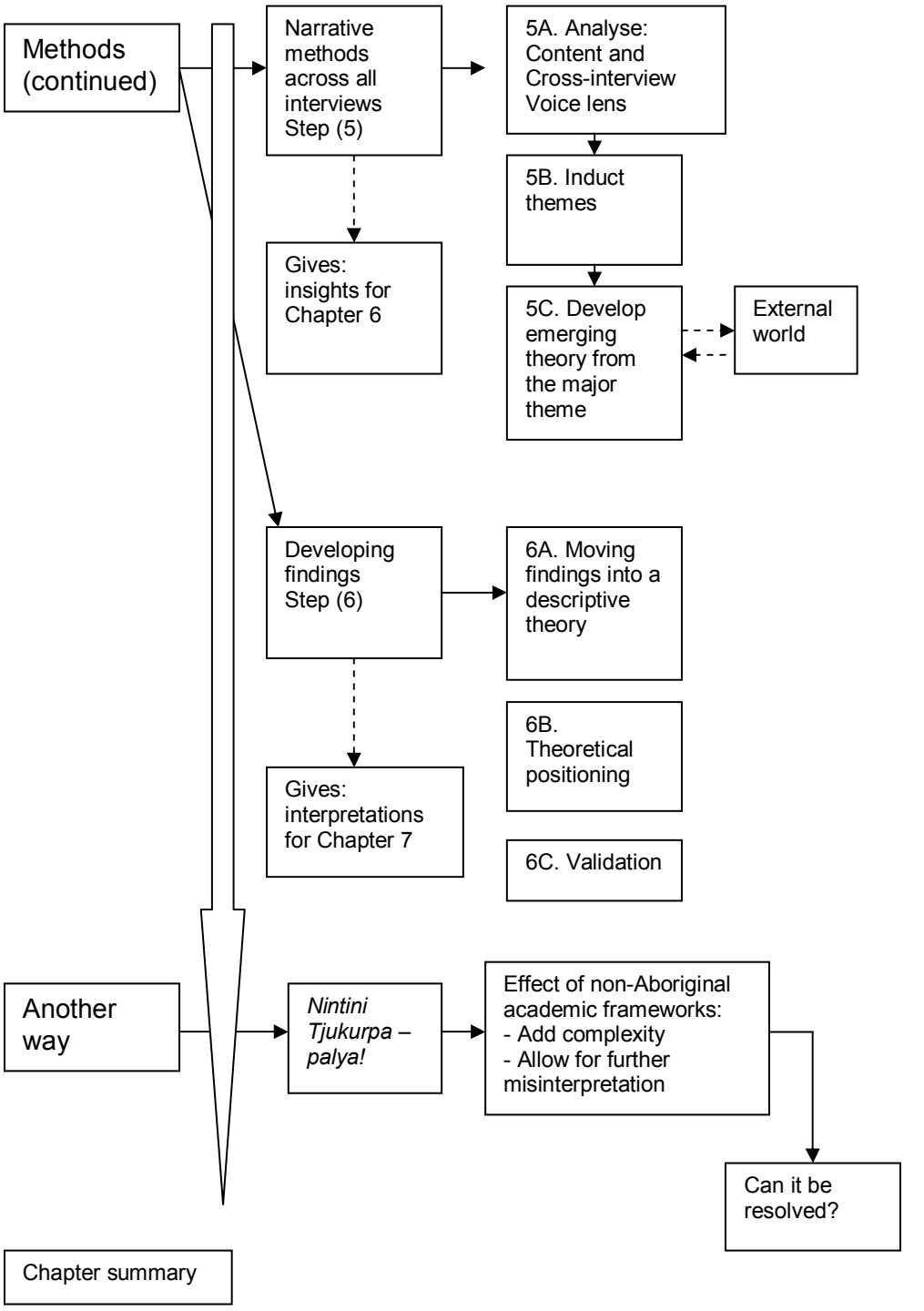
Appendix A (iii): Chapter 3 map – Literature review



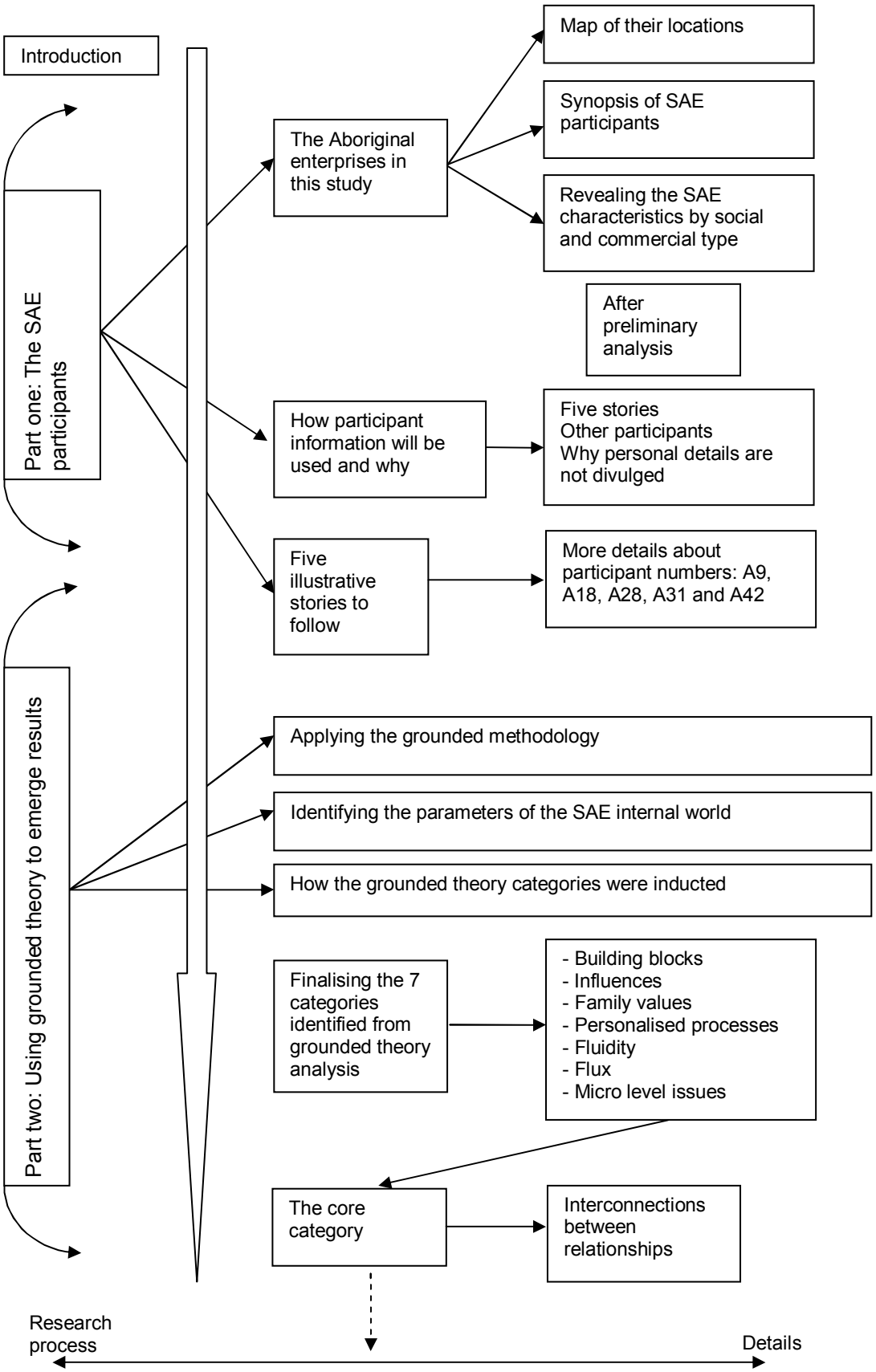

Developing the research problem and inferring new ideas
Demonstrating the gap in knowledge
SAE and NAO have a fraught relationship which operates as a strong and unresolved dialectic
Points to a 'different way' to describe the SAE and NAO misunderstanding
Instead suggest there is another way of looking at this misunderstanding and SAE/NAO dialectic: internal and external world
this has not been …
Used to understand the nature of SAE and to identify any links to the low numbers of Aboriginal enterprises operating in Australia
Use this as the basis for …
Setting the research direction
Exploring this gap in knowledge
BY
Developing internal and external world insights
Chps 5 and 6
Emerging theories to explain these insights
Chps 5 and 6
Use literature as comparative materials
Chp 7
Establish links back to research questions
Present a final descriptive theory to explain SAE two-world tensions and misunderstandings and potential links to low enterprise numbers
Chp 7
Establish that a grounded methodology will be used to explore the research problem situation
Chapter summary

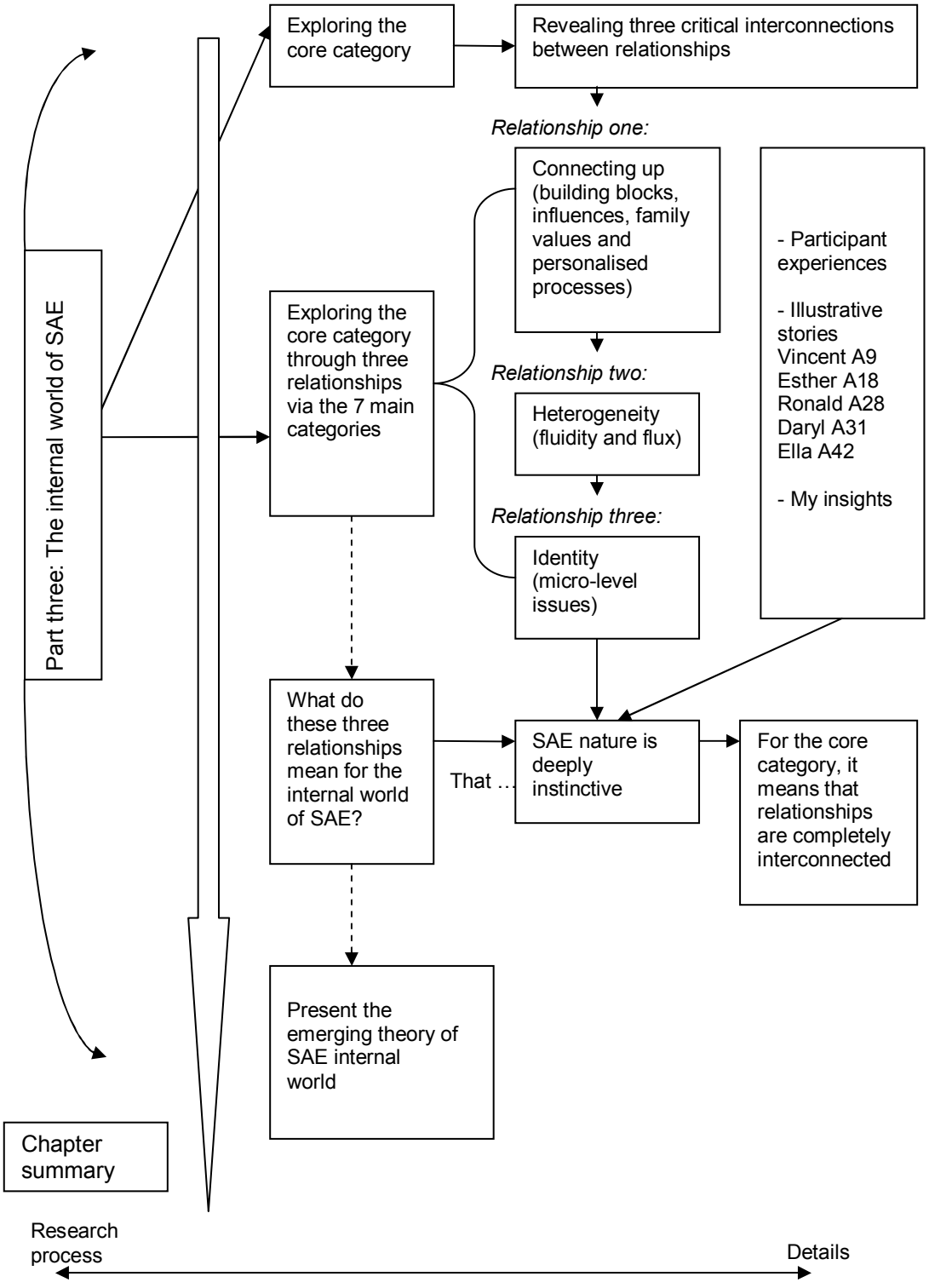
Appendix A (iii): Chapter 4 map – Paradigms, methodologies and methods



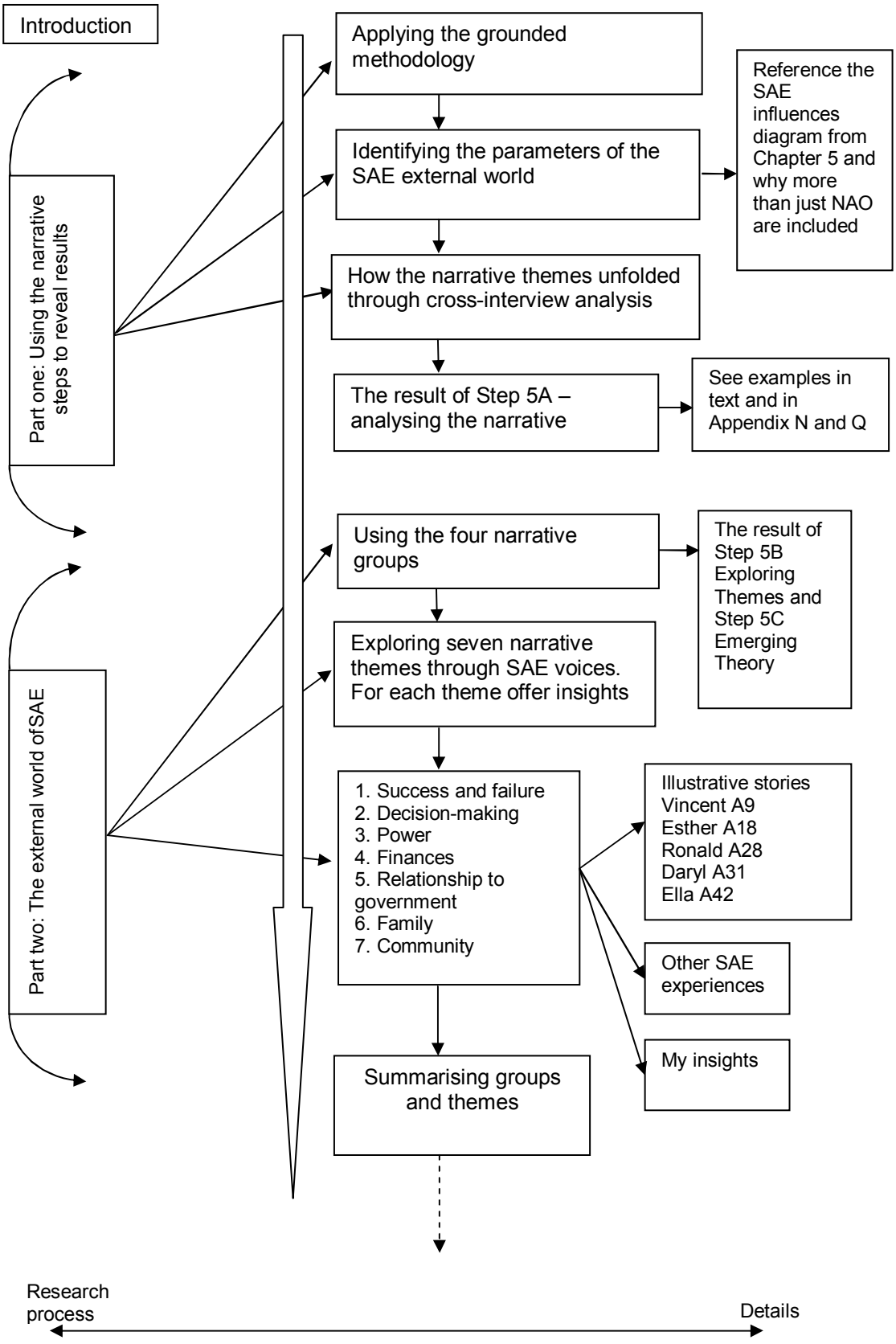

Methods (continued)
Narrative methods across all interviews Step (5)
5A. Analyse: Content and Cross-interview Voice lens
5B. Induct themes
Gives: insights for Chapter 6
5C. Develop emerging theory from the major theme
External world
Developing findings Step (6)
6A. Moving findings into a descriptive theory
6B. Theoretical positioning
Gives: interpretations for Chapter 7
6C. Validation
Another way
Nintini Tjukurpa – palya!
Effect of non-Aboriginal academic frameworks:
- Add complexity
- Allow for further misinterpretation
Can it be resolved?
Chapter summary
Research process
Details

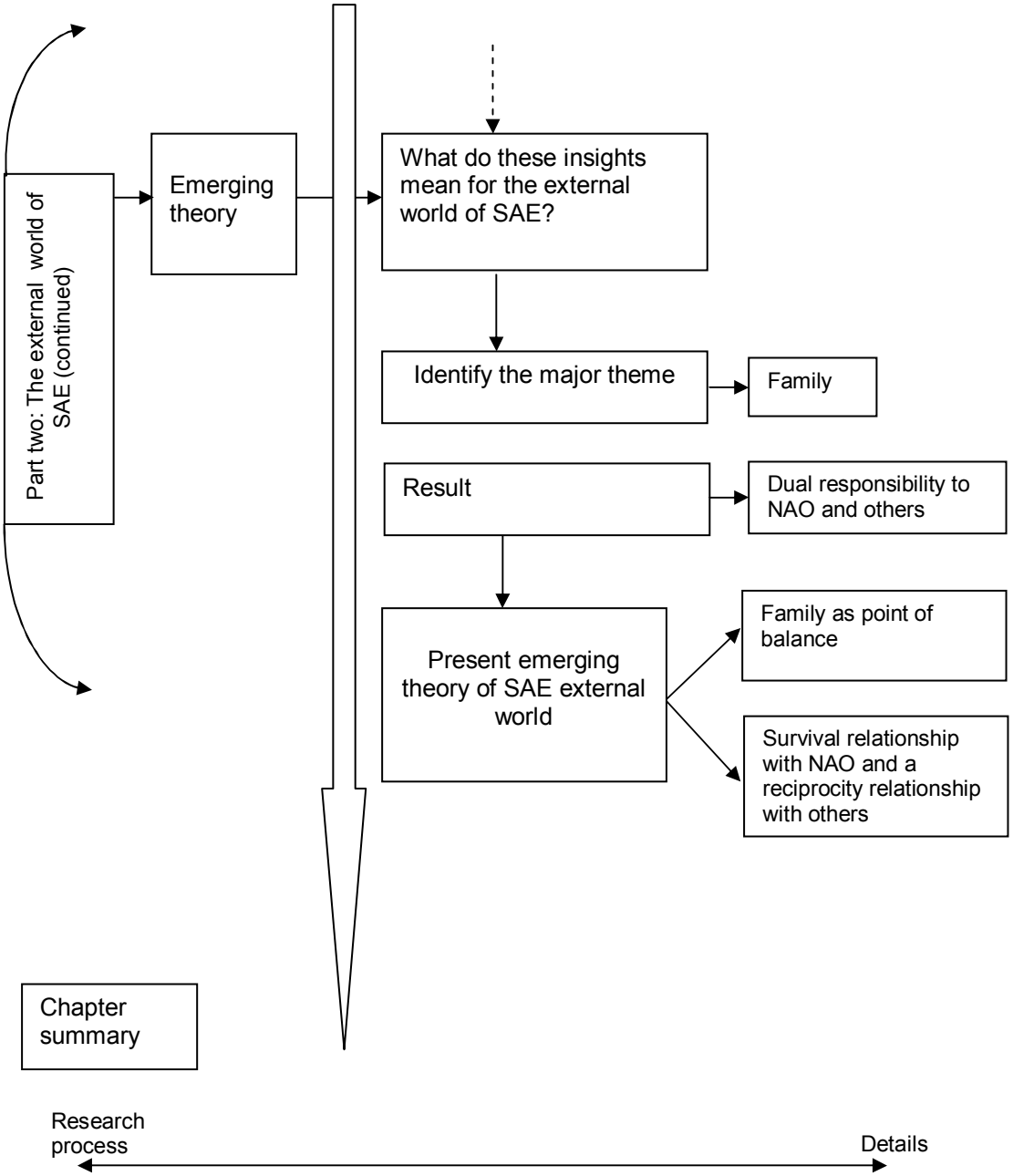
Appendix A (iv): Chapter 5 map – SAE internal world



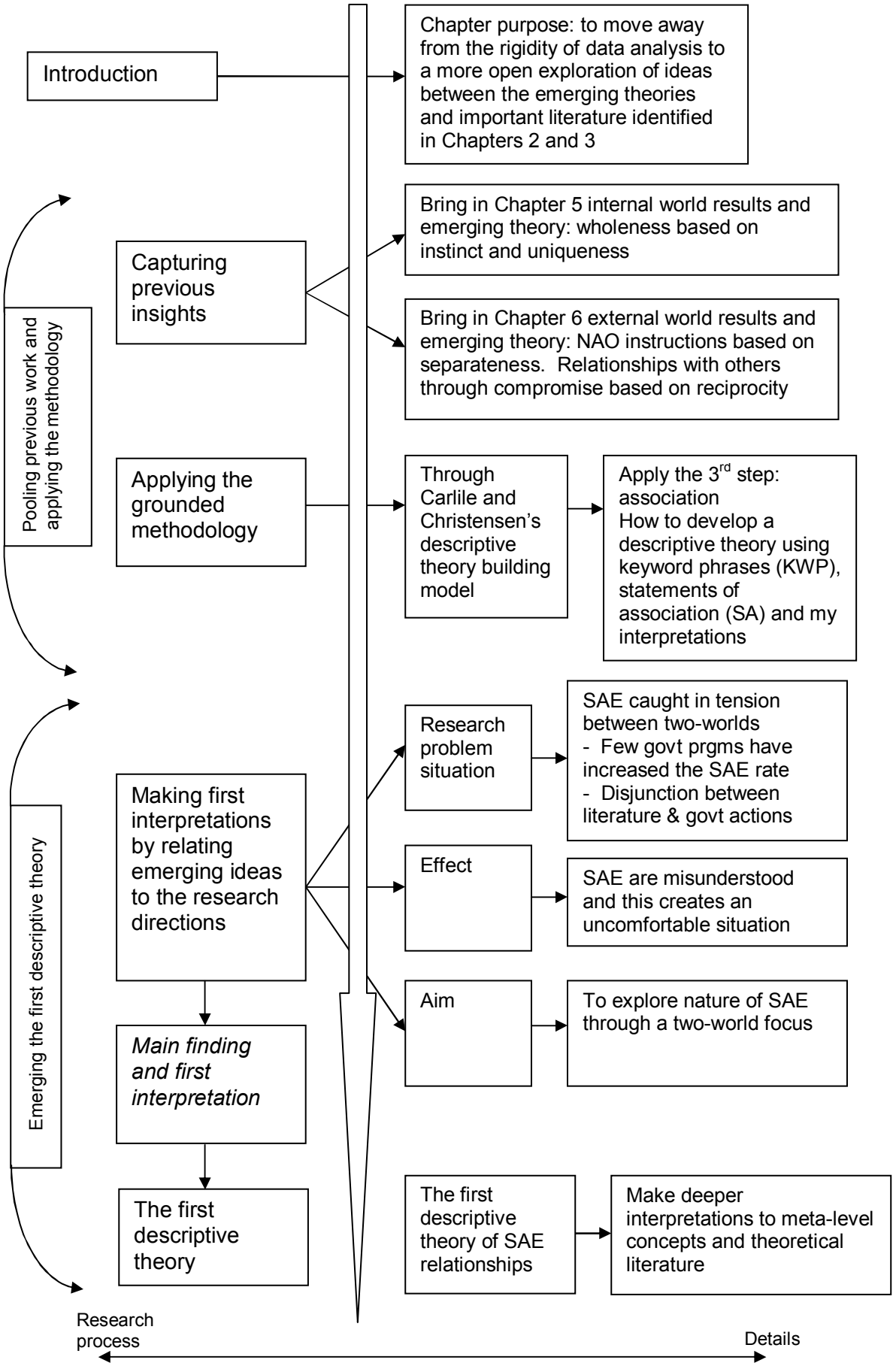

Exploring the core category
Revealing three critical interconnections between relationships
Relationship one:
Connecting up (building blocks, influences, family values and personalised processes)
- Participant experiences
- Illustrative stories
Vincent A9
Esther A18
Ronald A28
Daryl A31
Ella A42
- My insights
Part three: The internal world of SAE
Exploring the core category through three relationships via the 7 main categories
Relationship two:
Heterogeneity (fluidity and flux)
Relationship three:
Identity (micro-level issues)
What do these three relationships mean for the internal world of SAE?
That …
SAE nature is deeply instinctive
For the core category, it means that relationships are completely interconnected
Present the emerging theory of SAE internal world
Chapter summary
Research process
Details

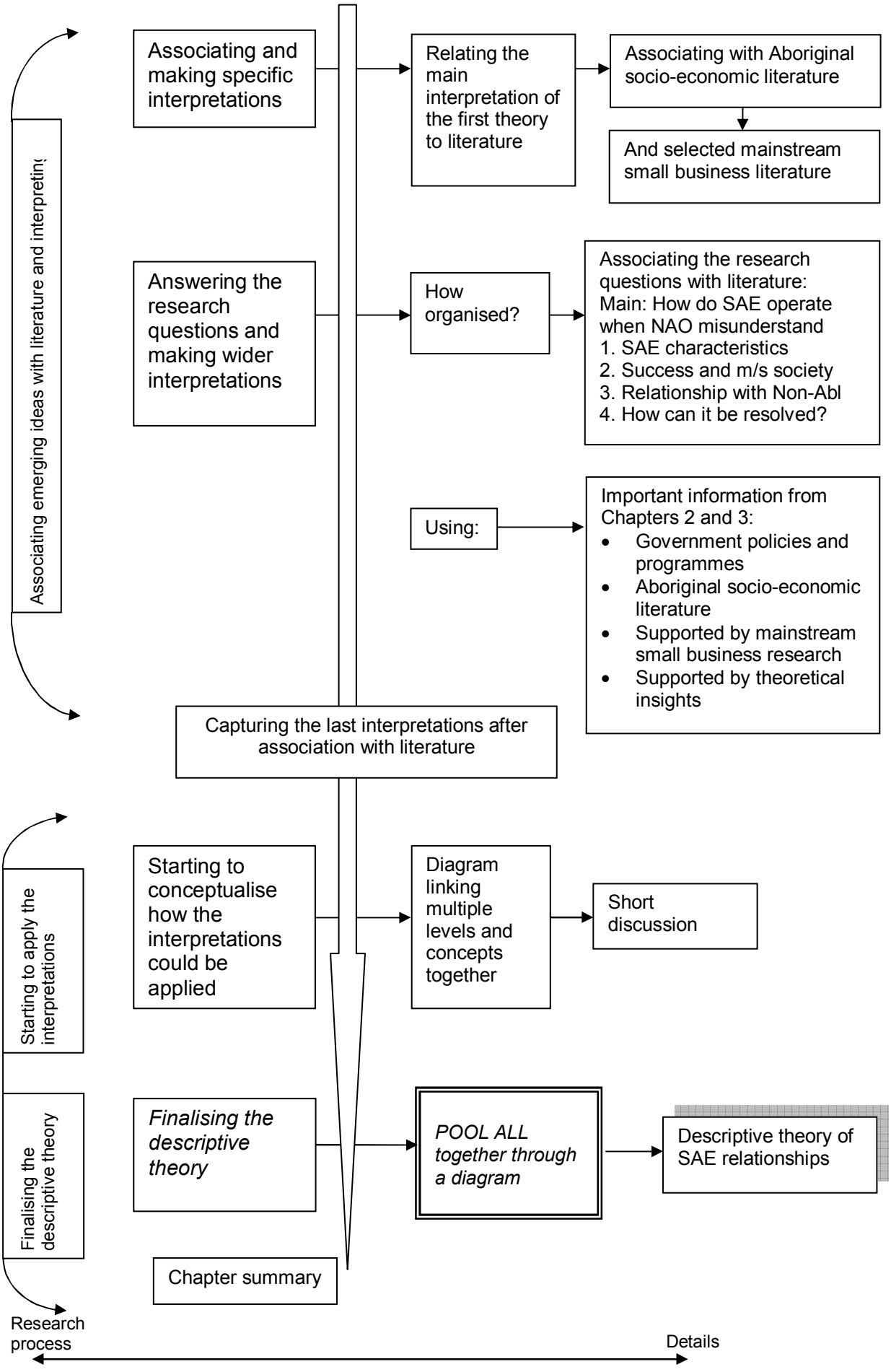
Appendix A (v): Chapter 6 map – SAE external world



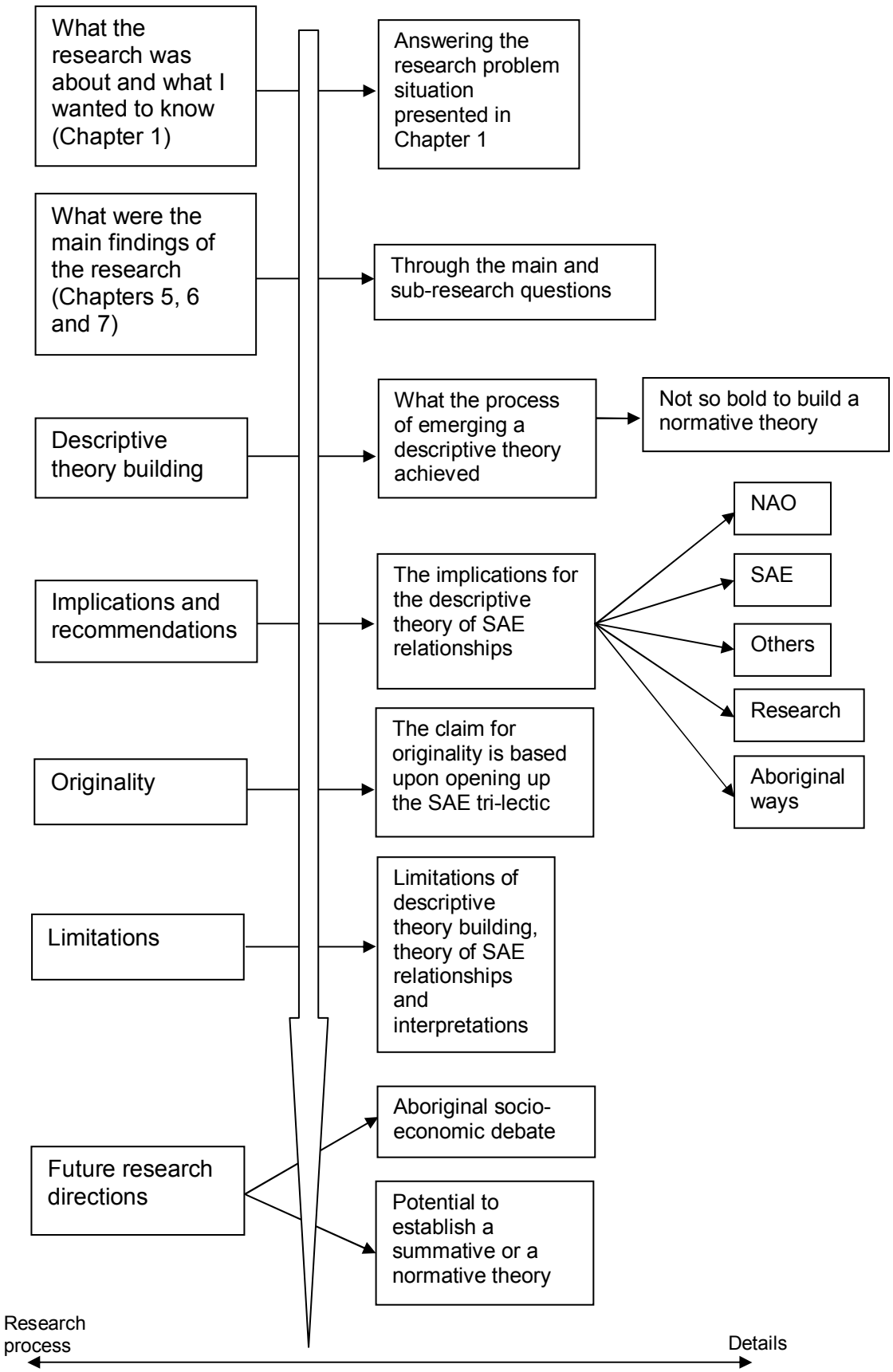

Part two: The external world of SAE (continued)
Emerging theory
What do these insights mean for the external world of SAE?
Identify the major theme
Family
Result
Dual responsibility to NAO and others
Present emerging theory of SAE external world
Family as point of balance
Survival relationship with NAO and a reciprocity relationship with others
Chapter summary
Research process
Details

Appendix A (vi): Chapter 7 map – Interpreting the SAE two-world situation

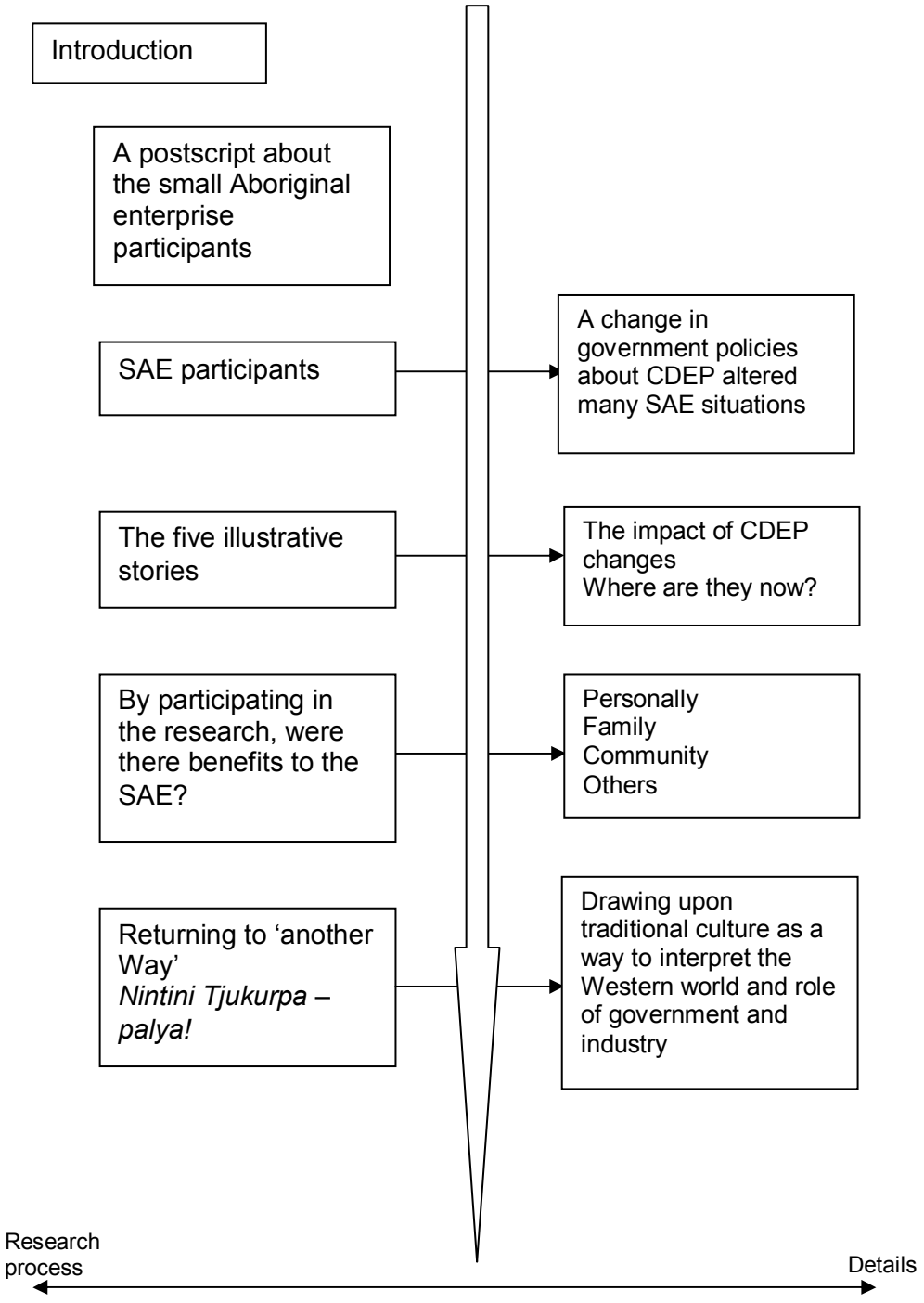



Associating emerging ideas with literature and interpretin
Associating and making specific interpretations
Relating the main interpretation of the first theory to literature
Associating with Aboriginal socio-economic literature
And selected mainstream small business literature
Answering the research questions and making wider interpretations
How organised?
Associating the research questions with literature:
Main: How do SAE operate when NAO misunderstand
1. SAE characteristics
2. Success and m/s society
3. Relationship with Non-Abl
4. How can it be resolved?
Using:
Important information from Chapters 2 and 3:
• Government policies and programmes
• Aboriginal socio-economic literature
• Supported by mainstream small business research
• Supported by theoretical insights
Capturing the last interpretations after association with literature
Starting to apply the interpretations
Starting to conceptualise how the interpretations could be applied
Diagram linking multiple levels and concepts together
Short discussion
Finalising the descriptive theory
Finalising the descriptive theory
POOL ALL together through a diagram
Descriptive theory of SAE relationships
Chapter summary
Research process
Details

Appendix A (vii): Chapter 8 map – Thesis conclusion



Appendix A (viii): Postscript map



Appendix B (i): Research constraints – General notes

- A common research constraint rests with being a non-Aboriginal woman and a researcher. This creates difficulties accessing Aboriginal people and places, talking with Aboriginal men, understanding culture and interpreting language. These constraints require careful thought. For example, approaching an Aboriginal enterprise in a remote area as a non-Aboriginal woman often requires an entrée from a man, regardless of cultural identity. A man could foreshadow the research project to the Aboriginal man, irrespective of earlier phone conversations organising the visit. In some places, this would accord with local cultural practices to respect the roles of women and men.

- Other constraints are more reflective of the PhD process: resources, finances, time and remoteness and therefore the distances to travel; which all impact the research design. Other constraints are more academic, such as understanding abnormality in the data and representation of results. These limitations were considered through careful planning, employing language interpreters, selection of interview participants (i.e. they wanted to be involved and share their knowledge), balanced communication and attempting to remain independent of competing motivations.

- More specifically, it was identified that interviews across all stakeholders had to represent a broad range of entities, locations and people, including corporations, medium-sized and small business, managers, business owners, policy advisers, employees, family members and power brokers. Where possible, gender representation was built into the interview schedule. Language and cultural access was addressed through the employment of an Aboriginal liaison officer in some of the field locations. A proactive attempt was made to maintain the range of Aboriginal voices by limiting gatekeeper access to the interview process and by attempting to speak to a wide range of people about similar issues. Considerable limitations were recognised and continually factored into the research planning.

- In addition, a grounded methodology also proved to be a limitation, as phenomena were explored from many perspectives. This openness encouraged my work to follow many paths resulting in many extra findings that could not be developed in detail.

- How these constraints were resolved is presented in the following two tables as ‘a non-Aboriginal researcher’ then as ‘other issues’.

Appendix B (ii): Considering and resolving the constraints – Non-Aboriginal researcher

Constraints as a non-Aboriginal researcher	Resolved by
What are the underlying cultural identity issues? What is the effect on the project? Are Aboriginal people who operate with Western economic business norms still culturally Aboriginal?	Let Aboriginal people self-identify as Indigenous, and encourage individual stories about Aboriginal identity and experiences. Keep Western ideas of small business to a minimum.
Who should represent culture? How is the representation of culture organised and promoted?	Interview Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, research stakeholders and enterprise owners and/or managers. Determine what constitutes an Aboriginal enterprise and how they will be chosen. Rely on Aboriginal enterprise owners and/or managers to identify their culture.
How can cultural access be negotiated?	Talk about small business and not university research. The word university and research is controversial for many Aboriginal people. Let cultural issues gently grow from the conversation. It is important not to impose specific cultural questions until offered by the research participant.
Time is different for many Aboriginal people, how will interviews be arranged if a commitment to a time (in many cases) is culturally irrelevant?	In all cases place a phone call to outline the research and possible visit date. Do not send paperwork. Interviews to be organised by regions, with numerous people identified as potential participants. Place a phone call the day before to check and gauge their interest in the interview. If interested, attend the meeting with a colleague if needed. Be completely flexible with times and length of meeting, follow the cultural lead given by the Aboriginal enterprise owner and/ or manager.
Is this a male point of view? What do the women want? Can women represent a more accurate version of family and commercial relationships in Aboriginal business enterprise, than men?	Interview women too, define the role of women in the enterprise and family. When talking with Aboriginal men in remote areas, have a male colleague with me to introduce the research and my role within it and seek permission to talk to him.
Will the participants have the confidence in the researcher to present information freely?	Before I talk to participants, provide background information on my own work history, experience with small business ownership and living in remote areas. To aid reciprocation, offer to answer their small business questions after the interview is complete.
How will language difficulties be overcome?	Many Aboriginal enterprises have good English language skills, but in more remote areas an interpreter may be required. This has its own set of implications for synthesising information, and not genuinely reporting what Aboriginal people say. Rely on a local interpreter that Aboriginal participants trust.

Appendix B (iii): Considering and resolving the constraints – Other issues

General constraints	Resolved by
Access to finances, resources and data, how will these be secured?	Secure financial support from research stakeholders. Conduct meetings to introduce the research and seek cooperation. Provide post-thesis documents.
Remoteness and distances to travel across Australia, how will these be negotiated?	Seek operating funds from research stakeholders. Source a four wheel drive and equipment from the university and include a work colleague for travel to remote areas. Negotiate direct with enterprise owner and/or manager first, if necessary ask for community or company approval.
Is there abnormality in the data?	Isolating the difference and explaining it, understanding if the abnormality was caused by the research or does it represent unusual or isolated participant views. Talk to as many different people as possible.
Does the individual represent the group?	One person is only reflecting one point of view. Attempt to talk to numerous people in the same location. Aboriginal enterprise owners and/or managers and their views were not necessarily employee or enterprise stakeholder viewpoints.
Is the highly successful or poorly performing business unrepresentative of other entities?	Success may be different for every enterprise. I need to find out what success and failure means for each participant.
Locating the gatekeepers of information?	Interview other people that have an interest in the enterprise, request the Aboriginal leader is present, ask both the Aboriginal leader and manager to check and approve the transcript.
What are the commercial and research ethical implications?	Do not talk about other Aboriginal enterprises and personalities. Respond to questions by discussing the research through emerging general ideas, findings and themes. Openly acknowledge the research funds and stakeholders, their involvement and their potential use of the information.

Appendix C: Map to pinpoint selected history of Aboriginal enterprise and trade in South Australia

NOTE:
This map is included on page 343 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Source: Department of Families and Communities (2009)

Selected Aboriginal trading regions pre and post-European settlement

A. Coober Pedy
B. Cooper Creek
C. Koppara-Mara
D. Lake Eyre
E. Mount Serle
F. Nepabunna Mission
G. Northern Flinders Ranges
H. Parachilna ochre
I. Poonindie
J. Port Lincoln

Appendix D: Quantifying the SAE through further analysis

The following analysis builds upon the ideas developed from Chapter 2 (see p.42) to reveal that SAE numbers and baseline characteristics are missing from government analysis.

- More recent statistics for Indigenous self-employment, specifically this time in regional and remote areas from the 2006 census,[43] indicated that 1,955 Indigenous people identified as enterprise owners and/or managers in outer regional, remote and very remote areas. This compares to 4,774 Indigenous owners and/or managers self identifying from inner regional and city areas of Australia. In many areas where paid work is unavailable, government income support payments or Community Development Employment Project (CDEP) income constitute the majority of adult incomes for Aboriginal people (85%), whereas in more built up areas employment options are far broader (Altman & Hunter 2005, p.190).

- The ABS (2007b) has advised that the Aboriginal population in remote and regional areas is increasing; this circumstance therefore has implications for Aboriginal enterprise. Increasing numbers of Aboriginal people mean an increasing customer base.[44] Questions surround whether the increasing Aboriginal population over the next 10-20 years can be mirrored with an increasing Aboriginal enterprise participation rate?

- It could be argued there is room (within the previous 2001 statistics) for Aboriginal enterprise to increase from the self-employment rate of 4.8% to the levels of mainstream enterprise self-employment of 16%. Yet, high reliance upon CDEP or government funds for living provides little incentive or opportunity for enterprise experiences or learning. Combined, these statistics also describe the limited opportunities for Aboriginal enterprise in remote and regional areas. Smaller Aboriginal communities provide for a reduced customer base, which creates difficulties accessing markets, due to distances and minimal populations in remote Australia. The distances from discrete Aboriginal communities to service centres remains considerable and costly. If the rate of mainstream self-employment is 16% of total population, then it would be possible to expect no more than 16% of Aboriginal people to be self-employed, yet the percentage of Aboriginal self-employment is 4.8%.

- However, the majority of Aboriginal adults without full time employment (85%) in remote and regional areas receive CDEP or government payments. Therefore, the number of available people to operate an Aboriginal enterprise is 15%, and if the majority work as full-time employees through paid employment, this leaves a small minority of Aboriginal people available for enterprise opportunities. This being so, Aboriginal enterprise may not be an activity that is available for all Aboriginal people; a proposition put forward by Miller (1985) and more recently Fuller, Buultjens and Cummings (2005).

[43] Upon request, the Australian Bureau of Statistics, National Centre for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Statistics, Darwin provided these figures on 13 December 2007 specifically for this research (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2007b). However, the ABS indicated these figures do not indicate Indigenous small business participation.

[44] It is acknowledged that a non-Aboriginal customer base could increase too.

Appendix E: Reviewing some of the qualitative methodologies

Numerous qualitative research methodologies can be employed to understand the nature of Aboriginal enterprise. Narrative research, feminist approaches, conversation analysis, ethnography, critical discourse, grounded theory, action research, applied research and participant observation are all examples. The following qualitative research methodologies reflect some of the possible lines of inquiry available.

Qualitative methodology	**Contrasted to this research**
Narrative research can be used as a vehicle for exploring a wide range of topics. Andrews et al. (2005, p.115) reported that narrative research and analysis, 'is not only a way of finding out how people frame, remember and report their experiences, but is also a way of generating knowledge that disrupts old certainties and allows us to glimpse something of the complexities of human lives, selves and endeavours. It illuminates not only individual lives but also broader social processes'.	A narrative approach would help to identify Aboriginal enterprises through story building.
Feminist approaches to research offer a wide range of possibilities, which recognise women's experiences as research subjects or as the researcher. 'Overwhelmingly, however, feminist researchers (like qualitative researchers more generally) use 'talk about' experience as evidence for what that experience is actually like … participants' talk about relationships, behaviours and interactions is treated as an acceptable surrogate for direct observation' (Kitzinger 2005, p.126).	A feminist approach would help to identify enterprises through the roles of men and women, by identifying their differences and similarities.
Conversation analysis is a method for investigating the structure and process of social interaction between humans. An important premise of this analytical process means that conversation would occur even if the data collection did not. Peräkylä (2005, pp.166-168) advised that three basic theoretical assumptions underpin conversation analysis: 'talk is action, action is structurally organised and talk creates and maintains inter-subjective reality'.	Conversation analysis would help to uncover the meaning behind conversation with myself, stakeholders, themselves and with customers; aiming to identify enterprises through these linkages.
Many argue that ethnography, is confined to the study of anthropology, others see ethnography more widely and applicable to numerous qualitative research projects, principally through sociology. Ethnographic research 'does not proceed in a straight line, but in a series of loops, because each step leads the researcher to reflect upon, and even revisit, earlier steps' (Delamont 2005, p.223). Ethnography requires researchers to live among people and capture in detail their culture, environment and social surroundings.	Ethnography would require detailed research on a few Aboriginal owners and/or managers, thus identifying enterprises from a small sample.
Critical discourse analysis is inter-disciplinary, problem orientated, utilises eclectic theories and methodologies and incorporates field-work. Critical discourse analysis also involves constant movement back and forth between theory and	Critical discourse analysis would encourage a wide view of Aboriginal enterprises using multiple perspectives, based on a pre-determined theoretical position.

empirical data, encompasses multiple genres and public spaces, analyses the historical context and utilises grand and middle range together with discourse theory (Wodak 2005, p.200). Critical discourse analysis aims to consider the context of language use.	
Grounded theory is not a tightly defined critical field of inquiry, but rather a theory that consists of multiple interpretations. 'Grounded theory was conceived as a way of generating theory through research data rather than testing ideas formulated in advance of data collection and analysis, … it requires innovative approach to data selection, … it relies upon qualitative data acquired through a variety of methods: mostly observation and unstructured interviews in the initial stages, then semi-structured interviews as the research becomes more focussed, … and the process of analysing information centres on coding data into categories for the purpose of comparison' (Dey 2005, p.80).	Grounded theory offers a voice for Aboriginal owners and/or managers, with analysis, findings and theories easily recognisable by the participants.
Action research evolved from numerous directions and holds a variety of definitions. Action research is often used to improve a situation or problem area. A plan of action is produced, including testing of hypotheses by application to the problem. 'Action research is the systematic self reflective scientific inquiry by practitioners to improve practice' (McKernan 1996, p.5, in Ladkin 2005, p.537). Action research aims to solve problems, whereas applied research aims to understand the problems of a situation.	Action research would involve the research stakeholders in the inquiry. Their ideas about enterprises would be examined, along with the Aboriginal owners and/or managers.
Applied research works on human problems. 'The purpose of the research is to contribute knowledge that will help people understand the nature of a problem so that human beings can more effectively control their environment' (Patton 1990, p.153). Applied research takes the findings and understandings of basic research and applies them to a real world setting.	Applied research would relate the early ideas about enterprises to industry and other stakeholders.
Participant observation is used to cover a mixture of observation and interviewing. 'The researchers need to discover what 'their' people believe; what they do at work and in their leisure time; what makes them laugh, cry and rage; who they love, hate and fear; and how they choose their friends and endure their relations. This is done by living with the people being studied, watching them work and play, thinking carefully about what is seen, interpreting it and talking to the actors to check the emerging interpretations' (Delamont 2005, p.218). Participant observation is often utilised through ethnographic approaches.	Participant observation encourages greater researcher interpretation, with analysis of enterprises based solely on explanation of owners and/or managers' actions, rather than isolated interpretation of their dialogue.

Appendix F: An overview of the non-Aboriginal enterprise participants

Mining companies or associates	Alphabet identifiers	Description
Enterprise M1	A	Large mining company, Aboriginal training section, with extensive history of employment of Aboriginal people.
Enterprise M2	BH	Manager, sub-contractor to a mining company, employing Aboriginal people.
Enterprise M3	HR	Mid size mining company in northern SA with Aboriginal people involved in a community agreement.
Enterprise M4	JE	Consultant for the mining industry on Aboriginal enterprise, based in Vic.
Enterprise M5	O	Manager of human resources at a mine processing plant, with experience setting up contracts with Aboriginal enterprise. Located in regional SA.
Enterprise M6	NM	Large mining company with extensive Aboriginal programmes, policies and employment in central Australia and WA.
Enterprise M7	P	Executive manager of a government department, with a strong interest in Aboriginal people.
Enterprise M8	R	Large mining company with extensive Aboriginal policies.
Enterprise M9	OS	Manager of mine processing plant, employing Aboriginal people, regional SA.
Enterprise M10	TP	A sub-section of a large mining company in northern Australia, with a project to help Aboriginal children.
Enterprise M11	W	Large mining company in northern SA, with Aboriginal people living in the district.
General interest participants	**Alphabet identifiers**	**Description**
Participant G1	SA	Finance manager of a regional development board in SA with Aboriginal people in the town operating enterprises.
Participant G2	B	Mainstream small business owner with a strong interest in Aboriginal enterprise.
Participant G3	CA	Aboriginal mid-level manager of a regional development board in regional SA.
Participant G4	FP	Mainstream small business owner, employing Aboriginal people, mid north SA.
Participant G5	G	Mainstream small business consultant, setting up Aboriginal enterprises, Adelaide, SA.
Participant G6	HH	Aboriginal man, mid-level manager of an Aboriginal organisation, central Australia.
Participant G7	JC	Government and private enterprise consultant specialising in Aboriginal community and employment.
Participant G8	MK	Small business consultant in remote and regional areas, SA.
Participant G9	PT	Mid-level manager of a regional development board, with Aboriginal people living in the area, SA.
Participant G10	PC	Senior manager, Aboriginal bureaucracy, NT.
Participant G11	SC	Mainstream small business owner, with an interest in Aboriginal people, regional SA.
Participant G12	TS	Manager of a government social welfare programme for Aboriginal people in remote SA.
Participant G13	TP	Manager of a local council with many Aboriginal people, remote SA.

Appendix G: Sample of guiding questions for non-Aboriginal organisations

- Do you have a set of rules or policies in which to engage with Aboriginal people and Aboriginal small business? Are they localised?
- Does your company or organisation support Aboriginal small business other than fully commercial structures and types? For example a 'community-based enterprise' and those enterprises with not-for-profit elements?
- What is your motivation by supporting Aboriginal enterprise?
- What do you aim to achieve with Aboriginal enterprise?
- Did any background or foundation thinking occur on how your organisation wanted to engage with Aboriginal enterprise?
- Who benefits from your organisation supporting Aboriginal enterprise?
- Do you think that sustainable development policies are effective in managing mining and Aboriginal enterprise relationships?
- What do you see as the critical issues for your relationship with Aboriginal enterprise?
- What is your organisation's way forward with Aboriginal people and enterprise?
- Do you have success and failure experiences with Aboriginal enterprises?
- What barriers exist between your organisation and Aboriginal enterprise?
- Do you consider power relationships between your organisation and Aboriginal enterprises?
- What is your experience of Aboriginal people running their own small business?
- In your organisation, what roles do government and private enterprise play in growing Aboriginal enterprise?
- How could private enterprise support Aboriginal enterprise? What do you think it means for an Aboriginal person to be in small business?
- Are Aboriginal enterprises different?
- Are Aboriginal enterprises difficult to understand?
- Does culture impact Aboriginal enterprise?
- In your organisation, how do large businesses and corporations relate to small business?
- Have you considered how Aboriginal small business people make decisions?
- Can commercial functions in enterprise sit alongside community and social issues? How?
- What is your experience of Aboriginal enterprise and community issues?
- Have difficult relations in the past between Aboriginal people and mainstream society impacted the way you work with Aboriginal enterprise?

Appendix H: Communicating with Aboriginal people and the etiquette protocols followed with Aboriginal enterprise participants

At times, depending on the enterprise participant and their connection with traditional Aboriginal culture, the following list was completely abided by. In the majority of cases only part-protocols were followed. A protocol was introduced by following the lead or cue given by other Aboriginal people and the interview participant.

- Before visiting make arrangements over the phone to talk to the Aboriginal person, confirm the day before.
- Park vehicle away from Aboriginal area and approach an older person (as a woman, approach an older woman or the non-Aboriginal coordinator).
- Check if it is okay to meet with interview participant.
- If they were unavailable, leave and try later.
- Ask if it is okay to talk to Aboriginal male participant (as a non-Aboriginal woman researcher).
- Avoid direct eye contact and don't talk too fast or too much.
- Use everyday, family friendly language.
- Use an interpreter if needed.
- Do not interrupt.
- Do not ask a direct question as this can be impolite, better to talk sideways and use suggestions or hints.
- Be a good listener, be patient and considerate.
- Talk to people sitting down.
- Be sensitive to participants who do not understand research, the paperwork or procedures.
- Wear conservative and loose clothing.
- Remember that many Aboriginal people do not follow a clock; therefore appointments are difficult for some people to keep. Be flexible in arrangements.
- Offer a cup of tea and light refreshments.
- Allow for interruptions and tailor meetings to fit with Aboriginal lifestyle. If they are out working or doing things outdoors or with family, ask to join them.
- At the start of the interview ask the participant, if permission is required from anyone else.
- Drive car slowly in towns. Wave and smile to people and share hospitality.
- In some areas, a permit may be required to access an area and this takes time to organise.
- Do not take alcohol into Aboriginal areas or deliver to people.
- Ask permission before walking, camping or driving anywhere.
- Only take photos of people, the area and objects after approval has been given.
- Understand that different family groups may have different opinions of research in the same community, township or enterprise.
- Do not rush the flow of the conversation, allow for consideration and lengthy pauses.
- Acknowledge that Aboriginal people rarely say 'no' out of politeness and a 'yes', may not mean an agreement.
- When signing research documents, such as the approval to participate in the research, leave the paperwork until the end of the meeting and allow much time for its discussion, reflection and use. Give a copy of all documents to the participants and ask if they are comfortable signing or would they prefer not to sign or ask for someone else's help.
- Document and store the materials according to the wishes of the Aboriginal participant, returning all originals if requested.

- Return all typed interviews to each participant for checking and after revisions returning a copy for them to keep.
- Offer to help participant in return for their involvement in the interview by fielding small business questions, accessing information and posting it on, or helping to solve a small problem.
- Inform each participant about the research objectives, funding sources, benefits, limitations, commercialisation options, potential use of the materials and how they will get information back.
- Respect equitable benefit sharing arrangements and advise that if any products or knowledge is produced from the research, it must be shared with each participant.
- Ask each participant what they would like to get out of the research.
- Report back to the participants during the research process.
- Respect the confidentiality of each interview and do not disclose the contents of other interviews to other people, other than through generalisations.

Sources: Desert Knowledge Cooperative Research Centre (2008) and Institute for Aboriginal Development (n.d.).

Appendix I: Sample of guiding questions for small Aboriginal enterprises

Enterprise Name:

Nature of Business:

Enterprise Start Date:

Contact Person/People:

Telephone:

Postal Address:

Interviewer and Date:

Source of Information (who)?

Checked with Owners?

- Remember you do not have to answer a question I ask, it may not apply to you or your organisation

- Would you like have a family member or friend with you when we do the interview?

1. Could you talk to me about your background and how you got into enterprise?
2. What is the enterprise structure (draw out)?
3. Who are your customers? Do you have enough trade/sales for your enterprise?
4. In your country, were Aboriginal people doing enterprise before the white fella arrived?
5. Do you do enterprise with other Aboriginal people, just white fellas or a mix of both?
6. What is the legal structure?
    a. Sole trader
    b. Partnership
    c. Co-op
    d. Trust
    e. Company
    f. Non-profit organisation
    g. Don't know
    h. Other
7. What is the aim of the enterprise? What is your motivation? Is the focus of your enterprise to make money? What is your goal as an enterprise? Do you want to be more commercial? Or more cultural or something else?
8. Do you have a set of rules, constitution or policies to run the enterprise? Do they work? Are they easy to understand?
9. How did you learn how to run the operation?
10. What is the employment structure?
    a. Management
    b. Professional
    c. Skilled
    d. Semi-skilled
    e. Unskilled
    f. Casual
11. What jobs do the Aboriginals do and what jobs do the white fellas do?
12. Is enterprise good for culture or bad for culture? How and in what ways?
13. How much time do you spend working on enterprise stuff?
14. What are your enterprise success stories?
15. What are your enterprise failures?

16. Where did the start up money come from for the enterprise?
    a. ATSIC
    b. Bank or finance lender
    c. Government
    d. Investors
    e. Own savings
    f. Partners
    g. Other
17. Do you have a comfortable net profit?
18. Does your organisation receive any government money? Should Aboriginal enterprises receive government money?
19. Did any background thinking occur on how you, your family, enterprise or community wanted to relate to the white fella world?
20. What are your experiences of large businesses? Do they understand your small business or enterprise?
21. What type of relationship does your enterprise have with the bank or finance lender?
22. Is it important for your enterprise to pay off a loan?
23. Does your enterprise get involved with any government departments? What is the relationship like?
24. If a CDEP, do you run a business enterprise as part of the CDEP operations?
25. Do you have a plan (yearly, 5 yearly) and/or budget? How does it work?
26. Do other Aboriginals learn from you about enterprise? Is it a good model for other Aboriginals?
27. Is there any community power or control over your enterprise?
28. How did you fit Aboriginal culture into your enterprise? Are there any examples?
29. What experience have you had of the white fella world? Has this helped you in the enterprise?
30. What types of enterprise is good for Aboriginal culture?
31. Does the enterprise have to be on your land/or near to it?
32. What parts of white fella culture do you use for your Aboriginal enterprise?
33. Is your life good because of the enterprise? Could you imagine it any better than today?
34. Do you change any of the white fella enterprise rules to fit with Aboriginal culture?
35. Do the employees and other Aboriginals see the enterprise in the same way you do?
36. How are decisions made within your enterprise?
37. What are your priorities for making decisions in the enterprise?
38. What person or people influences decision-making in the enterprise? Why? Does this work?
39. Do members of the community or the family in the enterprise work together to solve problems or is it done individually?
40. Who benefits from the enterprise? In what ways?
41. Are people involved in enterprises and get benefits without putting efforts in (free riders)?
42. Are there any barriers to your enterprise?
43. Does your enterprise give back to the community?
44. Do you get involved in local area business groups?
45. Are enterprises harder to operate with community being involved or are they easier? Why?
46. Are there strong leaders in your enterprise? How did you learn your leadership skills?
47. Do you have a second level of people to support the leader and help do the work and back any changes or plans?
48. Do you use a small business mentor? Who do you go to for advice? Any advice funded or coordinated through government?
49. What is influencing your decisions in the small business (family, poverty, community, humbug, relations with people, aims of the business, access to markets to sell products, making money)?
50. What issues have the most influence in your family when making decisions?
51. What person or people influences decision-making in the small business? Why? Does this work?
52. Do any private enterprises support your business? How?

53. Do you or employees take time off work to go to any cultural activities?
54. How often do family, social and cultural issues impact or considered in your enterprise? How do you work with these?
55. Does culture have to be managed if in enterprise?
56. Do you ever put family and social and cultural issues ahead of the enterprise? Why? When?
57. Does the small business bring your family together or is it just another added pressure?
58. Do you discuss the enterprise outside of work (at home or with other family or friends)? Do these discussions influence your enterprise decisions?
59. Do you experience conflict between money and culture? How are they managed?
60. What do you think are good family values? What are bad family values? Do they influence your enterprise?
61. Have any ties to extended family been broken because of the enterprise?
62. Do any members of your family help you out in the enterprise?
63. Being in enterprise, does this influence your children or other people you know?
64. Do you or your staff experience any pressure not to earn money or to share the money they earn?
65. Is it important in your enterprise to pay off a loan?
66. What questions do you have of me and this research?
67. Do you mind if we talk about the university forms we discussed earlier?

Appendix J (i): Interview administrative documents – The basic letter of consent for participants

THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

STANDARD CONSENT FORM

FOR PEOPLE WHO ARE SUBJECTS IN A RESEARCH PROJECT

I, ……*(please print name)*

consent to take part in the research project:
To understand Aboriginal enterprise in remote and regional areas.

I have read the attached Information Sheet entitled:
To understand Aboriginal enterprise in remote and regional areas.

I have had the project, so far as it affects me, fully explained to my satisfaction by the research worker. My consent is given freely.

Although I understand that the purpose of this research project is to improve the quality of business enterprises, it has also been explained that my involvement may not be of any benefit to me.

I have been given the opportunity to have a member of my family or a friend present while the project was explained to me.

I have been informed that, while information gained during the study may be published, I will not be identified and my personal results will not be divulged, unless I give specific information for this.

I understand that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time.

I am aware that I should retain a copy of this Consent Form, when completed, and the attached Information Sheet.

…… ……...

(signature) *(date)*

WITNESS

I have described to …….. *(name of subject)* the nature of the procedures to be carried out. In my opinion she/he understood the explanation.

Status in project: Researcher
Name: Louise Moylan

…….. ……
(signature) *(date)*

Appendix J (ii): Interview administrative documents – The research project information sheet

Research project: To understand Aboriginal enterprise in remote and regional areas.

Contact details of researchers:

Ms Louise Moylan
University of Adelaide
0428 101 076
louise.moylan@adelaide.edu.au

I am the main researcher on this project. Before I was a student I worked in enterprise in outback SA.

Dr Jocelyn Davies
Desert Knowledge Co-operative Research Centre
08 8950 7152
jocelyn.davies@csiro.au

Main supervisor of the project

What is Aboriginal enterprise?

- 'Enterprise' means a system through which people sell things or provide a service to other people in return for money. Some enterprises are owned and operated by individuals and some are owned and operated by families and communities. Small business is another word that means small enterprise.

Examples of Aboriginal enterprise:

• A cattle or sheep station.	• An arts and crafts store.
• A tourism enterprise.	• A newsagency in a town.
• An interpreting service.	• A bus service.
• A shop or store.	• A gardening maintenance enterprise.

Enterprise structures include self employed or Sole Trader (one person), Partnerships (two or more people), Company, Co-operative or Incorporated Body.

Background:

- Many non-Aboriginal people run their own enterprise as a way to get income and to be proud. But not many Aboriginal people run enterprises. Some examples of Aboriginal enterprise include Iga Warta (tourism) and Wallatina (pastoral).
- Some people say commercial success through enterprise and culture do not go together. I want to find out what Aboriginal enterprise people say about this.
- Aboriginal enterprise people say they want help to set up good enterprise structures and to learn ideas from other Aboriginal enterprises. My work is finding out good ways to do this.

Where I am talking to Aboriginal enterprise people:

- Ceduna, Yalata, Coorong, Riverland, Adelaide, Port Augusta, Whyalla, Flinders Ranges, Marree, Oodnadatta, Coober Pedy, Anangu-Pitjantjatjara Lands, Katherine, Cloncurry, Tom Price, Country Victoria and Alice Springs.

Some of the Research Questions:

- What commercial and cultural issues affect Aboriginal enterprise?
- What are the relationships between family and work in Aboriginal enterprise?
- Can commercial and cultural issues work together in Aboriginal enterprise?
- How are decisions made in Aboriginal enterprise?

- How do family values affect Aboriginal enterprise?
- What are some examples of strong culture in Aboriginal enterprise?
- What are some examples of a strong Aboriginal enterprise?

What will come from my research?
- Better understanding by people and organisations of how to set up strong Aboriginal enterprise.
- Aboriginal people, regional areas, Government agencies, exploration and mining industry, joint venture partners and financial providers are interested in this.
- The mining industry and PIRSA want to understand how and to help Aboriginal be successful in enterprise.

Useable Documents for Participants:
- Meetings with Aboriginal people during the research project encourage two way flow of information.
- Louise Moylan will produce records of meetings, booklets, and a report for communities, industry, government and the research participants. This will help with communication and in planning enterprises. These will be available at the end of the research, during 2008.

Recommendations:
- Recognising and addressing Aboriginal enterprise interests in SA, including economic development and Aboriginal involvement in management decisions.

How the information will be used:
- The information will be written down by Louise Moylan and held and used confidentially. No identity of a person will be given unless authorised by that person. You can be anonymous if you wish (e.g. person A from Location C).

Contact details for University of Adelaide's Ethics Committee:

If you wish to talk to an independent person about:

- Making a complaint, or
- Raising concerns on the conduct of the project, or
- The University policy on research involving human subjects, or
    - Your rights as a participant
    - See the attached complaints document for more information
- Please contact the Human Research Ethics Committee's Secretary on phone (08) 8303 6028

Who is funding the research?
PIRSA – SA Government
University of Adelaide
Desert Knowledge Co-operative Research Centre, Alice Springs
SA Chamber of Mines and Energy and member companies

Appendix J (iii): Interview administrative documents – The complaints document

THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

COMPLAINTS DOCUMENT FORM

PROJECT INFORMATION

The Human Research Ethics Committee monitors approved research projects.
The University provides a confidential and independent system for you to redress your concerns.

The following study has been reviewed and approved by the University of Adelaide Human Research Ethics Committee:

Project title:

To understand Aboriginal enterprise in remote and regional areas.

1. If you have questions or problems about the project, or wish to raise a concern or complaint about the project, then you should consult the project co-ordinators:

Name:

Dr Ian Nuberg telephone: 08 8303 7729……..

Dr Jocelyn Davies telephone: 08 8950 7152 ……

2. If you wish to discuss with an independent person matters related to
   - making a complaint, or
   - raising concerns on the conduct of the project, or
   - the University policy on research involving human subjects, or
   - your rights as a participant

Contact the Human Research Ethics Committee's Secretary on phone (08) 8303 6028

Appendix K: The number of times the Aboriginal enterprise participant is represented in the thesis

In total, 63 separate interviews were conducted with Aboriginal owners and/or managers across 47 enterprises. Each one of these interviews was used equally in both grounded theory and narrative methods. Each interview was individually coded under the NVIVO programme to emerge either categories or themes (refer back to Chapters 5 and 6). These details were used to answer questions through the meta-matrix table (refer to Appendix M) and used to identify relevant SAE participant stories and example quotes.

Due to the size of the gathered data, only a small portion of the SAE interviews were used as examples in the thesis. These examples were chosen because they represented other responses. Some SAE owners and/or managers were adept communicators with deep ideas. As such, their interview records were more useful when writing up the research, whereby they are reported more often in the thesis than others.

The table below shows where the Aboriginal enterprise was reported in the thesis.

Aboriginal Enterprise number	Where reported in the thesis?
A1	Non-Aboriginal manager and limited information was given.
A2	Chapter 6 = 8 times
A3	Chapter 6 = 3 times
A4	Chapter 6 = 3 times
A5	Chapter 5 = once
A6	Chapter 5 = twice. Chapter 6 = 4 times
A7	Limited information given by a shy Aboriginal person.
A8	The Aboriginal man did not wish his ideas to be published.
A9	Chapter 5 = twice. Chapter 6 = 3 times
A10	Chapter 6 = twice
A11	Chapter 6 = twice
A12	Chapter 5 = once. Chapter 6 = 3 times
A13	Chapter 6 = 5 times
A14	The Aboriginal man did not want to draw attention to his ideas.
A15	Non-Aboriginal manager.
A16	Chapter 5 = twice. Chapter 6 = once
A17	Chapter 5 = twice. Chapter 6 = 3 times
A18	Chapter 6 = once

A19	Chapter 6 = 3 times
A20	Chapter 6 = once
A21	Chapter 1 = once
A22	Chapter 6 = once
A23	Chapter 5 = once. Chapter 6 = twice
A24	Chapter 5 = once
A25	The participant represented an Aboriginal board, and the information provided was not specific enough.
A26	Chapter 6 = 3 times
A27	Chapter 5 = once. Chapter 6 = 6 times
A28	Chapter 6 = 4 times
A29	Chapter 5 = once. Chapter 6 = 4 times
A30	Chapter 6 = once
A31	Chapter 5 = twice. Chapter 6 = 10 times
A32	Chapter 5 = 3 times. Chapter 6 = 3 times
A33	A non-Aboriginal manager where limited information was given.
A34	The Aboriginal man did not wish family and cultural details to be published.
A35	Chapter 6 = twice
A36	A non-Aboriginal manager who was uncomfortable with the research process.
A37	An Aboriginal man who did not want his ideas to be identified.
A38	An Aboriginal manager who was just starting up his enterprise.
A39	Chapter 6 = once
A40	An Aboriginal man starting a small family-based social enterprise who did not wish his family dynamics to be read.
A41	A corporate response from an Aboriginal organisation.
A42	Chapter 5 = once. Chapter 6 = once
A43	An Aboriginal man who did not wish to reveal his information.
A44	Chapter 6 = once
A45	Chapter 5 = twice. Chapter 6 = 4 times
A46	A non-Aboriginal manager of a social enterprise.
A47	A non-Aboriginal manager of a social enterprise who disapproved of research activities.

The other participant examples used were:

Participant G3 (general interest) Chapter 6 = twice

Participant G6 (general interest) Chapter 5 = once

Participant G10 (general interest) Chapter 6 = once

Participant M4 (mining and related) Chapter 6 = twice

Appendix L: Sample from a small Aboriginal enterprise participant interview after content analysis

This example is based upon the four parts of Table 4.3 and reflects exploration of the SAE internal world as presented in Chapter 5.

Content analysis	Sample analysis from Enterprise A27	Comments
Part one – interview administration	Enterprise A27 has a moderate voice about SAE; he can see they are similar, but also very different to each other. A hidden meaning surfaced: that non-Aboriginal people don't understand why SAE need culture. This owner is politically active in Aboriginal and mainstream community. The power of large corporations has damaged this community and this sense of power infuses the conversation with me.	Part one shows that Enterprise A27 understands the small and large picture of being in enterprise. The analysis also shows that other people are not as confident as Enterprise A27 at dealing with powerful groups.
Part two – interview datasheets	Interview data sheet analysis revealed these narratives: cultural voice, power between Aboriginal people and mainstream society, distrust of government, and wanting to be independent. My biases: I have lived in the area where Enterprise A27 operates and I know the local political tensions.	Part two shows that Enterprise A27 narratives are about relationships and the position of the Aboriginal world against mainstream ways.
Part three – links to research questions	Misunderstanding is a common theme as evident in the power relationships between local people and larger organisations. The idea of success is confusing and may not be based on finances alone, as it seems to link to culture and land as well. There is a large disconnect to culture, where the NAO lens is too bureaucratic and overly based on processes and rules and this clouds the local picture of SAE.	Part three shows that a major theme emerging from Enterprise A27s narrative is based upon the desire to connect, both within his SAE and to ethical NAO.
Part four – insights and interpretations	A contrast to the three major relationships (connecting up, heterogeneity and identity) emerging from grounded theory methods revealed a similar message. These three grounded theory relationships align with the major theme from Enterprise A27s narrative, to want connections and want relationships.	Part four shows that content analysis of Enterprise A27s narrative confirmed the presence of wholeness and linking up processes that emerged from grounded theory. Content analysis also showed that separation and dealing with isolated systems, such as finances, were unfamiliar to SAE.

Appendix M: The meta-matrix table established under the NVIVO programme

The following 50 questions were listed on the meta-matrix table under the NVIVO programme. The questions are listed here without example answers from participants. This table is discussed in Chapter 4, under the sub-heading 'content analysis'. This table was used to analyse each interview under grounded theory verification steps, content analysis and later to cross-analyse each interview under narrative methods.

Questions 1 to 20	**Questions 21 to 40**	**Questions 41 to 50**
Age?	Influence of traditional Aboriginal ideas?	Social obligations?
Aims?	List of barriers given?	Start date?
Benefits?	Land used as collateral?	Subsidies?
Business size?	Land title or tenure?	Time at work?
Commercial structure?	Location?	Type of capital?
Constitution?	Motivated by what?	Type of economy operating in?
Culture failing the enterprise?	Number of decision-makers?	Type of industry?
Cultural identity?	Number of organisations under incorporated body?	Use of profit?
Family impact?	Perception of land?	Written plans?
Family values?	Operate in market failure or not?	
Financially standing alone?	Old people or elders involved in the decisions?	
Gender?	Owner or manager?	
Goals?	Position of interviewee?	
Has the enterprise held an alternate identity?	Priorities for the enterprise?	
Impact of education, employment and training?	Recurrent funding?	
Identify as a community enterprise?	Response to research questions?	
Impact of community?	Run by a dominant family?	
Incorporated body?	Second visit?	
Influence of cultural power?	Sharing pressure?	

Appendix N: Example of cross-interview analysis between two small Aboriginal enterprises

This example refers to Figure 4.4, and uses Enterprise A8 and A30 as an example. The details reflect the SAE external world.

Cross-interview analysis	Enterprise A8	Enterprise A30
Part one – Use the meta-matrix table and content analysis	The base information given in Appendix L and M was used to begin the task of cross-analysing each interview.	
Part two – Cluster data to give groups and themes of the SAE external world Four narrative groups were identified after clustering the data: perception of SAE, expressing the SAE, NAO and other influences. Seven themes were identified: success and failure, decision-making, power, finances, relating to government, family and community.	Example of clustered data from Enterprise A8 under the 'perception of SAE' group: This owner wanted to live an Aboriginal lifestyle and operate an enterprise with white fella rules when he had to. Although enterprise money values were important, he said he could 'bend 'em' a bit for his family. He perceived his enterprise as a combination of black fella ways and white fella rules with local Anangu people pressuring him for favours and government people pressuring him to perform financially. He said the government didn't understand him and what he wanted to do.	Example of Enterprise A30 under 'perception of SAE' group: This owner saw himself as operating an Aboriginal enterprise with white fella rules most of the time. He saw Aboriginal culture as something that came with him and it was practised when he could. He believed that if his enterprise was financially ok, then it gave him more time to 'get out bush and do men's stuff'. He said that Aboriginal people tried to pressure him, but he could deflect the favours. He perceived his enterprise as white fella ways with an Aboriginal approach.
Part three – Examine differences and similarities	A contrast between Enterprise A8 and A30 reveals subtle differences. Enterprise A8 was motivated deep down to operate an enterprise on Aboriginal land to continue his cultural story, whereas Enterprise A30 was happy to live next door to country and get back when he could. Enterprise A30 found it easier to manage humbug and cultural pressure because he had stronger money values than Enterprise A8 did. The similarities between Enterprise A8 and A30 showed that interconnections and operating between two-worlds were always happening and that both owners had found creative ways to operate in the middle ground.	
Part four – Identify thematic boundaries	The thematic boundaries across Enterprise A8 and A30 involve family pressure, cultural attachment and money values. These boundaries were highly personal and highly variable and reflected the unique identity of each SAE owner and/or manager.	
Part five – Highlight my voice lens	My voice lens evident after establishing this thematic boundary reflects a Western idea of success. How can SAE be successful if finances are not critical to the SAE, but family and culture are more important for them? This suggests that building a connection between finances and other aspects of their whole process is more critical than operating SAE with isolated parts.	

Appendix O: Map of Australia showing townships or places where SAE of this study were located

NOTE:
This map is included on page 364 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Source: University of Texas (n.d.)

Appendix P: Individual SAE participants

Brief details about each Aboriginal enterprise, from their geographical location to the owner and/or manager's age, through to enterprise type, size and industry are presented below. This table indicates that approximately 50 years was by far the most common age to operate a SAE. It was also found that social motivations were an element of many enterprises. Interestingly young women were not represented in the regions at the time of the field research, as no owners and/or managers of this demographic could be found. However, some young men were operating SAE in non-traditional occupations such as technology and media.

Small Aboriginal Enterprise number and their details
Enterprise A1, located northern Australia, managed by non-Aboriginal man, aged 30s, mining industry contract.
Enterprise A2, non-Aboriginal man, aged 50s, manager of numerous social enterprises, central Australia.
Enterprise A3, Aboriginal man, aged 50s to 60s, community focus with management processes in place, health support, regional SA.
Enterprise A4, non-Aboriginal woman, manager, aged 40s to 50s, strong community involvement, remote SA.
Enterprise A5, non-Aboriginal man, aged 50s to 60s, manager of a retail store, but experiencing culture pressure, central Australia.
Enterprise A6, Aboriginal woman, aged 30s to 40s, self-employed, commercial focus, northern SA.
Enterprise A7, located northern Australia, managed by Aboriginal person 40s to 50s, community projects.
Enterprise A8, Aboriginal man, aged 40s to 50s, micro enterprise, self-employed, primary industry, northern SA.
Enterprise A9, Aboriginal man, aged 50s to 60s, family organised, cultural pressure impacts enterprise, agriculture, central Australia.
Enterprise A10, Aboriginal man, aged 50s, self-employed, tradesman, regional SA.
Enterprise A11, non-Aboriginal manager of a strong community organised enterprise, aged 50s-60s, remote area, northern SA.
Enterprise A12, Aboriginal woman, aged 30s to 40s, community focus but with management processes in place, retail, regional Vic.
Enterprise A13, Aboriginal man, aged 50 to 60s, family organised enterprise, tourism, regional SA.
Enterprise A14, Aboriginal man, aged 20s to 30s, artist, regional Vic, micro-enterprise, family organised.
Enterprise A15, non-Aboriginal manager, man aged in his 20s to 30s, a roadhouse in a remote area of SA.
Enterprise A16, Aboriginal man, aged 40s to 50s, social enterprise, tourism industry, remote area, SA.

Enterprise A17, Aboriginal man, aged 40s to 50s, provider of mining services, regional SA.
Enterprise A18, Aboriginal woman, aged 50s, community organised enterprise, transport, north west QLD.
Enterprise A19, Aboriginal man, aged 50s, community focus, employment services, regional Vic.
Enterprise A20, non-Aboriginal manager, aged 40s to 50s, health care provider, remote SA.
Enterprise A21, Aboriginal man, aged 40s, commercial focus based on family, arts and tourism, NT.
Enterprise A22, Aboriginal woman, aged 40s to 50s, community goals, commercial procedures, arts and crafts, regional Vic.
Enterprise A23, Aboriginal man, aged 50s to 60s, commercial focus through self-employment, retail, western SA.
Enterprise A24, Aboriginal man, aged 40s to 40s, community organised enterprise, tourism, NT.
Enterprise A25, Aboriginal man, aged 50s to 60s, community involved in enterprise, varied industries, regional Vic.
Enterprise A26, Aboriginal woman, aged 50s to 60s, micro enterprise, self-employed, tourism, northern SA.
Enterprise A27, non-Aboriginal woman, aged 40s, supervisor in a larger small business, tourism, central Australia.
Enterprise A28, Aboriginal man, aged 40s to 50s, family focus, tourism, northern SA.
Enterprise A29, non-Aboriginal woman, aged 50s, community is a strong part of the enterprise, arts and crafts, remote SA.
Enterprise A30, Aboriginal woman, aged 40s to 50s, community service, interpreter, remote SA.
Enterprise A31, Aboriginal man, aged 40s to 50s, commercial values, retail enterprise, central Australia.
Enterprise A32, Aboriginal woman, aged 40s to 50s, culturally managed enterprise, community organised, remote SA.
Enterprise A33, non-Aboriginal manager, aged 40s to 50s, commercial focus, service provider to a mining company, northern Australia.
Enterprise A34, Aboriginal man, aged 40s to 50s, micro enterprise, primary industry, remote SA.
Enterprise A35, Aboriginal man, aged 40s, community and culture very important to enterprise, retail, western SA.
Enterprise A36, non-Aboriginal man, aged 50s, manager of an arts and crafts enterprise, central Australia.
Enterprise A37, Aboriginal manager, aged 40s to 50s, primary industry, remote SA.
Enterprise A38, Aboriginal man, aged 50s, social focus for enterprise, arts centre, regional SA.
Enterprise A39, Aboriginal man, aged 50s, money was important to enterprise, media and public relations, regional Vic.

Enterprise A40, Aboriginal man, art and dance, aged 30s to 40s, tourism industry, micro-enterprise, regional Vic.
Enterprise A41, Aboriginal man, aged 50s, numerous community enterprises and projects, WA.
Enterprise A42, Aboriginal woman, aged 40s to 50s, women are an important part of the enterprise, arts and crafts, regional SA.
Enterprise A43, Aboriginal man, aged 20s to 30s, self-employed, market and commercial focus, media and public relations, Adelaide, SA.
Enterprise A44, Aboriginal man, aged 40s to 50s, community representatives with a spokesperson, interpreting and cultural advice, remote SA.
Enterprise A45, Aboriginal man, aged 50s to 60s, family controlled enterprise, tourism operation, SA.
Enterprise A46, Aboriginal man, aged 40s to 50s, community organisation operating small enterprises, regional SA.
Enterprise A47, non-Aboriginal woman, aged 40s to 50s, manager for numerous community small enterprise projects, remote SA.

Appendix Q (i): Collating the results from narrative analysis – Step 1

Step 1: use the meta-matrix table (50 questions) to select 12 strongly populated questions. See Appendix M.
The 12 questions are listed below with example answers from four enterprise participants.

Participant	Aims (1)	Cultural power (2)	Tradition-al identity (3)	Benefits (4)	Sharing (5)	Family impact (6)	Goals (7)	Motivations (8)	Decisions by who (9)	Number of decision-makers (10)	Valuing money (11)	Use of profit (12)
Enterprise A5	Clearly commercial	Part	At times	Mixed	None	Frequent	Mid-range	Money	Manager	3-5 people	Good and bad values evident	Yes, through a lease by manager
Enterprise A9	Mostly commercial	Moderate	Frequent	Immediate family	Part	Frequent	Mid-range	Immediate family	Immediate family	1-2 people	Good and bad values evident	Yes
Enterprise A17	Mostly commercial	Moderate	At times	Mixed	At times	Constant	Long-range	Immediate family, money and community	Family members	3-5 people	Good and bad values evident	Yes
Enterprise A32	Clearly social	High	Constant	Community	Constant	Frequent	Short-range	Community	Board from the community	6-10 people	Good and bad values evident	No

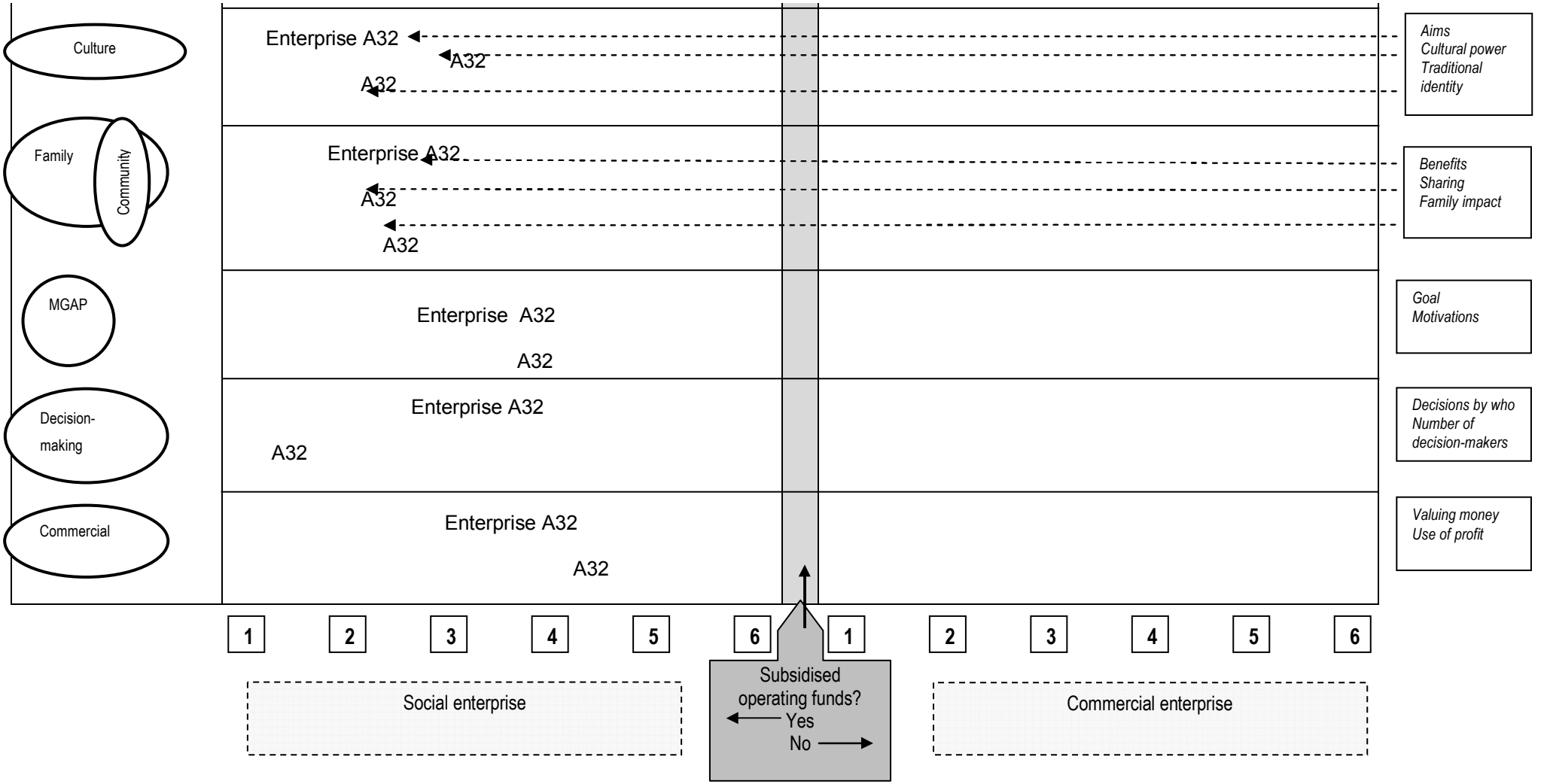
Appendix Q (ii): Collating the results from narrative analysis – Step 2

Step 2: Excel spreadsheet shows how each enterprise was plotted through 12 prominent questions. Enterprise A32 and A17 are used as examples.

Enterprise form	Enterprise building block	Prominent questions	Enterprise participant (name changed)	Enterprise number	Assessment score from 1 to 6
Social	Culture	Aims	Enterprise A32	32	2
Social	Culture	Influence of cultural power	Enterprise A32	32	3
Social	Culture	Influence of traditional identity	Enterprise A32	32	2
Social	Family and Community	Benefits to who	Enterprise A32	32	2
Social	Family and Community	Sharing	Enterprise A32	32	1
Social	Family and Community	Impact of family	Enterprise A32	32	2
Social	MGAP	Goals	Enterprise A32	32	3
Social	MGAP	Motivated by what	Enterprise A32	32	3
Social	Decision-making	Decisions by who	Enterprise A32	32	3
Social	Decision-making	Number of decision-makers	Enterprise A32	32	1
Social	Commercial	Enterprise money values	Enterprise A32	32	3
Social	Commercial	Use of profit in the enterprise	Enterprise A32	32	4
Social	Culture	Aims	Enterprise A17	17	4
Social	Culture	Influence of cultural power	Enterprise A17	17	5
Social	Culture	Influence of traditional identity	Enterprise A17	17	5
Social	Family and Community	Benefits to who	Enterprise A17	17	5
Social	Family and Community	Sharing	Enterprise A17	17	5
Social	Family and Community	Impact of family	Enterprise A17	17	4
Social	MGAP	Goals	Enterprise A17	17	3
Social	MGAP	Motivated by what	Enterprise A17	17	5
Social	Decision-making	Decisions by who	Enterprise A17	17	5
Social	Decision-making	Number of decision-makers	Enterprise A17	17	5
Social	Commercial	Enterprise money values	Enterprise A17	17	4
Social	Commercial	Use of profit in the enterprise	Enterprise A17	17	3

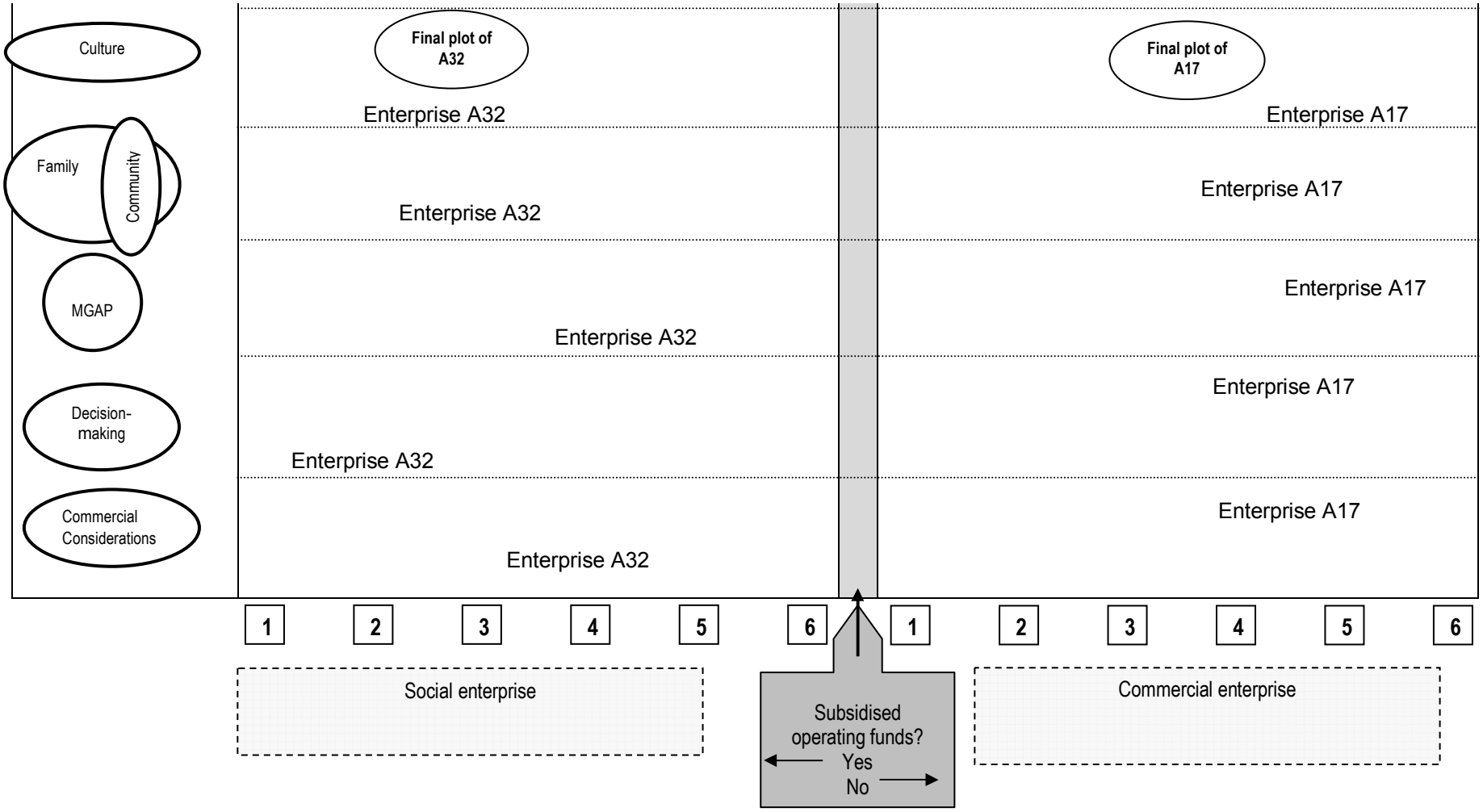
Appendix Q (iii): Collating the results from narrative analysis – Step 3

Step 3: plot each enterprise through 12 prominent questions with Enterprise A32 used as an example.



Appendix Q (iv): Collating the results from narrative analysis – Step 4

Step 4: finalise the plot position before graphing results, as illustrated in Figure 6.1. Enterprise A32 and A17 are used as an example.



Appendix R: Theoretical divisions of property in land and practical examples from Australian law – A guide to land tenure

Theoretically, there are four divisions of property in land in Australia:

1. Private Property
2. State or Public Property
3. Common Property
4. Communitarian or Community Property.

Note – There are differences between the property types but also similarities

1. Private Property (all titles are alienable). Private property is held by individuals and groups, they hold defined 'bundles of rights' in relation to specific resources and the rights can be enforced against all others in the world. The rights can be exercised to suit the individuals or groups that hold them. There is a finite set of property interests in Australian land, which are:

Fee Simple – freehold
- Provides the most valuable land title, for life or of uncertain duration.
- Most commonly used property to raise capital, by borrowing against the equity in the property.
- Encourages self-seeking behaviour.

Lease
- An interest in land less than freehold, with a fixed term.

Easement
- Right to use of (sometimes limited use of) another person's land.

Profits a prendre
- The right to take growing crops and other produce or soil from the land of another.

Mortgage
- The lender has a registered charge until the borrower pays the loan or debt.
- In some cases, may be able to raise capital, but less available for use, than fee simple.

Rent Charge
- This title rarely operates in Australia. It is designed as a periodic payment of money charged on land, but excluding rent payable under a lease or tenancy and sums payable as interest.

Private Property Notes:
A master or a head lease operates between the owner and the lessee. A sub lease may operate between the lessee and another lessee, and so on. The commercial value of property is based upon its saleable value.

2. State or Public Property (property is also alienable). It is similar to private property in the sense that there are 'bundles of rights' in resources, but they are held by the State, but the 'bundles' cannot be exercised to suit personal preferences, but exercised to suit the public good that is usually defined through legislation.

Crown land is property owned by the State and it can define property interests how it likes. The State provides a defined term in the lease, often in years. The Crown can give leasehold interests to occupy land, like fee simple (freehold) rights. An example being government buildings and the fee simple may be held by the state. State or public property reflects self-seeking behaviour that is contained by the collective good.

The State/Crown exercises its 'bundle of rights' through the following prominent lease arrangements:

Perpetual Lease

- A grant of occupation, it gives rights but also gives obligations the lessee must abide by. A lease over a property, which is never vested in the lessee absolutely but continues to be postponed. forever.
- Less perpetual leases are used today. The Crown has on-going control.

Pastoral Lease

- A pastoral lease usually occurs on Crown land. There are a limited 'bundle of rights' usually given to agist stock. The Crown has a lot of obligations and controls although some leases can be sold on.
- A pastoral lease is at the edges of the ability to raise capital.
- SA is principally governed by the Pastoral Land Management and Conservation Act 1989 (SA).

Mining Lease

- A mining lease can occur over Private, State and Communitarian or Community Property.
- It is similar to a pastoral lease, with a limited 'bundle of rights' given to search, explore, prospect, extract or remove from the land, which are governed by various licences.
- SA is principally governed by the Mining Act 1971 (SA) or the Opal Mining Act 1995 (SA).

3. Common Property (property is not alienable). No individual or group can exercise a 'bundle of rights' over these resources. These are examples that everyone is entitled to:

- Air, light and in most cases wild animals.
- Land and chattels.

Common Property Notes

There is no commercial value. Common property is a theoretical understanding of common ownership.

There is no self-seeking behaviour. Common property is used here as a theoretical construct devised to explain the reason for the existence of private and State property. Alternatively, some theorists also see these examples as a characteristic of a common pool resource (see Ostrom, Dietz, Dolsak, Stern, Stonich and Weber 2002, p.14).

4. Communitarian or Community Property (property is not alienable). The form of property that is externally recognised and protected by a dominant legal system, but the internal content is defined by the customs, laws of an Indigenous group. In Australia, this is defined by both Native Title and Land Rights legislation.

- Aboriginal land is a separate issue to Native title in Australia.
- It is difficult to raise capital against communitarian or community property.

- Aboriginal land operates under statutory land rights legislated by law under Federal or State jurisdictions. The legislation provides a wide range of land titles including: inalienable freehold, freehold subject to native title rights, freehold that must be leased back to the government, leasehold, perpetual or fixed term leases, Deed of Grant in Trust reserves that have been transferred, freehold title with conditions, leasing available with Minister's consent and perpetual licence to occupy and use land and estate in fee simple (alienable freehold).
- In SA, Aboriginal land is held in three ways, either under the SA Aboriginal Lands Trust Act 1966 (SA), Pitjantjatjara Land Rights Act 1981 (SA) or the Maralinga Tjarutja Land Rights Act 1984 (SA).
- The first case for land rights to reach an Australian court, brought by an Indigenous Australian was unsuccessful. In the *Milirrpum* v *Nabalco Pty Ltd* (the Gove Land Rights case of 1971), it was concluded the doctrine (of 'native title') does not form and has never formed, part of the law of any part of Australia.
- By 1976, the Aboriginal Land Rights Act (Northern Territory) was enacted, which gave Aboriginal land rights to traditional Aboriginal owners, who have greater rights at law than other land rights regimes elsewhere in Australia. This Aboriginal land rights legislation was followed up by a few other States enacting their own legislation.

- Almost no Aboriginal land is held as private land title. In all cases Aboriginal land title operates with a controlling interest by the State.

- Native title legislation, was enacted in the Native Title Act 1993 (Cth) (NTA) and it was established in response to the *Mabo* v *Queensland* (Mabo No 2) decision.
- Two things made the Mabo decision unprecedented. It was the first recognition in Australia that Indigenous customary property rights form part of the Australian common law. Second, the Mabo decision recognised native title as a property right that may co-exist with some other property rights that have been granted by the Crown or with public purpose uses that the Crown has authorised.
- Native title is defined in the NTA as the communal, group or individual rights and interests of Aboriginal people or Torres Strait Islanders (ATSI) in relation to land/or waters where:
    - The rights and interests are possessed under the traditional laws acknowledged and the traditional customs observed by the ATSI.
    - The Aboriginal peoples or Torres Strait Islanders by those laws and customs have a connection with the land/or waters.
    - The rights and interests are recognised by the common law of Australia
- The NTA was amended in 1998 and was made more complex and gave greater certainty for non-Indigenous parties.
- Under the NTA, Aboriginal people are represented by native title representative bodies.
- Once the Federal Court determines that native title exists, it must at the same time determine a Prescribed Bodies Corporate either to hold title as trustee for the native title holders or to act as their agent or representative.
- Generally native title is recognised as encompassing only limited rights of access, appropriation, management and exclusion. The exact nature of native title rights depends on the laws and customs of the native title group and the nature of other co-existing property rights.
- The NTA accords native title claim groups some exclusion rights, known as the 'right to negotiate', which have no parallel in non-Indigenous property rights. These are particularly significant to native title claim groups in relation to mining and exploration.
- Native title acts operate in States and Territories, and they must conform to the frameworks required in the NTA.

Sources: Notes compiled through meetings with Babie ([2006] Private, State and Common Property) and information published by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner (2005), and Nettheim, Myers and Craig ([2002 Communitarian or Community Property]).

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