

Introduction

A study of Māori business networks in Aotearoa New Zealand, funded by Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga, the Centre for Māori Research Excellence, was carried out in 2018. That project then stimulated further studies of Indigenous networks in other countries, which in turn contributes to the Indigenous development literature, within a broader analysis of Indigenous enterprise, self-determination, and development. Indigenous development and enterprise are particularly important for Indigenous peoples, given the shared history of colonial conquest, economic and social disenfranchisement, and the diminution of cultures, languages and traditions. This study of Māori enterprise and networking is the first of its kind in Aotearoa.

We conceptualise Māori enterprise as culturally grounded and collectively agentic. Māori business networks are potential sites of enrichment, in terms of building the capacity of its membership to engage in economic and cultural development initiatives, and raising the capitals that these enterprises have access to. These capitals, particularly regarding Indigenous culture and identity, empower and energise the individual and their community. Māori enterprise, whether commercial or social, provides the conduit, for Maori to better contribute to the social, cultural and economic wellbeing of their communities.

The original study was underpinned by the research question: ‘what is the role of Māori business networks in Māori self-determination and development’? However, as the study progressed, and the early data was analysed, it became clear that Māori networking involved more than just business communities and relationships, and that individual’s and their businesses garnered more than merely social capital from their participation in these networks.

The initial research led to the extension of the study, and further field-work in the United States and Canada to meet with representatives of Indigenous business networks. Those interviews opened doors to entirely other kinds of networking experiences, from a Pow Wow and Indigenous film festival in Canada, to gatherings of Indigenous scholars at three international conferences, in Boston, San Francisco and Cairns Australia. What bound these events was the sense, from organisers and participants, that these gatherings all provided a variety of opportunities for Indigenous entrepreneurs, creative artists, scholars and communities to meet, interact, share and further develop identity and wellbeing.

One other important opportunity these gatherings provide is a space to interact with non-Indigenous peoples, in an environment where Indigenous worldview and practice guides the interaction. These are networks in which non-Indigenous individuals make themselves available as collaborators and partners, to support the aspirations for Indigenous enterprise, self-determination and development. The exploratory nature of the study saw the further iteration of the research question being reframed to, ‘what is the role of Indigenous networks and networking for indigenous enterprise, self-determination and development?’

The following literature focuses on Māori development and history, which had been compiled as part of the initial study. An in-depth analysis of Indigenous development and history in Canada, the USA and Australia is yet to be compiled, as further publications from this study are generated, and further field work is conducted, in coming months.

Literature Review

Māori history, enterprise and networking

Indigenous peoples have developed unique cultures over millennia, and seek to retain the social, cultural, economic and political characteristics, which make them distinct from the

dominant cultures they live alongside. Unfortunately, many Indigenous peoples have suffered long-term and pervasive consequences as a result of their conquest (Henry & Foley, 2018).

Cornell (2006) succinctly captures the history and origins of the Indigenous struggle for self-determination, focussing on Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the United States. In these first-world nations, the Indigenous peoples are amongst the poorest and most disadvantaged. Cornell (2006, p. 1) notes, “that the wealth of these countries has been built substantially on resources taken from these peoples, whose poverty, in the grand scheme of things, is a recent creation.” He goes on to argue that, “Indigenous self-determination and self-government are essential bases for improving the socio-economic conditions of Indigenous peoples,” and acknowledges that, “in recent decades, Indigenous groups in all four countries have been engaged in both tribal and supra-tribal political work on behalf of self-determination and self-governance. The core of their argument is about rights... of Indigenous peoples to determine their own futures and control their own affairs” Cornell (2006, p. 7). Over-weening state controls are also a concern. This is particularly true for Māori, about whom Scrimgeour and Iremonger (2004, p. 1) state that, “colonisation and resource alienation policies have hindered Māori sustainable economic development,” with social exclusion and other inequitable policies preventing comparable wealth accumulation among Māori.

Māori are the Indigenous people of Aotearoa, part of the diaspora of Polynesian peoples who have traversed the South Pacific for over 3,000 years, discovering and populating every land-mass they encountered, bound together by language, culture and cosmology, despite centuries of isolation from each other (Crocombe, 2008). Traditional Māori society was tribal and collective, developing an economic system which Mauss (2002) describes as founded on gift-exchange and reciprocity. With the arrival of Pākehā (Europeans), Māori adopted and adapted new tools and technologies, including the axe, farming techniques, the musket, reading, writing and publishing, and ships for national and

international trade prior to becoming a British colony in 1840 (Frederick & Henry, 2004). Petrie (2006) notes that, by the 1830s, Māori not only owned ships, but manufactured goods such as tree-spars, tree-nails, treated flax used for rope, and potatoes and pigs traded throughout the Pacific. She states that, “[t]he rapid expansion of Māori commerce was not simply chance, but had been advanced by deliberate strategies in line with customary practice” (Petrie, 2006, p. 40). Māori trade thrived throughout the 1830s, aided by the protection of the British Royal Navy, after the 1835 Declaration of Independence was recognised by the British in 1836 (Keene, nd). Therefore, it is difficult to believe that these same chiefs would abdicate that sovereignty on February 6th 1840, when the Treaty of Waitangi was signed. Relinquishing sovereignty is not evident in the Māori-language version, but was included in the English-language version of the Treaty, translated some months later. This variation between treaties has underpinned ongoing acrimony between Māori and the Crown for almost two hundred years.

Once the British assumed sovereignty over New Zealand, it was only a matter of time before open conflict arose. Frederick and Henry (2004) argue that the Māori Land Wars of the 1860s were fuelled by the settlers’ desire for land, which Māori no longer wanted to sell, and because successful Māori entrepreneurs controlled much of the country’s commerce. The land wars, subsequent alienation of tribal lands, introduction of new diseases and enactment of repressive legislation, had a devastating impact on Māori trade and the Māori economy. By the turn of the 20th century Māori were reduced to poverty and isolation, and it was assumed the people and the culture would die out (Walker, 1990). But, alongside this impoverishment, Māori continued to organise themselves, forming networks and associations to protect the people and the culture. Entities such as the Kingitanga (1852), and Kotahitanga (1860s) represented a political voice; Paimārire and Ringatū emerged as religious movements (Adams & Meredith, 2005; Durie, 1998; Morrison et al., 2012). The Young Māori Party was

formed at the end of the 19th Century by a group of well educated, politically savvy, young Māori men (Butterworth, 1990), who became a beacon for Māori communities and associations.

The first half of the 20th Century saw outspoken tribal groups wrestling redress from the Crown, for Treaty grievances and land losses. Among these were the Te Arawa Māori Trust Board in 1924, the Tainui Māori Trust Board in 1946, and the Tai Tokerau Māori Trust Board in 1953 (Hill, 2009). These organisations were legally recognised entities, and associations of tribal elders and leaders working collaboratively for the wellbeing of their people. Alongside these, the Māori Women's Welfare League was formed in 1951, with Princess Te Puea (one of the leaders of the Kingitanga) as Patron, and Dame Whina Cooper as first President, who also led the Māori Land March in 1975 (Māori Women's Welfare League, 2015). The New Zealand Māori Council was created under the Māori Welfare Act 1962 to advocate for Māori interests (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1999). These entities essentially focused on Māori tribal and rural interests, but with the mass migration of Māori to urban areas from the 1950s, they were also a form of association and network for the newly formed communities of urban Māori around the country. It is in this era and environment that cultural revitalisation began to emerge (Hill, 2012), marked by protest and activism in the 1970s, and a growing demographic, with political aspirations and force, and which Walker (1990) termed the Māori Renaissance.

In 1975 the Waitangi Tribunal was established, under the auspices of Matiu Rata, one of only three Māori to hold the post of Minister of Māori Affairs since 1840 (Ministry Culture & Heritage, 2017). The others were James Carroll, Minister of Native Affairs 1899-1912, and Apirana Ngata, Minister of Native Affairs, 1928-1934. The Tribunal was set up to address Treaty grievances, and in 1985 the tribunal was given the power to look retrospectively to 1840. Between 1985 and 2018, approximately \$2.2 billion has been

distributed to Māori tribes through Treaty settlements. Feyers (2018, p. 2) states that, “the financial element of the settlements can never fully compensate the true value of loss in many claims.” These settlements, and associated financial redress, has underpinned Māori tribal economic development in recent decades (Feyers, 2018). However, urban Māori (comprising 83% of Māori in 2013), unless closely connected to their tribes in rural areas, or from tribes originating in urban centres, have not benefited directly. Nonetheless, urban Māori have played a significant role in business development and business networking. According to Fitzgerald (2004, p. 43), “the Report of the Hui Taumata declared that Māori economic futures would henceforth be driven by Māori initiatives and a commitment towards Māori self-reliance.” Though this aspiration has not been fully realised, there is growth in the Māori economy, estimated at \$42 billion in 2013 (Nana et al., 2015), through a burgeoning number of tribal, corporate, non-government organisations and small enterprises (Chapman Tripp, 2018; Norman, 2016).

Alongside this growth, Māori business networks have proliferated, initiated by local communities and individuals around the country. These networks are complimented by a wide range of Māori professional bodies. Taken together, these initiatives show the ongoing commitment Māori have to working collaboratively, maintaining strong kinship bonds, and providing mutual support. Loomis found that, “the existence of voluntary associations, social networks, close-knit families, and norms of cooperation and reciprocity are more important for development than finance or natural resources” (2000, p. 894). It has been argued that Māori business networks are a component of a healthy Māori enterprise ecosystem (Mika, 2017a). Daniel et al. (2016) note that these ecosystems are founded on human initiative, combining resources and activities, which stimulate innovation and entrepreneurship across multiple stakeholders.

Business network theory

Business network research has been influenced by diverse theoretical perspectives, drawing on political science, sociology, social exchange theory, psychology, anthropology, economics, organisational studies, resource dependence theory, rational choice theory and marketing theory. (Moller et al., 2009) contend that network theory is interested in all kinds of relationships between actors who are fundamentally linked through resource dependency. Hence, relationships are considered “vehicles to access, create, and control resources” (Moller et al., 2009, p. 330). Latour (1996) asserts that every network has its own unique frame of reference including definitions and explanations of growth.

Business networks are “complex, systemic webs of interdependent exchange relationships within which companies and individual managers need to operate” (Henneberg et al., 2010, p. 355). According to Ford and Mouzas (2013), business networks are arenas that must allow for diversity of practice and structure in order to operate successfully in an interacted landscape. For Makkonen et al. (2012) it is the connected relationships of individual entities that “aggregate” (p. 287) business networks, and structures that mediate the influence of their members’ activities. The interplays between the structure and agency within the network are evident in decision-making and development processes played out between various actors.

Research by Newbery et al. (2016) found that business associations often experience phases of membership stagnation and inactivity, and leaders need to create conditions to strengthen and sustain their networks. Strong or weak ties to the community determine whether a network thrives or atrophies, and it needs both a core of ‘habitual’ members and a flow of new members to keep itself from stagnating.....

Enterprise capability and capital

Enterprise has been recognised as a means for transforming community disadvantage (Peredo & Anderson, 2006). Thus, factors which positively impact on the enterprise capability of Indigenous communities and organisations are of particular interest, because of the long-standing history of political, economic and social disadvantage for many Indigenous peoples.

This paper explores the impact that ‘capitals’ may play in developing enterprise capability. Raising capital is recognised as a particular necessity and constraint for Indigenous enterprise (Furneaux & Brown, 2008). Capital is a term rooted in the economic discourses of production (Smith, 1991[1776]), and value (Hicks, 1939). It exists as a store of value, having both utilitarian and transactional elements typically quantified in monetary terms (Podolny & Hill-Popper, 2004). Capital is recognised as having two states: a static state as a store of value, for example, an asset, which may be tangible or intangible, and a dynamic state, such as cash flow (Firkin, 2001; Light & Gold, 2000; Mika, 2017b). Sen (1985) reframed capital from being solely viewed as a vehicle for economic agency, and the material good of the self, to being an instrument of human agency and fulfilment of collective wellbeing, within available means.

For Nafukho, Hairston & Brooks, “capital became multidimensional in the economic literature of the twenty-first century and has been extended to include such terms as ‘financial capital, organizational capital, intellectual capital, human capital, structural capital, relational capital, customer capital, social capital, innovation capital, and process capital’” (2004, 545). Though capital is most commonly understood as a measure of financial means (Kim et al., 2006), others have extended the concept to the evaluation of natural capital in ecological terms (Costanza et al., 1997), social and cultural capital as means of facilitating social exchange, mobility and change through relational and cultural resources (Bourdieu, 1977),

and human capital as representations of human potential, because of one's physical, mental and emotional being (Becker, 1964; David & Lopez, 2001).

We draw on Fukuyama's definition of social capital as "an instantiated norm that promotes cooperation between two or more individuals... [leading] to cooperation in groups and therefore related to traditional virtues like honesty, the keeping of commitments, reliable performance of duties, reciprocity, and the like" (Fukuyama, 2000, p. 3). Social capital has been linked to structural, relational and cognitive dimensions, which create value for organisations (Tsai & Ghoshal, 1998), and may benefit firms seeking finance (Uzzi, 1999). Social capital has also been referred to as, "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network... to membership in a group" (Bourdieu and Waquant 1992:119). Bosma et al. (2016) distinguish between social capital at the macro (institutions, norms and cultural attitudes), meso (local or regional collectives), and micro (personal social networks and resources) levels.

Bourdieu (1984) is also pivotal in the development of the notion of cultural capital, which he identifies as the investments that culture represents to an individual. Whilst economists distinguish between physical, human and natural capital, Throsby (1999) recognises the importance of cultural capital, which he defines as embodying cultural values. Best and Love, writing specifically about Māori organisations, note that, "cultural capital is that aspect of a particular culture that is valued, can be commoditised and therefore turned into an economic resource" (2010, 3). They go on to acknowledge that, "indigenous businesses are different to Western businesses in that their owners, stakeholders and beneficiaries want different things; financial, environmental, social as well as cultural outputs from their business activities. Thus, there is little doubt that cultural elements are at work within Māori businesses". (2010, 4).

Human capital has been defined as the intelligence, experience and education an individual brings to an endeavour, and a source of competitive advantage (Hatch & Dyer, 2004). According to Nafukho, Hairston & Brooks, “The fundamental principle underpinning Human Capital Theory is the belief that peoples’ learning capacities are of comparable value to other resources involved in the production of goods and services. When the resource is effectively utilized, the results are profitable for the individual, organization and society at large” (2004, 546)

Finally, we incorporate spiritual capital into our analysis. This is relatively recent entry in the business literature (Zohar & Marshall, 2004). It is seen by some as an extension to human capital, often referring to the strength of religious belief. (Finke, 2003) For Berger and Hefner, “Spiritual capital might be thought of as a subspecies of social capital, referring to the power, influence, knowledge, and dispositions created by participation in a particular religious tradition” (2003, 3). They go on to suggest that any study of spiritual capital, in an organisational context, should include an empirical and comparative examination of the organisation, its meanings, and impacts. In terms of renewing spiritual capital, Grace found that his research participants were, “clearly drawing upon a spiritual and religious resource that empowered them and which gave them a sustained sense of mission, purpose and hope” (2010, 117). For Guest, “the spiritual is associated with the personal, the intimate..., contrasted with religion, which is associated with the official, external and the institutional” (2007, 181). Moving beyond the concept of religiosity, Lillard and Ogaki explore how spiritual capital affects economic behaviour. They define spiritual capital as:

a set of intangible objects in the form of rules for interacting with people, nature, and spiritual beings (God, gods, buddhas, angels, evil spirits as believed to exist by individuals and in different religions) and believed knowledge about tangible and spiritual worlds.

We argue that, for Māori, spiritual capital is distinct from human and social capital, insofar as it relates specifically to the links between the spirit (wairua), traditional practice (tikanga), and traditional wisdom (mātauranga). Traditional knowledge, manifest in rituals and cultural practices, increases the mana¹ of individuals and communities, and enhances their wairua. This sense of wairua finds expression in haka/traditional Māori performance (Smith, 2017), and Māori research (Barnes et al, 2017). This is a field in which a growing number of Māori and Indigenous scholars are beginning to focus their attention (Henry, 2015; Humphries & Verbos, 2014; Spiller & Wolfgramm, 2015). For Mika (2015) spiritual capital enhances Māori aspirations for self-determination, human potentiality and freedom.

Methodology

This research is underpinned by Kaupapa Māori, a term that Māori scholars have increasingly used to describe Māori-centric philosophy and world views (Pihama et al., 2002) and the consequent research ontology, epistemology, and methodology (Henry & Pene, 2001; Bishop, 2005) that have been evolving in recent decades. In terms of research, Kaupapa Māori Research can be seen as a set of cultural values, beliefs and social practices, predicated on the notion of, ‘for, with, and by Māori.’ It has evolved as a body of literature since the 1980s, as Māori intellectuals have sought to define Māori knowledge and knowledge creation in the face of the dominant Eurocentric knowledge-systems (Cram, 1993; Smith, 1997; Sueffert, 1997). Other studies have contributed to research methods and procedures, underpinned by Māori ethical principles and values (Smith, 1999). The methodology and

¹ Māori Dictionary defines Mana as prestige, authority, influence and spiritual power. In Encyclopaedia Britannica it is acknowledged among Melanesian and Polynesian peoples as a supernatural force.. related to belief in spirits

methods adopted for this study are a “reflection of the researcher’s values and beliefs about truth, reality and existence, and the consequent knowledge that can or should be gleaned” (Henry & Foley, 2018, p. 213).

The researchers also have extensive experience in participatory action research (Cahill, 2007; Henry, 2012; Mika, 2015), that is, research for, and with community. In this instance, it is to deliver tangible and beneficial outcomes, and enhance community-based enterprise (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006). The authors have been founding members of Māori business networks and other entities representing Māori and Indigenous professional and community organisations. This provides an insider perspective, but calls on researchers to guard against unconscious bias. Familiarity with the community and established relationships may provide opportunities to gain ‘insider’ information that might not be entrusted to strangers. However, prior knowledge of the community may exacerbate preconceived ideas. Chavez (2008) provides a model for better understanding the advantages, and guarding against the disadvantages, of insider-research. Critical self-reflection is required, including knowledge of potential sources of bias, is required at each stage of the research. These factors have been considered in the development of the specific research methods for this study.

Finally, the researchers acknowledge the value, and application of grounded theory. For Morse,

Grounded theory enables the identification and description of phenomena, their main attributes, and the core, social and psychological process, as well as their interactions in the trajectory of change. In other words, it allows us to explicate what is going on or what is happening (or has happened) within a setting or around a particular event.. It provides us with tools to synthesize these data, develop concepts and midrange theory that remains linked to these data, yet is generalizable to other instances

Morse, 2015, 13

Morse goes on to acknowledge that grounded theory is still evolving and changing, it is not so much a prescribed method as a way of thinking about, and theorising from data. There is a small but growing body of literature on the application of grounded theory in Indigenous research (Makokis, 2010; Whiteside, 2009; Thurston et al, 2014). This study will contribute to that literature, in the way that the data collected from the initial study, and in collaboration with the community of interest, has contributed to the further development of the research questions, methods, and theorising.

The specific methods for both the New Zealand and international studies comprised:

Wānanga: These are gatherings not unlike focus groups. Elder describes wānanga as “culture-specific fora in traditional meeting houses” (2013, p. 406). They are based on the ancient model of higher learning, research and enquiry in traditional Māori society, where groups of Tohunga/experts would gather in isolated surroundings, to debate, discuss, and collaboratively develop new knowledge, or reinforce traditional knowledge. For this study, wānanga were held with Māori business and networking experts at the beginning of data collection in New Zealand, to discuss the research focus and questions. A further wānanga was held a year later, to engage in collaborative analysis of early findings. The idea of wānanga was also applied to group discussions held in, and with other Indigenous communities and organisations. In practical terms, that meant ensuring culturally appropriate welcome and farewell rituals were adhered to, the offering of hospitality and reciprocity was incorporated, and the acknowledgment of Indigenous identity and status was ensured, prior to the discussions.

Interviews: Wānanga were complemented by in-depth interviews with business and networking experts, in New Zealand, the USA, and Canada. This also meant the cultural practices outlined above were practiced, which was relevant when interviewing on traditional lands.

Case studies: Noor notes that qualitative methods provide opportunity for researchers more interested in insight and discovery than hypothesis testing. He goes on to define case studies as, “an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence” (2008, p. 1602). The first three cases were of Māori business networks in different parts of the country. These were complemented by interviews with representatives of business networks in Canada and the United States.

As the interviews and case studies progressed, other types of networks were identified by participants as being equally important gatherings of Indigenous peoples and their communities, as well as springboards for enterprise. As a result of suggestions, contact was made with representatives of these ‘networks’, and opportunities were secured to interview, participate in, and/or observe a number of activities, within their own settings and around particular events, involving creative endeavour and academic scholarship.

Participant Observation: These activities and events contribute to Indigenous enterprise, directly and indirectly, either as a marketplace for, and alongside Indigenous culture and creative expression, or as locations for Indigenous gatherings and collaboration. The authors participated in, observed these activities and events, and where possible, conducted interviews with organisers and participants.

- ImagineNative, the largest Indigenous film festival in the world, hosted in Toronto annually;
- Pow Wow, hosted by New Credit in Six Nations, Ontario, August 2019;
- The Native Aboriginal Indigenous Caucus of the Academy of Management, Boston, August, 2019;
- Ka Haka: Māori & Indigenous Performance Symposium, Cultural Conservancy, San Francisco, November, 2019;

- The Indigenous Strategic Interest Group, Australia New Zealand Academy of Management, Cairns, Australia, December 2019

The data analysis phase also included a Kaupapa Māori Research component, a collective thematic analysis process which we call ‘mahi ngātahi’ (working collaboratively). Boyatzis (1998) notes that thematic analysis is not a specific method, like grounded theory, or ethnography, but something that researchers draw on to gain deeper insight into their data. He writes it is, “a process for encoding qualitative information” (p. iv). The process involves the identification of themes through “careful reading and re-reading of the data” (Rice & Ezzy, 1999, p. 258). It is a form of pattern recognition within the data, where emerging themes become the categories for analysis (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). Following from this, Braun and Clarke note that, “[a] theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set” (2006, p. 82).

In the context of this research, collective thematic analysis has involved the researchers spending days together, reading the interviews and observation notes, highlighting comments, and drawing a shared view of the data, and the emerging themes as a collaborative, inductive process. This method of data analysis will be complemented with NVivo, to triangulate thinking about key themes. Taken together, all of these research methods have allowed for the collection of a wide range of data, encapsulating the views and experiences of Indigenous people, and their communities of interest, engaged in networking that contributes to Indigenous enterprise, self-determination and development.

The findings in the following section pertain to the three Māori business networks in New Zealand, three business networks in Canada, one in the US. In total, fourteen interviews were conducted in Aotearoa, and another sixteen in organisations in Canada and the US.

Participant observation was undertaken at the five events listed above in Canada, the US and Australia. As previously stated, this data will be complimented with further case studies in Aotearoa. The final analyses will be undertaken through collaborative thematic analysis, as part of wānanga with the researchers and other Māori and Indigenous business scholars and experts.

Findings

This study is ongoing. Further interviews will be conducted in 2020, and information about the existing case studies is still being drawn from the public domain. Thus, this paper reports on the first, tentative insights. The case studies that were undertaken eventually evolved to include a wider variety of organisational types and sectors than was conceptualised in the original study, which focused on business networks, and for-profit organisations. Taken together, each network contributed, in varying degrees to the organisations and communities.

TABLE 1 HERE

Whilst each network fulfilled the abovementioned roles, they also faced similar challenges. Building organisational capacity is an ongoing challenge, particularly in organisations or communities where governance is voluntary, and sometimes even management and staff are either volunteers, or part-time employees. These organisations and networks may spend an inordinate amount of time securing funding, philanthropy and support to undertake their work. Other challenges relate to leadership, especially in voluntary and other small NGOs, not just in ensuring stable leadership, but having resources to ensure

their longevity. Others reported on the difficulties of ensuring ongoing and positive communications with the communities of interest.

Alongside the challenges, every network also identified and/or represented the strengths of the organisations, communities, and the work they were engaged in. The most positive experiences, across all the networks, was the great value of bringing the community/network together in a way that allowed every participant to benefit in some way. The comments related specifically to the types of capitals that each network delivered to participants, and the wider community. This also included the non-Indigenous individuals who were part of each of these networks, attracted by their personal motivation to contribute to Indigenous enterprise and development, and rewarded by the quality of the social, cultural and spiritual connections to the communities and the networks.

Raising social capital involves the provision of opportunities for connection, relationship building and networking. Every one of the case studies, and events provide invaluable opportunities for networking, and cooperation within and across groups and entities. This has certainly been the case for the Indigenous groups within the academy, where the small Indigenous community organises a gathering that provides a platform for new and emerging scholars to develop their skills, and enhance their sense of Indigenous identity. The Indigenous Caucus (AOM) and Indigenous SIG (ANZAM) have been a gathering point for rich, rewarding and enduring relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars. The Ka haka Symposium in San Francisco began as a Māori-led event in 2017, and was hosted by the Cultural Conservancy and San Francisco State University, bringing together Indigenous scholars and performers from Canadian, the US and New Zealand, to share research and practice, and celebrate survival and resilience.

We found that Māori business networks provide support for Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices. This was also reflected in the other networks, through the Indigenous

business networks, in the cultural and artistic events that were organised, and in the gatherings of Indigenous scholars. This example of enhanced Indigenous cultural capital was prevalent across all the networks and events. For example, the film festival and Pow Wow not only highlight Indigenous creative arts and performance, they also provide a window into the Indigenous world for those learning about their own culture, and those who want to learn and participate.

Human capital involves the individual, and building opportunities for individual, personal and professional development, to enhance leadership skills, and career progression. The business networks in particular, in New Zealand and Canada, provide pathways for personal and professional development. They provide leadership skills, either through involvement at the governance level, or as volunteers within the organisations. Other organisations, such as the film festival, also provide workshops and mentors to foster professional development for emerging Indigenous film-makers.

Spiritual capital involves inspiring a commitment to, and affiliation with, the spiritual dimension of identity. Every one of the networks, events and organisations studied manifest examples of enhanced spiritual capital. At the scholarly gatherings, from AOM to ANZAM to ka Haka, at the film festival, the business networks, and particularly the Pow Wow, mention was made of spiritual connection. In some cases it was referred to as the 'soul food' that resonated when Indigenous peoples gather. For others, it was manifest as a physical and emotional impact, for example, viewing a haka, participating in a pow wow, being moved by a poignant film, or piece of music, or performance. The resonance and strength of spiritual connection was palpable, and something mentioned by every participant, and observable in every activity and event studied thus far. Responses from participants and members reflected the notion that these gatherings empowered them, and gave them a sustained sense of mission, purpose and hope.

Whilst this diverse range of Indigenous networks, organisations and gatherings share similar challenges and concerns, they also share a common recognition that, through their presence, and through their work, they offer a critical site for Indigenous peoples and their communities to build and enhance multiple capitals.

Conclusion

The Indigenous peoples of Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States, have faced dire resource dependencies, including poverty (Altman, 2018), the need for social justice (Palmater, 2015), under-education (Hunter & Schwab, 2018), and a plethora of other social problems, which many argue stem from the long-term impacts of colonisation (Walker, 1990; Henry, 2012; Paradis, 2016). In recent decades Indigenous communities have become increasingly proactive, developing their own business networks, and networking strategies. This has occurred alongside the creation of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (2000), and ratification of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007), which supports, and in some cases funds these initiatives.

Indigenous networks bring people together, whether that be under a business, scholarly, creative or cultural umbrella, to form and reinforce mutually beneficial relationships, which in turn address resource dependencies. These relationships may be seen as vehicles to access, create, and control the required resources, among these a range of capitals and capabilities. From this very early analysis of data, which is yet to be added to, we find that Indigenous networks are context-specific manifestations of Indigenous capabilities. Recent studies have focused on the importance of social capital in networking among Indigenous entrepreneurs (Foley & O'Connor, 2013). This perspective of Indigenous business networking, however, assumes that such networks function primarily as sites of social capital formation, omitting consideration of cultural, human and spiritual capital. We contend that Indigenous networks,

for business or other types of organisations and entities, serve a broader function, to facilitate and sustain multiple capitals, which in turn support Indigenous enterprise, self-determination and development.

Drawing on the model proposed by Bosma et al (2016), we find that Indigenous enterprise, at the macro-level, integrates norms and attitudes relating to their social, cultural, economic, environmental and spiritual imperatives. The organisations that facilitate networking build capability to address these imperatives (Amoamo, Ruwhiu, et al., 2018; Bargh, 2012; Dell et al., 2018). Further, at the meso level, Indigenous enterprise capabilities manifest in local and regional alliances across a range of industries and sectors: primary industries, property, tourism, media and entertainment, sport, health and education (Amoamo, Ruckstuhl, et al., 2018; Asher, 2003; Boulton et al., 2018; Henry et al., 2017; Martin, 2008; Ministry of Education, 2003; Palmer, 2007; Reid et al., 2013; Wehipeihana et al., 2016). At the micro level, individuals, families, tribes and communities, own and control Indigenous assets and resources, and operate according to Indigenous values, explicitly and implicitly, to effect positive change in terms of Indigenous enterprise, self-determination, and development (Mika et al., 2016).

This research provides an insight into Indigenous communities, organisations, and networks. It finds these networks align with the customary Indigenous practices of tribal and/or kinship ties, within and between Indigenous peoples. These networks can build the capabilities and capitals of the those who work in, and participate with, the various entities, including non-Indigenous people who walk alongside them. This is particularly true in terms of spiritual capital, which we argue is as important for non-Indigenous enterprise and wellbeing.

The insights emerging from this study offer the academy evidence of, and support for the development of opportunities to increase relationships and synergy with Indigenous

peoples. The Academy of Management (and ANZAM) have provided the space for Indigenous scholarship to flourish, in the spirit of partnership and collaboration. That spirit of partnership and collaboration could and should filter to those institutions and universities which form the membership of the Academy, to support Indigenous networks, and networking for indigenous enterprise, self-determination and development.

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Internal to the organisation and community	External
Providing leadership and vision	Representing the community/organisation to the wider world
Building capacity, skill-sharing, professional development within the organisation and community	Networking across communities/organisations
Procuring and delivering resources for the organisation and community	Providing advocacy on behalf of the community/organisation
Organising events and activities	Promoting events, activities, and other information on behalf of the network

Table 1: Network roles and responsibilities