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Policy-making for Indigenous entrepreneurship: towards an inclusive approach

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the success level of Indigenous entrepreneurship (IE) policies, examines if there is an international dimension to the successes and failures of IE policies, and synthesises lessons from both successful and unsuccessful policies to lead towards a more inclusive approach for the future. Using a narrative systematic review, our findings show that while some IE policies have succeeded, others have either been ineffective, ill-conceived or, in a few cases, have led to worse/negative outcomes for Indigenous entrepreneurs. We unpack lessons from the successful and failed policies and provide suggestions for future policy and research.

RÉSUMÉ

Dans cet article, nous analysons le taux de succès des politiques d'entrepreneuriat autochtone, nous nous interrogeons sur une potentielle dimension internationale de la réussite ou de l'échec de ces politiques, et nous récapitulons les leçons tirées de ces réussites et de ces échecs dans le but de générer des approches plus inclusives de l'entrepreneuriat autochtone. Au terme d'une analyse narrative systématique, nous concluons que bien que certaines politiques d'entrepreneuriat autochtone ont été des succès notoires, d'autres ont été inefficaces, mal conçues ou, dans certains cas, qu'elles ont mené à des résultats plus négatifs ou défavorables pour les entrepreneurs autochtones. Nous tirons ainsi des leçons de ces politiques, qu'elles aient été des succès ou des échecs, et offrons des suggestions pour la formulation de futures politiques et projets de recherche.

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Introduction

Entrepreneurship fosters job creation and economic growth (Audretsch, Keilbach, and Lehmann 2006; Cumming, Johan, and Zhang 2014; Fritsch and Wyrwich 2017). This explains why it has become one of the leading policy tools for addressing the structural

inequalities facing Indigenous Peoples and communities in many parts of the world. Despite some studies showing progress (Hunter 2013) with what has now become known as Indigenous entrepreneurship (IE) (Peredo et al. 2004), there is a general realisation that many of the policies designed to promote IE have failed to reach the lofty ambitions they set out to achieve. The reasons for this have been fiercely contested. For example, some studies have argued that the idea of entrepreneurship might be foreign to Indigenous people (Banerjee and Tedmanson 2010), while others have strongly pushed back against this notion. Recent historical accounts show that IEs existed long before Indigenous contact with colonisers (Colbourne, Peredo, and Henriques 2023), and are ‘quite possibly the oldest surviving recorded “business” undertaking known to modern man’ (Foley 2010). Instead, it is Western values of entrepreneurship that are different to Indigenous ones (Dana 2015).

While the positive impact of entrepreneurship on societies is uncontested, there is a growing concern that academic research and media attention are increasingly becoming un-inclusive. There is now a well-established bifurcation between so-called ‘necessity-based’ entrepreneurs and ‘opportunity-based’ entrepreneurs in academic circles (Ács 2008), with some studies limiting successful entrepreneurs to billionaire start-up founders (Henrekson and Sanandaji 2014). Excessive growth is often used as the singular metric for entrepreneurial success, often to the detriment of social and environmental cohesion (Altman 2007; Brueckner et al. 2014; Olumekor, Mohiuddin, and Su 2023). Micro businesses, self-employed individuals and Indigenous enterprises are often given little regard if they are unable to achieve the necessary growth scale of conventional economic thinking (Welter et al. 2017). Since academic research often informs public policy, policies designed for IEs using this model of thinking might either fail to achieve tangible success because they are not rooted in the local context/realities of Indigenous Peoples, or in cases where the policies achieve some form of success, they might be deemed unsuccessful because they fail to meet the pre-defined growth/financial or employment measure of success.

Indigenous Peoples are not opposed to the idea of profit-making, wealth creation and business success; however, they are generally less individualistic and often value ties to nature, culture, community and family a lot more than non-Indigenous people (Dana 2015; Dana and Anderson 2007; Hindle and Lansdowne 2005; Scheyvens et al. 2017). Therefore, a focus solely on economic, financial and growth models of modern business venturing might fail to consider the enormous social and cultural impact of Indigenous businesses (Cahn 2008; Dana 2015; Scheyvens et al. 2017). Furthermore, studies have argued that while the socio-cultural impact of IE might not always produce direct financial returns, they can provide enormous economic value for Indigenous communities (Curry, Koczberski, and Connell 2012; Gibson 2012). These have led to calls for a hybrid or holistic approach for understanding and supporting Indigenous entrepreneurship (Altman 2007; Brueckner et al. 2014; Scheyvens et al. 2017). However, there is some evidence that policies designed to support IEs have largely failed to heed this call (Mika et al. 2019). Therefore, this paper systematically synthesises previous research on the impact of public policies on IEs, thereby providing important insights into the positive and negative lessons from previous policies to create a more inclusive approach for the future.

Although this paper relies on secondary literature and involves no primary data, our review is grounded in the reflexive and participative approach advocated by Indigenous scholars (Kovach 2021; Kwame 2017). This is particularly important because none of the authors are Indigenous. While there is some debate on whether researchers positioned outside Indigenous cultures should be encouraged to carry out Indigenous research, several studies have argued that positions are often complex and cannot always be determined by the identity of the author (Blix 2015; Kwame 2017). As such, depending on many factors, such as socio-economic status, even Indigenous researchers can be outsiders in Indigenous research. Instead, proponents have highlighted the enormous positive contributions that non-Indigenous authors could bring to Indigenous studies (Kwame 2017; Olsen 2017), so long as such studies adopt an Indigenous research approach. They propose that research by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars must show a willingness to learn and honour Indigenous knowledge, engage in power sharing and cooperation, and practise reciprocity, humility and relationality throughout the research process (Kovach 2021; Olsen 2017; Snow et al. 2016).

Consequently, we are mindful of our status/positions as researchers and have adopted a collaborative approach guided by the belief that there can be multiple dimensions to knowledge, reality, spirituality and truth (Kovach 2021). The conceptual foundations of our study began with discussions with members of the Nenets Indigenous Peoples of the Arctic region of Russia. However, during the course of our study, we also spoke with people from the Khanty Indigenous community of Western Siberia and the Purépecha Indigenous group of the Michoacán region of Mexico. The next section presents our literature review, followed by our methodological approach, results and discussion. We conclude the article by providing useful insights for future research.

Theoretical background

Conceptualising Indigenous entrepreneurship

Defining precisely who qualifies as an Indigenous person has attracted some controversy (Sanders 1999). Studies have debated whether Indigenous identity should be defined by cultural or colonial experience, or by race, ethnicity or tribal identity (Cunningham and Stanley 2003; Weaver 2001). Other contested notions include defining Indigenous people by their worldview or by the length of time they have lived in a place. For example, according to Cunningham and Stanley (2003), Indigenous people are those ‘who have inhabited a country for thousands of years, which often contrast with those of other groups of people who reside in the same country for a few hundred years’, whereas Weaver (2001) conceptualised Indigenous identity as ‘connected to a sense of peoplehood inseparably linked to sacred traditions, traditional homelands, and a shared history as indigenous people’. While we agree with both definitions and think they are crucial for understanding Indigenous identity, they pose unique problems for a systematic review such as ours. For instance, following these definitions might lead us to include most people living in places such as the African continent who would otherwise not be considered Indigenous.

Instead, we argue that ‘distinction’ is also vital for understanding Indigenous identity and should be considered in academic studies of Indigenous people. According to the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII),¹ Indigenous peoples can be identified as those with unique traditions, retaining ‘social, cultural, economic and political characteristics that are distinct from those of the dominant societies in which they live’ and ‘are the descendants - according to a common definition - of those who inhabited a country or a geographical region at the time when people of different cultures or ethnic origins arrived’. Therefore, due to the international scope of our study, this paper adopts this definition by UNPFII.

Much like Indigenous identity, Indigenous entrepreneurship and business have also proven difficult to define. Using various criteria, French (1998) defined an Indigenous enterprise as one in which Indigenous people own 50% or more of the business. However, other studies have challenged this claim. They argue that this definition might lead to the under-counting of Indigenous entrepreneurs who might own less than 50% of the equity stake in a business (Foley and Hunter 2013). Furthermore, according to Hindle and Lansdowne (2005), Indigenous entrepreneurship involves ‘the creation, management and development of new ventures by Indigenous people for the benefit of Indigenous people’. Other studies have dismissed the idea of market-based businesses in general. For example, Peredo and McLean (2013) argue that Indigenous entrepreneurship should not be based on contemporary market economic theory but on the distinct cultures of Indigenous Peoples. This argument has been argument echoed by other Indigenous scholars such as Dana (2015). We found the definition of Mika et al. (2019), proposed to conceptualise Māori enterprises, to be among the most holistic analysis of what constitutes an Indigenous enterprise. According to them, to be considered Indigenous, businesses must meet the following criteria:

- 1) The business identifies as Indigenous
- 2) 50% or more of the business is owned by Indigenous people
- 3) The business applies Indigenous values
- 4) The business promotes Indigenous well-being

Notwithstanding, this definition is directed towards defining Indigenous businesses, not necessarily entrepreneurship. While definitions of Indigenous businesses usually include a legal framework such as equity ownership (Foley and Hunter 2013; Mika, Fahey, and Bensemann 2019), entrepreneurship is more concerned with what Shane (2003) describes as the process of creating a new business venture/non-profit organisation, or the Schumpeterian ideas of innovation (Schumpeter 1934). These ideas are buttressed in studies – by Indigenous scholars – emphasising the role of creating new ventures, processes or products in Indigenous entrepreneurship (Awatere et al. 2017; Hindle and Lansdowne 2005). Therefore, drawing on previous literature (Awatere et al. 2017; French 1998; Hindle and Lansdowne 2005; Mika, Fahey, and Bensemann 2019), we define Indigenous entrepreneurship as any business venture created exclusively by Indigenous people to produce, market or sell goods/services, or those created with Indigenous people in which the Indigenous person(s) owns at least 50% of equity and some control over its day-to-day operations.

Policy-making and Indigenous entrepreneurship

According to the International Labour Organisation (ILO 2019), Indigenous people constitute 6.2% of the global population, but approximately 19% experience extreme poverty. This disparity is even more pronounced in developed countries. Centuries of discrimination and subjugation have left many Indigenous groups at a significant disadvantage to their non-Indigenous peers (Brueckner et al. 2014). To reverse this trend, governments around the world have increasingly turned to entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship is also seen as a way to preserve and promote Indigenous culture/identity (Clydesdale 2007) and environmental sustainability (Kawharu, Tapsell, and Woods 2017). In addition, entrepreneurship has become a leading policy tool across international development, even for non-Indigenous people (Lee 2023).

Targeted policies to promote Indigenous entrepreneurship have increased in recent decades. For example, in Australia, policies include the Indigenous Employment Program, which comprises specific policies such as the Indigenous Wage Subsidy, the Indigenous Small Business Fund, and the Indigenous Capital Assistance Scheme. These policies were enacted to provide different types of support to Indigenous entrepreneurs, including assisting them to employ other Indigenous people, providing financial support to start a business, and providing mentorship and other types of support (Hunter 2013). Also, as part of the Closing the Gap policy, the Australian Government introduced the Indigenous Economic Development Strategy to achieve a number of things, including ‘supporting business development and entrepreneurship’ among Indigenous people (Australian Government 2011). Furthermore, in Canada, targeted policies to encourage entrepreneurship include the Aboriginal Entrepreneurship Program, which was developed to provide capital to Indigenous entrepreneurs and increase the number of viable Indigenous businesses in Canada (Government of Canada 2020). In other parts of the world, IE policies include financial subsidies for Indigenous entrepreneurs in Indonesia (Papanek 2006), and public procurement policies in Bolivia (Mercado, Hjortso, and Kledal 2016), among others.

Despite the good intentions behind these policies, some recent studies have concluded that many of them have failed to achieve their intended goals. Previous studies have demonstrated several challenges in the formulation and implementation of IE policies. For instance, the goals of IE policies are constantly changing during the formulation and implementation stages, thereby putting an oversized burden on Indigenous people (Cutcher, Ormiston, and Gardner 2020). Also, Indigenous people are not involved in the policy-making process (Buultjens and Gale 2013), the policies lack local, cultural and social context (Brueckner et al. 2014; Tamtik 2020), and they can be heavily bureaucratic and discouraging (Shoebridge, Buultjens, and Peterson 2012).

Methodology

This systematic review follows the approach of Tranfield, Denyer, and Smart (2003), which provides clear guidelines for making the results objective, reproducible and generalisable. Our review also follows contemporary standards for systematic reviews (Fayolle and Wright 2014; Fisch and Block 2018) and we provide exhaustive detail on each stage of our research and analysis and the reasons behind each decision (Table 1).

Table 1. Research process for systematic review.

Procedure	Criteria	Rationale
Research objectives	To systematically, objectively and transparently analyse peer reviewed journal papers on the impact of government policies/initiatives on IE.	Helps to synthesise the body of knowledge on approaches that work and those that fail to support IE.
Data collection round 1 (Scopus database)	Following the recommendations of Tranfield et al. (2003), we conducted at least 15 scoping searches before settling on the following search queries. Boolean search strings: Query string 1: TITLE-ABS-KEY(Indigenous W/ entrepreneur AND Policy) OR (Indigenous W/ small business AND policy) OR (Indigenous W/ startup AND policy) OR (Indigenous W/ self-employment AND policy) OR (Indigenous W/ micro business AND policy). Result: (n = 506 articles). Query String 2: TITLE-ABS-KEY (Aboriginal W/ entrepreneur AND policy) OR (Torres Strait Islanders W/ entrepreneur AND policy) OR (First Nations W/ entrepreneur AND policy) OR (Native Nations W/ entrepreneur AND policy) OR (Native American W/ entrepreneur AND policy) OR (Metis W/ entrepreneur AND Policy) OR (Inuits W/ entrepreneur AND policy) OR (American Indian W/ entrepreneur AND policy) OR (Native People W/ entrepreneur AND policy) OR (Indigenous W/ entrepreneur AND government support) OR (Indigenous W/ entrepreneur AND government grant). Result: (n = 662 articles) Total result: (n = 1168) papers.	In order to capture the full range of studies on IE, it was important to make our initial search as expansive and inclusive as possible. Therefore, following the approach of Croce (2017), we included the following synonyms and alternatives: Indigenous, Aboriginal, Torres Strait Islanders; First Nations, Native Nations, Native American, Metis, Inuits, American Indian and Native People. We then included each of these with other synonyms like startup, self-employment, small business, micro business, entrepreneur, entrepreneurship, policy, support, grant.
Exclusion Part 1 (automatic exclusion)	Using the automatic filtering tools on Scopus, we made the following exclusions First stage: Limit to only journal articles. 397 papers such as editorials, books, book chapters, conference paper and notes did not meet this requirement and were immediately excluded. Result (n = 771). Second stage: Limit to only articles in English language. 19 articles did not meet this requirement and were immediately excluded. Result (n = 752). Total result: (n = 752) papers.	It was necessary to limit our scope to our research objectives. Therefore, we used the automatic filter tools on Scopus to limit our results to only journal articles published in English language.
Exclusion Part 2	All 752 papers were moved to a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet where they were manually screened for duplicates. 28 duplicates were found and immediately removed. Total result: (n = 724) papers.	In order to ease our screening and data collection, it was important to immediately remove all duplicates.
Data Collection round 2 (other databases)	The EBSCO host database and Google Scholar were manually scrutinised for additional data/articles. 16 articles were found (n = 16). Total result: (n = 740)	In order to be objective, it was necessary to expand our search beyond the Scopus database. We did this by triangulating our search in Google Scholar and EBSCO.
Data collection round 3	Four journals, dedicated to Indigenous studies were scrutinised for articles related to IE. An additional 7 papers were found: (n = 7). Total result: (n = 747)	The journals are: <i>International Indigenous Policy Journal</i> , <i>Alternative-An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples</i> , <i>Aboriginal Policy Studies</i> , <i>Nais-Native American And Indigenous Studies Association</i> .

(Continued)

Table 1. Continued.

Procedure	Criteria	Rationale
Data collection round 4	Snowballing. Forward and backward snowballing following the recommendations of Wohlin (2014). 8 additional papers were found ($n = 8$). Total result: ($n = 755$)	The snowballing approach was necessary to further include any papers that could have been missed in our first 3 data collection stages.
Data collection round 5	Selected review studies (literature reviews, systematic reviews and meta-analysis) were manually screened for papers. 6 papers were found using this method ($n = 6$). Total result: ($n = 761$)	The selected papers are: Croce (2017), Padilla-Meléndez et al. (2022) and Salmon et al. (2022).
Exclusion Part 3 (manual screening)	A thorough manual scrutinization of the titles, abstracts and keywords of all 761 papers, and in doubtful cases the full paper. 684 papers that were either duplicates or did not meet our inclusion criteria – outlined in the methodology were removed ($n = 684$). Result: ($n = 71$)	Articles that broadly fell into our research scope and met some inclusion criteria were included in this stage.
Exclusion part 4 (manual full paper screening)	The final part of our screening was a full text examination of all papers. A further 50 papers either did not cover government policy/support in a substantial way, or were not on any recognised Indigenous groups. These papers were excluded. This left a number of final 21 papers which were included in this SLR Final result: ($n = 21$)	Articles were included only if they met all of our inclusion criteria.

Source: Authors' work. IE = Indigenous Entrepreneurs, SLR = Systematic Literature Review.

Our research process includes several stages of data collection and triangulation, and data screening and exclusion. Furthermore, due to the unique nature of Indigenous research, we took several steps to involve Indigenous people through a collaborative knowledge sharing approach. The first stage of this process began with a conceptual discussion with people from the Nenets Indigenous group of the Arctic region. Then, during the data collection and analysis phase, we contacted other Indigenous people from the Khanty and Purépecha groups located in Western Siberia and Mexico, respectively.

Because this is a systematic literature review, previous literature, not the knowledge of Indigenous Peoples, was our main source of data collection, and we made this clear to all Indigenous Peoples who participated in our research. We told them we wanted their support in collaborating to uncover the challenges facing Indigenous entrepreneurs, providing a context for the problems we discovered and thinking together to form recommendations for policymakers. All Indigenous people we spoke with were a lot more interested and supportive of our study upon hearing that they were collaborators, not research subjects. Therefore, after uncovering some policy issues in the literature review, we spoke with our Indigenous collaborators via physical meetings and phone calls. Our conversations usually took the following form: *What do you think of this issue? Have you had a similar experience? Do you know other Indigenous people going through something similar? What do you think the government can do to solve this problem? What do you think of this idea/recommendation? Do you have any other ideas?* The feedbacks from these discussions were instrumental in shaping the presentation of our results.

Data collection

Before beginning the systematic review, it was necessary to establish a conceptual boundary for our research. It was also important to have a broad definition of Indigenous Peoples to capture all possible alternative descriptions/sub-divisions of the group. Drawing on the work of Croce (2017), we included the following alternatives/synonyms: *Indigenous, Aboriginal, Torres Strait Islanders, First Nations, Native Nations, Native American, Métis, Inuit, American Indian and Native People*. In addition, studies would be included in our research only if they met all of the following criteria:

1. Studies must be significantly focussed on IE. This means that the analysis, methodology and results of studies must be substantially dedicated to IE. Therefore, studies on other similar areas, such as ethnic or minority entrepreneurship, with a limited focus on IE, will be excluded.
2. Studies must substantially analyse the impact of government policies, measures, programmes or support on IE or Indigenous small businesses. No emphases are placed on the type or level of government. Therefore, articles on federal, state, regional, local and/or municipal governments, and those on government agencies or ministries will be included.
3. Studies on IE must examine distinct Indigenous Peoples/groups/locations and it must be clearly outlined in the paper's methodology. Therefore, studies that mention IE but do not examine Indigenous Peoples/groups will be excluded.²

4. There are no restrictions on the methodological approach of the studies on IE. This means that studies would be included regardless of research methods, approaches or designs. Therefore, studies on the impact of policies on IE using secondary data, primary data or descriptive methods will be included.
5. Furthermore, studies must be peer-reviewed journal papers published in English. Due to variations in the peer review process for books, book chapters and conference proceedings, we decided not to include them. In addition, to include all possible peer-reviewed papers, no time frame or limits will be used.

Figure 1 shows the robust process we followed for this systematic review. A more detailed description of this process is provided in Table 1. Following a clear delineation of our scope, we chose the following three scientific databases for data retrieval: Scopus,

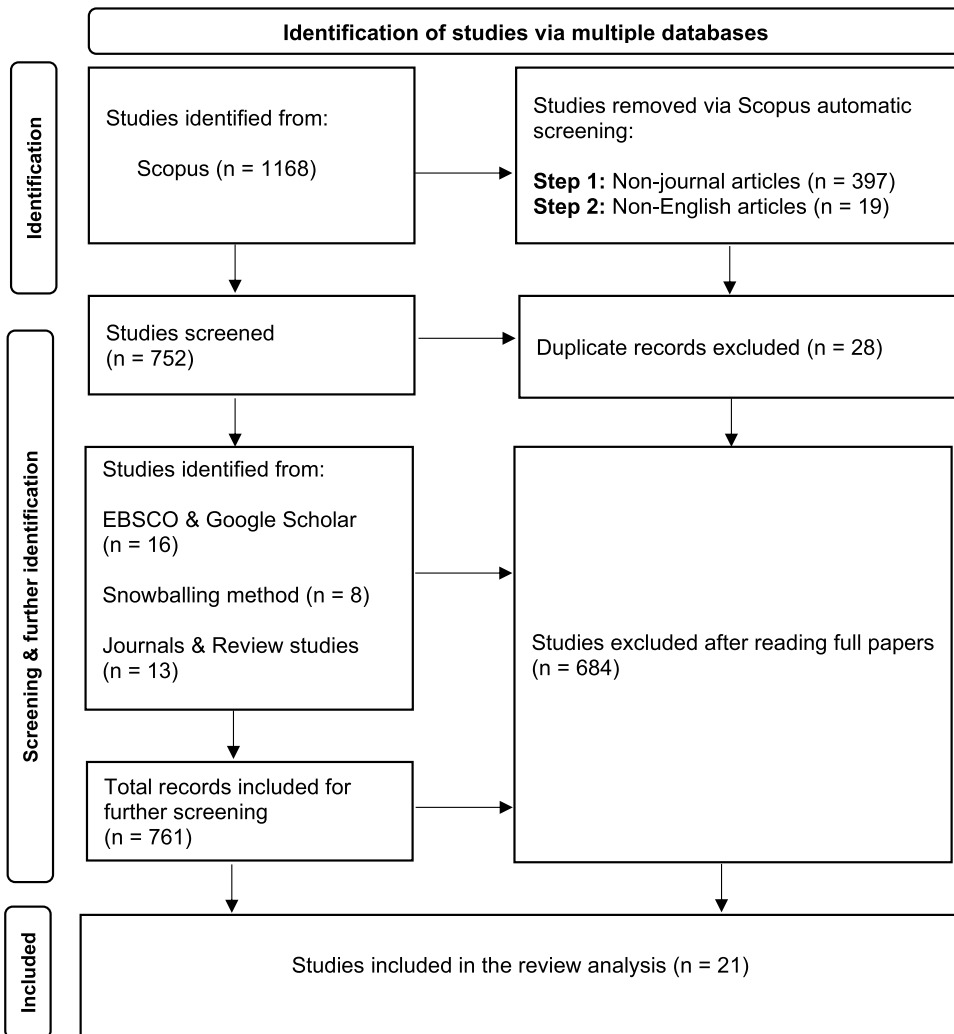


Figure 1. Flow chart of systematic review.

Google Scholar and EBSCO. Scopus was selected as our primary data source over the Web of Science because it is often better at including nascent and emerging research publications (Pranckutė 2021). Furthermore, Google Scholar was selected to include as many studies as possible, particularly from developing countries where the overwhelming majority of Indigenous people live (ILO 2019). To retrieve the most relevant data, at least fifteen scoping searches were carried out on the Scopus scientific database. This follows the recommendations of previous studies on the need to begin systematic reviews with scoping searches (Olumekor 2022; Tranfield, Denyer, and Smart 2003). Insights from these scoping searches were helpful in creating the final Boolean search strings we used on 7 October 2022.

Following recommendations that systematic reviews use more than one data source to reduce bias (Fayolle and Wright 2014; Tranfield, Denyer, and Smart 2003), we carried out several additional rounds of data collection from Google Scholar and EBSCO. In addition, we searched journals dedicated to Indigenous Studies³, used the snowballing method to search for additional studies (Wohlin 2014), and searched the contents of several review studies on Indigenous issues.⁴ This concluded our data collection process and gave us a total sample size of 761 papers. Following manual review, 740 papers were removed for not meeting our inclusion criteria, while 21 studies were included for data analysis ($n = 21$).

Data analysis

We used the narrative synthesis proposed by Popay et al. (2006) to analyse our data. This type of analysis is often recommended for studies characterised by methodological diversity such as ours (Fayolle and Wright 2014). To analyse the data, we read the full papers of all 21 studies multiple times and used a data extraction form to aggregate the findings. This form is presented in Table 2. Moreover, because one of the main goals of this review is to inform better policy designs for IE, we divided our sample into two broad parts. The first part included policies or practices that were deemed successful or leaned towards success, while the second group contained policies or practises that have not produced positive results. Using an inductive method, and following discussions with Indigenous people, we looked for patterns among the studies and subdivided them into different thematic groups based on the main findings of the studies. This enabled us to holistically interpret, analyse and summarise recurring practices/outcomes without a pre-determined structure. The results of this process are presented in the following section.

Results

Our main findings on the types of policies and their impact on Indigenous entrepreneurs are presented in Table 2. The studies were published in leading journals, such as *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *Journal of Business Research*, *International Indigenous Policy Journal* and *Journal of Rural Studies*. While the papers covered the period from 2005 to 2021, 24% were of them were published in 2016 alone (Figure 2). Furthermore, we uncovered a range of methodological approaches for evaluating the impact of government policies or support. Our results revealed that in-depth interviews – of both IEs and other stakeholders – were most popular as the

Table 2. Studies on the impact of policies on Indigenous entrepreneurship.

Authors (Year)	Title	Methodology & Sample (period)	Policy	Main findings
Buultjens and Gale (2013)	Facilitating the development of Australian Indigenous tourism enterprises: The Business Ready Program for Indigenous Tourism	Interviews with 67 Indigenous tourism operators in Australia and other stakeholders. (2005–2008)	Business Ready Program for Indigenous Tourism	The mentorship program designed to help Indigenous tourism operators was relatively successful. Participants improved their confidence and business knowledge. However, it could have been more successful if Indigenous people were consulted in its formation.
Macpherson et al. (2021)	Indigenous entrepreneurship: Insights from Chile and New Zealand	10 interviews of Mapuche entrepreneurs in Chile and 9 interviews with Maori entrepreneurs in New Zealand	Institutional framework	Government support (via seed capital or venture capital) directly led to the creation of businesses for Mapuche entrepreneurs. But for Maori entrepreneurs, government support played a secondary role as they relied on their own efforts and abilities. Overall, the more stable political and economic environment in New Zealand benefited Maori IEs, while Mapuche IEs were inhibited by Chile's less stable political/economic environment.
Curry et al. (2016)	Social entrepreneurship and indigenous people	Survey of 82 First Nations Bands in British Columbia, Canada (2010–2015)	Development corporations	Development corporations that pursue social and community goals benefit First Nations people and communities, while those focused on entrepreneurship increase the 'labor force participation rate in First Nations communities'. Despite receiving government assistance, participants believed the process was often too complicated, lengthy, rigid and frustrating. Also, a majority of assistance agencies were in urban areas, far away from IEs. And Mentors were valuable but difficult to access.
Shoebridge et al. (2012)	Indigenous entrepreneurship in northern NSW, Australia	Interviews with 4 IEs in Northern New South Wales, Australia (2008–2009)	Various policies	The policy was successful when municipalities adopted a hybrid system (relational networks and leadership) of dealing with Indigenous suppliers. Communities with dedicated office/personnel, assisting with non-technical support, were successful. While the one without, did not succeed.
Mercado et al. (2016)	Public procurement for school breakfasts in the Bolivian Altiplano: Governance structures enabling smallholder inclusion	Case studies in the 3 Indigenous communities of Kimsa, Maya, and Paya in Bolivia (2010–2012)	Public procurement for school breakfasts	Following the designation of Honghe as a world heritage site, the Hani Indigenous community faced a very high influx of tourists and business people. Also, the state law banning the construction of new
Chan et al. (2016)	The role of self-gentrification in sustainable tourism: Indigenous entrepreneurship at Honghe Hani Rice Terraces World Heritage Site, China	Interviews and Secondary data in Honghe, a World Heritage Site in China (2013)	Gentrification	

(Continued)

**Table 2.** Continued.

Authors (Year)	Title	Methodology & Sample (period)	Policy	Main findings
Nikolakakis (2010)	Barriers to indigenous enterprise development on communally owned land	56 interviews with Indigenous leaders and other stakeholders in the Northern Territory of Australia (2004–2007)	Institutional framework	buildings and restricting renovations increased gentrification. However, all these led to some Hani people taking up entrepreneurship themselves. Examining the challenges to IE, the author found that government support programmes were often too complex, and rigid, with a lot of red tape within a 'quagmire of agencies'. It also does not include post-establishment support for IEs.
Rante and Warokka (2013)	The Interrelated Nexus of Indigenous Economic Growth and Small Business Development: Do Local Culture, Government Role, and Entrepreneurial Behavior Play the Role?	250 surveys and interviews of Papuan IEs in Indonesia	Government support	The study found that the government's role in creating a stable and supportive environment significantly impacted Papuan IEs both directly and indirectly.
Hudson (2016)	Awakening the 'sleeping giant': The hidden potential of indigenous businesses	Descriptive analysis using personal stories and secondary literature of IEs in Australia	Various policies	Despite an increase in the number of IEs, government policies were often unsuitable, ineffective and insufficient. In one case, a government initiative led to the direct failure of an Indigenous business.
Tamtik (2020)	Informing Canadian innovation policy through a decolonizing lens on indigenous entrepreneurship and innovation	Descriptive analysis of IE policies in Canada and empirical study of 13 IEs in Manitoba, Canada (2018–2019)	Various policies	The author found a good level of success between various government policies to support Indigenous Peoples and entrepreneurs. For examples, in 2017 the government created 2 new units specifically dedicated to Indigenous affairs. Nevertheless, while financial supports have led to some success, they have also been difficult to access for some Indigenous groups.
Hindle (2005)	Contrasting Indigenous Entrepreneurship in Australia and Canada: How Three Applied Research Perspectives Can Improve Policy and Programs	Descriptive, secondary literature, comparative	Various policies	Contrasting the success of IEs in Canada to the challenges in Australia, the author highlights the focussed, culturally sensitive and research driven nature of Canadian IE policies, while Australia's was usually only as part of other Indigenous priorities such as welfare, education, health and self-determination.
Fleming (2015)	Improving Business Investment Confidence in Culture-Aligned Indigenous Economies in Remote Australian Communities: A Business Support Framework to Better Inform Government Programs	Case study of South Goulburn Island in Australia	Aquaculture program on Goulburn Island	The old aquaculture program changed constantly and was poorly implemented by the government. It eventually failed leading to unemployment and mistrust. However, following the implementation of a business support framework, whereby the government brought the private and social sectors

(Continued)

**Table 2.** Continued.

Authors (Year)	Title	Methodology & Sample (period)	Policy	Main findings
Fletcher et al. (2016)	Factors influencing Indigenous engagement in tourism development: an international perspective	Case study of different Indigenous groups in USA, Canada, Namibia and Australia, literature review	Various policies	together, the aquaculture program is now yielding some success. The study found that land title, land management arrangements and legislative/policy framework are significant in facilitating successful Indigenous tourism operations.
Whitford and Ruhanen (2014)	Indigenous tourism businesses: An exploratory study of business owners' perceptions of drivers and inhibitors	Interviews with 19 Indigenous tourism entrepreneurs in Queensland, Australia	Various policies	Government process was found to be one of the leading inhibitors to Indigenous tourism success. The processes were found to be filled with red tape and delay, resulting in a loss of opportunity.
Papanek (2006)	The <i>pribumi</i> entrepreneurs of Bali and Central Java (or how not to help indigenous enterprise)	Case study of Indigenous Pribumi entrepreneurs in Indonesia	Financial subsidies	The subsidised loans given to Indigenous Pribumi entrepreneurs often required political influence and bribes to be received. It also subsidised failing firms who were incapable of adapting to a changing business environment. However, a separate export subsidy provided to both all entrepreneurs was successful.
Zapalska et al. (2003)	Environmental Factors Affecting Entrepreneurial Activities: Indigenous Maori Entrepreneurs of New Zealand	Survey of 56 IEs in New Zealand (2002)	Various policies	Government policies such as limited intellectual protection, and those enacted following the economic downturn such as restructuring policies and exchange rates / monetary policies affected IEs in New Zealand.
Down (2012)	Evaluating the impacts of government policy through the long view of life history	Life history (interviews & observation) of several Australian IEs	Various policies	Several IEs recounted how their interaction with government policies at different stages in their lives influenced their entrepreneurial decision. Some IEs were 'stolen away' from their families at a young age while others received government welfare/ education
Reihana et al. (2007)	Māori entrepreneurial activity in Aotearoa New Zealand	Interviews with twenty Māori key informants in New Zealand	Various policies	Government policy overall was viewed as being restrictive, discouraging and ineffectual within certain industries. Furthermore, IEs viewed taxes as excessive while bureaucracy, regulations and licensing requirements were cumbersome
Brueckner et al. (2014)	Indigenous entrepreneurship: Closing the gap on local terms	Case study of members of the Riraitingu Indigenous clan in the town of Yirrkala in Australia	'Closing the Gap' policy	The policy is 'driven by a belief that the free market philosophy can succeed in rural and remote' parts of Australia. However, it fails to recognise the limited commercial opportunities in remote areas and fails

(Continued)

**Table 2.** Continued.

Authors (Year)	Title	Methodology & Sample (period)	Policy	Main findings
Mika et al. (2019)	Unfolding tensions within post-settlement governance and tribal economies in Aotearoa New Zealand	Case study (multilevel approach, stakeholder engagement) of Maori tribes in New Zealand	Tribal treaty settlement	to value 'traditional Indigenous practices and gives little attention to their market and non-market values' The separation of social and commercial functions in tribal governance has not helped IEs because while social institutions might be interested in helping an Indigenous start-up for cultural or social reasons, the commercial entity could consider it too risky, thereby creating a big divide for IEs.
Situmorang et al. (2019)	Friend or Foe? The complex relationship between indigenous people and policymakers regarding rural tourism in Indonesia	Interviews and focus groups with policymakers and members of the Batak IG in Indonesia (2017)	Tourism development	Government policies and support were either too little or ineffective. Regulations, counselling/training, financial support and sanitary support from the government were either limited or ineffective.

Source: Authors' work. IE(s) = Indigenous Entrepreneur(s), IG = Indigenous Group.

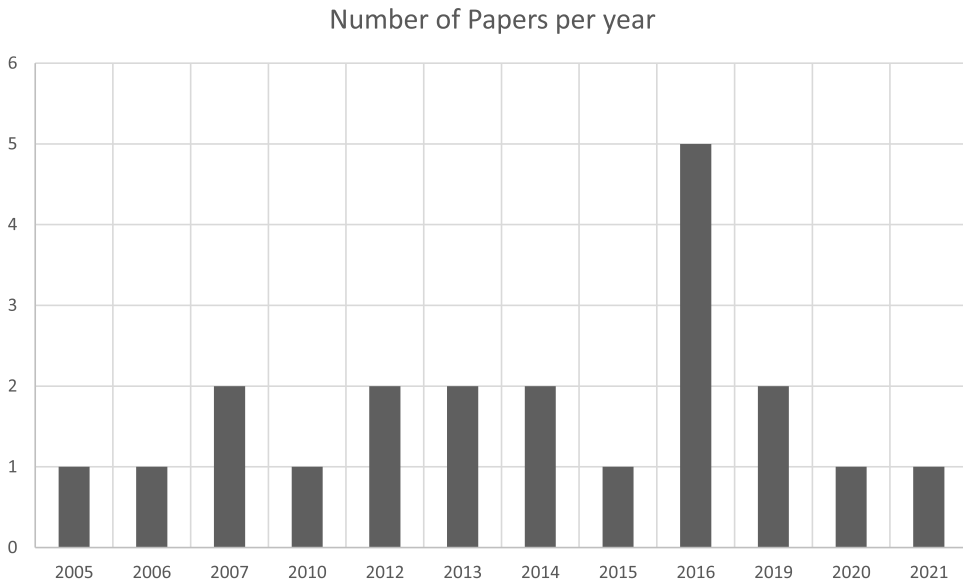


Figure 2. Number of papers per year.

main research method (43%).⁵ Other methods include case studies (29%), surveys (14%) and descriptive analyses or literature reviews (14%). Also, most studies rightly examined the impact of policies from the perspective of Indigenous people, and most primary data involved IEs. As Buultjens and Gale (2013) commented, it is increasingly important to give a voice to Indigenous people in academic research on Indigenous people.

Our analysis of the study settings of each paper revealed several Indigenous groups from multiple continents (Table 3). For example, our result includes studies of the Papuans, Pribumi and Batak peoples in Indonesia, the Damara in Namibia, Māori in New Zealand, Aymara in Bolivia, Mapuche in Chile and several other First Nations groups in Australia, Canada, USA and other countries (Table 3). However, of the 26 study settings we uncovered, 10 studies were on Australia (38%), while New Zealand and Canada were the next closest with 4 studies each (15%). Table 3 provides a detailed summary of the study settings and locations.

We found limited comparative studies or studies in multiple settings/locations. Among them, Fletcher, Pforr, and Brueckner (2016) used a case study method to

Table 3. Study setting.

Country	Indigenous group	Number of studies
Australia	Various Aboriginal groups	10
New Zealand	Māori	4
Chile	Mapuche	1
Canada	Various Indigenous groups	4
Bolivia	Aymara	1
China	Hani	1
Indonesia	Papuans, Pribumi, Batak	3
USA	Picuris Pueblo	1
Namibia	Damara	1

Source: Author's calculations. Note: several papers included more than one study setting. Also, many studies in Canada and Australia did not specifically mention the ethnicity/tribe of the Indigenous groups, only their locations and broad classification.

analyse policies promoting or inhibiting Indigenous tourism enterprises in Namibia, USA, Canada and Australia. Also, Macpherson et al. (2021) examined the impact of government initiatives and institutional environment on Mapuche entrepreneurs in Chile and Māori entrepreneurs in New Zealand. In addition, the main policy directions of the examined studies showed that policies/measures around Indigenous tourism were the most frequently studied (Chan et al. 2016; Situmorang, Trilaksono, and Japutra 2019; Whitford and Ruhanen 2014). Other policies include financial support (Papanek 2006), Development Corporations (Curry, Donker, and Michel 2016), land treaties (Fletcher, Pforr, and Brueckner 2016; Mika et al. 2019), public procurement (Mercado, Hjortsø, and Kledal 2016), mentorship programmes (Buultjens and Gale 2013) and regulations (Reihana, Sisley, and Modlik 2007).

Impact of policies on Indigenous entrepreneurs

From the studies included in our study sample, we found that most government policies and measures to support IEs have either been ineffective or ill-conceived, and in some cases, might have led to worse outcomes for IEs. We found striking similarities in the reasons for these failures in the literature examined for this study. This means that according to the studies in our sample, policies targeting Aboriginal IEs in Australia were failing for similar reasons as those aimed at the Batak in Indonesia and the Aymara in Bolivia. For instance, governments around the world have sought to use tourism to boost Indigenous economies; however, many of these policies have failed to produce any substantive results. Studies on Australia in particular have consistently highlighted the failure of the government's Indigenous tourism initiative (Whitford and Ruhanen 2014). Similarly, the Indonesian government has also sought to promote Indigenous tourism. However, it has also achieved little success due to factors that are not very dissimilar to those highlighted in studies on IEs in Australia. These include poor regulation, inadequate financing and a complex process that made it challenging to apply or receive support (Situmorang, Trilaksono, and Japutra 2019). Other failed policies include financial subsidies for IEs in Bali and Java (Papanek 2006), institutional support for Australian IEs (Nikolakis 2010; Shoebridge, Buultjens, and Peterson 2012) and restructuring and monetary policies for IEs in New Zealand (Zapalska, Dabb, and Perry 2003).

Nevertheless, we also found several successful policies. For example, the introduction of Development Corporations was successful in Canada. The support these institutions provided increased the economic activity of Indigenous people and their labour force participation rate (Curry, Donker, and Michel 2016). Furthermore, targeted public procurement policies were also successful for IEs in Bolivia. However, they only succeeded when the local government developed a relational network with Indigenous suppliers (Mercado, Hjortsø, and Kledal 2016). In addition, studies of IEs in Chile, New Zealand and Indonesia revealed that a stable and supportive socio-political and economic environment greatly benefited IEs (Macpherson et al. 2021; Rante and Warokka 2013). Also, studies of Indigenous businesses in Namibia, the USA, Canada and Australia revealed that granting land title/management rights to Indigenous groups helped to foster Indigenous tourism businesses (Fletcher, Pforr, and Brueckner 2016).

Since a key motivation for this paper is to synthesise lessons from these policy designs to inform future action, we present them in the following sections.

Red tape and complexity

Government support/policies for Indigenous entrepreneurs are often well intentioned. It can be argued that the targeted nature of these programmes should require a fair process to ensure that the support goes to the right people. However, the level of bureaucracy and complexity that IEs face can hardly be justified. We found that the most consistent reason for the failure of government policies is what Shoebridge, Buultjens, and Peterson (2012) described as the ‘confusing, lengthy and frustrating’ nature of IE policies. IEs have frequently described it as the most significant inhibitor of success (Reihana, Sisley, and Modlik 2007; Shoebridge, Buultjens, and Peterson 2012; Whitford and Ruhanen 2014). The processes are sometimes so overwhelming that they negatively impact the mental health of IEs, forcing them to give up entrepreneurship (Nikolakis 2010).

These complex processes often take many forms. For instance, IEs have expressed frustration with the time and processes required to obtain financial support, and with the lengthy and difficult the process needed to receive communal leases and licencing agreements (Reihana, Sisley, and Modlik 2007). In addition, there are also institutional complexities. Receiving government support is usually not possible from a single agency, forcing IEs to navigate a series of government units with little collaboration between them. This creates a highly confusing system with little clarity about the right place to access government support (Nikolakis 2010; Reihana, Sisley, and Modlik 2007; Shoebridge, Buultjens, and Peterson 2012; Situmorang, Trilaksono, and Japutra 2019). Moreover, in a highly competitive macroeconomic environment, having a long and difficult process leads to a loss of opportunity for IEs (Whitford and Ruhanen 2014). It also makes little economic sense. According to Nikolakis (2010), a good amount of the financial support the government allocates to Indigenous people is often spent on administration and red-tape, with very little actually reaching ordinary Indigenous people. These issues can be solved through a simplified process and a single government agency where all support can be accessed (Reihana, Sisley, and Modlik 2007).

Social-cultural outcomes

Another recurring issue we found with government support for IEs was that they were highly risk averse and often focussed on financial competence to determine recipients (Mika et al. 2019). Since most Indigenous people are without major capital or assets, they are often deemed too risky to qualify for financial support, making it difficult for them to start a business. This in turn makes it difficult for them to own capital in the future. To overcome this challenge, scholars have advocated for a reduced focus on the potential financial benefits of an Indigenous business, and more on the people/social benefits they provide (Mika et al. 2019). Studies have shown that IEs can play other important roles in Indigenous communities, such as promoting culture, heritage and beliefs. Moreover, IEs are among the leading role models in Indigenous communities (Hudson 2016). Consequently, it is important that governments develop a better system for assessing who qualifies for financial support. Studies have advocated an emphasis on social

entrepreneurship, rather than the traditional profit-driven system (Spencer et al. 2016). An example of a successful system is the structure of the Development Corporations in Canada (Curry, Donker, and Michel 2016). Development Corporations are community-owned corporations that manage local businesses and are charged with the economic development of Indigenous communities. Although these corporations are established by Indigenous governments, they operate on a day-to-day basis at arm's length from the government (Curry, Donker, and Michel 2016). Furthermore, while Development Corporations try to make profits, they also focus on supporting IEs as a social service. The other goals of Development Corporations include employment, training the workforce and preserving traditional values and beliefs in Indigenous communities. They have been largely successful in achieving these goals (Curry, Donker, and Michel 2016).

Dedicated personnel

Starting a business can involve enormous transaction costs (Williamson 1985). For Indigenous people, this is often a significant barrier to success. IEs face the additional hurdle of a complex bureaucratic process for starting/running a business while trying to remain competitive. This has led to demands for a more 'hands on' policy framework from the government (Whitford and Ruhanen 2014). Evidence shows that policies are more likely to succeed when government agencies or departments assign individuals/units who develop close relational networks with IEs and are completely dedicated to supporting them (Mercado, Hjortsø, and Kledal 2016; Tamtik 2020). For instance, Tamtik (2020) explains that the creation of two new government units, the Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, and Indigenous Services Canada, would lead to a more straightforward and systematic support for IEs. Empirical evidence from Bolivia supports this conclusion. Mercado, Hjortsø, and Kledal (2016) found that the local government's policy to purchase school breakfasts from IEs was more likely to succeed when there was dedicated government office personnel to coordinate and support the delivery of the programme. Working closely with Indigenous suppliers brought benefits to both the government and IEs. For instance, government personnel in Maya reduced transportation costs for IEs by asking suppliers to deliver to locations that were geographically close to them (Mercado, Hjortsø, and Kledal 2016).

Mentorship and non-financial support

Studies on entrepreneurship have highlighted the importance of training, mentorship and non-financial support in entrepreneurial success (Henry, Hill, and Leitch 2005; St-Jean and Audet 2012). Research has also shown that acquiring entrepreneurial skills in the early stages of business formation can influence firm growth and survival (Deakins and Freel 1998; Gartner, Starr, and Bhat 1999). We found that IEs immensely valued policies geared towards mentoring and advisory services (Buultjens and Gale 2013; Shoebridge, Buultjens, and Peterson 2012). These services include managerial support, market information, supplier information, financial information, and marketing support. An analysis of the impact of the Business Ready Program for Indigenous Tourism (BRPIT), a policy to provide mentors to IEs in Australia, found that it was relatively successful in improving the business skills of IEs, even though the policy could have been better designed (Buultjens and Gale 2013).

Institutional stability

Institutions shape entrepreneurship, and having a stable/supportive socio-economic and political environment can influence entrepreneurial performance (Thornton, Ribeiro-Soriano, and Urbano 2011; Urbano, Aparicio, and Audretsch 2019). This is even more so the case for Indigenous people who have experienced decades of subjugation. We found studies on IEs in Australia, Chile, New Zealand and Indonesia, all showing that a stable and supportive macroenvironment was vital for the creation and success of Indigenous businesses (Macpherson et al. 2021; Nikolakis 2010; Rante and Warokka 2013; Zapalska, Dabb, and Perry 2003). For instance, an investigation of Papuan IEs in Indonesia found that the government's role in creating a stable and supportive environment significantly impacted Papuan IEs directly and indirectly (Rante and Warokka 2013). A similar conclusion was reached by Macpherson et al. (2021), who found that New Zealand's stable political and economic environment was responsible for the better performance of Māori entrepreneurs compared with Mapuche entrepreneurs in Chile.

Legal clarity and support

Closely linked with institutional stability is a clear and supportive legal environment. Research shows that legal issues, especially those around land, can have an enormous impact on Indigenous people and entrepreneurs (Chan et al. 2016; Fletcher, Pforr, and Brueckner 2016). In particular, Fletcher, Pforr, and Brueckner (2016) found that issues around legislative framework and land title directly influenced the establishment of Indigenous businesses in various parts of the world. Furthermore, Chan et al. (2016) detailed the indirect impact of gentrification laws on entrepreneurship among the Hani people in the Honghe world heritage site in China.

Indigenous involvement and cultural sensitivity

The need to involve Indigenous people in the policy formulation process was repeatedly echoed in our study. Scholars have demonstrated several policies that failed or could have done better had Indigenous people been involved in its formulation (Buultjens and Gale 2013; Tamtik 2020). This has led to what Tamtik (2020) described as an urgent need to decolonize the policy-making process for IEs. Furthermore, issues around cultural sensitivity in policy formulation were also discussed in previous studies (Down 2012; Hindle 2005; Reihana, Sisley, and Modlik 2007). According to Hindle (2005), Canadian IE policies have been largely successful because they were designed in ways 'that are congruent with and not alien to the cultures and heritages of the particular people whom those policies are designed to help'.

Future research avenues

While there is evidence that research on Indigenous entrepreneurship has become more inclusive since its early years, there remains significant room for improvement. We highlight key avenues for future research on IE policy.

First, our research revealed typical research methods in existing research on IE: surveys, in-depth interviews and case studies. We argue that to fully understand

the impact of public policies, future research should include methods such as ethnography and discourse analysis, while being grounded in Indigenous research methodology (Rigney 2001; Smith 2022; Wilson 2020). Whereas ethnography can provide an accurate understanding of the cultural impact of entrepreneurship on Indigenous communities and vice versa, a discursive analytic method can shed some light on the discursive contestations that shape the policy-making process of IE. Some studies have begun adopting this method. For example, Cutcher, Ormiston, and Gardner (2020) used a discursive analytic methodology to assess the impact of public procurement policy on Indigenous businesses in Australia, but their research focussed more on policy transfer, not the direct effect of these policies on IEs. Nonetheless, future IE policy studies, particularly those by non-Indigenous scholars, should be rooted in the reflexive research approach advocated by scholars (Kovach 2021; Kwame 2017) and the critical consciousness that is a prerequisite for questioning one's own biases while conducting research with Indigenous Peoples (Smith 2022; Snow et al. 2016).

Furthermore, we found that entrepreneurship policies measured success through monetary, financial or employment metrics, while disregarding socio-cultural ones. This is also frequently done in academic research. Therefore, future studies on IEs should also consider a more holistic method of quantifying the success/failures of Indigenous businesses that considers the social and cultural impact of IEs. Studies have shown that IEs are important to the social fabric of Indigenous communities, playing important roles such as preserving cultural heritage and beliefs, among others (Hudson 2016; Mika et al. 2019).

In addition, from a policy standpoint, the complexity of the social, economic and environmental challenges facing the world has led to an acknowledgement of what is now referred to as 'wicked problems' (Rittel and Webber 1973) and 'complex problems' (Duit and Galaz 2008; Room 2011) in policy research. While wicked problems are intractable problems that are extremely difficult to define and have no clear solutions (Rittel and Webber 1973), complex problems are based on complexity theory and are exceedingly tough problems that are interconnected and non-linear. Solutions to complex problems are difficult but not impossible to achieve (Peters 2017; Room 2011). Within development studies, a growing number of studies have begun to examine issues such as poverty, displacement, and economic development as complex or wicked problems (Frey-Heger, Gatzweiler, and Hinings 2022; Jacquet et al. 2020). Examining entrepreneurship from this perspective could provide interesting avenues for future research. This can be especially useful for examining the difficult challenges faced by IEs living in developing economies where wars, conflicts, political instability, environmental challenges, and/or extreme poverty are present. Therefore, future studies on the impact of public policies on Indigenous entrepreneurship can approach it from a complex theory framework, a wicked problem framework, or a comparison of both policy frameworks.

To find lasting solutions to complex policy challenges, some innovative policy approaches have emerged in recent decades. For example, scholars have proposed bottom-up approaches to policy formulation and implementation (deLeon and deLeon 2002), a polycentric approach to policy governance (Ostrom 2010), a participatory approach to policy (Fung 2006), a decentralised approach to policy delivery (Bardhan

and Mookherjee 2006) and a multiple streams perspective (Kingdon 1984). These approaches could lead to a more comprehensive design and implementation of IE policies and potentially solve some of the pitfalls of previous policies highlighted in the Results section of this article. Also, academic research based on these approaches could enrich research on Indigenous entrepreneurship and should be considered by future studies.

In addition, unlike conventional entrepreneurship, there is no international database for IE that is comparable to a database like the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor. At the same time, previous studies have mentioned the challenges of data collection among Indigenous people, especially by non-Indigenous researchers (Shoebri, Buultjens, and Peterson 2012). We argue that such an international data collection/aggregation initiative, if it follows our earlier recommendations of socio-cultural inclusion, diversity in research approaches and Indigenous research methodology, could provide significant insights into policies regarding IEs around the world. It could also strengthen academic research on IE, providing opportunities for better comparative analysis and a more robust longitudinal research design.

Finally, although evidence shows that the economic benefits of entrepreneurship are clear, some recent studies argue that entrepreneurship might not always be beneficial to society (Cummings and Lopez 2023; Olumekor, Mohiuddin, and Su 2023). There is now a growing body of literature showing that the conventional Western approach to entrepreneurship, which favours individualism and excessive growth/profit, might be elevating people with so called 'dark triad traits' (Brownell, McMullen, and O'Boyle 2021; Olumekor, Mohiuddin, and Su 2023), and in some contexts plunge vulnerable people deeper into poverty and indebtedness (Cummings and Lopez 2023). Furthermore, recent studies reveal that the narratives surrounding entrepreneurship might place an idealised or impossible burden on vulnerable groups. For instance, the entrepreneur is now expected to be an idealistic individual who not only pursues economic gain but is also responsible for providing employment for others and changing the world (Cutcher, Ormiston, and Gardner 2020; Lee 2023). These issues have received little attention so far in IE literature, and examining how they influence IE policy and practice can be explored in future studies.

Conclusion

Our research makes a number of important contributions to the public policy debate on Indigenous entrepreneurship. We connected academic research on the impact of public policy on Indigenous entrepreneurs across several continents. This enabled us to draw lessons from the failures and successes of previous policies to guide towards a more inclusive approach for future policies. We then sought inputs and ideas from Indigenous Peoples to guide our research process, particularly the narrative synthesis of our results. Our results reveal that a persistent reason for IE policy failure is the lack of inclusion of Indigenous people in the policy formulation process. Previous studies have echoed this problem (Cutcher, Ormiston, and Gardner 2020; Tamtik 2020), calling for a process that fully involves marginalised groups across every stage of policy formulation. Furthermore, we demonstrate the enormous impact of creating a complex system of red-tape, sometimes comprising multiple government agencies, departments, organisations and

funding structures, leading to frustration among many Indigenous entrepreneurs (Shoebridge, Buultjens, and Peterson 2012; Whitford and Ruhanen 2014). Policies that fail to consider the social and cultural realities of Indigenous people have been shown to fail (Mika et al. 2019), and others have called for a broader policy focus, targeting the important social benefits that IEs can bring to Indigenous communities (Hudson 2016; Spencer et al. 2016).

Notes

1. UNPFII. n.d. “Who Are Indigenous Peoples?” United Nations. Accessed 7 December 2022. https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfi/documents/5session_factsheet1.pdf.
2. We found several studies, such as the one by Ayele (2006), which seemed to refer to all citizens of a country as Indigenous. Similarly, the study by Levy (1993) mentioned IE but did not sample any specific Indigenous groups, locations or people other than non-foreign-owned businesses in Tanzania and Sri Lanka. Studies like these were excluded.
3. The journals are *International Indigenous Policy Journal*, *Alternative-An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, *Aboriginal Policy Studies*, and *Journal of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association*.
4. The papers are Croce (2017), Padilla-Meléndez et al. (2022) and Salmon, Chavez, and Murphy (2022).
5. Some studies used more than one research method, such as a mixture of surveys with interviews. For example, see Rante and Warokka (2013). As a result, research methods were classified based on what all the authors agreed to be the main research tool of the paper.

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Data availability

All our research materials are accessible at the Open Science Framework: https://osf.io/64gsw/?view_only=f9506c41a54f41c982c9ee6ec6c02aa4.

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