Social Enterprise Journal

Contextualising social enterprise in Fiji

Heather Douglas, Buriata Eti-Tofinga, Gurmeet Singh,

Received 25 May 2017
Revised 17 October 2017
22 January 2018
Accepted 12 February 2018

Contextualising social enterprise in Fiji

Heather Douglas
Centre for Social Responsibility in Mining, University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia, and

Buriata Eti-Tofinga and Gurmeet Singh
School of Management and Public Administration, The University of the South Pacific, Suva, Fiji

Abstract

Purpose – This study aims to examine the geographic, historical and institutional influences on social enterprise in a small Pacific island country.

Design/methodology/approach – Drawing on theoretical literature and factual materials published by reputable sources and based on local knowledge of the authors, the study considers how Fiji's location; history; and social, economic, political and cultural institutions affect social enterprise.

Findings – Social enterprise is influenced by Fiji's remote location and small economy, which reduces access to external information and suggests that the nation is slow to embrace new ideas. Fiji's demographics, ethnic divisions and cultural arrangements create economic and political tensions that affect how support services and economic policies are delivered. Indians were brought to Fiji under the British colonial administration, and Fijians with Indian heritage now make up almost 40% of the population. Informal separation and growing tensions between these Fijian Indian citizens and indigenous Fijians have contributed to political instability. The resulting outmigration of skilled nonindigenous people has reduced levels of human capital and expertise. This limits Fiji's capacity to innovate, including developing a robust social enterprise sector. Although social enterprise could be a very effective way to address social and economic problems in Fiji, it seems unlikely that the government will embrace the concept without support and encouragement from external sources, especially international aid and UN agencies.

Research limitations/implications – Generalisability is not assumed with this study, as it examines only one Pacific island country; however, it is likely that the findings will apply in other small Pacific island countries having similar cultural arrangements.

Practical implications – This paper offers information that will assist practitioners, researchers and policymakers in understanding and negotiating complexities of the institutional environment in remote locations, especially in small Pacific island countries.

Originality/value – As one of the first studies of a small Pacific island country, this paper extends scholarship in this region and adds to the current understandings of social enterprise. In particular, the paper adds valuable, new knowledge of the effects of geographic location, political instability and cultural and ethnic divisions. This study is likely to be relevant for other small countries in isolated locations, especially those in the Pacific region with similar cultural environments.

Keywords Social enterprise, Political instability, Fiji, Ethnic divisions, Pacific island countries, Remoteness

Paper type Conceptual paper

Introduction

Knowledge of social enterprise concepts and practice has advanced rapidly over the past two decades. This is especially the case in developed countries such as Europe and the USA, and places with large populations such as South Africa and China (Bhatt *et al.*, 2018;

Social Enterprise Journal
Vol. 14 No. 2, 2018
pp. 208-224

1750-8614
DOI 10.1108/SEJ-05-2017-0032

Defourny and Nyssens, 2010; Kerlin, 2017). Studies have explained differences between rural and urban social enterprise (Farmer *et al.*, 2008; Smith and McColl, 2016), but other contexts remain underexplored. In particular, there has been little attention to the social enterprise phenomenon in the numerous small island countries of the vast Pacific Ocean.

Small Pacific island countries (SPICs) face significant environmental and economic challenges. Global warming is leading to increasingly violent storms which result in massive devastation in these low-lying island countries. These countries rely heavily on international aid (Dornan and Pryke, 2017) due to their economic fragility, scarce resources and distance from markets. Progress for SPICs depends on rapid and sustainable development to address urgent and persistent issues. Social enterprise would appear to have great potential to improve the well-being of people living in SPICs.

Social enterprise is an organisation that creates both social and economic value and generates some form of public benefit. By providing valued services or creating change (Diochon and Anderson, 2011; Teasdale, 2010) social enterprise improves the wellbeing of an underprivileged group of people or disadvantaged places (Steiner and Teasdale, 2018). Business activities sustain the organisation in its social mission endeavours. As hybrid organisations with dual social welfare and commercial logics (Pache and Santos, 2013), social enterprise operates in the private and nonprofit sectors in many forms. They may trade as cooperatives, community enterprises, nonprofit organisations, microfinance or social businesses, indigenous enterprises, work integration social enterprises, Fairtrade organisations or commercial firms, community interest companies or benefit corporations. However, there is a paucity of research focused on the Pacific region.

In response to a recent call to improve understandings of the relationship between local environments and social enterprise (Medina Munro and Belanger, 2017), and noting that there has been less consideration of historical and cultural influences and cross-sector interactions (Grant, 2008), this paper examines the small island country of Fiji. Fiji is a dual ethnic society whose:

> Customs and traditions are reflected in the formal and informal powers granted to unelected elites in a manner that resonates well across several Asian and Pacific countries that possess a strong monarchical or tribal heritage (McCarthy, 2011, p. 564).

As such, Fiji is a suitable site to examine how major institutions affect social enterprise in a remote location and draw useful lessons for enterprises operating in similar settings. This study adds to the limited scholarship examining small Pacific island countries, and it extends knowledge of social enterprise beyond large and densely populated countries. It contributes new understandings of the effects of isolation and political instability and ethnic divisions on social enterprise, thus adding to Kerlin's (2017) macro-institutional social enterprise framework. The next section provides a brief overview of Fiji.

Fiji

Situated in the South Pacific Ocean, Fiji is a small, independent SPIC located at the convergence of Melanesia and Polynesia (see Figure 1). With a land area of approximately 18,274 square km[1] Fiji is the second largest of the SPICs. It has 333 small islands, of which 110 are inhabited (Clark and Anderson, 2009). Fiji is one of the most developed and connected SPICs, but it is very remote. The capital city, Suva, is approximately 2,100 km north of Auckland and 3,200 km northeast of Sydney.

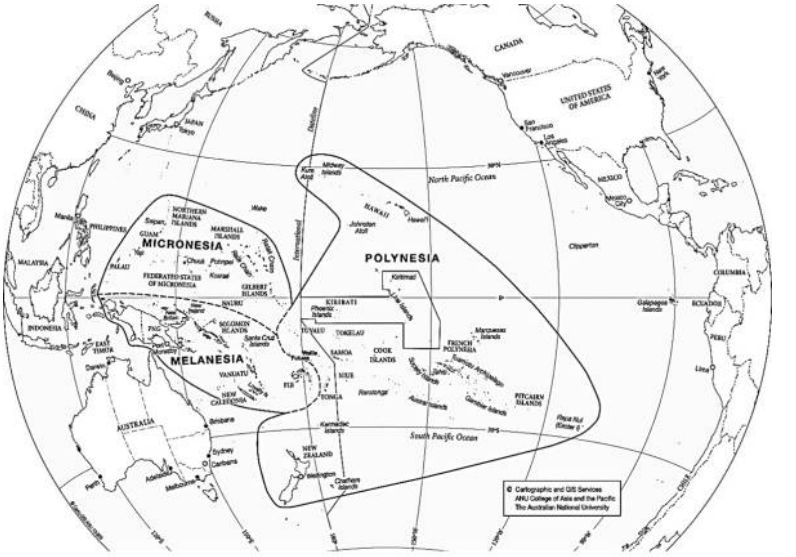

Figure 1.
Fiji's location in the Pacific Ocean

Note: Reproduced with permission from CartoGIS services, College of Asia and the Pacific, the Australian National University

Settlement history

Modern Fiji is a South Pacific island society with elements of Melanesian and Polynesian cultures (Clark and Anderson, 2009). Fiji was initially settled approximately 3,000 years ago by Polynesian ancestors who settled as tribal groups in coastal areas. They interacted and traded with other Polynesian island societies now known as Samoa and Tonga. Subsequently, Melanesians arrived in Fiji from the neighbouring islands of New Caledonia, Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands, and these people tended to settle inland. The descendants of these early settlers become the indigenous Fijians. The indigenous Fijians, known as *iTaukei*, have maintained a traditional chiefly system centred on extended families mainly living in rural villages. Europeans arrived in Fiji in the middle of the 19th Century to engage in whaling, trading and missionary activities. These early European traders exchanged firearms, gunpowder, metal tools, tobacco and cloth for Fijian *beche de mer* (sea cucumber) and sandalwood (Knapman, 1987). Traders later introduced a cash system of exchange with the powerful *iTaukei* chiefs.

As a result of internal unrest, the British took control of Fiji in 1874 (Walker, 2005). To create a self-sustaining colony, the British established a sugar industry, but colonial policy prevented *iTaukei* people from being employed as labourers in sugar plantations. Instead, the colonial administration recruited cheap indentured labourers from India from 1879-1916. More than 60,000 Indian *girmitiyas* arrived in Fiji during the 37 years the system operated (Mohanty, 2017). Most of these Indian labourers chose to remain in Fiji when the indenture system (*girmit)* was abolished in 1920. Only indigenous Fijians could live in *iTaukei* villages, so these formerly indentured labourers created their own communities. With others who had subsequently arrived from India, they leased land from *iTaukei* owners to grow sugarcane and other crops for the urban market (Walker, 2005) and developed major commercial and trade centres in coastal towns. The population of Fijians with Indian

heritage is now concentrated on the two main islands, and especially in the area surrounding Suva (Walker, 2005), but *iTaukei* continue to own approximately 85 per cent of Fijian land (Dana and Anderson, 2007) which is their source of power, culture and identity.

Demographics

With a population of 920,938 in 2017, Fiji has the largest population of nearby SPICs, such as the Solomon Islands with 647,581 people and Samoa with 200,108. The median age of Fijians is 28.9 years, and life expectancy at birth is 73 years. The population is growing at 0.6 per cent annually, with a fertility rate of 2.5 children per woman. Fiji has a large youth population: 27.7 per cent are aged less than 15 years, and a further 16.13 per cent are aged 15-25. The proportion of the population aged 25-54 is 41.08 per cent, and 6.55 per cent are aged 65 and over. There is a net outmigration of -6.5 per cent annually.

The majority of the population lives on two main volcanic islands, and 54.5 per cent live in urban areas. The population comprises a majority indigenous *iTaukei* (56.8 per cent), and a significant population of Fijians with Indian heritage (37.5 per cent). These two main ethnic groups tend to live separately, with parallel schools, religious facilities and similar structural arrangements.

Government

Fiji became a formal British colony in 1874. Recognising the traditional role of *iTaukei* Chiefs to provide sustenance and protection, the British established an indigenous administration and appointed a Great Council of Chiefs. These structural arrangements allowed *iTaukei* Fijians to govern themselves in a culturally relevant way. Indigenous development was sustained through cooperatives and subsistence farming, both of which are consistent with *iTaukei* mutual traditions of communal ownership. Continued activism protected *iTaukei* land rights to maintain their hegemony. In response, Indian Fijians embarked on a series of industrial actions during the late 19th Century as a result of their economic and political exclusion (Walker, 2005).

Fiji became an independent state within the British Commonwealth in 1970. The 1970 Constitution incorporated the Great Council of Chiefs which played a major role in Fijian politics, including appointing the President (Fraenkel *et al.*, 2009). It marginalised Fijians of Indian origin by allocating 22 House of Representatives seats to *iTaukei*, with all other ethnic groups allocated only 8 seats (Walker, 2005). Following independence, the country was a stable parliamentary republic for some years, but the *iTaukei* became increasingly concerned about the growing economic dominance of the Fijian Indian community. As a result, Fiji became an unstable democracy with four *coups d'état* occurring between 1987 and 2006 (McCarthy, 2011). Two *coups* took place in 1987: the second repealed the Constitution, declared Fiji a republic and extended the political dominance of *iTaukei*. A revised Constitution in 1997 attempted to promote social cohesion, promulgated equality under law for all Fijian citizens, and recognised Hindi as an official language for the first time, along with Fijian and English (Walker, 2005). Attempts to create ethnic equity were short-lived: two further *coups* and three elections occurred in the turbulent years up to 2007. The 2000 *coup d'état* reinstated the preferential political arrangements for *iTaukei*. Rather than interethnic tensions, the 2006 *coup* resulted from discord, rivalry and power struggles within the *iTaukei* community (McCarthy, 2011).

In an attempt to resolve racial tensions and promote a more equitable society, the 2013 Constitution promoted equity for all citizens, regardless of ethnicity. Aiming to reduce racial divisions and bring peace and prosperity to the country, this 2013 Constitution established a secular state and specified functions for the executive, legislature and judiciary

(Government of Fiji, 2013). It defined national values and identified the responsibilities and rights of *iTaukei* and nonindigenous citizens. The Prime Minister and Cabinet have executive powers. Members of Parliament select the President as Head of State in a secret ballot, but consistent with Westminster traditions, this is a public role and is not part of the legislature. The Great Council of Chiefs is not identified as part of the government system in the 2013 Fijian Constitution.

Fiji continues to have a complex web of governance. It has an elected national parliament and numerous regional governments that administer provinces, districts and villages. A third tier administers municipal and rural areas. A fourth parallel system of traditional *iTaukei* chiefs continues to have significant influence, especially in rural communities (Rika *et al.*, 2008).

The Fijian military's active competition with *iTaukei* for legitimate political power further complicates government. The military became a significant political force immediately after independence when a military school was created. Later, the 1990 Constitution established the Republic of Fiji Military Forces, which grew to be the largest force in the Pacific region, even larger than the much more populous state of Papua New Guinea. The military gains valuable skills and foreign capital from providing forces to UN peacekeeping operations. Consequently, it plays a significant role in modern Fiji and has been involved in three of the *coups d'état*. McCarthy (2011) insists that the military sees itself "as a legitimate part of the community rather than independent of it – an arbitrator of ethnic disputes and the ultimate bestower of legitimacy on a government" (p. 269). McCarthy further suggests military involvement is unlikely to change in the near future, as legitimacy conferred in this way validates the military in its governance of the nation.

Economy

Fiji is one of the most developed and best-connected countries in the Pacific region. Suva is the service hub for the South Pacific and acts as the regional base for many international charities, aid agencies, UN organisations and regional forum secretariats. Organisations with regional centres in Fiji include the International Labour Organisation, World Health Organisation, Asian Development Bank, International Federation of Red Cross & Red Crescent Societies, the South Pacific Forum and numerous UN agencies.

Fiji's contemporary economic landscape has been shaped by a successful sugar industry established in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries[2]. GDP has grown due to developments in finance and insurance, transport and storage, public administration, defence and manufacturing industries. The majority of GDP (71 per cent) is generated from services. The largest industry is public services which account for approximately 30 per cent of the labour force, mainly in urban locations. A solid small business sector operates in urban areas, predominantly in clothing and services, and tourism is important especially for the outer islands. This "soft" export industry is profitable, but Fiji runs a persistent and large trade and current account deficit.

Industry accounts for 18.4 per cent of GDP, mostly from timber, gold and silver mining and small cottage industries, mainly in rural areas. Fijians of Indian origin are very active in the economy, owning or controlling most of the small and medium-sized enterprises, especially in the transport, retail and manufacturing sectors. Agriculture (sugar, bananas and coconuts; food staples especially cassava, rice and sweet potatoes) accounts for 70 per cent of the labour force, but only 10.6 per cent of GDP. Fiji imports manufactured goods, machinery and transport equipment, petroleum products, food and chemicals, mainly from Australia and New Zealand, Singapore, China and Japan. Fiji exports sugar, garments, gold, timber, fish, molasses, coconut oil, mineral water, mainly to the USA and Australia

(21.8 per cent and 18.1 per cent respectively), New Zealand and China (8.5 per cent and 6.2 per cent, respectively). Fiji has a high rate of emigration, especially for well-educated or skilled people seeking better opportunities. Remittances from these Fijians are a large source of foreign capital.

Fiji has a larger GDP per capita (US$9,300) than Samoa ($5,500) or the Solomon Islands ($2,000), and the lowest aid dependency among the SPICs. Although these economic indicators suggest a strong economy, the economy struggles to perform well (Asian Development Bank, 2012). In 2016, 31 per cent of Fiji's labour force of approximately 350,000 earned less than US$1.90 per day. Unemployment continues to be a significant problem especially for young people (18.7 per cent), single parents, older people with poor health, people living in rural areas and anyone with a disability. Formal employment arrangements are highly regulated, but formal work does not generate sufficient employment opportunities so low skilled workers rely on informal or casual employment. Fiji's informal work sector is mainly in agriculture, cottage industries, small market vendors and transport services.

Fiji hosts the largest campus of The University of the South Pacific, but government education expenditure in 2015 was modest 3.9 per cent of GDP compared with other small island states such as Samoa (5.5 per cent) or Timor-Leste (7.8 per cent). Fiji is ranked 96th in the world for its health system: this is lower than Solomon Islands (ranked 80th) but higher than other SPICs such as Samoa (119th) (World Health Organization, 2017). Five commercial banks and 30 member-owned credit unions provide financial services (IMF, 2014), mainly in urban areas. Recent government initiatives aim to extend financial services where mainstream banking is insufficient or unavailable. For example, rural areas have traditionally relied on microcredit and microfinance agencies to access savings and small loan services.

Culture

Social organisation in Fiji is less closely related to culture than to ethnic identity which defines a group and its boundary (Singh, 2017). Fiji has two main cultures: *iTaukei* and Fijian Indian. Both cultures are strong: each culture is continuously evolving as a result of modernisation and globalisation processes, but they have a parallel existence. Traditional *iTaukei* life is related to ethnicity and clan affiliations (Thomas, 2002). The *iTaukei* culture is connected to the chiefly system and sanctity of the *vanua* (which encompasses the physical land, culture, language, people and the spiritual nature of the land). The *iTaukei* chiefly structure is an important, complex institutional arrangement authorised by *vanua* (land) traditions. All chiefs are expected to behave in a humble and respectful manner when interacting with others, especially their clan and tribe members. The *iTaukei* culture promotes communalism and dependence on the capacity of communities and others, including women, to cooperate and adhere to traditional roles. To facilitate good relations, *iTaukei* people respect the *vanua* traditional values and customs, and continue practices such as *kerekere*, whereby they can request others to provide items or perform tasks for later reciprocation (Farrelly and Vudiniabola, 2013). Sharing knowledge and oral traditions are two essential practices that sustain South Pacific indigenous cultures, including Fiji. Men and women with indigenous knowledge and who are gifted with traditional skills, such as weaving, fishing or building a canoe or a *bure* (hut), pass this information from one generation to another through myths, chants, stories and songs to preserve their history and local wisdom.

Fijians of Indian origin differ somewhat from *iTaukei*. The Gujaratis and Punjabis who arrived as free migrants from northwest India as traders and merchants have strong

attachments and kinship ties to India (Mohanty, 2017; Prasad, 2010). Today, they own most of the shops and businesses in Fiji, but the community of Fijians of Indian origin remains politically and culturally marginalised, even though they comprise nearly 40 per cent of the population. While Fijians with Indian heritage share a common way of life, they no longer have the communal kinship patterns of the traditional villages in India. As with *iTaukei*, Fijians of Indian origin are generally conservative and collectivist, but those who are settled in Fiji appear to be comparatively liberal in outlook and predominantly individualistic.

Religion

Differences in religious beliefs between the two main ethnic groups contributes to a divided society. Along with the Great Council of Chiefs, the Methodist Church is one of the most powerful groups in Fiji (McCarthy, 2011). Both have strong links with government. Christianity undoubtedly influences Fijian civil society and political values, and the Church has been very influential in shaping power structures and contemporary political processes (McCarthy, 2011).

After European settlement, Christianity diffused quickly across Fiji as a result of missionary activities in the Pacific region during the nineteenth century, with powerful Chiefs converting for political reasons, and embracing Christian beliefs as similar to the sanctity of the *mana* (the Chief's power). Approximately 90 per cent of modern *iTaukei* is Christian. Christianity shapes the way *iTaukei* think, their values and how they react to others. *iTaukei* life is based on the belief that God will provide for individuals, families and communities. Christianity is embedded in services such as education and health. Indeed, McCarthy contends that:

> Indigenous Fijians see no real separation of church and state – the *Lotu* (church), *Vanua* (people and land) and *Matanitu* (king or state) are traditionally harmonized and this is reinforced by the Church to promote Fijian unity (p. 570).

However, many Fijians are not Christians.

Fiji's population is approximately 64.5 per cent Christian, 27.9 per cent Hindu, 6.3 per cent Muslim and 0.3 per cent Sikh. Fijians with Indian heritage are Hindu (80 per cent), Muslims (16 per cent) and Sikhs (0.3 per cent). Despite diverse religious backgrounds, Fijians of Indian origin are bonded by the common hard and harsh experience of indenture under the British colonial administration (Walker, 2005).

Gender

Gender divisions are evident in Fiji. Fijian women in both *iTaukei* and Fijian Indian communities have a higher risk of poverty due to reduced access to resources and economic opportunities, as well as workplace and community discrimination. There is a high prevalence of violence against Fijian women, with 64 per cent of women reporting being struck by their partners[3].

When they have chiefly ancestry and are the eldest sibling, *iTaukei* women are acknowledged as *Adi* (female chiefly rank). These *iTaukei* women behave and are respected in ways that honour their traditional chiefly status. They have the status and power to influence their village or clan members, however, *iTaukei* chiefly structure is masculine. Almost universally, Fijian chiefs are men and the role of *iTaukei* women is traditionally confined to childbearing, domestic duties and care of family members. Traditional patriarchal structures remain among *iTaukei*, with men and women making decisions separately and men's decisions taking precedence. While women's expectations are changing slowly, indigenous logic means that *iTaukei* women continue to accept chiefs'

decisions – and those of men in general. Fijian women of Indian origin are also influenced by traditional values which emphasise formal male authority in property and decision making (Thomas, 2002).

The feminist movement grew throughout the 1990s. Civil society campaigns aimed to improve equity, empower all Fijian women and improve their access to health services, education, economic opportunities and leadership positions. Partly as a result of the sustained efforts of women's organisations, in 1995 the Fijian Government ratified the *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women*. It then introduced initiatives to support women, including the National Women's Plan of Action (1998-2008). New initiatives have emerged recently to promote a more equitable society. In 2014, the Fijian Government introduced a National Gender Policy to combat violence, discrimination, constrained access to health, education and essential services and limited political and economic participation.

Women's initiatives have provided local support services, such as women's shelters, and some have advocated for change, including promoting female candidates for parliament and supporting the growth of a social enterprise sector. For example, since Fijian women are traditionally excluded from decision-making processes, a female activist of Indian origin started *Be the Change Movement* in 2014 as a human rights campaign. This organisation endorses contemporary cultural expectations, advocates for gender equality, and insists that the dignity of all Fijian citizens must be respected regardless of ethnicity.

Welfare

Poverty is still a major concern. All Fijian ethnic groups are affected equally, but people living in rural areas experience more hardship than those living in urban areas. *iTaukei* continue to farm their communally owned lands, but the decline of the sugar industry and expiration of the farm leases held by Fijians of Indian origin results in many rural Fijians having insufficient employment. Low-skilled workers in urban areas also have poor work opportunities. These people struggle to meet their basic needs for food, shelter and clothing and cannot afford education, healthcare, transport or financial services.

The Fijian Government has introduced some social protection programmes to help disadvantaged citizens and their families. For example, the Poverty Benefit Scheme commenced in 2013 to provide some social welfare services for eligible disadvantaged Fijian citizens, such as a monthly allowance, food vouchers and free bus fares. Other support and assistance are provided by charities and political, cultural and religious nonprofit organisations. For example, the Fijian Missionaries of the Sacred Heart provides training programmes for disadvantaged young people so they can contribute to their community and do not become dependent on welfare programmes. As well as promoting cultural, political and religious issues, Fijians of Indian origin associations, including Mosques and Hindu Temples, promote the economic interests of their community and offer some services. For example, *Then India Sanmarga Ikya Sangam* provides primary and secondary schools and a nursing school for Fijians of Indian origin. Personal, family and communal networks also offer some support. For example, the *iTaukei* communal practice of *kerekere* allows vulnerable people to request assistance from their village and family members in a culturally appropriate manner. While some government and civil society mechanisms are in place to support disadvantaged Fijians, social enterprises could have an important role especially by offering employment services and advocating for gender equity.

Influences on Fijian social enterprise

In reflecting on the implications of Fiji's isolated location, colonial legacy, structure of government, ethnicity, political and cultural divisions, two significant influences on social enterprise can be identified. The first influence is the relatively low levels of global engagement, and the second is human and social capital.

Global engagement

New ideas filter slowly into Fiji. Partly this is because the tropical setting is remote from global developments, but other elements also reduce Fijians' potential to connect with the world physically, electronically and via education. Access to global innovations and new ideas is reduced by comparatively low personal incomes, meaning it is very expensive for ordinary Fijians to buy a computer. Travel to Europe, America, Asia or even to Australasia is prohibitively expensive, so Fijians must be sponsored by external agencies. Opportunities for individuals and organisations to connect with the outside world are reduced by the relatively small economy, which decreases the government's capacity to invest in ICT infrastructure across the nation. IT structures are not sufficiently robust to resist being disrupted by the extreme weather events that occur regularly in this region, meaning that the Internet is not a reliable means of communication.

The small economy results in low government expenditure on education, and this has two direct effects. First, schools are poorly resourced so students have limited access to new ideas from their teachers. Second, university salaries are comparatively low, making it difficult for academics to access new ideas from academic conferences and share these new concepts with students. Personal incomes are lower and ICT and other infrastructure are more limited in rural areas, where arguably the need is greatest. Furthermore, income is not equally distributed among Fijians, with jobs in urban locations usually paid more than those in rural areas. Thus, people living in urban locations have more capacity to engage with modern technologies and new ideas than people from rural areas. Information was restricted when the government took control of the press during the *coups* when the government threatened, harassed, detained, prosecuted and deported publishers, editors and journalists if they were critical of the regime (McCarthy, 2011). This government control further limits Fijian's access to unbiased information, which in turn entrenches traditional institutional structures and reduces access to global innovations, new concepts and ideas.

For social enterprise, the lack of engagement with the world means this country is slow to embrace novelty and move on from established traditions and institutional arrangements. Anyone wishing to establish social enterprise as a new industry should not expect Fijians to rapidly understand and accept, much less embrace this unusual concept. Academics, policy advisors, support agencies and activist practitioners will need to progress slowly if social enterprise is to develop successfully in Fiji.

Human and Social Capital

There is an increasing need to create more employment opportunities and good quality jobs for Fijians. A robust economy can provide employment, and economic development is strongly associated with human capital and the ability to create, transfer and use knowledge (Zook, 2004). With a high level of outmigration following the 1987 *coups* and subsequent years of political instability, economic output declined and Fiji deskilled because many educated people left the country, including business proprietors (Reddy *et al.*, 2004), public intellectuals and civil society activists (Slatter, 2006). As a result, education and training contracted. Currently, there is a scarcity of expertise and critical development perspectives that contest globalisation or government priorities.

Human capital is important for Fijian social enterprise. Economic performance and sustained economic growth are associated with the stock of human capital and the level of cognitive skills in the population in emerging economies (Breton, 2011; Hanushek, 2013). Formal education systems can develop human capital and skills in a population. Higher education is a particularly effective way to improve an individual's capacity for independent thinking, flexibility and openness. Alternatively, human capital can also be acquired as tacit knowledge through an informal process of mentoring and experiential learning. Experiential learning is a useful way to develop an individual's capacity to assess and adapt to novel situations. Having acquired human capital from formal education and training or informal learning processes, an individual can synthesise and integrate information, and then apply the new knowledge to good effect in novel situations.

Human capital is needed to conceptualise, start, operate and develop a social enterprise (Estrin *et al.*, 2016). However, hybrid organisations in Fiji do not perform well, and they are not managed well (Pathak and Kumar, 2008). Fijian social enterprises, therefore, will need to find a skilled workforce and competent managers. Since the Fijian Government has not invested in education, suitable people would need to be recruited quickly from international sources. This approach would require external experts to rapidly acquire the necessary cultural knowledge of Fijian society, but even if this is done successfully, it would not embed skills within the local workforce to start and operate a social enterprise.

An alternative approach would be for the enterprise to recruit and slowly train local staff while providing ongoing support, mentoring and guidance. To be effective, guidance should be readily accessible and preferably available locally, and mentors must be knowledgeable and sensitive to the culture and other differences of the people being mentored. This process works well in Australia (Cameron and Gibson, 2005; Douglas, 2006). Yet community and economic development is a skilled occupation. It is not certain whether suitable guidance will be available in Fiji for the length of time required to ensure social enterprises can continue to function effectively. Even if support is available, it is a slow process to start a social enterprise in a developing country with low human capital levels. The process requires patience and skill, along with human and financial resources (Mandinyenya and Douglas, 2014). There are additional requirements to build a robust social enterprise sector: social capital and a strong civil society.

Social capital and civil society also affect Fijian social enterprise. Fowler (2000) reminds us that civic innovations, such as social enterprise, emerge from civil society and the concerns and actions of civic groups that move civic actions into public legitimacy. During personal community practice, one author of this paper observed that social capital and a strong civil society must be present if a new social enterprise is to be successful, and this author's observation is supported by a recent study (Steiner, 2016).

Slatter (2006) demonstrates the breadth of civil society in Fijian formal and informal groups and organisations that serve the public interest of citizens. Civil society is often referred to as the "third sector" as it is not families, government or business entities (Nyssens, 2006). Social capital is a relational artefact. It acts as a vital connecting mechanism that allows individuals to exchange valuable information resources through networks of social contacts (McKeever *et al.*, 2014). If the intention is to build a strong social enterprise sector, social capital is an essential bridging mechanism for transferring informational resources to other people who have an interest in, and capacity to apply the new knowledge. Through the process of sharing information, individuals move beyond personal expertise and create a community of practice. For a social enterprise, social interactions occur in networks of individuals with common interests, and also in networks of relevant agencies connected to a topic area. Networks offer the most value for social enterprises and provide

the best support when they link to members who have access to valuable, but scarce resources, such as financial capital (Steiner and Teasdale, 2016, 2018), institutional contacts and practical experience (Douglas, 2006; Mandinyenya and Douglas, 2014). These social interactions create new knowledge that can have significant economic impacts.

The economic value of knowledge transfer has been demonstrated in a hybrid Fijian organisation where a small grant offered an opportunity for the manager to connect with good practice by visiting a similar enterprise in a small Asian country. This visit extended the manager's knowledge and understanding of new systems, and this new knowledge improved the manager's capacity to innovate and adapt to changes in the Fijian environment. Over time, the enterprise changed its focus, invested wisely, grew its services and became extremely profitable. The manager attributed the enterprise's success to his opportunity to connect to new information through this single short visit. There are potentially immense effects on civil society and hybrid enterprise practice if international aid agencies replicated this system. The impact on social enterprise could be profound if external agencies could support short practice development visits for social activists and practitioners to understand how social enterprise operates successfully in places with environments similar to Fiji. The global Indian diaspora could be explored as a potential funding source since ethnic Indian social and cultural capital is now recognised as a resource for development and support for change agents (Mohanty, 2017).

The future: facilitating Fijian social enterprise

This study presents a rigorous desktop study comprising an extensive review of published materials combined with embedded content dependent knowledge of researchers. We found that Fiji's institutions, culture and system of government have been shaped by soldiers, chiefs and Christian churches (McCarthy, 2011). The British colonial administration's policy of importing Indian labourers, the significant influence of churches and their promotion of *iTaukei* rights during the colonial period, combined with the rise of the military influence following independence, have created ethnic divisions, prolonged political instability and a lack of judicial independence. Systematic marginalisation and exclusion of Fijians of Indian origin from positions of influence by successive governments (Walker, 2005) has affected the economy due to an outflow of financial capital and outmigration of highly skilled non *iTaukei* (Reddy *et al.*, 2004). Less well-recognised effects are internal rivalry and tensions in the *iTaukei* community (McCarthy, 2011), and stresses for all Fijians associated with adjusting to a modernising economy. The more globally aware young *iTaukei* are seeking greater individual autonomy and challenging traditional structures (Asian Development Bank, 2012). These issues have had profound and sustained effects on Fijian institutions.

This study finds that social enterprise is undoubtedly a highly relevant way to advance wellbeing in Fiji. Significant areas of social need remain unaddressed by the government and international aid agencies, including unemployment and gender issues. Developing a robust, self-supporting social enterprise sector to address issues for all Fijians would reduce the current reliance on religious organisations providing welfare services, a factor that contributes to ethnic division. A social enterprise sector could assist in building social cohesion if services for all Fijians are offered by overtly secular organisations in culturally appropriate ways.

The current Fijian Government appears to be moving to support human rights and advocacy organisations that encourage empowerment and endorse new cultural expectations. There also appear to be some attempts to build social cohesion in a state in which ethnic and cultural differences were previously closely coupled to state functions. This political climate presents an opportunity for the emerging social enterprise sector in

Fiji to engage with the government and initiate new approaches through effective policy processes. For reasons discussed above, however, Fijian public policy is unlikely to rapidly embrace the new concept of social enterprise unless there is direct support from external sources. It will be difficult for individuals, business and nonprofit agencies to gain traction in their promotion of this novel hybrid organisational form of social enterprise. Dual purpose hybrid organisations are unlikely to have access to financial capital to start and grow their business. Thus if the sector is to be developed successfully, it must be established in an enabling climate with sufficient structures available to provide support. Only then can a robust sector be launched and supported while learning how to operate in a politically sensitive environment that is averse to civil society influence.

Currently, there is lack of knowledge of innovative approaches that could help to sustain new forms of social development in Fiji (Douglas *et al.*, 2018). One exogenous initiative is a social finance programme funded by Australian government aid. Pacific Readiness for Investment in Social Enterprise (known as Pacific RISE) is an innovative "gender lens" approach to mobilize financial capital and invest in female-led businesses (Pacific RISE Factsheet, 2017). Through this programme, Fijian women and girls have an opportunity to start a hybrid enterprise and generate income to address a pressing social issue or advocate for change. Initiatives such as Pacific RISE have the potential to shape women's future in Fiji. They work well in Australia where the concept of social enterprise and its potential to advance wellbeing is increasingly recognised in practitioner and policy circles. This is not the situation in Fiji however, where government support is uncertain and practitioners have insufficient resources to rapidly develop projects. Moreover, the government and policy environment has been bureaucratic, hierarchical and unsupportive of community involvement (Rahman *et al.*, 2013). As a consequence, it is difficult for civil society organisations to survive unless they conform to the Fijian Government's priorities and expectations.

Fowler (2000) reminds us that civic innovations, such as social enterprise, emerge from civil society and the concerns and actions of civic groups who connect to organise change actions. In developing countries, however, Fowler contends this transition from civic to public legitimacy does not routinely occur, especially if there is a powerful military presence. Building new capacities in remote places, such as social enterprise in Fiji, requires significant investment in time and financial resources. But this is not sufficient. To continue to operate, new enterprises need access to knowledge, skills, finance and other resources that assist organisations to function. Social groups linked through strong civil society networks can provide support and guidance, connections, information opportunities and other resources. Fijians can benefit from informal accessing different forms of social capital (Mohanty, 2006) and enterprising organisations are advantaged in a similar way (Anderson *et al.*, 2007). Strong bonding social capital between family members provides financial, emotional and other forms of support, but weaker linking social capital offers even more value. Linking with social groups in different ethnicities, classes, cultures and professions offers rich sources of human, financial and informational and influencing capital for people in disadvantaged communities (Babaei *et al.*, 2012). Fiji and the Pacific region more generally has a long tradition of civil society. However, Fiji lost civil society expertise and a capacity for critical analysis as a result of the workforce exodus during the prolonged period of political instability (Slatter, 2006).

Thus, as an essential part of their commendable development initiatives, exogenous projects such as Pacific RISE need to adopt a broad, civic building approach to build a solid foundation of human and social capital. Innovative projects may struggle to achieve their objectives unless they have sufficient access to sound social and economic development

practice skills. Considerable financial resources will be needed to support projects for a considerable time while the civic foundations are built and projects are established. Building a vigorous social enterprise sector will not be achieved quickly: one author's personal experience suggests it may take ten years.

Limitations and contributions

The findings from this single country study are limited in their generalisability. Flyvbjerg (2006) suggests, however, that single cases can reveal valuable information that adds to theory. Although examining only one small island nation, the findings of this study suggest it is likely that social enterprise will function in a similar way in other isolated countries, especially those with similar cultural environments. In particular, it can be expected that this study will be applicable to other small, independent island countries in the Pacific region.

For academics, this review of the small island country of Fiji adds to the limited scholarship examining small Pacific island countries. The case study extends knowledge of social enterprise beyond large and densely populated countries. We confirm that context matters in social enterprise research (Overall *et al.*, 2010; Smith and McColl, 2016), and we establish that researchers need to deliberately consider the local institutional environment when incorporating international concepts. Importantly, the findings from this study extend Kerlin's (2017) Macro-Institutional Social Enterprise framework by demonstrating the effects of isolation in entrenching traditions and reducing engagement with new ideas. Critical analysis also establishes that culture is more than class and historical traditions as Kerlin suggests: it can also involve embedded power struggles, ethnic tensions and conflict between powerful institutions such as government and the military. Future social enterprise researchers should explicitly attend to the complex influences of the institutional environment in their study sites.

For practitioners and policy officials, this study contributes valuable new information on how the local institutional environment influences social enterprise. Investing in the development of a robust social enterprise sector would address obvious needs in small Pacific island countries. It would be beneficial if the Fijian Government would provide funding for scholarships to study social enterprise, establish demonstration projects, organise training to improve practice, provide awards for good practice. However, it seems unlikely in the present political and economic climate that the Fijian Government will rapidly embrace the novel concept of social enterprise without external encouragement and support from international agencies and aid programmes. Funding and guidance from external agencies could add value by providing access to scarce human and financial capital. The potential of the global Indian diaspora to fund social enterprise development should be considered. Considering the nature of the political environment, it is recommended that external agencies strongly consider funding projects directly rather than through government. An essential part of building social enterprise in this region will be to develop a vigorous civil society sector which can then act to disseminate social capital within and across social and ethnic groups.

Three areas of additional research are recommended to advance the future wellbeing of citizens in this region. First, a robust hybrid sector requires consensus on conceptual and definitional issues. Involving local community organisations, activist agencies, policy officials and regional and international aid agencies from small Pacific island countries would not only develop an agreed understanding, it would also build knowledge of the potential benefits of social enterprise across the region. A second vital area to examine is the process of starting social enterprises in isolated, low resource environments and how these

situations affect strategies and practice. Particular attention should be placed on considering the influence of human and social capital, the political environment, and variations in local cultures. Third, a study examining the influence of international aid agencies and religious organisations would add valuable new knowledge to the social enterprise field. There is still much to understand about the effects of religion on social enterprise, especially in dual or multiethnic societies. Considering how these agencies shape local institutions, culture and practices would assist to develop a robust sector in this region.

Conclusion

This study examined social enterprise in a small Pacific island country and considered internal institutional influences by analysing the social enterprise literature and published materials from reputable sources. The study found that local institutions, including the settlement history, remote location, government, economy along with culture and welfare arrangements influence social enterprise in Fiji. In particular, we demonstrate that the remote location and small economy affect Fiji's capacity to engage in global innovations and new ideas. The unstable political environment not only reduced economic output, it also resulted in an exodus of skilled and educated people and reduced human and social capital, expertise and the capacity for critical analysis in this small nation. As a result of these findings, it seems unlikely that Fiji will rapidly endorse the novel concept of social enterprise, even though it could successfully address obvious needs in this community.

This paper makes valuable contributions to the limited scholarship of the Pacific islands. The robust analysis of this small Pacific island country advances the social enterprise field, as a novel site in which issues for social enterprise have not yet been examined. The paper advances theory of contextual and institutional influences on hybrid organisations which adds to Kerlin's (2017) Macro-Institutional Social Enterprise framework.

Drawing on the findings, we recommend that future social enterprise researchers deliberately consider the locality, the institutional environment, the culture and embedded power relations when designing and analysing studies. International agencies, including charities and government aid programmes, should also be aware of the history of an area and its potential tensions and cultural divisions. They should consider how these local arrangements might be addressed to achieve the best advantage for all citizens, such as potentially directing funding and support to civil society groups rather than national governments. Practice knowledge of the authors suggests Fiji could benefit from a low-key approach to develop local human capital and civil society networks. Development projects could be funded by external agencies and potentially the global Indian diaspora given the large proportion of Fijian citizens with Indian heritage. The results of this study are expected to apply to similar small, independent countries, especially those with that are affected by isolation and the low resource environments in the Pacific region.

Notes

1. Unless otherwise indicated, economic and demographic information in this paper is compiled from the Central Intelligence Agency World Factbook www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/fj.html, Viewed 29 December 2017.
2. Unless otherwise specified, economic information in this paper is compiled from the CIA Factbook, Viewed 29 December 2017.
3. Fiji Women's Rights Movement, Annual Report 2014-2015.

References

Anderson, A.R., Park, J. and Jack, S.L. (2007), "Entrepreneurial social capital: conceptualizing social capital in new high-tech firms", *International Small Business Journal*, Vol. 25 No. 3, pp. 245-272.

Asian Development Bank (2012), "Fiji 2012: revitalizing the Fiji economy", available at: www.adb.org/sites/default/files/. . ./30184/fiji-2012-revitalizing-economy.pdf

Babaei, H., Ahmad, N. and Gill, S.S. (2012), "Bonding, bridging and linking social capital and empowerment among squatter settlements in Tehran, Iran", *World Applied Sciences Journal*, Vol. 17 No. 1, pp. 119-126.

Bhatt, B., Qureshi, I. and Riaz, S. (2018), "Social entrepreneurship in non-munificent institutional environments and implications for institutional work: insights from China", *Journal of Business Ethics*, pp. 1-26, doi: 10.1007/s10551-017-3451-4.

Breton, T.R. (2011), "The quality vs. the quantity of schooling: what drives economic growth?", *Economics of Education Review*, Vol. 30 No. 4, pp. 765-773.

Cameron, J. and Gibson, K. (2005), "Alternative pathways to community and economic development: the La Trobe valley community partnering project", *Geographical Research*, Vol. 43 No. 3, pp. 274-285.

Clark, G. and Anderson, A. (2009), *The Early Prehistory of Fiji*, ANU ePress, Canberra.

Dana, L.P. and Anderson, R.B. (Eds) (2007), *International Handbook of Research on Indigenous Entrepreneurship*, Edward Elgar, New York, NY.

Defourny, J. and Nyssens, M. (2010), "Conceptions of social enterprise and social entrepreneurship in Europe and the United States: convergences and divergences", *Journal of Social Entrepreneurship*, Vol. 1 No. 1, pp. 32-53.

Diochon, M. and Anderson, A.R. (2011), "Ambivalence and ambiguity in social enterprise: narratives about values in reconciling purpose and practices", *International Entrepreneurship and Management Journal*, Vol. 7 No. 1, pp. 93-109.

Dornan, M. and Pryke, J. (2017), "Foreign aid to the pacific: trends and developments in the twenty-first century", *Asia & the Pacific Policy Studies*, Vol. 4 No. 3, pp. 386-404, doi: 10.1002/app5.185.

Douglas, H. (2006), "Action, blastoff, chaos: ABC of successful youth participation", *Child, Youth and Environments*, Vol. 16 No. 1.

Douglas, H., Eti-Tofinga, B. and Singh, G. (2018), "Hybrid organizations and sustainable development in small Pacific island countries", *Sustainability Accounting, Management and Policy Journal*, (forthcoming).

Estrin, S., Mickiewicz, T. and Stephan, U. (2016), "Human capital in social and commercial entrepreneurship", *Journal of Business Venturing*, Vol. 31 No. 4, pp. 449-467, doi: 10.1016/j.jbusvent.2016.05.003.

Farmer, J., Steinerowski, A. and Jack, S.L. (2008), "Starting social enterprises in remote and rural Scotland: best or worst of circumstances?", *International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small Business*, Vol. 6 No. 3, pp. 450-464, doi: 10.1504/IJESB.2008.019138.

Farrelly, T.A. and Vudiniabola, A.T. (2013), "Kerekere and indigenous social entrepreneurship", *Sites: A Journal of Social Anthropology and Cultural Studies*, Vol. 10 No. 2, pp. 1-29.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006), "Five misunderstandings about case-study research", *Qualitative Inquiry*, Vol. 12 No. 2, pp. 219-245, doi: 10.1177/1077800405284363.

Fowler, A. (2000), "NGDOs as a moment in history: beyond aid to social entrepreneurship or civic innovation?", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 21 No. 4, pp. 637-654.

Fraenkel, J., Firth, S. and Lal, B.V. (Eds) (2009), *The 2006 Military Takeover in Fiji: A Coup to End All Coups*?, ANU Press, Canberra.

Government of Fiji (2013), "Constitution", available at: www.paclii.org/fj/Fiji-Constitution-English-2013.pdf

Grant, S. (2008), "Contextualising social enterprise in New Zealand", *Social Enterprise Journal*, Vol. 4 No. 1, pp. 9-23.

Hanushek, E.A. (2013), "Economic growth in developing countries: the role of human capital", *Economics of Education Review*, Vol. 37, pp. 204-212.doi, doi: 10.1016/j.econedurev.2013.04.005.

IMF (2014), "Republic of Fiji", *Country Report*, International Monetary Fund, Washington, DC.

Kerlin, J.A. (Ed.) (2017), *Shaping Social Enterprise: Understanding Institutional Context and Influence*, Emerald, Bingley.

Knapman, B. (1987), *Fiji's Economic History, 1874-1939: studies of Capitalist Colonial Development*, National Centre for Development Studies, ANU, Canberra.

McCarthy, S. (2011), "Soldiers, chiefs and church: unstable democracy in Fiji", *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 32 No. 5, pp. 563-578, doi: 10.1177/0192512111418775.

McKeever, E., Anderson, A.R. and Jack, S.L. (2014), "Entrepreneurship and mutuality: social capital in processes and practices", *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, Vol. 26 Nos 5/6, pp. 453-477.

Mandinyenya, I.E. and Douglas, H. (2014), "Pragmatic altruism: a gentle process of co-creating social enterprise in a developing country", in Douglas, H. and Grant, S. (Eds), *Social Entrepreneurship and Enterprise: Concepts in Context*, TUP, Melbourne, pp. 219-240.

Medina Munro, M. and Belanger, C. (2017), "Analyzing external environment factors affecting social enterprise development", *Social Enterprise Journal*, Vol. 13 No. 1, pp. 38-52, doi: 10.1108/SEJ-06-2016-0021.

Mohanty, M. (2006), "Urban squatters, the informal sector and livelihood strategies of the poor in the Fiji islands", *Development Bulletin (Building Better Pacific Communities)*, Vol. 70, pp. 65-68.

Mohanty, M. (2017). "Transnational indian diaspora engagement and development: the transilient Fiji-Indian diaspora engagement and assimilation in transnational space", Paper presented at the Global Conference on Diaspora and Policies: Challenging perspectives on the Indian diaspora, The Hague, available at: http://gcids2017.org/abstracts-papers

Nyssens, M. (2006), *Social Enterprise at the Crossroads of Market, Public Policies and Civil Society*, Routledge, Abingdon, Oxon.

Overall, J., Tapsell, P. and Woods, C. (2010), "Governance and indigenous social entrepreneurship: when context counts", *Social Enterprise Journal*, Vol. 6 No. 2, pp. 146-161, doi: 17508611011069275.

Pache, A.C. and Santos, F.M. (2013), "Inside the hybrid organization: selective coupling as a response to competing institutional logics", *Academy of Management Journal*, Vol. 56 No. 4, pp. 972-1001, doi: 10.5465/amj.2011.0405.

Pacific RISE Factsheet (2017), available at: www.pacificrise.org/ (accessed 29 December 2017).

Pathak, R.D. and Kumar, N. (2008), "The key factors contributing to successful performance of cooperatives in Fiji for building a harmonious society", *International Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. 3 No. 6, pp. 690-706.

Prasad, R. (2010), *Tears in Paradise: Suffering and Struggles of Indians in Fiji, 1879-2004*, 3rd ed., Pindar, Auckland.

Rahman, M.H., Naz, R. and Nand, A. (2013), "Public sector reforms in Fiji: examining policy implementation setting and administrative culture", *International Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. 36 No. 13, pp. 982-995, doi: 10.1080/01900692.2013.773031.

Reddy, M., Mohanty, M. and Naidu, V. (2004), "Economic cost of human capital loss from Fiji: implications for sustainable development", *International Migration Review*, Vol. 38 No. 4, pp. 1447-1461.

Rika, N., Tuiloa, M., Tuiseke, N. and Finau-Tavite, S. (2008), "Accounting and accountability by provincial councils in Fiji: the case of Namosi", *Australasian Accounting, Business and Finance Journal*, Vol. 2 No. 1, pp. 15-36.

Singh, R. (2017). "Indo-Fijians in Fiji: their acceptance to Pacific way of life and retention of their cultural heritage", Paper presented at the Global Conference on Diaspora and Policies: Challenging perspectives on the Indian diaspora, The Hague, available at: http://gcids2017.org/abstracts-papers/

Slatter, C. (2006), "Treading water in rapids? Non-governmental organisations and resistance to neo-liberalism in Pacific island states", in Firth, S. (Ed.), *Globalisation and Governance in the Pacific Islands*, ANU ePress, Canberra.

Smith, A.M.J. and McColl, J. (2016), "Contextual influences on social enterprise management in rural and urban communities", *Local Economy*, Vol. 31 No. 5, pp. 572-588, doi: 10.1177/0269094216655519.

Steiner, A. (2016), "Assessing the effectiveness of a capacity building intervention in empowering hard to reach communities", *Journal of Community Practice*, Vol. 24 No. 3, pp. 235-263.

Steiner, A. and Teasdale, S. (2016), "The playground of the rich? Growing social business in the 21st century", *Social Enterprise Journal*, Vol. 12 No. 2, pp. 201-216, doi: 10.1108/SEJ-12-2015-0036.

Steiner, A. and Teasdale, S. (2017), "Unlocking the potential of rural social enterprise", *Journal of Rural Studies*, doi: 10.1016/j.jrurstud.2017.12.021.

Teasdale, S. (2010), "Models of social enterprise in the homelessness field", *Social Enterprise Journal*, Vol. 6 No. 1, pp. 23-34.

Thomas, P. (2002), "Political participation in the Pacific: issues of gender, race and religion", *Development Bulletin*, Vol. 59, pp. 1035-1132.

Walker, A.R. (2005), "Indians in Fiji", in Ember, M., Ember, C.R. and Skoggard, I. (Eds), *Encyclopedia of Diasporas: Immigrant and Refugee Cultures around the World*, Springer, New York, NY, pp. 836-850, doi: 10.1007/978-0-387-29904-4_86.

World Health Organization (2017), available at: https://photius.com/rankings/healthranks.html (accessed 24 December 2017).

Zook, M.A. (2004), "The knowledge brokers: venture capitalists, tacit knowledge and regional development", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 28 No. 3, pp. 621-641, doi: 10.1111/j.0309-1317.2004.00540.x.

Corresponding author
Heather Douglas can be contacted at: hdouglas21@gmail.com