Doing entrepreneurship in Uganda: The social construction of gendered identities among male and female entrepreneurs

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Thesis presented for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
in the School of Management Studies
Faculty of Commerce
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

December, 2006

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to my parents. To my late father Edmund Kitimbo I say that from you I derived courage to go on even when things were tough. For you mother Louisa this work will always remain testimony to your selfless devotion to your child's future against all odds. Thank you mother.

Acknowledgements

This work would not have got this far without efforts of a number of people and whose contributions as follows:

First, I wish to thank supervisors: Professor Burger van Lill and Professor Bagraim Jeff in the School of Management Studies at the University of Cape Town for the supervision, critique and intellectual guidance they give to me. In same spirit I thank Dr. Martin Birt formerly with the School of Management Studies at UCT for the guidance he gave me earlier on the program. Indeed the intellectual growth that I have experienced as a result of this project is a reflection of their guidance and encouragement. Thank you so much.

Secondly, I wish to thank the members of my family, brothers and sisters as well as all my friends who have at all times provided social support all the way.

My employer, Makerere University provided me with study leave and sponsorship for this program. I am indeed grateful for that. My appreciation in this regard also goes to the colleagues at the Institute of Psychology at Makerere University for their encouragement and support.

Lastly I wish to give my sincere appreciation to the support I got from the University of Cape Town. Specifically I am very grateful for financial support I received from the Harry Oppenheimer Institute for African Studies as well as the Postgraduate Funding Office. Special thanks also go to the staff of the University of Cape Town's Chancellor Oppenheimer Library especially the people in the interlibrary Loan section who always put every effort possible to source for material that was not available at the UCT library.

To you I say thank you so much.

Abstract

Despite the vastness and depth of existing theories of entrepreneurship, there is a gap between women's experiences of entrepreneurship and the explanations that traditional research has produced. Entrepreneurship scholars tend to and seem concerned mostly with testing hypotheses intended to refine and add to long lists of features and contingencies for the 'ideal' entrepreneur.

An alternative approach that takes 'women's experiences,' as central empirical and theoretical resources for research about the entrepreneurial process, was taken in this study. This necessitated a shift in emphasis from traits and behaviours to meaning making in entrepreneurship practice. A process approach to entrepreneurship is presented as a more appropriate way to develop knowledge about entrepreneurship.

Recognizing that doing business is influenced by the community, as well as the socio-economic, cultural, political and historical environments, a social constructionist perspective was utilized as the framework through which entrepreneurs' experiences were viewed. As a theoretical framework, social constructionism is concerned with explaining the process by which people use language to describe, explain or account for the world in which they lives. This framework acknowledges that familial, social, cultural, political and historical environments influence how entrepreneurs talk about their experiences.

This shift from the traditional focus on traits and behaviours to meaning making in entrepreneurial action invited a shift in inquiry from explanation to interpretation through a narrative type of inquiry. Thus, drawing on a narrative inquiry methodological approach, life stories about 11 entrepreneurs' experiences were used as the primary source for exploring entrepreneurship practices. Through the 11 case stories, the participants were performing discursive acts of constructing

gender and entrepreneurship as intertwined processes. Integrating elements from actor oriented approaches to narrative inquiry was useful in shedding light not only on the experiences of female entrepreneurs, but also on the experiences of all entrepreneurs, as well as on the notion of entrepreneurship itself.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides the rationale for the study. This is accomplished through five sections. The first section provides a discussion of the study context in terms of the macro- and micro-socio-economic, political, as well as culture issues that have characterized Uganda's history. A discussion of the significance of women in Uganda's economy is provided in the second section. Sections three to five provide discussions of the general background to the study, as well as outlining the question, aims and specific goals of the study. The sixth section provides the definition of the phenomenon under study. Lastly, an outline of the remaining chapters in the thesis is provided.

1.1 Historical overview of socio-economic, cultural and political changes in Uganda

Uganda's colonial and economic history, especially the introduction of the cash-crop system and wage labour, and their role in the restructuring of traditional societies, have been adequately documented by a number of scholars (Hansen and Twaddle, 1988, 1991; Kabwegyere, 1987; Mamdani, 1984; Obbo, 1980, 1991; Tadria, 1987; Weibe & Dodge, 1987). Kabwegyere (1987) argued that after over sixty years of the entrenchment of dependency, Uganda's economy at the time of independence seemed to have visible signs of growth, even though the ultimate beneficiary continued to be the metropolis. However, since the colonial state was an imposed entity, the Ugandan economy at that time was built to service colonial interests, and it is suggested that at the time of independence there were overwhelming inequities. The economy was divided into relatively distinct sectors: a European controlled productive sectors of the

economy[1], an African subsistence farming tradition, and an Asian dominated business sector. According to Mamdani (1976), most trade and manufacturing businesses in Uganda were owned by in Asian hands. Mamdani argued that by 1954 nearly 80% of the Indian holders of trading licences in Uganda came from just three groups which were organized into religiously-oriented caste associations that effectively represented their interests. The presence of Asians in East African economies generally, and the question of inequality specifically, were subjects of debate for some time (see Jamal, 1976, 1978), and still are to some extent today (see Nowrjee, 2002, on the same issue in Kenya). Moreover, it is also noted that Asians had arrived to work on the construction of the Uganda Railway, and when it was completed, many of them remained to take advantage of economic opportunities. According to Kabwegyere (1987), Asians' and other foreign nationals' position in the economic structure was a hindrance to the emergence of 'African' business entrepreneurship as it set certain restrictions on the aspirations of local entrepreneurs. This was because the activities of the European middle-men, Arabs and Asian traders had the following advantages over the indigenous traders[2]:

- They had the backing of the colonial government;
- They had capital and access to cheap goods and controlled markets, including sources of goods;
- They had personnel with knowledge of trade.

Thus, their dominance in the commercial sphere presented a real challenge to local traders who also wanted a meaningful share of commercial activities. Perhaps one of the explicit reactions to

[1] This also included the colonial administration extracting surplus from peasant producers (Kajubi, 1987).

[2] These loaded and racial descriptions and terms are deliberately used here in order to give the reader a 'flavour' of how people internalized these categorizations in this society, and the way they looked at their problems and themselves at that time.

this dominance is captured in Wavamunno's (2000, p.52) autobiography where he described the 1959 protest by the 'indigenous' Africans during the Buganda trade boycott:

> During the boycott, Africans were barred from buying anything from Indian or European shops and to consume European types of beverages, cigarettes, Kenyan tetra pack milk, and eggs. They were also prohibited from travelling on the Uganda Transport Company. The slogan of the boycott was *furidomu* (freedom) and *furidomu* [italics in original] meant buying African, and consuming OHMS (Our Own Home Made Stuff) only, regardless of the prices or quality of the goods and services.

Comment [s1]: Perhaps insert the date as a reference

Comment [s2]: Although this appears to be a quotation, I have edited the grammar in case there was a mistake in the transcription

Thus, when [former president, the late] Amin expelled Asians from Uganda in 1972, post-independence Uganda witnessed the gradual emergence of a new commercial class of 'indigenous' entrepreneurs in Kampala (Mamdani, 1976). Today, one notices that they are characterized by the number of 'firsts' behind their credentials.

The emergence of this class of commercial elite was, however, not peculiar to Kampala city or Uganda in particular, as the phenomenon was also observed elsewhere on the African continent. For instance, Adeboye's (1996) research into the Ibadan elite showed that this class had some capital, but it was not enough for their investments into the economy to be geared towards the industrialization of the nation. He thus likened them to "Franz Fanon's petit bourgeoisie" (Adeboye, 1996, p. 300).

Compared to other African societies under British rule, the influx of the British population in Uganda was much smaller, and large colonial-based estates never took hold[3]. Similar to other countries, however, the indirect colonial policy of "divide and

[3] According to Kajubi (1987), the failure for the large colonial-based estates to take hold tended to preserve a large rural indigenous population and a subsistence farming tradition.

rule" (Kajubi, 1987, p. 29) encouraged the development of ethnic sub-nationalism, which tended to perpetuate, rather than resolve ethnic and regional conflicts. For instance, Kajubi (1987) argued that the Baganda in the south were organized into an indigenous ruling class, and the Lugbara and other groups in the north were organized as the indigenous army (see also Pain, 1987; Wanji, 1973). In addition, it has also been observed that women became more marginalized in the monetary economy because cash crops (which were largely a male domain) predominated (Obbo, 1980; Tadria, 1987). These divisions had a deep and continuing effect on subsequent economic and political development of the country and its peoples (Wiebe & Dodge, 1987).

1.1.1 Political and economic changes

According to Obbo (1980), the early 1970s saw an expansion of peasant migration to urban towns. Moreover, this rural-urban migration, coupled with a growing Indian population in the cities, created intense competition among social groups for employment, government services, and other economic resources. According to Mamdani (1976, p. 81) "African efforts to break into commerce were vastly handicapped by the lack of effective links to crucial resources of supply and credit". However, this was to change in post-independence Uganda since "expectations expanded faster than the economy in the early independence period, accelerating the push for Africanization of the civil service and changes in economic structures that had previously favoured Asian business" (Mamdani, 1976, p.273). He argued that the need to make room for upward mobility led to Amin's expulsion of the Asian community in 1972, and that the Asian exodus created an immense reservoir of assets for distribution. Moreover, confiscated Asian property was turned over to political favourites (not necessarily skilled in business operation). During the Amin era (1971-1979), Uganda's economy became weaker than it had been at the time of independence, and the subsequent war of liberation of 1978-79, and the guerrilla war of 1981-86 did not help the situation

either. Although, according to Obbo (1980), urban dwellers on fixed incomes suffered most as a result of these developments, rural people did not escape hardships. Holger and Twaddle (1991) reported that a fall in real wages by 7% by 1978 reduced the public's purchasing power for agricultural input and prompted a shift away from cash crops to subsistence food production. Moreover, in the cities, men and women in collaboration with rural dwellers resorted to selling smuggled produce - including coffee, beans, and plantains - to neighbouring countries in return for scarce consumer goods (Holger & Twaddle, 1991; Obbo, 1980). Wabwere (1996) argued that far from furthering economic independence, reinforced dependence was the result of Amin's action as other foreign industrialists moved in (to replace the departed Asians). He added that *magendo* [smuggling] stepped into the vacuum created by declining commodity production and became a systematic black-market distribution system as industries ceased to function. Of the soldiers who took over businesses after the expulsion of Asians, Obbo (1991) observed that the 'new captains' of the economy, generally known as *mafuta mingi,* (a Swahili language term referring to men with a lot of fat), indulged in conspicuous public consumption behaviours associated with mass corruption and irresponsible business management.

The above situation was made even worse by other events impacting on the economy that were taking place at a global level, and this inevitably led to more economic difficulties for the country. That is, these developments (or lack of development) became more widespread following external pressures associated with the fall in the world market price for coffee, Uganda's major export. According to Mamdani (1990), between 1971 and 1978, the country registered a fall by one half in official coffee export prices, and a fall in real gross domestic product (GDP) by an average of two percent per year.

As a step toward national economic recovery, the country adopted and implemented the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) beginning in the early 1980s, as other countries were doing. However, this was to prove disastrous for the country's economy. For instance, as in other countries, stabilization and structural adjustment programs entailed government cutback of public expenditures, particularly in the areas of health, education, civil service employment, and social welfare. Moreover, these measures went hand-in-hand with major currency reforms: devaluation, implementation of an exchange tax from the old currency to the new to pay off the public debt, and open general licensing of imports (Loxley, 1989; Mutebile, 1995). So, as Wakoko and Lobao (1996) noted, where the economy was crippled as a result of war and social upheaval, structural adjustment made a severe condition even worse. In fact, Mamdani (1990) blamed the country's balance-of-payments problems on the involvement of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. Mamdani (1990) further argued that balance-of-payments problems made the nation's economy more vulnerable to outside forces than it had been at independence.

In addition to contributing to the collapse of the economy, Wakoko and Lobao (1996) noted that political instability, and social and physical insecurity further deteriorated gender relations. In addition, the civil strife and economic deterioration in the 1970s and early 1980s had a social impact on various social groups such as the women and children. Moreover, as Wakoko and Lobao (1996) suggested, the effects of these processes on women's lives have been reported as wide-ranging. For instance, the deterioration of gender relations also increased domestic violence, a breakdown of families, the abandonment of children, and a major growth in the number of female-headed households (Boyd, 1989).

Comment [s3]: Who are these groups?

1.1.2 The current government's responses to change

Uganda's National Resistance Movement's (NRM) ascent to power in 1986 has been seen by some as a critical event for entrepreneurship in Uganda because they provided an encouraging environment for 'investment' and for people to go into private business (Bantebya, 1992; Brett, 1995; Katorobo, 1995). In addition, during the period of civil unrest, soldiers were corrupt, taking people's cash and goods and even buildings, resulting in a general hesitation about investing (Snyder, 2000).

Since coming to power, the NRM has made significant strides towards including women as partners in the country's development and decision-making processes. Although the NRM's approach to the empowerment of women has been a subject of critical debates (see Boyd, 1989; Obbo, 1991), during its rule the NRM has been widely praised for introducing affirmative action policies in favour of marginalized groups in society, particularly women. This is not surprising since as a result of such affirmative action policies, women's rights have been enshrined in the Ugandan constitution for the first time, and the Uganda women's movement has grown dramatically into a vibrant political force throughout the country (Tamale, 1998). Moreover, the Ugandan government also introduced a Universal Primary Education (UPE) policy to provide free education to four children per family, two of whom must be girls. At the tertiary education level, extra points were added for girls to allow more women to study in the university. According to Kwesiga (as cited in Wakoko & Lobao, 1996), this occurred after realizing that:

> Women are 65% of the illiterate population … boys are more likely to complete their basic education in schools than are girls … women are more valued for their roles as mothers and wives than as public servants (p. 312).

The particular responses of the National Resistance Movement (NRM), led to new avenues of political participation for women. In addition, women activism has continued, facilitated by an increasing worldwide awareness of feminist issues (World Bank, 2001). Thus, these changes - in addition to women's significant participation in the NRM's guerrilla movement (Boyd, 1989), political and economic restructuring (Hansen & Twaddle, 1991), and the increasing role of non-governmental organizations and women's associations (Snyder, 2000) - all served to transform not only traditional ideologies and divisions of labour, but also - more importantly - the social construction of gender (Wakoko & Lobao, 1996).

1.2 Significance of women in Uganda's economy

According to the report by the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (2004) on the Uganda Business Register of 2001/2002, informal sector businesses constitute the largest number of businesses in Uganda. This is particularly the case in the trade sector into which over 60% of the national businesses fall. As the report observed, the informal sector has turned out to be very important in terms of employment creation. Despite quantitative measurement of the contributions of female micro-entrepreneurs to the GDP being slow in coming, the trading and services sectors (especially food and beverages, textiles, retail trade, pottery), which have led to the high rate of economic growth in the informal economy (GEM Uganda 2004 Executive Report), are areas of female dominance.

In Uganda, the history of women's entry into the business world in some ways parallels, but is distinct from, that of men. As Snyder (2000) noted, the contemporary story of female entrepreneurs in Uganda is also the story of the country's experience of, and recovery from, civil war and its legacy of death, destruction and fear. In terms of explaining the rise in women's entrepreneurship, Uganda's case is unique because "a

veritable explosion of Ugandan African entrepreneurship was born out of the need to survive amidst chaos" (Snyder, 2000; p. 17), since the civil wars and economic crises that engulfed the country in the 1970s and early 1980s had such profound demographic and structural impacts.

Comment [s4]: Add a page reference since this is a quote

1.2.1 Gender ideology[4] and the challenges to female entrepreneurship in Uganda

In Uganda, men and women are connected through kinship relationships that, in turn, are nested in broader structural domains, such as ethnic groups and classes (Ssetuba, 2002; Tadria, 1987; Wakoko & Lobao, 1996). The values and beliefs generated by this system create gender differences in social behaviours, and at the same time reinforce and maintain the status quo in terms of economic and social relations (Tadria, 1987). In Uganda, these distinctions are articulated in proverbs, jokes and myths, and in informal and formal discussions (Ssetuba, 2002).

In contrast to other African nations, where gender ideologies stress the role of women as both producers and reproducers (Overa, 2003), in Uganda Tadiria (1987) noted that a woman's worth is measured first in terms of what she can offer to family survival. That is, in terms of procuring and processing food (Tadria, 1987). In addition, childbearing is considered an added advantage in marriage. Following this tradition, and as a result of the fact that a high proportion of women live in rural areas, over time Ugandan women have come to provide 60% of the labour force in the agricultural sector and account for over 80% of the labour force in food production (Snyder, 2000).

Comment [s5]: Unless this practice has changed, these auxiliary verbs should be in the present tense.

[4] Tavris and Wade (1994) suggested that in a given society people hold a model or ideology of gender in which differences - and the basis and justification for differences between the sexes - are explicated.

According to Bantebya (1992) the analysis of the societal impact of colonialism on women's economic activities suggests that this system was more detrimental for women than for men. After all, as Tadria (1987) observed, in Uganda men became part of the money economy while the women remained in the traditional sector. More specifically, Tadria (1987) argued that the economy was demarcated into two ideologically-aligned sectors: a local sector dominated by women and characterized by the sale of agricultural produce and other commodities around the homesteads, and the external sector dominated by men (men who migrate from their homes to engage in a variety of cash-generating activities). However, consciousness of discrimination by formal institutions has been on the rise in recent times in Uganda, and women's recent actions in politics (Goetz 2002; Tamale, 1998; Tripp, 1999, 2001), entrepreneurship (Snyder, 2000) and finance (Guwatudde, 1994) have been acknowledged by scholars. It is even suggested that these actions have created changes in gender ideology and power relationships at both the social-structural, and the household levels (Wakoko & Lobao, 1996).

The economic crisis discussed above embraced the position of many Ugandan women, especially poor and peasant women, and weakened the basis of men's domination. With the decline of agriculture in the 1970s, which had been dominated by men, women learned to work outside of their homesteads. Thus, the NRM's ascent to power was critical for entrepreneurship because it provided an encouraging environment that came with stability. In spite of these successes, Ugandan feminists groups complain that their countrywomen still have a long way to go before their efforts can bear any significant fruits. Although the Ugandan government has offered strong leadership in promoting women's rights - something the feminist groups admit - economic factors and the lack of supporting infrastructure continue to prevent women from achieving gender parity. A look at the recent Uganda Business Register survey sheds more light on this. For instance, in the

report on the Uganda Business Inquiry of 2000/2001 the trade sector has the highest value added, namely 735 billion shillings. In addition, most businesses in this sector are in the one to four employees size band. However, although the report revealed that women entrepreneurs are mainly to be found owning the small businesses employing between one and four persons, the report treats and characterizes women workers in the economy as a minority, and explains the differences between men's and women's businesses as a result of women owners' lesser qualifications in terms of human, social and financial capital. This is paradoxical in the sense that women's progress in business ownership remains virtually invisible while a few demographic differences between men's and women's businesses are documented.

Similarly, Snyder (2000) observed that whereas women in Uganda now have the instruments for their political empowerment (enshrined in the 1995 constitution), women's economic power has not been boosted with similar positive policies and actions. Thus, such features make Uganda a particularly interesting place for research that addresses questions relating to experiences by female entrepreneurs.

1.3 Background to the study

Women's contributions to the developing economies have been in the media spotlight recently (Mugenzi, 2000). In Uganda, women account for an increasing share of the self-employed, especially in small business activities (Snyder, 2000; GEM Uganda, 2004; Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2004) and there is a growing recognition of the role small business plays in building economies (Harper, 1991). The popular press, as well as academic and business publications, consistently portray entrepreneurship as an economic necessity within a modern economy, promoting structural balance, employment choice, economic growth and national and personal prosperity (Katz, 2000). Thomas and Muller

(2000) argued that in advanced industrial nations entrepreneurship revitalizes stagnating industries, provides new jobs to compensate for employment problems created by corporate restructuring and downsizing, and generally enhances economic flexibility and growth. Similarly, Goffee and Scase (as cited in Green & Cohen, 1995) noted that entrepreneurship amongst women is a means to achieving material and personal success, gaining independence and control over products of their labour, and avoiding barriers they face in organizations.

At the the international level, an increasing proportion of working women are self-employed (McManus, 2001). Mueller (2004) observed that statistics on women-owned businesses in the United States suggest that the 'gender gap' in terms of entrepreneurial activities and new venture creation has been closing rapidly. More specifically, the number of self-employed men increased by 54% from 1975 to 1990, while the number of self-employed women more than doubled during the same time period (Mueller, 2004). This trend is expected to continue, not only in the United States, but also on a global scale (Moore & Buttner, 1997; Mueller, 2004). This growth in entrepreneurship among women has occurred despite (or perhaps because of) patterns of discrimination in the workplace and sex-role stereotyping (Carter & Cannon, 1992; Mueller, 2004). This trend has created a great deal of interest in the activities of female entrepreneurs (Moore & Buttner, 1997; Mueller, 2004), and these studies range from psychological (e.g., Langan-Fox & Roth, 1995) and demographic studies (e.g., Hynes & Helms, 2000), to perceived start-up obstacles (Chistike, 2000; Moore, 1990).

Commenting on the renewed interest in entrepreneurial activity in sub-Saharan Africa, Elkan (1988) noted that new ventures are seen as replacements for crumbling state-owned enterprises, some of which are legacies of colonial rule. Moreover, it is also suggested that an additional attraction is the hope that new

ventures offer the promise of empowering marginalized segments of the population (Gosh & Somolekae, 1996; Harper, 1991). Consequently there is an increased interest in entrepreneurship by government policy makers and business leaders that has resulted in governments in a large number of developing countries instituting national incentives and education programmes designed to stimulate new venture development (Elkan, 1988; Gosh & Somolekae, 1996).

In a related development, Munene, Schwartz and Smith (2000) noted that in line with the neo-liberal ideas of promoting economic growth, development organizations and Northern Non-Governmental Organizations (NNGOs) (such as the Canadian International Development Agency and UNESCO) have acknowledged the role of culture in economic development. That is, in line with the renewed interest in promoting economic growth in developing countries such as those of sub-Saharan Africa, development organizations and Northern Non-Governmental Organizations have acknowledged the role of culture in African economic development, and they have focused most intensively on the propensity toward entrepreneurship. This has led to a sustained effort of integrating culture into development policies with the aim of recognizing culture as a resource for development, rather than a detractor from it. As a way of elaborating on this interest, Chistike (2000) reflected on her own experience in the early 1990s as a development consultant and trainer in rural development, when the International Labour Organization (ILO) undertook a project in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Uganda. The project aimed at producing Start Your Business (SYB) training manuals and training trainers, who, in turn, would train potential women entrepreneurs. Chistike (2000) went on to note that when the ILO project was later evaluated, a key finding was that training emphasizing business training alone, does not guarantee successful entrepreneurship. She added that in the ILO project, potential entrepreneurs in all three countries had had not only

to overcome the generally unfavourable macro-economic environment, but also additional structural barriers that face women specifically. Moreover, women in the three countries also have to overcome structural barriers relating to cultural constraints in societies that do not encourage them to behave in an entrepreneurial manner.

In a further critique of the development programmes, Chistike (2000) argued that the programmes that focus on women entrepreneurs in those countries have mainly concentrated on the practicalities of the skills needed for production and marketing, rather than recognizing that entrepreneurship is a foreign concept for most African women. Furthermore, these programmes do not focus on the need to challenge beliefs about women, men, money and power. Similarly, Snyder (2000) argued that 'Third World' development debates continue to be challenged by two dilemmas. She reasoned that on the one hand, socialist models of economic growth have failed, whereas on the other, capitalist models are found wanting. She concluded by pointing out that Ugandan women's priorities as lived and expressed by businesswomen reflect the African women's paradigm for sustainable development.

In Uganda, there is little research (apart from Bantebya, 1992; Snyder, 2000) offering insights into gender and working practices amongst entrepreneurs, and few studies examine entrepreneurship through the theoretical lens of gender as a social construction. This means that explanations of entrepreneurial experiences remain largely rooted in orthodox perspectives focused on comparisons of male and female entrepreneurs. Yet, as Mirchandan (1999) observed, such an approach does not illuminate how and why entrepreneurship came to be defined and understood in relation to the behaviour of only men.

1.4 Research question

In order to address the above concerns, the question for the present study was:

Why and how are entrepreneurship ideas gendered and (re)produced in social, as well as business practices?

1.5 Aims of the present study

The purpose of the current study was to develop a gendered and contextual approach to understanding entrepreneurship in Uganda that illuminates the relationship between men and women's economic opportunities in a socio-cultural context by focusing on gender as a process integral to business ownership, rather than as simply a characteristic of individuals. This was achieved through two specific goals described below.

The primary goal of this study was to examine entrepreneurial experiences of a set of Ugandan business owners and their firms critically in order to understand how societal and organizational life in a particular societal context reflects a process of 'power-based' reality construction.

The secondary goal of this study was to develop an appropriate conceptual and methodological framework for researching forms of entrepreneurship in developing society settings, i.e., an approach which would be flexible enough to accommodate the breadth and diversity of entrepreneurial experiences in developing economies.

1.6 Defining entrepreneurship

The current study adopts Bruyat and Julien's (2001) view that an objective for entrepreneurship research is that of understanding the entrepreneurial act (e.g., that of new value creation) and its success or failure, defining the environmental conditions

favourable for that act. According to Bruyat and Julien (2001) an entrepreneur is the individual responsible for the process of creating new value (i.e., an innovation and/or a new organization). Bruyat and Julien (2001) further argue that the new value creation forms part of a process. Initially, it is the project of a single individual or emerging entrepreneur (potential entrepreneur or developing entrepreneur), but when the project is established, it gradually places constraints on its creator, places more responsibility in the individual who, to a large extent, defines himself or herself in relation to it. That is, it occupies a large part of the individual's life (activities, goals, means, social status, etc.), and "enables and constrains the individual to learn and change his/her relations' networks" (Bruyat & Julien, 2001, p.169). The individual builds and manages something (e.g., an enterprise or an innovation), but is at the same time constrained and created by the project constructed. According to Bruyat and Julien (2001), the results of the entrepreneurial process[5] may lead to radical changes in the environment through the creation of a significant new value and sometimes a new economic sector. They argue that the individual also goes through a considerable transformation because the object created in turn generates radical changes for the individual who created it. Thus, Bruyat and Julien's (2001) framework focuses on a process orientation to research of the phenomenon.

The present study adopted a stance akin to Chell's (2000) and Bouchikhi's (1993) ideas of an alternative representation of the entrepreneurial process. This is in recognition that the outcome of such processes is determined neither by the entrepreneur, nor by the context, but as Bouchikhi (1993) noted, emerges in the process of their interaction. Moreover, as Bouchikhi (1993)

[5] Bruyat and Julien (2001) argue that this is a system or an object/subject dialogic or duel-direction logic system, or a system with a circular causality process.

suggested, it is the existence (or not) of entrepreneurial process combined with all other forms of social action that makes a context more or less favourable to entrepreneurship. This means that understanding the processes by which entrepreneurs engage with, and thus co-produce their own (inter)personal and collective social worlds in the course of their entrepreneurial endeavours, can not simply be achieved on the basis of reworking existing cultural repertoires, or language and learned behaviour. Rather, understanding entrepreneurial processes should be through the many ways in which entrepreneurs improvise and experiment with 'old' and 'new' elements and experiences, and react simultaneously and imaginatively, consciously or otherwise to circumstances they encounter.

Comment [s6]: This is a very long, involved sentence. You may want to consider two shorter sentences to prevent the reader from losing the train of thought half-way through.

1.7 Overview of the remainder of the thesis

In the next chapter discourses dominating research into the phenomenon are reviewed and critiqued. The problems with the over-deterministic orientation of functionalist approaches are highlighted, and alternative theorizing that emphasizes a focus on entrepreneurship processes is also examined. In this respect, examination of entrepreneurship processes with culture and gender lenses is also highlighted.

Chapter three is intended to provide a basic review of the social constructionist theory. Aspects of the theory which are considered to be of particular importance to the thesis are emphasized in the review, and the chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the implications of the theory for understanding entrepreneurship in discourse and practice.

In chapter four the specific methodological features of the study are discussed. In presenting the story of the research journey, the discussions in this chapter cover the application of a narrative form of inquiry that was adopted, the connection between the theoretical lens and the particular research

techniques employed in the research design, as well as a description of the analytic framework used to analyze the research material collected.

Chapter five is a presentation and discussions of entrepreneurial experiences generated from case materials of the research participants. In this chapter some highlights of participants' stories of successes or failures, or simply insights about entrepreneurship practices are presented. In addition, the way female entrepreneurs discursively represent the effect of a male symbolic space is also discussed.

In chapter six the process of doing gender and entrepreneurship are analyzed from the narrative of female entrepreneurs. In this chapter the idea of gender and entrepreneurship as practical accomplishments of intertwined activities is examined.

Finally, chapter seven discusses what the research has achieved by way of highlighting the contribution, implications and reflections on knowledge constructed in this research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

There is no agreed definition of entrepreneurship (Davidsson & Wiklund, 2001; Gartner, 1990; Low & MacMillan, 1988; Shane & Venkataraman, 2000; Van de Ven, 1992), and this has, over the years, raised a concern over what entrepreneurship constitutes as a field of study (Bruyat & Julien, 2001). In fact, Shaver and Scott (1991, p. 24) used some colourful language when they alluded to a paradox of research in this field: "entrepreneurship is like obscenity: nobody agrees on what it is, but we all know it when we see it". As Low and Macmillan (1988) observed, it seems likely that the desire for a common definition and a clearly defined area of inquiry will remain unfulfilled in the foreseeable future.

Commenting on the total absence of agreement in respect of definition and of defining characteristics of 'the entrepreneur', some critics (e.g., Armstrong, 2001; Ogbor, 2000) have argued that the defining feature of entrepreneurship discourse is the consistent and congenital failure to identify the entrepreneur positively. Others, for instance Carland *et al.* (1984), as well as Taylor and Banks (1992), have suggested making a distinction between entrepreneurs and owner/managers, but as Hornaday (1992) noted, few have been able to operationalize this distinction so that 'entrepreneurs' are clearly differentiated from 'owners' or the self-employed. It is therefore still the case that the search for a theory and a conceptual definition have been - and remain (Amit *et al.*, 1993; Low & MacMillan, 1988; Venkataraman *et al.*, 2000) - a problematic one. Indeed, this problem is reflected in a history of efforts by entrepreneurial researchers to explain 'who' is an entrepreneur and 'what' constitutes entrepreneurship. The 'who' and 'what' constitute ongoing debate in the entrepreneurial discourse.

Comment [s7]: Is this one reference with four names? In that case, it should be Carland *et al.* (1984). If it is three distinct references, then each has to have a date of publication

This chapter provides a review and critique of the dominant perspectives on entrepreneurship. This is done in three major sections. In the first section, the dominant theme is the contribution of behavioural and trait theories of the entrepreneur. Specifically, the starting point in section one is a discussion of research which has tended to demonstrate the centrality of five individual characteristics of entrepreneurs: achievement orientation, locus of control, personal initiative, innovativeness, and competitive aggressiveness. Based upon such psycho-social concepts, it is argued, researchers develop their explanations of entrepreneurial behaviour. The second section calls into question the progress which may be made by continuing to pursue lines of inquiry into the phenomenon based on such orthodox perspectives. Section three identifies alternative perspectives that have been explored as a possible and more fruitful way forward. In this respect, the process perspective is put forward.

2.1 Orthodox perspectives

According to Van de Ven and Engleman (2004), orthodox perspectives on entrepreneurship are typically associated with a variance theory of change. Van de Ven and Engleman (2004) argue that a variance theory explanation of the entrepreneurship phenomenon is where an outcome-driven explanation examines the degrees to which a set of independent variables statistically explains variations in some outcome criteria (dependent variables). Thus, strategies for predicting entrepreneurial behaviour through a focus on variations in individual attributes have received a great deal of attention (Grant & Perren, 2002). Gartner (1989) observed that entrepreneurial traits and characteristics researchers use either of the following two conceptual frameworks as the basis for constructing their theories: the first framework deals with the differences between

entrepreneurs and non-entrepreneurs, while the second framework is about entrepreneurial behaviour and cultural characteristics. These are discussed in more detail under the two subsections that follow.

2.1.1 Entrepreneurial trait approaches

According to Gartner (1989), the belief that individuals have predispositions toward entrepreneurial activities is central to the trait approach to entrepreneurship. That is, entrepreneurs have certain traits and characteristics that make them different from non-entrepreneurs. Examples here are studies comparing successful versus less successful/average entrepreneurs (McClelland, 1987; Utsch & Ruach, 2000), independent versus franchise entrepreneurs (Mesconi & Montanari, 1981), and types of independent entrepreneurs (Carter, Gartner & Reynolds, 1996; Gartner, Mitchell & Vesper, 1989).

Five individual characteristics are commonly applied in trait approaches to entrepreneurship research (Chell, Haworth & Brearley, 1991; Hayton, George & Zahra, 2002). These are: achievement orientation, locus of control, personal initiative, innovativeness, and competitive aggressiveness.

Achievement orientation

An often-cited source in research on achievement orientation is McClelland's (1961) work on psychological characteristics of entrepreneurs. The work suggested that the key entrepreneurial behaviour lies in achievement motivation. The need to achieve is a drive to excel, to achieve a goal in relation to a set of standards. According to McClelland, a person endowed with such a need will spend time considering how to do a job better, or how to accomplish something important to them. McClelland distinguished this type of person from the rest, suggesting they were high achievers. High achievers are said to like situations where they can take personal responsibility for finding

solutions. In his work on entrepreneurship, McClelland argued that entrepreneurs are characterized by a need for achievement and power (McClelland, 1985, 1987). According to McClelland (1987, p. 228), the need for achievement means that "one does something better … for the intrinsic satisfaction of doing something better".

Later work by McClelland addressed the question of whether there are other personal characteristics needed for entrepreneurial success. Indeed, other researchers have taken this line of argument further and made a strong connection between success and the degree of risk-taking. For instance, Timmons, Smollen and Dingee (1985) argued that given that some risk of failure must be attached to any business undertaking, then the successful entrepreneur is one who takes calculated risks. As McClelland reasoned, this ensures worthwhile effort, and results in feelings of accomplishment and satisfaction.

Locus of control

Rotter (1966) developed the notion of 'locus of control of reinforcement' as part of a wider social learning personality theory. According to Rotter (1966), people with an internal locus of control are those individuals who believe themselves to be in control of their destiny. In contrast, people with an external locus of control sense that fate in the form of chance events outside their control, or powerful people, has a dominating influence over their lives. This reasoning has been applied to business owners (Chell *et al.*, 1991). Given this generalized sense of a locus of control, it is expected that most business owners have a higher internal locus of control than the population at large.

Personal Initiative

The concept of personal initiative was articulated by Frese (1995) and, as is acknowledged in his later work, overlaps with

Lumpkin et al's (1996) concepts of innovativeness, proactiveness and autonomy, as well as risk-taking propensity. According to Frese (1995), personal initiative is a behavioural syndrome that includes self-starting, proactive and long-term oriented behaviour, as well as persistence in the face of obstacles (these suggestion were also expounded upon by Fay, Sonnentag, and Frese (1998), Frese et al., (1997) and Frese et al., (1996)). Frese (1995) argued that entrepreneurs need a high initiative to overcome difficulties and barriers accompanying the entrepreneurial process, and to work on their goals persistently. He further argued that personal initiative is necessary in several aspects of the entrepreneurial process and is not limited to the innovation processes.

Innovativeness

The importance of innovativeness as a strategy to the entrepreneurial process has been emphasized by a number of authors (see Frese, 1995; Lumpkin et al., 1996; Schumpeter, 1935, p. 42). Management scholars such as Drucker (1985) define innovation as the result of purposeful actions and systematic work. Similarly, West and Farr (1990) defined innovation as the intentional introduction and application of ideas, processes, products or procedures new to the relevant unit of adoption. Thus, innovation is a function of innovativeness. However, as Frese (1995) argued, innovativeness emphasizes the active approach of innovation and is not necessarily the same as the concept of interest in innovation. Innovativeness is more than an interest in innovation, as it refers to the actual innovative behaviour, such as the daily effort to improve one's work procedures (Frese, 1995).

Competitive aggressiveness

Lumpkin and Dess (1996) included competitive aggressiveness as a component of entrepreneurial orientation and suggested that it refers to responsiveness directed towards achieving competitive

advantage. It connotes the propensity to challenge competitors directly and intensely, and to achieve entry or to improve position (Lumpkin & Dess, 1996). As an individual level characteristic, Lumpkin and Dess (1996) noted that it may imply the tendency to out-perform rivals in the market place, and that this may take the form of head-to-head confrontation, such as when an entrepreneur enters a market that another has identified, or reacts to the activities of others in the market. An example of the latter may be when an entrepreneur lowers prices in response to a competitive challenge. Frese (1995) referred to this as market orientation in which the entrepreneur consistently keeps an eye on what products or services to provide, and in which markets.

The discourse on entrepreneurship that has relied upon the above variables as a way of explaining entrepreneurial actions emphasizes psychological determinism. That is, it emphasizes the notion of personality traits as being a fundamental determinant of entrepreneurial inclination or success. The notion that entrepreneurs, as a group, share some aspects of personality that makes them different from non-entrepreneurs is intuitively appealing. However, attempts to identify and measure the personality traits of the entrepreneur using conventional psychological techniques have been criticized. The major criticisms point is whether the psychological and social traits are either necessary or sufficient for the development of entrepreneurship. According to Chell et al. (1991), character traits are at best modalities and not universalities, since many successful and unsuccessful entrepreneurs do not share the characteristics identified. Further, Stevenson and Sahlman (as cited in Chell et al., 1991) noted that historical studies do not show the same character traits in earlier entrepreneurs. Also, the studies of life paths of entrepreneurs often show decreasing entrepreneurship following success (Wickham, 2004). Such evidence at least raises the question as to whether the nature of

entrepreneurship is immutably embedded in the personality from early stages of childhood development (Chell et al., 1991).

Different schools of thought have offered explanations of entrepreneurial behaviour, but there seems little agreement regarding the profile of the entrepreneur. Moreover, recent attempts at differentiating entrepreneurs from managers using the characteristic of a 'Type A' behaviour pattern (Boyd, 1984) that had been identified as a promising indicator of behavioural differences have been found to be inadequate (Chell et al., 1991). According to Boyd (1984), the Type A construct is intended to measure the degree to which a respondent displays extremes of competitiveness, aggressiveness, impatience, striving for achievement and feelings of being under pressure. Based on similar psychological literature, Kikooma (2005) found mixed results regarding the characteristics of entrepreneurs studied. Kikooma (2005) found that female entrepreneurs in Uganda scored similarly to males on competitive aggressiveness, self-reported initiative (proactiveness) and qualitative and general initiative. The difference between males and females on competitive aggressiveness was not significant, and this was interpreted as suggesting that men and women do not differ in terms of the energy they invest in entrepreneurial activities geared toward maintaining their businesses. In addition, females scored significantly higher on the scales of autonomy, innovativeness and education initiative. This was in contrast to some studies (e.g., Butner & Rosen, 1988) that had indicated otherwise. Other results by Kikooma (2005) indicated that the perceptions of differences between male and female entrepreneurs may be exaggerated. From these results it was also observed that the types of women drawn to entrepreneurship vary according to the forms of gender roles in the home and the workplace. Thus, while many authors have purported finding statistically significant common characteristics among entrepreneurs, Kikooma

(2005) argued that the ability to attribute causality to these factors is seriously in doubt.

2.1.2 Entrepreneurial behaviour and cultural characteristics

The variation within the phenomenon of entrepreneurship is also explained by the variation in entrepreneurial behaviour and cultural characteristics in a given context. For instance, in a review of behavioural research on the association between culture and entrepreneurship, Heyton, George and Zahra (2002) scrutinized the association between national cultural characteristics and three categories of measures relating to entrepreneurship or entrepreneurs, i.e., aggregate measures of entrepreneurship, individual characteristics of entrepreneurs and/or non-entrepreneurs, and aspects of corporate entrepreneurship, and observed that countries differ in levels of entrepreneurial activity. As Heyton et al. (2002) noted, most of the studies that focused on the association of culture and entrepreneurship used Hofstede's [6] (1980; 1991) conceptualization of national culture. According to Hofstede (1980), culture is defined as a set of values, beliefs, and expected behaviours. Thus, based on Hofstede's definition, cultural values indicate the degree to which a society considers entrepreneurial behaviours, such as risk-taking and independent thinking, to be desirable. According this view, cultures that value and reward such behaviour promote a propensity to develop and introduce radical innovation, whereas cultures that reinforce conformity, group interests, and control over the future are not likely to show risk-taking and entrepreneurial behaviour (Herbig & Miller, 1992; Herbig, 1994; Hofstede, 1980). Indeed, most researchers who have studied the relationship culture and entrepreneurial behaviour have, hypothesized that entrepreneurship is facilitated by cultures

[6] The definitions of Hofstede's dimensions and their relationship with levels of entrepreneurship have been extensively covered elsewhere (Harbig, 1994; Shane, 1992).

that are high in individualism, low in uncertainty avoidance, low in power distance, and high in masculinity (Heyton et al., 2002).

Billig (1994) also noted that a spate of books and articles by social scientists and journalists on the role of culture in economic development has emerged in recent years. According to Billig (1994), the question is: how do cultural mores, values and beliefs either encourage or discourage individuals from entrepreneurial activity? Billig (1994) argued that, unlike the earlier theorists on modernization, for whom Europe and the United States where the models of pro-entrepreneurial societies, a common theme among the works in the early 1990s was why East Asian culture naturally leads to enterprise and development, in contrast to cultures of Africa, Latin America, and even American inner cities. Dodd and Anderson (2001) observed that enterprise culture policies in the UK could be summed up as implying that the generation of many new growing enterprises will create jobs and wealth and will inject dynamism and innovation into the economy.

Although conceptual arguments for the association of culture with entrepreneurship have existed for a long time, Heyton *et al.* (2002) noted that there has been a lack of an alternative formulation of culture's causal significance, in essence admitting Hofstede's values paradigm. Thus, cultural values as outlined in Hofstede's (1980; 1991) framework remain the major link between culture characteristics and entrepreneurship, as evidenced in Hayton et al's (2002) review. A number of reviews have been conducted (see Bing 2004; Hoppe, 2004) and criticisms have been directed at Hofstede's work in general (see McSweeney, 2002), so it is needless to make a detailed critique here. However, it is important to note that Hofstede's framework does not treat values as concrete symbolic elements (like doctrines, rituals or myths) which have histories and can actually be studied (Swiddler, 1986). Rather, values are treated as essences

around which societies are constituted. Thus, following Hofstede's formulation, culture affects human action through values that direct it to some ends, rather than towards others. Such a formulation assumes that culture shapes action by supplying ultimate ends or values toward which action is directed, thus making values the central causal element of culture. However, while Hofstede's framework offers good explanations of continuous change, the idea of culture as some essential meaning system, uncontested and shared by a population of homogenous individuals, has been criticized by anthropologists. For instance, Swiddler (1986) noted that whereas values have largely remained the major link between culture and action, such a conception of culture used to understand culture's effects on action is fundamentally misleading since it assumes that culture shapes action by supplying ultimate ends or values toward which action is directed.

Culture has also been criticised for being both too narrow and too broad a concept to be useful in social analysis (Diagne & Ossebi, 1996). For instance, in his criticism of what is referred to as the cultural theories of enterprise, Billig (1994) argued that they tend to essentialize culture and view it as static in which abstracted 'traits' are reified. In a similar critical tone, Dodd et al. (2001) argued that the enterprise culture is presented as a large-scale explanatory model, which sheds light on the past, sets programmes for the future, and re-moralizes the world of individual social action. They add that "notions of progress, development and universality are inherent in the enterprise culture paradigm, replete with ontological and soteriological content" Dodd et al. (2001, p. 17). They suggest that in that way, the cultural paradigm for entrepreneurship in such models attempts a grand narrative with the assumption that economic society is logically progressing towards some logical and rational end goal. However, as Dodd et al. (2001) argued,

considering entrepreneurship as the heart of a socio-economic paradigm is ideologically problematic. According to Billig (1994), the problem with considering enterprise as the heart of a socio-economic paradigm is that if we think of culture as a collective ideology, it can be seen as a way of making sense of the everyday and an acceptance of the norms and mores of society. But, as Billig (1994) and Dodd et al. (2001) argued, how then can entrepreneurship, which is an individual act, imbued with personal attributes and intensely particular, even idiosyncratic action, be reconciled into an 'everyman' general social attitude? In this regard, Billig (1994) argued that an ideology based purely upon individualism appears to have little social glue to hold its adherents together.

As Heyton et al. (2002) suggested, an alternative conceptualization of culture's causal significance, and a comprehensive model of the association between culture and different outcomes of entrepreneurial behaviour (e.g., new venture creation, corporate entrepreneurship, self-employment) need to be developed that take into account entrepreneurial dynamics.

2.2 Critique of research practices in orthodox studies on entrepreneurship

Inadequacies in comprehending the phenomenon entrepreneurship by the orthodox approaches have led to the criticism that the concept of entrepreneurship is discriminatory (Billig, 1994), gender-biased (Moore, 1990; Stevenson, 1990), ethnocentrically determined, and even in some respects ideologically controlled (Armstrong, 2001; Ogbor, 2000). More specifically, Ogbor (2000) argued that the discourse on entrepreneurship can potentially sustain not only prevailing societal biases, but also serve as a tapestry for unexamined and contradictory assumptions and knowledge about entrepreneurs. Feminist critics have similarly pointed out weaknesses in the ability of the orthodox frameworks

in small business and entrepreneurship research to advance theories relevant to women's experiences. Moreover, despite appeals by researchers (Davidson & Wilklund, 2001; Low & MacMillan, 1988; Shane & Venkataraman, 2000) for alternative approaches, Steyaert (1997) argued that many problem formulations and research themes in the entrepreneurship literature are mainly approached from a particular paradigmatic orientation. Therefore, a critique of the orthodox research practices takes two directions: feminist criticism and a paradigmatic critique.

2.2.1 Feminist critique of entrepreneurship discourse and research practices

Much of the research on women's experiences of entrepreneurship focuses on identifying similarities and differences between female and male entrepreneurs, and on providing explanations for the differences identified. This suggests that approaches to women and entrepreneurship are more steeped in variance-type explanations as discussed earlier. That is, researchers tend to use gender as a variable, rather than as a social construct. In this respect, Mirchandani (1999) identified three factors which are said to explain the differences between female and male entrepreneurs as advanced in the literature. First, that women and men are socialized differently, and as a result have different orientations; second, that women face certain structural barriers; and third, that women have unique ways of conducting business. Each of these is briefly considered below.

The focus on socialization as an explanation for differences between female and male entrepreneurs (and for differences amongst female entrepreneurs) means that researchers adopt a sex-role approach to understanding gender differences (Eagly & Wood, 1991). As such, the approach prioritizes voluntarism over power dynamics. That is, by suggesting that men and women each have their designated role, each role is constructed as equally powerful. However, such an approach fails to illuminate the ways

in which certain structures support, perpetuate and even create gender differences, rather than merely reflecting the orientations of those within them (Marcek, 1995).

Rather than using socialization as a starting point, other theorists attempt to identify barriers which female business owners face by focusing on the social structures which support gender differences (Buttner & Rosen, 1989; Carter & Rosa 1998; Fischer, Reuber & Dyke, 1993). Mirchandani (1999) argued that these studies suggest that men's entrepreneurial success can be used as a standard by which women's barriers to this success can be identified. According to Mirchandani (1999), the gender differences studies suggest that what is needed is for women to train or educate themselves better, develop more appropriate networks and mentoring relationships, and re-assign domestic work. Therefore, despite the focus on structural barriers, it is women, rather than the structures, which are seen to require change so that the experiences of female and male entrepreneurship can be equalized.

A third approach to comparisons between female and male entrepreneurs attempts to develop a 'female' model of entrepreneurship to parallel the existing male model. For instance, Lee-Gossien and Grise (cited in Green & Cohen, 1995) argued that women strive towards small and stable firms, and in this way they are able to balance their entrepreneurial role with family and social roles. While these studies draw attention to gender differences in the division of domestic labour and the provision of childcare, they often characterize women as a homogeneous group. Such an approach, therefore, homogenizes women's experiences by assuming that a narrowly-defined set of family concerns are central to all female business owners. Mirchandani (1999) suggested that it also conceptualizes the division of domestic responsibilities as static and given, rather

than under continual negotiation by family members (see also Mariussen, Wheelock & Baines, 1997).

Feminist critics have argued that traditional theories have been applied in ways that make it difficult to understand women's participation in social life, or to understand men's activities as gendered (as opposed to representing 'the human') (Mirchandan, 1999). In addition, critics argue that while these feminist versions of traditional theories have done much to rectify the androcentrism[7] of traditional analyses and are valuable in their own right, they raise questions about whether even feminist applications of these theories can succeed in producing complete and undistorted accounts of gender and of women's activities. Thus, with its emphasis on women (Beg, 1997) or femaleness, there is little guidance from orthodox research on female entrepreneurship in the dominant perspectives discussed earlier, or on how gender and entrepreneurship are produced and reproduced in social, as well as business practices. What seemed to concern many a scholar in such studies was establishing what Mulholland (1996) noted as an automatic relation between the qualities of an entrepreneur (leadership, risk-taking, rational planning, etc.) and a model of male rationality without attention to the power relations contained in economic structures.

The above discussion suggests that while the research on female entrepreneurship has provided much insight into the behaviours and characteristics of some women business owners, much of the focus has remained on strategies through which female entrepreneurs can mimic the male norm. According to Mirchandani (1999), such an orientation is guided by an interest in sex-equality, defined as women's similar access to success in business ownership as men's. Citing the limitations that have

[7] Androcentrism here is in the form of the taken-for-granted notion that the traditional male-centered business model is the neutral or normal model (Stevenson, 1990).

been recognized with these basic approaches to the study of women and gender which initially looked promising, Harding (1987) argued that they are inadequate for understanding gender and women's activities. Harding's argument was that the women's own perspectives are lost in these strategies of adding women, not merely by their under-representation in research, but by the fact that whenever they are represented, they are represented in the terms controlled by the dominant groups, rather than their own terms and with their own voice.

2.2.2 Paradigmatic critique of orthodox entrepreneurship research orientations

In a recent review article in which they attempted to map the paradigms adopted by small business and entrepreneurial case-study researchers, Perren and Ram (2004) provided a useful discussion of paradigmatic orientations in entrepreneurship research. They identified four paradigmatic tendencies of research in this area framed around two dimensions. In the first dimension they employed Burrell and Morgan's (1979) framework to identify an objective/subjective dichotomous dimension in entrepreneurship researchers' orientations. According to Burrell and Morgan, the objective/subjective distinction is derived from their observations that researchers' assumptions regarding the nature of the social world can be portrayed as a dichotomy between objective and subjective perspectives. Perren and Ram's (2004) second dimension was based on what they referred to as the 'milieu boundary'. That is, that the boundary in research on the phenomenon is placed around some form of "milieu of social actors" or the individual "entrepreneur/owner manager" (Perren & Ram, 2004 p. 85). In their article they noted that although there were some 'snippets' of some form of paradigmatic transcendence, the general thrust of the articles reviewed appeared to adopt a fairly consistent paradigmatic position. According to Grant and Perren (2002) this paradigmatic position is a functionalist position. Critics of this paradigmatic approach note that it

treats the entrepreneur either as a hero who wins against all odds, or provides some narratives "whose plot is rather like an adventure game in which there will be a hero or even a fool (the entrepreneur), who embarks on a quest (to start the business), who acquires competence and tools (skills, resources, ideas) and who engages in a test through some event (the success or failure of the business) (Perren & Ram, 2004, p. 92).

As Steyaert (1997) observed, it is only recently that a paradigmatic awareness has entered discussions on entrepreneurship research. For instance, although Aldrich suggested that at least three approaches are present in entrepreneurship, namely (1) a unitary, normal science view; (2) a multiple paradigms view; and (3) a totally pragmatic anti-positivist view (as cited in Steyaert, 1997), it is still difficult to find many supporters of views (2) and (3) in the entrepreneurship field (Perren & Ram, 2004; Steyaert, 1997). Thus, outcome-driven research based on cross-sectional variance methods remains the dominant approach in entrepreneurship research (Grant & Perren, 2002). For instance, Chandler and Lyon (2001) reported that 80%, or 233 out of 291 empirical entrepreneurship studies published from 1989 to 1999 in top-tier academic journals were cross-sectional. Only 20%, or 58 of these 291 empirical studies were longitudinal. The majority of these longitudinal studies, namely 39 of 58, were retrospective case studies in which organizational members were interviewed to reconstruct past situations and events. Only 19 of these 58 studies were truly longitudinal, involving data collection at two or more points in time, real-time case analyses, or multi-year analyses of financial or other data from archival sources. A mere eight of the 58 longitudinal studies, or 2.7% of the 291 empirical studies reviewed by Chandler and Lyon (2001), involved analyses of real-time data on entrepreneurial process events.

What one notices from the above discussions is that this literature is dominated by variance-approach explanations (Poole et al., 2000; Van de Ven et al. 2004) influenced by a functionalist paradigm (Burrell & Morgan, 1979), driven by an objectivist[8] perspective, which pervades contemporary discourse of research in leading journals (Grant & Perren, 2002; Perren, Berry, & Blackburn, 2001). As Perren and Ram (2004) pointed out, the consequence of such an objectivist approach is that research issues are defined and expedited in line with the investigators' interests and models, rather than those of the entrepreneur or other actors, and there is a danger of underplaying the importance of social relationships that could be important in constituting the process of entrepreneurship. In fact, on the dominance of the functionalist paradigm Grant and Perren (2002) even suggested that such dominance acts as a potential barrier to other perspectives that seem particularly suited to examining particularities of change processes and entrepreneurial opportunities.

2.3 Process perspective on entrepreneurship

It has been suggested that research adopting the process perspective recognizes that entrepreneurship is a dynamic process aimed at bringing about change and making a difference (Van de Ven & Engleman, 2004). In addition, the entrepreneurial process results from the actions of the entrepreneur. According to Van de Ven and Engleman (2004), the process perspective takes an event-driven approach that is often associated with a 'process theory' explanation. They argue that this approach is concerned with the temporal order and sequence of a change of events occurring, and that it is based on an account of historical narratives. In this usage, the issue of 'how change unfolds' is addressed by

[8] According to Burrell and Morgan (1979, p. 3) objectivist researchers view the social world as "if it were a hard, external, objective reality" and as such, they search for external laws to explain reality.

narrating the temporal sequence of events that unfold in an institutional arrangement (Van de Ven & Engleman, 2004). It is suggested that the 'process approach' employs a narrative explanation to note what effect the contributing actions and events have on a particular outcome, and then configures these parts into a whole episode (Polkinghorne, 1988). This enables researchers to describe and explain both qualitative and quantitative aspects of change. Thus, as Polkinghorne (1988) argued, narrative process explanation involves fundamentally different assumptions about the relationships among constructs and the nature of explanation than does a variance explanation.

Scholars adopting such an approach have presented explanations that tell a narrative story about how a sequence of events unfolds to produce a given outcome (Van de Ven et al., 2004). Indeed, Van de Ven et al. (2004) suggested that similar event-driven process research is needed to develop explanations of entrepreneurial dynamics. The current study attempts to answer this call by focusing on processes of gender and entrepreneurship as culturally intertwined practices.

2.3.1 Making connections: gender, culture and entrepreneurship

In the discussions in this chapter, references to problems involving culture and gender have been made regarding the entrepreneurial experiences of entrepreneurs in contexts different from those on which much of the dominant discourses are based. The case for linking gender and culture in the analysis of activities of entrepreneurs is a compelling one. The argument has long been made that gender is culturally determined. Oakley (cited in Mills, 1988), for example, distinguished between sex and gender, arguing that sex refers to basic physiological differences between men and women, while gender refers to culturally specific patterns of behaviour which may be attached to the sexes. In other words, gender refers to a set of

assumptions about the nature and character of the biological differences between males and females; assumptions that are manifest in a number of ideas and practices which have a determinant influence upon the identity, social opportunities and life experiences of human actors (Mills, 1988). In respect to entrepreneurship, they are assumptions, however, that have tended to be developed and refined in contexts dominated by males and, hence, have been disadvantageous to females (Moore, 1990; Stevenson, 1990). Specifically in Africa, as Diagne and Ossebi (1996) suggested, beyond the visible social position(s) of women, reflections on the gender issues need to be directed at the different cultural modalities of social assignation. For purposes of conceptual clarity, the next section discusses gender and culture in research practice generally, and then in entrepreneurship practice specifically.

2.3.2 Gender and culture in research and practice

Feminist movements have been noted to have contributed strongly towards contemporary cultural analysis in pushing for the inclusion of issues related to gender in social research (Reinharz, 1992; Calàs & Smircich, 1992, 1996). Calàs et al. (1996) noted that in pushing for their concerns, feminists argued that there had been insufficient recognition of how differences in the experiences of women and men, together with changes in the relationships between them, could have significant implications for the ways in which social phenomena are conceptualized and investigated. In this respect, the initial purpose of feminist research was to bring women's experiences more fully into view because it was argued that the social world had been studied from the perspective of male interests and concerns, and in ignorance of the different picture that emerged when focusing on women's lives and ways of seeing (Maynard, 2004a). Accordingly, knowledge which was presented as neutral, objective and value-free was instead seen as partial and gendered.

2.3.3 Gender in research practice

According to Calàs and Smircich (1992, 1996), feminist concerns continue to intersect with organizational issues. Moreover, and equally important to note here is that feminist theories are not only about 'women's' issues (i.e., studying women *qua* women) (Maynard, 2004a). Rather, by using feminist theories as conceptual lenses, a more inclusive social research practice, one that brings in the concerns of others, not just women, who are directly effected by global social and cultural practices and discourses, can be created (Maynard, 2004a, b).

In Africa diverse perspectives on feminism can be found in the contemporary literature (Lewis, 2001). Indeed a range of perspectives are encompassed by feminist scholarship in Africa (Arnfred, 2004; Lewis, 2001; Sadiq, 2002). Recurring themes include the divide between continental Africans and those in the diaspora, the diversity in 'African' feminisms which includes womanists (Kolawole, 1997), black feminists, African feminists, or post-colonial feminists (Pereira, 2002; Touré, Barry, & Diallo, 2003); and varying forms of engagement with 'Western' feminism. However, what is crucial to the question of how women in different socio-cultural and historical locations organize, around what kinds of issues, whether or not they view their activities as feminist, and if so, how they formulate their relations to feminism, is that their struggles have been not only a response to oppressive features of their own societies, but also a fight against the imposition of Western norms (Pereira, 2002). Moreover, in the context of work and organizing, as Bruni and Gherardi (2004) suggested, entrepreneurship seems to be an interesting field for the study of gender processes shaped by particular relations of subordination. In addition, such a focus is compelled by two arguments regarding what Ogbor (2000) believed to be reification in entrepreneurial studies. Ogbor (2000) argued that in the discourse, entrepreneurial action is an archetype of social action. Moreover, the discourse is

historically located in the symbolic universe of the male and, as such, is intrinsically connected with the concept of hegemonic masculinity (articulated by Bruni and Poggio (2004, p. 2) when they described the entrepreneur as "conqueror of unexplored territories, lonely hero, patriarch").

In this study the strategy has been to consider the ways in which gender is created and maintained. This strategy is similar to the perspective which takes 'doing' and 'saying' gender as a social practice. Such a perspective was suggested by scholars theorizing gender in everyday organizational lives such as Gherardi (1994), Bruni and Gherardi (2002) and Acker (1990). According to this perspective, gender does not reside within the person. Instead, it is constituted by what Bruni and Poggio (2004) described as the many ways in which we 'do', rather than 'have' gender. In other words, that gender is something we enact, not an inner core or constellation of traits that we express. Similarly, West and Zimmerman (1994) defined it as a pattern of social organization that structures the relations, especially the power relations, between women and men. They argued that in practice, in doing gender, men are also doing dominance and women are doing difference. Moreover, membership in the category of 'male' or 'female' must be affirmed continuously through social behaviour. According to this perspective, we validate our membership in a particular gender category through such interactional processes.

As has already been argued in this chapter, the literature on entrepreneurship to date has focused on ways in which studies of male entrepreneurs can be used as a yardstick through which points by which women-owned businesses are advantaged or disadvantaged can be identified. However, as Mirchandani (1999) noted, the social construction of the female sex (the assumption for example, that women have a 'natural' propensity towards 'small and stable' businesses) leads to the gendering of certain business activities (such as small business activities, which are

predominated by women). Thus, although women have been included in a number of studies on entrepreneurship in recent years, there has been little focus on challenging traditional definitions of entrepreneurship or in developing new methods to collect information on entrepreneurship (Moore & Buttner, 1997; Moore, 1990; Stevenson, 1990). As Mirchandani (1999) observed, while there has been some reflection on the difference which the sex of the business owner makes, this reflection has not been contextualized within theoretical understandings of the ways in which entrepreneurial work is socially constructed, i.e., the ways in which entrepreneurial work is situated within gendered processes which form and are formed through relationships between work, organizational structure and the sex of the worker. Against this background, detailed theoretical reflections on the social construction of entrepreneurship are provided in the next chapter. It is expected that such an approach to women and entrepreneurship will shed light not only on the experiences of women, but also on experiences of all entrepreneurs, as well as on the notion of entrepreneurship itself.

2.4 Conclusions

While there is burgeoning literature on entrepreneurship, the studies reporting on this literature have been criticized for deficiencies in their account of the phenomenon. For instance, critics argue that individual studies appear fragmented, unrelated, and seem to describe small segments of the entrepreneurial population, and more frequently than not apply theoretical tools developed in other areas which are neither reliable nor valid. Moreover, feminist critics point to the omission and under-representation of women as research subjects, the concentration on masculine dominated sectors of social life, as well as the use of paradigms, concepts, methods, and theories which more faithfully portrayed men's than women's experiences, as major problems associated with research in this area.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL APPROACH AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.0 Introduction

Debates about the sort of knowledge which is possible and desirable in the social and human sciences has preoccupied a number of social scientists for a protracted period of time (Schwandt, 2000). These debates have also penetrated studies of management and organizations (Astley & Van de Ven, 1983; Reed & Hughes, 1992; Reed, 1997). Inspired by these debates, post-modernist, post-structuralist and feminist critiques of modernist social science have resulted in scholarly engagement and legitimating of alternative paradigms. This has generated a range of new ideas and research practices. For instance, ideas of how to weave together diverse theoretical strands (such as phenomenology and critical hermaneutics to ethnography) have been suggested. Similar attempts have been observed relating to developments in constructionist ideas. Thus, new areas of interest have been spawned, linking, for example, resource acquisition to constructionism (Starr & McMillan, 1990), literary theory and organizational studies (Boje, 1991, 1994; Czarniawska, 1997, 1999), and aesthetic study and organization theory (Gagliardi, 1996).

Against that background, this chapter provides a review of the theoretical framework of the study. This is done in two majors sections. The first section provides a basic review of social constructionist theory. The second major section discusses the implications of the theory for understanding entrepreneurship in discourse and practice.

3.1 Defining social constructionism

In social research, constructionist perspectives focus upon the making and remaking of society through the ongoing self-transforming actions and perceptions of a diverse and interlocked

world of actors (Long, 2001). According to Long (2001), the emergent processes in constructionist research are complex and highly contingent upon evolving conditions of different social arenas. Taking the field of psychology as one example, social constructionism can be contrasted with different kinds of constructionism that have influenced theorizing in the discipline. For instance, in contrast to the alternatives to empiricism which emphasize individual constructions (e.g., Kelly, 1955), proactive social constructionism highlights the social, the historical and the collective nature of human consciousness.

Against that background, it is plausible to suggest that social constructionism is not a unitary movement, but comprises a number of different, overlapping perspectives which have informed approaches to literary criticism, anthropology, sociology, political studies, and cultural studies (Gergen, 2004). For this reason, as Durrheim (1997) suggested, social constructionism may best be defined in terms of its resistance to the institutionalized dominance of empiricism as the guiding philosophy of the human sciences. Empiricism is a formal epistemology which claims that knowledge is derived from experience (Moore & Peron, 2004). In striving for the truth its epistemology is foundationalist - advocating certain knowledge, accuracy and truth (Moore & Peron, 2004). From this perspective, the aim of science was to produce a body of knowledge which faithfully mirrored nature, by developing an accurate picture (in knowledge) of the world (out there) (Durrheim, 1997).

In recent years there has been increasing debate over the value of an empiricist philosophy of science. The main focus of attack has been against its foundationalism, including its claims to objectivity, representation and truth. Social constructionism supports an alternative philosophy of science which argues that there are no brute facts and no unitary truth because facts and truth depend on what Kuhn (1962) referred to as the "ways of

seeing the world" (as cited in Durrheim, 1997, p. 175). In this respect social constructionism argues that all facts are arbitrary. It does not deny that there are truths. All it maintains is that truths and facts are always perspectival interpretations which can only emerge against the backdrop of socially shared understandings. What holds knowledge in place as truth is the institutionalization of background perspectives which Kuhn (1962) called paradigms. According to Kuhn, once a paradigm is widely accepted, truth statements and facts can be produced which will gain wide acceptance. These, however, cannot represent reality because of the perspectival nature of such knowledge (Durrheim, 1997). The point here is that there is no grand perspective from which we can evaluate the truth status of different background perspectives or paradigms.

In addition to supporting an alternative philosophy of social science, social constructionism offers an alternative account of meaning and the relationship between knowledge and reality. According to Durrheim (1997), it also offers an alternative to the dualism, representationalism and individualism which have plagued empiricism.

3.1.1 Conceptual foundations of social constructionism

Underlying a social constructionist critique of empiricism is an alternative understanding of meaning and the relationship between language and reality. According to empiricist accounts of meaning, words are pictures which refer to fixed things or processes (either in mind or behaviour). This use of language has been observed to stem from its foundationalist aspirations of seeking a unitary truth. Adopting Saussure's modern linguistic use of language and characteristic of Wittgenstein's (1953) linguistic philosophy, social constructionism rejects the objective empiricists' account of meaning and argues instead that the meaning of words is to be found in their use (Durrheim, 1997). Instead of a statement gaining meaning by virtue of

whether or not its objective truth conditions are met, "the meaning of a word is in its use in language" (Wittgenstein, 1953, p. 43). According to Wittgenstein (1953), words are tools, and language is like a tool box. In comparison, therefore, functions of words are as diverse as the functions of the objects (a hammer, pliers, a saw, a screwdriver, a rule, a glue-pot, nails and screws) in a toolbox.

From a social constructionist perspective, words no longer merely refer to or mirror things in the world. Instead, words are used to do things in the world, and the distinction between the 'subjective' aspect of meaning and the 'objective' component is collapsed. That is, the relationship between what is, and what we say what is, cannot be evaluated it terms of accuracy, truth, or correspondence, for there are no independent things in the world which are merely pictured by words (Durrheim, 1997). Just as psychological concepts do not refer to single objects or processes (e.g., mind, thinking), Gergen and Semin (1990) argued that language is neither an outer expression of inner states, nor a reflection of reality, but is social in origin, uses and implications. That is, language is not referential but constructive. It has a doing function, and as Austin (cited in Durrheim 1997) suggested, all speech is performative and constructive of reality. Thus, by transcending the dualism between the (external) real world and the (internal) world of ideas, social constructionism rejects the notion that language reflects, mirrors or purely describes reality, in favour of an understanding of language as constructive (Gergen, 1985; Porter & Wetherell, 1987). With no final truth to lend meaning to our words, social constructionism maintains that the only way to understand our use of a word (i.e., its meaning) is to compare it with other uses. That is, words refer to other words, meanings to other meanings (Parker, 1992).

Are there criteria for distinguishing between the correct and incorrect use of words and the social construction of reality by means of language? Social constructionists argue that the criteria cannot be the truth or falsity of our representation. Instead, the only way to understand our use of a word (i.e., meaning) is to compare it with other uses. Citing Wittgenstein, Durheim (1997) argued that the ability to use words correctly originates in a given cultural form of life:

> I did not get my picture of the world by satisfying myself of its correctness … No: it's the inherited *background* [emphasis in original] against which I distinguish between true and false (p. 180).

This background is the wide range of social practices or 'forms of life' which provide the context of meaning. In other words, language and action derive meaning from social convention, where language and communication are cultural practices within which the various realities one encounters are constituted.

There are debates about exactly how far constructionism should go in claiming that language constructs reality. For example, does it leave space for objective reality and individual agency (Parker, 1998)?

In his comment about the current state of knowledge regarding the social constructionist perspective, Gergen (2004, p. 184) noted that constructionist ideas place a strong emphasis on theoretical creativity, rather than on "mapping the world as it is". That is, the perspective invites researchers to create intelligibilities that may help to build futures. In entrepreneurship studies, for instance, a social dimension to business development and inertia is currently acknowledged in accounts of learning (Rae & Carswell, 2001), business models (Bettis & Prahald, 1995), vision building, and innovation (Drucker, 1985), and through more general concepts of networking (Larson & Starr, 1993), social

capital (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998), and embeddedness (Jack & Anderson, 2002). In this study, a constructionist perspective is developed to improve our understanding of the interactions between entrepreneurs and other stakeholders in these areas.

3.1.2 Social construction of entrepreneurship

From a sociological perspective, it has been argued that routinized and taken-for-granted ways of behaving socially construct people's reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Indeed, there is also a sense in which social structures (such as the labour market and employment/unemployment) are created and yet constrain what is understood by these terms (Long, 1992a, b). Thus, in these and other ways, social constructionism has been found to contribute to an understanding of behaviour in a number of organizational settings. For example, Chell (2000) noted that the idea that there is 'no one best way to manage' opened the door to a multiplicity of possible ways of dealing with, in particular, uncertain situations as was highlighted by Burns and Stalker (1961) in their book on the management of innovation. Chell (2000) also cited Salancik and Pfeffer's (1978) social information processing model as another example in which information regarding the tasks or jobs to be done and the attitudes and needs of the job occupant are socially constructed. Therefore, management knowledge is also socially constructed.

In entrepreneurship, Bouchikhi (1993, p. 558) provided a model of the entrepreneurial process, arguing that "the entrepreneur cannot be isolated from the context". Chell has taken this idea and developed it further by placing the 'construction of the entrepreneurial personality' (Chell *et al.*, 1991) in the context of the social construction of their business reality (Chell, 2000, 2004). Thus, for Chell the social constructionist position identifies the business owner/entrepreneur as an active agent who shapes and creates his or her own reality, and who is simultaneously operating within a reality which sets limits on

choice of their action possibilities. That is, his or her approach emphasizes the construction of the actors' (entrepreneurs') personal worlds through the ordering and organization of their experiences, and has therefore a cognitive ring to it.

Against that background, but also in light of Long's (2001) observation that constructionism can be used in more general terms to embrace the cognitive, as well as the social dimension of behaviour and social practice, this study adopted a constructionist stance akin to Chell's (2000) and Bouchikhi's (1993) ideas of an alternative representation of the entrepreneurial process. This is in recognition that the outcome of such processes is determined neither by the entrepreneur, nor by the context, but as Bouchikhi (1993) noted, emerges in the process of their interaction. Moreover, as Bouchikhi (1993) suggested, it is the existence (or not) of entrepreneurial process combined with all other forms of social action that makes a context more or less favourable to entrepreneurship. This means that understanding the processes by which entrepreneurs engage with and thus co-produce their own (inter)personal and collective social worlds in the course of their entrepreneurial endeavours can not simply be achieved on the basis of reworking existing cultural repertoires, or language and learned behaviour, but rather through the many ways in which they improvise and experiment with 'old' and 'new' elements and experiences and react simultaneously and imaginatively, consciously or otherwise to circumstances they encounter. In this respect, Long (1992a, b) suggested an actor approach that seeks to understand and interpret continuities and discontinuities that emerge in the encounters of actors with other actors, and of actors with institutions (encounters at the interface).

3.2 Actor oriented paradigm

According to this approach, processes of contextualization are important in order to understand the meaning that actors give to their interaction at the interface. This looks at the political-economic and social-cultural processes, and this necessitates embedding research results in a wider social-cultural structure (Long, 1992a, b). According to Long (1992a), such a structure has its genesis in social action and it is perpetuated through this social action. In this way, the interface is an approach that captures complex inter-linkages regarding the interaction between different fields, groups, institutions, co-operatives, brokers, flexible organizations of work and the analysis of the concrete risks of market integration (Long, 1992a). In other words, the approach stresses the ways in which 'externalities' enter the existing life-worlds of individuals and groups and come to form part and parcel of the resources and constraints underlying the actors' strategies. Long (1992b) argued that this is consistent with Bordieu's (1977) concept of '*habitus*'. According to Bordieu (1977, cited in Long, 1992), *habitus* is a structured set of predispositions which provides a basis for the enactment of strategy according to interest, perspective and power, and is the earmark of specific social groups, and may lead to a common identity between those who share it. Within the context of an actor-oriented approach, *habitus* is useful in that it allows a mediation between the subjective and objective worlds, thus permitting a conception of the external environment as being differentially absorbed and interpreted from the perspective of the subject (Long, 1992a, b; Verschoor, 1992). This approach sees actors as participating in social change, not as passive subjects of the economic, social or institutional structures, but rather as agents whose strategies and interactions shape the outcome of development (Long, 2001). In addition, Verschoor (1992) acknowledged that this kind of conception allows for the fact that the process of development itself is constituted by a

collage of local practices reflecting the unique ways in which multiple identities coexist, interpenetrate or enter into conflict with one another. This process takes into account power relations (including gender power relations) in society in order to contextualize the negotiating capacity within the larger social structures. In this respect, as Vesrchoor (1992) argued, these identity-constituting practices should form the locus of study. By implication, an analysis of these practices demands that one comes to grips with issues of agency, power, and knowledge, and with their complex interrelations. Thus, the issue of the stock of knowledge available and how it is used to explain social reality is also important. Such knowledge, it is acknowledged, is potentially conflicting, diverse, and depends on where and from whom knowledge is derived (Long, 2001). The notion of agency attributes to the individual actor the capacity to process social experience and to devise ways of coping with life. According to Giddens (1984), as agents, social actors attempt to solve problems, learn how to intervene in the flow of social events around them and continuously monitor their own actions, observing how others react to their behaviour while taking note of the various contingent circumstances. They thus give meaning to their interactions at the interface (Long, 2001).

From the foregoing discussion of an actor-oriented approach, it is important to note that the concept of actor is a 'social construction' (Berger & Luckmann, 1967), rather than simply a synonym for the individual, and that notions of agency are differently constituted culturally, thus affecting the management of interpersonal relations and the kinds of control that actors can pursue *vis-à-vis* each other (Long, 2001). According to Long (1992a; 2001), in addition to building upon recent attempts to reconceptualize notions of 'knowledge', 'power', and 'agency', he suggested developing an analysis of 'interface' situations where the different life worlds interact and interpenetrate. He argued that such analysis stresses the reproduction and transformation

of social discontinuities inherent in interface encounters, including those between the researcher and the researched. Thus, integral to this type of approach are two other crucial aspects: an understanding of the processes by which knowledge is negotiated and jointly created through various types of social encounters, and an understanding of the power dynamics involved.

The current study contributes to the (re)making of cultural analysis whose emphasis is on the importance of cultural interface encounters in entrepreneurial action and the need to develop processual and narrative forms of analysis. Unlike other approaches, an actor-oriented approach makes more detailed and systematic treatment of how life worlds of the researcher, the researched and other social actors intersect in the production of specific 'ethnographies' (Fetterman, 2004) of entrepreneurial action and other types of social and cultural interpretation, such as life (hi)stories. Specifically, it attempts to theorize these processes through the elaboration of actor-oriented constructs which aim to reveal the variable, composite and provisional nature of entrepreneurial life, to explore the practical and discursive forms of consciousness and social actions that compose it, and to expose the socially constructed and continuously negotiated nature of entrepreneurial processes.

3.2.1 Applying the concept of the cultural interface within the field of entrepreneurship

Recent developments in social sciences in general, and in psychology in particular, have offered a social account of meaning and human action. In these accounts, the meanings which motivate actions are not defined in terms of individual representations of reality, but in terms of shared conventions (see Wrestch, 1991). As a starting point for social constructionism of entrepreneurship in the study context, and consistent with the above conceptual developments in the social sciences, the concept of a cultural interface has been suggested

in order to offer a social account of meaning in entrepreneurial action.

According to Munene et al. (1999), an interface is an abstraction referring to an interpersonal or an intergroup space, which is generated by the meeting of two parties (agents) in the process of an exchange. This means that the interface characterizes the way the parties relate to each other in the process of a social and/or economic transaction. It is composed of the interactional outcome of motivations, beliefs, perceptions and underlying experiences that each of the parties brings to an exchange.

Some of the most familiar cultural interfaces in Africa are to be found in work by scholars who attempted to characterize organizational life in Africa. The first is by Hyden (1983) in his concept of the economy of affection. According to Hyden, within the traditionally-organized, stable social systems that characterize village life, African values formed a coherent whole which allowed Africans to organize themselves productively. He argued that productive indigenous organizations included collective house-building, cultivation, irrigation and harvesting. Further, Hyden (1983, p. 8) argued that the traditional practice of mutual help, when practised in the context of a market economy, can be described as "the economy of affection". He defined it as "a network of support, communications, and interaction among structurally defined groups connected by blood, kin, community, and other affinities" (Hyden, 1983, p. 8). According to Hyden, such values of solidarity and mutual help, although they may work well in indigenous organizations, seem to ruin the operation of capitalist-oriented bureaucracies in Africa. In this respect, a cultural interface could be said to be manifest in tribalism, nepotism, and sectarianism (Hyden, 1983; Akong'a, 1995).

The second example is traced from Nafsiger's (1969) work regarding the effects of extended family systems on the performance of small businesses. He examined these effects on small firms in Nigeria, and described them as involving a system of shared rights and obligations encompassing a large number of near and distant relatives. According to his research, a number of characteristics underpin the extended family system. He observed that in such a system, an individual member's success is shared by all; collective development or failure is assumed; collective consumption is assumed; in its ideal form, an individual is collectively selected and pushed up to a stage when it is his/her obligation to pull up the others; there is no fixed formal time for the pull obligation which may be advantageous during the formative years since the individual can concentrate on personal achievement; and the family is a source of contacts. As Nafsiger (1969) pointed out, growth of business would be difficult or impossible under the system of obligation that such an arrangement imposes on individual entrepreneurs.

According to Munene et al. (1999), there are many types of cultural interfaces which may be viewed as negative or positive for economic development in Africa. An example of a positive cultural interface is presented by Munene and Isingoma (2002) in their description of a case study of an entrepreneurial individual with social capital in a community development association. They explained how in that case study, a focal individual joined a new community after the Ugandan civil war (during the period 1981-1986) and brought with her new ways of crop-farming. The community members who had been struggling to survive off their saline soil immediately noticed her success. Part of the village thought that the newcomer was a miracle worker who was using supernatural powers to achieve 'bumper' crop harvests. The more extreme community members holding this view thought that the newcomer had been excommunicated from her former village because she was a witch "since only a witch could succeed

where everyone else was failing" (Munene & Isingoma, 2002, p. 23). To deal with the hostility that was being directed at her because of her ability to crop-farm successfully, she decided to train the villagers in what she referred to as environmentally sustainable agriculture. To achieve this objective she initiated a self-help association called *Twegombe* (let us be ambitious) through which she could impart her skills. In time women around the village heard and saw what members of *Twegombe* were doing and they gradually joined one by one and, according to Munene et al. (2002), the association has become one of the most progressive development associations in the community. For a study on entrepreneurship in a context such as the one described above, what one can note is that entrepreneurial individuals not only seek to combine various resources, but also combine various social relationships in order to create and generate value in the community. An interesting insight in this case study is the role of the focal entrepreneurial individual in changing community mores and social values through unpaid self-motivated social functions, as well as through the exchange of information on villager behaviour and through financial incentives. Moreover, she saw that in order for her to do well, she needed to ensure that the village did well, too.

The approach discussed in this chapter seeks to develop the idea of such similar cultural interfaces in the investigation of entrepreneurial activities. It has been argued that the ideas of an entrepreneur and of the entrepreneurial process are aspects of the same phenomenon (Bruyat & Julien, 2001; Chell, 2000). As such, if we use the example of the *Twegombe* case study described above, entrepreneurship is a process in which the focal individual's actions (decisions, choices, etc.) are contextually embedded. The process is one of interaction from which outcomes (e.g., the focal individual's and her business performance) emerge. Although other forces may be said to impact business performance, these have hitherto been conceptualized as

endogenous forces (Bouchikhi, 1993). That is, success or failure factors are assumed within the new venture itself. In the foregoing case study, it can thus be argued that the emergent entrepreneurial processes are complex, often ambivalent as we saw with the *Twegombe* community, and highly contingent upon evolving conditions of different social arenas. In addition, the processes also entailed networks of relations, resources and meanings at different scales of organization. As a result the structure of situations shaped the action environment of the entrepreneur who interpreted this information as a basis for decision and action. Hence, the focus of the theoretical framework in this chapter is on an actor-oriented analysis. According to Long (1992a; 2001), the emphasis of such an analysis is on social diversity and the importance of 'cultural borderlands' (which coincide with the notion of interface encounters).

It needs to be noted that the concept of a cultural interface was developed as a conception of culture applied in the context of African development (Munene & Schwartz, 1999). This was after realizing that there is little compelling evidence that any particular national or organizational culture provides the one best way to assure economic growth (Munene, Schwartz & Smith, 2000). Moreover, in a related concern, sustained efforts to integrate culture into development policies were made, mostly by development organizations and Northern Non-Governmental Organizations, as well as powerful financial institutions such as the World Bank (Munene, Schwartz & Smith, 2000), with the aim of recognizing culture as a resource for development, rather than a detractor from it. Nowhere was this move clearer than in Africa. Thus, as Munene et al. (2000) noted, after decades of ambivalence regarding the role of culture in African development, the objective was to place issues of culture within development planning. Against that background a conception of culture that is sensitive to the process of cultural interchange, the complexities of social positions, and the dynamics of global

interconnectedness became intuitively appealing. This was in addition to the fact that the conception of an independent, coherent and stable culture is problematic.

Similarly, Hermans and Kempen (1998) also noted the problematic nature of mainstream conceptualizations of culture which continue to work in the tradition of cultural dichotomies such as North-South, East-West, individualism-collectivism, etc. (that have naturally followed the political and economic dichotomies already in existence). As such, Hermans and Kempen (1998) argued that cultural differences can no longer be conceptualized in terms of cultural dichotomies. Instead of cultural dichotomies, we are confronted with cultural interfaces or the kind of cultural mixtures that destroy internal cultural uniformity, as well as external distinctiveness.

3.3 Methodological implications of theoretical framework

The current study adopted a theoretical lens which frames entrepreneurship as being socially constructed. Through this lens, it is hoped, we can learn about the phenomenon of entrepreneurship as meaning-making in action. As has been discussed in the previous sections, this lens helps us to address the gap in entrepreneurship studies by focusing on doing business as a social practice and the sense-making associated with it. When asking questions that relate to meaning and interpretation, Ospina and Dodge (2005) argued that narrative inquiry is an appropriate approach to address such issues. Thus, a narrative inquiry was chosen because its theoretical assumptions resonate with the current study's definition of entrepreneurship. That is, beginning with understanding that narratives do not objectively mirror reality, but are constructed in action, the current study views entrepreneurship as socially constructed. Appreciating the appropriateness of matching the chosen methodological approach with the theoretical lens requires knowledge of the logic of narrative inquiry provided in the sub-section below.

3.3.1 The logic of narrative inquiry

Narrative inquiry has its roots in a 'constructionist epistemology' – a theory of knowledge that suggests we know the world not by objectively observing an external reality, but by constructing how we understand it with others (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Crotty, 1998; Gergen, 1985). According to Dodge, Ospina and Foldy (2005, p. 289), its roots go back to the work of classical thinkers such as Weber and Simmel, and continue with several contemporary schools of thought: "Blummer and Goffman's symbolic interactionism; Schutz's phenomenology; critical theorists such as Gadamer and post-modernists like [*sic*] Foucault (Kivisto, 2003); and social constructionists such as Berger and Luckmann (1967)". Proponents make the assumption that all reality, as meaningful reality, is socially constructed (Dodge, Ospina & Foldy, 2005). By implication, narrative inquirers do not claim to document reality, but rather to capture individual interpretations of reality, as well as shared social constructions within a given community. Although there are some exceptions (Abbott, 1992), narrative inquirers usually adopt an interpretive, rather than positivist perspective. This means that inquiry is less about predicting or generalizing behaviour, and more about interpreting intention and meaning in context. Even though narrative inquiry shares a common foundation with other interpretive research approaches, it has its distinctive features. According to Riessman (2003), what sets narrative inquiry apart is its grounding in narrative and stories that have a beginning, middle and end (or some sense of temporal progress), that help to organize events into coherent plots with some kind of resolution. Stories have inherent integrity or coherence: they can be isolated as discrete units that address some kind of individual or social action, and they reflect the context in which the action took place, including time and place (Riessman, 1993, 2003). Attention to stories demands attention to the social actors who tell them.

In spite of common epistemological and theoretical foundations, narrative inquiry, like other forms of qualitative research, does not represent a uniform approach to social inquiry. From their review of the literature Dodge, Ospina and Foldy (2005) suggest three broad approaches that differ according to the relative weight scholars give to three foundational assumptions: first, because narratives convey meanings (Dodge, Ospina and Foldy (2005) refer to this approach as narrative as language); second, narratives carry practical knowledge that individuals have gained through their experiences (referred to as narrative as knowledge); third, narratives are constitutive, meaning they are shaped by individuals for their own purposes, but at the same time, they are forces that shape human beings and help give meaning to the social worlds they inhabit (referred to as narrative as metaphor). Because researchers make choices about how they translate these assumptions into coherent research agenda based on their purposes and questions, as Dodge at al. (2005) observed, a more detailed discussion of the primary assumptions of each of these approaches and their implications for the way people experience the world is in order here.

Narrative as language highlights the role of narrative as a medium of expression, thus highlighting the social nature of language and its function in making interaction possible (Dodge et al., 2005). Because narratives convey meaning about lived experiences, they are useful for studying how people understand a topic such as entrepreneurship or organizational creation. Narratives help researchers to understand actors' experiences, or at least the version of experience the narrator chooses to convey. This way, narratives illuminate something about the constructed reality they reflect and about the experience and intentions of those engaged in it. According to Reissman (2003), an important implication of this assumption is that people are purposeful social agents who create and use stories to

communicate meaning to themselves and others, or to put across their world view. The researcher's goal, then, is to understand the experience of some phenomenon from the perspective of those enacting it, taking the meanings and argument embedded in the actors' words to illuminate it. Because language reflects people's understanding of reality, the researcher gets a glimpse of the social world as it is filtered by the meaning-making processes of those who experience it (Dodge et al., 2005).

Narrative as knowledge draws attention to the learning that is embedded in stories about practice (Bruner, 1986, cited in Dodge *et al.*, 2005). According to Dodge et al. (2005) it privileges experiential knowing (which is based on narratives), over propositional knowledge (which is based on concepts). That is, this view emphasizes the potential of storytelling to generate understanding and individuals' ability to find practical learning through stories. In addition, it assumes these forms of knowing produce insights from which to draw generalizations that can enhance future practice and can be accessed through practitioner reflection. This view implies that we think and know through narratives. Hence, as Dodge et al. (2005) noted, narrative inquiry is an excellent tool for learning about others' knowledge - and about our own. The immediate goal of this approach, it is suggested, is to illuminate tacit knowledge or to share theories in use that are implied in the stories and are embedded in the accounts of practice (Dodge et al., 2005).

Both narrative as language and narrative as knowledge privilege people's interpretations of their immediate experience. The next approach attends to the influence of broader institutional contexts on people's ability to understand fully the complexities that inform their experience.

Narratives that reflect straightforward social practices can be viewed as metaphors [9] that capture deeper meanings about the social order. For example, Dodge et al. (2005) suggested that the way office space is assigned in an organization is a metaphor for its structures of power. In this regard, narrative as metaphor emphasizes the assumption that narratives are constitutive. That is, people shape stories and, in turn, stories shape people. In this view, as notions of self, existence and identity are named through language, they begin to feel real in their consequences. As Berger and Luckmann (cited in Dodge et al., 2005) noted, people take for granted that they are objective and pre-existing realities. Over time, this process becomes automatic and usually unconscious (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Moreover, our subjective interpretations and the actions associated with them are influenced by historical and institutional contexts that already offer manufactured meanings, manifested in discourses (such as Western individualism), in institutions (such as the justice or education system), or even in practices (such as engineering or home working). People contribute to the (re)creation of these external 'institutions of meaning' which then help to stabilize 'order of things.' These institutions of meaning can be read as 'expressive statements' or as 'texts' (Bruni et al., 2004) with a particular grammar, syntax, and structure that send normative messages and regulate social life, similar to what post-modernists call the 'grand narratives' (Calas & Smircich, 1999) of society. Emphasizing narrative as a metaphor helps the researcher to attain a deeper understanding of social practices, organizations, institutions, or social systems. According to Dodge et al. (2005), an important implication of these assumptions is that individuals are born into or enter (through socialization) existing stories or storied institutions. As human

[9] A metaphor is a figure of speech containing an implied comparison, in which a meaning ordinarily and primarily used for one thing is applied to another (Dodd, 2002)

creations, these institutions gradually take on a life of their own and affect people without their awareness.

Dodge et al. (2005) suggest that the primary goals of the narrative-as-metaphor approach are to unveil the powerful but invisible meanings embedded in institutional life, and to identify suppressed or competing narratives, thus proposing alternative interpretations. In contrast to the micro-perspective of the first two approaches to narrative, narrative as metaphor adds a macro-perspective that links the immediate experience of social actors to broader institutions of meaning.

3.4 Conclusions

In challenging the warrant of knowledge in the disciplines, constructionist ideas invite a broad-ranging dialogue as discussed in this chapter. Although the notion of construction - social or cultural - would lead to the criticism that it is nihilistic in its aims (Gergen, 2004), in contradistinction to this, and drawing upon a long pedigree of constructionist research and thinking (see Gergen, 2004, 1999; Hacking, 1999; Tsoukas, 1996; Danziger, 1990; Berger & Luckmann, 1967), the focus is on ways in which scientific inquiry, informed by constructionist views, can more effectively serve society of which it is part. In this regard, a narrative methodological approach was chosen because its assumptions resonate with the social constructionist theoretical lens adopted for the current study.

The current study makes the following three assumptions that underpin three approaches to narrative discussed in this chapter. The first assumption is that the stories entrepreneurs tell about their experiences in their entrepreneurial activities give us access to the arguments, intentions, and meanings that support entrepreneurship (narrative as language). Secondly, entrepreneurship as practice is a legitimate source of knowledge

from which to draw lessons about entrepreneurship, which can then be applied to other contexts (narrative as knowledge). The third assumption is that even though an entrepreneur may actively resist societal structures of power, those structures may influence their work, producing incongruence between discourse and practice (narrative as metaphor).

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

This study benefited from a number of the researcher's prior activities and networks that presented opportunities for the subsequent research direction. First, as was discussed in chapter one, the researcher was involved in a prior quantitative survey of entrepreneurial traits and characteristics of female entrepreneurs in Uganda. In that study it was observed that there were specific gender gaps in the literature regarding women's entrepreneurial experiences (Kikooma, 2005). Second, the researcher's engagement with the above study participants offered a unique opportunity to learn about social constraints and/or discrimination that put women at a disadvantage in pursuing entrepreneurial endeavours. Lastly, it also offered an opportunity to re-evaluate the appropriateness of studying entrepreneurship - as a business, as well as social accomplishment - through quantitative approaches based on structured questionnaires leading to rigorous statistical analyses.

The discussions in this chapter cover the particular research techniques employed in the research design, as well as a description of the analytic framework used to analyze the research material collected.

4.1 Research approach

In this study a choice was made to undertake a narrative type of inquiry because of three contributions that such an approach has been observed to make to research studies that emphasize interpretation, rather than prediction. First, it has been observed that narrative inquiry provides an internally consistent research approach when asking questions that relate to meaning and interpretation. Second, narrative inquiry is an appropriate methodology to capture complex interpretations of experience because it captures context and makes space for the multiple representations of various voices with a stake in the research (Ospina & Dodge, 2005). Finally, it taps into the unique kind of knowledge that is communicated through stories.

In order to implement narrative inquiry, a number of research techniques were used to generate stories about participants' entrepreneurial experiences. This meant that the researcher listened carefully to how the participants thought about their lives, and critically to how traditional social sciences scholars conceptualized women's and men's lives. In terms of specific techniques, the study utilized in-depth interviews and short life-story forms of interviewing.

4.1.1 Participant selection

The sampling strategy followed that of Byrne (2004), broadly described as a purposive approach. That is, the selection of participants was based on information derived from already available sources of data, such as life-history documents relating to some of the participants. These sources were used to identify and locate appropriate participants who would then be approached and asked to participate. In some cases, snowball sampling (Byrne, 2004) was also followed. In the snowball strategy, some of the participants identified potential participants who were then approached by the researcher. As has

been observed in the literature, life-history research typically relies on small sample groups (Plummer, 2001). In this study, this meant that the participant sampling was based on considerations of data quality, rather than on statistical representativeness.

Consistent with the idea of co-production of knowledge (Ospina & Dodge, 2005) as a way to conduct research which incorporates the perspectives of stakeholders, views of key informants were also solicited. In this approach, five individuals who have particularly well-developed insights into the Ugandan situation and cultural context, and had the ability to articulate these insights, were included for their views on the subject.

Information collected from all the sources resulted in a sample of 11 cases of entrepreneurs whose entrepreneurial knowledge and practices are described in more detail in chapters five and six. A summarized profile of the entrepreneurs and their businesses is presented in table 1 overleaf.

Table 1. *Characteristics of entrepreneurs and their businesses*

Case	Gender category	Marital status	No. of children	Age	Education	Employment history	Start-up	Business	No. of employees	Entrepreneurial category
Case study 1	Male	Married	9	60	Little formal education	business apprenticeship through working in father's shop as well as well as from father's business friend	Started thru' selling simple merchandize	A range of undertakings in transport, manufacturing, motor vehicle distribution, commercial farming, electronic media and property development	Over 500	Large
Case study 2	Male	Married	2	65	Diploma in Business administration	Assistant district commissioner	Partner contributed	Manufacturing, insurance and banking	100 - 200	Large
Case study 3	Male	Married	-	67	-	Started as small business trader	-	Manufacturing, processing	Over 600	Large
Case study 4	Male	Widowed	-	56	Secondary school education	salesman, sales supervisor, manager	trading in small merchandize abroad	Hotel, leisure, private radio station	over 200	Large
Case study 5	Male	Married	-	70	-	worked with father in family business	Family business	Sugar processing, tea and cotton ginning, beer breweries, textiles, plastic, glass, packaging and safety matches business	At its pinnacle, the family business consortium employed more than 20,000 people	Large
Case study 6	Female	Married	2	47	Bachelor of arts in humanities	jobs in a number of organizations abroad	loan from bank	Publishing	7	Medium
Case study 7	Female	Widowed	4	49	Post-secondary school education	restaurant and food business, farming	-	Transport	-	Micro/Small

Case	Gender category	Marital status	No. of children	Age	Education	Employment history	Start-up	Business	No. of employees	Entrepreneurial category
Case study 8	Female	Single	1	43	Master in information science	publishing manager - OUP in Kampala	partner contributed	Publishing	4	Micro/small
Case study 9	Female	Married	2	41	Masters in Education	various teaching posts in schools	initial capital from husband	school proprietorship	200	Medium
Case study 10	Female	Widowed	6	70	certificate in Junior Hotel Management and Tourism	teacher, hotel housekeeper, trainer	initial capital from husband	garment industry and interior design	Over 45	Medium
Case study 11	Female	Married	6	47	B.Sc. in Agriculture	agriculture officer	partner contributed	Shoe making	10	Medium

4.1.2 Data collection

Data collection was largely open and event-driven, aimed at tapping into the experiences of study participants, rather than applying predetermined theoretical measures of concepts and ideas. Thus, data were collected from a number of sources. For instance, some of the data came from two life-stories of entrepreneurs who had recently published their autobiographies (the only two of their kind in the country). In addition, short life-story interviews were conducted. Other data for the study were derived from other material written about entrepreneurs, either in the media, business publications or the academic research literature. In this respect, a range of materials that Plummer (2001) referred to as documents of life, were derived from the autobiographies (i.e. letters, artefacts and visual media such as videos and photographs). Therefore, data for the current study were of various types including video clips, newspaper articles, short life-story interviews, as well as interviews of other informants such as business journalists (see Table 2).

Table 2. *Sources of data*

Document type	**Source**
Summary	Researcher's narrative summaries from autobiographies
Interview	Short life story interview conducted with case studies 2, 6, 8, 9, 10, and 11
Biographical document	Newspaper articles
Transcripts	Uganda Television (UTV) video transcripts
'Other' perspective	Key informant
Video of 'Others' perspectives	UTV Video transcripts

The newspaper articles referred to in Table 2 above were those covering profiles of entrepreneurs (or CEOs - the term that was used in the media) of East Africa's most respected companies. Among the Ugandans, who consistently featured in this annual tri-nation business survey, were entrepreneurs identified in this

study as case study 3 and case study 5 (see Appendix 1). The East African Newspaper has been publishing results of company surveys conducted by Pricewaterhouse-Coopers, and following the first surveys from the years 2000 and 2001, the business journalist of the *East African* newspaper conducted interviews with the recognized CEOs (i.e., case study 3 and 5) from Uganda, and their profiles were published in the newspaper together with the results of the survey. The journalist was also contacted for his comments on the profiles of these entrepreneurs.

In another development, three of the entrepreneurs included in this study (i.e., case studies 1, 2 and 4) were invited to address the 8th Annual International Management Conference, and Uganda Television recorded all the proceedings and aired the highlights on the national news. The researcher also participated in this conference and made initial contact with these entrepreneurs for appointments for in-depth interviews.

As Table 2 above indicates, secondary sources of entrepreneurial stories were scanned to select those where the entrepreneur's own words were the main constituent of the piece, either through the extensive use of direct speech, or because the pieces were authored by the entrepreneurs themselves. Thus, one limitation of such an approach is the intervention by a journalist in the transcription process since the narratives had been interpreted and presented following journalistic conventions. Attempts to minimize the impact of this limitation were made. For example, where a journalist had intervened in the storytelling process, only direct quotations from the entrepreneurs have been utilized as source material (especially regarding cases 3, 5, and 7).

In other cases, documentary sources were used alongside other forms of data collected, such as was the case with case studies 2, 6, 8, 9, 10 and 11. Other data came from video material obtained from the national television recordings of events at a

management conference. The rationale for inclusion of all the various documentary data was that these could be used to complement data collected from other sources for triangulation of data (Tindall, 1994).

4.1.3 Long life-stories and short life-story interviewing

The life-(hi)story method (Plummer, 2004) involving the use of both short and long life-stories was used. Long life-stories in this case consisted of case studies 1 and 10's stories written as autobiographies, as well as case studies 1, 2 and 3's stories written from transcriptions of the presentations at the management conference (see Appendix 3).

In order to develop more in-depth insights into the entrepreneurial stories that were developing in the research database, focused interviews were sought through what Plummer (2001, 2004) termed short life-story interviews. These were gathered through in-depth interviews that lasted between an hour and three hours. Case studies 2, 6, 8, 9, 10 and 11 were interviewed using this approach. As distinct from the long life-histories (Plummer, 2001, 2004), these interviews were more focused in the sense that the interviewer offered an opening narrative question (e.g., "Please tell me the story of your life as a business person, all the events and experiences that have been important to you personally"), and then asking for more narratives about the topics raised. However, as Atkinson (2004) argued, the questions used in life-story interviews are not necessarily meant to be used in their entirety or as a structure that is set in stone. In fact, when these interviews were conducted, there were instances when a handful of pre-structured questions were actually used and other times when a different set of questions were chosen depending on what was already known about the particular interviewee. Thus, it can be said that the less rigid structure in interview scheduling gave control to research participants - interviewer and interviewee alike - to

construct narratives jointly, and hence to view the interview as a discursive accomplishment (Riessman, 2004).

It needs to be noted, however, that the transcripts of these interviews were not the only form of data that resulted from the interviews. Scratch notes, field notes, head notes, timed writings and analytical notes (Sanjek, 1990) were also used as forms of data, and were used to help in reflecting about the interview, the study participants and ideas that were developing during analysis. Scratch notes consisted of words or phrases that were jotted down during the interviews. Immediately after leaving the interviews, the scratch notes were translated into more detailed field notes. Intended to be an objective record of the events and details of the interview, field notes did not include personal opinions - a challenging process indeed. Head notes served as the subjective record of the interviews. These notes included personal views about the interview, any feelings that may have influenced the interview (e.g., emotional baggage), and any subjective views about the information obtained from the session. The final forms of data gained from the sessions were timed writings and analytical notes (Sanjek, 1990). Timed writings occurred as the data were being collected and analyzed. According to Miles and Huberman (1994), it is during such periods that emerging ideas and relevant patterns in the data are written. However, the exploration of emerging ideas was not solely restricted to a timed writing approach; analytical notes were also maintained in a research diary (also known as a research journal (Bazeley & Richards, 2000) that served as a forum in which to work through emerging ideas and insights.

As a method, the life-story approach was applied in three forms in the current study. That is, life-stories are presented in terms of long life-stories, short life-stories and reflexive/recursive life-stories. Long life-stories consisted of the full-length book account of two entrepreneurs' lives in their

own words, written with the aim of capturing the development of a unique individual. Instead of aiming to grasp the fullness of a particular entrepreneur's life, short life-stories were more focused on particular issues, with the intent of shedding more light on them. Lastly, the reflexive/recursive life-stories involved the producer (the researcher), the teller (the entrepreneur) and the text (narrative text). That is, the producer and the teller together constructed the life-stories that are presented in this study. As Plummer (2004) noted, in this approach to the life-story method, the writer becomes a part of the writing.

4. 1.4 Data management

As implied in the last section, long life-histories were seen as the key input to the methodological approach employed in this study. They thus formed a significant part of the study database. However, a number of long life-history documents (e.g. the published autobiographies) were lengthy and typically needed clarifying and summarizing. In this respect, the researcher needed to know the important message that such documents convey to the researcher and probably others about the lives of those in question. It was therefore helpful, as an early analytic step, to write out narrative summaries which were then attached to the documents that they referred to. As Miles and Huberman (1994) noted, this form of summary puts the document (to which it refers) in context and explains its significance, and gives a brief summary. In this case, each narrative summary of each of the chapters (17 for case study 1, and 16 for case study 10) in the published autobiographies included:

- the importance of the chapter;
- life events with which the chapter is associated;
- a brief summary of the contents; and
- the researcher's own reflective commentaries.

An example of one of these narrative summaries that were used for later analyses of case studies 1 and 10 is shown in Appendix 4.

In addition, during this early analytic phase, rich data from the original documents that were judged as insightful or as being a good example of an instance of theoretical interest, were identified as vignettes (see, for example, vignette 3 in chapter six; section 6.1.1). Those vignettes contained meaningful data for interim understanding and were embedded in some of the final write-ups as was the case for vignette 3. As Barter and Renold (2000) observed, within qualitative research, vignettes have been increasingly employed to elicit cultural norms derived from respondents' attitudes towards, and beliefs about, a specific situation, and to highlight ethical frameworks and moral codes. However, some theoretical and methodological limitations have been raised in the use of this technique by social scientists. For example, Faia (cited in Barter & Renold, 2000) questioned the value of using this technique for social scientists if the aim of the research is to map some aspect of social reality. That is, what people believe they would do in a given situation is not necessarily how they would behave in actuality. Perhaps the concern regarding belief and action are best captured in the question that a participant at an international management conference posed to the author after presenting ideas in the proposal for this study. He said,

> I have two concerns. First, in using life-stories, there are factors that would tend to be hidden to [*sic*] your study. Factors that could either prohibit entrepreneurial success or even facilitate them, whether consciously or unconsciously, but they wouldn't want to expose them to you. Initially, you have told us you have been a smuggler, too, [LAUGH FROM AUDIENCE] and a successful story that is related to smuggling might not find a lot of space in your … within your study, and they will not be willing to tell you. Similarly, because you are focusing on cultural influences, the fact that there were windfalls, for instance, for

> the life-story, the fact that some people are inhibited by the lack of capital and such other factors will not be in-built in your study. How do you intend to take care of that, or do you just want to ignore them? (From verbatim transcriptions of personal communication at the conference by A.Odero, 5th December 2001)

However, some writers have argued for a different theoretical perspective in relation to belief and action. Finch (cited in Barter & Renold, 2000) observed that the relationship between the two is particularly important for social scientists, and that although it is not straightforward, neither is it problematic. For Finch it is not always necessary to be concerned about the inconsistency between principles (beliefs) and practice (actions), as it is perfectly possible to agree in principle to a general norm, but to believe that it is not relevant in particular circumstances, or that it does not apply for particular reasons. Finch (cited in Barter & Renold, 2000, p. 312) therefore suggested that "it is not the outcome (or action) that is of research interest, for this will always be situationally specific, but the process of meanings and interpretations used in reaching the outcome that is of central concern to social scientists". Thus, following the above argument, this study used vignettes as a tool to illuminate and tap into these complex processes.

4. 2 Data analysis processes

The analysis stage of the research process can be seen as one of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of data collected (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The initial stages of the process involved transcribing interview material, as well as organizing the data into a manageable conglomeration[10] by use of a computer software program designed to handle such kinds of qualitative material.

[10] As indicated in table 2, data for this study were of various types

4.2.1 Transcription

Interviews were tape-recorded and later transcribed. Repetitions and comments by the interviewer were left out so that the transcript could become a flowing and connected narrative in that person's own words. In some cases, the transcription effort also involved giving the transcribed life-story back to the interviewee to review and check over for any changes they wanted to make in it. Case study 8 was especially helpful in this respect. As the interest in this research was in the respondents' interpretation of their world, the aim was to transcribe and produce text that looked like a reliable copy of the words that were used by the respondent. The transcription conventions employed were derived from Silverman, (1997) and copies of the transcriptions are included, in their entirety, in Appendix 2.

As Kvale (1988) observed, when moving from the spoken context of an interview to the typed transcript, there are issues of inaccuracy which may be introduced, as well as certain kinds of errors to be mindful of. In one of the interviews for the current study, the recording was made in a noisy area (in fact, the office in which the interview took place is close to the industrial area of the city) and it was difficult to make out what was said against the background noise. A similar dilemma arose when another interviewee was very soft-spoken on the tape and could not be heard clearly in some parts. However, as Gibbs (2002) argued, hearing exactly what is said involves understanding and interpretation. Even where the sound is good there are many cases where the transcriber has heard one thing whereas the respondent has said something else. In this study, however, since the researcher was familiar with the subject matter as well as the context of the interview and the interviewees, the researcher used some of the fields notes made during the interview in writing up the said transcript. Doing one's own transcription was considered as an advantage in this case. In another case, where the transcript was thought to be

inaccurate because of the recording qualities of the sound recorder used, transcripts were taken to the interviewee for cross-checking. Although the respondent in this case was not particularly happy with the idea of checking word-for-word the verbatim transcript given to her, she nevertheless noticed some text that she did not think was what was said, and this was subsequently removed from the final write-up.

4.2.2 The use of the computer software program

The initial data processing involved coding interviews, field notes, head notes and scratch notes so they could easily be referenced. All the data were imported into the computer software program QSR*NVIVO (QSR, 2000), which is a computer-assisted qualitative data management and analysis program (Gibbs, 2002; Richards, 2002). QSR*NVIVO was selected as the qualitative software tool because of its range of capabilities, as well as its ability to organize and analyze data efficiently. For instance, in QSR*NVIVO there are many options for document preparation (plain text, rich text with sections, audio clips, images), coding (e.g., inductive or deductive, *in vivo* or researcher-defined, manual or automated), retrieval (e.g., by node [category], by document, text searches, matrix searches, refined attributes), dynamic links to memos, documents, nodes, and visual representations (e.g., coding stripes, models) (Richards, 2002). Another advantage is that security passwords can be programmed and multiple backups can be made to protect the data and analysis from theft or loss.

The software program QSR*NVIVO was used from the start of the research project, through to data collection, analysis and the writing of the final document. The different tasks that the program was used for are discussed under the subheadings of research journal and coding. The overall contributions of the program to methodological rigour are discussed in the last subsection labelled 'electronic audit trail'.

Research journal

This is where personal thoughts, theoretical ideas, and any concerns relating to the research project were recorded. One advantage for keeping the journal in NVIVO, as opposed to in a Microsoft Word document or in a hardbound book, was that it allowed for links to be created to relevant documents, nodes, or even external files, such as web pages or video clips. Headers (titles) for each entry allowed for easy searching of the journal for a particular entry (see figure 1, the document explorer on the left side). In figure 1 the bottom layer window displays a partial list of documents and the entries of the selected document, 'Reflective Journal'. The top layer window illustrates some of the coding categories used in the reflective journal.

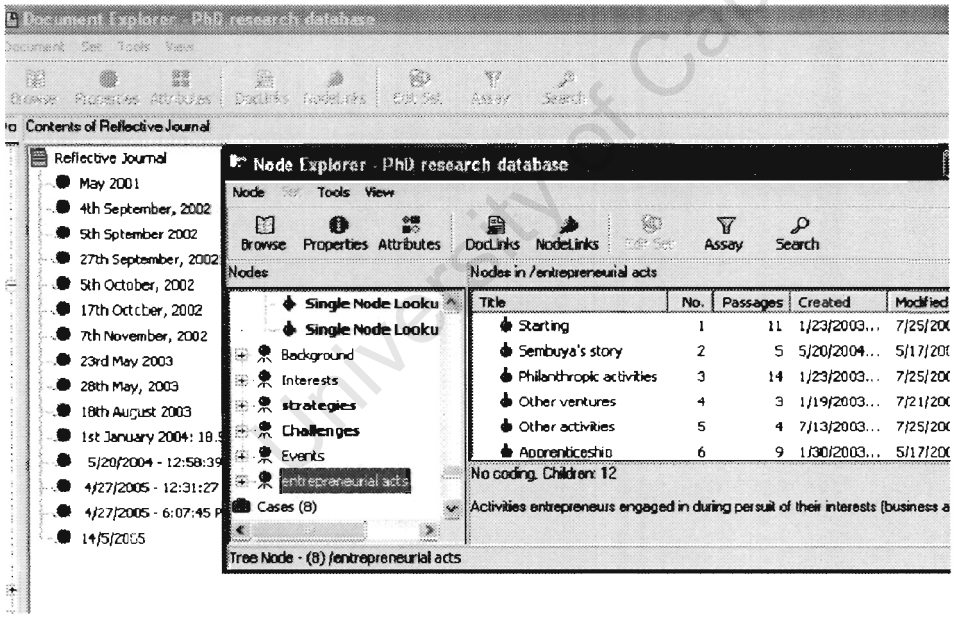

Figure 1. Research journal viewed from the document and node explorer in QSR*NVIVO.

Another advantage of using the software was the ability to code the document. Here the journal was coded for theoretical notes for further examination, ideas to discuss with the supervisor, and personal issues (see figure 1, the node explorer on the right). This coding was used to send questions directly to the thesis supervisor, and to pull out sections for the reflective section in the final thesis.

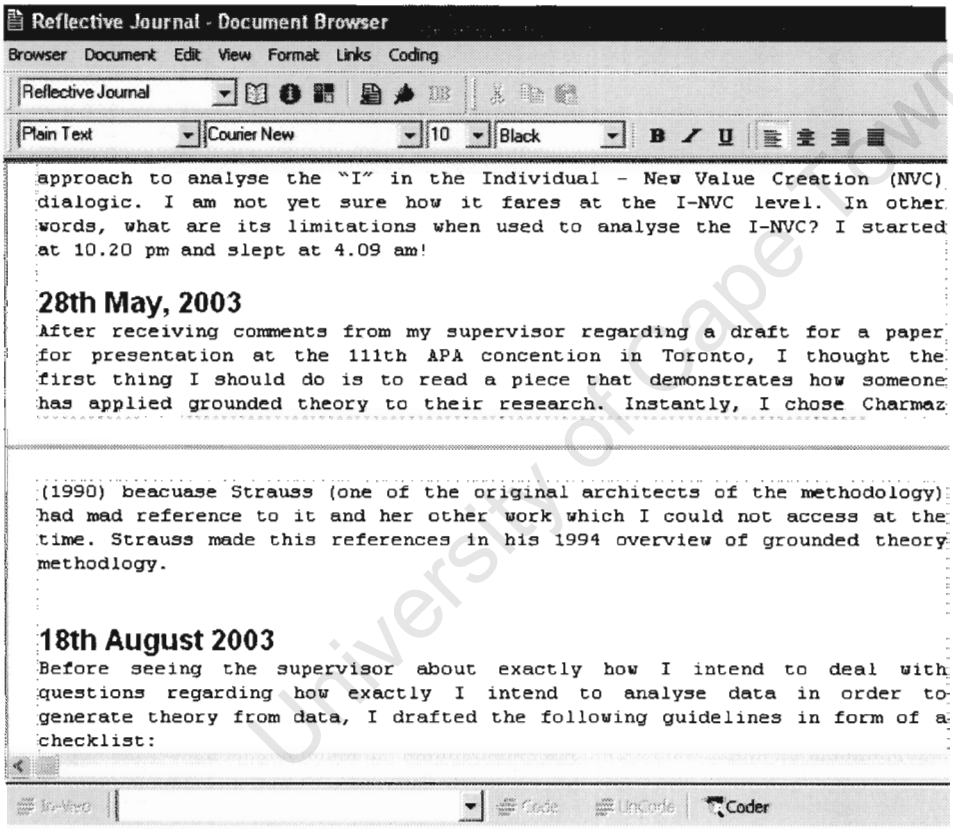

Figure 2. Personal reflections on theoretical and methodological issues.

In this study, continued reflexivity was not limited to the above methodological and theoretical issues only. According to Ahern

(1999), continued reflexivity through bracketing[11] should assist the researcher in recognizing bias during the research design, data collection, analysis, and reporting phases. A number of areas to include in bracketing have been suggested, such as identifying power, access, personal value systems, role conflicts, interests of the funding body, signs of non-neutrality, data saturation, solutions to having access blocked, and reflection on decisions about which quotes and literature to use in dissemination (Ahern, 1999; Johnson & Duberley, 2003). Figure 3, extracted from an interview with one of the female entrepreneurs, demonstrates how the researcher reflected on gendered assumptions surrounding a male researcher engaged in feminist discourses. As figure 3 shows, the DataBites facility was one of the tools used to help the researcher preserve contextual richness. In addition, the DataBites tool was useful in making links to video clips, newspaper articles, and internal annotations in order to assist in maintaining the contextual richness of the data.

[11] The purpose of bracketing is to assist the researcher in recognizing and acknowledging one's own assumption that might influence the data (Ahern, 1999).

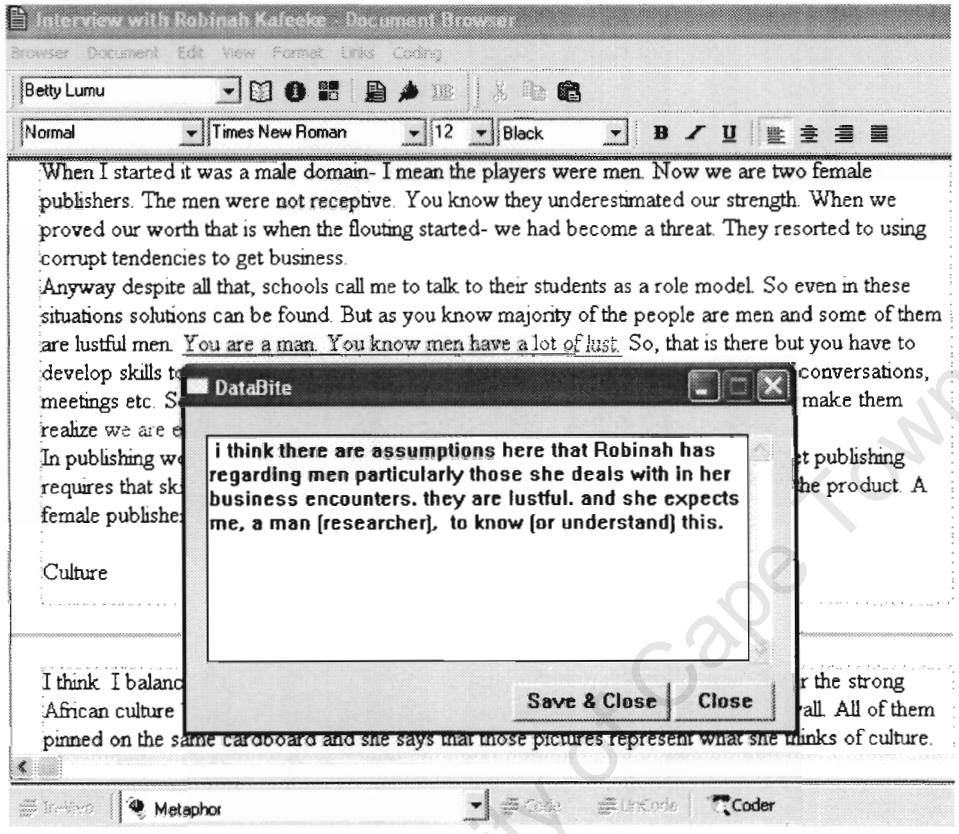

Figure 3. Reflections on gendered assumptions.

Coding

As Gibb (2002) pointed out, the use of the term coding can be confusing. One of the reasons for this is that the word coding is also used in quantitative analysis where it refers to the process of attaching a name to a passage of a text or piece of information. Whereas on the face of it a similar process is found in qualitative coding, they differ in important respects. For instance, in quantitative analysis the reason for coding is usually to measure responses or to count the number of elements in a grouping so that we can report, say, that X% of people replied in this way, whereas Y% replied in that way. Whereas such

counts may be of interest to a qualitative researcher, it is usually a peripheral part of the analysis (Gibb, 2002).

A second reason for confusion about coding is that different authors have used different words to describe a similar process. For example, the terms open and axial coding (Strauss & Cobin 1990), categories (Day, 1993) and the term theme in phenomenological analyses (King, 1998) have commonly been used to refer to this process.

The authors of the original program NUD*IST (which stands for Non-numerical Unstructured Data, Indexing, Searching, and Theorizing), a precursor to QSR*NVIVO introduced the terms index and indexing, where the latter refers to the process of categorizing passages of text in an index system (Richards & Richards, 1991, 1994). Therefore, a code and coding, in the sense of coding some text, is simply one of the functions of an index or a node (as its referred to in NVIVO), since it is also used for incorporating analytic ideas and concepts without necessarily coding texts to them. Thus, NVIVO leaves behind all the different terms by using the term node to refer to the item that includes analytic ideas or insights, and its name (along with linked documents and memos) at which selections of text may be coded (see figure 1).

A detailed account of the analysis presented in the next section (4.3.3) is found in memos attached to interview and life-story documents. As Corbin (2004) noted, writing memos stimulates thinking and allows one to interact with data in ways that foster creativity while staying grounded at the same time. In this study memos contained questions that the researcher used to interrogate the data, decisions about which narratives to focus on, and explanations about how the life-story narratives fit together in order to answer the research question. However, a caveat is in order here. Lonkila (1995) pointed out that Computer-Assisted

Qualitative Data-Analysis Software (CAQDAS) programs such as NUD*IST or Atlas/ti were designed to facilitate grounded theory analysis and, as such, they have the potential to encourage the growth of this methodology at the expense of other equally viable options. Similarly, Bringer, Johnston and Brackenridge (2004) argued that to a certain extent the programming behind CAQDAS influences manuscript preparation, coding, retrieval and the development of analysis. In this study therefore, in order to avoid simply following grounded theory analytic techniques, attention was focused on how to use the software capabilities that enable analysis of case stories as wholes, rather than their parts. This involved linking different sources of information for each case being studied through creating what Bazeley and Richards (2000) called cases shaped in nodes (see figure 4).

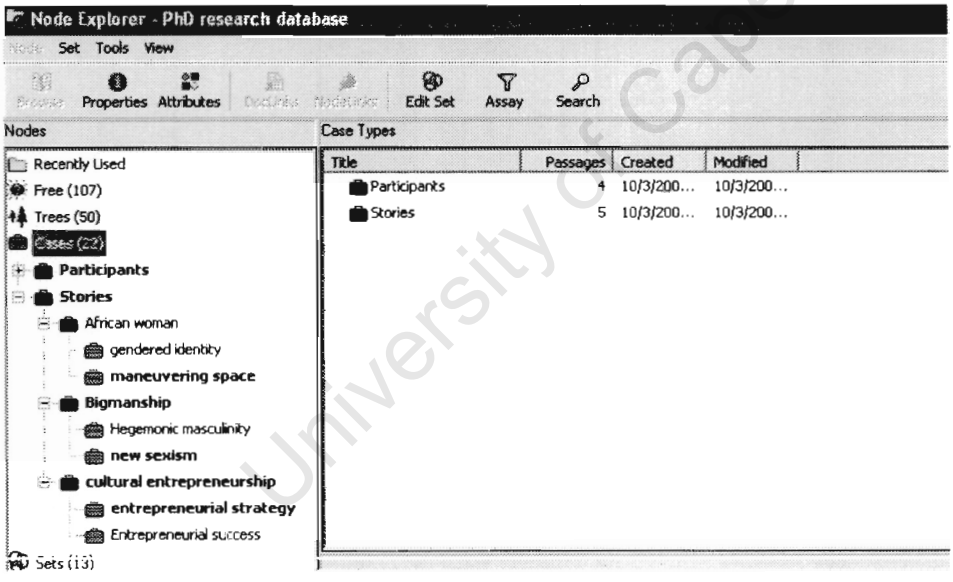

Figure 4. Cases shaped in nodes.

Identifying cases and viewing these as belonging to case types helped in gathering everything about a case and having the data organized in several different ways. Since data cases were spread throughout parts as well as whole documents, each case's data

were coded at a node where it could all be brought together. This facilitated asking questions, not only about the particular case (within-case analysis), but also about all the cases of that type (across-case analysis).

The tools described in the preceding sections above were used for synthesis and order aimed at the emergence and development of ideas from the data. In a grounded theory framework, the next step would be to explore such ideas for possible or potential relations in the categories. However, the social construction theoretical framework adopted in this study required a different way of seeing ideas from searching, coding or creating nodes enabled by NVIVO. In this respect, modelling in NVIVO offered an opportunity to sketch and think about ideas that came from interpretive reading of and reflection on the data, the literature and theory, and form them into a framework (figure 5) that eventually became the analytic model for this study, described more substantively in the next section.

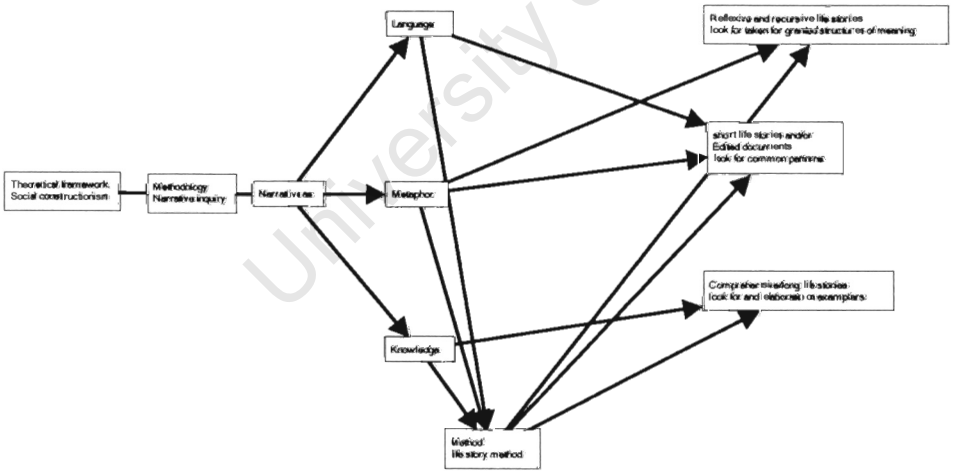

Figure 5. Overview of theoretical framework, methodology and method.

The complete project as viewed within NVIVO provided an audit trail of the work over the whole period of the thesis.

The electronic audit trail

The advantage of using the NVIVO project as an audit trail is that it allows for numerous active links, for example, from one memo to the next, or from one case narrative to a memo, or from a developing conceptual model to an original quote, etc (Bazeley & Richards 2000). The same audit trail on paper would require references to each quote, memo, category or model, and would require the researcher to find each folder physically and access each relevant piece of paper (and possible other relevant links) before being able to read the desired material. Within the NVIVO project, these links can be followed with the click of a mouse, and at a speed which, according to Bringer, Johnston and Brackenridge (2004), is much closer to that at which the brain is likely to be processing the information.

4.2.3 Analytic framework

The analysis strategy in this study consisted of three levels akin to the three approaches to narrative discussed earlier. Moreover, the interpretations at each level were seen to be valid in their own right, so that what was produced was, in fact, three progressive analyses, rather than a single cumulative analysis. In fact, these levels of analysis had a number of objectives.

First, in order to understand entrepreneurship from the perspective of the people experiencing it, the protocols of each participant were organized and interpreted autonomously. Based on narrative conventions of story telling, each participant's protocols were organized into a story structure with elements akin to those in literary genres. Citing Labov, Gibbs (2002) noted that a fully formed story has six elements: an abstract, an orientation, a complication action, an evaluation, a resolution and a coda. An abstract is a summary of the substance of the

narrative. It addresses the question: what was this about? It initiates the narrative, summarizing the point, or gives a general proposition which the narrative will exemplify. An orientation provides time, place, situation and participants of the story. It tells the reader who, what, when or how, giving the cast, setting, time period, etc. A complicating action provides the sequence of events, answering the question: then what happened? The action can involve turning points, crises or problems, and show how they were made sense of by the narrator. An evaluation answers the question: so what? It gives the significance and meaning of the action, or the attitude of the narrator. It highlights the point of the narrative. A resolution provides the outcome of events or the resolution of the problem. It answers the question: what finally happened? A coda marks the end and a return of speech to the present tense. It marks the transition to another narrative. In the current study, each participant's stories were written following the above conventions in storytelling, and this process gave rise to 11 case studies (see Appendix 1), each possessing its own autonomy and significance.

In order to reveal tacit knowledge or share participants' theories in use, as well as draw lessons from their practices, the researcher (cum analyst) had to indulge in some form of sense-making process around stories told and heard over time. This comprised the second level of analysis. Rather than doing a systematic, comparative analysis of bounded stories, the analyst created a comprehensive story of experience over time, highlighting 'extraordinary' successes or failures, or simply insights about entrepreneurship practices. The results of this level of the analysis formed the basis of the discussions presented in chapter five. As indicated earlier, interview protocols and data relating to each participant were transcribed, and these transcriptions were used to create analytic memos that highlighted the uniqueness of each entrepreneur's experiences.

Entrepreneurship stories were developed about each participant from the memos. Drawing largely from their voices, these stories tell about the forces and factors that make entrepreneurship successful (or even unsuccessful) in their context, thereby offering readers a chance to draw lessons from exemplars of entrepreneurship practices. It needs to be pointed out however that the new narrative derived from this process is not necessarily a typical case study, neither is it a historical narrative, nor a traditional ethnographic account. Instead, each is represented as an exemplar of some aspect of entrepreneurship practice, which can lend important insights into the nature of the phenomena in the study context.

In order to decipher implicit shared meanings of the participants' narratives, and possibly offer alternative interpretations of accepted views in entrepreneurship discourse, a deeper level of analysis was necessary. This meant that texts relating to each participant had to be critiqued and deconstructed, rather than taking them at face value. This also demanded a constant interplay between meanings that are abstract and concrete, general and particular, evident and hidden. This involved searching for and re-examining claims to authority that were embedded in text. It also included treating the analyst's point of view as part of the reality under scrutiny. Thus, interpretation demanded constructing bridges between the analyst as reader and the text as reality, between the text and its producers, between the historical context and the present context, and so on. In addition, various modes of narrating were re-examined in order to show how the subjectivity of the male or female entrepreneur is discursively constructed. Moreover, close attention was paid particularly to the type of 'positioning' (Davies & Harré, 1990) performed, i.e., the process by which individuals position themselves discursively and construct their identities in relational terms. A position was identified by extracting texts in which it was possible to find out how each

participant (to which the particular text referred) conceives of him/herself and of others by seeing what position he/she takes up and in what story, and how he/she is then positioned. Discussions in chapter six draw from results of this level of analysis.

4.3 Conclusions

This study used an open-ended and grounded approach to data gathering, largely drawing from the experience of entrepreneurs, rather than applying predetermined theories. In analyzing and interpreting narratives generated during this phase in the research process, three assumptions guided the researcher's methodological choices and influenced the nature of the analysis that was carried out. Drawing on narrative as language, the researcher used stories about participants' entrepreneurial experiences as the primary source for exploring entrepreneurship practices. Life-story interviews facilitated the flow of stories and storytelling. Similarly, in order to tap into the wisdom of participants' tacit knowledge - so important to the narrative as knowledge approach - the researcher's emphasis was focused on access to the insights embedded in entrepreneurs' day-to-day practices. Finally, drawing from narrative as metaphor, texts were critiqued and deconstructed, rather than taking them at face value in order to decipher implicit shared meanings of the participants' narratives of their experiences, and possibly offering alternative interpretations of accepted views in entrepreneurship discourse. Integrating elements from all these approaches, the study combined formal narrative analysis, thematic coding, and deconstruction techniques to analyze the data.

CHAPTER FIVE

ENTREPRENEURIAL STORIES AND THE DISCURSIVE FORMATION OF ENTREPRENEURIAL IDENTITY

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents results of the analysis of narratives of entrepreneurial stories by the research participants. As was indicated in the previous chapter, in analyzing the data relating to the 11 case studies of this research, it was important to generate an understanding of entrepreneurial experiences at three levels akin to the three approaches to narrative discussed in chapter four.

Case stories in the current study database fell into three main categories: bigmanship, African woman, and cultural entrepreneurship stories. These are briefly described as follows: bigmanship was a category of stories of a culturally idealized form of masculine character. Such stories came in two forms. In the first form, which was referred to as hegemonic masculinity, entrepreneurs in this category (cases 1, 3, 4, and 5) provided stories that were consistent with the idea of a male archetypical entrepreneur. In the second form were stories that provided a defensive grappling with gender issues. That is, in their accounts (cases 8 and 11), emphasis was on gender neutrality as the criterion of fairness. Collectively, stories under the bigmaniship category are the basis for the discussion of the construction of the story of an 'African entrepreneur'.

Women entrepreneurs' stories of challenges, perseverance and triumph constituted the category African woman. More specifically, African woman stories came in two forms: gendered identity and manoeuvring space stories. In the gendered identity story category there is a certain tentativeness regarding the position of men in the female entrepreneurs' business lives. This

is reflected in their (cases 9 and 10) views of the current gender order and the accommodations they have to make. Manoeuvring space stories (cases 6, 7, and 8) provide narratives of the ways in which gender is created and maintained in entrepreneurship discourse and practice. Stories under the category gendered identity provide the basis for discussions regarding the construction of the story of 'African woman entrepreneur' in this present chapter, while maneuvering space stories are substantively discussed in chapter six.

Cultural entrepreneurship stories provide narratives that tell of the meanings that entrepreneurs attach to, and the strategies for, success they adopt. Stories under this category are used in the section on stories of entrepreneurial success in this chapter.

Against that background, case materials and their discussion are presented in three main sections. The first major section is a presentation of case material that elaborates on how the symbolic image of the male is constructed in the story of an 'African entrepreneur', and how female entrepreneurs discursively position themselves in such a space. The construction of the female entrepreneur and the identity challenges resulting from this are presented in section two. The third section provides and discusses stories of entrepreneurs' experiences over time, highlighting 'extraordinary' successes or failures, or simply insights about entrepreneurship practices. However, rather than presenting case material relating to entrepreneurial experiences of all the cases in the study, the strategy used here was to elaborate on a few exemplars.

5.1 The construction of 'The story of an African (male) entrepreneur'

This sub-section presents an entrepreneurial story from one entrepreneur who pioneered writing his own story as an

entrepreneur in Uganda, but chose to call it the story of an African entrepreneur.

Case study 1: Gordon Wavamunno

"He would not remain a peddler of *matooke* [green bananas] or groundnuts like others traders" (Mugabe, 2003, p. 17).

In Uganda, Wavamunno's name has been associated with fame and wealth. His name gained an almost immortal status when in the early 1970s his then company, called Spear Touring and Safaris, secured a franchise deal to become a distributor of Mercedes Benz vehicles in the country. Although Spear Group of Companies is, so to speak, the flagship of Wavamunno's business interests, it is by no means all that there is about Wavamunno, as the following extract indicates.

Vignette 1: Mr Wavamunno is introduced before he addresses participants at an international management conference in Entebbe, Uganda

I think I should start from my right by introducing His Excellence, Mr Gordon Wavamunno. As you know, Mr Wavamunno is an honorary counsel of the great country … He represents Hungary in this country. So he is really most welcome, both as His Excellence, and as a prominent businessman. I think he needs a clap for that … Mr Wavamunno is a long-time businessman, and many of you who have been dealers know him. Many of you have known him, I think, since you were young. He is distinguished as a dealer, particularly in Mercedes Benz. I think Mercedes is really a mouthful. Gordon Wavamunno drives the latest models just to taste it [*sic*] before he passes the product to you … So he knows all the models, both here and in Europe.

Mr Wavamunno has been involved in hotel management as well, showing his diversity and versatility in business. He owned the Lake View Hotel in Mbarara, which was one of the best hotels in that region. He is the proprietor and director of Nile Bank, one of the indigenous banks in this country; he is the director and proprietor of United Assurance Company; of UGIL which is now Phenix; of GM-TUMPECO; of WBS Television; of Simba Radio; just to mention but a few. There are many others …

Mr Wavamunno is a prominent player in Uganda Manufacturers' Association and one of the powerful members. He is involved and is the director of the private sector foundation, and he has been a board member of National Insurance Company or Cooperation, Uganda Hotels; he has been an elder man of Kampala City council since 1970s, he has been a director of Uganda Hotel Licensing Board, Central Tender Board, Kyambogo Technical College, Uganda Football Association, National Council of Sports; he is the trustee of St John's Ambulance Brigade; just to mention again a few of the directorships …

> On a personal level, I have known Wavamunno for a long time and I particularly remember that when I left the Bank of Uganda, he was the first person to come to my assistance. You know, when you are working as a civil servant, and a respected civil servant, you may not accumulate sufficient funds to look after yourself after retirement. So Mr Wavamunno was the first person to lend me a hand because I didn't have a personal car then. He offered me his car which I drove for all the time I wanted until I was able to get a personal car … He also housed me because I was then living in a Bank of Uganda house because we didn't have the schemes then of building houses which they now have. So he also placed a house at my disposal for all the time I wanted. So it is really a great pleasure for me to introduce him as prominent businessman and a personal friend. He is going to address us on "The lessons of handling imports, the financial institutions and management of the economy as a whole". Your Excellence, you are most welcome.

The story of Spear Group of Companies can be traced to the history of Wavamunno's involvement in the transport business since his days in Mbarara, in Western Uganda, during the 1960s. At that time Wavamunno acquired this type of knowledge of business through the taxi-driving activities he was involved in. As he acquired more skills in business, his ambitions grew and he realized that his horizon was beyond the boundaries of Mbarara[12]. He needed to explore his potential for big business in Kampala - the city. So in 1971 he decided to relocate to Kampala - a decision he considers as a milestone in is his business career.

When he arrived in Kampala he decided to do business in a familiar territory - transport. He initially formed a partnership with two trusted friends he had known in the 1960s while he was still in Mbarara. With these friends Wavamunno operated a public transport and taxi-services business for a while before he realized that a joint partnership was merely a business of convenience. He thus decided to start his own transport business and touring agency through a company he named Spear Touring Safaris Company. Why a spear? He says it was because according to 'traditional African society', the spear symbolized protection

[12] In terms of regional distribution of businesses in Uganda, the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (2003) estimated that the Western region (in which Mbarara is the major business center) accounts for 15% of all businesses in Uganda, compared to the 60% for the Central region, in which Kampala alone accounts for 30% of all the businesses in the region.

and success. So his choice of icon was to symbolize success, especially at a time when the tourism industry was booming in the country and had great potential and opportunity, especially in Western Uganda. He said that it was also why he developed the idea of starting a tourist agency in Kampala and building a hotel in Mabarara.

With help from highly-placed government officials, he borrowed some 150,000 Uganda shillings (approximately 80 US dollars at 2005 foreign exchange rates) and established the company offices at the prestigious Uganda International Conference Centre in order to boost his business profile and to attract prestigious customers. In his autobiography he observes that this helped him make inroads in a business field that was dominated by Asians and Europeans. At around the same time he also bought a piece of land in Mbarara on what was then known as the Omugabe's [King's] lake next to Mbarara High School and St James' Cathedral of the Church of Uganda. It is on this land, strategically located on the Mbarara-Fort Portal road which is one of the busiest tourist routes in Uganda, that he constructed the present-day Lake View Hotel.

After a short period in this business, however, a number of events (of a political, social, as well as economic nature) took place in the country that would change the country's economy generally, but also change the face of Wavamunno's businesses. For instance, the tourist agency suffered a setback in the wake of the expulsion of Asians from Uganda. As the politics of the day led to the collapse of the tourism sector, this posed serious challenges for his business, and at one time he was even forced to rent out his vehicles in order to service the hire-purchase agreements which he had made. On the other hand, the expulsion of Asians, and the government's subsequent policy of nationalization of foreign-owned enterprises, left a vacuum which proved a very important opportunity for indigenous Ugandans to

become involved in business activities that had originally been under the monopoly of 'foreigners'. The policy of nationalization of foreign-owned enterprises meant that the state-owned Republic Motors would inherit D.T. Dobie's business - the then Mercedes-Benz distributors in the country. This was contrary to Daimler-Benz's principles of not allowing states to become involved in the management of their franchises in any country. Since D.T. Dobie had been nationalized, Daimler-Benz was prompted to look for another representative in Uganda.

Through his highly-placed contact in the ministry of foreign affairs, Wavamunno had an audience with the then West German ambassador in Uganda who, in addition to confirming to him that Daimler-Benz was looking for a suitable private indigenous agent to distribute its vehicles in Uganda, offered to introduce him to Daimler-Benz management in Germany. Consequently, a series of high-level negotiations (lengthy, and at times frustrating) went on, both in Germany and Uganda, and in 1975 Spear Touring Safari Company was incorporated as Spear Motors Limited as the exclusive importer of Mercedes Benz vehicles, as well as spare parts, and to provide after-sales service. As luck would have it, after signing the distributor agreement in April 1975, Uganda was about to host the OAU summit in Kampala and Spear Touring Safaris Limited was one of the companies that won the tender to lease vehicles to the Uganda government during the summit. This was a crucial boost to Wavamunno's hatchling franchise business as he acknowledged in his autobiography:

> Accordingly, I placed my first big order of 60 Mercedes Benz passenger cars for the OAU Summit. This was a windfall and the first crucial boost to my fledging franchise business.

Today Spear Motors forms an important part of Wavamunno's business portfolio. And what does he say about his achievements to date?

I like thinking big. I always have. To me it is very simple: if you are going to be thinking anyway, you might as well think big. I was born and grew up in remote and low-income Rugaaga, but even then *I dreamed of becoming successful in life and business*. When I was working for the Sadrus, I always liked Mbarara. And as I grew older, and perhaps wiser, I realized that Mbarara was great, but there was something greater. So I began to look towards Kampala because at a very early age I had a clear idea of what I wanted to do.

I was not just satisfied to earn a good living. *I wanted to make an impact on society*. When I was growing up, many other people could buy and sell a little *matooke*, fish, etc., or build mud houses. What attracted me most was the challenge of building something big such as a hotel in Mbarara town.

One of the *keys of thinking big* is total focus. I think of it almost as a controlled neurosis, which is *a quality* I have noticed *in many highly successful entrepreneurs* …

I also protect myself by being flexible. I never get too attached to one deal or one approach. For starters, I keep a lot of balls in the air, because most deals fall out, no matter how promising they seem at first. In addition, once I have made a deal, I always come up with at least half a dozen approaches to make it work, because anything can happen, even to the best laid-out plans. (Emphasis added)

A striking feature of this story is the glorifying image of the entrepreneur as some kind of modern-day hero whose independent and industrious efforts should not go unnoticed. There is evidence of images preoccupied with exciting personal qualities. In his study of Finnish entrepreneurs, Hyrsk (1999) observed that the self-esteem of males is closely intertwined with their work identity and career prospects. That is, males are what they do, hence their high commitment to work and career. The symbolism and analogies reflected in "thinking big" demonstrate this kind of commitment in narratives provided by case study 1. In fact, the

'bigman' metaphor of entrepreneurship, which case study 1 exemplifies and indeed espouses, has been commonplace in anthropology, in which the bigman has been called the very epitome of the entrepreneur (Stewart, 1990, 1991). According to Stewart (1990), a successful bigman had to achieve. That is, his status could not be conferred by other means; moreover, it was not even an 'office'. In fact, Stewart (1990) argued that bigmanship was not a position abstracted from the enactment and redefinition of expectations, but a career characterized by creating networks, rivalries and mobilizing by indebting. Once an aspirant had become a bigman, the prize was, in part - and perhaps more importantly - 'prestige', a 'name', and 'status'. They compete for prestige, not just for its own sake as prestige, but also incorporate a version of profit and the maintenance of territory. Thus, we encounter the observation "we have come to consider 'Big-man' as one manifestation of leadership in … any empirical society, occurring simultaneously with other types of power" (van Bakel, Hagesteijn, and Schroeder, 1986, cited in Stewart, 1990, p. 148). Related conclusions have been advanced (e.g., Barth, 1963, 1967) that entrepreneur and bigman should be seen not as definable things, but rather as aspects of a shifting, varied set of social roles.

The central character in Wavamunno's story is male (the 'bigman'). Culturally, the bigman story is about the normative status in which masculine concepts of control, competition, rationality, dominance, etc. (Ogbor, 2000) are celebrated, and how a man must 'think big' in order to 'make an impact on society' as his narratives suggest. Thus, as a story of an entrepreneur, it can be read as an entrepreneurship discourse told from a culture that celebrates the normative order of things (in which masculine conceptions of reality dominate).

The traditional view holding that entrepreneurship follows a pattern within a general masculine character is evident in the

above case study, as well as in stories from case studies 4, 5, and 8 (see Appendix 1). This tendency to legitimize particular ideas while neglecting alternative conceptions has been referred to as ideological legitimization by Ogbor (2000). Perhaps the best expression of this ideological legitimization of masculine conceptions of entrepreneurship is to be found in Ogbor's (2000) quote of Collins and Moore (1964, p. 620). Thus:

> The entrepreneur emerges as essentially *more masculine than feminine, more heroic than cowardly*. (Emphasis in original)

Ogbor (2000) thus concluded that entrepreneurship's ideas, as well as its discourse, have been influenced and controlled by gender-biased strategies and metaphors supporting a patriarchal conception of nature.

5.2 Constructions of 'African woman entrepreneur's story' and identity challenges

Case study 10: Tereza Mbire

After a year's hard work, I was able to stand on my own feet.

Already a head teacher by the age of 19, Tereza Nkabahita Mbire has grown from wage employment to a prize-winning entrepreneur. She is celebrated as the first Ugandan businesswoman (rather than trader) of the 1970s generation of entrepreneurs who survived the hard times of [former president] Amin's era and the post-Amin civil wars and conflicts that immediately followed in the early 1980s. She believes that watching her mother make the best out of her poor circumstances, and her tenacity is what instilled in her a sense of discipline, responsibility and work ethic.

> I also believe I inherited my serial entrepreneurship from her. Watching her eking a living by a combination of many income-generating schemes must have laid a foundation for my entrepreneurship.

After a long career as a teacher, she said she had become tired of teaching and moreover, she felt that teaching made her stagnate in the classroom. Therefore, she looked for something to change the situation. One of the options she contemplated was to do a 'full' degree or a diploma course. She applied and even attended some interviews for scholarships, but none came to fruition until a particular interview in which she was listed among the 25 people selected to study on an Israeli government scholarship in 1967.

A one-year course in Hotel Management in Israel marked the end of her long career as a teacher. She completed the course in 1968 and was awarded a junior certificate in Hotel Management and Tourism.

On her return from her course in Israel, she was appointed as assistant executive housekeeper at Apollo Hotel in Kampala. In her new position she gained more administrative and management experience, and in 1971 when Apollo Hotel was merged with Uganda Hotels, she was promoted to executive housekeeper of all four hotels under the Uganda Hotels consortium. Tereza said that the role of executive housekeeper kept her extremely busy as she had to drive to all corners of the country to train staff on the job. However, although this job came as a personal achievement from her hard work, it soon became a frustrating experience and led to a personal struggle with her responsibility as a mother. In fact, by the end of 1972 she had decided to quit the job. But fortunately (if you wish), a search for an alternative to the physically-draining paid employment (from her experience with Apollo Hotel) did not take a long time as her resignation from Uganda Hotels coincided with [former president] Amin's expulsion of Asians from Uganda.

As the executive housekeeper at Apollo Hotel, one of Tereza's roles was to order flowers for the hotel, and through this she

had met Mrs Hussein Begum who owned a flower shop along Kampala road. So when Amin decided to expel Asians, her friend Mrs Begum was looking for a way out as quickly as possible, and so she offered to sell her shop to Tereza, at a bargain price. Tereza borrowed some money from her husband and become the first African florist in Kampala. She renamed the shop Kampala Florist.

> The new shop needed some capital injected into it to prosper and I had none. I began to think that maybe I had bitten off more than I could chew. With reluctance, I turned to my husband for help. Though he had been against my idea of leaving Uganda Hotels and of buying the flower shop, he indulged me and lent me three thousand shillings. With this money in my pocket, I travelled to Kenya on an *Akamba* bus.

She went to Nairobi in the hope of meeting someone who might want to trade with her. After being accommodated by her friend in Nairobi for a while, she found two flower farmers who agreed to sell and send flowers to her on a regular basis. After that there was no turning back for Tereza as her business grew.

> After a year's hard work, I was able to stand on my own feet. The flower shop was now a viable enterprise making a profit. I repaid my husband's loan. Kampala Florist became synonymous with fresh beautiful flowers. For a long period of time it was virtually the only flower shop in the whole country.

Although the flowers eventually 'withered' by 1985 as the civil war had devastated the economy by that time, it was through this business that she learnt bidding, negotiating and closing in business. Some of these skills were to be put to the test when, through a Japanese friend then heading Uganda Garment Industries Limited (a subsidiary of Yamato of Osaka, Japan), she was introduced to the president of the company in Japan. The negotiations with Yamato International of Japan resulted in her importing over a hundred sewing machines and other equipment for

a tailoring plant. She registered this business under a company name of Pop In Industries (U) Limited whose primary focus was to mass-produce ladies' and children's garments. At that time there was only one garment manufacturing plant in the country - the Uganda Garment Industries Limited (UGIL). She remembers those times passionately as the profits were quite handsome and she was able to realize a good income. But this was to be short-lived as her businesses went up in smoke in the melee of looting during the aftermath of the 1979 war.

However, as a woman who fights back, she was determined to continue with business and over the years she put up a bakery (Home Pride Bakery) and, more recently, went into furnishing and interior designing with Habitat Interiors and BasiX as the trade marks of her current businesses. The climax of her career, she said, came when the Star Group of California selected her, among others, as the best businesswoman of the year 1999.

> This recognition was truly a [*sic*] pinnacle of my career and I will treasure the time I spent in Monaco [for the award ceremony] as long as I live. I was elated to realize that somebody out there had appreciated my indomitable spirit.

A closer analysis of stories from female entrepreneurs in this study suggests that although their world is male-dominated, there is a strong consciousness of change. For instance, whereas female entrepreneurs' conception of masculinity are still related to power[13] just as is the case in the exemplar case study 1 story provided above, changes from older 'bourgeois masculinity' conceptions (Connell, 1995) can also be detected. For instance, in Tereza's story there is a conscious endorsement of gender equity and a significant distance from the power-oriented form of masculinities prevalent in the 'bigman' story presented earlier. However, the provisionality that is in nuances as much as in

[13] Connell (1995) referred to this form of power based masculinity as bourgeois masculinity.

direct statements concerning the position of men in the female entrepreneurs' business lives, suggests that there is a certain tentativeness in their view of the current gender order in their context, and in the accommodations they have had to make to that effect. For instance, when asked about the role of her husband in any aspect of her business, Tereza replied that,

> He was not involved apart from giving me the freedom to do what I wanted and the support with the family like when I would travel abroad for business. He was a gentleman and very understanding. He never stood in my way.

Another observation about this category of stories that needs to be mentioned is the apparent gender neutrality in the texts of case studies 2, 9, and 11. For instance case study 9 stated thus,

> My husband is very supportive of my business and he is the one who gave me the start-up capital. I feel very guilty about not spending enough time with my family when I have to work long hours … I believe that I would still have started a school without my husband as I have had the vision since I was 18 years old.

Riley (2001) sees the above gender neutrality as a 'new sexism', i.e., a form of discourse which substantially facilitates patriarchy while apparently endorsing gender equality. This also has something to do with these entrepreneurs' view of their own identity as 'women entrepreneurs' in a domain defined by features akin to maleness.

5.2.1 Female entrepreneurs' identity challenges

The previous sections have provided evidence regarding how in telling stories of their entrepreneurial experiences, stereotypically masculine images and meanings are evoked. In this section an attempt is made to show how in such a representation of their experiences, identity challenges for female entrepreneurs were discursively evoked. Informed by the

assumption that individuals derive meaning for their identities from the social meanings available to them (Simpson, 1993), the issue of how female entrepreneurs locate themselves *vis-à-vis* meanings in association with the concept of 'masculinity' is explored here. Although the intertwined practices of 'doing' gender in entrepreneurship and doing entrepreneurship in gendered ways are discussed in much more detail in chapter six, and examples regarding masculinity images in the narratives of the life-stories of some of the entrepreneurs have been given, only one example will be used here for illustrating the point being made.

In the example used here, an 'ideological dilemma' (Stanley & Billig, 2004) is obtained from narratives of case study 8 (the publishing manager of CMS Publishers), which concerns conflicting narratives on masculinity. According to Stanley and Billig (2004, p. 160) common sense contains contrary ideological values, and when people bring commonsense (everyday) explanations into argumentative conflict with each other, this constitutes what is termed as 'ideological dilemmas'. In narrating the story of how the idea of CMS Publishers came about, Betty [case 8] explained how the idea was a 'brain child' of her co-founder, the director, and apparently a 'brainy' lawyer. Emphasis on her association with intelligent people was found in her narratives of the groups she belongs to. Moreover, a close analysis of the interview text about this case shows also that she is uncomfortable (understandably, though) with the idea that in her line of business it is still a man's world.

> This one I will be firm with you, in this corrupt world we are in, you find that sometimes it hinders progress because there are certain expectations that you cannot meet. Expectations like somebody wants to … you know, to like to take a bribe, or whatever, and then it is like they are not out to be able to tell you that. And they can't come out to

> say that we did this because you are a woman. And sometimes they do expect us to go out in the market and … probably it looks more of … like a man's world when it comes to that kind of thing. It is like we women … women are supposed to be seated somewhere and selling, but when it comes to marketing you have to move. You have to get out to the field … so that is one of the things. And then it is always like … like a very competitive world. It feels that … you feel kind of male chauvinism is still there.

The point made by the narratives of the above case study is that in narrating experience she is also 'doing' gender in that her narrative practice is used to preserve a masculine image of an entrepreneur. Giving almost total credit to the male director for the idea of establishing the company subtly serves this purpose because, after all, it is 'a man's world'. In any case, in a competitive situation in which CMS Publishers operates, Betty's narrative suggest that it demands people with 'brains' to come up with ideas; it is not surprising that she joined a group called 'Freshman Limited' (who are mostly men) to tap their ideas. In this sense she promotes the ideal representation of masculinity in the entrepreneurship discourse as an ability involving tacit 'knowing how' (Bruni, Gheradi & Poggio, 2004). After all, in a setting connoted as male territory (both case studies 6 and 8 - and being the only female publishers in the industry - have made reference to this situation), the presence of a woman and her self-confinement within the bounds of the 'female' (being the manager and not the director) attests to the authenticity of the process. Therefore, when she says it is still a male world, she is also respecting that gender order.

5.2.2 The Social construction of 'man' and 'woman' in Uganda

An interpretation of Betty's explanations above, which to some extent is also manifest in this study's other female entrepreneurs' struggle to rescue a sense of autonomy, while

narratively positioning themselves complementarily to men can be taken from Kalu's (1996) suggestions regarding how to use African traditional thought in order to analyze African women's understanding of duality of existence. In feminist discourse, gender duality is used as a backdrop against which the construction of gender ideologies in the particular contexts are analyzed (Overa, 2003). Thus, concepts such as positioning and gender as performance are useful in understanding the different articulations of gender relations in different places, and thus show how manoeuvring spaces are constructed for differently positioned individuals. Consistent with Third World feminism critical of the construction of Third World women by Western feminists, Kalu (1996) suggested that such a dual gender model is useful in the analysis of changes in the social construction of gender in Africa. After all, the model recognizes women's activism and the gender symmetry in pre-colonial times, but which deteriorated under colonialism. Kalu (1996) argued that most pre-colonial African societies functioned efficiently because the people thought through most of the issues and problems of their existence and were prepared by traditional wisdom to take charge of their world. According to Kalu's (1996) argument, most African myths and legends place woman at the centre of, or at least as essential for, the existence of things: Within Igbo ways of knowing the world, the earth, *Ala* (*ana* or *ali*), is female" (p. 283).

Kalu (1996) thus argues that this way of knowing which is dependent on a discursive formation that insists on the harmonizing principle inherent in existence, asserts that the female exists not as a complement to the male, but as a complementary opposite of the male. Initially articulated in written and contemporary African literature by Chinua Achebe (1959 as cited in Kalu, 1996) she argued that it presents itself as: "*Whenever Something Stands, Something Else Will Stand Beside it*" (p. 283). [emphasis in original].

Analyzing and interpreting female entrepreneurs' stories in the study as a duality discourse here makes sense since the stories described in chapters five and six were characteristic of such a view of the world in terms of gender complementarity (not necessarily implying equality). Thus, although some of the narratives in their life-stories presented their womanhood within discourses of marginalization, the aim here is to emphasize an 'African' woman's complementary positioning framed within pre-colonial African discursive formation and its meaning for the present as Kalu (1996) attempted to. This is also inspired by what the elderly men and women told Tadria (1987) in her study among peasant farmers in Seguku and Ndejje in Uganda. According to Tadria's respondents, in the past, women's worth was measured more by their productive capacities. Hence, according to Tadria (1987, p. 86), when a young man was looking for a wife to marry, he would ask of the woman recommended, "*wansi awunyawo*? - [Does she know about gardening?]". An exploration of the meaning of this enunciated field of 'Ganda [14] discourse' (Ssetuba, 2002) reveals that to the Ganda man, the woman is a complementary opposite- assuming not chronology or rank, but complementary positioning. This assumption is important, especially when one notes that within the Western, and especially the Judeo-Christian tradition (the tradition most of contemporary Africa inherits through the colonialist discourse, especially in the sociopolitical mode (Kalu, 1996)), the woman loses her place within African definitions of order, existence, and experience. Moreover, such a strategy makes sense given the way in which contemporary social transformation has impacted on the gender order globally (Connell, 1987, 1993, 2002). Thus, complementary positioning as a system of thought that maintains a sense of continuity and order when both production systems and gender

[14] Ganda is one of the dominant tribal groupings in Uganda.

roles change (Kalu, 1996) is a useful philosophical tool with which to explicate on the 'African' discursive formation.

5.3 Entrepreneurial success

In order to reveal or share participants' theories in use, and possibly draw some lessons from their practices, the analyst had to indulge in some form of sense-making process around their stories of success (however defined) or even failure in their entrepreneurial endeavours. It has been acknowledged that it is not easy to define success in business venturing (Kantor, 2002). Moreover, given the dynamic nature of the venturing process, success is not a stable state, but rather a moving reality as the extract below suggests:

> When the business is started you always want to go deep, far away, looking at people who have already been successful. Success is not today or tomorrow. Success is a long-term thing [Case 4].

On examining the meanings that these entrepreneurs attach to success, it increasingly became apparent that success in the entrepreneurial process will be defined in terms of generating an effective firm in the long term. Perhaps an extended extract below from the foreword to Tereza Mbire's (case study 10) autobiography will explain this point further.

> Success comes veiled in different forms, and there are many routes to it. Some people succeed through reading and attaining great heights in academia. Others use their manual skills to till the land and harvest abundantly. Yet others rely on their artistic and creative abilities to achieve their dreams. Unfortunately, many of us do not recognize success even if we are hit hard on the head by it. We tend to measure our success by only using the financial scale. There are many successful people around, many in very humble circumstances but happy. It is these people that we should

> try to emulate because success is nothing but a fulfilled heart. (Mbire, 2004; p. x).

An important point about Tereza's view of success, a view also shared by cases 2, 6 and 7, is that concentrating only on economic outcomes to evaluate success is not sufficient, especially in contexts where there are significant disparities in entitlements to income and abilities to convert access to income into economic power. Thus, as Kantor (2002) observed, a narrow definition of success focused on economic outcomes misses the influences of power relations on opportunities for success, and thus offers only a partial understanding of what the concept of success should include for entrepreneurs in contexts framed by constraints on economic opportunities.

Moreover, as noted in the actor-oriented interface model discussed in chapter three, it is assumed that understanding entrepreneurial processes is not gained by, as it were, abstracting the individual from their social environment. Rather, such a model emphasizes the extent to which entrepreneurial behaviours are socially constructed, highly flexible and context-dependent. That is, it is conceptualized as a component of ongoing interactions. Perhaps an example of this is to be found in Robinah Kafeeke's (case 6) efforts to deal with culturally-embedded structural constraints.

Case study 6 - Finding a vaccine for a business virus?

Robinah, the managing director of RORASH Educational Publishers, who views obstacles she has found in her line of business as a virus, believes that her kind of work is very fulfilling because "you are impacting on several generations to come". But, "it would be even more interesting, if a vaccine for the virus was found," she says.

> When I started it was a male domain - I mean, the players were men. Now we are two female publishers. The men were not receptive. You know they underestimated our strength. When we proved our worth, that is when the flouting started - we had become a threat. They resorted to using corrupt tendencies to get business.
>
> So competition increased. There were many players and competition was stiff. So only two of our courses were included because the tender rules were flouted. I reported this [the flouting] to the IGG [Inspector General of Government] but nothing fruitful came from there. I went to courts of law and we are still struggling there. You know we are trying to package education and you know this is the foundation for the country. Our education sector has been attacked by a virus called corruption and this is a big problem because I am a player and a stakeholder … But nonetheless, I used my marketing skills.

Meanwhile, liberalization was imminent, and at that time districts were being given funds.

> I went for the districts. Even at the district, the first thing they asked me was … would be "is the book … the books you are bringing to us recommended by the ministry of education? Where is their recommendation letter?" And I would tell them, "my recommendation letter is this book which I am trying to sell to you. If you can give me a few minutes then you will gauge it in comparison with what was recommended by government. I am sure at the end of it all you are going to buy my books." And that worked very well. It was tedious because in some cases districts would be anxious to buy, but payments would be delayed a great deal. I would have to make several trips back to the districts to follow up on the payments.

Robinah is among the most innovative of entrepreneurs with a capacity to turn small amounts into large rewards. This, together with her vision of self-reliance for the community she serves, made her think of ways to improve primary and secondary schools through her business activities. "We look at education as a social service. And closely connect to the education system," she says. "Lessons under trees; when it rains the notes are washed away. Yet these are the people we are targeting to buy our books. This is why we have made this contribution".

What is her solution to this?

> We launched a trust fund [RORASH-Heinemann Educational Fund] in 1998 to help the community. The major contributor is Heinemann. The idea was mine, while the funding was Heinemann. I convinced them it was a good marketing tool … After registering successful sales, we embarked on giving a portion of our profits back to the community.

Through this fund, RORASH has sponsored seminars whereby teachers go into the field to teach their colleagues how to use the science and social science textbooks. "This is done from the grassroots," she observes. "Initially, the project was hard to start because the beneficiaries expected to get cash directly," Robinah observed. However, her idea is, "We would like to leave solid assistance on the ground. Construction is the way forward because these buildings will accommodate several citizens of the country."

Through this fund RORASH built latrines for schools, laboratories, pit latrines, as well as classroom blocks. As would be expected, applications from schools come in at least once a week. "The demand is overwhelming," she observes. The RORASH Education Fund started with 37 million shillings and funded nine schools. "This year the fund has at least over 25 million

shillings which will be used to continue with the existing projects. More money is expected", she adds.

For close supervision the project started with areas nearby, although this eventually changed and the project also started in her home area Kabarole. "We will build a library for Kahinju Secondary School [her former school]," she says. In addition, Nakatovu Primary School, which was established by Eseza Nanyonga, an elderly woman who championed adult literacy in the area, benefited from the RORASH Education Fund. According to Robinah, the company recorded sales of over 250 books per annum at the start. With the increased awareness and visibility of the company in the community, the numbers increased over the years and now the company receives orders of over 4000 books per annum.

Robinah's wealth of relevant experience made her a credible risk for a multi-national corporation and, in turn, she realized her dream of publishing, rather than importing books for Ugandan schools. As would be expected of a multi-national bent on publishing for a bigger market, Heinemann's approach was to sell any of the already published works from either South Africa or the Caribbean for quick adaptation. However, this was a proposal that Robinah did not like. "Because I really wanted to develop materials specifically for this market. I wanted these to be my contributions to the country".

How did she circumvent this?

> Meanwhile, the development of the new curriculum was on the door step. So there was every need to develop material for the Ugandan market. So when I insisted on my proposal, they eventually agreed and we started. Our first course was primary social sciences; followed by primary science; primary English and we also made an atlas.

Robinah's business experiences that she describes in terms of a virus reveal some of the cultural tensions experienced by

"outsiders" in this line of business. However, when she looks back, she says: "Anyway, despite all that, schools call me to talk to their students as a role model. So even in these situations solutions can be found".

It could be argued here that in her business (mainly social) encounters, Robinah may have experienced tension between two needs. First, the need to go on with her business following pre-established conceptualizations and behavioural patterns expected of an entrepreneur who is also law-abiding. Therefore, when the 'virus' attacked her, the normal thing to do was to seek a vaccine from legitimate institutions, such as the IGG and the courts of law. However, as it turned out, such routinized behaviour and cognition did not help her much to deal with the virus. The second need was to contextualize the male colleagues' behaviour and cognition to fit with the immediate situational demands and interaction goals. In this need, business was a goal to achieve, but it was entangled in a culture of corruption that was difficult to shake off. Here, however, she was able to negotiate the situational demands of the context that led to the community projects discussed above.

Similarly, other entrepreneurs recognize the inadequacy in economic outcome measures of success, and instead view success as the outcome of a collective action process (cases 3, 4 and 9). For instance, the extract below about case study 3 from the East African Newspaper captures this sense of a collective action process.

Vignette 2: Respectful Survivor: An industrialist who listens to people 'carefully'

For a man of his responsibilities and status, he is unbelievably down-to-earth. Unlike most Ugandan executives who believe they must constantly stay in touch, James Mulwana does not even carry a cellular phone.

"Treat people with respect because they have their own values. Listen to them carefully because their ideas will contribute to your success," he says of the vision that was his guiding light as he navigated his way from a simple trader to a leading industrialist.

Today, he is the honorary consul of the Royal Kingdom of Thailand

in Uganda, chairman of the East African Business Council, Private Sector Foundation, and a board member of a handful of respected business firms, including the chair of the Standard Chartered Bank in Uganda.

Born in July 1936, Dr Mulwana was chairman of Uganda Manufacturers' Association for 13 years until his voluntary retirement earlier this month …

Yet for all his success, Mulwana remains modest about his own achievements, preferring instead to give the credit to team effort. "I believe that my success is the result of the contribution of many people. Regardless of their status, interacting with them has been an enriching experience."

Source: Wakabi (2000) in the East African Company Survey, November 27 - December 3.

While several life-story narratives of some of the entrepreneurs attributed success to their individual efforts, when one studies the stories of these individuals carefully, one discovers many other people behind the scenes playing a decisive part in the process. This was especially so with case studies 1, 2, 6, 7, and 11. Although not 'visible' in the entrepreneurial 'success' stories, the consequences of their actions are apparent to external observers. However, it needs to be noted that entrepreneurs still matter in these explanations. As Bouchikhi (1993) observed, it is not everybody who can engage in the risky process of business venturing and attract the right people to work together in an effective collective system that survives all kinds of contradictory forces. The experiences of Christopher Sembuya (case study 2), presented below, provide an example of this.

Case study 2 - I think we are still learning

Christopher Sembuya's story is a relational one in which he constantly refers to others, what he did with people, and what people did to him.

> I came from a poor background, unlike you people these days. Those days our parents used to challenge us that we are educated and working in government, but they [parents] are better off and beating us. So it was like you are working in government, but we had to leave working in government

sometime and start our own business. So the sooner you left it, the better. Their philosophy was that you had to leave working in government sooner.

When did this decision come about?

We had a drive. As I told you … from our parents. And being young, we had energy, you know. The opportunity was created by government through its economic war that it had declared at the time. This created a vacuum, and those people who were in a position to take up these challenges, they took up the opportunities. This was really the time when Africans got a chance … We linked up with my bother Mr Buule. We purchased the land here, built a warehouse and formed this company [Sembule - an acronym derived from both their names] and other sister companies like Allied Bank, Pan World Insurance and like. Then we moved on.

When Amin expelled Asians, who at the time were dominating the business sector of the economy, the two young brothers smiled at the opportunity that this infamous economic climate brought for them.

So that is how we started moving. At that time, that is when we started getting exposed. You could go outside and then you see how, for instance, this telephone is made. That is when we found out that these things could be done. That is when we also started producing these things, the TVs, the radios, etc.

However, unlike the previous case discussed above, Christopher's prior employment with government had not prepared him for the challenges that came with the new business opportunities.

So we moved on but we also realized we needed trained personnel. People who could come and help us. Perhaps the mistake we made at that time was with the personnel. These were Ugandans in inverted commas. I say in inverted commas

> because I think we [Ugandans] are yet to grow. Our personnel are yet to grow because when someone is given a job they can't say that at least when I leave the company it should be as I found it or better. Instead, as they work here, they also start something similar on the side. So there is this problem. If you look at the economic history of this country, you will find this. Throughout the 1940s, 60s and 70s there were a lot of African businesses, but there were a lot of these failures. I think we are still learning.

So, like the previous case discussed, is this another case of another form of virus in this sector? Sembuya encountered another form of corruption he described in the following narrative extract.

> There is also a new trend, and I may be wrong here, but nowadays you find that, for instance, in Spear Motors … and this one I am using as an example. I don't want it to be associated with Spear Motors or anything. But what I am saying is that you find that there is a *muzungu* [white person] in every section. In every section, they have put a *muzungu*. Because people, when you give them a job you find that they are qualified and so on and so forth … *KUMBE* [yet], as the Swahili say, people want to snatch something. There is that traditional element when people say, "you are working in Spear Motors and you are not building for yourself a house!" I think because of this, there is mainly today most of the businesses you find they are family businesses.

Moreover, he also had to cope with the early death of his brother and co-founder, Mr Buule.

> I don't know you people call it division of labour. When he was around we had that division of labour. I was mainly in public relations and with my training … I was more in making sure that people come and buy. And my brother was on the technical side. Now you have to attend to all this. You come

here and they are waiting for you and you have to answer all of them and of course age now … So adjusting was something difficult.

And he said that this was mainly because

In the earlier years there was no congestion. But now you have the challenge. How do we keep the units together? Again, this where they say that the Africans cannot sustain family businesses beyond when the founder is no longer there. You see when you look at the Indian businesses; they are all run by family members. But for us there is that fear. Will there be continuity after I have gone? Of course we would like to see it continue for, like, another 30 years or so, but there is that fear, the trust. Is there continuity?

Although Christopher is clearly optimistic about his plans to deal with this problem, he maintains a significant level of scepticism about the capacity of 'African' businesses to grapple with this issue.

By focusing on steel products, we may still be major players. And now we have a young person coming in. He is 28 years old. He is my son. He is completing … he is like you … he is completing his Ph.D. in electronics in the United States. So, if he can come and put his knowledge here … with all due respect to you, people study and when they reach that level, they don't find interest in these things and they don't think that these are things in which they should devote their time. This is unlike in India where you find that in all these businesses, the people go and study but when they come back, they put their knowledge into the family businesses.

I have my brother, he once said that for his three sons, that two of them he will send to school up to A levels and subsequently to university, but that for the third, he will send to school up to O levels only, so that the son can join him in his businesses. That's because when they go to

university, they don't find it interesting to work in the family businesses. The two sons are now prominent lawyers in Kampala. He is my brother. He is called Wasswa - I don't know if you have heard of KIWA industries. He is the owner. But what I am saying is that there is lack of a tradition of putting knowledge in our companies.

Lastly, another factor which Bouchikhi (1993) observed that also appeared to be present in the life-stories of these entrepreneurs was chance as a factor of success. In the two exemplar case studies that follow, one can read about how an entrepreneur may meet unexpectedly with an individual who will then contribute in a substantial way to the subsequent success of the business (cases 3, 6, and 7 also exemplify this).

What one notices from the examples provided in this section is that an examination of the meanings that entrepreneurs attach to success suggests that concentrating only on economic outcomes to evaluate success is not sufficient, especially in contexts where there are significant disparities in entitlements to income and abilities to convert access to income into economic power. Is there indeed a prototypical profile that typifies the "Ugandan entrepreneur"? Examples and analyses of materials presented in this chapter do not lend support to this proposition. As was discussed, the precursors to tangible business outcomes were a mixture of a number of actors, action processes and events, as well as chance.

5.4 Conclusions

In this chapter an effort has been made to analyse the processes of 'doing' entrepreneurship through a focus on the life-story narratives of entrepreneurs themselves. It is the case from the discussions in this chapter that, like other cultural artefacts, entrepreneurial stories provide both explanations of, and rationales for entrepreneurial activity.

The exemplar cases provided in this chapter suggest that because of the manner in which women and men perform economic activities and their choice of business, women and men position themselves in ways that help them negotiate realities in their social and business encounters at the interface.

CHAPTER SIX

GENDER AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP: MANOEUVRING ECONOMIC 'SPACE'[15], FOR FEMALE ENTREPRENEURS IN UGANDA

6.0 Introduction

It has been suggested that entrepreneurship, like the rest of social life, is a collaborative social achievement (Downing, 2005) in which the interactions of entrepreneurs and their stakeholders sustain and transform the nature of entrepreneurship (Bruni, Gherardi & Poggio, 2004). Yet, as Ogbor (2000) pointed out, in analysing the potential effectiveness of women-owned businesses, the academic literature conveniently neglects the influence of gender roles and the part they play in sustaining traditional dichotomies, oppositions, and dualities between males and females. Thus, according to Ogbor (2000), female participation in entrepreneurship is reasoned to be the direct contrast of entrepreneurial norms as a result of gender qualities such as male achievement versus female subjugation, male dominance versus female submissiveness, etc., where the methodological tools used for the analysis of female participation in entrepreneurship are centred on mechanisms through which women's experiences can be assimilated into what is considered appropriate entrepreneurial behaviour. More recently, however, social constructionist thought (Gergen, 1999, 2004) and its view of gender as a social product (Kalu, 1996) has inspired researchers to use the 'doing gender' perspective (West & Zimmerman, 1987; Gherardi, 1994), particularly in connecting masculinity conceptions to changes in working practices (Connell, 1995).

[15] In line with the objective of making an actor-oriented type of analysis of entrepreneurial activities in Uganda, the concept of space used here is based on Daly's (1991) social constructionist understanding of economic space as no longer presenting itself as a fixed totality constructed independently of its articulations with other social practices.

Against that background therefore, this chapter focuses on how gender gets done and 'undone' (Butler, 2004) in entrepreneurial processes, and with what consequences. That is, focus is on exploring how entrepreneurial acts are constantly redefined and negotiated in the everyday practices of entrepreneurs, and even how the concept of gender itself may become 'undone' (Butler, 2004) in the process. Thus, this chapter uses experiences of entrepreneurs in the study to analyze the ways in which gender is created and maintained in entrepreneurship practice. This is done in two main sections. The first section analyses how entrepreneurs 'do and say gender' (Gherardi, 1994), while the second section examines how contemporary changes in social structure are linked to changes in gender order, and how these are reflected in entrepreneurial practices.

6.1 Doing and saying gender in entrepreneurship

The aim of this section is to offer an analysis of entrepreneurship as a gendered practice, and gender itself as an entrepreneurial practice (Bruni, Gherardi & Poggio, 2004), in other words, keeping with the idea that gender is corroborated not only in entrepreneurial dynamics, but also in the artefacts that these dynamics produce, and in the interpretations that their producers give to them (Acker, 1990; Gherardi, 1994, 1995).

6.1.1 Gender and entrepreneurship as doing

Two cases are presented here to provide insights into how 'doing gender' and 'doing business' were two mutually influential activities in the practical experiences of these entrepreneurs. The first is derived from narratives of the life-story of case study 1, written in his autobiography titled *Gordon B. Wavamunno: The story of an African entrepreneur*. The second example comes from narratives of case study 8 regarding her story as the publishing manager of CMS Publishers.

Gordon B. Wavamunno and 'The story of an African entrepreneur'

In this autobiography, Wavamunno devoted a chapter to issues relating to his marriage and business relationship with his wife Morine. He described in detail his admirations for her and how, apart from being a 'dutiful housewife', Morine is his principal partner in life and business. Of her position in the domestic arena, Wavamuno says:

> To my great relief, after our marriage, she assumed all the domestic responsibilities with selfless devotion and boundless energy. Throughout our marriage, she has been the chief manager of our family affairs … As a result of her excellent home management I have always looked forward to going home for relaxation in the midst of my family at the end of a long working day (p. 102).

The narrative highlights the crucial importance of the wife's support (i.e., a 'female' role) in terms of being a source of strength, comfort and happiness. In fact, the importance of conjugal collaboration is constantly emphasized.

> Morine has been a sounding board for my ideas and plans, and she usually gives me sound advice about my business and private life … the fact that Morine has been an efficient organizer of my private life has enabled me to concentrate on my business career without diverting attention to domestic chores (p. 103).

The weight of her domestic responsibilities is recognized but taken for granted. Instead, the narrator immediately brings in the idea of Morine's business skills:

> But Morine is much more than a dutiful housewife with a pretty face. She is an independent business woman with a wide range of interests and ideas. She is my principal partner in life and in business. Though she patiently listens to other people and respects their opinions, she can hold her ground

> if and when necessary. She usually articulates her arguments in a cool-headed and persuasive manner without offending the pride or sensibilities of other people. It is, therefore, hardly surprising that more often than not her arguments carry the day, whether in family or boardroom discussions. Even before I married her, I had sensed that under the mask of a secretary, Morine was a woman with sharp business instincts and acumen. She was interested in my business and she, too, believed in making money (p. 103).

Those remarks prompt suspicion in the sense that female action is not devalued as such, but is praised because maleness has some sort of 'honour' to protect, and as Bruni *et al*. (2004) observed, lest it loses its acquired privileges. That is to say, if in that story, Wavamunno was paying honour to his 'life and business partner', then in practice the decisions he (they?) later took to 'develop her business career' (chapter seven in his autobiography) was a form of paying homage to a woman who had proved her business instincts. For instance, he says that after working with the National Insurance Company as secretary to the company director, they [supposedly both Wavamunno and his wife] realized that she was not making money and she needed to develop her business career. They incorporated Morine Designers Limited and ventured into a tailoring business which did well until the time of the liberation war[16] when its property was 'liberated'. They tried to revive it after the war but it suffered a similar loss in 1985, and that is when they decided to pull out of this business. In addition to Morine Designers, they incorporated another company MO-WA Agencies to import textiles and other merchandise such as blankets, bed-covers and bed-sheets. Even this business suffered war-related losses and was eventually closed. He finally says that since his wife left Morine Designers, she has subsequently been directly responsible for the

[16] This was the war that was waged by exiled opposition groups with the help of the Tanzanian Peoples Defence Forces against [former president] Amin's military regime in Uganda in 1979.

management of Spear House, Nakwero Mixed Farm and their other properties in town (Kampala).

The case of Morine's businesses exemplifies those situations in which, as Bruni *et al.* (2004, p. 11) suggested, "an entire business is devoted to conveying a certain image reflecting how traditional values pay homage to gender". To further expound on this point, the vignette below, extracted from Wavamunno's autobiography (pp. 35-36), shows how tradition may be used to assign fields of action to the male and female genders.

Vignette 3: Socialization of children into ascribed gender roles

> In the African traditional education system, children learned by living and doing. The homestead was the first school. In the homes, and on the farms, *the children learned skills which would enable them to play their full roles as adults*. They learned by direct observation and imitation. *Through these practical methods, the boys learned, for example, how to distinguish useful grasses from dangerous weeds, how to stalk game, and how to herd cattle, goats and sheep. On their part, the girls learned the special skills related to their future gender roles in society such as recognizing the different types of bananas, potatoes, the preparation of meals and caring for babies.*
> From fireside stories in which the hare outwits the elephant and the tortoise wins against the hare, the children learned that wisdom is more powerful than physical strength and that humility is more to be prized than mere ostentatiousness. These values and practical skills were taught informally and intuitively since our pre-colonial ancestors did not have formal educational institutions beyond the home.
> Colonial education was very different from the practical-oriented traditional education which had been developed and refined for centuries by our forefathers …

Emphasis added

As Bruni et al. (2004) noted, while tradition helps to preserve the implicit asymmetry between the two categories (female and male), it is also the process which legitimates the female and gives visibility to it within a world where the standard reference is constituted by the male. In this respect, Morine's businesses of tailoring and bedroom and kitchen designs (which arguably relate to a 'female space' in Uganda as narratives from

Case study 10 in the last chapter indicate) map out the intimate linkages between product, market sector and entrepreneurial activity. That is, they demonstrate the traditional asymmetry between males' and females' space in the 'economic space' (Daly, 1991) in which gendered conceptions are normative. As the vignette above suggests, females are consequently expected to take on roles consistent with traditional expectations. Thus, this represents a case in which the traditional component is present to such an extent that 'economic spaces' are created in which maleness and femaleness can develop independently (Bruni et al., 2004). In addition, as Bruni et al. (2004) argued, it is not due to some sort of coercion or persuasion as such, but reflects a set of social customs. In vignette 1, the 'special skills' related to gender roles in society are at the heart of the type of businesses females can become involved in and, it would appear, imposing a new type would require inducing change in the context of female-male interaction. Thus, it can be suggested that in her performance of a variety of roles, and being presented as 'partner in life and business', and the image of her being presented as the woman standing at the side of the man (entrepreneur), Morine represents the view of women as essential for the management of what Seymour (1992) referred to as everyday routine. Moreover, the image of 'manager' as portrayed here has increasingly come under criticism. For instance, in terms of financial allocation, Pahl (cited in Seymour, 1992) suggested that 'management' can be separated from control, and that where such separation is apparent it may be associated with inequalities in power distribution. Moreover, Seymour (1992, p. 191), in her analysis of women's time as a household resource, also observed that where wives are 'assigned' the responsibility of organizing the finances and activities of other household members in the home, it was an expression of their husbands' overall control of family life, as they were able to delimit the boundaries in which their wives assume responsibility and wield "domestic power". Thus, Morine's power as 'life and business

partner' can be interpreted here in the same way Seymour (1992) described it as domestic power.

The story of Betty, the publishing manager: paying homage to (male) gender?

Betty (case 8) is the publishing manager in a publishing company (CMS Publishers Limited) which she co-founded with her business partner (a man). It is still a small company but with potential for growth. "At the moment I just have two employees because I am the publishing manager and we have a director. We have sales representatives; at the moment there are two sales representatives," she said.

Although she acknowledges her crucial role in establishing CMS Publishers, she almost wholly gives credit to the director for coming up with the idea.

> CMS Publishers actually was a *brainchild* of the director [a man] … He is a lawyer. By the time when he came up with the idea, I had informed him about leaving Oxford University Press because things were not going very well for the Press because of the competition, the corruption, and so on … So then he came up with the idea, anyway then I couldn't do it because if I started it could be a conflict of interest and it could cause me problems. Now I had to wait until I left Oxford … he didn't have expertise in publishing but he had the idea and the money so then I told him let me do it … [Emphasis added].

From a gender-analysis perspective of the discursive formation of Betty's narratives, one can decipher a number of issues relating to gender and culture *vis-à-vis* the representation of the director/manger relationship in which CMS Publishers is presented as the 'brainchild' of the director. First of all, the initial assumption is that men and women have different roles in the

management of corporate affairs, of which the female, as the extract from Betty's narratives above suggests, has practical experience, while the male carries out some sort of supervisory role. In the CMS case, the director actually plays a supervisory role and the publishing manager runs the day-to-day affairs of the business. Second, the child metaphor employed in Betty's narratives helps to demonstrate the point that traditional gender role expectations are preserved in interaction - in this case expressed in metaphorical terms. The image of a parenting relationship in which the product of this relationship (the business venture - in this case CMS Publishers) is expressed in metaphorical terms, demonstrates that in practice, Betty is not only saying gender, but also doing gender in the process of describing an entrepreneurial act. As vignette 3 (about gender-ascribed roles [17]) provided in the previous sub-section demonstrated, children are a product of a man and a woman but once born, the responsibilities for caring for them lies with women. This may explain why Betty, although a co-founder, is the *publishing manager* taking *care* of the day-to-day running of CMS Publishers, and not the *director*. Moreover, in saying that the director was responsible for the establishment of the enterprise, she uses the expression 'brain behind'. The use of the term brain here is not accidental. It is used purposefully to suggest that successful people have '*brains*'. This was made explicit when she explained why she had joined a group called *Freshman Limited*.

> Apart from the publishing association, which, as a publisher I belong to, I belong to a group called Freshman Limited. This is a group of people who put together their money to buy land, to do business … Why I found it important to join it is because it has a variety of characters. It has lawyers, it has doctors, and it has business people, even those who are

[17] In Vignette 1, Wavamunno described gender role expectations in the *Ganda* tradition (Ssetuba, 2002) which cultural background Betty also happens to share.

> not that highly educated, but quite successful. So I found it rather good for me to tap their brain … so it is like also learning to get the benefit of their experience and which I thought would be useful … and the bottom line is to be able to make the money. In the end, the money comes and in the long run you benefit. And that is why I joined. You know, and the brains. With brainy people it is like … you learn a lot when you are interacting with the various people.

In her story she pointed out that the director is a lawyer and the *brains* behind CMS, and from the above extract it is apparent that she joined the group to tap their brains. Therefore, in establishing CMS Publishers her role is presented as one of partnering with someone with the *brains* while simply using her skills gained from her experience with an international publisher. However, considering what she says about what she went through before the first books could come on the market, Betty's exaltations of the director's contribution could here be regarded as a matter of honour.

> We have come a long way … I was doing the work myself, most of the work myself. I would sit down and actually design the book, edit the text, send it back to the author for proof reading and approval. He would send it back so I would fit the text together with the artwork. And there I was … It was quite, it took a lot of … so many hours, even on weekends … So, it started becoming interesting, but with a lot of patience, taking a lot of tenacity, there I was. So if I look at them I smile and I am happy because I am a publisher.

The process observed in this case is that of preserving what Bruno *et al.* (2004) referred to as the 'rent position' enjoyed by masculinity. In this case, this is not only at CMS Publishers, but in many other settings as was the case in the survey of female entrepreneurs presented earlier in chapter two. In the

above case, the symbolic space of masculinity is given a competitive advantage whereby everything male is over-valued and seen in terms of a social ability specific to a specific category of persons (men). This is also observed in case study 1's '*Story of an African entrepreneur': A man who rose from a modest businessman in Mbarara in the 1960s to become a dominant entrepreneur in Uganda and one of the most successful indigenous African entrepreneurs who has built a vast business empire in a wide range of fields*, as he was described in the foreword to his autobiography. In all these stories, the fact that the protagonist is a man provides a guarantee for the authenticity of the process and the result (idealizing masculinity). Thus, in doing entrepreneurship Betty is also doing gender in which masculinity is represented here as an intrinsic part of the life of a successful business. In the case of Morine and her businesses, the representation of her symbolic space as female is subjected to the opposite process. That is, what were recognizably her businesses were not in the male practice of business activities and moreover, were largely seen as failed businesses that had to be abandoned and the 'manager' (Morine) assumed other responsibilities in the management of Spear House, Nakwero Mixed Farm and other properties in town. It is also important to note that in the process, there are differential power relations revealed here, and subtly in Betty's case as well. As Bruni and Poggio (2004) observed, these relate to 'hegemonic masculinities' (also Connell, 1995) in entrepreneurship discourse.

The analysis of the above cases is consistent with post-structuralist critiques of entrepreneurship discourse which challenge the 'naturalness' of individualism which has promoted the gender bias in the discourse (Ogbor, 2000). Weedon (1987, p. 19) argued that post-structuralist challenges allow for an examination of the means by which power is sustained and mediated through social institutions and practices, as well as reveal that

the "liberal appeal to female individuality attempts to obscure the way that women often feel unable to embrace the 'choices' offered to them". In addition, Weedon (1987) noted how feminists have traditionally responded to such social institutions as the family and illustrated some central tensions. "The positions of wife and mother, though subject to male control, also offer forms of power - the power to socialize children, to run the house, and to be the power behind the throne" (Weedon, 1987, p. 19).

6.1.2 Gender and Entrepreneurship as saying

This part consists of an analysis of gender and entrepreneurship as narrative practices. Here narratives from an interview with Robinah Kafeeke (case study 6), the 'woman publisher' as Kamugasa (1998) described here, are used to analyze how the archetype of the entrepreneur conveyed by the discursive practices analysed is gendered.

Robinah's story

Robinah's story of how her company (RORASH Educational Publishers) was established starts with her experiences of working outside of the country with mostly international organizations. The characters in her story are family members, and the importance of family is apparent in her narratives. The success of the company is presented as being entirely dependent on her prior experiences while working with international publishers and the marketing skills acquired earlier. In her story, two characters from her family are mentioned in relation to how RORASH was established. Although their involvement in the process of establishing the company was acknowledged, it was taken for granted. For instance, the role of her brother is referred to only when describing the difficulty she had in communicating with Heinemann.

> So Heinemann was looking for someone to represent them in Uganda and my former boss at Oxford University Press who [*sic*] I had worked with - the Heinemann staff in charge of Africa some years ago in Nigeria - recommended me. That is how the relationship started. I mean it was a long one. We missed each other, phones were not working. Sometimes they would travel to Kampala to come and meet me. I would not know how long the flight [would take?] I wouldn't know … So trips were made and one of the reasons we missed each other was communication owing at the time. The telecommunication system was very poor. Finally we met. The first obstacle was phones. I would have to make an appointment to talk to him through my brother. So my brother would give him something like one or two days to try and locate me. And when I appear maybe his phone is not working. You know. That sort of thing. So it was like a rat race. I don't know how to call it. Eventually we met and they appointed me as their agent in Uganda. Sole agent.

Robinah's story of the creation of RORASH as sole agent shows how the ingredients of entrepreneurship described in 'epic' terms (Gabriel, 1998) acquire meaning not in the abstract, but by being framed within the entrepreneurial stories. Unlike other stories, the interweaving between the business and the family in its dimensions of gender are not described in problematic terms. In fact, it is at this point that difficulties emerge that make the apparently gender-neutral epic story reveal its carefully constructed gendered nature. For example, the husband's involvement in the business at any stage in the creation process, as well as after its establishment, is not made explicit except to mention that through his contacts, they (he and Robinah) were able to convince someone to give them a loan to cover the foreign exchange of 10,000 US dollars that were allocated by government to RORASH when it was being established.

Comment [SS8]: Do you mean "genderless" or "gender-neutral"?

> I had to look for the equivalent Uganda shillings to cover the allocation … It was not a liberalized market. So I had to get the match up in Uganda shillings and the equivalent at the time. I think this was seven million shillings. So you can quickly work out the rate at the time. So I used my husband's connection. My husband used to work with Bank of Uganda before we left the country; and remember foreign exchange was by allocation. So many allocatees become his friends. In other words, there were many business people whose applications were fronted by him. So we wrote to one of the friends to lend us seven million shillings. The friend offered the money interest free with only one condition; that the stock will be warehoused by the lender. So, in so far as I would withdraw certain quantities, sell off, pay off, then I would be allowed to withdraw more. This was not a hindrance on my part. If anything, it was … it helped us cut on costs because warehousing costs would have hindered us.

For the most part, Robinah's story 'silenced' other stories, so to speak. The husband and his role in the business are not visible in the narratives. It is only at some critical junctures that his contribution is made reference to. Moreover, she referred to the character of her husband in unpretentious terms.

> I think here, let me talk about my husband. He is a globe-trotter, but he is a shy man and he is not very sociable. For him, he likes sports, exercises. Unlike him, I am social. I like both dancing and parties. But he has had no problem with my activities. He gives me guidance whenever I seek it. Being a banker, he finds this sort of work a bit boring.

Here we see how the narrator's 'theory in use' (Bruni et al. 2004) can give meaning to discursive practices of story-telling situated in a specific spatial setting. Robinah's framing of her

story seems to put emphasis on her part of the story of RORASH, and in so doing lessens the possibility of the husband's part of the RORASH story being seen as necessary for anyone to understand the 'success' story of the company fully. That is why, although the husband's guidance is acknowledged as useful, it is presented as only given when it is sought for. Yet even the name RORASH (an acronym from the names of the couple - Robinah and Rashid) suggests that the husband is, in fact, central to this business, something which is not apparent in Robinah's narratives.

From Robinah's narratives, what is said (but also from what may not have been said of the company's success story) is here seen as mobilizing, and even legitimating an entrepreneurial figure with an image of a "woman multi-million publisher" as one newspaper once described her business prowess (Kamugasa, 1998, p. 15). Thus, her narratives contribute to the hegemonic entrepreneurship discourse which glorifies an entrepreneurial male figure akin to what in the literature are masculine ideals related to risk-taking, authority, sexuality and paid work (Connell, 1995, 2000).

The work of Weedon (1987) may be instructive in examining the above examples. According to Weedon (1987), a post-structuralist perspective allows an investigator not just to evaluate the material possibilities available to women, but it also gives the investigator a sophisticated account of how discourse steeped in particular ideologies may make choices impossible or contradictory. In the case above, Robinah recognizes herself as an independent, successful business woman, but does not recognize the ways in which such a subject position is constructed and, in the words of Weedon (1987, p. 310), "assumes she is the author of the ideology which constructs her subjectivity".

6.2 Changing gender order and masculinity patterns, or manoeuvring economic space for female entrepreneurship?

Connell (2002) argued that masculinities are constantly subjected to changes as a result of generational differences in gender attitudes and practices, structural changes in the gender order itself, and changes in the social structures with which the gender order is linked. Yet for Wade and Tavris (1994, p. 126) male supremacy was "just a phase in the evolution of culture; a phase that depended on the ancient division of labour that put men in charge of war and women in charge of babies". Yet how much of this change can be observed in practice?

In the discussions of entrepreneurial stories in the previous chapter (chapter five), a point was made that although entrepreneurship can take various implicit and explicit forms, it is the case that gender struggle is integral to entrepreneurs' expressions of gender relations in Uganda. Indeed, one may even characterize some of the female entrepreneurs' struggles as efforts to push the cultural boundaries in their quest for wealth-creation. For instance, women who operate businesses in an economic sphere traditionally assumed to be a male domain, see entrepreneurship in their context as a much more difficult challenge which, in some respects, entails social costs as well as personal and psychological risks as the following excerpt from case study 10 demonstrates:

> After ten years of teaching in a girls' school, I was transferred to a boys' primary school, St Mary's Primary School. I was the only woman among men. I had been given yet another challenge that would make or break me. Being the only woman in a sea of men was quite daunting, and it was not going to be an easy task. It meant a number of things. But, most importantly, it meant that I would have to work twice as hard as the men to prove that a woman could shine as well as men or even better. But the initial feeling was one of being

> thrown into a river full of crocodiles. I knew that every corner I would meet an obstacle and I would have to either leap over it and survive or cower in a corner and die. I knew that my honour would be the first to take a bashing: after all, I had invaded the sacred territory of male supremacy.

As Green and Cohen (1995) pointed out, when women take up leadership positions in a male-dominated area, this may in itself be seen as an entrepreneurial activity, even if the activity itself is not new or innovative in other ways. Thus, the manner in which gender relations are embedded in the local economy is crucial for the opportunities and constraints of female entrepreneurs. However, as Merton (as cited in Swedberg, 2000) suggested, Barth's analysis of economic spheres illustrates not only that entrepreneurship is about spotting new opportunities, but also that it may involve a challenge to some of the basic values that exist in a community or even a society. The story of Victoria (case study 7) is examined in order to assess manifestations (if any) of this.

Victoria: A woman who ventured into a non-traditional domain

For a long time in Uganda the business of driving a public transport vehicle, let alone owning one, was a "man's thing'. However, it was not to remain so forever. In November 1997 the *New Vision* newspaper wrote that when Victoria Muwanga decided to venture into the transport business like any other ambitious Ugandan, little did she know that it would be such a big issue. Nine months later, she not only captured the traffic officers' attention, but also won public acclaim (Rwomusana, 1997). The media described the shock on a passenger's face on realizing that the driver was a woman

> A *matatu* [minibus] passenger bound for Ntinda from Kampala was deeply impressed with his driver's safety consciousness. "Drives carefully. Does not screech the brakes," he commented

> as he moved forward to congratulate the driver. Astonished, he blurred out, "Are you really a woman?" (Rwomusan, 1997, p. 14).

Driver Victoria is one of the female entrepreneurs in Uganda who tried to find new ways to enhance her livelihood. Although she acknowledged that her job (of driving the *matatu* [mini bus] - the most common form of transport) had been labelled as a 'men only' job in Uganda, she believed that this was changing as her passengers like 'her driving'.

As Kampala's first female *matatu* owner-driver, and probably also first in Uganda, her story compelled Snyder (2000) to include her in the book on "Women in African economies". Describing her experience in her new job, Victoria said: "You need to see the shock on people's faces, especially men, who enter my bus unknowingly and later discover a woman behind the wheel. But now they like my driving" (Snyder, 2000, p. 187).

Snyder hailed her for bravery and said that Victoria is unwilling to be sidelined because she is a widow and is determined not to become the burden to her family and community. When some men say that she is a *muyaye*[18] her reaction is clear:

> I do not care because I know I am not a *muyaye*; I am just earning an honest living. I have to survive. Women should not fear what people say. It is what you think, how you carry yourself that matters. Nothing is going to stop you from being a woman, a wife, a mother just because you drive a taxi! (Snyder, 2000, pp. 187-188).

[18] In Uganda, more particularly in towns, *muyaye* is a derogatory term that is used to insult someone. According to Obbo (1991), the word *bayaye* (the plural of *muyaye*) originally referred to the unruly, marijuana [*njaye*]-smoking young men from Kyagwe county in Southern Uganda during the reign of Kabaka [King] Mwanga. They were mostly rebellious youths who rebelled against their parents and teachers, and sought a short-cut means of earning a living. Currently, they are stereotypically seen as 'unemployed', shabbily dressed, and foul-mouthed, operating in city market places and taxi and bus parking lots.

Victoria plies the Ntinda-Kampala route, a service that earned her a vocational award from the Rotary Club of Mengo. "This is great. I did not expect such recognition and respect from these young people," she told the New Vision newspaper. She said the recognition made some members of her family who had been reluctant to accept her new profession, change their minds.

> My eldest son who had insisted that his friends would laugh at him is now happy with my achievement. The big girl had encouraged me from the start but had probably not expected such an honour in a short time.

But why was she driving? Born into a polygamous family whose head was a medical assistant, Victoria tried her hand at many things. She dropped out of her secondary school education at senior three level upon her father's death. With a helping hand from a maternal uncle, she later enrolled for a nursing course in Nsambya, but this hope soon withered for the ambitious young woman when one time she (ad)ventured into a discotheque at night and was suspended together with friends. "Naturally, my uncle was disappointed, but being a forgiving parent that he is, he sent me to Nakawa to study secretarial," she said in her interview with the *New Vision* newspaper.

Victoria learnt driving as a young girl while living at her uncle's place, a man whom she regards highly. "My uncle was a minister and one could bribe his drivers to teach you how to drive. The first vehicle I drove was a Mercedes-Benz," she revealed. Victoria tried farming and food businesses for a while until a friend suggested buying a taxi. However, when she bought a taxi and gave it to a driver, with a relative to oversee, the two connived to cheat her. "For a whole year I got no money while the vehicle became ramshackled," she revealed. The hired drivers were using the vehicle to transport goats, *matooke* [green bananas] and other produce from many hundred miles away. "When I grew tired of all that, I thought that I could surely drive," she

explains. She went to UTODA (Uganda Taxi Operators' and Drivers' Association) offices for a driving permit, and after undergoing several tests she was commissioned to drive. "It is best to be your own driver", she admits. Victoria believes there is no reason not to drive and hiring 'young boys', most of whom have never handled a million shillings before. "They can cheat an owner out of a hundred thousand shillings, then think they are very rich, stay at home until the money is gone and then come crawling back," she explains.

What this case study reveals is that while women, on the one hand, are faced with reduced access to both material and other resources, and are subjected to a large number of oppressing mechanisms legitimized by patriarchal structures (Snyder, 2000), they are far from being passive individuals. On the contrary, Victoria's case shows that they are reflective and active agents, often with both influence and authority within their daily reality. From her story it is clear that gender struggle is integral to all expressions of gender relations, though it can take various implicit and explicit forms. Victoria grew up struggling with expectations of her as a female with specific roles. For instance, these expectations influenced which profession she was expected to join, courses that she studied at school and what skills she acquired as a young girl growing up in a male-dominated world. Indeed, she studied nursing, then studied with Irish nuns in Nsambya Hospital and later studied a secretarial course; all of which were considered as training for 'women's jobs' (Snyder, 2000). Later, she tried different sorts of businesses, including operating a restaurant, farming, as well as food businesses. These are, again, 'women's jobs'. None of these were in transport.

The main message of this case study is in the way it brings to the foreground a discord in the traditional role patterns

revealed through her entrepreneurial activities. In addition, the traditional notions of gender identity and relations are brought into question. In her case, for instance, girls would normally not be expected to learn how to ride a bike, let alone drive a vehicle, which would later become a critical skill in her current business life. Her story calls into question traditional notions of masculinity in discourse of entrepreneurship and suggests that men gain advantages from the culturally-dominant ideal of masculinity centred around authority, physical toughness and strength, and paid work (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004), but that few men actually live up to it as the last paragraph in Victoria's narratives demonstrates.

Connell (1995) argued that the foundations on which masculinities have been built have regularly shifted over time and in different stages, although the overarching ideology of male power may not always have reflected these shifts. In the literature, some of the changes which have been most frequently cited in recent times include the loss of economic power by males, mainly drawn from among the working poor, the increase in purchasing power of women through the spread of formal and informal income-generating activities (McManus, 2001; Robertson, 1997; Snyder, 2000), and the emergence of female-headed households (Pyke, 1994; Seymour, 1992; Tshikata, 2004). As Victoria's story indicates, changes in context and circumstance have resulted in a re-interpretation of 'custom' and 'tradition', or what Snyder (2000) referred to as a re-ordering of social relations. Similarly, Silberschmidt (1991) argued that such changes have resulted in the reversal of roles of men and women within the household and the larger society or, at a minimum, a more balanced sharing of duties and responsibilities brought about by structural shifts in the economy. Thus, these developments have had implications for the shaping of contemporary masculinities observed in the examples presented in this chapter.

In the previous two chapters (chapters four and five), as well the present one (chapter six), there are examples that demonstrate that the manner in which gender relations are embedded in the local economy is crucial for the opportunities and constraints of female entrepreneurs. Using the idea of a cultural interface adopted in this study, the female entrepreneurs' experiences would be referred to as a culture-entrepreneur interface in which their complementary positioning has been a device for avoiding conflict and chaos in a situation where they (female entrepreneurs) - as new actors - had obtained economic power. Moreover, such a strategy makes sense given the way in which contemporary social transformation has impacted on the gender order globally (Connell, 1987, 1993, 2002). Thus, complementary positioning as a system of thought that maintains a sense of continuity and order when both production systems and gender roles change (Kalu, 1996) is a useful philosophical tool with which to interpret the 'African' discursive formation marking the culture-entrepreneur interface identified above. Thus, from the foregoing discussions in the present, as well as the previous chapter, it is important to note the manner in which women and men in Uganda perform economic activities and their choice of business: women and men cross traditional gender boundaries that challenge social relations, and they must often find new ways of dealing with such encounters at the interface.

6.3 Conclusions

Within an actor-oriented approach to interface analyses of entrepreneurship practice, a focus on processes meant that the strategies and decisions made by people involved in these entrepreneurial processes (which are indeed transformational) could not be understood simply in terms of the unfolding of a single logic that is supposedly capable of unifying or predetermining all identity. Instead, such an analysis needs to

underline the ways in which identities are under permanent threat of subversion by differential discourses, thereby having to be continuously redefined and renegotiated.

The discussion about changes in gender patterns in relation to an increasingly complex environment in which entrepreneurs conduct their businesses suggests that although there is a conscious endorsement of gender equity in their narratives (not only in the present chapter, but also the previous one) and a significant distance from the power-oriented form of masculinities, it is still the case that female entrepreneurs source meaning and worth of their identity by comparison (often unconsciously) with masculine images of the entrepreneur. Thus, analysis in this chapter allowed for an examination of the means by which power manifest in varied forms of masculinities is sustained and mediated through social institutions and practices.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS

7.0 Introduction

This final chapter is an attempt at answering the question: What has been achieved by this research? This is done in four sections. The first section connects the construction of gender and entrepreneurship as practical social accomplishments. The second section delves into the theoretical, conceptual and methodological contributions to knowledge, as well their implications for future research and practice. The third presents the researcher's reflections on the knowledge constructed in the research process. Lastly, the fourth section provides a final conclusion.

7.1 The social construction of entrepreneurship in Uganda

In this study the point of departure was existing theories of entrepreneurship that, although rich, are also problematic. Specifically, it was realized that despite the literature's vastness and depth, there is a gap between women's experiences of the phenomenon and what explanations traditional research was producing in academic settings. Focusing on masculine norm of entrepreneurship and the omission and under-representation of women as research subjects, scholars are concerned mostly with testing hypotheses intended to refine and add to long lists of features and contingencies of what makes an 'ideal' entrepreneur, rather than illuminating the nature of entrepreneurship. That is, academic research on entrepreneurship, while shifting over time, still tends to emphasize traits, styles, and it generally bases its explanations on variance theories (Van de Ven & Engleman, 2004) to define what an entrepreneur is. From the reviews of orthodox perspectives on entrepreneurship, it is evident that narratives about individuals who typify this ideal type of entrepreneur have shaped the mental models that people hold about entrepreneurship. However, while insightful, these understandings

rest on a heroic model of entrepreneurship that is based on a narrow set of voices (Bruni, Gherardi & Poggio, 2004; Stevensson, 1990). Thus, despite providing important contributions for entrepreneurship development, most of the traditional literature on entrepreneurship has not yet provided innovative insight to address the challenges related to women's entrepreneurial experiences.

While studying women is not new, studying them from the perspective of their own experiences so that women can understand themselves and the world is still in an initial stage of paradigm development (Moore, 1990). That is, it is still novel to study gender - the idea of a systematic social construction of masculinity and femininity - that is barely, if at all, constrained by biology (Harding, 1986, 1987). Against this background, it was recognized that an alternative approach that takes 'women's experiences', as empirical and theoretical resources for research about the entrepreneurial process, was in order. This meant that the specific processes regarding how gender and entrepreneurship are produced and reproduced in social practices had to be investigated. Ultimately, examination of these processes was useful in studying entrepreneurship as a practical accomplishment, just as gender and other such forms of social positioning are practical accomplishments. In this respect, the process that positions people within entrepreneurial practices as 'men' and 'women' who are complementary opposites (assuming not rank or chronology, but complementary positioning) was examined and found to be useful for shedding light, not only on experiences of female entrepreneurs, but also on the experiences of all entrepreneurs, as well as on the notion of entrepreneurship itself.

As Rosenberg and Ochberg (1992) suggested, the explanations individuals offer of their lives are inevitably shaped by the prevailing (cultural) norms within which they operate. In the

social sciences, some scholars (e.g., Overa, 2003;Swedberg, 2000) have acknowledged Birth's (1963) contribution to the field, especially for his view of entrepreneurship as an aspect of a role, rather than primarily as a quality of particularly clever persons or 'economic men'. In this respect, entrepreneurship is associated with agency, strategies and modes of behaviour, i.e., with the performance of one's role(s). In addition, the ultimate outcome of an entrepreneurial endeavour is not necessarily of an economic nature, but social respect and prestige have also been identified as important measures of success and creation of value. This is akin to Bourdieu's (cited in Gorton, 2000) symbolic capital. An important point here is that one's capital stock of such symbolic capital can be combined with other types of capital, and can be transformed into economic capital and vice versa. By combining different forms of capital (e.g., by combining different strategies in business, politics and diplomacy as some of the entrepreneurs in this study did), the entrepreneur can enter new niches - or utilize old niches in new ways - in such a manner that the accumulated different capital types mutually stimulate one another. Hence, the entrepreneur changes his/her economic and social position, or his/her location in the local (and sometimes also the regional or national) 'power geometry' (Overa, 2003).

In the spirit of furthering the view of entrepreneurship as an aspect of a role, the previous chapters have provided examples of how gender and entrepreneurship are performed on a daily basis. In doing so, mechanisms through which gender and entrepreneurship are symbolically constructed were highlighted in chapters five and six, and the attendant identity challenges for female entrepreneurs were discussed. In this respect, it was recognized that the stories these women told about themselves are interesting, not only for the events and characters they describe, but also for something in the construction of the stories themselves. That is, through their stories, the

participants were performing discursive acts of constructing gender and entrepreneurship as intertwined processes.

7.2 Beyond dichotomies, dualities, etc.

In chapter two, a point was made that a social constructionist approach might be promising in helping to analyze complex entrepreneurial processes from a perspective grounded in the experiences of the entrepreneurs themselves. In this regard, emphasis is on how understanding of the processes governing social reproduction across spheres of life offers a novel way to conceptualise the entrepreneurship phenomenon and processes. Moreover, the empirical chapters in this research study generally make the point that studies that have constructed typologies of entrepreneurs in order to group entrepreneurial behaviours continue to centre on the mechanisms through which the experiences of entrepreneurs can become amenable to suit the dominant paradigm of entrepreneurship or become assimilated into what is considered appropriate entrepreneurial behaviour and, as such, have tended to sustain traditional dichotomies, oppositions and dualities that are problematic. However, unlike such studies, in discussing the findings from experiences of entrepreneurs in Uganda, the empirical chapters in this study highlighted the relative power of women and men and the wider forces they call upon in their quest for wealth-creation. It was shown that these particularly are beyond such dichotomizing. In addition, it was found that in order to analyse the processes with which entrepreneurs in this study engage with and thus co-produce their own (inter)personal and collective social worlds, it was important to reject a homogenous or unitary concept of 'culture'. Instead, focus was on the ways in which various cultural elements (values notions, types and fragments of discourses, organization ideas, symbols, and ritualized procedures) are used and recombined in social practice, consciously or otherwise.

In chapters five and six, cultural interfaces manifest in entrepreneurs' identity-building efforts were identified from the respondents' narratives that demonstrated how they are used to shape cultural categorizations. Specifically, such identity-building processes were seen as crucial for understanding how the entrepreneurs respond cognitively and even emotionally to the (un)planned and (un)anticipated changes that may come with challenges of doing entrepreneurship. Thus, it can be suggested here that the cultural interface perspective was useful in revealing specific cognitive, emotional and political aspects of cultural identity-building that easily remain 'hidden' in the case of more traditional approaches. For instance, if we take as an example the life-stories of female entrepreneurs, it was observed that the narratives of female entrepreneurs indicated that there are still few 'role models' or real life exemplars from which females can source meaning and worth of their identity, other than by comparison with male counterparts. In addition, these images are (re)produced in a process of interpretation that not only deals with the entrepreneurs' first-hand experiences, but also involves reconstruction of historical images, and even traditions from different social domains. In this respect, therefore, it is plausible to suggest that the psychological challenges faced by these entrepreneurs in maintaining any notion of valid and meaningful identity cannot be underestimated. In addition, the discursive analysis of gender identities and relations allowed for challenging the naturalness of what Ogbor (2000) referred to as the dominance of individualism in the discourse. Specifically, it allowed for an examination of the means by which 'power', as understood in Giddens's (1984) conception of social actors, is sustained and mediated through social institutions and practices.

7.3 Study contributions and implications

Whereas the contributions of this study relate to the broadening of entrepreneurship knowledge in general, case materials presented and conceptual lenses applied to analyze them help inform general theory and explain conditions that deviate from traditional theoretical explanations of the phenomenon. These are discussed in more detail in four respects: first, in terms of matching method to theoretical lens. This is followed by a discussion of the study's contribution to entrepreneurship knowledge, as well as to understanding the social world. Third, the contributions in terms of the study's attention to the broader contextual influences and voices are discussed. Lastly, the contributions of the conceptual tools adopted are highlighted.

7.2.1 Matching method to lens

A review of the literature suggests that traditional approaches to women and entrepreneurship are more steeped in variance-type explanations than narrative explanations. Indeed, the shortcomings of traditional methods, (e.g. experimental and survey research) were highlighted, as was the need for new approaches. From the criticisms of traditional approaches, the methodological challenge for researchers interested in exploring questions relating to meaning-making, social identities, culture and so on is to come up with a research approach in which methods match theoretical perspectives. In the current study an effort was made to find a research methodology that would be useful in learning about entrepreneurship as meaning-making in action, and in developing insights about entrepreneurship. A narrative inquiry approach was adopted, in part because its theoretical assumptions had resonance with the definition of entrepreneurship used in this study. That is, both entrepreneurship and narrative are viewed as socially constructed and the researcher begins with the understanding that narratives do not objectively mirror

reality, but are constructed in interaction (Riessman, 1993). Thus, the interest was in seeing how entrepreneurs interpret their practices of doing business and how these interpretations tell something about entrepreneurship.

For example, in the current study life-story research techniques were used in order to evoke stories about participants' entrepreneurial experiences. Moreover, a fluid and open life-story interview technique was used to allow a story line to take on any direction, as each participant's experience was captured. As a result unique entrepreneurship stories were constructed for each participant, and comparisons across stories were also made in order to produce insights about entrepreneurship practices discussed in the empirical chapters. Doing a narrative inquiry in this way helped answer the questions the researcher posed in a way that is consistent with the study's theoretical perspective. Stayeart (1997, p. 16) suggested that as a developing discipline, the core of research in entrepreneurship needs to be in developing local knowledge through "writing narratives" instead of "pursuing a nervous search for progress". In this respect, this study responds to this call by giving space to alternative research scenarios that put emphasis on entrepreneurship processes. In this way the study contributes to the now growing awareness of a process-approach to entrepreneurship.

7.3.2 Contribution to entrepreneurship knowledge and illuminating the social world

Whereas in the classic literature, the features defining entrepreneurial figures and indeed entrepreneurship have sustained a model of economic rationality alleged to be universal and gender-neutral, this study offers a different point of view. Exemplar cases in this research are provided that illuminate entrepreneurship processes that challenge the scholarly consensus. The descriptions and discussions in this study

highlight a contrasting process, namely examining how entrepreneurs in the case studies presented were practising entrepreneurship and gender in forms that can be considered alternative (if not opposite) to the those normally prescribed by a model of hegemonic masculinity. For instance, the way two case studies reported in this research refused to frame their activity as 'entrepreneurial' (in fact, one claiming that she is only a 'manager' of her partner's ideas) echoes another entrepreneur's effort to initiate a self-help association (*Twegombe*) in order to deal with the hostility that was being directed at her ability to crop-farm successfully. In both of these cases, entrepreneurial experience is valued by the actors, above all for its significance in their private, more than business lives.

Findings presented in the results chapters highlight important aspects of the formation of entrepreneurial identities. Although of late there has been interest in gender and entrepreneurship (as symbolic spaces of intertwined practices), the social formation of the entrepreneurial self is still an underdeveloped topic of research (Cohen & Musson, 2000). By eliciting stories about doing gender and entrepreneurship as practical social accomplishments, this research contrasts with traditional entrepreneurship research, which favours surveys and in-depth interviews as a way of learning about entrepreneurs. By focusing on the way entrepreneurs make meaning of the experience of entrepreneurship, we not only learn something new from their stories about their experiences, but the stories themselves also have knowledge that can be generalized to other contexts.

7.3.3 Attention to the influences of broader contextual issues and voice

A social constructionist perspective suggests that in order to understand any phenomenon, such as entrepreneurship, we must understand the way it plays out in particular contexts for particular actors. In this study, materials and information about

context from a number of sources and informants (apart from the entrepreneurs themselves) were collected during the research, and analysis revolving around contextual issues was done to understand the meaning-making processes and the actions derived from them. Illuminating entrepreneurship issues from these perspectives makes our understanding more grounded. In addition, context lends texture to the researcher's interpretations of events, relationships, challenges and triumphs that underlie the participants' experiences (Ospina & Dodge, 2005). Thus, the narrative approach is appropriate for learning about entrepreneurship in context because it allows entrepreneurs to tell stories that reflect the richness and complexity of their experiences. This contrasts with a survey, for example, where the analyst reduces that complexity, intentionally (even unintentionally) leaving out context.

It has been acknowledged that a narrative approach allows researchers to develop more sensitivity to issues related to voice as a key bridge to interpretation (Czarniawska, 1997, 2004; Delamont & Atkinson, 2004). Bringing in the voice of entrepreneurs helped not only to ground the research in context, but also helped the researcher to see how language, as a medium of exchange (Ospina & Dodge, 2005), is not neutral, but constitutes a particular world view. Privileging the entrepreneurs' point of view in this study, entrepreneurial events and processes have been constructed that reflect each participant's point of reference and voice. In this respect, the ways in which women make sense of the term entrepreneur and the extent to which they identify themselves within the contemporary conception of the phenomenon were explored and examples of their practices that challenge the dominant discourse which has rendered women invisible were presented. However, unlike the traditional approaches which presuppose that meaning is constructed by those (men) in powerful positions, and that ordinary people (women) are simply included in, or excluded from

such meanings, the approach used in this research allowed for an interpretation beyond a unitary one in such discourses. Indeed, the application of narrative as knowledge and as metaphor in the analysis of case materials for this research allowed for diversity and dynamism. Engagement with participants' narrative in this way suggests that these entrepreneurs have engaged with, and found relevance in, the discourse of entrepreneurship. The data presented in chapters five and six demonstrate that it is important to understand the ways in which entrepreneurship is seen as meaningful to entrepreneurs themselves depending on their 'position', circumstances and the economic-social-cultural-political world(s) in which they live. After all, it is they who, on a day-to-day basis, 'do entrepreneurship' (Bruni et al., 2004). In this sense the discourse cannot be seen as monolithic (Cohen & Musson, 2000); instead, it can be seen as diverse, appropriated and used by entrepreneurs who "read against the grain" (Cohen & Musson, 2000, p. 46), interpreting and reconstructing the discourse in ways that make sense for them. However, this does not suggest that these differences in interpretation are merely idiosyncratic and therefore, can be adequately explained simply through individual differences. Rather, they reflect and constitute individual interpretations within different structural positions, encompassing both consensus and resistance. As Cohen and Musson (2000) noted, this relationship between the dominant and subordinate interpretations of a particular discourse is not static, but it is a site of struggle and negotiation, as evidenced by the changing notions of 'the entrepreneur' as articulated by the stories of women entrepreneurs in this study. Thus, the approach of this study went some way in demonstrating how entrepreneurial identities are currently being (re)produced in Uganda.

7.3.4 Contribution of conceptual tools

It has been acknowledged that an account of the processes that position people as 'men' and 'women' within business practices

and as entrepreneurs within gendered practices is an approach still underutilized in the literature (Bruni et al., 2004). In this regard, the use of gender and cultural interfaces as conceptual tools with which to examine entrepreneurship, as both an economic phenomenon, as well as a social practice among historically situated men and women entrepreneurs in Uganda can be seen as a first step towards rethinking female entrepreneurship discourse in this particular context.

It has been suggested that feminist movements have contributed strongly to contemporary cultural analysis, and this has fostered the plurality of feminist theories aimed at rethinking the grounds of knowledge (including entrepreneurship knowledge). In organization studies, for instance, Calàs and Smircich (1992, 1996, 1999) noted that the underlying question in these feminist-inspired organizational analyses has been why the pursuit of knowledge has always taken place within a particular masculine paradigm. Thus, feminist post-structuralist analyses opened the space for considering gender theoretically, independent of particular sexed bodies (Calàs & Smircich, 1996). In this way it became possible to theorize gender relations in order to observe how both men and women together constituted "gendered conditions" that produced entangled webs of power/knowledge (Calàs & Smircich, 1999, p. 660). In the current study, however, the intersections of gender and other such identity markers were featured in the analyses with the emphasis not simply on the bodies that constitute these intersections, but rather on the subjectivities that are formed and transformed (Acker, 1991; Gherardi, 1994) within these social markers. Further, it is important to note that gender in these analyses is not about roles of women anymore. Within feminist post-structuralist theory (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004), the focus has been on the experience of contradictions as important sites for gaining an understanding of what it means to be a gendered person. In addition, as Davis and Harré (1990) observed, human beings are characterized by both

continuous personal identity and by discontinuous personal diversity. This has resulted in the realization that using the concept of gender role for explanations of issues and/or matters that arise in dynamic encounters is problematic. This is because the use of role serves to highlight static, formal and ritualistic aspects. This is upon the realization that there is no such a thing as the universal *man*, but only culturally different men and women. Moreover, masculine and feminine are always categories within every class, race, and culture in the sense that women's experiences, desires, and interests differ within every class, race and culture. Inspired by these insights, scholars have begun to examine men's lives and experiences, not simply as normative assumptions, but as gendered and socially and historically variable.

In the current study, it was identified that one can talk about positioning in writing about these intersections, i.e., positioning of social actors as a product of discursive practices - the ways in which people actively produce social and psychological realities as a productive analytical approach for understanding specific conditions of different people. The analytic approach used here, focusing on socially-situated interaction in entrepreneurship practice, draws attention to aspects of the formation of entrepreneurial identities that are not normally emphasized in contemporary studies of this process which are informed either by positivism or post-structuralism. Moreover, this research has revealed that while female entrepreneurs, on the one hand, are subjected to a large number of material and social constraints, legitimized by patriarchal structures, women are far from being passive individuals. On the contrary, they are reflecting and active agents, often with both influence and authority within their daily reality.

The concept of cultural interface outlined in this study expands and adds another model of social process to the conceptual toolkit in the study of the entrepreneurial phenomenon. Moreover, this is against the background that mainstream conceptualizations of culture in cross-cultural correlational studies of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship in Africa have been found to be problematic. Examples and experiences of cultural interfaces that entrepreneurs in sub-Saharan Africa face on a daily basis were provided. In addition, it was recognized that culture influences entrepreneurial action not by providing the ultimate values toward which the entrepreneurial action is oriented, but by shaping a repertoire of habits, skills and styles from which entrepreneurs construct their strategies of action. Fresh insights can be pursued to the interface that mediates between structures and the practices through which social life is conducted. In entrepreneurship studies, this calls for the adoption of a more critical methodological stance than those adopted by the traditional models discussed in this study.

7.3.5 Implications of the study

It has been noted that in line with the renewed interest in promoting economic growth in developing countries such as those of sub-Saharan Africa, development organizations and Northern Non-Governmental Organizations have acknowledged the role of culture in African economic development, and that they have focused emphasis most intensively on the propensity toward entrepreneurship. This has led to a sustained effort towards integrating culture into development policies with the aim of recognizing culture as a resource for development, rather than a detractor from it. However, in the current study it is suggested that the dominant theoretical models that have been the basis for much of the literature that has informed such development policies have led to an inadequate understanding of the phenomenon of entrepreneurship in the regions where

entrepreneurship has been viewed as an immutable feature of an *a priori*, constraining culture. Thus, whereas policy makers have identified culture as a dynamic, changeable variable, and have intervened accordingly in what has largely been seen as the "cultural conditioning of the populace" (Morison, 2000, p. 66) as discussed above, this study takes a different view on this issue. Such an approach has been criticized because there is scant compelling evidence that any particular national or organizational culture provides the one best way to assure economic growth. It is also suggested that the dominant theoretical models that have been the basis for much of the literature that has informed such development policies which have led to inadequate comprehension of the phenomenon of entrepreneurship are problematic and, by extension, seen as serving only to maintain the existing cultural dichotomies (e.g., individualism vs collectivism, East vs West, etc.).

In Uganda detailed technical proposals concerning legal and policy constraints on entrepreneurship are available in two recent documents from the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) Uganda 2004 executive report and a report on the Uganda business register, 2001/2002. They acknowledge that the overall perception is still negative and that the policies and programmes have not been sufficiently well targeted. As in this study, the reports indicate that most women entrepreneurs are in the trade and services sectors of the economy. Because most models of development on which policy makers rely to formulate policies are based on manufacturing, not services, these sectors are not appropriately supported. This indicates that specific issues related to women entrepreneurs are still poorly represented in policy areas. As Synder (2000) suggested, there is still a need for gender-aware country economic reports which define the link between gender equality and the achievement of sustainable economic growth within a macro-, meso- and micro-framework of the economy of Uganda.

7.4 Personal reflections

This study drew on an actor-oriented approach to social inquiry (see Long & Long, 1992; Long, 2001) which allows for intellectual efforts aimed at combining multiple theoretical strands into a framework which recognizes the richness of lived experiences, negotiated meanings and struggles over power. This necessitated spelling out the underlying assumptions and rationale for the approach. Indeed, such a theoretical orientation is grounded in an understanding of everyday social life (Long, 1992a, b) - whether this relates to the daily struggles, aspirations and strategies of traders, the vicissitudes of large-scale entrepreneurs, or women's manoeuvres for social space 'in a man's world'. Moreover, the role of the researcher is not assumed to be passive in this process. Thus, as a researcher, I have sought to identify and elucidate analytical concepts that can guide one through the intricacies of the social process. These concepts ranged from notions such as social actor, agency and knowledge construction, to more heuristic conceptions used to open up windows into particular social contexts and processes such as space for manoeuvre, encounters at the interface, and discursive practices. In addition, my involvement in the construction of the research product was not of the nature of a disinterested observer in the research process. My own reflections on what happened in the process are also important.

Perhaps this is best exemplified in my experiences as a (male) researcher engaging in feminism. In the process I also became more aware of the sexed and gendered boundaries one encounters while claiming a feminist space from which to work. In the next subsection I engage in some reflection about my own experiences as a 'man doing feminism' given my background, partiality, investments, and perhaps limits of knowledge as I tried to deal

with the realities of what Pillow (2000) termed the man question in feminism.

7.4.1 The man question and feminism

Feminist theory has been vocal about the need to acknowledge, reflect on, and critically engage "the politics of the gaze in our research" (Pillow, 2000, p. 546). Moreover, as Hamilton (as cited in Carter, 1993, p. 151) observed, the interest in women and small business ownership as a research topic in its own right has occurred mainly because "a degree of solidarism has taken place through the actions and deliberations of (female) scholars who, through a feminist analysis of the social construction of women's position in society, have been able to explore the subjective nature of male cultural domination". However, my 'feminist leanings' (i.e., in terms of a male researcher "doing feminism" (Pillow, 2000, p. 545) could be understood in terms of my commitment to conducting research on business activities which give meaning to my personal experiences as the son of a woman who was also involved in similar activities when I was growing up as a young boy in the countryside in Uganda.

Did gender matter in the process of this research? I think I can answer this with a qualified yes. My encounter with feminist theory and practice, I must acknowledge, changed and challenged me personally, methodologically and theoretically. As Pillow (2002) suggested, in research gender seems to have a haunting presence. Whereas Riessman (1987) observed that conducting studies with people with the same gender categories may constitute both a spoken and unspoken bond between the researcher and the researched, enabling certain things not only to be said and understood and also to be joked about, my experience with some of the female entrepreneurs presented other difficulties as the following extracts from interviews with two female entrepreneurs demonstrate.

Case study 6 - Robinah

> But as you know, majority of the people are men and some of them are lustful men. *You are a man. You know you men have a lot of lust.* So, that is there, but you have to develop skills to deal with these issues … Sometimes they are not receptive in terms of conversations, meetings, etc. Sometimes you had to assert yourself in order to be heard.

Case study 8 - Betty

Julius
What issues relating to gender and culture, if any, have affected your business?

Betty

> Hmm, I think probably because … this one I will be firm with you. In this corrupt world we are in, you find that sometimes it hinders progress because, eh, there are certain expectations that you cannot meet. Expectations like somebody wants to … *you know*, to like, to take a bribe *or whatever*, and then it is like they are not out to be able to tell you that. And they can't come out to say that we did this because you are a woman [emphasis added].

As was discussed in the previous chapters regarding the issue of the construction of masculinity/masculinities, there are assumptions about men and the privileged male position that were at play in my interaction with these female entrepreneurs. For instance, I had to probe further before I could understand that when Robinah stated 'men have lust' she expected me to understand that this lust bears directly on the business interaction with other men, even in meetings, and this meant that the women had to assert themselves in order to deal with it. Similarly, my being a man listening to a woman [Betty] narrating her experiences about some of the men she interacts with in the course of her business

endeavours, I was expected to understand that the bribe men wanted to take from her involved more than financial misappropriation. Although when one reads her extract above, it may present no apparent problem; the ambiguity with which Betty talked about the topic during my interaction with her in that interview is even more complicating.

Men studying women raises particular issues concerning interviewers' and interviewees' social locations and subjectivities (Reinharz & Chase, 2003). The above examples suggest that the respondents may be trying to engage in some bonding around a common identity. In such bonding ploys, subjects may have a moral identity at stake, and may for that matter wish to avoid stating some things explicitly (Swalbe & Wilkomir, 2003). However, "If the interviewee perceives herself as skilled in dealing with men then that can counter the implied influence of "maleness". If the interviewer puts aside "maleness" ["inappropriate features of masculinity (arrogance, not listening)"] then women could respond" (Padfield and Procter as cited in Reinharz and Chase, 2003, p. 363).

In this study entrepreneurial stories have been presented and discussed for their potential to illuminate the phenomenon of entrepreneurship in discourse and practice. In this respect, entrepreneurial experiences reported have been used to highlight the world of the entrepreneur. However, I must acknowledge that as a researcher my world view is distinct from that of the research participants' (female or male), although my writing is here used to bring their knowing into view. After all, as Richardson (1994) noted, in the act of writing, a researcher employs a style, a vocabulary and a set of metaphors which further modify data and theory.

7.4 Conclusion

Influenced by the narrative turn and encouraged by pioneers who have proposed alternative approaches to studying entrepreneurial practices, this study adopted a novel conceptual lens through which to approach research on the phenomenon of entrepreneurship. The lens frames entrepreneurship as being socially constructed. This standpoint suggests that gender and entrepreneurship are enacted and situated practices, and shows how the codes of a gendered identity are kept, changed and sometimes challenged. This suggests that as well as being an economic phenomenon, entrepreneurship can also be read as a cultural one in order to understand how gender and entrepreneurship are culturally produced and reproduced in social practices. Thus, this lens helps us to address the gap in entrepreneurship studies by focusing on doing business as a social practice and the sense-making associated with it.

Scholars working in the field of entrepreneurship have sought to construct definitions that reflect their particular theoretical approaches. In this study a review and discussion of a number of concepts commonly adopted in entrepreneurship research pointed to the importance of highlighting the inadequacies of the existing literature in relation to women. However, this is not to suggest that the literature is unproblematic in relation to men. On the contrary, one needs to note that the often fragmented, unchallenged and stereotypical ways in which the entrepreneur has been traditionally constructed is also unsatisfactory when applied to men as some of the case study examples of this study show. The analyses and reviews in this study serve to illustrate that the focus on the ways in which gendered processes are implicit in, rather than external to, societal structures provides useful insights into entrepreneurship.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: CASE STUDIES

Case study 1- Gordon Wavamunno

This narrative based on reading of his autobiography title *Gordon B.K. Wavamunno: The story of an African Entrepreneur*. This was the full length book account of Wavamunno's life. In his autobiography, Wavamuno provided a 300-page life story of 'an African entrepreneur' [referring to himself as such], written for an unspecified period of time and published in the year 2000. He described the early phases of his life in a south western Ugandan village of Rugaaga, where he was born the son of a relatively prosperous man by local standards. He talks of his leaving school early at age 14, his entry into trading in agricultural products, his migration first to Mbarara town in south western Uganda and subsequently to Kampala City to seek greater opportunities, and his ultimate transformation from a taxi taut to one of the most successful indigenous African entrepreneurs whose name has become a household name in Uganda (Wavamunno, 2000). He also included a chapter detailing what called the trials and tribulations of doing business during the times when the country was plunged into civil conflicts by the military leaders of the 1970s and early 1980s.

Case study 2- Christopher Sembuya

Case study 2 is the Chairman of Sembule Group of Companies; he is 65 years and holds a diploma in Business Administration. When former president Idi Amin challenged Africans in Uganda to start business after he had ousted the Asians in 1972, Christopher linked up with his brother (the late Mr. Buule) to start business on a large scale. They purchased land in a downtown suburb (Nalukolongo along Masaka road) in Kampala, built a warehouse and they formed Sembule Investments Company dealing mainly in electronics and steel rolling. With Sembule Investments as the torchbearer of this family partnership, the two expanded their business operations over the years to include sister companies like Allied Bank, and Pan World Insurance. This partnership continued until the death of his brother in the early 1990s. In fact the company name SEMBULE is an acronym from their names Sembuya and Buule.

Mr. sembuya is an exporter, agriculturalist and a processor. Perhaps one of the biggest contributions that Mr. Sembuya has made in some of the rural areas in Uganda is upgrading a town called Nkokonjeru in Kyagwe about 30 miles from Kampala. His company put up modern buildings within the town, a banking institution and provided water for that town. So there is a

permanent memento for Mr. Sembuya not only for people in Kampala but also in the rural areas. Now he is struggling with the challenge of the reconstruction of the steel mills industry which he says will be one of the biggest and most modern industries in the country within the next ten years.

Case study 3- James Mulwana

Mr. Mulwana has been in the business of batteries and plastics manufacturing for three decades. In 1970, he chose to set up Ship Tooth Brush (renamed Nice House of Plastics), a container plastics and writing instruments factory that was arguably the first manufacturer of toothbrushes in the East African region. The Nice product line has now diversified into tableware, packaging and knapsack sprayers.

In the late 1980s, he ventured into dairy farming, starting Jesa Mixed Farm and eventually adding a milk processing plant with a capacity to produce a range of milk products. Back in 1992, he had also founded Nsimbe Estates, a joint venture with German partners that was mainly involved in horticultural exports such as cut flowers. In an interview with the East African newspaper, he said that altogether, his businesses employ about 600 people. He navigated his way from a simple trader to one of the leading industrialists in the country. Although he was an early bloomer (as the East African Newspaper described him) who, by 1960, was already involved in the import-export business, selling goods on indent basis, life would have probably followed much the same routine had it not been for William Kalema, a friend who introduced him to a British chloride company that was at the time looking for partners in Uganda. In 1967, they opened a motor battery manufacturing line in Kampala, with him as managing director. That assignment took him to various exhibitions around the world where he identified niches he could exploit back home.

Mr. Mulwana has a lot of experience in surviving hard times and his flagship, Nice House of Plastics has won him an award and respect regionally. Today he is the honorary consul of the Royal Kingdom of Thailand in Uganda, chairman of the East African Business Council, Private Sector Foundation, and a board member of a handful of respected business firms, including the chair of the Standard Chartered Bank in Uganda.

Case study 4- Karim Hirji

Mr. Karim is the Chairman of Imperial Group of Hotels. He is a hotelier as well as the proprietor of Dembe Enterprises and one

of the business tycoons in Kampala. He is more popularly known as Dembe which means peace in one of the local dialects. Dembe Enterprises is the trademark for his private radio station (Dembe FM) as well as his motor rallying group. Mr. Dembe is a great sports fan as well as a former motor rally driver himself. Although he no longer drives after surviving a near fatal accident, he still has a lot of passion for the sport and in fact during his days he had a lot of courage and stamina. In addition to the hotel businesses, Mr. Dembe introduced a new product in the country in the form of the famous Didi's World. Didi's world is an amusement park which targets people of all walks of life; families, children and tourists alike.

At the end of his senior four of secondary school in the early 1970s, Mr. Karim could not afford to go any further with his education and this meant the he had to become a jack of all trades including making *barafu* (flavoured ice cube), vending religious magazines, as well as making small packets of curry powder. He later got some jobs as a salesman and eventually a management job in general merchandize and pharmaceutical company but his business acumen was to be proved when he started trading in general merchandise from Dubai. This went on until the early 1980s when he started his own business (Dembe Enterpises) dealing in textiles.

Today, much of the achievements that have earned Mr. Karim the reputation of a business tycoon are the four hotels that make up the Imperial Groups of Hotels. within a space of 10 years (i.e. between 1992 and 2002), Mr. Karim was able to acquire four of the biggest hotels in the country. In 1992 when government started divesting public parastatal companies through the privatization policy, Karim bought Hotel Equatorial and this was followed by Grand Imperial in 1995 and Botanical Beach Hotel in 1996. The acquisition of the former Resort Beach Hotel in 2002 now Imperial Resort Hotel completed the quartet of the four hotels making up the Imperial Group of Hotels. His reputation as a hotel guru is now seeping into real estate as Mr. Karim recently acquired the former Uganda Commercial Bank Towers, which he plans to transform into an ultra-modern complex.

Case study 5- Maljibhlai Madhivani

Mr. madhivani is in his 70s and is the chairman of the Madhivani group of companies. He was dispatched to the Indian subcontinent at the age of 10, where the beginning of the Second World War and a deteriorating international situation confined him for the next nine years. The second son in his family, Maljibhlai and his brother worked hand in hand with their father in the 1950s through to the early 1970s. Their father was one of the pioneers of Uganda's industrialization, and during their apprenticeship, the young men oversaw a round of expansions that turned the

venture from a family business based in Uganda into a dynamic enterprise with an international outlook. From their core sugar, tea and cotton ginning business, they diversified into steel, beer, textiles, plastic, glass, packaging and safety matches. Moreover, that period saw new investments in Kenya, Tanzania and India. The two young men now formed a complimentary team that engineered further expansion in the three East African countries. Yet the dawn of 1970s decade was to bring a sudden change in fortunes. In 1971, his brother died and the coming to power of Idi Amin signalled the end of the dynamic expansion of the Madhivani Group in the country. Alongside thousands of other Ugandans of Asia descent, Madhivani was banished from the country by the military regime. The group moved their activities to Kenya until 14 years later (i.e. in 1985) when Madhivani returned to Uganda after the government in Uganda invited the family 'to help in rehabilitating the economy' that had almost ground to a halt since 1972.

With financial assistance from the World Bank as well as support and encouragement by the Uganda government, the Madhivani family resurrected the Kakira Sugar Plantation and various other industries. The East African newspaper of November 26 - December 2, 2001 described the partnership: "The success of the partnership between the World Bank, the government of Uganda and the Madhivani Group has become a showcase for economic revival in sub-Saharan Africa."

Case study 6- Robinah Kafeeke

Married with two children, Robinah Kafeeke is one of the few women in high profile businesses that have for a long time been dominated by men- as was highlighted in Margaret Snyder's recent book on 'Women in African economies'. Rising to prominence as a woman publisher, Robinah is one of those women who used their international exposure to their advantage in order to come up with ideas lucrative business ideas.

During the troubled times in Uganda when many people fled the country for various reasons, Robinah was forced to live outside of the country for some time. For most of the early 1980s Robinah lived in a number of countries where she gained administrative work experience with three international agencies before getting exposure in publishing which later become her trade. When she left Uganda towards the end of the era of former president Amin, she worked at the East African merchant bank in Kenya, then a job with the High Court of Kenya and then one with the World Bank. But it was not until she got a job with the Oxford University Press and then Heinemann that her apprenticeship really took root. Of her experience with Oxford University Press, she says working there was a period of mentoring for her. 'Actually Oxford

mentored me. It mentored me in a way because that is where I spent my longest period of time in terms of publishing', she says.

After living and working in Kenya, Zambia, Zimbabwe and the UK, she came back to Uganda when a new government had taken over power in the country. Determined to be self-employed, she turned down offers of employment and she increasingly found herself a misfit because of this. After having worked with those international organizations, her idea was to apply the skills and the experience she had gained. She registered her company RORASH Enterprises with broad objectives of selling Ugandan books and then applied for foreign exchange because at that time returnees were being given some kind of preferential treatment by government. In fact to her pleasant surprise, she was allocated 100000 US dollars for which she had to look for the equivalent Uganda shillings to cover the allocation. Because her husband used to work with Bank of Uganda before they left the country, Robinah used her husband's connection to write to one of his friends to lend them (she and her husband) the equivalent of the allocation (at that time it was seven million Uganda shillings). The friend offered the money interest free but with the condition that the stock be warehoused by the lender which was not a hindrance to Robinah. 'This was not a hindrance on my part. If anything it helped us cut on costs because warehousing costs would have hindered us', she said. By the early 1990s she had gathered enough information about publishing in Uganda and when Heinemann was looking for someone to represent them in Uganda her former boss at Oxford University Press contacted her for the job. "It was fantastic. At long last, a multi-national was working with a local company to produce Ugandan texts," she said of her business partnership with the international publishing company. Today she is looking at other markets and opportunities and RORASH is developing other Readers on AIDS with her as the Harcourt Education (the parent company of Heinemann) HIV/AIDS Representative for the Eastern and Central Africa region.

Case study 7- Victoria Muwanga

A widow with four children, Victoria was the first female *matatu* (minibus) owner-driver in Kampala and probably in Uganda. In a country where there is little information on who is who in terms of an individual's wealth, she one of the few whose profiles has been included among those on women in the economy and her case has captured public attention. Her story is intriguing as it opens one's eyes about the realities of business in Uganda as well as providing an opportunity for an analysis of the women's working environment in a country where women have 'stormed' the political arena and making a 'break-through' from the traditional domains into business ventures like taxi operations, high-tech enterprises, publishing- areas that have in a long time been

dominated by men. Vicky believes there is no reason not to drive instead of hiring young boys, most of whom have never handled a million shillings before. 'They can cheat an owner out of Uganda shillings 100,000, then think they are very rich, stay at home until the money is gone and then come crawling back', she said in an interview with Sunday Vision newspaper (Rwomushana, 1997). She currently has no other business but wants to start small-scale farming to help her sister as well as save enough money for another new vehicle.

Case study 8- Betty Lumu

Betty is the second of the only two women publishers in the country providing a service to Uganda's education system. Dedicated to the business of impacting on several generations to come through her services, Betty, the publishing manager of CMS Publishers Limited is committed to equipping young people with an education package through the primary school books her company publishes and she is very passionate about that idea the outcome of her services will be the foundation for the country. With experience from her former employer of seventeen year (Oxford University Press in Kampala), Betty teamed up with a business friend C. Mukiibi who had asked her to join him to start CMS publishers. This was after she had informed him about leaving Oxford University Press because things were not going very well for the Press not only because of the competition but that the education sector had been attacked by 'a virus called corruption' and this was a problem because Oxford university Press could not compromise on quality and yet tender rules were increasingly being flouted.

To avoid any conflict of interest, Betty says the idea to start CMS Publishers had to wait until she left Oxford. The decision to leave Oxford did not long. When it got to a point where it was like one had to do so much to be able to keep up, she parted company with Oxford and joined her partner to start CMS Publishers Limited. 'He didn't have expertise in publishing but he had the idea and the money. So I told him let me do it,' she said. Although obtaining a first manuscript would have proved difficult, her experience and contacts that she had made while working with Oxford proved a distinct advantage that helped her get in touch with one of the authors (a head teacher of a school in the city) who had written a book for Oxford University Press. 'He had these stories for children and I thought why not start with those?' Betty recalls. The company was registered in 2002 and the first books came out in 2003 and so far they have come up with 8 Readers, with the ninth Reader already gone to press while the tenth is about to be completed. Because publishing is quite capital intensive, Betty has been doing most of the work herself. "I would sit down and actually design the book, edit the text, send it back to the author for proof reading and approval, he would send it back so I would fit the text together with the art

work, then I would come up with a hard copy and a soft copy and send it to the Printary because the Printary must also make a cover, then there you were. It took quite a lot of time. So many hours even on weekends", said Betty, a mother of one child from her previous relationship.

Case study 9- Mariam Luyombo

In Uganda, school proprietorship was not associated with profit making and therefore held little attraction for anyone contemplating to venture into the world of business. But for Mariam Luyombo, the founder and Headmistress of Taibah Girls Secondary School and a number of others that followed, making profit was not her primary inspiration. Rather, she was driven by her work. 'My parents had always instilled in us a sense of pride and accomplishment, a need to be somebody. Given this impetus, I was not likely to do anything else in life. Besides, after going through the educational experience, Namagunga, Makerere [Univeristy], I felt that academia was my calling,' Mariam told The Sunday Vision. As a trained educationist, Mariam was rather concerned with the inadequacy of educational opportunities for girls in Kampala in the 1980s. For her, school proprietorship expanded the frontiers of education in Kampala, giving many girl children opportunities to acquire Western education as a stepping stone to whatever the future held for them, and in the process, helping in the reproduction of the city's social elite. Her husband, a very successful businessman was a bit taken aback at the idea of starting a school. While he thought it made good business sense, he thought it to be a daunting task. Nevertheless he did agree to raise the initial capital for the project and they begun to build in 1988.

Mariam's success with Taibah Girls Secondary School probably encouraged her to found other schools for junior learners. 'Well, I do believe that there are people who know the value of a good education and are fed up with this rat race of *okusomba abana* [dropping and then picking up children from primary schools in and around the city]. At the same time I envision this as an up market school, where education will be something of critical importance. All too often our boarding schools tend not to be terribly particular on matters of food. So you see I will be offering the best of two worlds, during the week, kids will be away at school, they can be brought home and returned on Sunday. When you think about it one probably spends not even 8 hours with kids at home Monday to Friday, so I think the idea of my school is very timely,' said Mariam of her new dream in an interview with the press.

Case study 10- Tereza Mbire

Celebrated as the first Ugandan business woman (rather than trader) of the 1970s (Snyder, 2000), she was recognized with an

award in Monaco, France by The Star Group as one of the 50 distinguished and leading women entrepreneurs of the world for 1999. The Star Group is a global corporation providing consulting services to corporations, associations and government agencies around the world. Tereza Mbire is a co-founded Uganda Women's Finance Trust (UWFT) as well as Uganda Women Entrepreneurs Association Limited (UWEAL).

She started in wage employment as the first woman to be appointed the Executive Housekeeper Trainer at the Uganda Hotels, now called the Sheraton Hotel, between 1968 and 1972. After the expulsion of the Asians in 1972, Tereza borrowed money from her husband, who was working with the Coffee Marketing Board, and ventured into flower business where she was the only florist in Uganda for about a decade. As was common in the late 1970s and early 1980s, her 100 sewing machines which she had acquired in order to embark on a garment industry project, were all looted during the change of government. Although it has not been easy, she did not wither when things proved very tough. As she explained, reaching retirement age, she wanted a peaceful, enjoyable, treasured business. She therefore ventured into interior designing that combined easily with her experience. She is now managing director of Habitat Interior (U) Limited. 'There are three directors of my companies: may two sons and myself' she said. Although she still owns the garment factory, Tereza is grappling with challenges of managing an enterprise in an era of trade liberalization that is pushing offshore industries into the global economy. As she explained, this has at times degenerated into dumping of foreign goods into the economies and makes it difficult for local industries to compete effectively. She observed that while the demand for locally made garments decline, imported as well as smuggled second-hand clothing are flooding the market. 'With the increase in the amount of used clothes imported in the country, we had to reduce the size of the staff in the garment business,' she said (Success, 1998).

Case study 11- Jolly Rwanguha

Jolly describes the business partnership since the early 1980s with her husband, Benon, as fifty-fifty. "Ours is a partnership although I am more active than him and in most cases I take the decisions and then report," Jolly said. Because her husband has a fulltime job, Jolly takes care of the day to day running of the business. However, Benon's contribution is acknowledged. "He comes in at 5.00 pm and on weekends or early mornings during the week," Jolly says. Despite his busy schedule, Jolly says that her husband helps her to design men's shoes and belts plus other leather products after his official work.

Although her company, People's Footwear and General Enterprises, employs 10 workers, you find her as busy as any of them. Her desk is a true reflection of a busy cobbler's makeshift office with

files, leather pieces, tools and some of the finished leather products all over it. She even muses about this.

'When my OBs get me repairing or making shoes, they think I am crazy', she said.

Jolly holds a BSc. Degree in Agriculture and her first job as an agricultural officer was in public service when she was in charge of a cotton project in Jinja district. But she had to retire because it increasingly became difficult to run the business while still working in the civil service. She has no regrets for leaving the public service because she says that they have managed to build a permanent house, educate their children and acquired property- thing they could not afford while she was in the civil service.

Her company products include men and ladies shoes, leather bags, belts, wallets, key holders, mechanical gloves and other small leather articles but despite her efforts to improve the business, Jolly says they are facing unfair competition from second hand shoes that have dominated the market and that is partly why her company has gone into shoes repair.

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW TRANSCIPTIONS

Interview with Mr. Christopher Sembuya held at his office on the premises of his steel rolling company Sembule Steel Mills

Julius
Could you give me a background to your life as an entrepreneur in Uganda?

Christopher
Personally I started as an assistant district commissioner in a place called Moyo in West Nile then in Karamoja. I then moved on to the ministry of finance. But I must say that I had a mind of business even during that time. We were working with government but with the hope that we would leave it. You know our parents used to challenge us.

Julius
Were your parents in business?

Christopher
Not really. But you know they were farmers. They were progressive farmers. I came from a poor background unlike you people these days. But anyway those days our parents used to challenge us that we are educated and working in government but they [parents] are better off and beating us. So it was like you are working in government….and they used to tell us that we had to leave working in government sometime and start our own business. So the sooner you left it, the better. Their philosophy was that you had to leave working in government sooner.
The other challenge also came from government. At that time there was the economic war that was declared during Amin's time. Amin challenged us to take on business.
[The interview is interrupted. He receives a telephone call and answers it before we continue]

Julius
You were talking about your entrepreneurial roots. So when did you take off into business. How did you identify the opportunity for this business?

Christopher
Ok. We linked up with my bother Mr. Buule. We purchased the land here, built a warehouse and formed this company [Sembule investments] and other sister companies like Allied Bank, Pan World Insurance and like. Then we moved on.

Julius
So how did this opportunity come?

Christopher

We had a drive. As I told you ... from our parents. And being young, we had energy, you know. The opportunity was created by government through its economic war that it had declared at the time. This created a vacuum and those people who were in a position to take up these challenges, they took up the opportunities. This was really the time when Africans got a chance. And here Africans should not be blamed. Also others benefited. People like Mukwano for instance. Mukwano was also a poor man if you look at his background. So these people also got opportunities during this time. The Mukwanos, the Karim's [case study 4].
So that is how we started moving. At that time that is when we started getting exposed. You could go outside and then you see how for instance this telephone is made [shows me a telephone hand set]. That is when we found that these things could be done. That is when we also started producing these things, the TVs the radios, etc.
[As he is showing me a telephone receiver made by his company, we get another interruption. This time a receptionist comes in with some document to be signed and also informs him that there is somebody who came with that document and wanted to see him].

Julius
So we were talking about how the opportunities were created.

Christopher
Yes. At that time we started realizing… because when we were young there were people like Madhivani [case study 5]. But now we could see that we were now close to Madhivani. We started realizing that things were really possible. But I must also say that governments at that time were keen. But today now there is globalization. And globalization has made governments forsake their natives. Now they say it is a capitalist….if you don't produce then you collapse.
So we moved on but we also realized we needed trained personnel. People who could come and help us. Perhaps the mistake we made at that time was with the personnel. These were Ugandans in inverted commas. I say in inverted commas because I think we [Ugandans] are yet to grow. Our personnel are yet to grow because when someone is given a job they can't say that at least when I leave the company it should be as I found it or better. Instead as they work here, they also start something similar on the side. So there is this problem. If you look at the economic history of this country, you will find this. Throughout the 40s, 60s and 70s there were a lot of African businesses but there were a lot of these failures. I think we are still learning.
[Another interruption. Takes another telephone call but this time it is more brief]

Christopher
I think because of this, there is mainly today most of the businesses you find they are family businesses. There is also a

new trend and I may be wrong here but nowadays you find that for instance in Spear Motors….and this one I am using as an example. I don't want it to be associated with Spear Motors or anything. But what I am saying is that you find that there is a *muzungu* [white person] in every section. In every section, they have put a muzungu. Because people when you give them a job you find that they are qualified and so on and so forth…KUMBE [yet] as the Swahili say, people want to snatch something. There is that traditional element when people say "you are working in Spear Motors and you are not building for yourself a house!"
But I will still say that the economic war made many of today's African businessmen different from what they would have been had the situation been different.

Julius
So, what issues in your life as an entrepreneur would you say have been the turning point for both you life as well as your business?

Christopher
Of course today people are telling us to concentrate on one or two things. Today the challenge is to see how we can be a bigger organization in order to be able to match other international organizations. Today we are trying to beat off competition. That is where I say there are some disadvantages with globalization. But now they are saying privatization but even with privatization, government must support.

Julius
What issues in your life, business or otherwise, was your ability to cope with challenges been put to a test and how did you go about it?

Christopher
In the earlier years, there was no congestion. But now you have the challenge. How do we keep the units together? Again this where they say that the Africans cannot sustain family businesses beyond when the founder is no longer there. You see when you look at the Indian businesses; they are all run by family members. But for us there is that fear. Will there be continuity after I have gone? Of course we would like to see it continue for like another 30 years or so but there is that fear, the trust. Is there continuity?

Julius
I will ask this with a lot of sympathy but was the death of your brother one of those challenges that your ability to cope was put to test?

Christopher
Yes. I don't know you people call it division of labour. When he was around we had that division of labour. I was mainly in public

relations and with my training in administration, I was more in making sure that people come and buy. And my brother was on the technical side.
Now you have to attend to all this. You come here and they are waiting for you and you have to answer all of them and of course age now…. So adjusting was something difficult. That is where I say was something difficult. That is where I say family businesses are problematic.

Julius
On what issues in your businesses do you devote more of your personal or the company's resources? And why?

Christopher
Now we are concentrating on streamlining steel operations. We are now getting into partnerships with other international agencies. We have given up banking. We are mainly concentrating on steel products and the electronics, lighting……

Julius
How has this affected your business?

Christopher
By focusing on steel products, we may still be major players. And now we have a young person coming in. He is 28 years old. He is my son. He is completing….he is like you…he is completing his Ph.D. in electronics in the United States. So if he can come and put his knowledge here…with all due respect to you, people study and when they reach that level, they don't find interest in these things and they don't think that these are things in which they should devote their time. This is unlike in India where you find that in all these businesses, the people go and study but when they come back, they put their knowledge into the family businesses.
I have my brother, he once said that for his three sons, that two of them he will send to school up to A levels and subsequently to university but that for the third, he will send to school up to O levels only so that the son can join him in his businesses. That because when they go to university, they don't find it interesting to work in the family businesses. The two sons are now prominent lawyers in Kampala. He is my brother. He is called Wasswa- I don't know if you have heard of KIWA industries. He is the owner. But what I am saying is that there is lack of a tradition of putting knowledge in our companies.

Julius
As we come to the end of the interview, I would like you to give me some demographic information regarding yourself and your company. First are you married?
Christopher: Yes.

Julius

How important is your family in your life at present?

Christopher
I come from a prosperous family we were happy never lacked anything. We were not very rich but it was just above that level, you know. I am the first-born. I have sons and they are doing well. One is doing a masters and one is completing his Ph.D.

But we still have ambitions. You know like when you are in school and you used to beat others in class, when one time they come before you, you feel you need to work on it. You don't want them to continue to beat you. I feel I don't have to see Mulwana beating me.

Julius: How old are you?
Christopher: 65 years

Julius: Tell me about your educational background
Christopher: I have a diploma in Business Administration. It was the furthest I could go. I would not be in business if I had gone beyond that. At that time it was attractive to be in government because when you finished you could become for instance a permanent secretary etc. At that time to be a permanent secretary was something big but today it is different. There are people of my age who become permanent secretaries but today they are not like [their economic situation] when they joined government those days.

Julius: How long has your business been in operation?
Christopher: Over 30 years. It was registered in January 1971.

Julius: How many part time and full time employees did you start with?
Christopher: It is difficult to clearly put a boundary but at the beginning we had less than 20. Currently we have between 100 and 200 employees. But there was a time when they ever reached over 500 workers.

Interview with Robinah Kafeeke at her company office

Julius
This interview is intended to solicit information of the nature of a life story of an entrepreneur like yourself. Interested in learning about your experiences in your line of business as well as your views on challenges women face in doing business. But first I will ask about your background. How many children do you have?

Robinah
Biological two. But I have others I care for.

Julius:
What is the highest educational qualification you have attained?

Robinah
Bachelor of Being Around.

Julius:
Bachelor of what?

Robinah
They call it bachelor of being around

Julius
Bachelor of being around?

Robinah
Yes. I think shows the different dimensions education in this country has taken. A BA which has made me successful is now no more marketable. It has made me successful but it cannot make any one today. They hardly get jobs doing just a flat degree of Bachelor of Arts. So they call it….ehh… [LAUGHS].

Julius
And your age?

Robinah
Age in my perception is numbers. So I do not know how old I am but I know when I was born. I was born on the 17th of April 1957.

Julius:
How many employees do you have?

Robinah:
The number of employees including myself are here. [points to a list of names that she had jotted down as she counts them. One, two, three… seven]. They are seven. But it might be worthwhile noting that I actually use a lot of part timers because of the nature of the business. I don't believe in a sizable number. You know. Permanent and pensionable. Because there is an aspect of the business which is marketing and that one is seasonal. So I hire out when the season for marketing comes.

Julius:
Now, could you describe the road map of your current business from its inception to where it is today including how you made it. For instance when did you start and how? Why was this line of business specifically chosen etc?

Robinah:
OK. May be it might be worthwhile noting that I actually lived outside of the country for sometime. Because that will lead you to the road map. The first country I lived in was Kenya and this

was during the troubled times in Uganda. Meaning that was the time when many people fled the country for various reasons.

Robinah:
Yes.
Julius:
Was that during the 1980s?

Robinah:
Yes. The Idi Amin era. I personally left towards the end of his era. So in Kenya… am… who did I work with? I worked with the Merchant Bank, the World Bank, I worked with the High Court of Kenya until I landed the job at Oxford University Press Nairobi. Then thereafter… I mean there was a time when Kenya was getting a bit edgy about the number of Ugandans getting jobs for their nationals and their work permits were a bit strict. So I then moved on to Zimbabwe. I also worked with a publishing firm there- Zimbabwe Publishing House.

Julius
Was that during the 1980s still?

Robinah
Yes. In fact we went to Zimbabwe immediately after I think they had got independence.

Julius
After independence?

Robinah
Immediately after. Yeah. Because it was Mugabe.

Julius
Was that 1981?

Robinah
80, 81. From Zimbabwe I briefly lived in Zambia. I also lived in the UK for one year.

Julius
Ok. These were still the early 1980s. In the UK which firm were you working with?

Robinah
Oxford University Press. Actually Oxford mentored me. It mentored me in a way because that is where I spent my longest period of time in terms of publishing.

Julius:
And from the UK?

Robinah:

From Zambia and then the UK I returned to Uganda.

Julius
So you returned to Uganda. What time was what?
Robinah
Was it 1986, 1987, 1988! Well it was Kaguta's [President Yoweri Museveni's] time. Yeah.

Julius
Ok.
Robinah
Ok. We are still going on. Now when I returned… I mean after having worked with those organizations as I have told you, there was Oxford, there is World Bank, there was East African… that was the Merchant Bank, and the High Court of Kenya. So I came to Uganda and at the back of my mind I really did not want to be employed. I wanted to apply the skill and the experience I had gained. My constraint was start up capital. And it was a weird idea because it was very difficult to tell… I mean it was difficult. It was extremely difficult for any member of my family including my husband to see me turning down offers of employment in favour of self employment and yet I did not have money. Because offers of employment were given. AMREF wanted to employ me. I declined the offer. [International] Conference Centre- they have the documentation department- they offered me a job I also turned it down.
So returnees were being given some kind of preferential treatment if I may put it that way.

Julius
By government?
Robinah
Yes by government. For instance you could apply for foreign exchange to go and get your property. By that time foreign exchange had not been liberalized. So when I returned home, my interest was in books. I looked around and I found myself a misfit. The Oxford University Press that really mentored me already had an agent on the ground. The same goes for other major multinationals. So what occurred to me was first to be a book seller and see how far I go with book selling. So I registered my company RORASH Enterprises at the time with broad objectives- business objectives but my main one at the back of my head was book selling then.
I applied for foreign exchange and the country had meagre foreign exchange at the time. And to my pleasant surprise I was allocated 100,000 dollars. On my part I needed to raise the equivalent. Because when I say allocated it was one thing. There was something that was misrepresented in Margaret Snyder's book. She sort of portrayed it like I got some free credit somewhere. It was not quite free. I had to look for the equivalent Uganda shillings to cover the allocation. It had not been liberalized

yet. It was not a liberalized market. So I had to get the match up in Uganda shillings and the equivalent at the time I think was seven million shillings. So you can quickly work out the rate at the time.
So I used my husband's connection. My husband used to work with Bank of Uganda before we left the country and remember foreign exchange was by allocation. So many allocatees become his friends. In other words there were many business people whose applications were fronted by him. So we wrote to one of the friends to lend us seven million shillings.

Julius:
That was the equivalent of 100,000 dollars I guess.
Robinah:
100,000 dollars. The friend offered the money interest free with only one condition; that the stock will be warehoused by the lender. So in so far as I would withdraw certain quantities, sell off, pay off then I would be allowed to withdraw more. This was not a hindrance on my part. If anything it was… it helped us cut on costs because warehousing costs would have hindered us.
Now this needed a lot of energy to move those quantities out of the warehouse within a reasonable time without making the lender… inconveniencing the lender if I may put it that way. So you can tell… may be at this stage I can also discuss a little bit of the policy.
While I was doing all this I did not know there was a tight government policy whereby it was only two companies… two publishing firms that were allowed to supply books to government.

Julius:
Only two firms?
Robinah:
Only two and these firms had signed long term contracts. I don't know I haven't looked at … I mean I have never had access to the contracts but I was meant to understand they had signed long term contract with the government of Uganda. And these contracts I think came from the Idi Amin era. So there were only two publishers- MacMillan and Longman. period! No other. So my stocks arrive… I think it is all very easy. I visit schools themselves. Little did I know there was an obstacle. But nonetheless, I used my marketing skills. Because at the time districts were empowered. The districts were being given funds. So I went for the districts. Even at the district, the first thing they would ask me was "is the book…the books you are bringing to us recommended by the ministry of education? Where is their recommendation letter?" And I would tell them my recommendation letter is this book which I am trying to sell to you. If you can give me a few minutes then you will gauge it in comparison with what was recommended by government. I am sure at the end of it all you are going to buy my books. And that worked very well. It was tedious because in some cases districts would be anxious to buy but payments would be delayed a great deal. I would have to

make several trips back to the districts to follow up on the payments.
I don't quite remember when I started to be frank with you.
The journey has been a long one and my visits now flow with my work but I think it was the early 1990s because the donors were urging governments to liberalize the economy and the publishing sector also was liberalized in the 1990s. I don't quite remember the years. So they marketed. These multinational companies have information in advance. Information which probably would not be accessed by the local easily. So Heinemann was looking for someone to represent them in Uganda and my former boss at Oxford University Press who I had worked with- the Heinemann staff in charge of Africa some years ago in Nigeria- recommended me. That is how the relationship started. I mean it was a long one. We missed each other, phones were not working. Sometimes they would travel to Kampala to come and meet me. I would not know how long the flight [would take?] I wouldn't know…

Julius:
The people you mean were from the Heinemann?
Robinah:
Yeah the Heinemann. So trips were made and one of the reasons we missed each other was communication owing at the time. The telecommunication system was very poor.
Finally we met. The first obstacle was phones. I would have to make an appointment to talk to him through my brother… [LUAGHS]. So my brother would give him something like one or two days to try and locate me. And when I appear may be his phone is not working. You know. That sort of thing. So it was like a rat race. I don't know how to call it. Eventually we met and they appointed me as their agent in Uganda. Sole agent.

Julius
Sole agent?
Robinah
Yeah. Meanwhile liberalization was on the door step. Meanwhile the development of the new curriculum was on the door step. So there was every need to develop material for the Ugandan market. Heinemann's approach was that because they were a multinational, they publish for a bigger market, they should sell the books from South Africa or the Caribbean. So they wanted any of the already published work from either South Africa or the Caribbean for quick adaptation which proposal I did not like. Because I really wanted to develop materials specifically for this market.

[End of recorded material. More than 40 minutes of recorded material were lost due to bad recording and the environment where the interview took place].

Robinah continued
I wanted these to be my contributions to the country. So eventually they agreed and we started. Our first course was

primary social sciences followed by primary science, primary English and we also made an atlas.

I think let me talk about equity. I don't know how much one can give to researchers... but anyway the bigger part was coming from Heinemann. Their contribution was mainly financial. Theirs was to take care of production costs. My part was service. The partnership went on and grew from strength to strength.

At the beginning of 2000 the ministry changed policy. They introduced a vetting system for books to primary schools. Only 3 publishers per course were allowed. So competition increased. There were many players and competition was stiff. So only two of our courses were included because the tender rules were flouted. I reported this [the flouting] to the IGG but nothing fruitful came from there. I went to courts of law and we are still struggling there. You know we are trying to package education and you know this is the foundation for the country. Now I have one course on the approved list- that is the Primary English.

Our education sector has been attacked by a virus called corruption and this is a big problem because I am a player and a stakeholder. I am now looking at other markets and other opportunities. RORASH is now developing other Readers on AIDS. I am also doing this with Harcourt Education which is actually the parent company of Heinemann. I am also writing a supplementary reader to equip our young people with information about HIV. Given that the market is getting tricky, I am looking elsewhere.

[On personal life issues]
I am the youngest of the family of six. May be I am being... anyway there are two young ones on my Dad's side. For my mum two boys are dead and now we are remaining two girls and two boys. My late brothers left 13 orphans. Under my care I have three undergraduates. Under my roof I have one and the other two are with their mums. So I am a total orphan. I belong to the UWESO (Uganda Women's Efforts to Save Orphans) organization.

[On married life]
I think here let me talk about my husband. He is a globe trotter. He is a shy man and he is not very sociable. For him he likes sports, exercises. Unlike him I am social. I like both dancing and parties. But he has had no problem with my activities. He gives me guidance whenever I seek for it. Being a banker, he finds this sort of work a bit boring. You know publishing is with teachers.
We have two children. The son is in the USA completing a degree in Computer Science. He is performing very well. He is on the Deans list. He at first was taking Bachelor of Business Administration (BBA) at Makerere University Business School but later we decided to change. He is studying at Appalachia State

University in USA. [She shows me a copy of a document attesting to this].
The daughter is in form (senior) six. Her interest was in being a lawyer but through some advocacy on my part with her teachers, she is taking sciences. The advocacy was mainly because I thought that she should be taking a course that will enable her to move away from job seeking to job creation. But also as I understood her, she wanted to be a lawyer but in terms of arguments, when she looses an argument she does not take it very well. So I thought probably law would not be her best option.

[On issues of culture, gender and business]
When I started it was a male domain- I mean the players were men. Now we are two female publishers. The men were not receptive. You know they underestimated our strength. When we proved our worth that is when the flouting started- we had become a threat. They resorted to using corrupt tendencies to get business. Anyway despite all that, schools call me to talk to their students as a role model. So even in these situations solutions can be found. But as you know majority of the people are men and some of them are lustful men. You are a man. You know men have a lot of lust. So, that is there but you have to develop skills to deal with these issues. Sometimes they are not receptive in terms of conversations, meetings etc. Sometimes you had to assert yourself in order to be heard. You had to make them realize we are equal partners.
In publishing women have an advantage. Men don't pay attention to the nitty gritty yet publishing requires that skill. Men look for profit at the end of the day than the development of the product. A female publisher will take advantage of this.

[Other projects]
We launched a trust fund in 1998 to help the community. The major contributor is Heinemann. The idea was mine while the funding was Heinemann. I convinced them it was a good marketing tool. There were mainly three reasons. First of all it is humanity. In addition, it also enables one to transcend business and lastly the people in the communities we serve are needy. So we try to help these communities by plaughing back into the schools. We have built latrines for schools, laboratories, pit latrines etc. it is ongoing but as I said, it depends on profits.
Most recent project (last) was construction of classroom block in Masindi district. [Shows me picture of some of these projects which are extracts from the New Vision of Monday 18th March 2002].

[On membership in groups]
Uganda Publishers Association which is a must for every publisher. This makes me an affiliate member of African Publishers Network and organizations related to publishing. When we joined it was mandatory but now it is not.

If run very well, they can advocate for good policies for the industries because you have similar goals, common objectives, etc. I also belong to the Uganda Writers Association which gives prizes to Ugandans in order to encourage them to write. It is financed by Kinyara Sugar Works. I recently resigned when work in my businesses intensified. It was more of time pressure to leave some of these organizations.

[Advice to Ugandans out there]
If a vaccine for the virus was found, it would be interesting.
Otherwise this kind of work is very fulfilling because you are impacting on several generations to come.
It needs dedication, endurance, and it pays off.

Interview with Betty Lumu

Julius
So if I may start with asking for the demographic information like the number of employees, the size of the company as a whole and some personal information like whether you are married or not, whether you have children or not, etc. So are you married?

Betty
I am single

Julius
Ok and children any children?

Betty
One

Julius
Does your marital status affect the way you run your business?

Betty
I will put it this way, I found that probably being single I have more time at hand and I feel I am quick at making decisions and another reason is that I found I had problems at first but I am used to it now. I was leaving with someone for ten years and then we parted company. So now for 4 to 3 years [...] around there. yeah. For now 2 to three years I find decision making easy and problems easy to cope with because you don't entangle them with domestic problems. You can't mix with business problems. Because sometimes the business problems you find when you are with someone you put the two together, then it becomes a problem.
Although now I have a friend but we don't mix the two.

Julius
Tell be about your education?

Betty

I have a master in information science I don't want to go into a PhD [laughter]

Julius
And employees?

Betty
Employees, at the moment, I just have two.

Julius
Only two employees?

Betty
I have two employees because I am the publishing manager and we have a director. We have sales representatives, there are two sales representatives [Loud noises of seemingly delivery men are heard from outside the office and they affected the audibility of the next two lines] because so far the business is still small. We are just beginning. The experience I got from my former employer, at the moment I take it easy. Because you [The noise continues and eats up more of what Betty was saying] definitely know how the companies grow... from the start, you move it around and....

Julius
I guess you will be talking more about the experience you have just given. What is your age?

Betty: I am 43

Julius
You are a publishing company. What do you publish?

Betty
We publish books, monographs,

Julius: For any level?

Betty
For the start we are doing the primary schools because of the nature of the job. It takes quite a bit to publish good material and it takes time. So we thought for a start lets us do primary schools little booklets that will actually put us on the market. At the moment, I am trying to get the company to be known. I am trying to get the company on the market, the publishing on the market, I am trying to get as many people as possible to get to know us. I am [basically] trying to get in the primary schools as well as secondary schools just in case we come up with publishing in secondary schools to get the picture and to know them and if they can come up with the money, it suits well and good. I am also trying to get agencies, you know, rather like people who want to represent them. But may be international publishers and

whether there is a market there, what can be involved [we have sent] our questionnaires on publishing [out] I can use my experience [to get] people who have got the [money] so that is what my focus is. That is why I spend most of the time thinking and marketing [...] because the beginning is not easy.
[Much of the last part was not easy to transcribe because of other background noise as well as the softness of Betty's voice at this point. She received a call on her cell phone at this point which she answered briefly]

Julius
Ok, so we have talked about what you do as a company and with whom. We have also talked about how your marital status affects or does not affect your business. Are there issues relating to gender and culture, if any have affected your business.

Betty
This one I will be [frank] with you, in this corrupt world we are, you find that sometimes it hinders progress because there are certain expectations that you cannot meet. Expectations like somebody wants to.. You know, like to take a bribe, or whatever and then it is like they are not out to be able to tell you that. And they can't come out to say that we did this because you are a woman. And sometimes they do expect us to go out in the market and [...] probably it looks more like a man's world when it comes to that kind of thing. It is like we women are supposed to be seated somewhere and selling but when it comes to marketing you have to move. You have to get out to the field. So that is one of the things. And then it is always like a very competitive world, that it feels.. You feel kind of male chauvinism is still there. It always wants to.. always kind of [rushing] to get to the finishing line first. Knowing, you know, when, it is like always there. They take it like a race, no matter what it takes, they have to get there. When in actual fact that they are spoiling the business. They always look at the immediate future. That is my problem. But then that should also not hinder progress because what we do is that we.. once you have a vision, it does not matter how long it takes to get there.

Julius
Ok, and do you belong to any group may be a personal group or professional?

Betty
Yes. Apart from the publishing association, which, as a publisher I belong to, I also belong to a group called Freshman limited. This is a group of people who put together their money to buy land, to do business. We meet every once a week, we all don't have to come together because we have an annual general meeting by the end of the year but if possible if we can we get together once a week every Tuesday and we meet and we discuss to see how

we can venture into business [...] or profitable ventures or something like that.

Julius
And why did you find it important to join that one?

Betty
Why I found it important was because it has a variety of characters. It has lawyers, it has doctors, and it has businesspeople even those who are not that highly educated but quite successful. So its.. so I found it rather good for me to tap their brain, to learn from some of them, because you can't close yourself and think you are going to.. you know everything. So it is like also learning to get the benefit of their experience and which I thought would be useful and the bottom line is to be able to make the money. [In the end] the money comes and in the long run you benefit. And that is [...] and their brain. Brain people like.. you learn a lot from people when you are interacting with the various people.

Julius
Now, may be just give me some sort of road map of CMS, where you have come from, up to where you are, why you decided to even start it at all, anything you feel is important for someone to understand how you got where you are.

Betty
CMS Publishers actually was a brainchild of the director, Mr. Mukiibi. He is a lawyer. The time when he came up with the idea, I had informed him about leaving Oxford University Press because things were not going very well for the press because of the competition, the corruption, and all that..

Julius
Ok. So you worked for Oxford University Press before?

Betty
Yes for about seventeen years and trouble started probably in 19..in 2002. That is when competition was stiff. We could have actually withstood the competition but we couldn't compromise on quality. That is one thing Oxford does not do. Having to be international, probably that is why they have been in existence for more than five hundred years because they know once you compromise on quality, you might leave the stage much sooner than later without realizing it will affect you. You think it is making you get a lot of money, yet it will actually affect you in the long run.
So then he came up with the idea, anyway then I couldn't do it because if I started it could be conflict of interest and it could cause me problems. Now I had to wait until I left Oxford. So I parted company. And he didn't have expertise in publishing but he had the idea and the money so then I told him let me do

it. Then question was how do we have the manuscript? For that I had to get from an author, one of our authors who had been our customer. He had actually written a book for Oxford University Press. He was running a school and it is called Hillside High Bunamwaya. He is the head teacher of that school, so I had known him for quite sometime probably for as long as I worked for Oxford. So he had these stories for children and I thought why not start with those? Because publishing is quite capital intensive so you have to be very careful how you tread before you start. Slowly by slowly and so far we started. The company was registered in 2002 then we started in 2003 and so far we have come up with 8 readers and we are yet to complete the tenth although the ninth reader has gone to press.
We started with the first one and then we tried to market it but being a series of books, it was very difficult because we were not known in the market and you know you talk about.. this is one of the stories of nine in a series so the people are very eager to see the second one, and the third one and the fourth one so they could say why aren't they getting them. All of them because they say we can buy all of them but then this is the talk that comes from people who don't know [about publishing]. They know text books. they know. Still they don't know what it involves. So slowly by slowly we came up with the second one, the third one, lastly or finally we came up in December, no in January we came up with calendars. We didn't have calendars which have helped us, we have been distributing at schools and books for short stories we have come a long way.
I was doing the work myself, most of the work myself. I would sit down and actually design the book, edit the text, send it back to the author for proof reading and approval, he would send it back... so I would fit the text together with the art work. Yeah there I was I would come up with, with a hard copy and a soft copy and send it to the printery because the printery must also make a cover, then there you were. It was quite, it took a lot. So many hours even on weekends. So, it started becoming interesting but with a lot of patience, taking a lot of tenacity, there I was. So if I look at them I smile and I am happy because I am publisher. I want to be around. so far they are coming up with some orders though not as big as you would expect but still it is ok because when we started, the books came out probably late October, it was difficult because that is the third term. Third term revision books, people were preparing for exams. It was difficult. So people were just looking at them and promising to buy next year. So people wanted know the people behind before they take them. But there we were.

Julius
Could you tell me something more about why you left Oxford University Press?

Betty

Actually even Oxford itself had got to the end of the pressure because it is like when you get to that stage and you are still operating in an environment that is not as conducive as it has been or as you want it to be. You have these employees, ok then you start kind of trimming down the size of the company. You start off like that you move up. You are seven people in a district or two and now you come into a smaller office and now you are only two people. You are doing a lot much more, a lot of work but then it is not as stressful as it was but still the company has to have money to be able to run, to pay employees. So Oxford kept the employees and so it got to a point where it was like they were throwing good money after bad, if I may put it that way. Anyway not as such but it was like you have to make so much to be able to keep up. So if you don't make, say for two three years, and it is not the employees' fault at all. If it is their fault, then you can always hope to fire those ones and get another lot. But then it is not the employees' fault, they are doing their work, they are trying as much as possible to market the books but still , it is a closed kind of shop. They don't want anybody to get in.

There is this tendering process that came about. That one is like actually judging a book by the cover! And normally that is what we [experienced] but that is what they were doing.

They don't look at the text. They say, ok we requested you for six dummies, six copies of that and once they open the box and there are no dummies, they will not look at your content. So in that case no matter how much Oxford is putting whether it has [got] English Language teachers, they will not look at your books once you do not qualify. You will fail [at the stage of applications] or they may say the paper you have used is not [the right one] so that is actually what we said is like judging a book by its cover. You are disqualified, once the perception was like you had not conformed [to the guidelines laid down] in the tender document, therefore, you are out! So it was quite difficult. So you can imagine you are about twenty people and there are three positions and all of you are vying for that everybody is fighting to get it. so the moment you tighten the process, the moment you close it and leave it to three people that is when I think corruption takes place because I am also everybody is dying to make sure, mine gets the third, second place or first place. So it was quite difficult and you know this is a reputable company. The Oxford University Press was, you know, it was big. It is a department of a university [of Oxford]. Everything revolves around that. So they are not going into that kind of situation whereby they are caught bribing, or they are in corruption and whatever because they think if they have a good product.. its like water it will find its level.

So all that, putting all that at the back of my mind I think I brought that experience to CMS. Yeah and no matter how long it takes, I will come up with quality products.

Interview with Tereza Mbire

[Tereza rejected the request for the interview to be recorded on tape and also requested for it to be done with in a short time. I promised to keep the interview short and since I had already read her autobiography. I also suggested that the interview will start with getting some clarifications regarding any issues I will have identified from her autobiography titled *Tereza Mbire: Shaping of a destiny - An African Woman's story of challenges, perseverance and triumph*]

Julius
On page 87 in your book you mentioned that when former president Amin expelled Asians from Uganda, your friend by the name Begum knew that you were looking for something of your own to do and so she offered her shop at a bargain price. Do you remember how much that bargain price was?

Tereza: No I don't remember.

Julius
You also mentioned that you borrowed some money and bought her shop with all its stock. From where did you borrow the money?

Tereza: I borrowed the money from my husband.

Julius
On the next page you in fact said that with reluctance, you turned to your husband for help. Why reluctantly?

Tereza
This being the first time to take over Asians property, no one was sure of the political turbulence, no body was sure of the future. Nobody was sure of the future of Uganda. Of course in such a situation my husband was no exception.

Julius
So you borrowed from your husband and you were to pay the loan back?

Tereza: Yes. I repaid my husband.

Julius
Apart from lending you the money to start the business, was your husband involved in your business later?

Tereza
No he was not involved. You know he was working with Coffee Marketing Board. He was not involved apart from giving me the freedom to do what I wanted and the support with the family like when I would travel abroad for business.
He was a gentleman and very understanding. He never stood in my way.

Julius
When I looked at the responses of the respondents of my earlier survey among small scale entrepreneurs around town, I noticed that there appears to be the idea that behind those that had become successful, there was a man who had either provided them with start up capital or gave advice and sometimes even was the one to make the decisions regarding the business. What do you comment on this?

Tereza
You know in our language there a saying that behind every successful man there is a woman. But now we have changed it. We are now saying that behind a successful woman there is a man.
But again this is for both of the spouses. What I mean is that if any of the two is supportive then he will give you freedom to do what you want to do. This is for either spouse. Like for my case when he would take care of the family when I have travelled abroad for business. So it is not just money. He doesn't have to give you money as support. It can be any kind of support. So the support from either side is very important. It is like when you go to the bank to borrow money and then make profit. We say that bank has supported you.

Julius
In your life as an entrepreneur, what would you was your turning point?

Tereza
Venturing into business and I see it start and operate and make some profit. I call that success. And success is not realizing millions but realizing a dream. For example in furnishing, I think my success is when customers are happy with what I have done. For example a customer may give their empty house; you furnish them from sofas to curtains. Now when they walk in they feel happy with my work and when you walk in their house after let us say five years you find that where you left a chair is where it still is.
As another example, up today people still tell me that home pride bread was the best bread they have ever tested.
Then about the flower business, which is over 30 years ago, I meet people who say (especially the ladies) this is the lady who made the flowers for my wedding. Moreover this after 30 years! They do not give me money but they appreciate.

Julius
I read about the businesses you mentioned in your book but did not see this one you call BasiX and the one on Conrad Plaza. So how many businesses do you have and can you enumerate them?

Tereza

Presently I have only two: BasiX and Habitat Interiors. One is a furnishing shop and the other one is a retail for domestic appliances.

Julius
And how many employees do you have in those businesses?

Tereza
They are 45.

Julius
Another issue that I have come across but mainly from male respondents regards continuity of the business after the founder has either retired or for any reason is not active in the business. What have you done regarding this? Do you have someone who will continue? Or is there one already working with you?

Tereza: Yes I have my son who is working with me.

Julius: Why not a daughter?

Tereza
If they are married like in Kenya or wherever, will I go and get them from their marriage?

Julius
There is also the point some respondents have made that the children after studying they don't want to come back to the family business and utilize that knowledge that they have acquired in the business. What do you say?

Tereza
But I think on this issue its both ways. It is not only the children who do not want to come back to the family business. I think it's also they way we bring them up. The Asians for example, their children say my shop right from when they are young. But for ours, they say my father's or mother's shop. I think the way we bring them up, they grow up knowing that it's not theirs. So there is that cultural problem. That relation is what has failed us.

Julius
As a last word, any advice on upcoming entrepreneurs

Tereza
I have summarized it in my book. But I always give people two examples. One is about water. I always say to people that we have so much water around us but don't use it. But you see someone come from abroad, say Canada, uses some machines and then sells to us our water.
The second example is about fish. I have said we are the ones who go and fish. Sometimes our boys drawn (or get involved into other

such dangers and hazards) but meanwhile the Asian waits at the shore for the fish and he is the one who exports the fish.

I have also told people to look for money because money will not look for you. When you are sitting who will put money in your hands?

Interview with Jolly Rwanguha
[Just like Tereza, Jolly also declined my request to record the interview]

Julius
Could you describe the road map of your business from its inception to where it is today including how you made [e.g. when did you take off and how? Why was the specific one chosen? etc].

Jolly
I started by trading in small merchandise. I used to buy leather items in Jinja and sell them in Kampala while I was still a student at university. So when I finished university we employed skilled people. We were working from home [in Jinja]. My husband was working in Jinja and I was working with the ministry of Agriculture. Around 1984-85 we bought some machines and hand tools and in 1986 we rented premises on Iganga road and registered the company in the current name [People's Footwear and General Enterprises]. The premises however, were eventually repossessed by the custodian board and we had to move to this place. But even this one we are still renting but this is owned by Ugandans.
In 1995, I went for the training and was sponsored by UNIDO but still I have obtained most of the skills on the job.

Julius
When and why did you leave the civil service?

Jolly
In 1991 because one of us had to leave the civil service because it was increasingly becoming difficult to run the business while still working in the civil service. This business is a partnership between me and my husband in a fifty-fifty partnership. So I left the service.

Julius
How about start up capital? How did you come up with it?

Jolly
This was from family savings and later on we got loans from some relatives and since that time, we have been getting loans from several organizations.

Julius

When I looked at the responses of the respondents of my earlier survey among small scale entrepreneurs around Kampala and its surroundings, I noticed that there appears to be the idea that behind those that had become successful, there was a man who had either provided them with start up capital or gave advice and sometimes even was the one to make the decisions regarding the business. What do you comment on this? What has been your experience?

Jolly
Ours is a partnership although I am more active than him and in most cases I take the decisions and then report.

Julius
How have you managed to reconcile family responsibilities with the business demands?

Jolly
At the moment, I have no small children but even that time [when I had them], I would get people to help and even on the other side of the business it was the same. But even before that I was working in office so when I got into business, it did not make much difference.

Julius
So you said yours is a partnership, what role does the husband play regarding the day to day running of the business?

Jolly
For him he is employed. He comes in at 5.00 pm and weekends or early mornings.

Julius
Do you belong to any group (personal, professional, or business?) If yes, which ones? And why?

Jolly
I belong to the Uganda Gatsby Trust which has branches in many districts in the country. So ours is the Jinja Gatsby Trust. The Uganda Gatsby Trust has its headquarters in the faculty of Technology at Makerere University. In fact it is a collaboration of Makerere University's faculty of technology with the small manufacturers. So the faculty of technology in association with small manufacturers looked for sponsors and Gatsby is one of them. It is a UK (Gatsby Charitable Trust) charity organization with representation in Cameroon, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. So in Uganda, the funding is channelled through the faculty of Technology. Apart from running this program, the faculty also gives training, loans, as well as attaching their students for industrial training, designing simple tools, they assist in

obtaining machinery/ act as guarantors even for loans to give us capital.

I used to be a member of UMA but I eventually realized they were not addressing issues of small scale traders. I am now inactive. I am a member of the international inner wheel voluntary organization. I also belong to the mother's union, women awake and NAOWU.

Julius
Another issue that I have come across but mainly from male respondents regards continuity of the business after the founder has either retired or for any reason is not active in the business. What have you done regarding this? Do you have someone who will continue? Or one who is already working with you?

Jolly
Our children work with us in business during their vacation. The one you met here who I have sent somewhere in town is one of them. So at least they know what happens hear. But they have to continue with their education although it is not related to this business. But the problem is that we don't have good institutions for this type of business.

Julius: Do you have other business interests?

Jolly
This is our major business. We have been involved in tree planting business but things are getting complicated and I don't think we shall continue.

Julius
What has been your turning point in your life as an entrepreneur?

Jolly
It is both negative and positive. The negative is the influx of second hand shoes. They had a big impact on business. The positive was the training. The training was good because before, I was supervising but without knowing why things were happening they way they were. Also through UMA and Gatsby, I was able to attend trainings to enhance my skills.

Julius
What challenges have tested you ability to cope with problems of doing business?

Jolly
The second hand shoes and their arrival on the market has been a snag in business and the policies have not been helpful because they allow any rubbish to come on the market in the name of shoes. They allow importation of plastics, bags, shoes etc.

partly that is why we went into repair. In fact you find that we earn more in repairing than in making shoes.

Julius: How do you see the future of your business?

Jolly
People are starting to realize that after all second hand is not good. Also the repair has a bright future.

Julius: Any advice to aspiring entrepreneurs?

Jolly
This business is more paying than in the civil service only that you have to balance both the family and the business. like for me I don't drink, I don't go to bars so during the weekends I am at home. Business calls for a lot of discipline. If you are extravagant, you can not manage small scale business.

Julius: Can you give me a brief background about yourself?

Jolly
My father and mother were primary school teachers and being teachers, I attended more schools in primary than the classes because they kept on transferring my parents to different schools in Rukungiri. For secondary school I went to Bweranyanji Girls School where I studies for my O-levels and for A-levels I went to Mount St Mary's Namagunga. Then I went to Makerere University. We were three daughters.

Marital status
Married with six children (all daughters); age - 47.

Education
BSc in Agriculture from Makerere University and a certificate in shoe making from Nairobi

Employees
At the moment there a six (6) employees including my self.

Julius
Lastly, I intend to include you in the write up of this research project. Do you mind if I indicate your names in the write up?

Jolly: No I don't.

Mariam Luyombo

Mariam preferred to answer the questions during her own free time. This is what she replied to my request for an interview

I do not have time for interviews. I have realized there are many of you researchers and if I granted interviews to each one of you, then I would not have time to do my business. Although I understand it's good to respond to your research, there are too many of you. What I have decided is if you have written questions you give them to me and then I will answer them.

So she asked me to give her my questions and then after two days I would collect her responses which are provided below].

Introduction

This interview is intended to solicit information of the nature of a brief life story of an entrepreneur like yourself. The information will be used together with other information from other respondents ONLY for purposes of my Ph.D. study and will be used with utmost confidence. The information needed is structured under four main subheadings and you may use the space below the questions to answer.

Part One: Demographic data

How many employees do you have in your business(es)? 200

What is the highest level of education that you have obtained?
Masters Degree in Education

What is your age? 41

Marital status: Married

Part Two: About the business

Question

Could you describe the road map of your current business from its inception to where it is today including how you made [i.e. when did you take off and how? Why was the specific one chosen? etc].

Response

The business started in 1991 after noticing an acute shortage of girls' secondary schools. Taibah started in a three bedroom house of 1 S.1 class and grew to a full school (40 pupils to 500 between 1991- today). 1998- I opened Taibah Junior school and in 2000 Taibah college school both of which are mixed weekly boarding schools- the first of their kind in Uganda. Both started with 100 students and now have 500.

Question

Apart from school proprietorship, do you have any other business interests?

Response: Yes

Part Three: Life issues

Question
What has been your turning point in your life as an entrepreneur? Please elaborate.

Response
Attending an entrepreneurship course which has enabled me to set up procedure dependent systems.

Part four: Gender, culture and business

Question
If at all, how does your marital status affect the way you run your business?

Response
My husband is very supportive of my business and he is the one who gave me the start up capital. I feel very guilty about not spending enough time with my family when I have to work long hours.

Question
When I looked at the responses of the respondents of my earlier survey among small scale entrepreneurs around Kampala and its surroundings, I noticed that there appears to be the idea that behind those that had become successful, there was a man who had either provided them with start up capital or gave advice and sometimes even was the one to make the decisions regarding the business. What do you comment on this? What has been your experience?

Response
Refer to above. I believe that I would still have started a school without my husband as I have had the vision since I was 18 years old.

Question
Another issue that I have come across but mainly from male respondents regards continuity of the business after the founder has either retired or for any reason is not active in the business. What have you done regarding this? Do you have someone who will continue? Or one who is already working with you?

Response
As earlier mentioned I have worked hard to set up systems that are dependent on documented procedure and NOT ON INDIVIDUALS. I am also actively training my middle managers and equipping them with headship skills. Even if I am not around things should go on.

Question
Do you belong to any group (personal, professional, or business?) If yes, which ones? And why?

Response
Uganda Women Entrepreneurs Association Limited (UWEAL) - for sharing of ideas, and marketing, etc.

Question
Lastly, I intend to include you in the write up of this research project. Do you mind if I indicate your names in the write up?

Response: No I don't mind.

APPENDIX 3

Transcriptions of entrepreneur's presentations made at management conference

Karim's invited address

People will think how does tourism become an export? It becomes an export because tourists bring foreign exchange. Anything that brings in foreign exchange is termed as export because that is what we need, that is what the world needs. We need people to bring export money or bringing more expenditure here so that we can get that money and use it for further development in Uganda. The importance of tourism today is because as you see what was ten years ago or of fifteen years ago or what is today, hotels have improved a lot, the infrastructures have really come up and we must make sure those infrastructures are really worthwhile to use and they are properly marketed. A tourist to come to any country, he needs 2 or 3 very important factors to see that these things exist.

One is security, secondly, if he is coming to Uganda what is he gaining? Why doesn't he go to neighbouring countries? What is there in Uganda? Thirdly, he must get to see that he is also competitive in his expenditure. Like everybody when they go out, they want to make sure that they get the best drinks and water. As you all know since the last few years we had some small problem. We had insecurity in Kasese side. We were hit by Ebola, we've been hit by insecurity and the worst was last year when on the Pakwachi road, when we had this catering gentleman named by Sekasi. He and his students had a bad incident where a lot of people were killed. And you know today the problem is when you have a small incident. I will call it a small incident because these things happen everywhere in the world. But when we have a small incident here our media is too fast. And with electronic media today, it shouts so quickly throughout the world: "Oh this thing has happened!". We do not say it has not happened, but the way it is portrayed I don't say it is the way they do it. They should take it very lightly and very seriously. I don't say they should not take it seriously but they should make it in a way that does not make people fear. Today we have very nice infrastructures as I told you. Tourists are now getting [interested] in coming to Uganda to come and spend those dollars here. Recently we had some good news from the ministry of finance in this last budget which we have been fighting for. They have been comparing our rates with neighbouring countries. You see you put in rates by looking at what it costs you to run a hotel. Today hotels in Uganda, they are in a sorry state. I don't want to mention... but you can see a lot of hotels are in problems. A lot of banks are [cracking down] on the hotels because we don't have enough tourists.

Why do we not have enough tourists?

One is what I mentioned, it is because of the small incidences that take place, they are blown out of proportion. Secondly, we have big expenses than the neighbours.
Why do we have big expenses?
You see because of not good occupancy, they become expensive. You will ask what happens to an industry when they are not selling? They are only increasing prices. I will give you and example here. With industry and hotel, they are two different investments. In an industry, if the industry is not selling a particular product, it says right now we have so much stock that for two months, we do not need to produce. It will either tell the workers to be working few hours so that the expenses are little, they will switch off power where they will not have any bills, and they will not be using so much water because workers will not be there. But in the hotel industry, it is different. Even if you have one room occupant you have to keep the entire staff because you do not know what is going to happen tomorrow. You might get people coming in. So our expenses are ALL the same at ALL TIMES. So this is what I say that our industry is very different than the industrial businesses. So all the time we have to be cost conscious. Fortunately this is a bit what Gordon [case study 1] said it is a bit opposite. That might be you are lucky the ministry of finance waved the VAT on rooms and CF because before that we gave them the rates, and how the hotels were operating. So from the budget we are not paying any VAT only. We were fighting to get the VAT exempted on everything including the hall in which you are in but there is a saying which says *kamu kamu* [one by one]. So slowly in the start, going slowly, we shall go that slowly.
What I want to emphasize here is that to get developments, we really need security. We shall need good products which I am sure now hotels are really displaying good products. We need the government to support. It is very essential here. Like last year we had only 820 tourists! Could you believe it? In the whole year? That is how many a month? And those people are recorded as tourists when they enter because I do not know what to do. If you went to London even if you went to do what, you will say I have come here for a visit, even if you are not going to stay there. It is very common for people to fill in a form and that is the study we need our tourists association to get at. We are still in a very sorry state. We do not have enough tourists and this is really affecting our foreign exchange. Today if you see the whole country, the whole of the country, if you go to… I am not going to say mine is a good hotel or what. But what I say is if you go to hotels of 2, 3, 4 or 5 star hotels, we do not have more than 1800 rooms in the country on that category and still if you see the occupancy, we do not have 1800 occupancy in this country. We are the major beneficiaries of donor countries especially on the AIDS because we have been very very straight in talking it out. We do not keep anything hidden and we are supported by NGOs to have big conferences here, still we do not have the occupancy. With the research it is true when all the hoteliers bring in

their things [data?], if you see the occupancy rate in terms of [...] we are 20-30% I am talking of the 1800 rooms existing in town. Today, to run a business as I told you, we can not reduce employees, we can not switch off lights or what even if we have few rooms.. so you can understand that to get the tourism industry very very viable we have to promote it.
Now what do we promote? What does the government do? The government have to put in good security. Security is number one which I think that the government is really working hard on it. Once the security is good, I am sure Uganda, people will like it. We need to have the national parks done very well. I do not know if you people have been to Mweya. I went to Para Safari lodge about 2 months ago. When I reached there, I had tears in my eyes. I went with my sister who had come from Vancouver and we were only four of us in the whole hotel, that beautiful renovated Paraa Safari lodge. So when I was asking these people why are people not coming or were fearing to go there. Ok they fear coming because of this Sekasi thing but it is not dying. It is the media, it is the tourist board who have got to spell out that this thing happened, it is normal, this thing happens everywhere in the world. We don't have tourist promotion. I think everywhere in the countries that matter, they should put tourist offices. In our embassies we should have a desk where they should give information. How people who want to come to Uganda, what would they find there? I will tell you one thing. There is nothing like people of Uganda. They are very nice and nice talking people. So here what I say it is government who has to push so that we get business. Not businesses such that we want business. Yes we want business that is expected but we want them to push so that people come and visit us. We also need here to make sure that the roads are fine. I don't have to talk much about it. I was even [trying] to talking to the owner of Para Safari lodge. When I got quite a lot of clients you know sometimes we have people who come from outside. They want to book our hotels for at least a year. What I mean is that if they have groups they come here. It was so unfortunate that when we went to Para, the ferry was out of order. The gentleman had to go in a small boat or whether it is called a canoe or what. First of all me I fear water but because of business, I said lets cross, lets go the other side, lets go to the hotel. When I was talking to the gentleman here-the manager, I said with all this investment, why don't you people get your own ferry so that you do not have this problem? He said this problem is so much. We have requested the government to allow us to get our own ferry and they said no. it is the Uganda Wildlife Authority that is supposed to operate that ferry and the law in this country says that an individual is not supposed to operate the ferry. He said even all those clients are going because the thing is out of order. So you can imagine how I am loosing! Me I told him does this thing reach the PS [permanent secretary] or the people concerned and he said yes. So here I think government should be a bit more quick and quick thinking to see that those small bits don't deter the tourism industry. Today

if you went to Bwindi forest, government has done a lot. It has put in a lot of security, a lot of military personnel which is needed there but again with military personnel we have a lot of problems because somebody will see the military with the gun. For what? Again this is not what they want to see. What they want is something which is going to attract them. I have been caught by time. I am sure I can take the whole of today, the tourism industry is facing a lot of problems and small bits such as those am sure make it worse.

Audience questions
Question 1
The question t goes to both the gentlemen. What is the right mix of qualities that one needs to be successful in business especially in Uganda? Is it knowledge of so many people?

Karim's response to question 1
Looking at it. Who are my competitors? Who or what is the market? If I did this business will I get this clientele? And plus in business you must be very careful when borrowing comes they will write about it.
What I see with people here is they do not do good planning. When the business is started you always want to go deep far away looking at people who have already been successful. Success is not today or tomorrow. Success is a long-term thing. Here people once they have a small business, they look so far away. They go to the bank. They take proposals which have been prepared not by them but by the auditors, by professionals, by feasibility studies people, which sometimes doesn't work. He takes his house. He mortgages his house because he has got the money, planning is wrong, then you see what we hear is newspapers people following up.
What I want to say is that even today there are very, very good businesses which people can do.
You see there is a saying in Luganda which says "omumpi wakoma wakwata" [he that is short only reaches out for that which he can manage to reach]. [LAUGHTER FROM AUDIENCE] You know what I mean. That is how we should look at it. We should only do business where we know that we can handle it.
I am sure Sembuya [case study 2], Mukwano, everybody. Even Mulwana. I know Mulwana for that. He says I left school...Jessa... How he started. I am sure Sembuya will tell us those stories.
Once you plan it, you can go slowly, and slowly. I know people have high aims. It is nice to aim high but sometimes it is a risk. In business you must plan and make sure when you are doing business you don't have to go and have a nice office. You are sitting in your office and just directing people. Have a hands on business sense of it. I believe in it. Me I start my business very early in the morning. I can just be sitting and directing people from my office but what I believe is hands on business. You must have hands on. You must know everything. Today in this

electronic world, I can just go in my office and know what is happening in Kampala. It is so easy but what you have to know is that what you are doing needs to be followed up.

Question 2
The questions go to both gentlemen. Let them tell us the main challenges that they have faced when they were starting their businesses and in the running of their businesses. Because possibly some of the things that could stop people from starting their business could be those kind of challenges and may be how they overcame them so that people who want to start or who are running businesses could learn from that.

Karim's response to question 2
The country needed some people. We did not have some good hotels. When I bought Hotel Equatoria from the owners and rehabilitated it, during that time there was no good private hotels in this country and Ugandan hotels were deteriorating. So I said, "let me face this challenge".
What challenges did I face? I am telling you about the hotel industry. Challenges there was undercutting but then you also look at it. How do I succeed in them? By giving them a better product, by giving them a better service. Challenges in every business are there, every business has got different types of challenges. The only way to defeat those challenges is to say, " yes I am going to do it". Get determined. Don't over do it. Make your place very comfortable, assemble what you need. If you have the right product I am sure challenges will be over ruled. That is how you defeat challenges. On challenges, it is determination, good service, quality product and a good product.

Sembuya's invited address

Mr. Chairman, I am happy that I have been invited again this morning to talk, more or less to wind up, on what points I mentioned yesterday. I will not repeat them and I will be very brief because those who were here, we went through them. I will come to address how to start businesses. That will be the main point I am going to mention and then after that we will come to see how if we come back some two years, how could we be called Your Excellences here? You have heard one Excellency here. How do we become Karim? Because we should learn to be like Karim. Those who want to be like Wavamunno, Karim. Whether Mukwano and the like. How do we become Dembe? Because they have a history that not many others do believe we can and he is here to tell us. They were just asked. With small income how can we move forward? The points I am going to put forward will again be about being Karim in the businesses, be major manufacturers, or producers, or running big hotels. It is the emphasis for this meeting. But yesterday you remember I did suggest or emphasize that this country probably needs to train young men and women in the country and develop them as businessmen and businesswomen geared

at exporting. Just as I mentioned earlier that in Antewarp, I had been there many times. What I found was that all along they were exporting many goods which were not actually made in Belgium. But they were supplying to steel mills, steel factories in Uganda buying those materials from other places like Japan. We knew very well and we know very well that they do not produce but they have facilities that were attractive. So here when we are training I think here we can use those opportunities to increase our exporters and therefore become major producers eventually or suppliers of materials in the country. The other element I have talked about is a policy where working closely between exporters in a developing country. Between exporters and the manufacturers who are here who may be just busy producing and we help them to export. And by exporting it means they will increase their production and their earnings. Yes. I am talking about those who, you know, would like to get involved. Many of you who are trained, well educated, and will have to move. I will emphasize again I will have to see Karims, Mukwanos, Wavamunnos and many others in this country. Because these are the names. We still have few. When we go out we will hear Mulwana, every time Karim, everybody Sembule. But how many are they really? About a hundred Karims? I am sure you will not hate seeing many of you running these businesses.

I told you ladies and gentlemen that in my case, I was working here in the ministry of finance. I was principal finance officer and when we were called in 1972-3 by the government then, that you come and start businesses, we moved. I had a small trading business, it was a small shop in Ndeeba called Ndeeba Hardware. When I started, they were just hardly, for today's money may be less than a million shillings but at the same time because of the ideas I and my brother Mr. Buule had. We applied to the city council for a piece of land. The man who was there, who was authorizing for us happened to be Mr. Wavamunno. I am sorry he is not here. But when I said we want to put up factories and we want to beat the Africans in Uganda, I did not know that he was also running a business and he was not happy. I have not beaten him. I want to beat him may be but we are moving. He will be happy to see that we are working that way. So when we begun, we grew and I think that Mukwano, Wavamunno, and the names we know involved in business today I think they had a beginning a humble beginning. I think they did not come with millions of shillings, did not borrow millions of shillings. And therefore there is no reason why any of you and others who want to get involved in businesses can not start because these are good examples to ask.

The other example related to starting which I can also give as two examples was when I was invited to go to a place called Taryana. This is a place, I think Karim knows of it, in India and the gentleman who took me there was called [Metani]. When I arrived at that place at that time to go there you had to be guided by people with guns because it was a terrible place. I think they had some problems. He showed me how he was working. He had started making, assembling a few telephones far away from

Delhi, far from all the big towns. It is in the rural area. Today the company is called [BatiTelecom] for those who may be knowing and they are supporting us you know, in producing some of the telephones in Uganda. Telephone sets. From what we saw they are producing over five million telephones. I am bringing this one because that is how he begun. Simple form and I think these are like MTN in Bombay or New Delhi about 3 products. And in other cities I think they have started. They are many. They are much bigger than MTN. It is a family and they started that way.

The other example, someone again took me to his cable factory from far away from Bombay that is in India to a place I think it is called another name which I don't remember in Mumbai and he showed me another factory dealing mainly in cables. The question which I would like especially the people and others here or authorities to advise to see how do we go about these things. Far I asked how do you sell these items far away not even in town, in rural areas how are you be able to sell these items to various places in India and succeed?

Here for me who is at Nalukolongo, people who are in town, they say I am very far away from town! Can you imagine? Yesterday we talked of involving many people to produce. How does a person in Soroti produce an item and compete with a producer in Kampala? It may be the same product. How are we going to succeed to have very many manufacturers throughout the country? Because at the moment if you are not in Kampala or in Jinja it is difficult. But are we going to succeed by concentrating in Kampala? Isn't it too expensive for many who want to become Karim, Sembule, Wavamuno and others mentioned? There are very many people we haven't mentioned.

The gentleman told me that in order to expand that kind of industry in India, and I am not sure but I think he was sincere. He said that the program they made, and which could be looked into here, was to allow the manufacturer once he has started, to retain…. He charges the VAT for instance, he retains that amount charged or collected for a bit of 2 or 3 years. By retaining that money although it is checked by, like in our case by URA [Uganda Revenue Authority]. By retaining that money, it becomes like something that supports this small starter of industries, or businesses far away. That one after two or three years, because that money is supposed to belong to government, it may look as if government may loose but it can, it may be one way of subsidizing what would be charged as those who have already reached the level they would support that kind of support or assistance. Then after those 3 years or 5 years, for me it would be 5 years, then the next period could be another may be 2 years or 3 years or 5 years. That money is eventually allowed to be retained as sort of an income or subsidy or assistance to that company which has started in Rukungiri for instance. Then that person in Rukungiri for that other period is also checking from time to time to collect that VAT but that VAT for the next period becomes a loan to that company in Rukungiri and that loan will and has to be paid and once that period has gone, passed, you know, ends then

it is assumed. many times it does not mean necessarily that success is there but that can push, that kind of assistance will help the new manufacturer or producer in Rukungiri or in Karamoja, somewhere far away from Kampala to come up. I think Mr. Chairman I am taking a bit of time but I would like to say that in order for the country to succeed, government may still have to come in and support industries or the manufacturers or those who are starting because privatization alone may appear to fail to bring up many of the local could be manufacturers, or producers or people holding hotels.
What I am saying could also apply to those who have gone in big projects like hotels like Karim was talking about and others. This is where Mr. Chairman I say that we talked about this a long time ago but it is that kind of support I would like to see and I am praying that after here, time will come when we come back and be called excellences.

Sembuya's response to question 1
On this one, I will say that you identify what you want to do and concentrate on that. If you can most of the time you should be able to succeed. Someone told me that they want to get into production. Of course but you have little money you do not have to go NYTIL [Nyanza Textile Industries Limited]. If you go there you get scared and you never start. You go there and you see equipment you may be scared. What you could also do is you can say ok I can set up a small company, buy some sawing machines may be two or three but with the aim that you will get to become that sort of producer. And these are areas which could be looked into. There are many, many explanations.

Sembuya's response to question 2
I will not add much. Challenges, determination, and I think opportunities. For those we know of except may be Mukwano, I may be bold here, you can quote me. For those we mention today leading businesses, I think they had certain opportunities created at that time. They took up those opportunities and that is why I think they have been successful. They were putting energies and efforts but equally as I said, government one way or another government was supportive in these areas. So this is an area where myself I am also pondering on how do I beat off the challenge, the competition. In Sembule we have been in steel but we have lately received, got competition. It is tough. How do we match and beat off Roofings for instance? I am talking quietly so that they don't know what we are doing. [LAUGHTER]. Now how do we manage competition with Roofings? How do we manage or stand against Uganda Bati? How do we handle and succeed and leave comfortably when there is also Alarm Group of manufacturers? These are challenges which we look at and we simply must and have to succeed. And individually, you look at what is around and make sure that you succeed. Otherwise in the end it means death of your company or of yourself in terms of work.

APPENDIX 4

A sample of a narrative summary used

Each of the chapters in the autobiographies of case study 1 and 10 were summarized as in the example below from Wavamunno's book.

Date: 14th January 2003
Title of chapter: Spear Motors: The jewel in my business crown
Chapter number in the book: 8 (24 pages)
Significance or importance of chapter
The chapter deals with how he clinched the deal of the franchise business for Daimler Benz vehicles in Uganda and the inherent challenges he faced in securing the (Uganda) government's consent during (former President) Amin's regime.
Life events with which the chapter is associated
Personal experiences of the first high profile international business negotiations.
Brief summary of contents
The possibilities of getting the franchise came up when in 1972 Amin declared the infamous economic war which led to the nationalization of British companies including D.T. Dobbie which had been the distributor of Daimler Benz vehicles in the country.
Through a close friend (John Ntimba-a permanent secretary in the ministry of foreign affairs at the time), he learnt that Daimler Benz was looking for an indigenous business agent in Uganda.
He expressed initial fears owing to his lack of experience and technical expertise but after initial meetings with the German Ambassador and John Ntimba, he considered their suggestions and decided to take a chance at this 'rare and golden opportunity of a lifetime to make money'.
He made travel arrangements and in April 1973 he went to Germany to be introduced to the Daimler Benz management at their headquarters in Stuttgart by the Ambassador's son.
After arrival in Munich, Dr Hans Kopf (the son of the Germany Ambassador to Uganda at that time) arranged for the two to travel to Stuttgart where they were to meet Dr. E. Andratsch, the Daimler Benz Sales Director for Africa, the following day.
Although he was initially disappointed that he was seen by a 'substitute', the franchise business negotiations went ahead and he was in the end amazed by the efficiency of the Germans when doing business.
Following the discussions that took place during the negotiations meeting, it was agreed that it was Wavamunno's duty to prove to Daimler Benz that the Uganda government had no objection to his Mercedez Benz franchise and that he would be able to remit funds from his country to Germany without major objections.
Upon return to Uganda, he briefed his initial contacts in this deal (i.e. John Ntimba) and sought advice as to how he should proceed.

When he went to brief the minister about his developments and the conditions for the franchise deal in order for him to be awarded the business, the minister did not seem pleased.
After several unsuccessful meetings with the minister, Wavamunno decided to appeal to 3 influential Nubian friends who were very close to the minister to intercede on his behalf and after long and intense discussions, the minister reluctantly accepted in principle that Spear Motors could be allowed to import and distribute the vehicles alongside Republic Motors subject to the approval by the president-Amin.
Given this 'concession' of sharing the franchise business, and also just in case government gave him clearance after all, he carried out another strategic groundwork.

- Wrote to the Benz management in Stuttgart (attention to Mr. Beck) in which letter he welcomed the intention of Dr. Andratsch to visit Uganda.
- Started on the process of incorporating Spear Motors.
- Travelled to Germany to persuade management to meantime allow Safari Touring to import Daimler Benz vehicles to which they agreed and signed a six month interim distributor agreement on condition that he secures the consent of government and also to register a new company to which the agreement would be transferred.

In all it took two visits to Uganda by Dr. Andratsch before the government's consent could be secured in December 1975.

Notes
He was disappointed with failing to meet with Daimler Benz's Director for Africa (Dr. Andratsch) in person.
To him meeting a 'substitute' made him wonder if the management did not put much importance to establishing a distributor agency for their vehicles in Uganda.
To justify his initial frustration regarding the 'substitute', he makes reference to the Kiganda saying he cited- Omusigire amala bitono- a deputy chief ('substitute') settles small cases only. I think the German counterparts realized or came face to face with this view when Dr. Andratsch had to meet with president Amin on two different occasions before the government's consent for the franchise could be secured.

Observations
For Wavamunno, business deals (and their significance) are about the people that you negotiate with. Indeed to him business is about the kind of customer that your business strategically focuses upon. This is evident in the kind of clients/customers he focuses on in most of his business enterprises- in many cases they (his customers) are the cream of society.
As Wavamunno was thinking of building a sort of long-term familial relationship with Dr. Hans Kopf during the initial negotiations of the franchise deal, the former instead saw it as

a duty/contract which had ended and for which he charged money for the services he rendered.
Because Wavamunno was interested in long-term relationships, he kept Dr. Hans as his legal advisor until the franchise negotiations were concluded for which advice he paid US dollars 8,000.