- DOCTORAL THESIS -

NARRATING THE ROLE OF SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS IN ENTREPRENEURIAL SUCCESS: A STUDY OF TOWNSHIP ENTREPRENEURS

by

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ABSTRACT

Entrepreneurship is regarded as one of the strategic pillars for revitalising South African township economies. This is especially important in the post COVID-19 pandemic era, whereby many businesses face immense hardship. The goal of this research is to explore how Gauteng township entrepreneurs interpret the impact of socio-cultural factors on their entrepreneurial success journeys and the meaning they attach to their success within specific township contexts. A qualitative case study approach using narrative enquiry anchors the study. It involved interviews with six entrepreneurs who have lived in and own Gauteng township-based businesses.

Social network theory is the main theory I used for understanding this phenomenon. Socio-cultural factors identified, which were equated to social networks, comprised families, friends, reference groups, social media, culture, religion, political history and other social factors. The findings indicate that socio-cultural factors are effective social networks when they facilitate entrepreneurs' access to information, skills, networks, finance and markets. However, they negatively impact entrepreneurial success when they engender social exclusion, decay in the social moral fibre, crime and corruption. Surprising findings reveal that some entrepreneurs attach greater value to the role of African culture and religion than was originally assumed.

The uniqueness of the study is in its methodological approach of using storytelling as a tool to unravel the impact of socio-cultural factors on each participant's entrepreneurial success journey. Applying social network analysis tools also uncovered additional benefits of social networks, including legacy creation, the formation of identity and the practical application of Ubuntu kinship values and indigenous knowledge systems (IKS). The research contributes to the body of research on entrepreneurship theoretically, methodologically and practically. This is done by establishing the relationship between

socio-cultural factors and entrepreneurial success using the qualitative methodology and multiple case and narrative design. Practical lessons are also drawn about achieving entrepreneurial success in township settings that can be shared with stakeholders such as other entrepreneurs, entrepreneurship scholars, entrepreneurship development practitioners and policy makers.

Key words: Entrepreneur, entrepreneurial success, entrepreneurship, interpretive paradigm, narratives, social network theory, South Africa, townships.

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LIST Of ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
BBBEE	Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment
COGTA	Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs
COVID-19	Corona Virus Disease 2019
DPME	Department of Planning Monitoring & Evaluation
DSBD	Department of Small Business Development
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
GDED	Gauteng Department of Economic Development
GEP	Gauteng Enterprise Propeller
GCR	Gauteng City Region
GCRA	Gauteng City Region Academy
GCRO	Gauteng City Region Observatory
GPG	Gauteng Provincial Government
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
ISPESE	Integrated Strategy for the Promotion of Entrepreneurship and Small Enterprises
NDP	National Development Plan
NEF	National Entrepreneurship Fund
NPC	National Planning Commission
NYDA	National Youth Development Agency
SEDA	Small Enterprise Development Agency
SEFA	Small Enterprise Finance Agency
SMME	Small, medium and micro enterprise
SNA	Social Network Analysis
SOWETO	South Western Townships
TNA	Thematic Narrative Analysis
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Since the dawn of a democratic South African society in 1994 there has been a concerted effort by government to promote entrepreneurship and to redress past socio-economic ills (DPME/DSBD, 2018:1). As in other parts of the world, entrepreneurship is seen as an important means for developing the economy, creating jobs and inventing new products and services (Bowmaker-Falconer & Meyer, 2022:11; Radipere & Dhliwayo, 2014:189). It is also seen as a vehicle for addressing socio-economic challenges such as poverty and inequality. These challenges largely affect Africans and Coloureds living in historically disadvantaged townships where the culture of entrepreneurship was effectively discouraged and suppressed through colonial and apartheid laws (Mukwarami & Tengeh, 2017:333; Rogerson, 2005:162; Swartz, Amatucci & Marks, 2019 *et al.*, 2019:2).

My interest in township entrepreneurship has always been about how entrepreneurs in those settings are able to make it against the many odds they face. To get a comprehensive understanding of the trends in township entrepreneurship research and to refine my research topic, I conducted an inventory of 40 such studies completed between 2009 and 2021 (see Appendix 1)[1]. This exercise pointed to a gap in qualitative case study research that seeks to explain how socio-cultural factors contribute to entrepreneurial success in the specific context of townships. I determined that socio-cultural factors range from family relationships, friendships and social networks, to cultural, religious, historical and political influences (Castaño, Méndeza & Galindo, 2015:1; Devece, Periz-Ortiz, M. &

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[1] For example, on studies by Antonites and Govindasamy, 2013; Fatoki, 2011; Grant, 2013; Kristiansen, 2013; Kriel, 2017; Dawson, 2021; Frimpong, 2021; Hikido 2017; Maisela, 2017; and Ngwenya, 2017).

Rueda-Armengot, 2016; 2016:5366; Kriel, 2017:17; Neneh & Van Zyl, 2014:175; Razmus & Laguna, 2018:1; Yadav, 2015:54).

It is therefore the goal of this study to explore how Gauteng township entrepreneurs interpret the role of socio-cultural factors in achieving their entrepreneurial success and how they make sense of their entrepreneurial success in their environments. I use case study and narrative inquiry methods for this purpose. I have selected the Social Network theory as the main theory for understanding this phenomenon. It is suitable because it deals with how entrepreneurs use social structures of which they are part to access business resources to achieve entrepreneurial success (Ameh & Udu, 2016:22; Chen, Chang & Lee, 2018:4-5; Granovetter, 1973:1361; Grabher & Konig, 2017:121; Obstfeld, Ventresca & Fisher, 2020:2).

In particular, I use the theory to disaggregate the different types of material and non-material benefits that can benefit township entrepreneurs directly or indirectly, thereby contributing to their entrepreneurial success. This includes information, knowledge, skills, markets, business opportunities, equipment, infrastructure, as well as emotional, moral and practical support. I also explore the negative aspects of socio-factors as they impact on entrepreneurial success (Cardella, Hernández-Sánchez, & Sánchez-García, 2020:9-10; Shakeel *et al.*, 2020:1; Swartz *et al*, 2019:2). This is especially pertinent in many South African townships where social ills such as crime, violence, corruption, social disruptions and a decline in moral and social structures are prevalent (Charman, 2017:2; Breakfast *et al.*, 2019:109). In the inquiry I also factor in opportunities and challenges brought about by COVID-19 and its impact on entrepreneurial success (Asoba & Patricia, 2021:1).

This study contributes to the body of research on entrepreneurship theoretically, methodologically and practically by exploring the influence of socio-cultural factors on entrepreneurial success, drawing lessons on entrepreneurial success that can be shared

with stakeholders such as other entrepreneurs, entrepreneurship scholars, entrepreneurship development practitioners and policy makers.

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the approach of the study and the core contents contained in the thesis. It covers the background, the literature reviewed, problem and purpose statements, research questions, assumptions, methodology, contributions of the study, ethical considerations, the structure of the thesis and the definition of key terms.

1.2 Background

As a reflection of its centrality to the South African development agenda, township entrepreneurship development finds expression in key government policies and development strategies. These include the National Development Plan Vision 2030 (NDP) (National Planning Commission, 2011), the Integrated Strategy for the Promotion of Entrepreneurship and Small Enterprises (ISPESE) (DPME/DSBD, 2018:1) and the newly promulgated Gauteng Township Development Act (Gauteng Provincial Legislature, 2022).

Together with its partners in the private and civil sectors, the government is also implementing a variety of entrepreneurship development programmes that benefit township entrepreneurs through various institutions such as the Gauteng Enterprise Propeller, National Entrepreneurship Fund (NEF), Youth Development Agency (NYDA), Small Enterprise Development Agency (SEDA) and Small Enterprise Finance Agency (SEFA) Youth Development Agency (NYDA) (DPME/DSBD, 2018:2; Flowerday, 2015:1; White, 2014:8). There is also considerable academic interest in township-based enterprises, as shown by primary research on the subject (Charman & Petersen, 2017. Mbonyane & Ladzani, 2011; Mukwarami 2015; Gwija, Eresia-Eke & Iwu, 2014; Mahajan, 2014; Radipere & Dhliwayo, 2014; Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation, 2015; Udimal & Biyase; 2021; Wiid & Cant, 2021).

My rationale for focusing on townships in the study is that they are occupied mainly by historically disadvantaged groups such as Africans, Coloureds and Indians (Bvuma & Marnewick, 2020:5; Statistics South Africa, 2016b:50-57). Township dwellers, also bear the brunt of most of South Africa's socio-economic challenges (De Kadt *et al*., 2019:4). Moreover, Gauteng province alone is estimated to host 11 of the 20 biggest townships in South African (BusinessTech, 2016:1; Statistics South Africa, 2016b:20) and for this reason, Gauteng townships can be reasonably viewed as a "macrocosm" of these socio-economic trends. With this in mind, the literature review on entrepreneurial success in a township context includes the following:

- a review of research on township entrepreneurship research, incorporating an audit of 40 township entrepreneurship studies
- a brief history of Gauteng township entrepreneurship covering the pre- and post-apartheid eras
- a review of post-apartheid policies and programmes benefiting township entrepreneurs
- socio-cultural factors influencing entrepreneurial success in townships.

1.3 Problem Statement

My review of 40 various township entrepreneurship research studies revealed that very few of them focus on entrepreneurial success in South African townships and/or used qualitative methods and case study inquiry[2] . A further analysis of the relevant studies revealed that most of them focused on the informal retail sector, mostly on micro and survivalist enterprises (Charman, 2017; Charman & Peterson, 2017; Fourie, 2018; Grant, 2013; Koens & Thomas, 2015; Rakabe, 2016; Mahajan, 2014; Mbonyane & Ladzani, 2011). There is a growing interest in immigrant business owners operating in townships, and a limited focus

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[2] See Appendix 1.

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on youth, gender and disability issues (Grant, 2013; Gwija *et al.*, 2014; Maziriri & Madinga, 2016; Mukwarami & Tengeh, 2017). Typically, these studies confirm that entrepreneurs attribute the failure of their businesses to constraints such as a hostile regulatory framework, low business acumen and the lack of access to markets, infrastructure, finance and training (Grant, 2013; Gwija *et al.*, 2014; Maziriri & Madinga, 2016; Mukwarami & Tengeh, 2017; Lebusa, 2013; Tengeh, 2013).

Another gap is the paucity of recent local research on entrepreneurial success factors, especially using qualitative methods such as narrative inquiry and case studies. A review of 24 studies on entrepreneurial success conducted between 2009 and 2020[3], uncovered five studies carried out in, Australia, Germany, the Netherlands, and two in Poland (Dirjkhuizen, 2016; Fisher, Maritz & Lobo, 2014; Przepiorka, 2016; Razmuz & Laguan, 2018; Wach, Stephan & Gorgievski, 2016). A lot can be learnt from these studies in terms of conceptualising entrepreneurial success and entrepreneurial research methods. However, they are not easy to replicate in developing countries like South Africa due to cultural and economic differences. More context-relevant studies were conducted in middle income or developing countries such as China (Zhou *et al.*, 2019) and Pakistan (Shakeel, Yaokuang, & Gohar, 2020).

Of the other nine African studies identified, seven were South African and three were based in Gauteng (Antonites & Govindasamy, 2013; Grant, 2013; Fatoki, 2011; Kristiansen, 2013; Moloi & Nkahle-Rapita, 2014; Neneh & Van Zyl, 2014; Oyeku, *et al.*, 2014; Sefiani, 2013; Tengeh, 2016 & 2013). Studies that were found to bear similar features to this one were conducted by Antonites and Govindasamy (2013), Fatoki (2011), Grant (2013), Kristiansen (2204), Kriel (2017), Shangase, (2017) and Uddin and Bose (2013). Although they were conducted in South Africa in Tshwane, Durban and the Eastern Cape, they do

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[3] See Table 2 in Appendix 2.

not purport to focus on township entrepreneurs although they focused on small, medium and micro enterprises (SMMEs). However, they do elaborate on the impact of socio-cultural factors such as culture, ethnicity and gender on entrepreneurial success.

Studies by Uddin and Bose (2013) explored entrepreneurial success factors as sub-objectives of their research; all three were also quantitative. Uddin and Bose (2013:150) used factor analysis to measure motivation, success factors and challenges in the Khulna city of Bangladesh. Kriel (2017:ii) tested McClelland's achievement motivation theory using the EntreComp framework. It is worth noting that both studies found that entrepreneurial success could not be limited to a selected number of factors based on predetermined models as these may not apply to all contexts (Kriel, 2017:150; Uddin & Bose 2013:152).

In terms of methodology, eleven of the studies used qualitative, quantitative or mixed methods comprising semi-structured, in-depth interviews and surveys. The remainder of the studies (7) were based on literature reviews and/or analysis of existing survey data (Devece et al., 2016; Yadav, 2015). The findings of these and other studies on entrepreneurial success factors are discussed further in Chapter 2. Suffice it to say, there is consensus that entrepreneurial success is attributable to multiple personal, economic and social factors.

Based on these inventories, I concluded that this study could contribute to entrepreneurship research by exploring how township entrepreneurs think socio-cultural factors have impacted on their success in business, using qualitative case study and narrative methodology.

1.4   Purpose Statement

The purpose of the study is to gain deeper insights into the role played by socio-cultural factors in the entrepreneurial success of township entrepreneurs at a single point in time. Hence, it is characterised as a qualitative, cross-sectional and exploratory study with descriptive and explanatory elements (Bell, Bryman & Harley, 2019:22-23; 59) The design

was a multiple case study using narrative inquiry to answer the research questions (Crafford, 2015:212-217; Yin, 2003:6).

1.5   Research Questions

The main question that the research aimed to answer was: How do entrepreneurs in Gauteng townships interpret the role socio-cultural factors have played in their success?

1.5.1 Research sub questions

1.   How do participants define concepts such as entrepreneur, entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial success, including in their own African languages?

2.   What were the highlights of the participants' journeys towards entrepreneurial success, based on their life trajectories?

3.   Which socio-cultural factors, if any facilitated or impeded their entrepreneurial and how so?

4.   What lessons can participants share with others on entrepreneurial success?

1.6   Assumptions

Based on the literature reviewed in the study, the following core assumptions undergirded this research:

1.   Entrepreneurial success is a result of a combination of macro and micro / internal and external / personal and environmental factors.

2.   The value/contribution of each factor varies over time through different business life stages.

3.   Socio-cultural factors such as family relations and friendships play an important role throughout an entrepreneur's journey to success.

4.   There are not enough studies on the role of socio-cultural factors in entrepreneurial success within township settings.

1.7 Overview of the Literature

I conducted an extensive local and international literature review in order to conceptualise the study and formulate an appropriate research strategy. It also serves the purpose of framing the research in the context of township entrepreneurship in a developing country such as South Africa. The key highlights of the literature review discussions, which span Chapters 2 and 3 incorporate the conceptual and theoretical framework, as well as the key socio-cultural factors that influence township entrepreneurial success.

1.7.1 Conceptual Framework

This section includes a review of literature on contemporary discourse in the field of entrepreneurship and its evolution over the decades. I expound on various theoretical frameworks for defining concepts such as entrepreneur, entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial success were expounded. This exercise is important because there are different ways of understanding and studying the phenomenon of entrepreneurship (Fiet, 2022:4; McMullen, 2019:414). Scholars have yet to reach consensus on precise definitions of these concepts (Filion, 2021:72; Østergaard, 2019:19).

My understanding of entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial success is underpinned by the interpretive research paradigm and a qualitative methodology, which consider the subjective meanings of phenomena such as entrepreneurial success (Aldawod and Day, 2017:7). It is also informed by the process approach, which takes into account the different milestones entrepreneurs pass en route to attaining entrepreneurial success. This includes failure (Khelil, 2016:72; Przepiorka, 2016:44-45; Ruiz-Palomino & Martinez-Cañas, 2021:4). Based on this foundation, I developed operational definitions for the study. These definitions are provided below and also in Table 1.1 in section 1.12 below.

1.7.1.1 Entrepreneur

Based on the characterisations by various scholars (e.g. Bosma, Van Praag & De Wit, 2000:12; Dimov, 2016:2; Filion, 2008:10; Kolade *et al.*, 2021:54; Oyeku, *et al.*, 2014:14; Rokhman & Ahamed, 2015:31; Shane, 2003:4; Wright & Steven 2015:1) define an entrepreneur as an agent of change who identifies and maximises resources and opportunities to innovate products and services for specific markets. Entrepreneurs are typically owners of their business. They may not necessarily be motivated by profit, although they use it as a measure of success.

1.7.1.2 Entrepreneurship

Entrepreneurship can be broadly defined as the process of identifying and taking advantage of opportunities in the market to achieve specific economic objectives (Packard, 2017:536; Venkataraman,1997:120). As a field of research, entrepreneurship is about understanding how these processes unfold in the real world and the different roles and tasks entrepreneurs undertake to complete them (Ruiz-Palomino & Martinez-Cañas, 2021:4).

In this study, I construe entrepreneurship from an interpretivist perspective, which is a continual meaning-making process (Alharahsheh & Pius, 2020:42; Bell *et al.*, 2019:27). Furthermore, I regard entrepreneurship as context specific. Therefore, I have considered the role of positive and negative environmental factors such as social relations, culture, political influences and the socio-economic development of each area under study (Aldawod & Day, 2017:7; Castaño *et al.*, 2015:2; Kolade *et al.*, 2021:54; Jones, 2017:321).

1.7.1.3 Entrepreneurial Success

Based on the work of various scholars (e.g. Razmus & Laguna (2018:2); Wach et al., (2016:1098-1121); and Fisher et al. (2014:478-492), entrepreneurial success is hereby described as success in a business venture, including that of the person who is associated with it. I established that entrepreneurial success is a multi-dimensional, multi-level

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phenomenon that results from micro or internal factors and macro or external factors. It is as much a socio-cultural construct as it is an economical and psychological construct (Cardella *et al.*, 2020:9-10; Shakeel *et al.*, 2020:1; Swartz *et al*, 2020:2). Since the focus of the study is on socio-cultural factors, I explore various types thereof, including amongst other, family, friends, culture, religion and political history.

Entrepreneurial success is also a journey and a process that occurs over time and incorporates failure (Khelil, 2016:72; Razmus & Laguna, 2018:2; Oyeku *et al.*, 2014:15-16). Sometimes entrepreneurial success is productive (i.e. it benefits the common good), and at other times it is destructive (e.g. when it is criminal) (Hirschman & Kendall, 2015:45; Muñoz & Kimmitt, 2018:7; Valliere, 2019:2).

Entrepreneurial success can be measured subjectively and objectively, as well qualitatively and quantitatively. Indicators of entrepreneurial success include firm growth, relations with internal and external stakeholders, personal fulfilment and community impact (Angel, Jenkins & Stephens *et al.*, 2018:2; Fisher *et al.*, 2014:484; Oyeku *et al.*, 2014:15; Razmus & Laguna, 2018:3; Wach *et al.*, 2016:1099). The study therefore sought to delve deeper into the subjective meanings that participants attached to their own entrepreneurial success and the role that socio-cultural factors played in its achievement (Angel *et al.*, 2018:1; Razmus & Laguna, 2018:2).

1.7.2 Theoretical Framework

Bearing in mind that entrepreneurship is a contested field of theoretical approaches, I explored three broad models, frameworks and classifications advanced by Kuratko, Morris and Schindehutte (2015), Audretsch, Kuratko and Link (2015) and Bula (2012). The theories, which are also discussed at length by Fiet (2022) are grouped into economic, psychological, sociological, anthropological and resource-based theories.

The Social Network Theory is the main framework I adopted for understanding the role of socio-cultural factors in entrepreneurial success. It is classified as one of the resource-based theories, but it also has elements of anthropological and sociological theories. This theory, which is also known as the Social Capital Theory, proposes that entrepreneurs are embedded in a larger social network structure that constitutes a significant proportion of their opportunity structure (Chen *et al.*, 2018:4-5; Obstfeld, Ventresca & Fisher, 2020:2). The salient features of a network as conceptualised in the theory are as follows:

- A network consists of a set of actors or nodes along with a set of ties of a specified type that link them.

- A social network structure may be weak or strong depending on the levels, frequency and reciprocity of the ties among nodes of human actors.

- Networks can be described as convergent, cohesive or divergent.

- Networks are dynamic and evolve over time as the entrepreneurial process evolves.

- There are social network analysis tools that researchers can use to define their boundaries and assess the types and value of each network.

I also provide international examples of how different family, social, cultural, religious and community networks benefit entrepreneurs. They include countries such as America, China, Cuba, India and Kenya (Hingtgen *et al.*; 2015:186; Patankar *et al.*, 2018:41; Rodgers, Vershinina & Williams, 2019:7-13).

To operationalise the theory within the African township context of the study, I have developed a model that identifies specific socio-cultural factors that can be equated to social networks as framed in the Social Network Theory. In terms of this model, each factor is then broken down into further categories to examine the networks therein and their potential benefits or disadvantages. The first part of the model comprises a breakdown of the different

types of socio-cultural factors such as family, friendships, culture, religion and political history.

The second part of the model disaggregates the potential contribution of each factor to the access to direct/indirect and material/intangible resources by entrepreneurs. Examples of these benefits include resources such as finance, markets, equipment, infrastructure and business opportunities and indirect or intangible benefits such as moral, emotional or practical support (e.g. child minding). The negative facets of socio-cultural factors can include the degeneration of the moral and social fibre of township areas, violence, crime and corruption.

The benefits of the Social Network Theory notwithstanding, it has inherent weaknesses such as the potential to limit access to resources to non-affiliates, individual or group conformity and the subjection of some groups to social control (Portes, 1998:15-17; Portes & Landolt, 2000:514; Portes; 2014:18407).

1.7.3 Key Socio-Cultural Factors Influencing Entrepreneurial Success in Townships

The main challenge I experienced in conducting this part of the literature review was finding similar studies which focused specifically on the role of socio-cultural factors in entrepreneurial success in African township settings. Specifically, there is scant research on the intrinsically connected roles of family values as they impact on individual entrepreneurs and their ability to perform their business tasks. For example, only six of the 40 township entrepreneurship studies reviewed focused specifically on social networks, social capital and/or the importance of family, friends and co-ethnic networks in entrepreneurship or entrepreneurial success (i.e. by Dawson, 2021, Frimpong, 2021, Hikido 2017, Nambiar, Sutherland & Scheepers, 2020, Maisela, 2017, Ngwenya, 2017). I therefore had to explore other African literature to gain more insights into other familial, cultural, religious and other elements that could have a bearing on entrepreneurial success (e.g. by Futhwa, 2011,

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Guma, 2001, Makgopa, 2019, Dlamini & Ocholla, 2018, Makhubedu, 2009, Monyai, 2018, Toure, 2018, and Zungu & Maphini 2020).

Socio-cultural factors influencing township entrepreneurial success are summarised below.

1.7.3.1 *Family, Friends and Other Reference Groups and Entrepreneurial Success*

Family, and friends (including acquaintances and associates) and other reference groups are important sources of support, especially for nascent entrepreneurs. They provide entrepreneurs with basic resources such as business finance, equipment, labour, information, knowledge and skills. They are also a key source of indirect or intangible emotional, moral support and practical support (Charman, 2017:11; Dawson, 2021:390; Frimpong, 2021:66; Hardnack & Liedeman, 2016:14; Nambiar *et al.*, 2020:14; Yiannakaris, 2019:168).

1.7.3.2 *Culture and Entrepreneurial Success*

I reviewed both local and national culture to assess the extent to which they were a source of social capital for township entrepreneurs. Culture can also be an inhibiting factor if it does not support or promote entrepreneurial behaviour and activity. In the African context, of which many township areas form part, the main cultural frame of reference is the African world view. It incorporates the Ubuntu kinship value system, which emphasises values such as respect for all humans, humility, solidarity, communalism and the sharing of resources (Abubakre, Faik & Mkansi, 2021:842-843; Chiwarawara & Masiya, 2018:60; Zunes, 1999:138). is encapsulated in the phrase "I am because you are" (Bohwasi, 2015:76; Langa et al., 2016:44). I further explore how communalistic kinship values, which are a pillar of ubuntu are a source of social capital for township entrepreneurs and how they interpret

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their value in relation to their personal and business development (Magubane 2017:58; Chipp, Carter & Chiba, 2019:9-1; Monyai, 2018:9-10).

Culture can be a valuable source of indigenous information, knowledge and skills. For example, entrepreneurs take advantage of the local township culture to invent business concepts, innovate, and seize niche markets in different industries (Bhuda & Marumo, 2021:71; Pheto-Moeti, Riekert & Pelseret, 2018:14; Omotayo & Aremu, 2020:1; Rozani & Goduka, 2017:135). Similarly, the negative environment in which township entrepreneurs operate is considered, especially as it relates to the lack of business and social infrastructure, poor service delivery and the impact of social ills such as crime, substance abuse and the lack of social cohesion (Koens and Thomas, 2015:10-12; Nambiar, *et al.*, 2020:15; Rena, 2017:2; Denoon-Stevens and Ramaila, 2018:432; Wessels, 2016:1).

1.7.3.3 Religion and Entrepreneurial Success

Many scholars bemoan the fact that the role of religion in entrepreneurial success is an understudied area (Gümüsay's, 2015:1; Maisela, 2017:48; Manyaka-Boshielo, 2017:7; Smith, McMullen, & Cardon, 2021:7). This is despite the fact that billions of people around the world, including entrepreneurs, are self-proclaimed believers (Diamant, 2019:1; Gümüsay's, 2015:1; Maisela, 2017:48; Manyaka-Boshielo, 2017:7; Smith *et al.*, 2021:7). In the African township context, many people subscribe to both traditional African and Western (mainly Christian but also Muslim) religious faiths (Masondo, 2015:1-2).

According to Holland (2015:22-23) adherents typically translate their faith into practical entrepreneurial actions through belonging, believing, bonding and behaving. Holland (2015:22) established a link between entrepreneurs' religious beliefs and their motivation to launch, operate and achieve success in business. This study therefore builds on this framework of understanding how entrepreneurs interpret the influence of religious practices

or rituals such as ancestral reverence, praying, reading the scriptures and attending church in their entrepreneurial success in the African context.

1.7.3.4 The Role of Political History in Entrepreneurial Success

As noted in Section 1.2.3 above, social and economic policies of colonialism and apartheid have impacted negatively on township enterprises. Chapter 3 discusses this issue further, highlighting how these racist and segregationist policies limited investment in the business architecture of townships (GDED, 2014:13). They also led to the concentration of township products and services in certain sectors such as entertainment and wholesale and the underrepresentation of productive sectors (e.g. mining, manufacturing, processing etc.) in townships (Gallo, 2020:5; Hikido, 2017:3). This situation is worsened by destructive behaviours such as corruption, collusion and nepotism in the awarding of government procurement (i.e. *tenderpreneurship*) (Dassah, 2018:15).

The above challenges notwithstanding, political history can still be a source of social capital for township entrepreneurship to the extent that it promotes solidarity, agency for political, social and economic transformation and the redress of racially based inequalities (Chiwarawara & Masiya, 2018:60; Jones, 2017:330; Langa *et al.*, 2016:44; Zunes, 1999:138).

1.7.3.5 The Role of Other Social Factors in Entrepreneurial Success

The factors considered under this topic are those that led entrepreneurs to be included or excluded from accessing necessary business resources because of their biographical profiles (e.g. age, gender, race, physical ability or spatial location). They included factors such as racism, sexism, colourism, ablism and classism (Dawson, 2021:391; Maziriri & Madinga (2017:1 Nambiar, *et al.*, 2020:4; Yiannakaris, 2019:168).

Crime and xenophobia are also major themes (Charman, 2017:2; Hartnack & Liedeman, 2016:19; Koens & Thomas, 2015:10; Mukwarami & Tengeh, 2017:331-332;

Radipere & Dhliwayo, 2014:189; Tengeh, 2016:203; Gamieldien & Van Niekerk, 2017:26). So does the breakdown in the moral and social fibre of township communities, which is worsened by poor social infrastructure that impedes social cohesion (Denoon-Stevens and Ramaila, 2018:432).

Another consideration is the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic because of its social distancing mandates. While it can provide opportunities for some businesses (e.g. in food retail), it can negatively impact others (e.g. entertainment and tourism) (Asoba & Patricia, 2021:1; Makhitha, 2016:260; Strydom, 2015:467).

1.8 Research Methodology

The research has been a dynamic and reiterative process. The core components of the methodology and research process are depicted in Figures 4.1 and 4.2 in Chapter 4 of the thesis. They are discussed briefly below under the headings of research paradigm, design, methods, and the research design and quality criteria.

1.8.1 Research Paradigm

The research is informed by an interpretivist paradigm both ontologically and epistemologically. Interpretivism highlights the importance of the social creations and subjective interpretations of meanings of social phenomena like entrepreneurship (Aldawod & Day, 2017:7; Alharahsheh & Pius, 2020:42; Bell *et al.*, 2019:27). I was also influenced by a value-laden axiology, which acknowledges that a researcher brings their own values into the research process but that this should be managed to mitigate bias (Aldawod & Day, 2017:8-9; Bell *et al.*, 2019:38; Chilisa & Kawulich, 2012:9).

What has motivated me to adopt a qualitative research strategy is the nature of the research topic (i.e. the role of socio-cultural factors in entrepreneurial success) and the fact that there are not enough qualitative studies on the subject, especially locally (Rajasinghe, Aluthgama-Baduge & Mulholland 2021:3; Packard, 2017:537; Van Burg *et al,* 2020:4-5). A

qualitative methodology is appropriate since it accommodates different approaches of collecting and analysing data and takes into account the cultural and contextual nature of the social phenomenon under investigation. (Vaismoradi & Snelgrove, 2019:2). Because various themes are derived from both the field data and extant theory and literature via a dual, iterative, inductive-deductive process, it can be described as abductive. (Bell *et al.*, 2019:23; Malhortra, 2017:174; Shani *et al.*, 2020:64; Yasir *et al.*, 2019:4).

1.8.2 Research Design

The design of the study has contextualisation, discovery, synchrony and temporal elements (Crafford, 2015:56-59). Its purpose is to explore the role played by socio-cultural factors in the entrepreneurial success of township entrepreneurs cross-sectionally and qualitatively, using multiple case studies and narrative enquiry (Bell, *et al.,* 2019:22-23; 59). I adopted the multiple case study approach because it facilitates the thorough, systematic investigation of in-depth data relating to various variables about individual entrepreneurs in township contexts (Heale & Twycross, 2018:7; Yin, 2003:14-15). I used the narrative inquiry to gain insights into the participants' lived experience through a guided meaning-making process (Hickson, 2016:282; Rantakari & Vaara, 2017:5-6). I considered individual entrepreneurs to be the units of both observation and analysis (Bell *et al.*, 2019:71; Sedgwick 2014:1; Yin 2003:26).

1.8.3 Research Methods

These were the tools, techniques and instruments I have used to design the study and to collect, analyse and collate data (Bell *et al.*; 2019:35; Travers, 2001:iii). Data sources for this study include literature reviews, face-to-face, telephonic or online narrative interviews with six successful township entrepreneurs, as well as documents, photographs and observations.

1.8.3.1 Sampling, Sample Size and Data Saturation

I utilised the purposive sampling procedure using several guidelines for inclusion and exclusion of cases in order to select appropriate participants for the study (Rajasinghe *et al.*, 2021:13). Purposive sampling can be classified as non-probability sampling since the respondents are not selected randomly (Bell *et al.*, 2019:389). Participants were sourced or accessed through snowballing techniques, gate keepers or key informants in the research sites. In line with the qualitative methodology adopted in the study, the aim of sampling is to generalise analytically. This is also known as theoretical sampling (Saunders *et al.*, 2018:1895). The focus is on increasing the analytical generalisability of the cases to other similar cases rather than to the total population of entrepreneurs (Alharahsheh & Pius, 2020:42). Hence, I considered data saturation to be achieved when I had collected rich data or information and no further coding is feasible (Fusch & Ness, 2015:1408; Shaheen *et al.*, 2019:51).

1.8.3.2 Data Collection Methods

The data collection methods consist of narrative/life-story interviews, document reviews and participant observations. The literature review assists in clarifying the research problem and designing the data collection analysis tools (Bell *et al.*, 2019:93; Linneberg & Korsgaard, 2019:1; Snyder, 2019:334). The narrative or story-telling method used allows the participants to relate their journey, highlighting key milestones, successes and failures and how they reflected on them (Bell *et al.*, 2019:211; Jones, 2017:328; Meyers, 2008:97-98). The narrative interviews assist in exploring participants' understanding of concepts such as entrepreneur and entrepreneurship and the meanings they attached to entrepreneurial success. Observations are used as a means of supporting other data-gathering methods for the verification of the participants narratives. Their aim is to gain deeper insights into participants' life-worlds (Moser & Korstjens, 2018:12). Lastly, where available, documents

such as curriculum vitae (CVs) and company profiles are used to augment information provided during the narrative interviews and observations (Bell *et al.*, 2019:500).

1.8.3.3 Data Capturing, Analysis and Presentation

Data capturing and analysis incorporates coding or theme generation, narrative analysis and social network analysis within and across the cases. (Harrison *et al.*, 2017:3; Luxton & Sbicca; 2020:4; McKether & Freise, 2019:2; Miller, Munoz & Hurt, 2016:9; Mura & Sharif, 2017:195; Riessman, 2005:2; Wolgemuth 2015:358; Yasir *et al*, 2019:7). The first case is regarded as a pilot case and is used to refine the research design, coding or theme generation and the analytic framework (Yin 2003:79).

1.8.4 Design Quality Criteria

In line with qualitative research, the design quality criteria that are considered in the study are credibility/authenticity, transferability/fittingness, dependability, confirmability and action orientation (Bell *et al.*, 2019:40; Linneberg & Korsgaard, 2019:6; Miles & Huberman 1994:278-280; Rajasinghe *et al.*, 2021:9; Yin 2003:34-38). Measures to meet these criteria include ensuring that the methods of the study are as explicit as possible, that the conclusions were based on findings and linked to the applicable theory, and that the study is replicable to other township contexts. Practical recommendations emanating from the study are provided for the benefit of entrepreneurs and stakeholders in the academic, entrepreneurship development and policy making spheres (Bell *et al.*, 2019:40; Linneberg & Korsgaard, 2019:6; Miles & Huberman 1994:278-280; Rajasinghe *et al.*, 2021:9; Yin 2003:34-38).

1.9 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations permeate a research process from conceptualisation through design, fieldwork and reporting (Bell, 2019:36; Clandinin, 2006:52). In this study, ethical considerations such as obtaining respondents' informed consent and ensuring the

confidentiality of their information have been factored in throughout the research process. Because personal and business identity was central to understanding the influence of socio-cultural factors in entrepreneurial success, the use of images was agreed upon with each participant and in some cases, they are the ones who shared the.

Additionally, I was at all times mindful of the power dynamics of conducting research in the poor environment of townships, even though my participants can be considered above average due to their entrepreneurial and material success. As a sign of my commitment to conducting the research with integrity and ethically I also signed a declaration regarding plagiarism and obtained ethical clearance from the University of Pretoria's Research Ethics Review Committee before the fieldwork was commenced.

1.10 Delimitations of The Study

The delimitations of the study can be classified as geographic and industry specific.

1.10.1 Geographical Delimitation

The study was conducted only in Gauteng townships due to time constraints, the difficulty of accessing successful township entrepreneurs, as well as doing fieldwork during the COVID 19 pandemic.

1.10.2 Industrial Delimitation

The study investigated the role of socio-cultural factors in the entrepreneurial success of township operators in the different sectors that were commonly found in townships. These included the retail, entertainment, tourism, transportation, residential rental property and fashion industries.

1.11 Contributions of the Study

The study contributes to the field of entrepreneurship in terms of theory, methodology and practice. Theoretically, the study provides deeper insights into the role of socio-cultural factors in entrepreneurial success, particularly in the African context of South African

townships. Methodologically, it adds value to the qualitative, case study and narrative inquiry approaches to entrepreneurship research. Pragmatically, it extrapolates practical lessons for various stakeholders, including scholars, entrepreneurs, policy makers and practitioners, on how to achieve entrepreneurial success in township settings.

1.12 Layout of the Study

Chapter 1 provides a background to the study. It gives an overview of the literature that was consulted to arrive at the key research problem, questions and assumptions. Also covered are the research methodology, contributions of the study and ethical considerations. Lastly, it outlines the structure of this thesis.

Chapter 2 focuses on the evolution of the field of entrepreneurship, providing an operational definition of key concepts for the study and different theoretical approaches, models or frameworks. An operational model of social network theory is presented, showing how it was used as a framework for the study.

Chapter 3 provides a historical and contextual overview of township entrepreneurship and key perspectives based on township entrepreneurship research. The long-term impact of former policies on current township entrepreneurship trends is also reviewed. This is followed by a profile of the Gauteng township entrepreneurship landscape, an overview of current measures to support township entrepreneurship and a discussion of the role of socio-cultural factors on township entrepreneurial success.

Chapter 4 details the methodology adopted for the study and provides the rationale for a qualitative multiple case study and narrative inquiry approach. Data collection and analysis methods are also detailed. The chapter ends with a discussion of my experience of the research process and how the design quality criteria were met.

Chapter 5 presents and interprets the findings of the study case by case. Biographic profiles of each participant are provided, followed by a discussion of the findings using five

broad themes. Finally, a diagram illustrating the impact of socio-cultural factors on entrepreneurial success is presented per case.

Chapter 6 provides a cross-case analysis of the six cases in the study against the backdrop of the literature reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3 and field data. Similarities and differences among the cases are highlighted, using the same themes as in Chapter 5. Based on the analysis, a summary of the positive and negative influences of socio-cultural factors on the success of township entrepreneurs is presented. Lastly, the chapter reviews the role of other factors in entrepreneurial success that were not the focus of the study.

Chapter 7 provides conclusions based on the findings of the study. Limitations of the study are also covered. The chapter also proffers key recommendations based on the findings of the study. They include future research on entrepreneurial success, the role of socio-cultural factors in townships and the support of township entrepreneurs. Finally, the chapter details the contribution the study has made to the field of entrepreneurship, theoretically, methodologically and managerially.

1.13 Definition Of Key Terms

Table 1.1: Definition of Key Terms

Concept	Definition	References
Entrepreneur	A social agent who identifies opportunities and then takes the initiative to find resources in order to exploit these opportunities, often taking risks to achieve this. They produce new or value-added products and services. They are usually a sole proprietor, a partner or the one who owns the majority of shares in an incorporated venture. An entrepreneur is not necessarily motivated by profit but may regard it as way of measuring achievement or success	Bosma, Van Praag & De Wit (2000:12); Davidsson (2008:13); Filion (2008:10); Fisher *et al.* (2014:478); Moloi & Nkhahle-Rapita (2014:78-79); Oyeku, *et al.* (2014:14); Wright & Steven (2015:1); Yadav (2015:40)
Entrepreneurship	A process of identifying opportunities and initiating the means of exploiting them for the achievement of different outcomes. In academic terms, entrepreneurship is: "a scholarly field that seeks to understand how opportunities to bring into existence 'future' goods and services are discovered, created, and exploited, by whom, and with what	Venkataraman (1997:120); Drucker (2014:26); Packard (2017:536); Walter & Heinrichs (2015:4)

Concept	Definition	References
	consequences" Venkataraman, 1997:120. This is a process that happens within a socio-cultural context	
Entrepreneurial success	"The success of a venture or business activity, and sometimes the success of the entrepreneur connected to the venture".	Fisher *et al.* (2014:479-480)
Narrative / Life story	Consists of a person telling the story of their journey as an entrepreneur, or parts of it. Thus, life stories or biographies are "typically created vertically through time that involves chronologies or sequences of events that are linked together, even if causality is not made explicit by the narrator" (Brannen, 2013:2). A narrative (life story) can be both a subject of study and a method of study (narrative inquiry)	Brannen (2013:2); Clandinin (2006:45)
Townships	Relatively underdeveloped, mainly urban, residential areas that were reserved for non-Whites only' during Apartheid	GDED (2016:11); Mahajan (2014:5); Pernegger & Godehart (2007:2)

CHAPTER 2: REVIEWING ENTREPRENEURSHIP, ENTREPRENEURIAL SUCCESS AND SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS

2.1 Introduction

To understand the role played by socio-cultural factors in entrepreneurial success, it is necessary to first unpack the concept of entrepreneurial success itself. This cannot be achieved without understanding what constitutes the dynamic and ever-evolving concept of entrepreneurship and its associated terminology. In this chapter, the main constructs underpinning the research are elaborated upon. It begins with exploring the concepts of entrepreneur, entrepreneurship, entrepreneurial success, entrepreneurial success factors and socio-cultural factors in sections 2.3.1 to 2.3.3. Entrepreneurial failure, as well as unproductive and destructive entrepreneurship, are also discussed in relation to entrepreneurial success in sections 2.3.4 and 2.3.5. Lastly, theories underlying these conceptual frameworks are reviewed as a preamble to the adopted social network theory of entrepreneurship (sections 2.2.9 and 2.2.10).

2.2 Conceptualising the Entrepreneur, Entrepreneurship and Entrepreneurial Success

Entrepreneurship is one of the most topical subjects in modern economic and management studies, and yet it still lacks proper recognition as an independent field of study (Block *et al.*, 2017:61; Fiet, 2022:4; Bögenhold, Fink & Kraus, 2014:120; McFarlane, 2016:15; McMullen, 2019:414). One of the main obstacles to advancing the field of entrepreneurship is the lack of consensus on the definition of terms such as "entrepreneur" and "entrepreneurship" (Filion, 2021:72; Kuratko *et al.*; 2015:2; Swanson, 2017:1; Walter & Heinrichs, 2015:3). This is largely attributed to multi-disciplinary approaches to entrepreneurship research (Audretsch *et al.*, 2015:703; Moos, 2014:17; Prince, Chapman & Cassey, 2021:27).

Initially there was a bias towards economic theoretical models of entrepreneurship. Now it is widely acknowledged that entrepreneurship is a socially embedded and culture-specific phenomenon (Muñoz & Kimmit, 2018:2; Kuratko, *et al.*, 2015:2; Patankar *et al.*, 2018:42). Hence, entrepreneurship is seen as "an inter-discipline that operates between and among economic, sociological, and psychological aspects, meaning that it is a complex, heterogeneous, multifaceted field of research" (Bögenhold *et al.*, 2014:120).

Despite this, confusion still abounds regarding approaches to entrepreneurship research, labelled by some as "mixed-up", a "hodgepodge" or a "potpourri" (Bögenhold *et al.*, 2014:120; McFarlane, 2016:15). A review of literature spanning at least three decades consistently shows that there is neither a single, comprehensive definition of an entrepreneur, entrepreneurship and/or entrepreneurial success nor methods for measuring these constructs. Most entrepreneurship scholars concede that defining these terms is difficult because they are an outcome of multiple and multi-dimensional but interrelated micro (individual) and macro (environmental) influences. Ultimately, it is difficult to find a singular denominator that is critical for entrepreneurial success (Bosma *et al.*, 2000:12; Carlson *et al.*, 2013:914; Davidsson, 2008:13; Dendup *et al.*, 2017:2; Dimov, 2016:2; Filion, 2008:8; Filion 2021: 72; Fisher *et al.*, 2014:478; Kriel, 2017:17; Kuratko *et al.*, 2015:2; Moloi & Nkhahle-Rapita, 2014:78-79; Rokhman & Ahamed, 2015:31; Rwigema, *et al.*, 2008:7-8; Oyeku, *et al.*, 2014:14; Wright & Steven 2015:1; Yadav, 2015:40).

As echoed recently by Fiet (2022:4), Filion (2021:42), Ncwadi (2018:4), Østergaard (2019:19) and Packard (2017:536), Venkataraman's assessment of the field of entrepreneurship in the late 1990s regrettably still holds true. Scholars are nowhere near reaching consensus on what constitutes entrepreneurship.

We have been held back because we do not share a well-articulated underlying theory of entrepreneurship or wealth creation and we often approach the phenomenon from

incompatible theoretical viewpoints, economic, social, and psychological, and use different levels of analysis-individual, group, and population. The usual theoretical structures often do not seem to work for explaining entrepreneurship. But we have no well-developed, or reasonably articulated alternatives to take their place. Indeed, there are some who claim that finding systematic patterns, or even a theory of wealth creation or entrepreneurship is impossible (Venkataraman 1997:135).

2.2.1   Entrepreneur

The term entrepreneur is a derivative of the French verb "entreprendre", which means to do, to undertake or to build. It can be divided into two parts: "entre", meaning "between", and "preneur" meaning "taker". An entrepreneur is literally a "between-taker", or "go-between" (Filion, 2008:2; Patankar *et al*., 2018:42; Yilmaz, 2013:205;). According to Brown and Thornton (2013:402), although the term "entrepreneur" was initially attributed to Jean Baptiste Say in the 1800s, it has since been established that Richard Cantillon was the first significant economist to frequently use the term as it is known today. In mapping the history of entrepreneurial thought, McFarlane (2016:17) reminds us that entrepreneurial activity is not a twentieth century phenomenon but in fact predates even the Biblical era. Similarly, Patankar *et al*., (2018:42) profiled the oldest and most entrepreneurial Indian communities. This assists in accounting for non-Western contexts such as Africa, Asia, and the Middle East in conceptualising entrepreneurship.

Characterisations of an entrepreneur have evolved over time to include a range of concepts based on how entrepreneurs think, their common skills and abilities, what they do, why they do them, how they do them and where they do them, particularly in ways that distinguish them from other members of society (McFarlane, 2016:16; Østergaard, 2019:19).

There is a wealth of research on cognitive and/or affective dispositions of entrepreneurs. According to this approach, entrepreneurs possess different knowledge

structures, learning scripts or competencies that enable them to evaluate and make decisions about economic opportunities and ventures (Grégoire *et al.*, 2015:1; Morris *et al.*, 2013:352; Swanson, 2017:12-14). These wide-ranging competencies can be conceptual, strategic, technical or relational and include skills such as opportunity recognition, resilience, tenacity, problem-solving and building networks (Irene, 2016:300; Morris *et al.*, 2013:359).

De Vries and Shields (2006:34) have noted a progression from defining entrepreneurs merely by their individual characteristics and intentions to focusing on their actions and the outcomes of those actions. These include innovation, taking risks, opportunity exploitation, venture creation and mobilisation of resources (Audretsch *et al.*, 2015:704). However, these additions have often created further confusion about who qualifies as an entrepreneur (Bruyat & Julien, 2001:166; Drucker, 2014:21). Thus, Swanson (2017:7) concludes that "despite his [sic] central importance in economic activity, the entrepreneur has been a shadowy and elusive figure in the history of economic theory". Some scholars have resorted to identifying common characteristics or traits of entrepreneurs emerging from the literature (Filion, 2008:5; McFarlane, 2016:18). Similarly, Walter and Heinrichs (2015:29) identified six theoretical perspectives on individual determinants of an entrepreneurial status, namely: the trait**,** cognitive**,** affective, intentions**,** learning and economic perspectives.

As Bögenhold *et al.* (2014:120) noted a glaring limitation of these typologies is that they tend to underestimate the nexus between sociological and economic perspectives on entrepreneurship. These scholars try to close this gap by contextualising the entrepreneur and their enterprise within a societal context. Essentially, an entrepreneur is a social agent or social actor, with a certain demographic background, operating in a nuanced socio-cultural setting and engaged in social networks and processes to achieve entrepreneurial goals (ibid, 2014:131). Lastly, entrepreneurs are not confined to the economic realm nor to specific industries. Depending on their societal roles, there are many different types of

entrepreneurs including venture creators, social entrepreneurs, technopreneurs and the self-employed (Filion, 2008:1; Østergaard, 2019:18).

An operational definition was developed for the purpose of this study considering the diverse understandings and approaches uncovered during the literature review. An entrepreneur is hereby defined as: A change agent who identifies opportunities and then takes the initiative to find resources in order to exploit these opportunities, often taking risks to achieve this. They produce new or value-added products and or services. They are usually a sole proprietor, a partner or the one who owns the majority of shares in an incorporated venture. An entrepreneur is not necessarily motivated by profit but may regard it as a way of measuring achievement or success (Bosma, *et al.*, 2000:12; Davidsson, 2008:13; Filion, 2008: 10; Fisher, *et al.*, 2014:478; Kolade *et al.*, 2021:54; Moloi & Nkhahle-Rapita, 2014:78-79; Oyeku, *et al.*, 2014:14; Wright & Steven 2015:1; Yadav, 2015:40). These attributes are reflected in Figure 2.1 below.

Figure 2.1: Attributes of an Entrepreneur
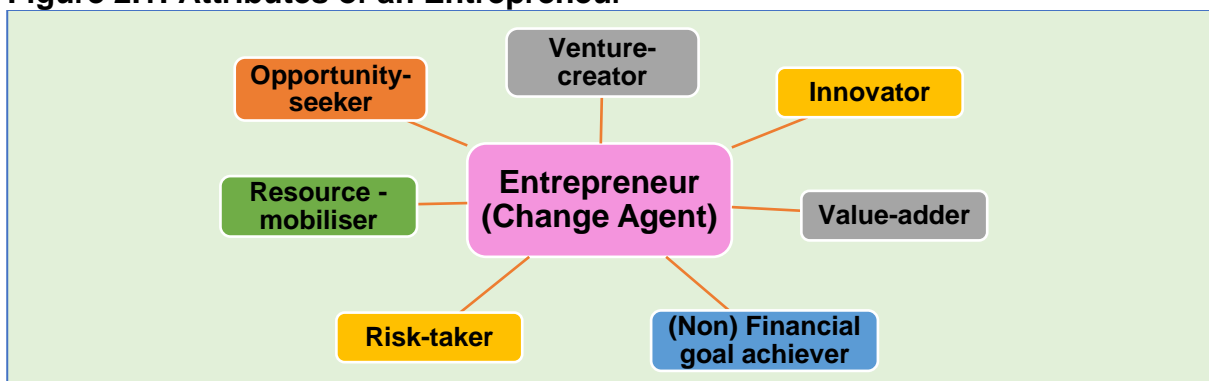
Note: **Own Compilation**

Figure 2.1 depicts the entrepreneur in behavioural terms, as one who is in the active process of doing rather than just being. (Drucker 2014:26; Walter and Heinrichs, 2015:4). The study intended to gauge whether the research participants' own understanding of an entrepreneur included such attributes.

2.2.2 Entrepreneurship

As already alluded to, a single definition of entrepreneurship remains elusive and may even be unattainable (Bögenhold *et al.*, 2019:147; Fiet, 2022:2; Packard, 2017:536). Approaches to studying the phenomenon differ depending on the perspectives of scholars and their research paradigms (Audretsch *et al.*, 2015:704). For example, Packard notes that there is still an overemphasis on functionalist approaches based on the natural scientific philosophy, which he finds inadequate for explaining social phenomena like entrepreneurship. In academic terms, entrepreneurship is: "a scholarly field that seeks to understand how opportunities to bring into existence 'future' goods and services are discovered, created, and exploited, by whom, and with what consequences" (Venkataraman, 1997:120). Regardless, the absence of clear units of analysis and arguments over the causes and outcomes of entrepreneurship complicates the process of theorising about entrepreneurship (Kuratko *et al.*, 2015:2; Wright & Stephen 2015:1).

There are also subtler biases which tend to credit Western scholars for advances in the field of entrepreneurship (such as by Swanson, 2017:6). The field of entrepreneurship is not exclusively a Western phenomenon (McFarlane, 2016:17; Patankar *et al.*, 2018:41). Indeed, Muñoz and Kimmitt (2018:7) find this ethnocentric bias in development circles equally problematic. They note that there is often an assumption that Western knowledge can be universally applied regardless of local contexts, realities, and behaviours.

2.2.2.1 Entrepreneurship as Both an Economic and a Social Phenomenon.

Whereas entrepreneurship was established as an economic phenomenon over three decades ago by scholars such as Cantillon, Say, Schumpeter, and Knight, it was not acknowledged as a social phenomenon until later in the 1900s (Kuratko *et al.*, 2015:2; Ncwadi, 2018:18). Schumpeter's 1934 theory of economic development accommodated the interdependent relationship between individual and environmental factors vis-à-vis

entrepreneurship (Castaño *et al.*, 2015:1, Croituru, 2012:137; Langroodi, 2017:1). "The Schumpeterian system of economic thought was built in such a way as to realise a necessary symbiosis between economic, historical, political, social and all other elements of the process of the functioning and development of the capitalist world" (Croituru, 2012:137).

It is common cause that entrepreneurship involves economic activities or tasks. These include identifying income-generating opportunities, innovating, or redesigning existing products and services. It also involves starting and managing a business, sourcing human and material resources such as staff, equipment, infrastructure, and technology. Another important task is building information networks and planning for daily operations and for business continuity and sustainability (Drucker 2014:26; Walter and Heinrichs, 2015:4). What was previously overlooked was that because entrepreneurship occurs within different socio-cultural environments, it also is better understood as a socially embedded phenomenon (Bögenhold *et al.*, 2014:120).

This perspective is based largely on the social constructionist paradigm, which views entrepreneurship as a socially constructed phenomenon of meaning-making action (Bell *et al.*, 2019:27; Kikooma, 2006:55). According to this perspective, entrepreneurship is a complex, multifaceted social construct that requires plural, inclusive, and diverse research perspectives and approaches (Bruyat & Julien, 2001:17; Leitch, Hill & Harrison, 2010:79). Also referred to as relational constructivism, constructionism emphasises the fact that the phenomenon of entrepreneurship cannot be understood without considering the individual entrepreneur and their project, the environment and also the links between them over time. The entrepreneur is not merely a blind machine responding automatically to environmental stimuli such as interest rates, subsidies and information networks, but a human being

capable of creating, learning, and influencing the environment (Bell *et al.*, 2019:27; Bruyat & Julien, 2001:2; Hosking, 2004:264).

Therefore, demographic factors such as race, gender, age and class play a role in entrepreneurship. The extent to which each group may have access to or exploit opportunities, for example, may be limited by their contexts. The same applies to socio-cultural factors such as culture, religion and politics (Aldawod & Day, 2017:7; Castaño *et al.*, 2015:2; Chen *et al.*, 2015:900; Dendup *et al.*, 2017:2; Kolade *et al.*, 2021:54; Jones, 2017:321; Socio-cultural factors that influence entrepreneurial success are discussed at length in section 2.2.3.

Closely linked to the above is the idea that entrepreneuriship and economic behaviour should be contextualised and mainstreamed to account for the complexity and diversity of these phenomena. This can be achieved by researching different contexts and broadening the discourse beyond typical, predominantly Western business or market contexts, which already have conditions conducive for business growth, and are easier to operationalise (Wadhwani *et al.*, 2019:10-11; Welter, 2008:1). By so doing researchers acknowledge the social embeddedness of entrepreneurship (Scott, 1995; Welter, & Smallbone, 2011:1). This approach to entrepreneurship research is also known as the Contextualising Entrepreneurship Theory (Baker & Welter 2020:41; Baker, Welter & Wirsching, 2018:319; Welter, 2011:164). Its main features are identified in Table 2.1 below on entrepreneurship theories.

2.2.2.2 Entrepreneurship as a Process and a Journey.

Process theory dovetails perfectly with the interpretivist paradigm, which is relevant to the study. According to Packard (2017:536), "process theories of entrepreneurship are aligned with interpretivist meta-theory, and that their explicit adoption of an interpretivist foundation may better facilitate theoretical progress". Interpretivism is the scientific

philosophy that social order −including markets and the entrepreneurial processes within them − emerges from intentional action and interaction at the individual level. Entrepreneurs' roles and responsibilities may change throughout the entrepreneurship process as they complete an array of tasks and confront varying challenges (Przepiorka, 2015:41).

A process approach is useful in entrepreneurship research since it caters for the economic, social, managerial and personal dimensions of entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial success both at the micro and macro levels. It also considers the key elements of time, context and outcomes in the process of entrepreneurship (Aldrich & Martinez, 2007:293; Cunningham & Lischeron, 1991:18; Przepiorka, 2015:44-45; Ruiz-Palomino & Martinez-Cañas, 2021:4; Rwigema *et al.*, 2008:7). "Process theory is founded upon a worldview that conceptualises processes, rather than objects, as the basic building blocks of how we understand the world around us" (Moroz & Hindle, 2012:786). According to these authors, to understand the "how" of a particular outcome, researchers of process must simultaneously pay attention to how change is created to transform inputs to outputs, and the progressive individual and social change that transpires from the transformation. They refer to this change as the "ontology of becoming" (ibid:786-7).

A process approach has the added advantages of breaking down the entrepreneurial effort into specific stages, or steps, which makes inquiry and analysis easier. Furthermore, it considers the life-cycle stages or phases of entrepreneurship, which takes account of the level of development of the business and the entrepreneur. They may be at a start-up/nascent, growth or mature phase, which implies the need for different approaches and interventions (Bruyat & Julien, 2001:168; Kuratko, *et al.*, 2015:5; Rwigema *et al.*, 2008:8).

Cunningham and Lischeron (1991:57-58) further elaborate that the entrepreneurial process is "reiterative and emphasises personal evaluating, planning, acting, and reassessing. It assumes people have the responsibility for the venture, or that they assume

some of the risk and rewards of it." This study also concurs with the view that a shift in inquiry from entrepreneurship as an act to entrepreneurship as a journey can further enhance process-oriented research. This can be achieved by "… initiating a dialogue about the nature of the entrepreneurial journey, when it has begun and ended, whether it might be productively subdivided into variables or events, and what if anything remains constant throughout the process" (McMullen & Dimov, 2013:1481-2). Like other frameworks, the process approach has its own inadequacies, such as the lack of coherence, which scholars like Kuratko *et al.* (2015:2) attempt to resolve, for example via the framework of frameworks approach, as discussed below.

In summary, an entrepreneur in this study is defined as a change agent who identifies opportunities and takes risks to leverage resources to exploit these opportunities. They produce and offer new or value-added products and or services to achieve personal and financial rewards. They may be a sole proprietor, a partner or the one who owns the majority of shares in an incorporated venture. Entrepreneurship in this study is regarded as a process that occurs within specific social contexts of identifying opportunities and initiating the means of exploiting them for the achievement of different outcomes.

2.2.3   Entrepreneurship Models and Theories

Fiet (2022:2) estimates that there are over 250 entrepreneurship theories that can be applied to entrepreneurship. This can make the exercise of selecting a theory for a study a very daunting task. To assist in making sense of the confusing landscape of entrepreneurship research, he and other scholars have tried to group theoretical approaches and models of entrepreneurship. Several of these are explored below.

As a starting point, Kuratko *et al.* (2015:2) provide a useful definition of a theory of entrepreneurship, which is: "a verifiable and logically coherent formulation of relationships, or underlying principles, that either explains entrepreneurship, predicts entrepreneurial

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activity or provides normative guidance." As Kuratko *et al.* (2015:3) noted, there are volumes of work on theories of entrepreneurship, a review of which is well beyond the scope of this study. Three broad types of classifications of theories are discussed here. The first type is by Kuratko *et al.* (2015:1-3), called the Framework of frameworks approach, as depicted in Figure 2.2 below.

Figure 2.2: Framework of Frameworks Approach to Entrepreneurship Theories
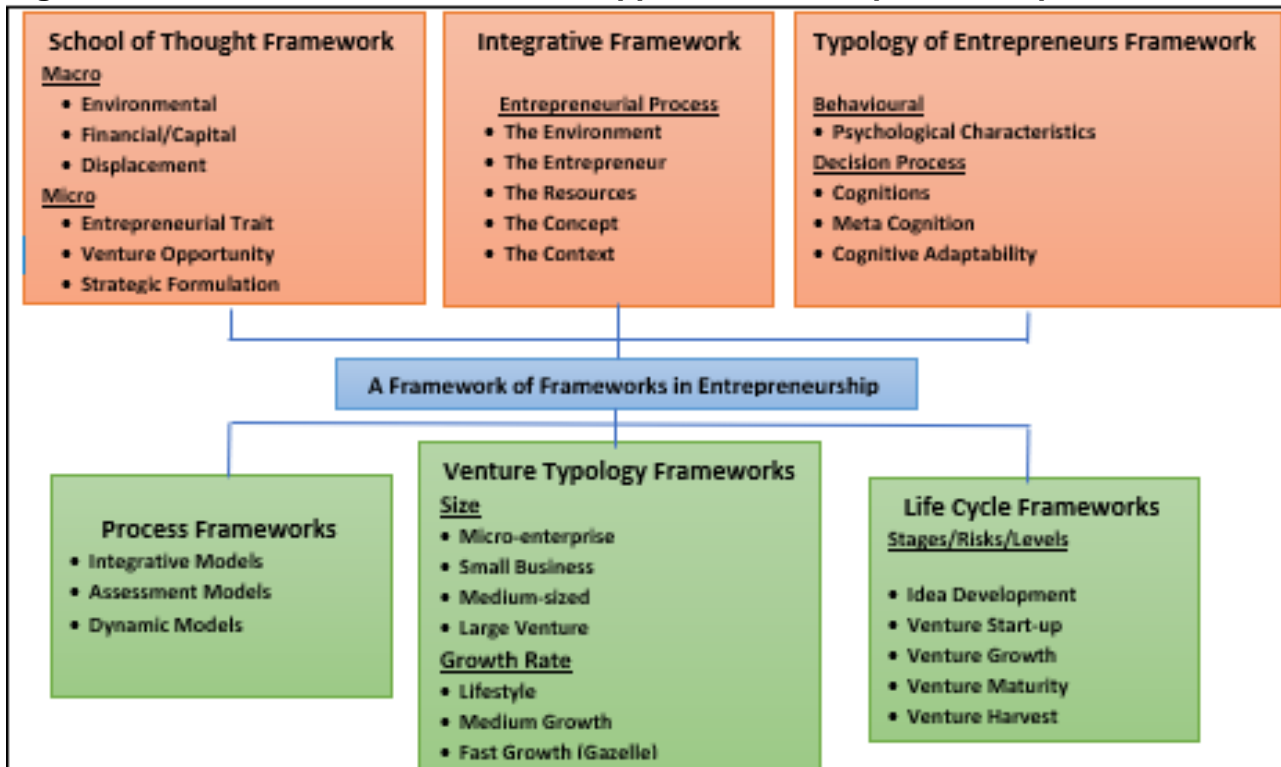
Source: **Kuratko *et al.* (2015:9)**

The diagram shows that entrepreneurship theories can be understood from a framework of frameworks perspectives, namely: the school of thought, integrative, typology of entrepreneurs, process, venture typology, and life-cycle frameworks. This means that each scholar can select one or more frameworks or elements thereof to study entrepreneurship. This study, for example, integrated elements of the school of thought, integrative, process and life-cycle frameworks.

The second classification is by Audretsch *et al.* (2015:705), who identified four broad strands or lenses via which scholars approach this field of study, namely: organisational,

behavioural, performance and eclectic approaches. The third type of clustering of entrepreneurship theories was done by Bula (2012:2-5) and also by Fiet (2022:10-318) and Oyeku *et al.* (2014:18-20) who elaborate on various entrepreneurship theories. Some of these theories are summarised in Table 2.1 below.

Table 2.1: Summary of Key Entrepreneurship Theories

THEORY	KEY FEATURES
1. **Economic theories**	1.1 *Classical Theory* • Extols the virtues of free trade, specialisation and competition • Describes the directing role of the entrepreneur in the context of production and distribution of goods in a competitive marketplace • Articulates three modes of production: land, capital and labour
	1.2 *Neo-classical Theory* • Indicates that economic phenomena could be relegated to instances of pure exchange, reflects an optimal ratio and transpires in a closed economic system
	1.3 *Austrian Market Process (AMP)* • Concentrates on human action in the context of an economy of knowledge (e.g., as a driver of market-based systems and alertness to profit-making opportunities)
2. **Psychological theories**	2.1 *Personality Traits Theory* • Identifies enduring inborn qualities or potentials of the individual that naturally make them an entrepreneur (e.g. visionary, opportunity driven, high level of creativity, innovation, management skills, business know-how, optimism, emotional resilience, mental energy, hardworking, shows intense commitment and perseverance, thrives on competition, desires to excel and win, tends to be dissatisfied with the status quo and desires improvement; entrepreneurs are transformational in nature, life-long learners and use failure as a tool)
	2.2. *Locus of control* • Individual's perception about the underlying main causes of events in their life [i.e. whether outcomes of our actions are contingent on what we do (internal control orientation) or on

THEORY	KEY FEATURES
	events outside our personal control (external control orientation)]. • Entrepreneur's success comes from their own abilities (internal locus of control)
	2.3 *Need for Achievement Theory* • Human beings have a need to succeed, accomplish, excel or achieve
3. **Sociological theory**	• Social context of entrepreneurship and society as the level of analysis • Opportunity identification/utilisation is influenced by factors such as social networks, life stages, ethnicity, social backgrounds and "population ecology" or environmental factors such as political and governing systems
4. **Anthropological theory (e.g. Contextualising Entrepreneurship theory)**	• Anthropology is the study of the origin, development, customs, and beliefs of a community (i.e. the culture of the people in the community) • For someone to successfully initiate a venture, the social and cultural contexts should be examined or considered - cultural entrepreneurship model • Cultural practices lead to entrepreneurial attitudes such as innovation that also lead to venture creation behaviour • Ethnicity affects attitude and behaviour, and culture reflects particular ethnic, social, economic, ecological, and political complexities in individuals
	• Provides a wide-ranging conceptual framework for entrepreneurship research • Entrepreneurs do not cause change (as claimed by the Schumpeterian or Austrian school) but exploit opportunities for change (in technology, consumer preferences etc.) • Creates opportunity-based construct to include resourcefulness • Based on research to determine the differences between entrepreneurial management and administrative management
	4.1 Contextualisation of Entrepreneurship Theory

THEORY	KEY FEATURES
	• Defines and delineates different types of entrepreneurship "contexts" • Using the critical Process Approach explains how "doing contexts" in entrepreneurship research • Doing contexts entails talking, enacting and seeing • Language and visualisation play an important role in this process
5. Resource-Based theories	• Access to resources by founders is an important predictor of opportunity-based entrepreneurship and new venture growth • Stresses the importance of financial, social, and human resources • Access to resources enhances the individual's ability to detect and act upon discovered opportunities • Financial, social, and human capital represents three classes of theories under the resource-based entrepreneurship theories
	6.1 Financial Capital/Liquidity Theory • People with financial capital are more likely to acquire resources to effectively exploit entrepreneurial opportunities and set up a firm • Entrepreneurs have individual-specific resources that facilitate the recognition of new opportunities and the assembling of new resources for the emerging firm
	6.2 Social Capital or Social Network Theory • Entrepreneurs are embedded in a larger social network structure that constitutes a significant proportion of their opportunity structure
	6.3 Human Capital Entrepreneurship Theory • Education and experience are two factors underlying the theory • Knowledge gained from education and experience represents a resource that is heterogeneously distributed across individuals and central to understanding differences in opportunity identification and exploitation

Note. Bula (2012:2-5); Fiet (2022:10-318); Oyeku *et al.* (2014:18-20); Baker and Welter (2020:41-60); Baker and Welter (2018:2-6)

The table shows that there are broadly six groups of entrepreneurship theories based on the level of empirical evidence amassed over time (Bula 2012:2-5; Fiet, 2022:10-318). These are the economic, psychological, sociological, anthropological, opportunity-based and resource-based theories. As with the other approaches discussed above, these theories are not mutually exclusive and can be used interchangeably to understand entrepreneurship. Thus, although this study leans heavily towards the social capital or social network theory, which is a subset of the resource-based theory, it does also incorporate elements of the anthropological, sociological and opportunity-based theories. These include the ethnic and cultural background of individuals, their social and political contexts and their ability (or lack thereof) to access business resources such as finance, infrastructure and markets.

The fact that there are so many different theories, models or frameworks for approaching entrepreneurship is testament that they have their own limitations, especially models and theories whose hypotheses have not been tested empirically (Bula, 2012:2-5; Fiet, 2022:5). For example, personality traits theory can be problematic when it is claimed that generic traits any human being can possess (e.g. hard-working, persistent, optimistic life-long learner) are unique to entrepreneurs. Conversely, the qualities ascribed to entrepreneurs (e.g. management skills, creativity, innovation, risk-orientation) can also be embodied by non-entrepreneurs.

2.3   Entrepreneurial Success

A review was conducted of various studies focussing on entrepreneurial success that were undertaken between 2009 and 2018[4]. As with the terms entrepreneur and entrepreneurship, it revealed that there is no common definition of entrepreneurial success

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[4] See Table 1.2 in Appendix 2.

or of measures for its assessment (Wach *et al.*, 2016:3). Because of this challenge, a more generic definition such as one provided by Fisher *et al.* (2014:480) is useful. They state that entrepreneurial success is often used to refer to "the success of a venture or business activity, and sometimes the success of the entrepreneur connected to the venture" (ibid:480).

2.3.1 Dimensions of entrepreneurial success

Along with Razmus and Laguna (2016:1-11) and Wach *et al.* (2016:1098-1121), Fisher *et al.* (2014:478-492) explored the dimensions and indicators of entrepreneurial success, as well as factors contributing to its accomplishment. Their studies reveal that entrepreneurial success essentially

- has multiple dimensions and levels

- results from multiple micro and macro factors

- can be measured objectively and subjectively

- can be measured quantitatively and qualitatively

- incorporates failure

- can be productive or destructive

- is a journey or process that evolves over time, and

- is as much a socio-cultural construct as it is an economic and psychological concept.

The salient points about entrepreneurial success are depicted in Figure 2.3 below.

Figure 2.3: Micro and Macro Entrepreneurial Success Factors

Figure 2.3: Micro and Macro Entrepreneurial Success Factors
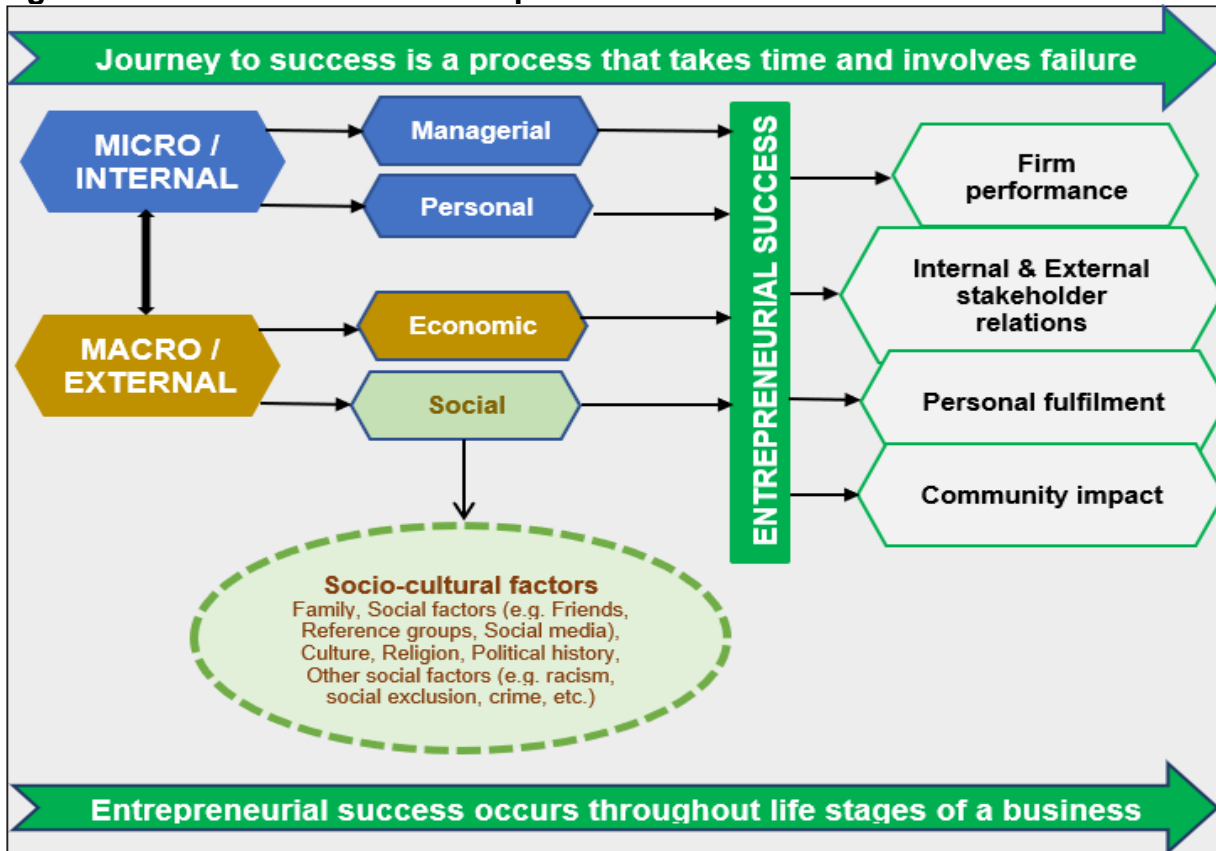
Note: **Own configuration**

The diagram shows that entrepreneurial success is influenced by multiple macro or external factors and micro or internal factors, which may be social, economic, managerial, or personal. It emphasises the fact that entrepreneurial success is a process and journey that evolves over time and occurs throughout the life stages of a business and that it can be measured by financial and non-financial indicators at the personal and business levels. Socio-cultural factors are highlighted in the diagram to indicate that they are the main focus of this study and are therefore discussed at greater length.

2.3.2   Entrepreneurial Success Measures/Indicators

Historically, entrepreneurial success has been measured mainly in terms of economic indicators such as firm size, revenue growth, sales and, market size (Razmus & Laguna, 2018:2; Oyeku *et al*., 2014:15-16). However, recent primary research on entrepreneurs' own views of entrepreneurial success reveals that they do not necessarily confine their definition

of success and their motivation to succeed strictly to financial terms such as profit or wealth accumulation. Instead, their definitions of success may include more personal and social determinants such as the ability to do work they enjoy, being the boss, work flexibility, and having an impact on employees, customers, and the community (Chen, Chang & Lee, 2015:900; Fisher *et al.*, 2014:478; Wach *et al.*, 2016:1099). Ismail *et al.* (2016:122) grouped these outcomes into intrinsic criteria (e.g. freedom, independence, controlling one's own future, and being one's own boss); and extrinsic criteria (e.g. increased financial returns, personal income and wealth).

This broader definition of entrepreneurial success is expanded by Razmus and Laguna (2016:1-11) who incorporated the views of internal and external stakeholders on the success of enterprises within which they had a vested interest. The stakeholders included employees and shareholders (internal) and customers, suppliers, competitors and financiers (external). Angel *et al.*, 2018:1-2) shed further light on entrepreneurs' subjective meanings of entrepreneurial success. Their study showed that entrepreneurs not only differed on their preferred success criteria, but also on their personal understanding of such criteria.

Notwithstanding these developments, research on subjective entrepreneurial success (i.e. based on entrepreneurs' own views) is still limited and has not converged on a common definition (Wach *et al.*, 2016:1099). This may explain why there seems to be a dearth of similar current studies that delve into subjective interpretations of entrepreneurial success, especially locally. However, anecdotal evidence from local township entrepreneurs seems to support the notion that township entrepreneurs view success more in terms of their own contribution to the development of their communities rather than just purely material benefits. This is evidenced from interviews with and profiles garnered from various business magazines (Destiny Reporter, 2014; Giebelmann, 2021; Okechukwu, 2012; Todd, 2016) of retailer Dr Richard Maponya, restauranteur Sakhumzi Maqubela, tombstone manufacturer

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Lebohang Khitsane, automation repair and service provider Brian Malatji, and camping specialist Karabo Sepharatla. To mitigate the lack of a common definition of entrepreneurial success measures, four broad success indicators were developed to guide this study. These are summarised in Table 2.2 below.

Table 2.2: Indicators/Measures of Entrepreneurial Success

No.	Indicator	Description/descriptive terms
1.	**Firm performance**	Profitability, revenue, sales, turnover, growth, survival/continuity, reaching set goals, bringing to life the vision and mission of a company
		Increase in employees, market share and distribution, new services/products, investing in new solutions
		Good reputation, positive image of the firm
2.	**Internal/external stakeholder relations**	Having regular customers
		Relationships with employees, customers, suppliers, employees' satisfaction (e.g. employees' engagement in the firm, lack of turn-over intention)
3.	**Community impact**	Social responsibility for employees, firm social responsibility, environmentally friendly, firm taking part in social campaigns, helping local communities
4.	**Personal fulfilment**	Work-life balance (e.g., not bringing work-related emotions home, having time for family and other activities), flexibility, own decision making, personal development, job satisfaction, treating work as a calling
		Personal income growth, personal financial security, ability to afford a lot

Source: **Angel *et al.*, 2018:2; Fisher *et al.*, 2014:484; Oyeku, 2014:15; Razmus & Laguna, 2018:3; Wach *et al.*, 2016:1099**

The table shows that entrepreneurial success can be measured both quantitatively and qualitatively using four broad indicators. These are firm performance (including the growth of a business and its reputation), the effective management of relationships with internal and external stakeholders such as staff, clients, investors and suppliers, community impact and personal accomplishment.

2.3.3   Entrepreneurial Success Factors

Entrepreneurial success factors are those elements, determinants and/or conditions that facilitate, influence or lead to the achievement of success in business ventures. They are also referred to as antecedents or preconditions for growth (Fisher, 2014:408-481;

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Neneh & Van Zyl, 2014:174). Entrepreneurial success is a result of multiple and multi-dimensional, but interrelated micro and macro factors (Bosma, *et al*., 2000:12; Davidsson, 2008:13; Dendup *et al*., 2017:2; Fisher, *et al*, 2014:478; Iacob *et al*., 2015:1; Moloi & Nkhahle-Rapita, 2014:78-79; Shakeel, Yaokuang & Gohar, 2020:1-2; Oyeku, *et al*., 2014:14; Wright & Steven 2015:1; Yadav, 2015:40).

Whereas micro factors refer to psychological, individual and/or personal factors, macro factors refer to environmental factors that contribute to entrepreneurial success. The emerging field of entrepreneurial ecosystems is another clear indication of how micro factors such as the entrepreneur's talent, skills and leadership are just as critical as the immediate environment they operate in. Where there is concentrated infrastructural, financial, and legislative support, as well as a conducive legislative environment, businesses are likely to succeed (Alroaia & Baharun, 2018:31; Isenberg, 2016; Roundy, 2016:2-3; Spigel & Harrison, 2018:2).

Micro and macro factors can also inhibit entrepreneurial success. As far back as 1934, Schumpeter's theory of economic development already accommodated the interdependent relationship between individual and environmental factors vis-à-vis entrepreneurship (Castaño *et al*., 2015:1, Croituru, 2012:137; Langroodi, 2017:1). Schumpeter theorised about economic cycles and fluctuations amidst a range of social influences such as "wars, political upheaval, and cultural or spiritual issues" (Croituru, 2012:137; Langroodi, 2017:1). Social factors such as the political environment, a rights culture and strong governance institutions have been found to play a role in entrepreneurship (Castaño *et al*., 2015:1-2).

There is also an overlap between the effect of demographic and socio-cultural factors on entrepreneurial success. For example, in societies where discriminatory practices such as racism and sexism are normalised and institutionalised, they become part and parcel of the socio-economic climate of those societies. Demographic profiles of certain individuals

count against them in their entrepreneurial endeavours, thereby limiting their potential to succeed (Kuratko *et al.*, 2015:2; Meyer & Landsberg, 2015:3454).

Different scholars have clustered these micro and macro factors in different ways over the years. Generally, these clusters include psychological and personality traits and demographic, economic, institutional, historical, religious, and political factors (Brown & Thornton, 2013:401:420; Filion, 2008:2-8; Fisher *et al.*, 2014:480-481; Morris, *et al.*, 2013:352; Rauch & Frese, 2007:375; Simpeh, 2011:1-9, Uddin & Bose, 2013:149; Van Praag, 1999:314; Yadav, 2015:40-54). Based on the literature review, five broad categories of micro / individual and macro/environmental entrepreneurial success factors were developed for the purpose of the study as shown in Table 2.3 below.

Table 2.3: Categories of Entrepreneurial Success Factors

Entrepreneurial success factors		
Micro/ individual factors		
Factors	**Key features**	**References**
Individual	**Personality/psychological traits** • Mental attitudes and behaviours predisposing people to entrepreneurial success (e.g. need for achievement, grit, risk-propensity, resilience, locus of control, tolerance of ambiguity and self-efficacy • Big Five factors model seen as most accurate and comprehensive (i.e. extraversion, agreeableness, openness to experience, conscientiousness and neuroticism.	Lawal, Worlu & Ayoade *et al.*, (2016:342), Baluku, Kikooma & Kibanja *et al.* (2016:15), Chatterjee (2015:104), Grégoire *et al.* (2015:1), Hill & Wright (2001:434), Moloi & Nkhahle-Rapita (2014:78), Mooradian *et al.* (2016:232), Nene & Van Zyl (2014:172), Przepiorka (2016:41), Rauch & Frese (2007:375); Windapo, 2018:9
Demographic factors	• Include gender, race/ethnicity, class, educational background, age, location and disability • Marginalised groups such as black people, minority groups, women, youth, rural dwellers are less likely to	Gender - Irene (2016:23), Meyer & Landsberg (2015:3454), Agholor *et al.* (2015:45) and Shakeel *et al.* (2020:2) Nyakudya, Simba & Herrington (2018:1)

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Entrepreneurial success factors		
Micro/ individual factors		
Factors	**Key features**	**References**
	succeed due to inequality and discriminatory practices in respect to access to resources	Race – Jones (2017:320), Koens & Thomas, (2015:8), Kuratko *et al.* (2015:2), Olivas & Frankwick (2016:11) Age - Azoulay *et al.* (2020:65); Gwija *et al.* (2014:17); Zhao *et al.* (2021:1) Class - Goraya (2019:37-38) Disability - Maziriri and Madinga (2016:1) Location - Mkubukeli & Tengeh, (2016:3) Education/work experience – Bhoganadam, SrinivasaRao, & Reddy (2018:305), Yazici, Uslu, & Arık (2016:1014);
Managerial/Institutional	• i.e. how the entrepreneur plans for and operationalises business decisions using the resources amassed to create and sell their products and services • Involves activities such as planning, budgeting, staffing, networking and creating and employing relevant systems and technologies	Agholor *et al.* (2015:41-42); Aparicio, Urbano & Audretsch (2016:3); Snider (2015:38-43); Tur-Porcar, Roig-Tierno & Mestre (2018:9)
Macro/environmental factors		
Economic	• The economic climate, markets, policy and regulatory environment, availability and accessibility of support such as infrastructure, business facilities, finance and technical skills development, as well as practical challenges such as disrupted power supply and inadequate business premises that hamper daily operations	Akinyemi & Adejumo (2017:625); Dendup *et al.* (2017:3); to Castaño *et al.* (2015:1); Bosma (2020:25)

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Entrepreneurial success factors		
Micro/ individual factors		
Factors	**Key features**	**References**
Socio-cultural	• Family, friends & other reference groups; culture, religion, political history	Castaño *et al.* (2015:1); Devece (2016:5366); Bosma *et al.* (2020:25); Kriel (2017:17); Neneh & Van Zyl (2014:175); Razmus & Laguna (2018:1); Ruiz-Palomino & Martinez-Cañas (2021:7); Yadav, 2015:54).

The table shows that the five broad entrepreneurial success factors categories are: individual, demographic, management/institutional, economic, and socio-cultural factors. Since the focus of the study is on socio-cultural factors, they are discussed in more detail in the section below. The other factors are also considered in the analysis of findings in the later chapters of this thesis. For example, if entrepreneurs are discriminated against in access to opportunities and resources on the basis of their demographic profiles, such as gender, race, disability and location, this may negatively affect their entrepreneurial success. Similarly, if the economic environment is not conducive to growth, or the entrepreneur lacks certain attributes or managerial skills, their entrepreneurial success will be impacted negatively.

2.3.3.1 *Socio-cultural Entrepreneurial Success Factors.*

Since entrepreneurship is a social activity, an entrepreneur's relationships within their social environments are vital for them to achieve economic goals. This is also referred to as relational embeddedness (Bird and Zellweger, 2018:2) or social embeddedness (Welter, & Smallbone, 2011:1), which accounts for both formal and informal institutions within which entrepreneurship takes place (Baker & Welter 2020:41). It is therefore important to account for the socio-cultural environment within which entrepreneurial success is assessed (Cardella *et al.*,2020:9-10; Shakeel *et al.*, 2020:1; Swartz *et al*, 2019:2). The phrase socio-

cultural factors as used here encompasses a range of factors that impact on entrepreneurial success, namely cultural, family, social, religious and political-historical conditions. Although discussed discretely, they are not mutually exclusive. Their influence on entrepreneurial success may be formal or informal and direct or indirect, depending on how the community is organised and which structures it regards as legitimate. Analysis of the benefits of these factors is thus complex and contradictory and their outcomes are characterised as positive and/or counter-productive (Hirschman & Kendall, 2015:45; Muñoz & Kimmitt, 2018:7; Valliere, 2019:2).

__Family Factors.__ The family embeddedness perspective posits that the family (immediate or extended) is one of the most important sources of support for the entrepreneur. However, levels and types of support vary, depending on their investment in the business. Using the concept of relational embeddedness, Bird and Zellweger (2018:2) expound on this notion by exploring the value and quality of relations between the entrepreneur and their significant others in firm growth. Family support may include finance, information, knowledge and skills transfer, role modelling business, as well as infrastructure and equipment (Cardella, *et.al.*, 2020:9-10; Fellnhofer & Puumalainen, 2017:6; Hack-Polay *et al.*, 2020:241; Hingtgen *et al.*, 2015:186; Powell & Eddleston, 2017:614). It should be noted that in the African context, the family includes ancestors (the living-deceased) and that ancestors are seen as important role players in the lives of those who venerate them (Idang 2015:104; Masondo, 2015:3; Ndemanu, 2018:71). This is discussed further in Chapter 3.

According to Chakraborty *et al.* (2016:3), in paternalistic families an offspring's decision to be become an entrepreneur may favourably dispose them towards their family, resulting in them receiving support in the form of skills and capital, for example. This pattern is also observed in the Jewish community, where the family collectively makes decisions for

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individuals (Elo *et al.*, 2015:17). As Chakraborty *et al.* (2016:3) also attest, family support can come with strings attached. Sieger and Minola's (2017:1) survey of 23 304 people in 19 countries revealed a negative relationship between self-efficacy and dependency on family cohesion. Family embeddedness may help an entrepreneur to tap into resources such as start-up capital that they may not be able to access in the market. However, it may also result in untenable obligations such as reciprocity demands, a sense of duty, social indebtedness and a moral burden. In that regard, their financial support from family may turn out to be a "poisoned gift" (ibid:2). As already alluded to, other factors such as gender relations, religion and class may also influence how families interpret their roles and obligations in relation to their entrepreneurial members (Grant, 2013:100-101; Patankar *et al.*, 2018:43).

Lastly, judging by the accessibility of literature on the subject, intergenerational transmission of entrepreneurial tendencies and succession of family businesses appear to be well-research areas, especially in Western contexts (Abbasianchavari, & Moritz, 2020: 1; Giménez-Nadal *et al.*, 2022:2; Suddaby & Jaskiewicz, 2020:2)

Social Factors. Social factors are hereby explored in terms of the link between entrepreneurial success and the interactions that entrepreneurs have with other people and structures in their locales. Beyond their immediate and extended family, these may comprise friends and other reference groups such as social clubs (Ruiz-Palomino & Martínez-Cañas, 2021:2). Friends and other reference groups are usually included in the broader concept of social networks (see the section on the social network theory below). They facilitate access to social contacts with nascent entrepreneurs that can serve as a bridge between entrepreneurial intention and venture creation (ibid:6). They also provide additional support for entrepreneurs operating in multi-ethnic communities, especially among marginal groups such as immigrant entrepreneurs (Baluku *et al.*, 2016:2-22; Tengeh, 2016:203). Types of

support may include partnership, finance, referrals, information, skills (e.g., as employees), as well as role modelling (Cardella, et.al., 2020:9-10; Fellnhofer & Puumalainen, 2017:6; Hack-Polay *et al.*, 2020:241; Hingtgen *et al.*, 2015:186; Powell & Eddleston, 2017:614).

Ditlefsen, Hamilton. and Meaker (2019:91), as well as Hingtgen *et al.* (2015:186) also illustrate how Cuban collectivism, which has similar elements to the African ubuntu kinship value system, reinforced by socialist values, can benefit private enterprise. Since family extends to neighbours, the entire neighbourhood becomes a valuable resource for entrepreneurs while they engage in income-generating activities. Due to harsh economic realities, Cuban entrepreneurs in the tourism sector rely on all arms of the extended family for resources like childcare, emotional support, gift giving and the like. In such contexts, it is better to view individualism and collectivism as a continuum, not as polar opposites of a spectrum. "Collectivists see themselves as interdependent components of a united system of people who try to act in their group's best interest. In collectivist cultures, "team innovation" arises through intimate ties, shared goals, trust and commitment, as opposed to formal contracts, as is more the case in individualistic societies" (ibid). Similar observations have been made about the Chinese guanxi social network system (Hirschman & Kendall, 2015:40).

A negative social environment can either inhibit entrepreneurial success or propel entrepreneurs to drive change and empower their communities. In one setting, Chinomona and Maziriri (2015:20-23) found that immigrant entrepreneurs in South Africa bear the brunt of xenophobic attacks, especially in impoverished and underdeveloped areas such as the inner cities and townships of Johannesburg. In other settings, such immigrants have been found to be resilient and able to bounce back (Tengeh, 2016:203). Jones' (2017:330-340) thematic analysis of African-American entrepreneurs' narratives similarly demonstrates that entrepreneurs can work within oppressive systems and resist negative discourses through

their personal agency and creativity. Black entrepreneurship is seen as a strategy to counter discrimination and marginalisation by creating venture capital firms, promoting excellence and professionalism, intergenerational sharing of skills, knowledge and information, and strategically supporting black consumers and companies. For this study the relevant social factors included family relations, friendships, social inclusion/exclusion, class, racial and gender relations.

Cultural Factors. The study looked at how the entrepreneurs' cultural background influences them at an individual and business level. This included aspects such as cultural or business identity, values, principles, traditions and practices (Castillo-Palacio, Batista-Canino & Zúñiga Collazos, 2017:2). As Storr and Butkevich (2007:251) aptly stated; "Entrepreneurs are cultural creatures and culture affects how they conceive their opportunities and how they determine and pursue their interests." Understanding entrepreneurship in any particular context thus requires attention to be paid to prevailing cultural beliefs as well as to the formal and informal institutions that affect economic behaviour. Therefore, the study sought to further understand how the participants' cultural aspects impacted on their ability to find opportunities and resources for their businesses as they provided goods and services to various markets. Among others, these may be in the form of social capital, innovations, knowledge and/or skills (Cardella *et al.*, 2020:7).

Culture can be defined as a complex system of values, norms, knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law and customs, shared by a group of people. It becomes a tradition when it is socially transmitted from generation to generation via formal and informal institutions such as families, schools, social clubs, workplaces and government (Alesina & Paola Giuliano, 2015:900-902; Antonites & Govindasamy, 2013:117; Castillo-Palacio *et al.*, 2017:4; Huggins & Thompson 2016; Roundy, 2016:9). Cultural learning occurs through role modelling, socialisation or indoctrination whereby people in the collective assimilate what is deemed

as acceptable and unacceptable behaviours (customs). Each group also sets its own standards for practice (moral and ethical values) to guide such behaviour and may also perform certain rites (rituals) in fulfilment of cultural requirements (Chakraborty, Thompson & Yehoue, 2016:38; Kendall, 2015:41; Lindquist *et al.*, 2015: 293; Patankar *et al.*, 2018:43-46).

Essentially, culture is multidimensional and heterogenous (Valliere, 2019:1). Hofstede and Milosevi (2011:1) elaborate that culture "is always a collective phenomenon, but it can be connected to different collectives". Different collectives (e.g. tribal, ethnic, national or organisational) have their own cultures, hence Huggins and Thompson (2016:3) refer to the notion of *socio-spatial culture*. Building on this theme, Muñoz and Kimmitt (2018:3) call for cultural relativism in approaching the study of entrepreneurship, especially in non-Western settings like South Africa.

This means that the particular social and cognitive characteristics of entrepreneurship in a particular place need to be understood as culturally determined and can only be observed and explained in recognition of cultural variability and never judged as superior or inferior than those shown in another place (ibid:11-12).

Hofstede's dimensions of national cultures assist entrepreneurship scholars to understand how people in different national cultures and multi-ethnic societies interpret concepts such as power and gender relations, wealth accumulation, risk, and individual and group affiliations. These are: power distance (different solutions to the basic problem of human inequality); uncertainty avoidance (level of stress in a society in the face of an unknown future); individualism vs collectivism (integration of individuals into primary groups); masculinity vs femininity (division of emotional roles between women and men); long term vs short term orientation (choice of focus for people's efforts: future, present and/or past); and indulgence vs restraint (gratification versus control of basic human desires related

to enjoying life) (Hofstede & Milosevic, 2011:5). Sharma (2010:787-788) reconceptualised as follows: independence-interdependence, power-social inequality, masculinity-gender equality, risk-aversion-ambiguity intolerance and tradition-prudence.

The broader national culture is usually distinguished from the term entrepreneurial culture or entrepreneurial climate (EC), which refer to the extent to which a society inculcates the entrepreneurial spirit and supports entrepreneurial behaviour and endeavours through its educational, religious, governance and other formal and informal institutions. (Bosma *et al.*, 2020:25; Castaño *et al.*, 2015:1-2; Hingtgen *et al.*, 2015:185; Thurik & Dejardin, 2011:57). These aspects have been grouped with economic success factors in Table 2.3 above. The 2019/2020 GEM report acknowledges that social and cultural foundations vary, based on the region and income level of each country (Bosma *et al.*, 2020:25). In developing and transitional economies, the entrepreneurial climate may have been negatively affected by politically motivated anti-private enterprise policies (Hingtgen *et al.*, 2015:185).

Examples of the impact of culture on entrepreneurial success include the Indian practice of *jugaad* (*ju-gaar*) – loosely translated as to hack or to improvise. Entrepreneurs use frugal, more-for-less cultural practices to minimise costs associated with the innovation process, thereby increasing their profitability prospects. It is likened to terms such as *jiejian chuangxin* in China, *gambbiarra* or *jeitinho kanju* in Africa and *Do-it-yourself (DIY)* in America (Prabhu & Jain, 2015:4-13). Similarly, Patankar *et al.*, (2018:41-49) studied how customs practised by communities like the Sindhis, Jain, Chettiyar, Boharis, Guharati, Parsis, Marwaris, and Shettys benefit culturally and religiously diverse Indian communities in navigating their entrepreneurial pursuits.

Other scholars, reliant on different frameworks, have studied how the personal, humanistic, ethical and moral value orientations influence entrepreneurial conduct and ultimate success (Hirschman & Kendall, 2015:41; Kasu, 2017:26; Sihombing, Pramono &

Ismanto, 2016:675; Yilmaz, 2013:205-209). Kasu (2017:26) even coined the phrase *Ubuntupreneurship* to describe how the ubuntu indigenous knowledge and value systems influence the entrepreneurial climate and communal wealth creation in Sub-Saharan countries like Zimbabwe.

Ubuntu (in Zulu)—*botho* (in Sotho), *vhuntu* (in Venda), *vumunhu* in Xitsonga) and *unhu* (in Shona)—is a multidimensional concept representing core values of African ontologies such as humanity, human nature, humanness, and is even regarded as the foundation for human relations. It is also associated with virtuous social attributes such as generosity, politeness and kindness that were particularly noticeable among native Africans (Gade, 2011:307-308; Kolade, *et al.*, 2021:54; Kasu, 2017:27). Ubuntu is better explained by the African proverb *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* (Nguni) or *motho ke motho ka batho* (Sotho), which translates as: "you are because we are". The closest English equivalent is "no man is an island" (Kamwangamalu,1999:24; Kasu, 2017:27). According to Migheli (2017:1213), there is a strong link between the ubuntu value system and social capital, which can be leveraged by an individual as a means of socio-economic development.

Based on their study of the Kenyan *Harambee* belief system, Rodgers *et al.* (2019:7-13) argue that Ubuntu is not universally espoused by all African countries as each has their own peculiar regional and historical influences. *Harambee* (*Halambee*) means "let us pull together" and originates from the East-African Bantu people. It was used as a resistance movement against colonial oppression and subsequently for nation-building and as a model for development post-independence. Thus, it permeated the social, political and economic spheres of Kenyan life. Rodgers *et al.* (2019:11) concluded that in Kenya: "traditional culture (which) does not prohibit personal wealth creation but requires the rich to improve their communities … through voluntary distribution of their wealth to aid fellow-citizens' empowerment."

Detractors like Matolino and Kwindingwi (2013:197) dismiss ubuntu and its relevance in the modern, industrialised regions like South Africa outright. They bemoan revivalism, elitism and the tendency to romanticise notions of ubuntu, which they claim belie the social inequality and power structures that often characterise African societies. As a poignant example, they point to the hypocrisy of differential treatment of women in the accordance of respect vis-à-vis men.

A neutral approach is adopted by Hirschman and Kendall (2015:41). Based on their review of Russian and Chinese entrepreneurship trajectories as they transited from socialist/communist towards capitalist economies¸ they propose a mixed-motive ethical approach. They contend that an entrepreneur's ethical or moral choices are not always clear-cut and cannot be divorced from their social and political context and what is normalised therein. Therefore, it should be left to entrepreneurs themselves as they evolve in these contexts to define their own ethical standards rather than be boxed into predefined ones (notably those fit for Western, capitalist societies). Thus the influence on entrepreneurial success of aspects such the ubuntu value system (e.g. collectivism, sharing, respect and humility) and other cultural practices (e.g. ancestral reverence) were explored in the study.

Religious Factors.

Religion is like an elephant in the room: impossible to overlook, yet largely ignored … A religious perspective on entrepreneurship is distinct, as it commonly entails specific and detailed narratives and practices, a defined scriptural source, and a distinct meta-physical objective (Gümüsay, 2015:1-2).

Gümüsay's observation that religion is not adequately researched in entrepreneurship, even though billions of people around the world (including entrepreneurs) consider themselves religious or spiritual, cannot be overstated. He rightly posits that this field of

study will be greatly enhanced by incorporating religious perspectives. According to the Pew Research Centre, Christianity and Islam remain the world's two leading religions, with Islam expected to catch up by 2060. The report estimated that of the 7.9 billion global population, approximately 2.3 billion (29%) were Christian and 1.8 billion (23%) were Muslim adherents respectively (Diamant, 2019:1). Smith *et al.* (2021:7) further argue that a theological perspective on entrepreneurship advances insightful and transformative entrepreneurship research by offering an alternative to economic approaches.

Religion can be defined as a set of shared beliefs and practices based on faith in a supernatural being or forces (Hoogendoorn, Rietveld & Stel, 2016:520). Weber's classical work on the relationship between the Protestant ethic and capitalism is worth considering for understanding the role of religious factors in entrepreneurship (Charman, 2017:11; Hardnack & Liedeman, 2016:14). Notwithstanding this, some have taken exception to his apparent negative stereotyping (e.g. of Hindus in India) (Patankar *et al.*, 2018:41). According to Charman (2018:564), in predominantly Christian, Islamic and Jewish nations there is a strong belief that Allah, God or Yahweh is glorified through hard work and the pursuit and creation of wealth for the benefit of the whole society (Holland, 2015:17; Gümüsay's, 2015:4-7; Rietveld & Hoogendoorn, 2022:1309; Smith *et al.*, 2021:7). Such nations thus place heavy emphasis on economic policies that promote entrepreneurship. Spiritual texts such as the Bible, the Koran and the Talmud are relied upon as resources for guidance on decision-making, overcoming challenges and ethical conduct (ibid).

Hoogendoorn *et al.* (2016:522) highlight that value differences between and among religious and non-religious groups can influence the propensity towards pursuing entrepreneurship. Belonging, believing, bonding and behaving are the concepts they used to explore how adherents translate their faith into practical entrepreneurial actions. In a qualitative study of American female entrepreneurs, Holland (2015:22-23) likewise found a

strong link between their religious beliefs and their motivation to launch, operate and achieve success in business. Respondents claimed that their strong faith and trust in God and their close relationship with God motivated them to start businesses and helped them to overcome difficult challenges such as the 2007-2009 economic recession. They, like Patel and Selvaraj (2015:291) found that places of worship provide markets for their members to sell their goods and services. Religious merchandise can create a strong value chain from design and manufacturing through to retail. In their systematic thematic analysis of the literature on the relationship between religion and business success, Annuar and Ali (2021:259) found that religiously inclined entrepreneurs who were governed by religious cultures and were supported by their religious institutions with shared beliefs were likely to succeed in business. By sharp contrast, Asare-kyire *et al.* (2016:85) found that religious beliefs tended to impact negatively on women entrepreneurs in Ghana due to the underlying gender inequalities that already exist in that society.

The last point to make is that within an African context such South African townships it is not always possible to separate the intrinsic link between family values, culture and religion. The African worldview and cultural values (especially of ubuntu) permeate all aspects of life (Idang, 2015:104; Masondo, 2015:3-5; Ndemanu (2018:71). As Beyers (2017:1) argues, religion is a cultural tradition and therefore an expression of culture. The role of religious beliefs and practices (e.g. ancestral reverence, religious faith, prayer and church membership) are discussed further in Chapter 3.

Political-historical Factors. The political and historical dynamics of a country also have an impact on the entrepreneurial success of its citizens. A poor culture of political, civil and human rights, as well as a disregard for the rule of law and corruption, have been found to negatively impact on entrepreneurship. Conversely, strong governance and institutional frameworks enable entrepreneurship to flourish (Castaño *et al.*, 2015:2; Gerrard *et al.*

(2017:68), as Onodugo and Onodugo (2015:249) exemplify how in the case of Nigeria, political rivalry, poor vision and corruption often frustrate the implementation of good economic policies even if they are promulgated. Similarly, Verver and Dahles (2015:58-60) expose how the institutionalised patronage system of *oknha* in Cambodia creates monopolies and fosters elitism and inequality among its citizens. Usually, stronger social climates for entrepreneurship are associated with Western, educated, industrialised, rich, developed (WEIRD) economies, (ibid). However, the reality is that corruption fuelled by rent-seeking and cronyism is equally rife in first world countries (Champeyrache, 2018:157; Box, Gratzer & Lin, 2020:437; Boudreaux *et al.*, 2018:2).

Political stances adopted by countries also influence their entrepreneurship trajectories. (Hirschman & Kendall, 2015:29; González-Corzo, 2015:100-103; Hingtgen *et al.*, 2015:186). According to these authors, whereas in capitalist countries like North America free enterprise has been a common practice, this has not been the case in socialist and communist regimes such as Russia, China and Cuba. Until fairly recently, private enterprise in these countries was often repressed and relegated to small and informal activities. The one-party-state apparatus rather than private companies was heavily relied upon for the entire value chain of supply and demand.

As far as history is concerned, formally and informally entrenched systems of discrimination such as slavery, colonialism and racism have ensured that not all entrepreneurs are created equal. When conflated with other factors such as religion, politics, class and race, they can result in entrepreneurs accruing benefits inequitably, depending on their affinity to these structures. (Chen, Chang & Lee, 2015:900; González-Corzo, 2015:105; Goraya, 2019:37; Jones, 2017:320). A classic example of this is America, where the legacy of racism, white supremacy and racial oppression continues to disadvantage African

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Americans and other American minority groups in their entrepreneurial ventures (Gold, 2016:1702; González, Guillermo & Naidu 2017:2).

Using critical race theory, Gold (2016:702-703) distinguishes between the effects of ethnicity and racism. He posits that lumping all minority groups together as one ethic group fails to account for the reason African-Americans continue to lag behind economically.

Race is an externally defined social characteristic that is largely structural in its impact. Its origin is legally assigned via skin colour and ancestry... Historically, being identified as a member of the black race in US society meant confronting discriminatory treatment, including being involuntarily transported to the United States, being regarded as property, not being allowed to vote, being subject to segregation in terms of residence, education and employment, and being prohibited from testifying against a white person in a court of law (Gold, 2016:1702).

Baumol's (1996:893) proposition that entrepreneurship and its outcomes are not always productive or constructive is very helpful in understanding the complex impact of environmental factors on entrepreneurial success. His arguments have gained traction from many scholars of crime economics. Examples of such studies are on organised crime among the Italian mafioso (Champeyrache, 2018:157), banking fraud among Swedish small businesses (Box *et al.*, 2018:437) and corruption and cronyism in the American construction industry (Boudreaux, 2018:2). They confirm that some entrepreneurial activities (including successful ones) may reverse economic gains by corroding the social fabric of society and undermining citizens' trust in its institutions.

To summarise: a historical perspective towards entrepreneurial success tends to distort the reality of the struggles and challenges entrepreneurs endure and overcome or even opportunities they are granted or self-exploit to advance in their quest for success. It is not merely one's mental disposition but whether the environment enables or limits one's

prospects (Hingtgen *et al.*, 2015:185). In this study, the impact of previous and current political and historical factors on entrepreneurial success were looked into. They include educational, social and political policies (e.g. apartheid) and recent transformational policies (e.g. BBBEE), as well experiences of living and operating businesses in townships.

2.3.4 Failure and Entrepreneurial Success

What happens when entrepreneurs fail during their journey towards success? As with entrepreneurial success, subjective perspectives on entrepreneurial failure are particularly insightful in terms of how an individual makes sense of failure in relation to success. As Khelil (2016:72) argued, because entrepreneurial failure can take many different forms, it is necessary to consider the impact of failure not only at the level of the firm but also on the response of the entrepreneur concerned. Several studies on entrepreneurial failure have been reviewed to this end (Cacciotti & Hayton, 2014; Franco & Hause, 2010; Hsu, Wiklund & Cotton, 2017; Khelil, 2016).

According to Cacciotti and Hayton (2014:5-6) the fear of failure is one of the most common fears among entrepreneurs. This makes sense, since experiencing failure can be among the most defining moments in an entrepreneur's life. Likening it to bungy-jumping, these authors point out that the entrepreneurship journey can be a very uncertain process whereby one is plunging into the unknown. To reiterate, in this research, failure is first and foremost viewed as part and parcel of the journey towards success (Fisher *et al.*, 2014:481). This approach is supported by He's study of 25 Australian business leaders, which found that these entrepreneurs regarded failure as a necessity. They thought that failure should be perceived as an opportunity to grow rather than a problem (He, 2017:114). This also explains why some entrepreneurs, especially serial entrepreneurs, are likely to bounce back.

Entrepreneurs, like the rest of the human race, react to failure in three common ways. They may be paralysed by the situation (freeze), avoid dealing with it (take flight) or

approach it aggressively (fight) (Cacciotti & Hayton, 2014:6). The manner in which entrepreneurs view and react to entrepreneurial failure also varies depending on their profiles or cognitive biases. In their study of entrepreneurs in the technology sector, Mandl, Berger and Kuckertz (2016:10) classified them into three profile categories: novice, serial and portfolio entrepreneurs. Using attribution theory, they explored how attributional dimensions such as locus of causality, controllability and sustainability might explain why entrepreneurs might abandon their entrepreneurial activity after failure. They concluded that entrepreneurs make sense of entrepreneurial failure differently as they evolve from the novelty of the experience to becoming serial or portfolio entrepreneurs. Their varying sense of control over situations influences the degree to which they blame entrepreneurial failure on internal or external factors (ibid:12-13).

Along similar lines, Khelil (2016:84-86) posits that entrepreneurs react differently to the failure of their venture depending on five configurations of profiles or prototypes of entrepreneurs. These are the "confused" (typically young entrant with little business experience, who exits because of lack of support), "supported at arm's length" (tend to lead failing firms and rely on external support, especially of family, to continue), "megalomaniac" (may attempt to project a positive image of their entrepreneurial experience because of their need for social recognition despite evident failure of their business), "dissatisfied lord" (may understate their business performance because they are overly ambitious, but generally tend to continue investing in their ventures), and the "big-time gambler" (persists in investing in failing ventures and hoping for a better outcome even when one is unlikely).

The final analogous lens that can be used to understand how entrepreneurs respond to entrepreneurial failure is provided by Hsu *et al.* (2017:37-40). Contrasting the self-efficacy and prospect theories of entrepreneurship, they explore why serial entrepreneurs re-enter business even when their prospects for success are moderate or low. They found that

cognitive biases resulting from previous experiences influence entrepreneurs' reactions to failure. These cognitive biases include the infusion bias (e.g. happiness over previous success) and optimistic bias (e.g. exaggerated positive belief that previous success will be emulated).

In sum, the relationship between entrepreneurial success and entrepreneurial failure is twofold: (i) failure and success are two sides of the same coin; (ii) entrepreneurs react differently to failure based on their previous experiences in business and their personal biases and value orientations.

2.4 Social Network Theory and Entrepreneurial Success

It has already been established that entrepreneurial success is a result of a variety of factors, not least of which are socio-cultural. The social network theory was adopted for the study because it considers the social capital that is necessary for entrepreneurial success. The approach premises that entrepreneurship is embedded within networks of social relations, which may either enable or frustrate the linkages between the entrepreneur, resources and opportunities that are vital for success. It leans towards the sociological and anthropological perspectives (Ameh & Udu, 2016:22; Aldrich & Zimmer, 1986:8; Bula, 2012:5; Chen *et al.*, 2018:4-5; Jenssen, 2001:103; Leyden, Link & Siegel, 2013:4; Obstfeld *et al.*, 2020:2; Perry-Smith & Mannucci, 2015:9). As Grabher and Konig (2017:121) noted, networking has become a critical asset in the modern capitalist world. It is no longer just how much you know, but also who you know, that is critical for accessing information, knowledge and resources. Social networks provide access to both tangible and intangible resources ranging from finance, training and facilities to information, emotional support, reputation, credibility and legitimacy (Chen, 2018:937; Ioanid, Deselnicu & Militaru 2018:936; Klyver, Hindle & Meyer 2008:332; Perry-Smith & Mannucci, 2015:9). Zaato, *et al.* (2022:553) argue that during pandemics like COVID-19, social capital such as social media can be used by

entrepreneurs to lobby for more government support, innovate and explore new markets to enhance enterprise performance.

The social networks concept is also used synonymously with that of social capital, which is about the resources embedded in internal and external relationships and solidarity that entrepreneurs have with customers, suppliers and legislators (Fatoki, 2011:195; Krisstiansen, 2013:101; Plaajtie, 2019:33; Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993:1327;).

A network consists of a set of actors or nodes along with a set of ties of a specified type (such as friendship) that link them. The ties interconnect through shared end points to form paths that indirectly link nodes that are not directly tied. The pattern of ties in a network yields a particular structure, and nodes occupy positions within this structure (Borgatti & Halgin, 2011:1169).

A social network structure may be weak or strong depending on the levels, frequency and reciprocity of the ties among nodes of human actors (Aldrich & Zimmer, 1986:11; Chen *et al.*, 2018:4-5 Granovetter, 1973:1361; Granovetter, 1983:201). Put differently, social networks are about transactions between people and their communication content or information, exchange content or goods and services, or normative content or expectations or role players (Aldrich & Zimmer, 1986:11-12; Chen *et al.*, 2018:4-5).

Networks can also be described as convergent or cohesive (i.e. small, close and dense), divergent (i.e. extensive and diverse with many structural holes), as well as static or temporal (Borgatti & Halgin, 2011:1169; Holme, 2015:1; Klyver, 2013:5). Notwithstanding, Klyver (2006:2), as well as Borgatti and Halgin (2011:1170) emphasise that social networks are dynamic and evolve over time as the entrepreneurial process evolves. Unlike groups, networks do not have natural boundaries and do not have to stay connected. "A disconnected network is one in which some nodes cannot reach certain others by any path, meaning that the network is divided into fragments known as components" (ibid). Thus,

one's long-term university friends may never be connected to other networks in other contexts for example at work or church. Other important concepts are density, reachability, and centrality of networks, which measure the extensiveness, distance, and the role of each person in facilitating networking (Aldrich & Zimmer, 1986:13).

For researchers, social network theory provides methods for analysing these interactions among actors. The researcher determines the boundaries of networks by selecting specific nodes and ties to be investigated. Such decisions should therefore be guided by the research questions that must ultimately be answered (Borgatti & Halgin, 2011:1169). Network analysis therefore involves describing network structures, node positions and how these relate to group and note outcomes. It is about exploring and explaining the structure, patterns, content and benefits of relationships (ibid; Luxton & Sbicca, 2020:1; Olanrewaju, *et al.*, 2020:98; Perry-Smith & Mannucci, 2015:8-9).

According to Borgatti and Halgin (2011:1171-1172), debates about which networks are important to entrepreneurs centre around Granovetter's strength of weak ties theory and Burt's structural hole theory. They surmise that both scholars seem to agree that the strength of a tie is inherent in the novelty or non-redundancy of information it can leverage on behalf of the actor and its function as a bridge between nodes. Scholars also note that the advancement of technology has greatly influenced social networks, especially in relation to communication. Because social media has fundamentally changed how people communicate and ultimately access resources, it has also changed the practice of social network analysis (Burt, Grabher & Konig, 2017:121; Burt, Kilduff & Tasselli, 2013:31; Liu *et al.*, 2017:2; Olanrewaju, *et al.*, 2020:90). There are also efforts to incorporate more qualitative social network analysis methods (Nooraie *et al.*, 2020:110).

Regarding practical examples of social networks in entrepreneurship, most have been provided in relation to the socio-cultural factors discussed above. The Chinese Guanxi

networks, Indian caste system, and Islamic religion exemplify the most structured types of networks that permeate all aspects of an entrepreneur's life (Burt, Katarzyna Burzynska, 2017:3; Chen *et al.*, 2015:900; Goraya, 2019:1; Gümüsay, 2015:1). Less formalised networks are illustrated by Cuban collectivism, denoted by strong ties with the extended family and neighbours, and the Harambee movement in Kenya (Hingtgen *et al.*, 2015:186; Rodgers *et al.*, 2019:11). African-Americans, African immigrants and the Jewish in the diaspora show that resilience, solidarity and cooperation can be resourceful within hostile environments characterised by racism, xenophobia and other discriminatory social practices (Elo *et al.*, 2015:7; Jones, 2019:319; Khosa & Kalitanyi, 2016:52).

In this research the social network perspective was used to understand entrepreneurial success within a South African township context. It focused on how research participants understood the benefits they have leveraged through their formal and informal relationships or ties with people in their family, friends and reference groups, cultural, social, religious and political history circles as they pursued entrepreneurial success. Participants could view these ties as weak or strong depending on the status they accorded them and the benefits they accrue because of these relationships. Figure 2.4 below maps potential social network elements within a township context.

Figure 2.4: Potential Social Networks Within a township Entrepreneurial Context
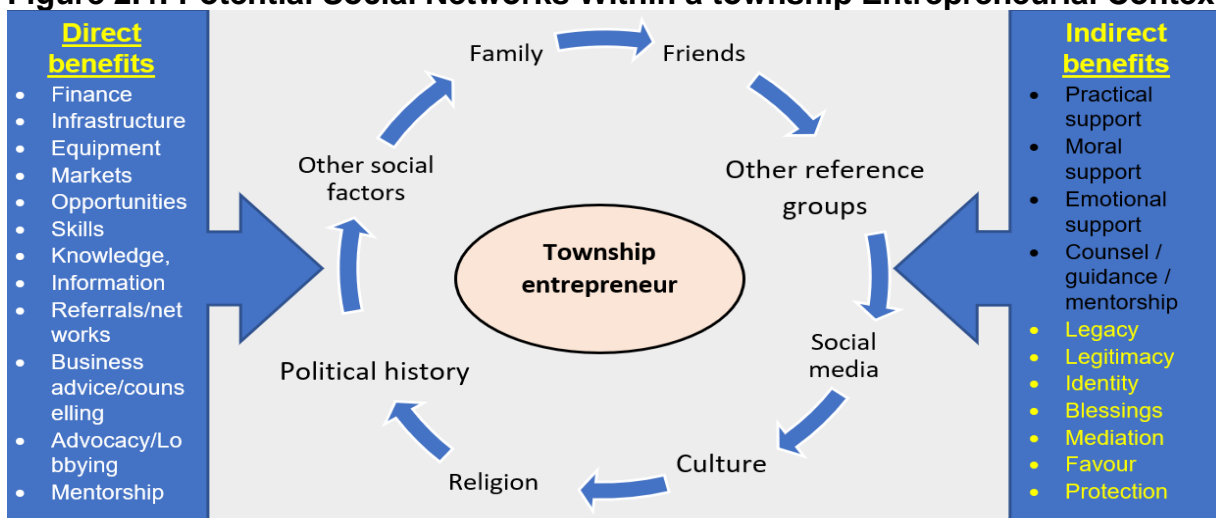
Note: **Own compilation**

The diagram shows that township entrepreneurs operating within socio-cultural contexts comprising people and structures or systems such as families, friends, reference groups, culture, religion and political-historical circles may benefit from them either directly or indirectly and both materially and non-materially.

According to Portes (1998:15-17; 2014:18407), who has done seminal work on this subject, although social capital has many benefits for entrepreneurs, it does have its drawbacks. Along with Sensenbrenner (1993:1327) and Landolt (2000:) he argues that the negative consequences of social capital include the exclusion of non-affiliates, conformism, social control. In the South African context, the notion of Black Tax could represent this downside of social capital, whereby extended family members are expected to support one another financial even when they cannot afford to (Carpenter & Phaswana, 2021:2; Magubane, 2017:4; Mpofu-Mketwa, 2020:72). This is discussed further in Chapter 3.

2.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter reviewed the key concepts and theories underpinning the study, notably the terms entrepreneur, entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial success, to arrive at working definitions in Table 1.5. Entrepreneurship is viewed as a process wherein a social agent (i.e. the entrepreneur) operating within a particular social context takes the initiative and risks to identify and exploit opportunities and resources to provide goods and services for the market. Entrepreneurial success is but one outcome of these endeavours, the others being failure or destructive entrepreneurship. Subjective and objective financial and non-financial indicators are used as measures of success,

It was established that no single, simplistic definition of entrepreneurial success applies since most of the terminology in this domain is multidimensional and interdisciplinary. Thus, dichotomous "either-or" models of understanding entrepreneurial success are not helpful. Nuanced, context-specific analysis is important for appreciating how entrepreneurs navigate

their environments to achieve success. With this in mind, both micro and macro factors were considered. The social network theory was relied upon as a framework for understanding the role socio-cultural factors play in entrepreneurial success. Socio-cultural factors identified as potentially impacting on township entrepreneurial success were family, friends, reference groups, social media, culture, religion, political history, and other social factors. It is therefore concluded that entrepreneurial success is not only attributable to one's mental disposition but also to environmental factors that enable or limit one's prospects (Hingtgen *et al.*, 2015:185; Ioanid *et al.*, 2018:937).

Lastly the negative consequences of social capital such as exclusion, conformism, and social control are acknowledged (Portes, 1993:1327; Portes, 2014:18407).

CHAPTER 3: THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS ON THE ENTREPRENEURIAL SUCCESS OF TOWNSHIP ENTREPRENEURS

3.1 Introduction

Like in other economically depressed areas around the world, entrepreneurship is regarded as a critical strategy for revitalising South African township economies where the majority of historically disadvantaged South Africans reside. In the foregoing chapter it was shown that for this to be achieved, entrepreneurs must operate in an enabling environment that supports their efforts at both the personal and business levels. The main purpose of this chapter is to review how socio-cultural factors have historically influenced the entrepreneurial success of township entrepreneurs, focusing mainly on Gauteng townships.

The chapter starts with a review of how entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial success is conceptualised in the context of South African townships in Section 3.2. This is followed by a demographic and socio-economic profile of the Gauteng province and its townships areas in Section 3.3. Thereafter, a historical mapping of township entrepreneurship trends in the pre- and post-apartheid eras are provided in sections 3.4 and 3.5. This exercise also provides an overview of economic, social and political policies and programmes that have played a role in either promoting or undermining the culture of entrepreneurship in townships. Finally, the socio-cultural factors that influence entrepreneurial success in townships are discussed in Section 3.6, culminating in conclusions in Section 3.7.

3.2 Construing Entrepreneurship and Entrepreneurial Success Within Townships Contexts

In tandem with international trends, entrepreneurship is regarded as a vehicle for addressing South Africa's socio-economic ills such as unemployment, poverty and inequality (Herrington & Coduras, 20192; Preisendorfer, Bezuidenhout & Bitz, 2014:163; National

Planning Commission, 2011:28). This is critical, given that the economy has been performing sub-optimally since 2010 (Salahuddin, Vink & Ralph, 2020:2). To compound matters, the advent of the Novel Corona Virus (COVID-19) pandemic in early 2020 has had a devastating impact on many sectors across the board (Ajam, 2020:1; The World Bank, 2021:1; Torrington *et al.*, 2020:4).

Entrepreneurship is no less critical in township economies, which are predominantly inhabited by the nation's historically marginalised, poor and unemployed (Bvuma & Marnewick, 2020:5; GDED, 2014:17; Mahajan, 2014:5; Radipere & Dhliwayo, 2014:189; Statistics South Africa, 2016b:50-57). Against this backdrop, it is not only essential for township economies to prosper but also to help redress socio-economic injustices of the past through inclusive growth measures (Charman *et al.*, 2017a:15; Hikido, 2017:2). According to Beresford, (2020:3) entrepreneurship has the transformative potential to restore the sense of personhood, build legacies, create wealth and contribute towards the development of communities of historically disadvantaged South Africans in townships.

The previous chapter on the current discourse on these key concepts showed that blanket applications of concepts are risky. Rather, it is crucial for any analysis to nuance entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial success in their relevant environmental contexts and to factor in circumstances within which township entrepreneurs operate. So, what is the status quo of entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial success in townships? To answer this question, I conducted an inventory of literature found on township entrepreneurship dating from 2009 to 2021. A total of 40 strictly township entrepreneurship research reports relevant to this study were reviewed (see Table 1.5 in Appendix 1). Details of the authors, year, institution, topic, methodology and key findings of each publication are provided. Several main points can be extracted about the characteristics and state of township entrepreneurship based on the audit.

Firstly, while research on township entrepreneurship is substantial, very little research was unearthed on socio-cultural factors influencing entrepreneurial success. This study relied heavily on non-township studies and especially African literature to gain more insights on certain socio-cultural factors such as culture and religion. Only six township studies explicitly focused on social capital (i.e. by Dawson, 2021; Frimpong, 2021; Hikido, 2017; Maisela, 2017; Nambiar *et al.*, 2020 and Ngwenya, 2017). Dawson's ethnographic case study focused on the positive and negative aspects of social capital on young people operating a car wash in the Zandspruit informal settlement, Johannesburg, Gauteng province. Frimpong's study explored the impact of social capital on informal sector operators in Walmer Township in Port Elizabeth, Eastern Cape province. Hikido's study was on co-ethnic social capital between Cape Town based women township entrepreneurs in the tourism/hospitality sector and their local White and international customers and business associates. Nambiar *et al.*'s study explored the enabling factors in the stakeholder ecosystem of women entrepreneurs. It is relevant because it disaggregated the supporting and constricting socio-economic factors for women township entrepreneurship. It covered 40 respondents in eight townships across South Africa. Ngwenya's study was exclusively about Somalian immigrant entrepreneurs operating businesses in the Cosmo city township of Johannesburg, Gauteng province, with lessons for locals. It is worth noting that while some social capital aspects were explored at length in these studies (e.g. family, friends and culture), detail was thin on others (e.g. religion).

Secondly, studies on township entrepreneurship seem disproportionately skewed in favour of particular areas, themes and sectors (e.g. informal sector, retail sector, challenges facing SMMEs, and tourism). For example, in this inventory a quick tally revealed that more research studies are done exclusively on Gauteng (21) and Western Cape (9) province

townships than any other townships countrywide. The majority of studies also focused on the challenges faced by SMMEs and the informal sector.

Thirdly, entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial success in townships are by and large understood along the lines of internationally accepted conceptual, theoretical and practical frameworks that have been outlined in the foregoing chapter (Kubone, 2019:92-93; Manyaka-Boshielo, 2017:2; Preisendorfer *et al.* (2014:164). However, most research approaches delineate businesses according to size, levels of formality and income, among other aspects, in line with the National Small Business Amendment Act of South Africa (2003). Due to their underperformance, most townships businesses are classified either as survivalist, informal, micro, small or medium (Asoba & Patricia, 2021:2; Fourie, 2018:1; Rakabe, 2016:5; Strydom, 2015:464).

Fourthly, both qualitative and quantitative methods are used to collect and analyse data. This is advocated by scholars such as Charman *et al.* (2017c:37-38) who argue for nuanced, disaggregated approaches using mixed methods, especially in highlighting the role that the informal economy plays in township employment. Among the studies reviewed, 14 were qualitative, 17 quantitative, seven mixed and two were based on desktop reviews and/or data analysis.

Fifthly, the preoccupation with certain research topics seems justified, given the cocktail of challenges and barriers to the entry township entrepreneurs continuously endure, many of which are beyond their control. Because of the legacy of apartheid policies, township-based African and Coloured entrepreneurs are unduly disadvantaged by multiple, adverse business conditions compared to their mainly White and Indian counterparts based in city centres and suburban areas. Crime, corruption, violent service delivery protests, violent xenophobic attacks, the lack of financial support, unfeasible business locations and poor infrastructure put township businesses at higher risk (Kubone, 2019:92; Letuka,

2021:1; Maziri & Madinga, 2016:1 Matumba & Mondliwa, 2015:1; Mukwarami & Tengeh, 2019:331; Rakabe, 2016:2; Wiid & Cant, 2021:52). To compound these problems, the proliferation of immigrant entrepreneurs and shopping malls continues to threaten the sustainability of many township enterprises, especially those in the retail sector that are not able to adapt or reinvent themselves (Makhitha, 2016:260; Strydom, 2015:467). The advent of the COVID-19 pandemic in early 2020 and its accompanying regulations, seem to have exacerbated this situation. While the impact of COVID-19 has yet to be fully reckoned with, some recent studies on the subject indicate that it had a severely damaging effect across all industries (Ajam, 2020:1; Asoba & Patricia, 2021:1; Torrington *et al.*, 2020:4).

Point number six: the assessment of the entrepreneurial culture and entrepreneurial success in townships are largely negative and paint a gloomy picture. This reflects national economic trends. Since 1999, a series of annual Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) surveys have consistently reported that South Africa's total entrepreneurial activity is one of the lowest both continentally and globally (Herrington and Coduras, 2019:10). Preisendorfer and Bitz (2014:175) reasonably proffer that since the majority of South Africans (70%) classified as Black (African and Coloured) live in townships, it follows that they should tip the scales in terms of proportionality, thereby bringing down the national average of total entrepreneurial activity. They, like Yiannakaris (2019:167), further contend that the weakness of township economies and the poor culture of entrepreneurship in these areas cannot be solely blamed on people's lack of entrepreneurial ambition. They are better understood within the broader South African context and the legacy of its past discriminatory policies.

Seventhly, despite their strategic importance, township enterprises fail to advance the course of achieving the envisaged national socio-economic objectives. Although they do create some employment and some of them display the potential for growth, they have not

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made an indelible mark in terms reducing unemployment, poverty and inequality. This is despite numerous policies and programmes designed to support them (Asoba & Patricia, 2021:2; Fourie, 2018; Makhitha, 2016; 258-260; Mamabolo, Kerrin & Kele, 2017:1; Mukwarami & Tengeh, 2017:332). The fact that opportunities are limited to sectors in the consumption sectors (e.g. retail/trade and service) as opposed to high-end capital and labour-intensive sectors (e.g. construction and manufacturing) further serves to shrink the success prospects for many a township entrepreneur. It is thus not surprising that township businesses are typically informal and/or survivalist, employ a maximum of five employees and generate below threshold annual incomes averaging R2 million or less. (De Kadt *et al.*, 2019:29; GDED, 2014:12-13; Torrington, 2020:2).

Lastly, even with the gloomy picture painted above, there is an appetite for entrepreneurial activity in townships and there are entrepreneurs who succeed in adverse township environments (Strydom, 2015:463; Wiid & Cant 2021:2). What is important to understand is the enabling micro and macro environmental factors that influence enterprise performance in these areas (Urban & Ndou, 2019:1). These factors influenced the decision to embark on this research and to explore what role socio-cultural factors play in this regard.

In summary, the inventory of township entrepreneurship research found that there was substantial research conducted on South African township entrepreneurship. Most of the research was conducted predominantly in the Gauteng and Western Cape provinces. There was a degree of balance between qualitative, quantitative and mixed method approaches. However, much of the research focused on the challenges faced by township entrepreneurs, such as those experienced by the youth, women and immigrants. Very few studies dealt specifically with the role that socio-cultural and/or social networks factors play in entrepreneurial success in townships.

3.3 Profile of Gauteng and its Township Areas

Townships hereby refers to relatively underdeveloped, mainly urban, residential areas that were reserved for Black people or people of colour (Africans, Coloureds and Indians) who lived near or worked in areas that were designated 'Whites only' during the apartheid era (GDED, 2016:11; Mahajan, 2014:5; Pernegger & Godehart, 2007:2). The Gauteng Township Economic Development Bill of 2020, which was signed into law in April 2022, defines townships as urban living areas, which include areas reserved for Black people from the 19th century until 27 April 1994, or have been developed for historically disadvantaged persons after 27 April 1994 (Gauteng Provincial Legislature, 2020:8).

The process of mapping Gauteng as a city region has evolved over time and has been accompanied by many name changes. What is now known as the Gauteng City Region (GCR) initially comprised the Southern Transvaal and the PWV (i.e. Pretoria, Witwatersrand and the Vaal). It did not include areas such as Midrand (Mabin, 2013:3-4). Today, the GCR consists of five corridors, featuring Ekurhuleni in the east, Johannesburg in the south-centre, West Rand in the west, Sedibeng in the south, and Tshwane in the north.

Gauteng (meaning a place of Gold in Sesotho) is the smallest province in South Africa, occupying a land area of a meagre 1.5%, and yet it accounts for the majority of the country's population (Chinomona & Maziriri, 2015:837; Statistics South Africa, 2016a:17). According to Statistics South Africa (STATSSA, 2021:17; 24), Gauteng has an estimated population of 15,5 million, which is approximately 26.3% of the estimated 60,14 million national population. The GDED (2014:17) estimated that 80% of the population in Gauteng lived in townships and informal settlements located in the periphery of the province's major cities and economic hubs. This was attributed to the poor urban planning policies of both the pre- and post-apartheid administrations. Soweto's growth alone has been exponential, estimated at between 890 000 and 1.5 million in 1980 (BusinessTech, 2016; Seekings, 1988:1). With

the urban sprawl phenomenon characterised by a mushrooming of informal dwellings, this trend seems to continue unabated (GPG, 2020:40). It has also been estimated that Gauteng alone hosts 11 of the 20 biggest townships in the country. Moreover, Johannesburg, and Soweto in particular, is the biggest metropolitan area (BusinessTech, 2016; Statistics South Africa, 2016b:20). The map in Figure 3.1 below reflects some of the most famous, oldest or most populous Gauteng townships.

Figure 3.1 Population of Selected Gauteng Townships
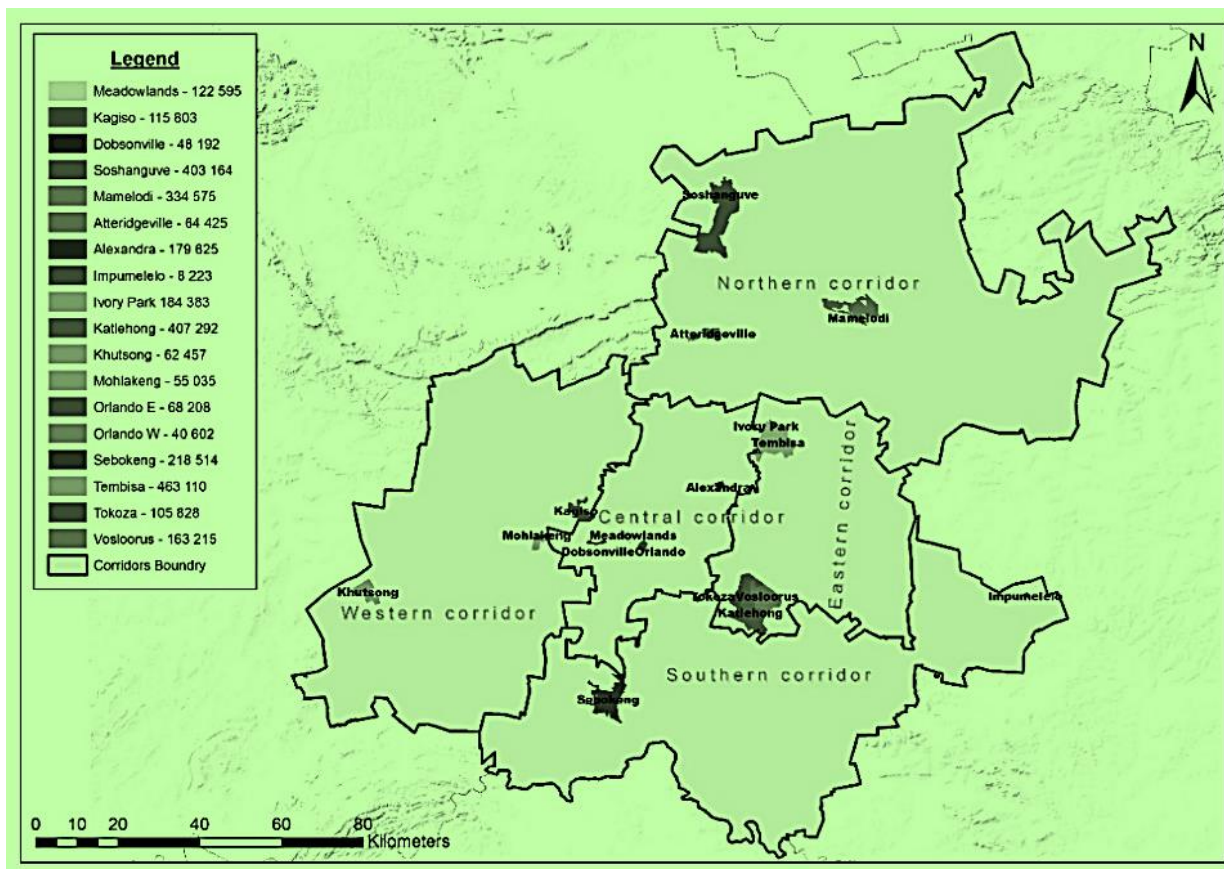
Source: **Geographic Information System Unit, Gauteng Office of the Premier, 2020**

The map highlights Soshanguve and Mamelodi in Tshwane (Pretoria), and Katlehong (Alberton), Meadowlands (Soweto), Sebokeng (Vereeniging) and Volsloorus (Alberton), which are the well-known and/or populous Gauteng townships. As discussed in Chapter 4

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on the methodology, research participants in the study hailed from Mohlakeng, Soweto (Meadowlands and Mapetla) and Katlehong townships.

As the economic powerhouse of South Africa, Gauteng contributed approximately 34% to the country's nominal Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2021, which was estimated at R1,6 trillion in Quarter 4 of the same year (Maluleke, 2022:13). Yet as at Quarter 4 of 2021, it was estimated that over a third of its economically active population (36.6%) were unemployed (Statistics South Africa, 2022:17). Unemployment also affects Africans more than Whites (Mushongera *et al.*, 2018:49). Furthermore, 60% of its businesses could be classified as informal (De Kadt *et al.*, 2019:29). Although three successive Gauteng quality-of-life surveys have shown a decline in poverty, a quarter of Gauteng citizens still reportedly live below the poverty line (De Kadt *et al.*, 2019:22). Based on the 2017/8 survey of 24 889 respondents from all 529 wards in Gauteng, De Kadt *et al.* concluded that one fifth (21%) of households have at least one adult who has had to skip a meal because of a lack of money (De Kadt *et al.*, 2019:26). Poverty in Gauteng is not colour blind. Race is still a key determiner of overall quality of life and Africans in particular score low for most measures.

Despite improvements in the material wellbeing for previously disadvantaged groups, inequality is also deepening. This means poor people are getting poorer and the gap between them and those who are better off is widening (De Kadt *et al.*, 2019:14). Another important consideration is the impact of COVID-19 in triggering the severe recession in many economies around the world. However, according to the Financial and Fiscal Commission (2021:13), in South Africa this was exacerbated by the imposition of a national lockdown and ineffective government service delivery.

In summary, as the most populous province in South Africa, Gauteng townships are a macrocosm of township contexts in general. The province is faced by a mixed bag of opportunities and challenges and characterised by stark racially and spatially demarcated

contrasts. Prosperity co-exists with underdevelopment; a true of legacy of apartheid (De Kadt *et al.*, 2019:4).

3.4 Brief History of Gauteng Township Entrepreneurship

Blacks should never be shown the greener pastures of education, they should know that their station in life is to be hewers of wood and drawers of water.

(Hendrik Verwoerd, South African Minister for Native Affairs and Prime Minister 1958 -66).

To fully appreciate the role socio-cultural factors have played in the entrepreneurial success of township entrepreneurs, one must first appreciate the social and political history of townships and its impact on entrepreneurship in these areas. Townships like Soweto tend to evoke positive images of heroism and victory over struggle. Yet this belies their complex history that is riddled with hardship, poverty and economic marginalisation. (Findley & Ogbu, 2011:1; Hikido, 2017:3).

Also known colloquially as "locations" or *kasis,* township areas were founded on the notorious segregationist policies of colonialism and subsequently grand apartheid. SOWETO itself is an acronym for South-Western Townships and comprises an amalgamation of different townships (Makhitha, 2016:261). Townships served the dual purpose of creating resettlement areas to forcefully keep non-Whites (i.e. African, Coloured and Indian people) away from the cities and suburbs occupied by Whites, while at the same time maintaining them as labour reserves (Makhitha, 2016:261; Carpenter & Phaswana, 2021:2; Mabin, 2013:12; Mahajan, 2014:5; Pernegger & Godehart, 2007:2).

Grand apartheid was enforced through the promulgation of legislation that regulated the social, political and economic life of citizens. These included the Natives Land Act of 1913, Natives Urban Areas Act of 1923, Group Areas Act of 1950, Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951, and reinforced by a series of prohibitive influx and pass laws

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(Department of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA), 2009:13-14; Jürgens *et al.*, 2013:257). To sustain these divisive, oppressive and suppressive regimes, no effort was spared to divide people not just by race, but also by ethnicity, tribe and language. Indians and Coloureds were designated their own separate townships and predominantly African townships like Meadowlands were further demarcated into different Zones for Tswanas, Sothos, Zulus, Tsongas, Vendas and "Other". This divide and rule principle reigned supreme because with time, some non-Whites were regarded as more equal than others. Hence, Coloureds and Indians were given the right to vote via councils and local affairs committees, while Africans effectively remained disenfranchised for decades until the apartheid government was eventually overthrown (Department of COGTA, 2009:36; Ladd, 20405; McCarthy, 2005:27).

By sharp contrast to first class facilities provided to Whites, the governments of those eras initially invested very little in township infrastructure such as housing, hospitals, schools and other amenities. However, when many townships turned into unsightly slums and began to pose health hazards, legislators were forced to rethink their stance (Department of COGTA, 2009:13; Ladd, 2012:406). What these colonial and apartheid governments also did not bargain for was massive, relentless political resistance, peaking with the legendary 1969 march against pass laws in Sharpeville and the 1976 Soweto students' uprisings against Afrikaans as medium of instruction. These anti-apartheid uprisings culminated in the repeal of most apartheid laws by 1994 (Department of COGTA, 2009:26; Ladd, 2012:407).

The economic purpose and value of townships was equally unambiguous. They were strategically located on the outskirts of major cities and towns like Johannesburg, Pretoria, Krugersdorp and Boksburg, designed to be reservoirs of cheap, unprotected labour to service White capitalists and their mines, factories and farms. This also benefited suburban White residents who could conveniently recruit the personal services of gardeners, domestic

workers and the like. With the exception of areas like Alexandra, where Africans or so-called "natives" and Coloureds were legally given freehold property rights, most townships were intended to be temporary. Africans were regarded as temporary sojourners in urban areas and were expected to eventually retire to remote rural areas, the tribally delineated Bantustan settlements or homelands (GDED, 2014:17; Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013:5; Soni, 2005: 42; Tourikis, 1981:3).

Today, many bewail the poor entrepreneurial culture that currently exists in townships and South Africa in general[5]. Yet, its foundations were laid more than a century ago, first during the colonial period and thereafter during the apartheid eras. Under apartheid there was a deliberate strategy to prohibit or limit trade by non-Whites, especially Africans, and to purge the informal economy wherever it manifested (Mukwarami & Tengeh, 2017:333; Rogerson, 2005:162; Swartz et al., 2020:2).

> Before 1976, the policy of the apartheid government was to discourage Black trading and business in Black-designated townships by using various repressive strategies, including the infamous 'one-man-one-business' policy, whereby Black traders were limited to only one business. They were precluded from forming companies and partnerships with the object of combining their resources in order to embark upon larger business ventures (Khosa, 2005:183-4).

Township dwellers were not allowed to own land and were restricted from operating certain businesses reserved for Whites, unless it was to the benefit of the minority government. For example, in the case of liquor outlets or shebeens, which were run mostly by women in townships, the government only permitted liquor trade to the extent that it could control the manufacturing and distribution of liquor or to generate income for the administration of non-White areas (Department of COGTA, 2009:30; Charman, Petersen &

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[5] As reflected for example by the annual Global Entrepreneurship Monitor studies (Herrington & Kew, 2017).

Piper, 2013:6). In the hawking trade, informal traders would resort to operating from inconspicuous locations to avoid coming into conflict with laws that sought to rid cities of street vendors (Gamieldien & Van Niekerk, 2017:25). Similarly, the taxis industry was "permissible" because cheap Black labour needed transportation to service the White minority. These trade restrictions were enforced through brutal police raids, harassment and fines (Rogerson, 2005:162).

These inappropriate law enforcement practices have had the damaging effect of perpetuating the informal and survivalist nature of township entrepreneurship. Out of desperation, people tended to resort to finding innovative ways not to comply with bylaws, be it through bribery, pirating, or fake permits. In this context, where people were punished rather than rewarded for being entrepreneurial, the culture of entrepreneurship was undermined and not cultivated (Charman *et al*., 2017:2). As Hikido (2017:2) documents, apartheid also negatively impacted gender relations in the country. She notes that many women were historically marginalised from participation by gendered racism and the migrant labour systems that favoured mainly African males as cheap labour for the mines in the cities.

Another potent psychological tool used by the colonial and apartheid regime to discourage township entrepreneurs and to frustrate their entrepreneurial ambitions was Bantu Education. Officially legislated in the 1950s by Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd – the so-called architect of grand apartheid – Bantu Education was the keystone of apartheid philosophy. It was deliberately designed to enshrine racialised stereotypes and reinforce an inferiority complex among Africans. Through its inferior syllabuses, Africans were forced to make subject choices irrelevant to their career aspirations (Body-Evans, 2019:1). The noxiously racist utterings of the founders of apartheid, as cited by Body-Evans (2019:1), still reverberate:

We should not give the Natives any academic education. If we do, who is going to do the manual labour in the community? (JN le Roux, National Party politician, 1945).

There is no place for [the Bantu] in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour ... What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice? That is quite absurd. Education must train people in accordance with their opportunities in life, according to the sphere in which they live. I have not consulted the African people on the language issue and I'm not going to. An African might find that 'the big boss' only spoke Afrikaans or only spoke English. It would be to his advantage to know both languages (Punt Janson, South African Deputy Minister of Bantu Education, 1974).

When understood within a context of entrepreneurship, the above quotes were not merely idle words without any societal consequences. Ultimately, their impact was real and tangible. They were intended to denigrate people of colour, discourage them from participating in meaningful economic activity and limit their aspirations for economic independence. That these words were turned into actual segregationist laws governing the educational, social, political and economic spheres of our society was the very antithesis of cultivating an entrepreneurial culture (Gallo, 2020:5; Hikido, 2017:3).

Ultimately, grand apartheid proved to be costly on many fronts, especially economically and socially. The 1980s and 1990s were characterised by large-scale disinvestment, retrenchments, downsizing and shutdowns by many large corporations. Mass political protest, international political pressure and economic sanctions eventually forced the government to cave in, resulting in the reform of many policies. Some of the oppressive regulations were relaxed to counteract the impact of global economic sanctions against

South Africa. The Business Act of 1991, for example, allowed informal retailers to trade without licences and led to a rapid proliferation of survivalist informal trading (Gamieldien & Van Niekerk, 2017:25; Zune, 1999:137).

According to the GDED, (2014:13), the lack of investment in business infrastructure has also resulted in undermining township manufacturing and productive industries:

The de-industrialisation of the South African economy and subsequently tertiarisation, had pushed the entrepreneurs from the township to periphery of the mainstream economy and re-structured the township economy to [sic] service orientated economy, with no manufacturing capacity. Township economy had a minimal contribution in the development of productive sectors of the economy. Townships have become debt-driven consumption-based communities instead of vibrant productive centres (GDED, 2014:13).

This situation has been exacerbated by the exodus of the largely skilled and relatively wealthier middle-class from the townships to the formerly Whites-only suburbs during the post-apartheid dispensation (Donaldson *et al.*, 2013:114; Bvuma & Marnewick, 2020:3; Preisendörfer, Bezeidenhout & Bitz, 2014:165).

Because of this systematic regime of repressing entrepreneurial activity among people of colour, many township economies are still characterised by predominantly non-capital-intensive, survivalist, informal and tertiary service-oriented enterprises. Nowadays, the scope of business activities in townships ranges from informal hawking, spaza shops, hair salons, bed & breakfasts, taverns, petrol stations, taxi and tour operations and funeral services to ethnic/traditional fashion design, arts and crafts. Even in sectors where barriers into entry are lower (e.g. liquor, tourism and retail sectors) gatekeeping, domination and control by White people obstructs effective participation by previously disadvantaged groups

(Chili, 2018:4; De Kadt *et al.*, 2019:29; GDED, 2014:12; Koens & Thomas, 2015:8; Mabunda, 2021:2; Matumba & Mondliwa, 2015:26).

The inability of many townships to compete with malls and immigrant businesses has further brought into sharp focus their weak foundations (Makhitha, 2016:258; Strydom, 2015:463). Notably, many township enterprises fail to make a dent in unemployment, as poverty and inequality fall below the national income threshold because they employ few people and generate incomes averaging below R2 million per annum (Charman, 2016:1; Hare & Walwyn, 2019:1; Torrington *et al.*, 2020:2).

In summary, the historical background of township entrepreneurship shows that there are many socio-economic factors that continue to impede the success of township enterprises. Based on the above discussion, it is clear that the current situation of township entrepreneurship cannot be divorced from its historical roots, mired by racism and disenfranchisement. The legislation of apartheid's social, political, and economic policies and the suppression of Black-owned enterprises effectively undermined the culture of entrepreneurship in these areas.

3.5 Post-apartheid Policies and Programmes Benefiting Township Entrepreneurs

Since the dawn of democracy in 1994, an array of policies and strategies have been crafted to simultaneously create an enabling environment for businesses, especially smaller enterprises, inculcate a culture of entrepreneurship and address existing socio-economic challenges. These include complementary policies such as the National Small Business Act of 1996 (amended in 2004), the Broad-based Black Economic Empowerment Act of 2003 and the Integrated Strategy for the Promotion of Entrepreneurship and Small Enterprises (ISPESE). There has also been investment into various entrepreneurship development programmes to improve access to finance, markets, training and infrastructure via bodies

such as the National Entrepreneurship Fund (NEF), the Small Enterprise Development Agency (SEDA) and the Small Enterprise Finance Agency (SEFA) (DPME/DSBD, 2018:2; Flowerday, 2015:1; White, 2014:8).

To deal specifically with township economies, the Gauteng Provincial Government (GPG) has been implementing its own Township Economy Revitalisation Strategy, which was first conceptualised in 2014 (Bvuma & Marnewick, 2020:5; GDED, 2014:6-10). The development of the strategy reportedly followed extensive consultations with over 50 000 existing and aspirant entrepreneurs in over 65 townships. In line with the developmental priorities highlighted in the NDP, the GPG committed itself to ensuring that the township economy contributes a minimum of 30% of the Gauteng GDP by the year 2030. The strategy has seven key performance areas (KPAs) aimed at improving the business-specific infrastructure, financial and non-financial support, namely:

- an appropriate legal framework

- promoting manufacturing and productive activities

- economic infrastructure support and clustered enterprise development

- promoting entrepreneurship development

- financing and investment in the township economy

- access to markets and procurement

- promotion of innovation and indigenous knowledge systems.

The strategy also prioritises capacitating the GPG to respond to the barriers and challenges experienced by township enterprises. The implementation of this strategy is coordinated by the Gauteng Department of Economic Development (GDED) and supported by its various development agencies like the Gauteng Enterprise Propeller. An initial budget of R1 billion over a five-year period was set aside for that purpose. The recently adopted Gauteng Township Economic Development Act of 2022 further provides for the following:

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- certain business opportunities in townships to be reserved exclusively for South Africans

- proactive partnerships between big and small enterprises (among between malls and spaza shops

- mandated preferential procurement of products and services from township-owned and township-based enterprises.

Table 3.1 below provides a summary of the key policies that are aimed at supporting entrepreneurs in general and that benefit township entrepreneurs specifically.

Table 3.1: Key Government Policies and Programmes Benefitting Township Entrepreneurs

Date	Policy / Institution	Key purpose
2020	Gauteng Township Development Draft Bill (Signed by the Gauteng Premier in April 2022)	Provides for ring fencing of certain township based-economic opportunities for preferential procurement by the Gauteng government departments and agencies
2014	Department of Small Business Development (DBSD)	Provides policy and programme coordination for the support of all small enterprise
2014	Gauteng Township Economy Revitalisation Strategy 2014-2019	Details targeted financial and non-financial programmes for Gauteng township enterprises
2012	Small Enterprise Finance Agency (SEFA)	Caters for small businesses requiring funding of up to R3 million in the form of bridging finance
2009	National Youth Development Agency (NYDA)	Promotes the development of youth in South Africa by assisting them to start and operate small businesses
2008	Technology and Innovation Agency (TIA)	Initiative of the Department of Science and Technology to enable technological and innovation support across all sectors of the economy
2005	Gauteng Enterprise Propeller (GEP)	Offers financial support in the form of loans, non-financial support such as information, technical advice and other forms of services to assist start-ups as well as skills development
2004	Small Business Development Agency (SEDA) (Formerly Ntsika)	Provides business development and support for small business through a national network
2003	Broad-based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) – Amended	Provides for the promotion of Black economic empowerment through transformation of ownership rights and access to assets and investment resources
1998	National Empowerment Fund (NEF)	Facilitates the growth in Black empowered businesses and promotes a culture of investment and savings among Black citizens

Date	Policy / Institution	Key purpose
1996	National Small Business Act	Provides for the establishment of institutions that will support small, micro and medium enterprises (SMMEs) such as Ntsika and the Business Council

Over and above government agencies, there are many other private and civic sector players in the township entrepreneurship development space. Support for township entrepreneurship has taken many forms. These include policy research and research on township enterprises, business skills training, mentorship and other non-financial services by non-profit organisations (NPOs), private companies and universities, as well as funding by banks and specialist business financial institutions. Examples include the Pick-n-Pay township spaza shop development programmes (Pick-n-Pay Group (2021), Sustainable Livelihood Foundation (Charman, 2016; 2017a.; 2017b) and research by various universities indicated earlier in the inventory of township research in Table 3.1.

Despite these support interventions, much of the literature reviewed points to South Africa's failure in developing an entrepreneurial culture and creating an enabling environment for enterprises to grow that also considers the differentiated needs of businesses (Brièr , Tremblay & Daou, 2014; Charman *et al*., 2017; DPME, 2018; Flowerday, 2015; GDED, 2016; Herrington & Kew, 2017; Mamabolo *et al*., 2017; Moos, 2014). Charman *et al.* (2017:13) aptly surmise that not much has changed since apartheid in terms of the spaces and places in which township entrepreneurs operate. They remain isolated and disconnected from commercial hubs. Herrington and Coduras (2019:10) have concluded that the current national entrepreneurship framework and its implementation do not adequately meet the basic conditions which are necessary for entrepreneurship development (access to finance, appropriate government policies and programmes, commercial infrastructure and entrepreneurship education). These challenges were exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic, which affected the growth of many township

businesses due to the lack of targeted support (Omonona, Oni & Oluwole, 2021:370; United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 2020:14).

In summary, despite various interventions by the democratically elected government and other stakeholders, the legacy of township socio-economic underdevelopment is proving difficult to reverse. The advent of the COVID-19 pandemic and its resultant economic recession is only making matters worse. Yet even with the gloomy picture painted above, there is an appetite for entrepreneurial activity in township and there are entrepreneurs who succeed in these adverse township environments (Strydom, 2015:463; Wiid & Cant 2021:2). These factors influenced my decision to embark on this research and to explore what role socio-cultural factors play in this regard.

3.6 Socio-cultural Factors Influencing Entrepreneurial Success in Townships

This section reviews literature on the role played by socio-cultural factors in entrepreneurial success in townships. In line with the preceding chapter, there is a specific emphasis on how families, friends and other reference groups, culture, religion and political history—as social network structures—facilitate entrepreneurial success by enabling members to access necessary support (e.g. information, knowledge, skills, finance, advice and emotional support).

As the overview conducted on township entrepreneurship literature reflects, one is hard-pressed to find specific research on the role played by socio-cultural factors and social networks (social capital) in entrepreneurial success in the context of townships in South Africa. Only six township studies specifically focused on networks or social capital and the importance of family, friends and co-ethnic networks (i.e. by Dawson, 2021, Frimpong, 2021, Hikido, 2017, Maisela, 2017, Nambiar *et al.*, 2020; and Ngwenya, 2017). Although scholars such as Petersen and Charman (2018:564-9) have added to the volume of such studies by

analysing the importance of family on informal enterprises, their findings were based on the analysis of data from an older survey conducted in 2013.

A few studies focused on social networks of immigrant entrepreneurs vis-à-vis native South Africans (e.g. by Maisela, 2017 and Ngwenya, 2017). The rest of the studies which referred to social networks merely alluded to the importance of social capital in entrepreneurship. In order to glean more on the role of social-cultural factors, one has to rely on indirect references from other studies (e.g. those focusing on social entrepreneurship, gender, youth, tourism and stokvels). This paucity of research on the influence of socio-cultural factors on entrepreneurial success in townships is a stark reflection of the dearth of social capital or social networks and their effective use in these areas (Charman, 2016:3; Hardnack & Liedeman, 2016:2; Maisela, 2017:15; Plaajies, 2019:37-49).

3.6.1 Family, Friends, and Other Reference Groups

It is common cause that township entrepreneurs experience many barriers in starting and operating their businesses. Key among these is a lack of or limited access to investment and working capital. Many of them therefore rely on their families for initial support when they begin their journey in business. This may be offered directly in the form of start-up capital or equipment but also indirectly through the funding of business-related training (Charman, 2017:11; Dawson, 2021:390; Hardnack & Liedeman, 2016:14; Nambiar, *et al.*, 2020:14; Yiannakaris, 2019:168). According to Charman, 2018:564, families play an important bricolage role in township enterprises. They provide social protection and neighbourhood relationship functions for their owners. Families, friends and other reference groups may also be an important resource to access information, knowledge, skills and business facilities. Indeed, Frimpong (2021:66) found this to be the case among informal sector entrepreneurs in Walmer township (Eastern Cape), who used each other as a social

network and as sources of information, knowledge and protection from crime, among others. She concluded that social capital is a contributing factor to the growth of the informal economy. In his study on unemployed South African youth, Charman (2016:2-3) found that they used informal sector job opportunities at businesses run by themselves or their family or friends (e.g. at hair salons, spaza shops etc.) and hobbies (e.g. music, arts and culture) to acquire soft and technical business skills. However, most used informal sector jobs as a conduit to formal employment. In some cases, young people eventually used their income from formal jobs to set up types of businesses they previously participated in, which were then run by family members or friends.

Both Charman (2016:2-3) and Yiannakaris (2021:168) have concluded that local youths do not maximally use their social networks/social capital as a pathway to self-employment and entrepreneurship. Given that the ultimate goal is to use these networks as a conduit towards formal employment, it is difficult to deduce a strong link between these social networks and entrepreneurial success. If these youth eventually find their route back into entrepreneurship in their adulthood, however, it could be argued that their entrepreneurial endeavours might ultimately derive benefit from such social networks.

Over and above families and friends, entrepreneurs may source capital through self-help schemes and rotating savings groups called *stokvels*. Colloquially known as societies, *umgalelo* or *muholisano*, stokvels usually comprise between five and 20 members who may include family members. Each member periodically contributes an agreed amount to a central pot, be it weekly, fortnightly or monthly (Mulaudzi, 2017; Storchi, 2018:128; Ngcobo & Chisasa, 2018:226). These scholars identified four types of stokvels (savings, burial, investment and high-budget stokvels). It is estimated that there are over 800 000 stokvels in South Africa with a market share of about R44 billion. Stokvels are reportedly preferred over banks and other financial institutions because they are easier to access, less formal

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and less strict (Gwamanda, 2019:2). Interestingly, the latter found that young entrepreneurs in Durban's informal settlement areas preferred platforms such as WhatsApp-Operated stokvels as a means of accessing credit. This highlights the fact that social media is influencing how people are currently doing business.

It is important to highlight that the primary role of stokvels is for household consumption and that they are used as poverty mitigation and empowerment strategies for the low-income groups, especially women. Stokvels provide other non-financial benefits to their members, such as social gatherings and networking, and have been found to empower women. It is thus not surprising that the majority of stokvel members use their cash-outs to buy groceries in bulk at the end of the year as opposed to a few that used their savings to invest in a business (Matuku & Kaseke, 2014:1; Storchi, 2018:41). Bophela and Khumalo (2019:28) largely attribute this to ignorance about further benefits that could be derived from it. Nevertheless, some members use their stokvel savings to accumulate and/or improve assets that ultimately benefit their businesses such as vehicles, land and property (Ngcobo & Chisasa, 2018:226).

Depending on the industries they are engaged in, entrepreneurs also benefit from membership of formal business organisations such as associations (e.g. for retail, liquor outlet or minibus taxi operators). This can be done by bargaining for better recognition, mobilising for capitalisation, and campaigning for more favourable regulations by the government and financial institutions such as banks. Since such networks are usually regarded as business networks rather informal social networks, they were not explored further in the literature review.

Though beneficial for entrepreneurial success, the relationships township entrepreneurs have with their families, friends and other reference groups are not without their contradictions and may even be burdensome. This is especially so in communal

environments whereby resource-sharing is not only highly valued but also insisted upon. For example, it is customary for African families in urban areas to support their rural relatives through money transfers or accommodate them for periods of time when they migrate to urban areas (see more under culture). However, this practice can be quite taxing, especially for poorer households and survivalist entrepreneurs, hence it is also called Black Tax (Mpofu-Mketwa, 2020:7). Similarly, Dawson's (2021:397-399) study of Zandspruit, Johannesburg youth in the informal sector found that some of the research participants were unhappy about their non-reciprocal friendships, which were an added financial burden.

3.6.2   Culture

It was argued in Chapter 2 that national and local culture can be a source of social capital for entrepreneurs' businesses, for example by providing them with business ideas, values, knowledge, skills and markets. It can also be an inhibiting factor if it does not support or promote entrepreneurial behaviour and activity. These points are discussed further in this section.

In the African context, culture is important for the formation of cultural identity. One's identity is a key measure of personal and social worth, level of prosperity and potential to succeed in all areas of life (Monyai, 2018:9-10). It is for this reason that the bestowal of names is not taken lightly by most Africans. Therefore, the discussion of names in this thesis is not just anecdotal. It lays an important foundation for the analysis of data gathered in the field.

There is a plethora of African literature that details the purpose of names and protocols for their bestowal (e.g. by Futhwa, 2011, Guma, 2001; Makgopa, 2019, Dlamini & Ocholla, 2018, Makhubedu, 2009, Monyai, 2018, Toure, 2018, and Zungu & Maphini 2020). Here are the key points that can be surmised from this literature:

- African names are linked to different types of identity (i.e. personal, social, cultural, religious, etc).

- It is often anticipated that one will live up to one's name in terms of behaviour, character, disposition and future fortunes. Hence there is a common proverb among the Sotho ethnic groups that *Leina lebe seromo* (a bad name is a bad omen).

- Names such as Busani/Mmusi (ruler), Thabo (joy), Mabatho (a people's person), Mongezi/Mooketsi (one who adds), Nhlakanipho/Botlhale (wisdom), and Katlego/Nhlanhla (fortune), denote positive outcomes for the bearer, unlike Matlakala (rubbish), or Tsietsi /Moferefere (trouble).

- The circumstances under which one is born and named are paramount, hence names are given such as Mapula (during the rain), Maletsatsi (under the sun) and Maserame (during the cold).

- Names are given to encourage, comfort or motivate the family or community or to celebrate certain achievements. They may also be used as a form of thanking or petitioning God and/or ancestors for divine favours - e.g Kgotatso (encouragement), Tshepo/Thembinkosi (hope – in God), and Ntombizodwa (girls only).

- The naming of a bride (*ngwetsi/makoti/umtshakazi*) among some tribes is particularly interesting. To seal her identity change, she is not only expected to change her surname but also her first names. Assuming the new identity implies accepting the responsibility that comes with it and can help to foster the bond between the bride and her in-laws.

- Totemism is a common practice among African tribal clans. It refers to people's reverence or honour of specific animals, plants or objects. It stems from their

spiritual connectedness to them and their identification with their distinguishing traits or characteristics. For example, a lion may be revered for its bravery and fierceness, an elephant for its humility in strength and its majesty, a baboon for its craftiness and a rabbit for its speed and agility. Similarly, people and clans may be named after stars, rivers, flames, etc. Such identification implies that they would emulate their namesake through daily life in all respects.

- Different groups or tribes and clans within tribes have their own totemic identities, such as the Bakubung (hippopotamuses) and Bakwena (crocodiles).

- Different clans/tribes compose their own folklore and taxonomy including thematic apparel, praise poems, idioms, songs, proverbs and other artifacts to commemorate their cultural heritage, which forms part of the African indigenous knowledge system (IKS)

- The salient features of this IKS are usually transmitted down an individual's lineage both orally and via socialisation.

- The proliferation of Western culture and religion, especially Christianity, undermined the indigenous naming systems by giving them a lower status and imposing Western naming (e.g. through the apartheid identification system).

Another important way in which culture can be used as social capital for entrepreneurial success is through its value system. Ubuntu as the dominant value system of many African countries, including South Africa, has been discussed substantially in the previous chapter. For entrepreneurs, values such as humility, respect, hospitality, benevolence and compassion find expression in the way they approach business operations, staff, customers, suppliers and other stakeholders. Entrepreneurial success is viewed as a result of a communal effort rather than an individual effort (Abubakre, Faik & Mkansi, 2021:842-843).

The belief underpinning ubuntu that "I am because you are" has generally been embraced by township residents as the basis for building social cohesion and solidarity (Langa *et al.*, 2016:44). Historically, protests in townships (e.g. against apartheid legislation, Bantu education and poor service delivery) have been perceived as a hallmark of solidarity in action and as an expression of a strong social network because they enable township communities to campaign collectively and sustainably. They have proven to be an effective method to give voice to the frustrations of township residents and to galvanise the government to deliver on its electoral promises. (Chiwarawara & Masiya, 2018:60; Zunes, 1999:138).

Communalistic kinship values, which are another pillar of ubuntu, may also be expressed through the sharing of resources such as finances, accommodation and transportation with their relatives. For example, rural immigrants may be assisted by their urban relatives for an easier transition (Magubane 2017:58; Chipp, Carter & Chiba, 2019:9-1). This practice, which some have labelled as Black Tax, can be an important source of resources for entrepreneurs who may rely on the support of relatives for financial and practical support to start and/or run a business (Matlala & Shambare, 2017:76; Whitelaw & Branson, 2020:2).

Both local and national cultures are valuable sources of indigenous information, knowledge and skills. For example, entrepreneurs can develop business concepts, intellectual property, designs and niche markets themed along cultural or ethnic lines and popular culture. These include African tribal regalia, cuisines, medicines, arts and crafts and music (Bhuda & Marumo, 2021:71; Pheto-Moeti, Riekert & Pelser, 2018:14; Omotayo & Aremu, 2020:1; Rozani & Goduka, 2017:135). Unfortunately, due to colonialism, apartheid and modernisation many of these indigenous knowledge systems have been undermined (Rozani & Goduka, 2017:135; Pheto-Moeti *et al.*, 2018:17).

Indications are that it is essential to use nuanced approaches to the special circumstances of groupings such as the youth, women and the disabled in relation to the role of culture in entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial success are essential. Some of these aspects are addressed under other social factors in Section 3.6.5 below. Here it is important to highlight that a gendered perspective on culture vis-à-vis entrepreneurship assists in factoring the role played by gender relations in entrepreneurial success. According to Wolf and Frese (2018:7), in resource-constrained sub-Saharan countries like South Africa husbands may provide much needed emotional, financial and practical business support to their wives. However, they can also interfere in business matters and frustrate their partners' efforts.

Marital regimes, and cultural customs and traditions such as lobola (bride price), can also impact on the economic participation of women. For instance, there are enormous expectations on the household, family roles and responsibilities of an African bride, hence the process of finding, welcoming and initiating a bride is very significant. There are elaborate cultural procedures followed, including *patlo* (bridal search), *bogadi/lobola* (bride price), *moletlo* (ceremony) and *go isiwa gangwetsi/makoti* (handing over of the bride) (Nganase and Basson, 2019:229). The latter also point out that the relationship between a *makoti* and her in-laws, especially her *mamazala* (mother-in-law) are essential for their marital wellbeing. A bride who accepts and uses her bridal name may feel more welcome among her in-laws (Zungu & Maphini 2020:66). According to Sennott, Madhavan and Nam (2020:2), lobola has the symbolic value of affording women a sense of dignity, respect and status in the family and the community. They also found that women who were in favour of lobola expected gender equality in relationships with men who paid it. Such women believed that the practice of lobola upheld their ideals of intensifying their bonds of intimacy, autonomy, equality and reciprocity.

These social capital benefits of customary marital regimes notwithstanding, it has also been found that cultural practices can be abused and become a tool for objectifying and oppressing women. Men may feel entitled and perceive their wives as properties they "purchased" with lobola. In such circumstances, women may not be given the freedom to pursue their personal ambitions, economic and otherwise (Mpofu-Mketwa, 2020:71). Nambiar *et al.* (2020:14) similarly found that some township women respondents were concerned about the lack of support and emotional abuse from their husbands for their entrepreneurial efforts.

Something that does not seem to be adequately explored is the role of interracial social capital, or what is termed "co-ethnic" social capital, which are social networks formed across racial groups. Hikido (2017:2580) underscores this point in her study of tourism businesses based in Cape Town townships. She found that for these businesses to succeed and/or expand, they have to rely on uncommon networks outside their local environment to access markets and other resources for their businesses. These included their overseas customers and local White people (e.g. for outsourcing) Thus, in this instance, socially weak ties (i.e. with foreign connections or White South Africans) were actually stronger ties since they translated into material benefits. She classified (Hikido, 2017:14) them into social capital (e.g. visitors keeping in touch over time and regarding them as family), economic capital (i.e. in the form of actual transaction such as catering subcontracts etc.), cultural capital (e.g. partnering with local White South Africans to promote local culture through tourism) and symbolic capital (e.g. White people marketing African, township-based B&Bs locally and internationally through social media and other platforms).

Despite these benefits, Hikido (2017:14), like Koens and Thomas (2015:8), cast doubt on the extent to which such social capital is actually transformative, since the racist, sexist

and capitalist status quo remains firmly in place. Male, White-owned businesses continue to dominate the tourism sector.

To the extent that most businesses were started and run by individuals and not collectively (e.g. through cooperatives, as is the case in rural areas), it could be argued that the value of collectivism that underpins ubuntu is not necessarily embraced in this regard. In fact, studies on cooperatives have found that they have neither gained as much traction nor performed as well in South Africa as was expected (Rena, 2017:2; Wessels, 2016:1,). According to Koens and Thomas (2015:10-12), where fractured social networks along political, ethnic, religious and other partisan lines prevail, ubuntu coexists with *Umona* (jealousy or envy) and fierce rivalry:

> It is related to a fear people have for retribution if they do not share their wealth through Ubuntu. People do not adhere to Ubuntu only out of a sense of duty, but also because they fear retribution through *umona* if they do not instantly share their profits. Successful persons who do not share are to be 'pulled down' (e.g. through refusal to cooperate, sabotage or witchcraft) in order to maintain the status quo (Koens & Thomas, 2015:11).

A similar finding was made by Nambiar *et al.*, (2020:15) who reported that 55% of their women entrepreneur respondents bewailed the lack of support from their communities in the form of jealousy, gossip and deliberate discouragement.

3.6.3   Religion

As with its ethnic and cultural diversity, South Africa is a melting pot of different religions that enjoy equal protection from the Constitution of the Republic. These include the African traditional religion, Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, Rastafarian and various renditions of Christianity (i.e. Charismatic, Evangelical, Orthodox, Pentecostal, Zionist, etc.) Based on

census data, it is estimated that Christians comprise over 50% church membership and that the Zion Christian Church ZCC has the highest percentage of members in South Africa (Masondo, 2015:1-2). In summarising the literature and discourse on African indigenous religions and Independent African Churches (IACs), Idang (2015:104), Masondo (2015:3-5) and Ndemanu (2018:71) proffer several poignant points about African religion that are relevant to this study:

- African religion(s) and spirituality predate colonialism and the advent of Christianity and other religions. They find expression in South Africa through the 11 native tribes (including the Khoisan).

- Spirituality permeates all aspects of African life; hence everything can be imbued with spiritual significance, including economic activity. This explains why a concept like ubuntu, which emphasises the values of respect for humanity and life, is also infused with other religious beliefs.

- In African knowledge systems, reality is too vast and complex a phenomenon for humans to fully comprehend. This is especially so when they try to do so as individuals or single groups.

- Essentially, Africans believe in a Supreme Being (*Unkulunkulu* in Nguni or *Modimo* in Sotho), who though invisible, is omnipresent, omnipotent and omniscien. This god actively connects and intervenes in their daily lives via divine spirits.

- Humans die only physically, but their spirits do not die. The deceased become ancestors (*Amadlozi* in Nguni or *Badimo* in Sotho) and are pivotal in the realm of divinity. They intercede on behalf of the living. They are revered and sacred, hence elaborate funerals are conducted to honour them and rituals are performed to celebrate them.

- Ancestors include all members of the immediate and extended family. They are revered because they are viewed as the spiritual conduit to God.

- Diviners (e.g. *sangomas* or prophets) can also mediate between the dead and the living, communicating messages and meanings about current and future events.

- Prayers of supplication or gratitude are expressed through thanksgiving rituals (e.g. *ukuhlabela amadlozi*) where an animal is slaughtered as a sacrifice and portions are dedicated to ancestors.

- Confusion often arises where Africans also embrace other religions that may forbid certain practices. For example, whereas practising ancestral worship is a component of African Independent Churches, it is frowned upon by most orthodox Christian faiths.

- African churches play a critical role in restoring the self-identity, self-belief and confidence of the adherents, which is not fully addressed by other faiths.

What is relevant for entrepreneurship is the beliefs people hold about the role that ancestors and God (i.e. divinity) play in one's success in life and economic endeavours. One's success or failure is attributed to the divine, be it *Unkulunkulu* or *amadlozi*, good spirits or bad spirits. Based on their study of rural communities in Sekhukhuni, Limpopo Province, South Africa, Öhlmann and Hüttel (2018:1) and Öhlmann, Frost, and Gräb (2016:7), found a positive and robust relationship between locals' affiliation to the Zion Christian Church and African traditional religion. Beyond emotional aspects such as resilience and tenacity during difficult economic times, and mutual support, affiliates to such church groups benefitted materially through rotating saving schemes such as stokvels and entrepreneurship training programmes. Indirect support such as food parcels, schools and creches for members is also significant as it frees up women entrepreneurs for economic activity. Often, the same benefits were extended to non-members. In a study of established Jewish and Christian

entrepreneurs, Kojana (2020:89-106) found that religious faith played an important role throughout their entrepreneurial journeys. They tapped into their faith mechanisms, such as moral and value systems, ethical conduct, fortitude and an optimistic outlook, to approach business and perform their daily tasks.

Although religion plays an important role in the lives of many township residents, it seems that its potential as a resource of social capital has not been sufficiently exploited by its affiliates or scholars. This point was underscored by Nambiar *et al.* (2019:13) who concluded that because they had not identified religion as a source of capital they had not included it in their questions. As a result, they were surprised by the finding that their women interviewees relied on their faith groups for business support. Maisela (2017:48) surmised that the discouragement of ancestral worship by certain churches has contributed to the breakdown in social networks among Africans. Manyaka-Boshielo (2017:7) explored the role of religion and churches compared to other non-profit organisations in the context of social entrepreneurship. He concluded that among 100 churches observed through participant observation in Nellmapius in Pretoria, most are not adequately equipped to assist their members to set up and run businesses when required.

3.6.4   Political History

Political history can be a source of social capital for entrepreneurs if it can assist them to innovate products and services and leverage resources and markets for their businesses (Jones, 2017:330). As argued in section 3.6.2, Culture, the sense of solidarity arising from common struggles against social ills such as apartheid, has helped township dwellers to lobby for their rights to better services (Langa *et al.*, 2016:44). Township dwellers were also among the driving forces towards the downfall of apartheid. It was partly through their struggle for political change that a democratic dispensation was ultimately ushered in 1994. It was also because of their agency that transformative polices and targeted township

entrepreneurship development programmes were developed (Chiwarawara & Masiya, 2018:60; Zunes, 1999:138).

Despite these benefits of the political historical history of townships, it has been pointed out throughout this section that the level of social capital in townships is low. Like Seekings (1988:3-4), Maisela (2017:15-16) attributes this shortage of social capital among Black entrepreneurs to socio-political and historical factors. He argues that due to the temporal nature of the settlement of township dwellers during apartheid, ethnolinguistic factors and the apartheid legacy of divide and rule along racial lines undermined the development of sustainable social networks among Black entrepreneurs. Africans in particular were forcefully discouraged from establishing roots and long lasting social and economic relationships in urban centres. The allocation of housing and amenities along ethnic lines also fuelled tribalism. Class also played a role in segregation. More affluent sections within townships are leading Euro-American lifestyles compared to their poorer counterparts. Some of these well-to-do township dwellers have even been labelled as token Blacks because they can leverage resources.

Spatial factors also play a role in entrepreneurial success, as has been argued before. For example, the dawn of democracy in 1994 has seen numerous opportunities in the tourism and hospitality industries presented to township entrepreneurs. Unfortunately, not all township entrepreneurs are well-positioned to benefit from these opportunities because they are not strategically located near tourist routes. Poor infrastructure and spatially unjust land use also limits their capacity to tap into high-end and capital-intensive businesses such as manufacturing (Charman *et al.*, 2017:1; George & Booyens, 2014:449; Yiannakaris, 2019:167). Fierce competition from big malls and immigrant-owned businesses has prompted the Gauteng Provincial Legislature to pass the Township Economic Development Act in 2022, as referred to earlier.

The last issue to be considered is the role corruption is playing in undermining the culture of entrepreneurship, thereby impeding entrepreneurial success in townships. Not only that: corruption has a detrimental effect on the economy and leads to more poverty and inequality (Salahuddin *et al.* 2020:20). In some cases, policies like BBBEE, which are intended to benefit historically disadvantaged persons, actually exacerbate unethical practices. This happens when politically connected individuals abuse their networks to the disadvantage and ultimate exclusion of smaller businesses. Fronting by white business owners is also common (Pike, Puchert & Chinyamurindi, 2018:3). The phenomenon that best describes destructive social networks in the South African context is the one of tenderpreneurship. As Dassah (2018:15) puts it:

> 'Tenderpreneurship' involves collusion among government employees, politically connected people, family members and friends of politicians to flout supply chain management procedures in order to win government tenders for which they are often not the most qualified. The modus operandi is to inflate tender prices to facilitate kickbacks, which invariably results in either the rendering of inferior products/services by tenderpreneurs or even non-rendering of the contracted products/services (Dassah, 2018:15).

3.6.5   Other Social Factors

While demographic factors such as age, race, gender, location and levels of education can serve as an added advantage for entrepreneurs, they can also become a hinderance for them. Thus, if an entrepreneur is discriminated against or marginalised because of their demographic profile (e.g. through ageism, racism, sexism, classism or ableism) it is bound to impact on their entrepreneurial success. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the impact of such social factors, especially when legislated and forcefully enforced through systems like colonialism and apartheid's townships, can effectively destroy an entrepreneurship

culture. What is concerning is that these patterns of discrimination seem to be continuing even under the new political dispensation.

In a study on disabled entrepreneurs in Sebokeng township, Maziriri and Madinga (2016:1) found that they experienced a lot of challenges in accessing physical spaces, finance and other business resources due to discrimination and social marginalisation. Similarly, young entrepreneurs also struggle to access business resources such as finance and equipment due to ageism and the lack of trust in their expertise (Dawson, 2021:391; Yiannakaris, 2019:168). Regarding sexism, there are acute disparities between men and women in terms of entrepreneurship participation and entrepreneurial success. For African women this is also attributable to the historical legacy of colonialism and apartheid, as well as to inhibitive cultural practices (Nambiar, *et al.*, 2020:4).

Crime is another debilitating factor in township economies because it promotes a climate of fear, which results in disinvestment. Whether in the form of burglaries, muggings or lootings, crime consistently features as one of the main reasons either for business failure among township businesses or as an impediment to operating a business (Charman, 2017:2; Hartnack & Liedeman, 2016:19; Koens & Thomas, 2015:10; Mukwarami & Tengeh, 2017:331). Another impediment is intolerance of competition, as shown by xenophobic attacks against foreigners. Native South Africans feel threatened by immigrant entrepreneurs, whom they feel are taking away their jobs and self-employment opportunities They also feel that they never owned anything under apartheid and this legacy seems to be continuing under the new dispensation (Mukwarami & Tengeh, 2017:332; Radipere & Dhliwayo, 2014:189; Tengeh, 2016:203). Gamieldien and Van Niekerk (2017:26) highlight the sad irony that xenophobia is in essence another form of apartheid, since both are based on the same fears:

The increasing rate of globalisation and the lack of available capital have resulted in foreign African nationals who live in South Africa being denied a right to their own identity by the South African nationals who share their communities. This results in a continuation of the apartheid mentality in another form and under a different guise - the protection of one's right to belong and to make a living. The violence towards, and assaults on foreign traders which results from this intolerance forces many immigrants and asylum-seekers to return to their country of origin (Gamieldien & Van Niekerk, 2017:26).

Regrettably, more evidence is emerging of a breakdown in the social fibre and values of ubuntu in townships. Lately, the values of respect for human life and dignity are being eroded through practices such as political intolerance, violent service delivery protests, intolerance of competition and xenophobia. The culture of entrepreneurship is being severely undermined by damages to public infrastructure and the crippling of local economies. This only serves to reverse gains made in redressing imbalances (Breakfast, Bradshaw & Nomarwayi, 2019:109; Koens & Thomas, 2015:10; Langa *et al*, 2016:44). Notably, the majority of service delivery protests have occurred in Gauteng (Breakfast *et al.*, 2019:119). Denoon-Stevens and Ramaila (2018:432) additionally note that there is not enough investment in social infrastructure such as parks, libraries and sport and recreation facilities. They state that they are important for promoting social cohesion within communities, thereby developing social capital.

In summary, socio-cultural factors such as family, friends and culture can provide a wealth of direct and indirect business resources that are crucial for a township's success. These include finance, equipment, infrastructure, information knowledge, skills, and markets. It was however evident that there are a lot of social factors working against building

and sustaining a culture of entrepreneurship in township communities, notably, crime, poor social infrastructure and the decline in social cohesion.

3.7 Chapter Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to provide a contextual understanding of township entrepreneurship and the role of socio-cultural factors in township entrepreneurial success. It began by reviewing literature based on 40 relevant studies conducted between 2009 and 2021. It was found that entrepreneurship was a topical issue because of its strategic socio-developmental value in township economies. Regrettably, only a handful of studies focussed on the role that social capital and networks play in entrepreneurial success in township contexts. This scarcity of literature on socio-cultural factors opens up possibilities for further research in this area.

The second part of the chapter profiled townships in the Gauteng province since they are home to the majority of township dwellers and therefore represent a macrocosm of township socio-economic trends in South Africa. Although pockets of success and opportunities were identified for township entrepreneurs, it was found that they face a combination of challenges and barriers that impede their success. This review indicates that post-apartheid government initiatives have, in the main, been unable to reverse a trajectory of economic, social and political policies that have undermined the culture entrepreneurship in townships.

Lastly, the chapter reviewed how township entrepreneurs use social networks/capital embedded in their families and friends. It can be concluded that there were elements of social networks within families, friendships, culture, religion and political history that entrepreneurs could leverage as forms of material and non-material business resources. Unfortunately, in many a township—at least in relation to entrepreneurship—social networks are weak and social capital is low. However, the poor culture of entrepreneurship cannot

simply be attributed to a lack of motivation and ambition but also to the constraining environment within which entrepreneurs operate. While township entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial success are essentially economic concepts, they cannot be understood outside social, political, and historical contexts.

CHAPTER 4:   RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the approach I used in conducting the study. It focuses on the paradigm and epistemological position that framed the strategy I adopted, the research design, as well as research methods and tools used for data collection and analysis. The study is premised on the philosophy that the generation of knowledge and explanation of reality are underpinned and shaped by the researcher's beliefs and assumptions about the subject matter (Aldawod, & Day, 2017:3; Leich, Hill & Robinson, 2010:69). Moreover, in advancing scientific enquiry, the nature of the subject matter enables the researcher to determine existing knowledge gaps and how these should be filled (Ramagloul and Tsang, 2021:15; Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2016:124).

I contend that a qualitative approach offers a unique way of studying entrepreneurship and generating new theories through its ability to delve deeper into entrepreneurs' dynamic realities within their own contexts (Kriel, 2017:21; Rauch, Van Doorn & Hulsink, 2014:333). In the literature review chapters I argued that this approach is more relevant in South Africa, where more qualitative studies focusing on township-based entrepreneurs, and socio-cultural factors influencing entrepreneurial success are required. These considerations informed the approach of the study (Bell *et al.*, 2019:5). As: Hindle (2004:578) put it:

> A well-structured approach to the problem of matching research technique to research question will specify which techniques of investigation (the choice-of-methods problem) are appropriate to what key questions in the field (the ontological problem) and give reasons why (the axiological and epistemological problems).

Figure 4.1 depicts a summary of the approach adopted for this research. It shows that the research strategy was influenced by my paradigm or philosophical approach. The study was informed by an interpretivist ontology and epistemology, a value-laden axiology, and a qualitative methodology. The research design incorporates multiple case studies, narrative inquiry and their respective methods of sampling, data collection and data analysis. Each of these elements is discussed in more detail below. Although discussed separately, the choice and implementation of the research strategy and design was a reiterative, dynamic process, rather than a linear one. (Bell *et al.,* 2019:23; Malhortra, 2017:174; Shani *et al.*, 2020:64).

Figure 4.1 Outline of Research Methodology
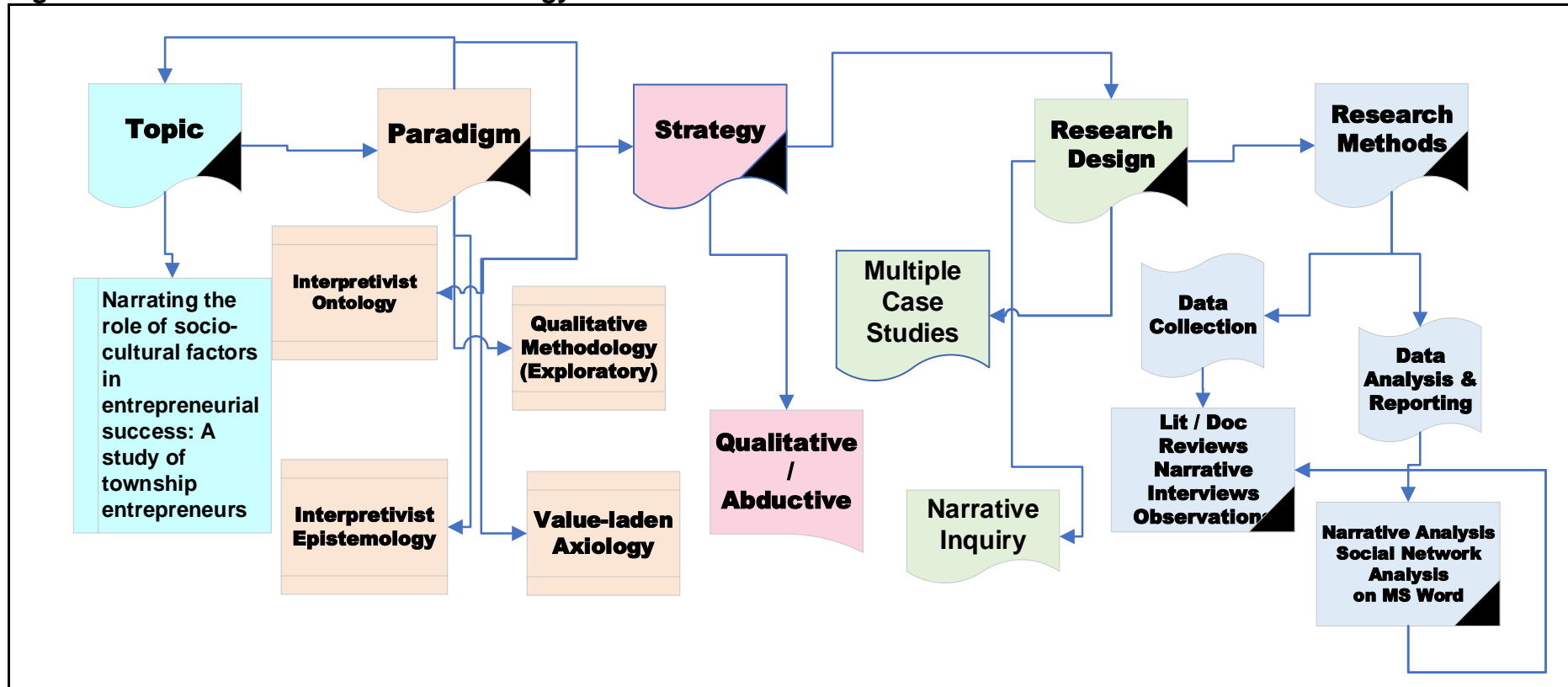
Source: **Own configuration**

Note: One-directional arrows are for illustration only. In practice, the process of developing a research strategy, designing a

methodology and implementing them is dynamic and reiterative, not linear (Bell, *et al.,* 2019:23; Malhortra, 2017:174; Shani *et al*.,

2020:64).

4.2 Research Paradigm

A paradigm in simple terms is a person's worldview or a set of beliefs they hold about the world they are in (Lincoln & Guba,1994:107). In social research, it can also be referred to as a philosophy of social science. The concept has been widely accredited to the American philosopher of science, Thomas J. Kuhn, and his analysis of scientific revolutions and paradigm shifts (Bell, Bryman & Harley, 2019:34; Blum, 2016:2). There are many different categorisations or classifications of social research paradigms, but the common ones identified in the literature reviewed thus far are the positivist, constructionist or interpretivist, critical, realist, post-modern and post-structuralist paradigms (Aldawod & Day, 2017:4; Bell *et al.*, 2019:34; Chilisa & Kawulich, 2012:6; Guba & Lincoln, 1994:109; Travers, 2001:10-11).

Paradigms typically span four dimensions, namely ontology, epistemology, axiology and methodology (Aldawod & Day, 2017:19; Chilisa & Kawulich, 2012:1; Kriel, 2017:19-20). They influence the researcher's approach to inquiry in four important ways. Firstly, they reveal the researcher's views and beliefs about the nature of 'objects' or phenomena to be studied, which is an ontological position. This varies from researcher to researcher as there is no single way of interpreting the social world (Aldawod & Day, 2017:7; Healy & Perry, 2000:168; Lee, 2011:406; Mouton, 1996:46). Secondly, paradigms expose the assumptions and views the researcher holds about how the research should be conducted within a particular discipline. This is an epistemological consideration, that is, the science of knowing or the theory of knowledge. The researcher is required to reasonably justify their choice of methods for generating and/or testing knowledge. (Aldawod & Day, 2017:8; Babbie, 2005:6; Bell *et al.*, 2019:5; Pretorius & Le Roux, 2011:6).

Thirdly, a researcher's beliefs, personal experiences and ethics influence their choice of research topics. This is known as the axiological dimension of social research (Bell *et al.*, 2019:40; Chilisa & Kawulich, 2012:6). Lastly, through their methodological approaches, paradigms influence the research strategies adopted for data collection, analysis and dissemination (Aldawod, & Day, 2017:9; Bell *et al.*, 2019:34; Chilisa & Kawulich, 2012:1; Iacob, Popescu & Ristea, 2015:248-250).

4.2.1 Interpretivist Ontology

An interpretivist ontological position asserts that reality is perceived subjectively and through the consideration of meanings (Alharahsheh & Pius, 2020: 42; Bell *et al.*, 2019:27). This challenges the notion that social phenomena like entrepreneurship and their meanings are entirely objective (Aldawod and Day, 2017:7). According to Perren & Ram (2004:84):

> Those with an objective perspective view the social world 'as if it were a hard, external, objective reality' whereas those with a subjective view are interested in 'understanding of the way in which the individual creates, modifies, and interprets the world … (Perren & Ram, 2004:84).

In the context of entrepreneurship, entrepreneurial success is assumed to occur within interactions between individuals and research should seek to increase our understanding of these interactions (Chalmers & Shaw, 2015; 1-2; Crotty 1988:43; Lindgren & Packendorff, 2009:29).

4.2.2 Interpretivist Epistemology

As an epistemology, interpretivism assumes that knowledge cannot be separated from human interpretation (Alharahsheh & Pius, 2020:42). It is fundamentally about the meanings and interpretations actors subjectively ascribe to phenomena like entrepreneurial success in order to describe and explain their

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behaviour (Iacob, Popescu & Ristea, 2015:248; Leitch *et al.*, 2010:70; Packard 2017:536). Since knowledge is subjective and is influenced by people's belief systems and cultures, it is an applicable approach for this study (Aldawod & Day, 2017:8; Chilisa & Kawulich, 2012:12). As an alternative to positivism, interpretivism is based on the view that a research strategy should "respect the differences between people and objects of the natural sciences and therefore requires social scientists to grasp the subjective meaning of social action" (Bell *et al.*, 2019:35).

4.2.3   Value-laden Axiology

Within the interpretivist spectrum, research is essentially a subjective, value-laden and value-bound exercise. There is no pretence that my values are reflected in the research process, and this is what they should acknowledge (Aldawod & Day, 2017:8-9; Bell *et al.*, 2019:38; Chilisa & Kawulich, 2012:9). It is for this reason that ethical codes within each discipline should be upheld to ensure that respondents are not harmed (Saunders, 2016:711; Babbie, 2005:81). This research was guided by the ethical conventions of the University of Pretoria as acknowledged in Chapter 1.

4.2.4   Qualitative Methodology

My choice of a qualitative approach to this study was partly a response to a call for more plurality in entrepreneurship research and the use of qualitative methods to strengthen the domain. Like their predecessors[6], modern scholars such as Aldawod and Day (2017:7), Rajasinghe *et al.*, 2021:3; Packard (2017:537) and Van Burg *et al.* (2020:4-5), bemoan the overreliance of entrepreneurship research on quantitative methods grounded in positivist, deductive, deterministic and reductionist approaches. These authors argue that a complex and multifaceted construct like entrepreneurship

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[6] See for example Berglund (2012:1); Bruyat and Julien (2001:79); Dana and Dana (2005:80) and Duxbury (2012:9).

requires multiple and different or plural perspectives in its inquiry. They also highlight the need for personal stories of entrepreneurs to be illuminated. My main consideration has been that entrepreneurship is a dynamic, vibrant process of discovery, initiation and growth and can therefore not be based solely on hyphothetico-deductive methods. Thus, for example, it is contradictory to argue that entrepreneurial behaviour can be simultaneously innovative and predictive, as the very concept of innovation is inherently unpredictable (Aldawod and Day, 2017:7; Rajasinghe *et al.*, 2021:3; Packard, 2017:537; Van Burg *et al.*,2020:4-5).

Broadly speaking, qualitative research encompasses different approaches of collecting and analysing data, taking into account the cultural and contextual nature of social phenomenon. (Vaismoradi & Snelgrove, 2019:2). Dana and Dana (2005:82) provide a more helpful definition:

Qualitative methodology is based on personal observation of situations, events, individuals, interactions, and transactions, as well as document analysis (including quantitative records) and open-ended interviews yielding in-depth and oral testimonies. Qualitative data analysis thus includes thick descriptions and direct quotations from people about their attitudes, beliefs, thoughts, intentions, actions, and experiences (Dana & Dana, 2005:82).

Furthermore, the emphasis in data collection and analysis is not on establishing causal relationships between variables, numbers and frequencies, but on the words, opinions and meanings respondents attach to phenomena and their world (Bell *et al.*, 2019:355-375; Shani *et al.*, 2020:64).

Another key characteristic of qualitative research is that it is predominantly inductive in its approach to the development of theory. This means that the generation

of theory is continuous because social reality is constantly changing as individuals keep on creating and recreating it. Within a deductive approach on the other hand, the theoretical framework is more defined and explicit in the form of a model, theory, typology or a set of explicit hypotheses (Shani, Coghlan & Benjamin, 2020:64-66; Bell *et al.*, 2019:22-23; Malhortra, 2017:174).

This study meets the requirements of a qualitative study as defined above in as far as it seeks to understand how entrepreneurs in township contexts view the role played by socio-cultural factors in their success and not to test a specific theory using a set of hypotheses. The procedures followed in data collection and analysis are also justifiably qualitative. They include the use of in-depth interviews with an open-ended schedule focusing on detailed narratives told by respondents and the detailed description and analysis of the meanings of those stories.

That said, the approach to data collection and analysis in this study cannot be labelled as inductive in the strictest sense of the word. This is because in some cases, themes were drawn from the raw data, and other instances, possible themes were identified based on social network theory and various entrepreneurship conceptual frameworks as discussed in Chapter 2. The appropriate term for this dual, iterative, inductive-deductive process is known as the abduction strategy, method or reasoning. Abduction tends to produce more exploratory hypotheses rather than definitive ones (Bell *et al.*, 2019:23; Malhortra, 2017:174; Shani *et al.*, 2020:64; Yasir *et al.*, 2019:4). As Charles Pierce, who is credited with coining the term in the early 1900s, succinctly put it: "Deduction proves that something must be; induction shows that something actually is operative; abduction merely suggest that something may be…" (Shani *et al.*, 2020:64).

4.3 Research design

A research design can be defined as a detailed plan or blueprint of how the research is going to be carried out. It outlines the protocols and instruments for data collection and analysis, and how these will help to answer the research question in a logical way (Crafford, 2015:56-59). For case studies, adapting the research design as the process unfolds and using multiple qualitative methods for data collection and analysis techniques within a single study is recommended. This supposedly enables one to address broader or more complex research questions, hence sampling a *pilot case* or cases is advised to help with the refinement of data collection plans and procedures (Yin, 2003:78-80). Crafford (2015:56-59) goes on further to classify research designs according three dimensions or logics as follows:

- The logic of contextualisation *versus* the logic of generalisation – gaining deeper insights in the phenomenon under study or representativity of the general population.

- The logic of discovery *versus* the logic of validation – generating new theories, models or hypothesis or validating existing ones.

- The logic of synchronicity *versus* the logic of diachronicity – temporal (cross-sectional) or protracted study (longitudinal).

Based on these logics, it is evident that this study leaned towards the contextualisation-discovery-synchrony-temporal design continuum. Other building blocks of the design for this study are discussed below under the headings of purpose, case study and narratives, sampling, methods of data collection and analysis and design quality.

4.3.1 Purpose of the Study

This is a qualitative, cross-sectional, exploratory study, whose purpose was to gain more insights into the role socio-cultural factors play in the entrepreneurial success of township entrepreneurs at a single point in time. However, the study also has descriptive and explanatory elements (Bell *et al.,* 2019:22-23; 59; Mouton and Marais, 1990:103). The study was anchored within a multiple-case study-narrative design. Case studies and narratives are but two of several options available to a researcher among quantitative surveys, archival analyses, historical accounts, qualitative surveys, ethnography and discourse analysis (Crafford, 2015:212-217; Yin, 2003:6).

There are numerous synergies between case study and narrative research methods that tie in very well with the interpretivist paradigm adopted in this study. This is what makes it relevant to recent trends in entrepreneurship research (Chinyamurindi, 2016:4; Packard, 2017:537; Rajasinghe *et al.*, 2021:1). For example, both methods offer viable design alternatives that can help build new theory on entrepreneurship across disciplines by incorporating data from the real world. Secondly, when located within a qualitative framework, both methods focus on the private, individual, and subjective lives of entrepreneurs rather than the public, general objective (idiographic, not nomothetic). Thirdly, they are specific not generalist; that is, amenable to specific description and explanation of a few people rather than many. Lastly, they are more about interpreting behaviour and meanings and intention within contexts (i.e. generalising analytically to other similar cases), rather than about predicting behaviour or generalising it to entire populations (Bell *et al.,* 2019; 22-23; Duxbury 2012:9; Clough *et al.*, 2004:97; Kikooma, 2006:55; Rae & Caswell, 2000:221).

4.3.2 Case Studies and Multiple Case Studies

The multiple case study approach was preferred for this study because it enables the thorough, systematic investigation of in-depth data relating to various variables about individual entrepreneurs in township contexts. (Heale & Twycross, 2018:7). Yin (2003:14-15) elaborates that a case study as an empirical inquiry:

(I)nvestigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth within its real-life context, especially when … the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident … The case study inquiry … copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interests than data points, and as one result … relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion, and as another result … benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis (Yin, 2003:14-15).

According to Urbinati *et al.* (2019:10), multiple-case study research yields more insights and stronger evidence than single case studies as it allows for a more comprehensive exploration of research questions and theory. It is also easier to replicate than single case studies. Approaches to case study research vary, based on different schools of thought or paradigms (e.g. positivist or interpretivist). This adds to the confusion of how they should be conducted and analysed. Generally, positivist approaches are quantitative-deductive, whereas constructivist and interpretive approaches tend to be qualitative-inductive (Harrison *et al.*, 2017:13-14; Yasir, 2019:1; Yazan, 2015:148-150).

4.3.3   Phenomenon Investigated (UoA)/Unit of Observation

The distinction between a unit of observation and a unit of analysis is not always clear (Sedgwick 2014:1; Yin 2003:26). In this research, individual entrepreneurs were

regarded both as the unit of observation or measurement and the unit of analysis or level of analysis (Babbie & Huitt, 1979:87-91; Bell *et al.*, 2019:71; Sedgwick 2014:1). Yin's distinction between holistic and embedded designs is helpful in differentiating between units of observation and analysis. (Yin, 2003:40). This is shown in Figure 4.2 below.

Figure 4.2: Yin's Basic Types of Case Study Designs
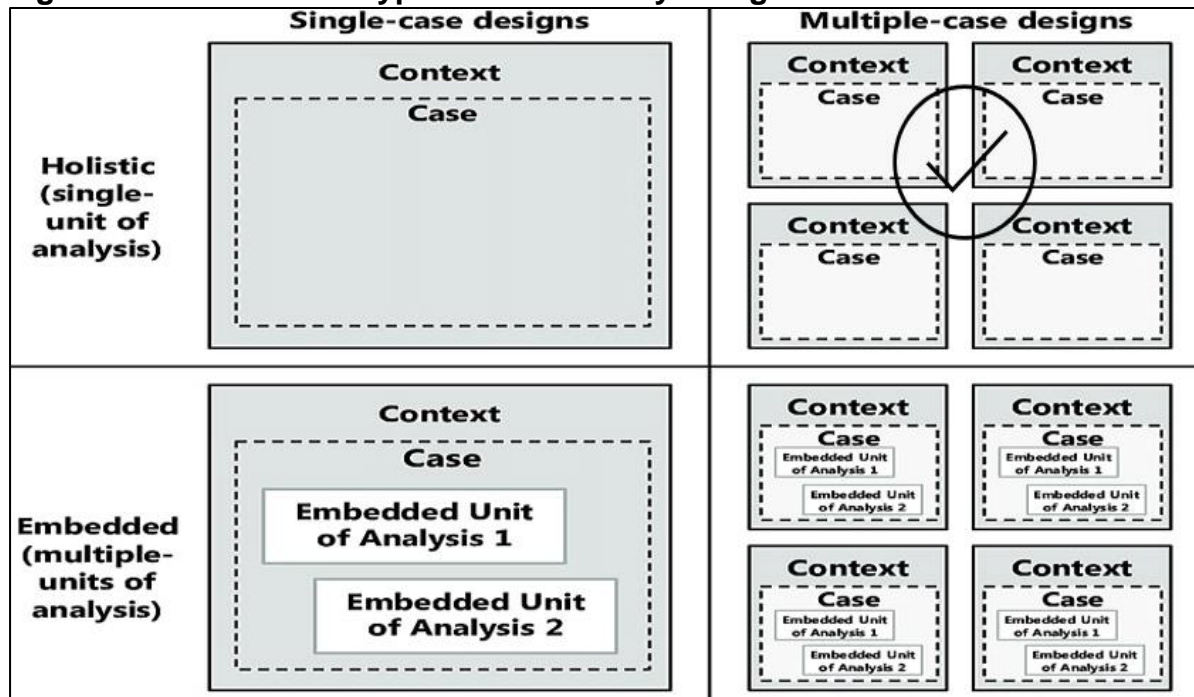
Source: **https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Basis-Types-of-Design-for-Case-Studies-Yin-2014_fig11_321358935)**

The diagram shows that one can have either single or multiple units of analysis with a single case or among multiple cases. Thus, the study opted for a holistic multiple case study design with singular units of analysis (Barkley, 2006:3; Harrison *et al.*, 2017:13-14; Yin, 2003:40). This fits with the top right quadrant ticked in the diagram above. The study comprised six cases of successful Gauteng entrepreneurs who operated businesses in township settings and had lived experience of township life. Further details of the sampling procedure and participant selection criteria research participants are provided in Section 4.4 below.

4.3.4   Narrative Inquiry

Through narrative inquiry, I was able to tap into the participants' lived experience through a guided meaning-making process (Hickson, 2016:282; Rantakari and Vaara, 2017:5-6). Narratives serve the rhetorical function of supporting certain dominating ideals while subverting others, thus empowering individuals to frame and articulate their own realities, thus making sense of them (Connelly and Clandinin, 1990:2; Jones, 2017:328). Simply put, a narrative is a depiction of an event or set of events in the form a story. The story comprises two parts: the story itself and its narration. Storytelling typically follows a story line or plot with a beginning, middle and ending, which enables the narrator to make sense of events as they occurred over time (Rantakari and Vaara, 2017:6).

As with case studies, there is no single way of conducting narrative inquiry as it is a diverse and complex field (Birch, 2011:34). The term narrative itself is described as polysemantic (i.e. having multiple meanings), which incorporates concepts like metaphors, genre and discourse (Mura & Sharif, 2017:194). While such methodological and theoretical complexities are confounding to some, they are perceived as major strengths by others (Birsch, 2011:35).

It has been established that narratives are both a phenomenon of study and a method of study. In the context of this study, the phenomenon under study is entrepreneurial success factors in township contexts and the method of obtaining insights into them is through obtaining life stories of successful township entrepreneurs themselves. Connelly and Clandinin (1990:2) explain further: "It is equally correct to say "inquiry into narrative" as it is "narrative inquiry."

Narrative names the structured quality of experience to be studied, and it names the patterns of inquiry for its study. To preserve this distinction, we use the reasonably

well-established device of calling the phenomenon "story" and the inquiry "narrative." Thus, we say that people by nature lead storied lives and tell stories of those lives, whereas narrative researchers describe such lives, collect and tell stories of them, and write narratives of experience.

This approach is suitable for settings like predominantly African townships where storytelling is a way of life. Indigenous knowledge and traditions are considered to reside in the minds of people and are typically transmitted orally (Dlamini & Ocholla, 2018:138; Ngulube, 2002:97).

4.4 Research Methods

It is important to distinguish between methodology and a method. Whereas a methodology is a theory of how research should be conducted, methods are the tools, techniques and instruments that can be used to design the study, and to collect, analyse and collate data (Bell *et al.*; 2019:35; Travers, 2001:iii). This study comprised a combination of various data collection and analysis methods provided for within qualitative, case study and narrative designs, including literature reviews, narrative interviews, document reviews and participant observations. This is also known as triangulation. Triangulation involves:

> using more than one method or source of data in the study of social phenomena.
> The triangulation metaphor is taken from navigation and military strategy, where
> it refers to the process whereby multiple reference points are used to locate an
> object's exact position (Bell *et al.*, 2019:36; 364-5).

> Triangulation can occur both within and across qualitative and quantitative
> research methodologies and at any stage of the research, be it data collection,
> analysis or interpretation (Bell *et al.*, 2019:36; 364-5). Figure 4.3 below summarises

the steps undertaken during the iterative process of implementing the research strategy.

Figure 4.3: Summary of Reiterative Data Collection and Analysis Steps
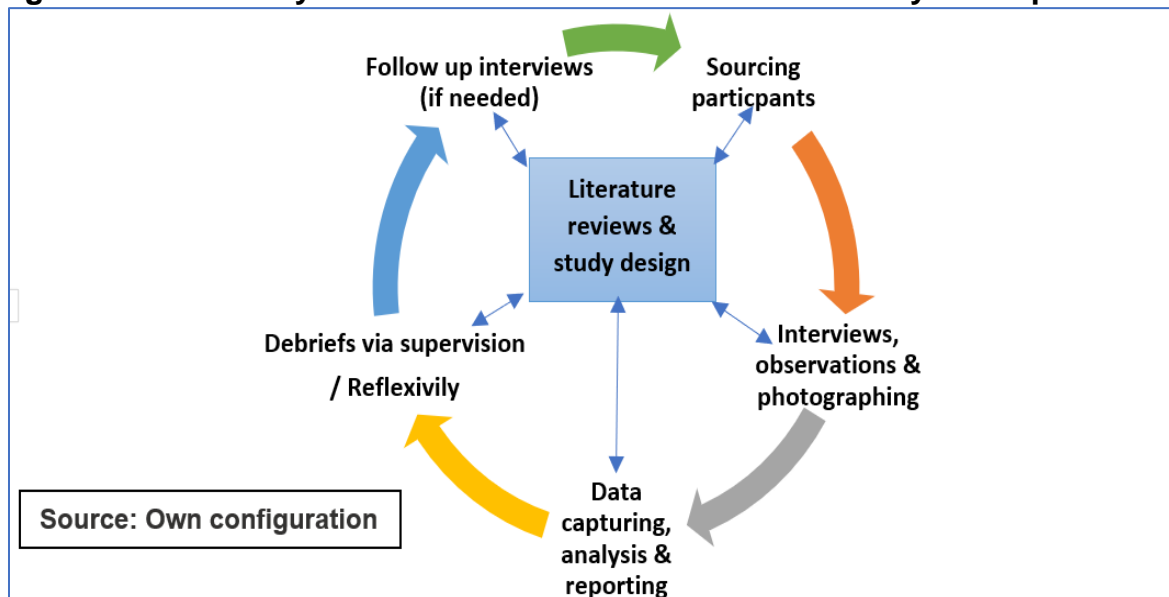
The diagram indicates several steps undertaken from the time participants were identified and interviewed, to the time the data was captured, analysed and reported. This was done concurrently with document reviews. Detailing the research steps ensures that readers can follow how the research process unfolded. It can also be used for audit trails and/or to replicate the study (Bell *et al.*, 2019:40; Linneberg & Korsgaard, 2019:6; Miles & Huberman 1994:278; Rajasinghe *et al.*, 2021:9278).

4.4.1 Sampling

In line with the practice in qualitative research, I used purposive sampling to select participants for the study (Rajasinghe *et al.*, 2021:13). Purposive sampling can be classified as non-probability sampling, since the respondents were not selected randomly (Bell *et al.*, 2019:389). The aim of purposive sampling is to obtain thorough insights into the topic of interest (Emmel, 2013:34-43; Miller *et al.*, 2016:6). Its main objective is to achieve "phenomenon representation" rather than "population representation" (Rajasinghe *et al.*, 2021:13). This explains why sampling processes in

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qualitative research tend to be more subjective (Shaheen, Pradhan & Ranajee, 2019:25).

4.4.1.1 *Sample size and data / theoretical saturation*

Emmel (2013:137-155), Fusch and Ness (2015,1408-16) and Saunders *et al.* (2018:1894-5) all grappled at length with the dilemma of sampling in qualitative research. They basically dismissed as fallacious the notion that there is a right and wrong way to determine the right sample size in qualitative research. There is no one sample size that fits all designs. A qualitative sample size is determined by the purpose of the research and the depth of information one wants to obtain from participants. Thus, Emmel (2013:141) concludes:

> Whether 200 participants or one case is chosen, this choice is made to allow for the interpretation and explaining of social processes. Cases are chosen because they contribute to creatively solving the puzzle under investigation and present as convincing a case as can be mastered with the resources to hand.

Theoretical sampling in this study was applied as the criterion for judging when to stop sampling (Emmel (2013: 150; Saunders *et al.*, 2018:1895). Attention was paid to increasing the analytical generalisability of the cases to other similar cases rather than to the total population of entrepreneurs (Alharahsheh & Pius, 2020:42). Data saturation was reached whenever it was determined that sufficient information-rich, nuanced and multi-layered data within each case was attained, and that further coding was no longer achievable. (Fusch and Ness, 2015:1408; Shaheen *et al.*, 2019:51). The above points are illustrated in Figure 4.4 below.

Figure 4.4 Qualitative Sampling Process

Note: Own configuration
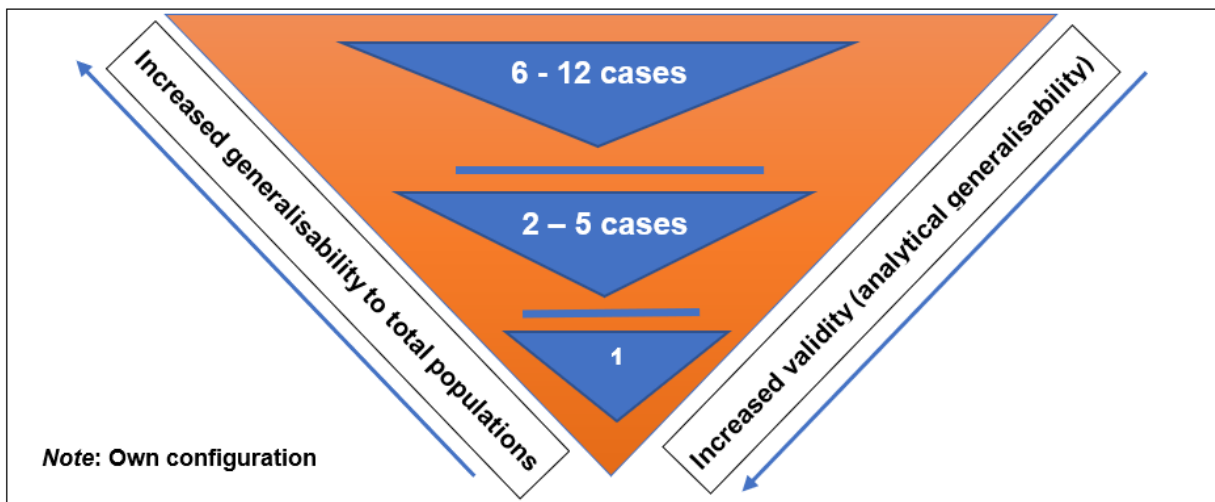
The diagram basically shows that the more cases sampled, the greater the likelihood for generalisation to wider populations. Conversely, the fewer the cases the more analytically valid the study. It is against this backdrop, that this study sampled six Gauteng township entrepreneurs operating different types of business.

4.4.1.2 Case selection criteria

According to Miller *et al.* (2016:6), it is good practice to set priori criteria for the selection of cases. However, it should be borne in mind that they only serve as guidelines in qualitative research (Shaheen *et al.*, 2019:27). The case selection criteria for this study were informed by global and local entrepreneurial success indicators and measures as deliberated upon in Chapters 2 and 3. These included the performance of the business itself. Thus, criteria such as turnover and number of employees were important considerations. Thresholds provided by legislation and industry also applied. Thus, a successful Gauteng township entrepreneur was regarded as the one who was:

- born or has lived in any South African township for a minimum of 10 years and has full appreciation of township life and dynamics both at a personal and business level

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- classified as a historically disadvantaged person (as defined in Chapter 3 and depending on their availability)

- an owner of one or more formal businesses in any sector or industry, within any Gauteng township

- having operated a business for five years or more, as longevity in business is an important factor in measuring entrepreneurship success

- operating at least one township-based business that is evidently successful and meets the thresholds set by the South African Revenue Service, the National Small Business Act and other relevant success measures (e.g. an annual turnover of R1 million or more; employs five or more people).

- operating business from a formal site (i.e. has necessary physical business premises and or equipment, or access thereto)

- compliant with applicable business regulations (e.g. registration, tax, by-laws etc.)

- formalised in terms of business management systems (e.g. financial records).

Depending on their size or specific sector (be it retail, services, manufacturing, construction, tourism, transport, or agriculture), these businesses may fit into the different categories ranging from micro, small, medium to large enterprises, as prescribed by the Department of Small Business Development (Shaheen *et al.*, 2019:110-111). Since qualitative research allows for flexibility in sampling processes, participants were not expected to meet all the criteria to a tee. Moreover, as explained earlier, the focus of the study (i.e. units of observation and analysis) was on the entrepreneurs and their personal entrepreneurial success journeys, rather than their business entities. Notwithstanding this, self-employed businesspeople who typically

run informal, survivalist businesses were not considered because they did not meet many of the selection criteria outlined above.

4.4.1.3 Sourcing of participants

The difficulty of securing interviews with entrepreneurs was compounded by the practical constraints imposed by COVID-19 restrictions. Therefore, I had to be both flexible and innovative in sourcing research participants. Typically, reputable business magazines, television shows and entrepreneur award programmes are used as sources of information on potential respondents to ensure the suitability of respondents in entrepreneurial research (Chinyamurindi, 2016:2; Fisher *et al*., 2014:483; Rae & Caswell, 2000:222). I also used snowballing sampling techniques to reach respondents who might not be well known or easily accessible (Bell *et al*., 2019:390).

Another method I used was to ask key informants such as community gatekeepers and influential community members for leads as they are usually more abreast of socio-economic developments in their localities. Gatekeepers in this study did not play their classical role of granting or not permitting interviews as outlined in the literature (see for example McFadyen & Rankin 2016:84-85 and Singh & Wassenaar, 2016:42). They merely facilitated access to potential respondents by suggesting potential participants, pointing me to existing businesses in their communities, introducing me and helping to explain the purpose and scope of the research to interested parties. To supplement these methods, I obtained referrals about potential participants from my own personal networks such as family members, friends and professional associates.

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4.4.1.4 Profiles of research participants

Based on their wide-ranging personal profiles, the study was able to meet its case selection criteria. The sample of cases represented different African ethnicities, languages, genders and business types, which captured the essence of the entrepreneurial community of Gauteng townships. Most importantly, the sample comprised entrepreneurs who for the most part had operated successful businesses in Gauteng townships, which was a pertinent research objective. Six participants were interviewed in total (four males and two females). Each participant was given a number based on the sequence of interviews (i.e. P1 to P6). Table 4.1 below summarises the profiles of the participants in terms of their age, gender, education, township, type of business, family status, ethnicity, religious background and gross annual income.

Table 4.1: Profiles of Participants

Participant	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6
Case No	1	2	3	4	5	6
Gender	M	M	M	F	M	F
Age (then)	40	55	41	61	53	45
Highest Education	Degree in IT	Diploma in Policing	Grade 9	Grade 10	Diplomas in Business Management	Diplomas in management
Business training – short courses	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Township area of origin / business	Mapetla, Soweto	Mohlakeng		Zola, Soweto	Meadowlands, Soweto	Katlehong
Type of Business (es)	Restaurant, Bakery, Butchery, Car wash, Auto centre, Student residence	Residential property rentals	Supermarket & Liquor Store Rental property (franchisee-owned)	Clothing Manufacturing & Minibus Taxi Transport	Car rentals	Supermarket & Liquor Store Rental property (franchisee-owned)
Family status	Married 2 with kids	Married 2 with kids	Single with 1 kid	Married with 1 kid	Married with 2 kids	Married with 4 kids

Participant	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6
Ethnicity / Culture	Sotho	Pedi	Zulu (paternal) & Tswana (maternal)	Zulu	Tswana	Zulu (Adopted Sotho through marriage)
Religion / church	Catholic & Traditional African	Zion Christian Church	African Pentecostal	Methodist	Formerly Lutheran – now leans toward Traditional African	Jehovah's Witness
Estimated gross annual income	± R1 million (per business)	± R1 million	±R1 million	±R4-5 million	Fluctuated minR800k for sewing only	± R15 million

Source: **Own compilation**

The table reflects that the participants hailed from Soweto, (3), Mohlakeng (2), and Katlehong (1) townships in Gauteng province. P3, P5 and P6, were still living in their respective townships, while P1, P2 and P4 had relocated to suburbs. Their ages ranged from 40 to 61 years, with the eldest being P4, a female participant. Most of the participants (4) identified themselves with Sotho ethnic groups (Sotho, Pedi, Tswana) while two were Ngunis (i.e. *amaZulu*). Only P3 was still single and was living with his daughter and his mother. The rest of the participants were married and were living with their spouses, children and/or relatives. All participants were affiliated to a church, but P5 was the only one who claimed that he was not a regular church goer. Regarding education, P1 possessed the highest qualification among the participants, namely a degree in IT. All participants except P3 had previous formal working experience, but not necessarily in their business field. P1 was the only one who had pursued an IT venture immediately after working for an IT company. The table also shows the types of businesses participants operated, which ranged from retail, auto, services, clothing

manufacturing to residential, business, and car rental services. Their reported gross annual income ranged between R800 000 and R15 million.

4.4.2   Data Collection Methods

While there are general guidelines for conducting fieldwork, it should be emphasised that no matter how similar their methods, no two qualitative studies are exactly the same. Implementation varies, depending on the nature of the research topic and the environment within which each study takes place (Ramagloul & Tsang, 2017:15; Saunders, 2016:124). This section details the data collection methods used in this study, namely literature reviews, narrative/life-story interviews, document reviews and observations.

4.4.2.1 Literature reviews

According to Bell *et al*. (2019:93) and Snyder (2019:334) a comprehensive literature review in qualitative research should simultaneously ensure coherence and problematising while it addresses the topic at hand. A literature review also assists in clarifying the research problem and designing the data collection analysis tools (Linneberg & Korsgaard, 2019).

This research began with an extensive literature review, whose purpose was to further develop the theoretical framework for understanding entrepreneurial success in township settings, and to inform the design of research instruments. Various entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial success theories and models were examined at length. Another major focus of the literature review was the context of entrepreneurship in townships and the various socio-economic factors facilitating and inhibiting it. This also included a review of literature on socio-cultural factors that influence success in a township setting such as the family, culture, friends and social groups, religion, and political history. Further research was also conducted on

qualitative research methodology, narrative inquiry, and the case study method to enhance the design of the study.

4.4.2.2 Narrative/life-story interviews

In keeping with case studies, narrative inquiries and qualitative research methods, multiple in-depth, face-to-face and/or telephonic audio-recorded narrative/life story interviews were conducted with participants, using a semi-structured interviewing schedule (Bell *et al*., 2019:211; Jones, 2017:328; Meyers, 2008:97-98). The objective of the narrative interviews (also known as conversational interviews) was to obtain first-person, detailed accounts of events and experiences. Participants were asked to tell their life stories from the beginning, chronologically detailing their journeys towards entrepreneurial success (Birch 2011:42-43; Brannen, 2013:2; Larty & Hamilton, 2011:225). "The technique derives its label from the Latin word *narrare,* to report, to tell a story" (Jovchelovitch & Bauer, 2000:57).

The topics covered in the interviewing schedule included narration of the participant's life story from childhood to the present (see Appendix 3). Sub-topics included their family and educational background, employment history, how they started running business and the status of their businesses. They were also asked about their views on entrepreneurship, entrepreneurial success, and their experience of living and operating businesses in townships. Another major topic was their thoughts on what role, if any, was played by different social and cultural factors in their success (i.e. family, friends and reference groups, culture, religion and political history).

All first interviews were conducted face-to-face at the venue convenient for the participants (e.g. business site, home or remote office). COVID-19 protocols such as

wearing a mask, sanitising and social distancing were observed. "The length of first interviews ranged from 105 minutes (1h45m) to 300 minutes (5 hours) depending on each person's story and time constraints. Briefer follow-up interviews ranging between 15 and 60 minutes were also conducted with each participant post the initial analysis phase to confirm and/or add more information. Depending on the availability of participants and the amount of information gaps to be filled, follow-up interviews were either held face-to-face or telephonically. Additionally, approximately 12 hours was spent on photographing the business sites and/or sourcing images or documents to enhance their profiles. These long and detailed sessions were necessary for the collection of thick and rich data that facilitated theoretical saturation (Fusch & Ness, 2015:1408; Saunders *et al.*, 2018:1895).

4.4.2.3 Observations

Observations are often used in case studies to support other data-gathering methods, such as interviews. Their aim is to gain deeper insights into participants' life-worlds. Levels of immersion by the researcher vary from research to research, and they can either be completely, moderately or actively involved or become strictly observers (Jorgensen, 1989:6; Moser & Korstjens, 2018:12). In this study, I used observations as a means of verification of the existence the businesses that the participants were narrating. They took place during interviews with participants and afterwards when I took photographs and interacted with people in the participants' world such as staff, family members and/or friends and associates. The participants typically introduced me to their significant others, such as spouses and children, which also enabled me to observe their family interactions. The orientation to business operations while taking photographs allowed me to gain further understanding about how they accessed or utilised their social networks in their day-to-day relations with

customers, suppliers, and other stakeholders. Though they were relatively short (i.e. ranging between an hour and five hours), observations focused on uncovering, accessing and revealing the meanings the participants attached to their journeys towards entrepreneurial success from a bystander's perspective. This accords with the tenets of interpretivism (Bell *et al.*, 2019:31; 558).

4.4.2.4 Document reviews

Where available, I collected and reviewed biographical materials profiling research participants and their successes in business. This included curriculum vitae (CVs), business profiles, photographs, magazine articles and videos available in hard copy or online. I used these documents to augment information provided during the narrative interviews rather than as "texts" to be analysed separately (Bell *et al.*, 2019:500). For example, CVs and company profiles were used to confirm specific dates of completion of courses, registration of companies, names of institutions and to verify spellings of names where applicable. I also used photographs to illustrate participants' descriptions of notable features of their businesses.

4.4.3 Data Capturing, Analysis and Presentation Methods

The steps I undertook in data collection, analysis and reporting were in line with the approach adopted in the study, as advocated by, among others, Chalmers and Shaw (2015), Crafford (2015), Packard (2017), Rajasinghe Aluthgama and Mulholland (2021). According to Cresswell (2013:180), the three main activities involved in qualitative research data analysis are: preparing and organising data (e.g. text or images); reducing it into themes through coding and condensing the codes; and, finally, presenting it in a discussion or in figures or tables. Unfortunately, the sheer volume of options for data analysis can be very daunting for qualitative researchers. Moreover, within the sphere of interpretive research, it is acknowledged that data

processes are subjective. Thus, balancing meticulousness with creativity poses a challenge (Larty & Hamilton, 2011:226; Rajasinghe *et al.*, 2021:13; Linneberg & Korsgaard, 2019:16). Nevertheless, these limitations should not be used as excuses for the lack of rigor; there are existing models at researchers' disposal (Braun & Clarke, 2021:13). In alignment with the discussion in Section 4.4.4 on the purpose of qualitative data collection and analysis methodologies, greater emphasis was placed on the words, opinions and meanings respondents attach to phenomena and their realities rather than on establishing causal relationships between variables, numbers and frequencies (Bell *et al.*, 2019:355-375; Shani *et al.*, 2020:64).

4.4.4   Analytical Framework

The analytic framework was underpinned by the seven broad categories of socio-cultural factors identified in Chapter 2 in terms of the role they play in entrepreneurial success. They were used for capturing and analysing the first case and then refined with subsequent cases. These were family; friends and other reference groups; social media, culture, religion; political history and other social factors. To the extent that they provide specific benefits for entrepreneurs, these socio-cultural factors were characterised as or equated to social networks. The research focused on the different types of material and non-material (intangible) resources or support township entrepreneurs derived from these networks. The negative impact of these socio-cultural factors was also taken into account (refer to Figure 2.1 in Chapter 2).

4.4.4.1 Data capturing and processing

I personally audio recorded and transcribed interviews to ensure that linguistic features of conversations were properly transcribed and translated (i.e. in the case of African and township lingo phrases). This also enabled me to familiarise myself with the data, to reflect on how each interview transpired, and to develop ideas on how to

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interpret the data (Bauer & Gaskell, 2000:69; Jones, 2017:329). I utilised Microsoft Word for data capturing and storage, coding/theme development, data analysis and the preparation of illustrative diagrams.

4.4.4.2 Coding and theme generation

In this study, I used coding and theme generation as interchangeable terms and processes. Activities involved searching for recurrences of sequences of texts in the data within and across cases and relating them to relevant theory in order to answer the research questions (Bell *et al.*, 2019:12; Elliott, 2018:2850; Locke, Feldman & Golden-Biddle, 2020:3; Vaughn & Turner, 2016:45). The advantages of coding include providing comprehensive and deep insights into the data, making data easily accessible and retrievable, facilitating data sorting and structuring, ensuring validity and transparency, and giving research participants a voice (Linneberg & Korsgaard, 2019:7-9).

I applied coding and theme development both inductively and deductively in the study. Inductive strategies are usually based on grounded theory, wherein "bottom up" techniques (also known as emergent coding) are used to identify codes and develop themes directly from the data. By contrast, deductive strategies are regarded as "top down" methods (also known as priori coding). Previously identified categories and concepts (e.g. based on literature reviews, theories and the categories in the interviewing schedule) are relied upon as a framework for coding and theme development (Blair, 2015:16; Linneberg & Korsgaard, 2019:12-17; Locke *et al.*, 2020:3; Miller *et al.*, 2016:8). The approach I adopted towards these processes was thus a combination of both strategies, which is also a common practice in qualitative research (Elliot, 2018:2851; Vaismoradi & Snelgrove, 2019:3). Hence it is referred to as abductive or blended and it involves cycling back and forth iteratively between data

and theory. Abduction enabled me to factor in puzzles or surprises in the data (Bell *et al.*, 2019:24; Linneberg & Korsgaard, 2019:13; Locke *et al.*, 2020:17).

During the first round of coding, I used the "lean coding" (Cresswell, 2013:184) and "organising to code" (Locke *et al.*, 2020:6) techniques interchangeably. This involved identifying a few categories of social and cultural factors based on the interviewing schedule and literature review and then going through each transcript to code across cases until saturation was reached. For example, this meant devising codes in each category (e.g. family or culture) for the roles played by different individuals or groups in each participant's journey towards entrepreneurial success. This was coupled with memoing, which entailed making notes and memos as I went through the data (Locke *et al.*, 2020:6). In this way, I was able to incorporate the social network analysis by paying special attention to specific persons and structures/organisations that participants identified in their narratives (McKether & Freise, 2019:5-6). The initial list of categories was based on the interviewing schedule. More were added as the analysis progressed and new information was identified.

For data interpretation, I prepared narrative summaries detailing each participant's entrepreneurial success journey for each case, using data excerpts to illustrate key categories. This helped me to order and structure the information and to provide detailed descriptions of what I picked up from participants' stories. I then applied entrepreneurship theories and models and social network theory in the light of the findings, highlighting emerging gaps, surprises and puzzles (Cresswell, 2013:184; Gibbs, 2012:21-22; Locke *et al.*, 2020:6). I employed these methods both within and across the cases to identify thematic patterns, similarities and differences (Wolgemuth, 2015:358).

4.4.4.3 Data analysis and interpretation

In this study, data analysis involved narrative analysis (incorporating coding) and social network analysis within and across the cases (Harrison *et al.*, 2017:3; Wolgemuth., 2015:358; Yasir *et al*, 2019:7). As already stated, I regarded each entrepreneur (case) both as a unit of observation and unit of analysis (Bell *et al.*, 2019:71; Sedgwick 2014:1). The first case can be regarded as a pilot case since I used it to fine tune the research design (Yin 2003:79). For example, upon transcribing the first interview, I, together with my supervisors, reviewed the entire interviewing process to confirm what worked well and what needed to be changed in terms of the interview schedule and interviewing techniques. I also used the first case to develop a coding and analytic framework which I refined as each subsequent case was worked through.

4.4.4.4 Narrative analysis

According to Reissman (2005:2), narrative analysis (NA) is a family of approaches used in the human sciences to deal with diverse kinds of texts with a common storied form. It is a frequently used in qualitative research as being compatible with the analysis of case studies (Bell *et al.*, 2019:66). In tandem with the interpretivist-constructionist paradigms, NA is not a mere description of text, but entails interpretation of data and how individuals construe their realities within specific socio-cultural contexts (Miller *et al.*, 2016:9; Mura & Sharif, 2016:195).

To this end, Reissman's (2005:2-6) four typologies of NA assist in handling narrative content (thematic, structural, relational and performance). Thematic narrative analysis (TNA), according to Reissman (2005:2), emphasises the content of a text and on the "what" is said (the told) more than the "how" it is said (the telling). It is useful for

theorising across cases. It is underpinned by a philosophy of language as a route to meaning.

Structural narrative analysis (SNA) focuses more strictly on the form of storytelling and the ways in which the storyteller makes the story more persuasive. Unlike in thematic analysis, language is not just a resource in narrative analysis, but is the very subject of investigation.

In interactional narrative analysis (INA), storytelling is a joint process of meaning-making whereby the storyteller and the listener create meaning collaboratively. Like conversation analysis, this method pays attention to verbal and non-verbal cues transpiring during the interview.

Lastly, performance narrative analysis (PNA) involves treating the storytelling event as a performance and incorporates the "doing" part. In other words, the dramatic aspects are also analysed. Reissman (2005:2) acknowledges that the four archetypes are not mutually exclusive and can be combined in practice.

Bearing this in mind, this research relied on TNA as a core method, complemented by the three other analytical methods (Miller, 2016:8; Reissman, 2005:2). I approached the analysis of narratives in each case methodically. The focus was on keeping the whole story intact while interpreting it, hence as much detail was preserved in long sequences. My aim was to present a coherent story, balancing between analysis and excerpts. In keeping with the interpretivist paradigm adopted, I constantly checked with the participants to see what was meaningful in their narratives within their socio-cultural contexts (Larty & Hamilton, 2011:225; Mura & Sharif 2016:195). I also paid attention to aspects like language, symbols and emotion (Reissman, 2005:2; Miller *et al.*, 2016:9; Rajasinghe *et al.*, 2021:13; Vaismoradi & Snelgrove, 2019:3).

Social network analysis

McKether and Freise (2019:2) define social network analysis (SNA) as "a methodological approach that examines the relationships (referred to as links, edges or ties) an individual actor or actors (referred to as nodes, alters or vertices) have with other individuals, groups, or organisations in an environment". SNA is compatible with narrative analysis and case study analysis since it allows for different relationships within each case to be explored in more depth and be depicted in terms of their strength, direction, and complexity (Luxton & Sbicca; 2020:4; McKether & Freise, 2019:26). Traditionally, SNA has been associated with quantitative research methods, but there is an effort to fuse these with qualitative methods (Nooraie *et al.*, 2020:113; Williams & Shepherd, 2017:269).

In this study the method of coding and analysis was kept as simple as possible and linked to other analytical processes. My main focus was on highlighting the benefits that accrued from participants' ties in their social and cultural networks as elaborated in their stories (e.g. information, capital skills and support, protection and legitimacy provided by families and friends or derived from religious and cultural practices). The negative influences of socio-cultural factors were also identified. This involved identifying prominent role players in each network, composing clusters, and asking more questions about the nature and type of each tie. In SNA, the links among networks are often equated with graphs in as far as they show connections between vertices and edges across symmetric and asymmetric relationships (Tabassum *et al.*, 2018:4). To stay true to the principles of qualitative research, I focussed more on the nature and quality of networks and actors rather than their quantities (Bell *et al.*, 2019:355-375; Nooraie *et al.*, 2020:114; Shani *et al.*, 2020:64).

4.4.4.5 *Writing up and presentation of findings.*

Chapters 5 and 6 cover the findings of the study, focusing on the within-case and across-case analyses respectively. For each case, biographic summaries are provided. This is followed by detailed analyses of the role played by socio-cultural factors in entrepreneurial success, considering relevant entrepreneurship theories and models and using substantive excerpts from the data as evidence. Thereafter, the social networks and key actors are identified through graphic displays to underscore their roles and the benefits accrued (and/or related drawbacks) from their relationships with each participant, Finally, in Chapter 6, the cases are compared for the purpose of identifying their similarities and differences, and emerging theories or models of understanding the role played by socio-cultural factors in entrepreneurial success.

4.5 My Reflections on the Research Experience

The fieldwork took place between May 2020 and December 2021. As discussed in Chapter 3, this was a most difficult period for entrepreneurs, not only in Gauteng townships but all over the world. Many businesses were struggling to keep their businesses in operation, let alone make a profit while navigating a pandemic. To add fuel to the fire, during the month of July 2021, South Africa experienced unrest that saw levels of looting and vandalism on a scale never seen in recent history. Township economies were the hardest hit by these events (Ajam, 2020:1; Torrington, 2020:4). Covid-19 and disaster management restrictions also had a big impact on the availability of respondents. Some were too busy to make time for interviews (e.g. in the funeral services industries). Successful female participants were also hard to find.

Regarding the actual interviews, I was able to establish rapport with participants. This was facilitated by my knowledge of township life and culture, having grown up in one myself. My familiarity with township languages (i.e. African and colloquial) also

enabled me to understand more easily the way participants express themselves. Nonetheless, I was also made aware of my own limited understanding of African culture and the influence it had on the participants' entrepreneurial experiences.

Although I was not new to interviewing, I still needed to refine my skills in narrative inquiry. For example, during the interview I had to delicately balance between not interrupting the participant's life story-telling flow and ensuring that they did not sway off topic. Overall, I was very fortunate to have two supervisors who specialise in quantitative and qualitative methods, which helped to balance the pragmatic aspects of academic research with staying true to the qualitative methodology. Taking each stage of the research process in my stride, case by case, helped me not to feel overwhelmed, particularly important during the data processing and analysis phases. Coupled with supervision sessions, practical suggestions from the literature helped me to arrive at my own decisions about how to code and develop themes that are relevant to the research topic. I was also able to resist obsessing over developing a litany of unnecessary and superficial codes and themes.

Finally, as mentioned before, even though my respondents can hardly be defined as poor by South African standards and based on the selection criteriaof the study, I was always conscious of the power dynamics at play when conducting research in the poor environment of townships. I used my affinity with the culture and my command of various African languages as tools to establish rapport with community members.

4.5.1 Research Design Quality Criteria

Qualitative researchers are continually seeking ways of ensuring that good, credible research is produced, as seen by the efforts to develop alternative quality criteria for qualitative research (Crook *et al.*, 2010; Golafshani, 2003; Healy & Perry, 2000; Kikooma 2010; Leitch, Hill & Harrison 2013; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Olson *et*

al., 2016; Rajasinghe *et al.*, 2021:9). To this end, as measures of quality, alternative concepts of authenticity and trustworthiness are preferred over the usual ones of validity and reliability. The table below exemplifies these important distinctions and how these quality considerations were accounted for in the study.

Table 4.2: Design Quality Criteria

Issue	Qualitative term	Quantitative term
1. Do the findings of the study make sense and can they be linked to theoretical ideas developed?	Credibility / Authenticity	Internal validity
2. Can the findings be transferred to other similar conditions?	Transferability / Fittingness	External validity
3. If the same study were to be replicated with the same cases, using the same procedures, would it bear similar results?	Dependability	Internal Reliability
4. Has the researcher acted in good faith and with relative neutrality?	Confirmability	Objectivity / External Reliability
5. What value does the study add for participants, researchers and other consumers?	Action Orientation	Utilisation / Application
Sources: Bell *et al.* (2019:40); Linneberg & Korsgaard (2019:6); Miles & Huberman (1994:278-280); Rajasinghe *et al.* (2021:9); Yin (2003:34-38)		

Table 4.2 identifies each of the key quality assurance questions in terms of credibility/authenticity, transferability/fittingness, dependability, confirmability and action orientation, and their counterpart in quantitative terms. A discussion of how the qualitative criteria were applied in this study ensues below.

The measures undertaken in the study to ensure credibility/authenticity included, among others; the triangulation of data sources through interviews, documents and observations detailed above; providing detailed, content rich, meaningful and thick descriptions of individual cases (i.e. in Chapter 5); linking primary data to emerging theory (e.g. cross case analysis – Chapter 6); clarifying the rules for the confirmation of propositions (e.g. in the theoretical framework in Chapter 2); confirming conclusions

reached with participants during and/or post interviews, and acknowledging negative, contradictory or inconclusive evidence and providing plausible explanations. Additionally, the assumptions made were by and large accurate, for example about the role of socio-cultural factors in entrepreneurial success.

To meet the criteria of transferability/fitness, I clearly outlined the characteristics of the original sample, persons, settings and processes in the methodology, including participation selection criteria. I used the typology of socio-cultural factors to increase analytical generalisability; thick descriptions of each case enable transferability and appropriateness in other settings. The study can thus be replicated in similar township settings.

The third criteria of dependability I met through making sure that research questions were clear, that the study design was congruent, and that my role and status as a researcher on site were explicitly described (i.e. through an introductory letter)[7]. I clearly described my underlying research paradigms and analytic constructs in chapters 2 and 4 and collected data within the framework of the research design and questions for the sake of consistency.

In order to meet the criterion of confirmability, I explicitly detailed the research methods and procedures to provide a complete picture of the research. This included a sequential description of the data collection and analysis processes provided (Figure 4.3). My assumptions, values and biases were made explicit, and the conclusions of the study were explicitly linked to data (i.e. in Chapter 7). In addition, I retained the records of the study methods and procedures in the appendices for possible audit trails and or re-analysis.

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[7] See Appendix 4.

Finally, I met the criteria of action orientation through producing this thesis, which also provides pragmatic recommendations for researchers, policy makers and entrepreneurs. The thesis also captures the lessons participants shared with others in relation to achieving entrepreneurial success.

4.6 Chapter Summary

An approach to any study is determined by the nature of the topic. It is influenced by the philosophical beliefs of each researcher in relation to the nature of the phenomenon under study, how knowledge should be generated and the best means of investigating that phenomenon. This study adopted an   interpretivist ontology and epistemology, a value-laden axiology and a qualitative methodology. I argued that in South Africa, qualitative methodologies have the potential to offer greater insights into entrepreneurship, especially in under-researched topics like entrepreneurial success in township contexts.

The study began with an extensive review of the literature on entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial success in order to develop a suitable theoretical framework. The context within which township entrepreneurial success occurs was also reviewed. Six case studies of successful township entrepreneurs, who were selected according to specific criteria, constituted the sample of the study. The data collection triangulated three techniques, that is, narrative face-to-face interviews based on open-ended interviewing schedules, observations and the collection of relevant documents about the entrepreneurs.

Data analysis included thematic analysis and social network analysis, which involved coding responses according to themes and providing detailed thick descriptions of participants' accounts. Finally, I consider the study is considered to

have met qualitative ethical criteria such as authenticity, transferability, dependability, confirmability and action orientation.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH FINDINGS
PART 1: WITHIN-CASE ANALYSIS

5.1   Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the first part of the findings of the study, focusing on the analysis of individual cases, included in the sample of six entrepreneurs in Sections 5.2 to 5.7. Each participant's case was given a number (i.e. Case 1 – P1, Case 2 – P2, Case 3 –P3, Case 4 – P4, Case 5 – P5, Case 6 – P6). Each entrepreneur is profiled in terms of their biographical information. Thereafter, their understanding of the concepts of entrepreneur, entrepreneurship, and entrepreneurial success are discussed. This is followed by summaries of their journeys towards entrepreneurial success, including images of their business. A case-by-case analysis of the role played by different socio-cultural factors in entrepreneurial success in the light of relevant and emerging entrepreneurship theory and models then follows. The interpretation of findings is substantiated by quotations and excerpts from interviews, biographic information and other evidence from the field such as photographic images and observations. A summary and conclusion are provided per case, as well as concluding remarks for the chapter in Section 5.8.

As discussed in Chapters 2 and 4, seven broad categories of socio-cultural factors were investigated in terms of the role they play in entrepreneurial success, namely: family; friends and other reference groups; social media; culture, religion; political history; other social factors. To the extent that they provide specific benefits for entrepreneurs, these socio-cultural factors were characterised as or equated to social networks or social capital. The research focused on the different types of direct and indirect support, as well as material and non-material (intangible) resources or support township entrepreneurs derived from these networks. This included

information, knowledge, skills, networks and markets. Socio-cultural factors that impacted negatively on entrepreneurial success were also identified (see Table 1.4 and Figure 2.4). The positive and negative impact of these socio-cultural factors are illustrated graphically at the end of each case. The examples provided are not intended to be exhaustive.

5.2   Case Analysis: P1

5.2.1   Interview details

- Date: 24 August 2020
- Length: 75 minutes
- Venue: Participant's office in Midrand
- Photographs taken in Mapetla and Phiri, Soweto

5.2.2   Biographic Profile

- Participant's nickname: P1
- Gender: Male
- Age at time of interview: 41
- Place of birth: Mapetla, Soweto
- Languages: Sotho and English
- Ethnicity (tribe):   Sotho
- Education: Bachelor of Science in Information Technology at the Midrand Graduate Institute (formerly Midrand University)
- Working experience: Internship in food retail and ICT technician
- Business experience: Owner-partner of Quarphix IT company
- Other business training: Small business management certifications
- Marital status & own family: Married with two children then aged 5 and 3 years old

5.2.3   Information on operational township business(es)

- Township(s):   Mapetla and Phriri, Soweto, Gauteng
- Year started: 2015
- Type of business: Multiple (6)
- Main products/services: Restaurant, Bakery, Butchery, Liquor store, Car Wash, Student Accommodation, Auto mechanics
- Number of employees: 90 in township businesses only
- Gross annual turnover: +R6 million per annum

5.2.4 Meaning of Entrepreneurship and Entrepreneurial Success

5.2.4.1 Entrepreneur(ship)

P1 did not immediately have a definition of an entrepreneur or entrepreneurship. Neither did he have a concept that captures the phrase in his home language of Sotho. During the discussion on culture (see below), he explained that wealth creation was understood as a communal effort. In relation to entrepreneurial attributes, he saw aspects like risk-taking and dealing with uncertainty and failure as part of his mindset.

> Those are always there … I've never heard of a business that is fool proof … Every business, it has risk elements, that one need[s] to be aware of and make sure that at least you mitigate that. And I think by element of failure, you need to have it also so that when you hit that wall, you don't get disappointed, you know. It's more like you expected it … and see how you can be able to make it.

He said he experienced failure when he first ventured into business, in that he had planned for things and invested capital, but the plans did not materialise on time. He said he overcame those challenges with the help of his mentor, who was currently based in China. His approach was to learn from such experiences. He emphasised the role of one's passion in dealing with ongoing business challenges:

> I think first, it's first the passion. Because … with the passion … you are clear in terms of what you want. It's not a matter of you're going to … find someone else's approval … You can fail three, five times – ten times, but you know that's what you want and that's it. And I think passion will drive you.

5.2.4.2 Entrepreneurial success

Entrepreneurial success to P1 meant more than just accumulating material wealth; it was also about the passion to develop other people in the community. His view was that entrepreneurial success was not limited to economic outcomes but included personal fulfillment and impacting positively on society:

> I think before the money, before the assets … I think, and I believe that success is it's what makes your passion come alive … the passion that I have … it's seeing people do good, be it job creation, be it a person growing from one division [level] to the next … help them to be able to put bread on the table for family … I think for me, it's what fulfills me … Success is, it's us growing together, not individually growing alone.

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Similarly, he measured his entrepreneurial success in terf ms othe impact he made in his community, not just meeting his own needs:

> So yes … truth be told, we live in the world whereby we need the money to activate a few things, and you need assets … yes but first and foremost, for me, it's those, the job creation, and the development of people, that's what I use to measure my success … I always tell people that if I could … I would make sure that in my community, nobody goes home without bread.

P1 attributed his entrepreneurial success to multiple factors, notably his ancestors, family, the community and mentorship. They are discussed in detail in the sections below. Later in the interview he added that education was also important:

> Look I did IT but look at me today. I'm in the hospitality … I'm in the Auto industry. So, I think that the education played a role because there's certain aspects of business that you learn … that you then use in the current business that you have.

Further exploration of the interface between his culture and religion as the interview progressed revealed profound insights into the significant role they played in his journey towards entrepreneurial success. It thus made sense when he later hastened to correct the chronology of the importance of each factor:

> Hmmm, look family, that's number one. OK, maybe let me start this way. It's my ancestors… my family, it's the community that played a big role and it's the mentorship that one is getting.

5.2.5 Journey Towards Entrepreneurial Success

P1 was born in 1980 in Mapetla, Soweto. He attended nursery school at the Harrison Brown Day Nursery and completed primary education at the Mabewana Primary and a DEODI private school in Mapetla, Soweto. He started his secondary education at St Martin's Catholic School in Orlando West, Soweto, and successfully matriculated at Immaculata High School in Diepkloof, Zone 2, also in Soweto. After graduating with a degree in Information, Communication and Technology (ICT) from the Midrand Graduate Institute in Midrand, he served an 18-month internship at Burger King in America. Thereafter he secured a job as a technician for two years at computer shop, which was owned by his current mentor, a Chinese native. His next job was as

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an ICT technician at the Umsobomvu Youth Fund (aka NYDA). There he worked for five years and was promoted to senior management. Additionally, he completed several small business management courses. His journey as an entrepreneur began in earnest when he left the NYDA to start an ICT business with three friends. They were alumni from his university college:

> For the first 2 years we were a graphics company. We used to do like your logo designs, business cards, letterheads, websites … and then as the business progresses, we then started venturing into new sector[s]. Like for instance we started doing what they call SOP [standard operating processes] development. We started doing project management. We started doing your project office, setting up your project offices.

Despite the fact they used their own savings to start and operate the business, the four friends were highly successful, and their business grew phenomenally:

> No, we didn't have funds. We were self-funded… we went from having 2 employees to having about … I think about 30 employees.

This led the friends to diversify their products and services from graphic designs and business analysis to project management. Eventually the partners decided to go their separate ways in order to pursue their personal goals:

> You know as a person you evolve as well. You start developing individually as well … We then said to ourselves guys we need to diversify. So individually we started looking in terms of the skills we have and then just in terms of the potential of … that we have individually.

P1 started his own company in 2015, which was a one stop facility with six offerings:

> I went in for what have today what we call today Mutla Holdings … Bafokeng Corner … has … six divisions in it. We have Car Wash, we have Butchery, we have Fast Food, we have Bottle Store, we have Bakery… We have the Lounge.

During the higher levels of COVID-19 restrictions, P1 introduced an online delivery service and utilised motorbikes for that purpose. Images of the lounge, which is more of a shebeen (tavern), the motorbikes and the car wash are provided below.

Image 5.1: Bafokeng Corner Restaurant/Shebeen, Patrons and Delivery Motorbikes

Image 5.2: Bafokeng Corner Car Wash Price List and Car Wash Employee at Work

In addition to Bafokeng Corner, he also added student accommodation in Phiri, Soweto and other areas where there was a captive market.

Image 5.3: Bafokeng Corner Signage for Student Accommodation and Interior Décor in Phiri Township, Soweto

Another noteworthy addition to the P1 Holdings brand was an auto-mechanic service centre, which is situated in the neighbouring township of Phiri, Soweto. An image of the centre is shown below.

Image 5.4: Bafokeng Auto Centre in Phiri, Soweto

Beyond his township ventures, P1 had several other business interests, including in hygiene products and services, a farm and a corporate investment arm.

5.2.6   The Role of Family in Entrepreneurial Success

P1 grew up in Soweto (Mapetla). Forty years old at the time of the interview, he was the last born of three children: a brother, and a sister who died in 2012 due to an illness. He spoke highly about the influence of his family and the support they have given him throughout in his entrepreneurship journey. His family members seem to have engendered a deep interest in and orientation to entrepreneurship from a very early age, primarily because they themselves were enterprising:

> I come from an entrepreneurial family. I think entrepreneurship runs in our blood. My dad's side, which is my uncles and my aunts – all of them – they were self-starters. They had businesses, including my dad.

More directly, the accessibility of these family members seemed to have made it easier for the young and curious P1 to observe them and to acquire business skills from them:

> So, I think growing up, because I … used to visit them while they were doing their businesses, I think that's when I was able to somehow able to get the skill or understand how businesses ran. Cos I used to ask a lot.

5.2.6.1 Extended and Parental family

Based on these examples, it was clear that P1's immediate and extended family were the most important pillars in his entrepreneurial success journey. His family obviously invested very early in his career by providing him with private education in

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reputable township-based schools. Although they did not fund his business ventures, his father paid for his internship programme in America, which he said oriented him to business skills. His family placed no obligations on him to start a business or to pay them back somehow. Instead, they seemed to have expected him to join their fold, and were supportive when he finally did:

> So, I think by then one was able understand how to run a business, which ran successfully because even if when I started the support came from them. Because I remember when I was leaving my formal job, I was telling them I am starting a business. It was not a shock to them. It was nothing new. So, it was like oh OK this guy, you know, he's been in the family. He understands us. So, the support was there.

Although they did not fund his business ventures, they contributed towards his accumulation of business-related information, knowledge, skills and networks over time:

> "So, they helped me in terms of emotional [support], the knowledge, you know. So that's where … the support came from. And because already they were in businesses, as much as they were in businesses that is different to what I have now … but just in terms of the relationships and the networks they had, they helped me by just somehow connecting me or maybe say referencing [sic] me to say: hey, go look out for this guy, he can help you with … setting up an accounting system, see how his business is run, how he set up an office."

5.2.6.2 Siblings

Linked to this, P1 seemed to have benefitted from the family's long-established, strong inter-generational support system or network.

> My brother used to work with my dad as a[n] auto-mechanic. So, after my dad's passing, I worked with my brother because he was self-taught by my dad. So … when we then opened the auto centre, it was just a no-brainer for him to be able to join us, of which he is now the head of mechanics for the fixing of cars.

5.2.6.3 Immediate family: Spouse

Additionally, P1 said he was receiving emotional support from his immediate family, consisting of his wife, whom he married in 2015 and with whom he had two young children, then aged five and three years old:

> Ja, the support has been there because you know, entrepreneurship requires a lot of work. When you come home most of the time, so there's that support emotionally, you know, it has gone a long route [way].

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His wife was still working at the government organisation where they first met, but he was in the process of introducing her into the operations of his businesses.

5.2.6.4 *Ancestors*

During the discussion on culture (see below), P1 identified ancestors as significant role players in his entrepreneurial success journey. He stated that their role was to open the way (i.e. pathways to success) and mediate between him and God.

Lastly, regarding negative practices from his family that had not helped or were hindering him, P1 said his overall experience was largely positive. But he acknowledged that there were relatives who could try to discourage one:

> Sometimes there are family members that can tell you that this won't work. So, it's up to you as an individual, whether you listen to them.

5.2.7 The Role of Friends and Other Reference Groups in Success

P1 identified different categories of friends, such as acquaintances, associates, role models and social groups. He confirmed that they had each played different roles through his entrepreneurial success journey.

5.2.7.1 *Friends*

P1 described himself as a very social person, something that was a bone of contention between him and his wife:

> Ehmm, so friends. Actually, my wife, [and I] we always fight about that… We fight a lot about that. I have a lot of friends. I still believe in friendship. And friendship I think for me is one aspect I think makes me grow in business, because yes, I do get friends that give me really good advices [sic].

The fact that P1 founded his very first graphics company named Quarphix[8] with his three alumni and colleagues bore testimony to the value he placed on friendships:

> Basically, it's, we're a graphics company. Quar is four and phix is graphics. So, four guys doing graphics. So, what happened is, actually all of them were colleagues. We went to school [varsity] together and then we worked in the business together.

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[8] This spelling of Quarphix was confirmed.

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He evidently appreciated the sense of connectedness and belonging he had maintained with his four closest, lifelong friends. They offered him valuable, ideas, advice and practical help:

> I do have friends who have been throughout with me [sic] from day one… These are some of the friends that… since from day one, till today they are very supportive of my business… Every business I do whatever, they are there to be able to help out or lend me a hand ...you see, over time you see you can't always be right. What they do is that their perspective weighs a lot in terms of business because they give me other ideas that I never thought of. So, I listen to them actually quite often because some of the aspects they bring out, they really add value to the business.

He also appreciated that his closest friends kept him grounded because they did not idolise him:

> There are friends that are just you grew up with, you know. Its… they don't, they don't look at you as this entrepreneur or whatever… To them you are just a young boy that you grew up with them from the streets, you know.

Although they were not in business themselves, he still valued their input in his business matters:

> Both of them are actually they are in your normal 8 to 5, but because as much as themselves, as much as they do work, but they have aspects that which in turn can be able to help me… you need that foresight, you do.

5.2.7.2 Acquaintances versus friends

P1 also made a distinction between friends and acquaintances, based on the type and quality of their benefit to him. This accentuated the value of the intangible benefits he derived from his social networks and their positive impact on his businesses:

> You know when you grow up you meet friends every day … fortunately or unfortunately, as you grow, you get to realise that not every friend is a friend. Not in a bad way … It's just that sometimes there are friends, whereby you get into business with. There are friends that are there for leisure. There are friends that are just you grew up with…

The levels of investment he had made in each relationship also changed over time, based on the purpose served by each of them:

> So, not to say as you grow up you get to shed friends, you know. It's just that probably the time you have, you don't have a lot of time as you used to whereby you used to probably hang around and stuff like that … So yes, as you move along, the acquaintances others [sic] become friends, friends others become acquaintances.

5.2.7.3 Associates

An important associate to whom P1 credited his entrepreneurial success was his former employer-turned-mentor. He was a Chinese national who used to run a computer shop servicing the student market before relocating to his home country. This was a more formal relationship from which P1 obtained technical advice and skills:

> We used to meet every month but now because … he's moved back to China… So, we try and do video calls once … every two months. He comes to South Africa every quarter. Every quarter I see him once. So, there's instances where I myself, I go to him, because he runs… a business there … I get myself involved in his meetings ... So that's that way I get to see things in real life as well.

To P1, mentorship was highly effective for dealing with business challenges, especially if the mentor-mentee bond was strong and based on open communication. He seemed to place a higher value on the non-technical aspects of mentorship:

> I always tell, people that come to me and ask me how do you get by, I tell them that you need a mentorship, You know mentorship is like a father and son relationship or father and mother relationship … You need that person that you can bounce off ideas with, even if your mother or your dad doesn't know much about entrepreneurship, but sometimes if you talk, that's where you find solutions … where you think you'll never find solutions.

5.2.7.4 Role models

Additionally, P1 got inspiration and motivation from other local and international role models:

> Look, I have always looked up to the likes of the late Ntate Maponya [Dr Richard Maponya]. I remember, there's a lot of icons, and I'm not only gonna say in Soweto. Here's a lot of icons that I read about, people that have really put their heart and soul in making sure that communities become better places … Because those are the people that have done [made] mistakes, you know, their successes. We learn from that. So … we do [make] new mistakes, right then we learnt from them and make it better where we can.

He said he was an avid reader and particularly enjoyed biographies and watching biographical documentaries on Netflix. From these he had uncovered fascinating role models:

> I love biographies because if I read about JZ [USA rapper], him being a businessman today, it kinda talks to me. It talks to me… Steve Madden, that's the best … I've seen, actually I think

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about 40% percent of documentaries that are there…You know from Mafias, musicians you know, I learn a lot from there.

5.2.8   The Role of Other Reference Groups in Entrepreneurial Success

P1 repeatedly lamented the fact that he was not able to accommodate his friends and attend many social events due to time constraints. He had maintained some associations for strategic reasons such as marketing and giving back to the community. These included church and community groups:

> I think because of time constraints … I try and involve yourself in church things. I've never joined a formal, a formal church organisation or leadership, but you involve yourself there and then when they need help. And then as in terms of other socials, agh, you know sometimes you do have those, those burial societies, you know, savings just to be able to have that activity – and be able to connect with other people. But as in terms of other activities it has been difficult because of time.

Beyond close friends, P1 used social networks to strategically advance his business interests. His membership in a motorcycle club was an example. Joining the club gave him time for leisure and relaxation:

> I remember when I started this biking. Cos a lot of people … used to go do golf for social networking… I then chose differently, you know. I said to myself, I want something different, yes. I'm not gonna do golf. I think golf's boring … I need something that when I wake up, I know that I'm happy. So, I chose biking. As much as yes you know people, they say yes it has its own pros and cons, but because you always look out for safety and stuff, I'm still happy.

He also derived several business-related benefits, including referrals and peer-mentorship:

> So, biking has opened up a lot of social networks for me. I know a lot of people that have, that have helped me in my business in terms of upgrading it. And I've met a lot of friends through biking. Cos there you have [a] lot of … industries … you have doctors, you have lawyers… You have a lot of professions ... it's not only about getting there and just biking … you get to meet new people … you get to see if it's these people I can get to work with … you get to network … We're able to upbring [sic] one another in terms of what we do…

Being a bike club member also translated into tangible business opportunities for P1:

> I was able to get a lead from one of the guys, who was an entrepreneur himself, but he'd heard of an IT tender that was out. I was able to then put a tender and then we got it. And there was another one whereby, we... on… the Bafokeng side of things, on the Bafokeng Corner, they needed eh… distribution of meat. One of the guys I used to bike with said … I know that you sell

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meat, so the … certain department, they need you to distribute meat. Then ja, so one is able to get a few contacts, which materialised ...

5.2.9   The Role of Social Media in Entrepreneurial Success

Social media and technology certainly impacted on P1's businesses. He saw them as essential to evolution as an entrepreneur in comparison to the previous generation, who were hesitant to adapt to such changes:

> We live in forever-changing times. I always tell people that I live by this word to say that either you evolve, or you dissolve … you have to evolve because things are changing … I remember my Dad, when they started with internet banking, he was always a cheque book guy. He never, never wanted to do this internet banking, this cell phone banking things. He was like nuh, nuh, nuh…

As expected from someone with an IT background, P1 was taking full advantage of various platforms to market his products and services. He had an online based ordering and delivery service, which were based on various platforms, including a website:

> The way things are done right now … business is done through social media, it's the quickest way of reaching people, you know… Like Facebook, for instance, we push a lot of content on Facebook. Because see the nicest thing about Facebook is that it's not only sometimes for social, we have the business aspect where then to be able to then boost your content. And you can then be able to reach out to more people. Because basically we use it for viral information dissemination. So, it's easy, if you want to be able to reach people from Cape Town sitting here it's easy … you just select the target and then you push the content. So definitely, social media, Twitter, Social network, Email, WhatsApp.

5.2.10   The Role of Culture in Entrepreneurial Success

P1 was a proud moSotho through and through. He had fully embraced his ancestral heritage by way of ethnic background, cultural identity, beliefs and daily practice. These aspects are discussed below in relation to how they influenced his entrepreneurial success journey.

5.2.10.1 *Culture, Cultural Identity and Self-worth*

P1's personal and business identities were steeped in his Sotho culture. For example, his African name, Lehlohonolo, literally means blessing of fortune. He also named his business after his Bafokeng clan, which has historical roots. It was evident

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that he had embraced his ancestral heritage and was proud of it. Through totemism he also drew a lot from the symbolic elements of his culture and language. This also extended to his business affairs:

> You know what, one thing about me … I'm a believer of ancestors, hence the business is Mutla and Bafokeng … Mutla is like a rabbit in English. So basically … *re [ana] yona* (we revere it).

The Bafokeng clan's totem is a *mutla* (rabbit), which is renowned for its speed and agility. Identifying with a rabbit implied that he would emulate it through daily life and business endeavours. P1's use of a rabbit in his business logo (see pictures below) was revealing, considering what he had said about the importance of technology and his adaptability in terms of using social media for business purposes.

Image 5.5: P1's Business Logo Named After his Clan Name and Totem

5.2.10.2 Cultural Influences in Business

P1 shared an affinity with African belief systems and traditions, which pervaded his daily experience and strategic decisions. Similarly, he subscribed to the ethical values and principles of Botho, or ubuntu, that he applied in business:

> So, as in terms of the culture, I think it has taught me many things, you know which are the kind of aspects that I really put in business. It's humility, it's one humbling themselves, it's the respect, it's the love, you know. These are some of the components that still I live by every day, and they help me through business… Ubuntu. That's it! Actually, when you say Botho, it sums it up.

As discussed earlier, P1's understanding of entrepreneurial success is that it is an expression of the ubuntu value system. He emphasised that success was about bringing those around along as you rise and contributing to the development of the community. Similarly, he viewed wealth creation as a product of communal rather than

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individual effort. This was based on his understanding of the historical and cultural background of the Sotho nation. According to him, the leader—the king—owned the land on behalf of the community and distributed it among them. Success was measured in terms of everyone benefitting from the land:

> Years ago … our forefathers, they used to be kings in terms of them owning tribals [sic] and land … the … little knowledge that they had as in terms of business. But they knew that if they [can] then be able to secure a certain piece of land and have let's say [apportion it] for the Bafokeng, the Khumalos, you name it … That to me it's wealth. Because then they show that they are able then to take care of their cultures by securing them in terms of land where they are then able to plough, or build houses, you know.

In addition to the broader Sotho culture, P1's understanding of township life and local culture enabled him to capitalise on their unique market needs, hence his idea of a one-stop facility:

> So how we all started is because, you know, born and bred in Soweto, I saw a need, you know. I used to see a lot of entertainment places that used to operate … One thing I then realised is that we need a one stop shop.

The business comprises six businesses in the hospitality and tourism sector. He explained further how the service offerings were conceptualised:

> So, what happens is that you wash your car differently [separately]. You go to shisanyama [braaispot] differently [separately], you go buy your meat differently [separately]. Then I said to myself you know what, the services I have under Bafokeng Corner, they interlink … When a customer comes to Bafokeng Corner, he'll come by coming to wash the car, right? … As they're washing the car, he'll sit and grab the food, whether he's grabbing the fish and chips or Kota [township burger] or *shisanyama* [barbeque] and then from there he wants a drink … which is catered [for]. So, then what they do then is as probably when they go home, they want to grab eh… bread…then I said I need a one-stop-shop whereby [when] a customer comes in, they don't have to do a lot of driving around. When they're there, they have everything they need in terms of entertainment and essentials ...

Bafokeng Corner benefitted from earlier investments because when P1 pulled out of Quarphix, in 2016, its proceeds were then plowed back into it. This self-funding model proved fortuitous because Bafokeng Corner could then launch all the services simultaneously to capture the market. P1 confirmed the characterisation of this strategy as striking while the iron was still hot:

> The trick was to have the customer honed-in. The business model also made an impact on the immediate community: it created 90 to 95 employees. So, job creation.

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5.2.10.3 Culture and Values.

P1 believed that in his line of work, the culture promotes collectivism rather than individualism and is founded on the principles of ubuntu:

> So, what we do is, in the industry that I am, basically it's all about partnership. The industry that I'm in, you definitely need some form of integration whatever you call it. As much as you can own it alone, but you need some form of partnership.

P1 noted that though there was a transition or movement towards individualism and materialism, more Africans were beginning to refocus on wealth generation and establishing legacies for future generations:

> So, I think taking it from back in the days to right even right now … the world is changing, people they're no longer just about chasing money. People, we are all about creating wealth. We want our next generation to be able to take here from where we left off. You know, the likes of your Pick & Pays, you know… Raymond Ackerman he opened Pick & Pay many moons ago … his kids and his grandkids, they'll be able to take the business forward, so as in terms of us in terms of generational wealth going forward, we need to be able to build that. And I can see that happening. It's not about building a brand today tomorrow it's gone. We want to see it grow.

P1's views on culture showed that his opinions had evolved over time because of his changed socio-economic circumstances. Moreover, they showed that his beliefs and practices regarding individualism and collectivism could co-exist. He could adapt them as and when it served to promote his business interests. This became clear when he described his personal township experience. Looking back to growing up in a township he was struck by how different his life was now. He shared nostalgic memories of the time past, when amid the poverty surrounding them, people used to share, engage and communicate person-to-person:

> No, no I don't live there. I think it's probably the biggest part of my life I stayed there. You know I remember when I was young, the life has changed hey? You can't even compare it. It's a vast, vast difference. You know I remember my Dad. You know, the culture was different then. You'd see our dads, coming from train stations, you know, holding a plastic of oranges, or bread ... They always had newspapers, you know… And you'll see the excitement when they come from work going to homes, you know.

In his experience, people used be more empathic and would accommodate the least fortunate among them; by contrast, the current situation was more individualistic:

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Now it's, it's – even business-wise – people that used to do business, I remember our Dad's friends, they used to own shops, you know. The culture was different. Like, you'll come and borrow eh… sugar and pay at the end of the month, whatever the case was. And there was that family unity, you know, compared to now. Now it's like, it's like every man for himself, you know.

According to P1, the advent of technology and social media also had a bearing on how people interacted with one another:

Our dads and our mothers when they were in a train or in buses together there was a communication. They didn't have phones whereby… right now you get into a taxi, everybody is going to their phones …

P1 attributed these changes to the highly stressful modern way of life:

As much as people they get excited because they are then going home but because there are a lot of challenges … we've got social pressures, things have changed. When you go home, you're the social leader, you're thinking of yourself only, you're budget this month was not enough, my kids they act … So ja, yes there is a big difference … *Yona* (the culture) it has changed drastically.

5.2.10.4 Culture and Gender Relations

When asked whether the Sotho culture promoted women and encouraged them to become entrepreneurs, P1 said there was progress:

You know, you know, there are certain industries where we used to feel that this is not for women. But I think things have changed.

Notwithstanding this, he said there were still certain industries where women were under-represented, such as the ownership of pubs like NEWSCAFE. But he believed that it was up to women themselves to take advantage of available opportunities:

But I'm saying the opportunity is there for women to be able to grab that. Cos sometimes you think that it's male-dominated, but then I think that at the end of the day, it's a business. You run it like a business and that's it … For me I think every woman can be part of any business, just as long as the passion is there

He believed modern life was beginning to override the old beliefs people used to subscribe to:

I think it's about time we changed that mindset … I remember that one day we never thought we would see women taxi drivers. Till today … when you see a woman [minibus] taxi driver you get shocked right? And others, they think like … am I gonna… [make it]? … And to me I think women [minibus] taxi drivers are the best drivers ever, you know?

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5.2.11 The Role of Religion in Entrepreneurial Success

Religion also played an important role in P1's entrepreneurial success journey. He was a member of the Catholic church, which he attended every Sunday. He did not see any contradiction between his African cultural beliefs and his Western religious beliefs. Ancestors played an important role of mediating between him and God:

> Look by religion I am a Catholic. So, I always tell people that, you know what, before I speak to God I speak to my ancestors. My ancestors are the ones that will lift up my messages. So yes, I pray and yet, yes I'm a believer of ancestors.

P1 said he did perform the rituals such as animal sacrifices required by his culture to acknowledge the mediatory function of his ancestors. **The rituals served the purpose of showing gratitude towards his ancestors:**

> Like with any other culture, one does perform rituals whereby we thank them in terms of the pathway they move [create] for you. Yes, I am a believer of that. Ja, it's all about gratitude, you know, to give thanks.

The Catholic church, however, played more of a counselling or moral support role and less of a direct role in his daily business operations. He explained it this way:

> OK with Catholics it's a bit different I guess for us … we do give to the church. So as in terms of I think from a spiritual perspective, you know sometimes you have one-on-one with the Father, with the Priest whereby you are then able then to speak about just life, 'cos sometimes you need that ... You just close your eyes in terms of the business, and you just concentrate on oneself, you know. So, I think that's where I get to spiritually connect.

As discussed earlier under the section on other reference groups, the church also provided P1 with a platform to give back to the community and contribute to its upliftment.

5.2.12 The Role of Political History in Entrepreneurial Success

Asked for his views about township life, history and politics and how they have impacted on him as an entrepreneur, P1 was convinced that as a Sowetan he had benefitted from the political history of townships. He highlighted the transformative role

played by iconic township entrepreneurs and political figures in creating opportunities for the younger generation like him:

> Look and that is why I really salute and respect the likes of Ntate Maponya, I think that they fought for the basics … They have given us a solid foundation … let's be honest ... the likes of your Hector Peterson, the likes of the history ya Mandela, *bo*Ntate Mandela *le bo*Mme Winnie … they have given Soweto that outlook. So, we're kind of piggybacking on that, because like tourism. You know when people think of South Africa, they wanna come to Soweto… … being a Sowetan has given us a little bit of leverage and we are using it.

Based on his interpretation of events, P1 seemed to have benefited from the social cohesion, cooperation, resilience and solidarity that are characteristic of most townships, which is a form of social capital built from sharing the same socio-political struggles. Additionally, as a nascent entrepreneur, P1 was a direct beneficiary of non-financial entrepreneurship development programmes targeted at designated groups such as the youth and township dwellers:

> I remember I took an advantage after I left Umsobombu [Youth Fund]. They created a website for me. And they created like your business cards that's when I started … I then got assistance from the [Gauteng] Office of the Premier. They had an entrepreneurship programme whereby they were helping…they were helping small businesses to be able to upgrade themselves. Like they happened to upgrade the bakery whereby they managed to buy me bakery equipment…

Nevertheless, P1 believed there was still underinvestment in township economies, characterised by weak buy-in among customers and limited support for local small businesses. This undermined township entrepreneurship:

> It's still not easy doing business in the township because it has its own elements. You know, sometimes people when you sell X, they will always question you and say: how much did you buy it for if you're selling me at X?

According to P1, however, this trend was changing:

> So, I think, people, they are starting now to adjust to this thing of, and I don't wanna rationalise it, but as in terms of buying from small businesses …. So instead of a person going taking a taxi and going … to Southgate [mall], they'd rather … do it locally. So, I think people are starting to now to warm up to that … people I think are starting to see that there is value when we support other small businesses. There is job creation. We uplift the community.

The spatial location of Phiri-Mapetla on the fringes of Soweto put it at a disadvantage because it was not strategically located near tourist sites. P1 explained

that tourist companies tended to direct traffic towards certain well-known places; his area usually missed out:

> So, like in the likes of my business, it's the hospitality, you get tourists that come past … Ah they just come… But I remember once we tried to see how we can be able to network with them… It would be challenging because some of these people, these tourist companies, tourists when they come in they already have a route worked out for them and they go to the likes of your Vilakazi [street]… So, they never really come to your deep Soweto.

P1 said he did not belong to any political formations, but he would like to do so once he would be able to add value to their causes. He had some political connections, which he used to a minimal extent to access business opportunities, but he was not wholly reliant on them:

> Truth be told, here and there you need that political connect. Let's not lie to ourselves. However, … if you provide a good service, right, and you stay true to what you believe in, and you are passionate about it … the business will come your way … As long as you're there and you market yourself quite well, and you position yourself.

5.2.13   The Role Other Social Factors in Entrepreneurial Success

P1 believed that education and the COVID-19 pandemic were additional social factors to have impacted on his entrepreneurial success.

5.2.13.1 Access to quality education and entrepreneurial success

As discussed earlier, P1 acknowledged that his educational background played an important role in his entrepreneurial success journey. It is worth noting that his family could afford to provide him with private education from an early age. Teased that he was one of those called the "cheese girls and boys" (township lingo for one hailing from a rich background because they could afford private education), he responded laughingly:

Hai never! *Re bana ba brother rona*" (We are children of Brother – Catholic priest).

His specialisation in ICT provided him with the necessary information, knowledge and technical skills to start his very first business together with his friends. He had since broadened his knowledge through various short business courses.

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5.2.13.2 The impact of COVID-19 on business operations

At the time of the interview in August 2020, South Africa was at Lockdown Level 3 of COVID-19 restrictions, down from Level 5, and its impact was only beginning to be felt. Since he operated in the entertainment and tourism sectors, P1 was also challenged by compliance with protocols such as social distancing at two metres, wearing masks and the restriction on alcohol sales and social gathering. His businesses relied on high customer traffic. He had to reduce his staff, bringing down the total number of his employees from 135 to about 90.

At the same time, for the other sectors in which he was invested (bakery, butchery and delivery services) the pandemic presented great opportunities for P1 to innovate and reposition himself in the market. For example, he introduced an online delivery service which he complemented with a motorbike delivery service. Thus, while he acknowledged the challenges presented by the COVID-19 pandemic, his outlook on its impact was optimistic. He had drawn positive lessons from doing business in a constraining environment. He was of the view that people had either to adapt or become irrelevant:

> Look, COVID has taught us a lot of things. I think it has taught us to be diversified. It has taught us to be able to think differently. So, look, things I think they will normalise, but as in terms of how we do business … and how we socialise, things are gonna be done differently. But I think differently for the good, not for the bad – for the good … hence my saying when I say that *you either evolve or you dissolve* … A lot of business owners, a lot of people have said, you know I'm going to evolve. And I think they have come out strong.

5.2.14 Lessons for Others

The fundamental lessons P1 had learnt about entrepreneurial success that he wanted to share with others centred around one's psychological makeup, namely passion, vision and ambition:

> The biggest one, before we go anywhere, is passion ... I think that everybody in this world, they have that one aspect that they are very passionate about. Be it anything … that's where that spark comes from, and the spark will then bring out the light. And as soon as the light is there, then things will start falling into place, you know. And secondly, it's – we all have vision … You

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need to know that – that's why they always say that you need to have … a vision board basically what it then says you are here today, where do you want to be in so many years. That's how you measure yourself. Sometimes it doesn't go your way, but at least you know what you are working towards. Ambition is what drives me over and above passion … Ambition is like something that keeps on … something that's always nagging you to say hey wake up … So, for me those are the three things that really drives me.

5.2.15 Summary and Conclusion

P1's understanding of entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial success were largely shaped by his family, cultural and religious background, which were grounded in ubuntu ideals of sharing, unity, humility, respect, communal wealth creation and the like. His journey towards entrepreneurial success began in partnership with his friends from college in ICT after they had acquired qualifications and working experience in that field. As their business grew, they began to diversify their products and services. Eventually each friend pursued different business interests and P1 ended up in the hospitality and tourism sectors.

It can be concluded that although he encountered challenges and reportedly experienced failure along the way, P1's journey was relatively smooth because he obtained a lot of support from his social networks. His immediate and extended family (both living and departed) played an important role in his journey towards entrepreneurial success. It began with his orientation to entrepreneurship via the transmission of business knowledge, skills and information when he was still young. It then continued in adulthood in the form of emotional support and sharing of networks and/or technical skills with his brother, as well as emotional support from his wife and kids. The support is eternally perpetuated through his spiritual connections with his ancestors who keep opening doors of success for him.

P1 valued his friends, associates, social and other reference groups because they benefitted his entrepreneurial ventures both materially and non-materially. From his formal associates and mentor, he received business and technical skills,

information and knowledge. From his social friends he received advice, emotional moral support, practical help, inspiration, peer-motivation and business partnerships. Regarding other reference groups, he was inspired and motivated by famous local and international entrepreneurs and by popular and historic figures in the realms of entertainment and politics. Lastly, his participation in local groupings such as stokvels and social media enabled him to market his products and services and expand his customer base.

Culture also played a big role in P1's entrepreneurial success journey. It was crucial in determining his personal and business identity. He had internalised a lot of the Sotho indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) and incorporated them in his daily life and business experiences. These included ethical values and principles, language, totems, knowledge, skills, norms, customs, traditions and rituals. He acknowledged the adaptations that have taken place in the expression of culture brought about by changing socio-economic conditions.

Another important factor in P1's entrepreneurial success journey was religion and spirituality (both Catholic and African). Through them he was able to access divine favour and blessings, spiritual reflection, counselling and connectedness. The main actors and institutions in this area of life were God, ancestors, the priest and the church. Through the church he was also able to give back to the community. It is Interesting to note that he did not refer to financial support when he was talking about his social networks. This was also the case with his family networks. Even when he started Quarphix with his former colleagues, everybody contributed from their savings.

While it was expected that P1 would benefit through social factors such as his family and friends, it was interesting to discover the deeper significance that he attached to his cultural identity, especially in the way it was interwoven with his

religious beliefs. The diagram below illustrates these different types of benefits or drawbacks per factor or network.

Figure 5.1: Examples of Benefits and Drawbacks of Socio-cultural Factors in P1's Narrative
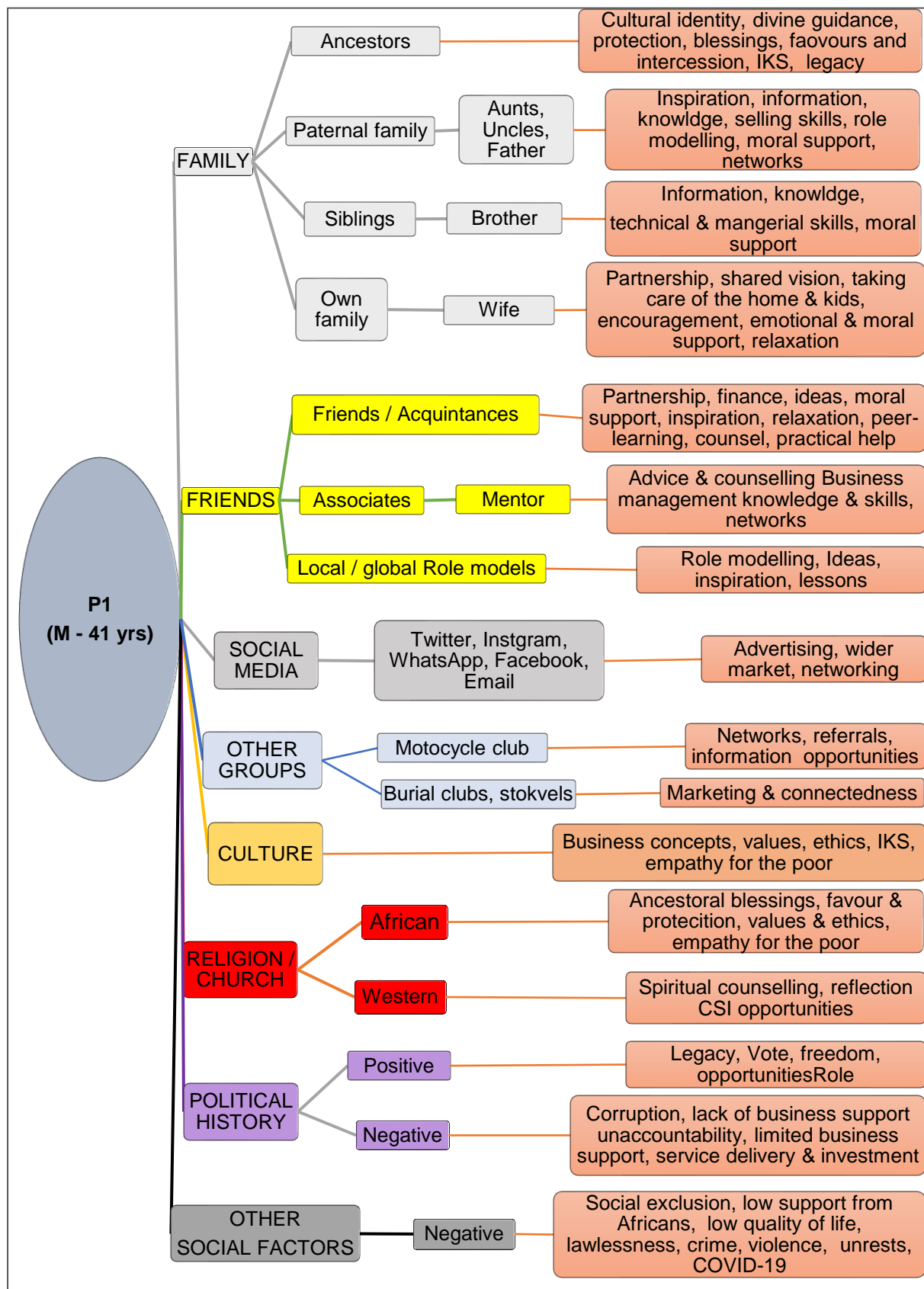
5.3 Case Analysis 2 – P2

5.3.1 Interview Details

- Date: 16 February 2021
- Length: 330 minutes
- Venue: Interview at participant's home office and pictures taken in Mohlakeng township and Randfontein

5.3.2 Biographic Profile

- Participant's nickname: P2
- Gender: Male
- Age: 55
- Place of birth: Kgotsoro village Limpopo
- Ethnicity & languages: Pedi (Northern Sotho)
- Education: Matric, 1987; Diploma in Police Administration; Diploma in Project Management
- Business training: Short courses in building & construction, property development, business management & computer literacy
- Working experience: Odd holiday jobs as a student; Detective warrant officer (1988 – 2000)
- Business experience   Building construction & renovation, project management and rental property management
- Own family: Married with two kids then aged 24 and 17 years old
- Other information: The participant was a wheelchair-bound paraplegic

5.3.3 Information on operational township business(es)

- Township: Mohlakeng, Westrand, Gauteng
- Type of business(es):   Residential rental property, construction & renovations
- Year started: 2001
- Main products/services: Currently rental services (residential & guesthouse)
- Number of employees: Varied (5 for guesthouse)
- Gross annual turnover: +R1 million per annum

5.3.4 The Meaning of Entrepreneurship and Entrepreneurial Success

5.3.4.1 *Entrepreneur(ship)*

P2 was unable to find an equivalent term or concept for entrepreneurship in his own language. According to him, it is a modern concept in the African context. The

only Pedi words he could associate it with were *mogwebi* (businessperson) and *morekisi* (seller/trader). He distinguished these from subsistence farming, which was a predominantly pre-colonial African economic activity, arguing that Africans typically did not trade but shared what they had as part of a collective:

> If you have mielies field. If you were short of a sack of mielies, they would give you some. Hence, I say this exchange was never our thing until these Western people arrived and they started to teach us how to exchange things. You give me this I give you this.

5.3.4.2 *Entrepreneurial success*

In P2's interpretation, entrepreneurial success was contentment with what one had and sustaining one's achievements. He did not define entrepreneurial success purely in terms of the accumulation of material possessions. Additionally, entrepreneurial success was time-bound, with a beginning and an end, and focused on achieving specific objectives in phases or stages. Thus his main entrepreneurial success indicator was completing set targets or milestones:

> I take success to be … comfortable with what you have … Laughs… for me success is not material things because … you have this and that, but … you're not entirely happy … you even spend sleepless nights to achieve something. We cannot say that is a success. … Success … is the end of what you were aiming to have … I don't think success is supposed to be a continuous hustle. It should come to a point where you are content … about what you have achieved … then you just maintain it.

Achieving entrepreneurial success enabled P2 to attain greater physical mobility and enjoy the finer things in life. He delightedly recalled how he upgraded from a small Toyota Corolla to his first Mercedes Benz C200 with fitted levers after securing his third rental property. Although he was dubious about the extravagance, acquiring that particular vehicle seemed symbolic to him as a disabled person because he could project an image of self-reliance that was not typically associated with paraplegics. In turn, his mobility helped to relieve pressure on others, especially on his wife, whose teaching career plans were derailed by the accident. It also enabled him to visit project sites by himself.

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Hard work and luck were factors P2 identified as important for entrepreneurial success. He equated luck (such as having R1million in liquid cash) to divine favour coinciding with opportunities. Be that as it may, having cash available when starting out was a critical factor, as were monthly pension payouts that supplemented his household income while he expanded his business. Relatively cheap land that was available in the late 1990s and early 2000s presented an opportunity for P2 to expand business by building more properties. If cash-strapped, he would obtain a bank overdraft, use his credit card, or sell off some of his properties. He once took a risk by investing in a Ponzi scheme whereby he scored R50 000, which he used to buy more land. Other factors were related to his modus operandi of buying land with cash reserves, employing local builders and closely supervising each project:

> My strategy [is to] go to the municipality to check who's stand it was … discover that it was Veronica's … make you an offer. Initially you would say no … the day you change your mind, I'm here … Within two weeks, you … say let's talk. Can you up that money? I say nI. they would take it … Then we'd go to the lawyers and change everything…

P2 saved money by recruiting local people for his projects and acquired new skills in the construction sector. He built trust and improved project performance by developing rapport with his employees through paying them on time and giving them credit and decent accommodation. He regarded himself as a micromanager, saying at one point that he was supervising 82 people on site while wheelchair bound.

5.3.5 Journey Towards Entrepreneurial Success

P2's entrepreneurship journey literally began by accident rather than by design. At the time, he was a former investigating officer with no prior business experience. He had reluctantly joined the police force in 1988 when he ran out of career options. Being a policeman almost became the death sentence P2 had dreaded when he was shot by youths in Kagiso township near Krugersdorp in 1998:

It was Friday, on the 17th July … I decided to go fetch a statement from a complainant … I stopped … to look for the address … (laughs). Three guys came to my car and accosted me. One is on the window, one goes to the front, one goes to the back, these young boys … So, I try to open the window … I think he … panicked because he was saying open, open, and knocking on the window (laughs)…Then he shot me here (top right arm) … it penetrated to my spine … Laughs. Just one [bull] ... When I came to, I was in Leratong Hospital…

The incident tragically highlighted the contradictions about township life. There he was, a policeman, a person who was supposed to help protect the community from crime, himself being rendered a hapless and helpless crime victim:

So, I became *lam* or numb… I could hear them, but I couldn't act… I could hear these guys saying hai, he's a police [officer], this guy eish! … because they had seen the dockets… but they took my gun … Laughs… I liked putting it under the seat … they took everything, my watch, my wallet, my jacket … They took literally everything but left me there.

Fortuitously, someone who knew him from Mohlakeng organised transport to ferry him to the nearest public hospital where his relatives eventually found him. This tragic incident would forever change P2's life trajectory:

I stayed in hospital for 3 months and… was told that hey man, you can't walk anymore.

Thanks to the police force's medical aid scheme, he could afford private health care. He also credited the private rehabilitation centre in Johannesburg for his relatively smooth transition into his new life as a person living with a disability. Fed up with administrative work and a workplace that did not adequately accommodate paraplegics like him, he decided to quit his job. He managed to secure a medical unfitness claim, but was petrified when his allowances were suspended and his mortgage payments were stopped:

Bond is not being paid. Now I'm getting scared, the bank is starting to write me letters saying … you are in arrears … I started to see red … Ja, I think getting injured – I was trying to hustle so that … my children shouldn't live a life that I lived – the poverty… Ja, the poverty.

Unbeknown him, it was these personal circumstances that would lead P2 to mark the beginning of his entrepreneurial journey:

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> Luckily, I had bought this stand … behind the Mohlakeng hall. I don't know why … and … what was going to happen when I bought it… yeaIback... And now I am thinking, yho! I will have to build a house there … they are going to evict me here … I was dead scared… I was sweating because I have just left a job and now, I am getting R34 000.

That first pension payout plus an additional accident insurance money paved the

way for him to invest in his first rental property.

> With that R34 000, I started building a two room and garage at that stand ... Mysteriously a certain insurance paid off my bond … gave me some change ... I had two houses … And now, what do I with the two room and garage? Somebody ... said … why don't you rent it out? … I took his advice … 3 people got into it … paying R350 … per room … it worked.

Image 5.6: Left & Right Sides of P2's 1st property in Mohlakeng – 2 Room & Garage

The second property comprised a house with 10 rentable rooms, as shown in the

pictures below.

Image 5.7: P2's 2nd Property with 10 Rooms in Mohlakeng

To adapt to changing marketing needs and to capture younger customers, P2

acquired two houses and built a flat in Randfontein. Rental rates increased steadily

over the years and ranged from R350 per person per room to R4 000, depending on

the location. He was pleasantly surprised by the community's response, considering

that he was a greenhorn in the industry. Customers found out about his services via

personal inquiries or word of mouth:

> For me it was extra money and ja, for something I was not expecting … They are people I know … I was a novice in the renting business… Ja, and now the renting business was becoming my thing… And people were starting to pay me much better.

Diversifying into housing renovations, maintenance and construction also propelled P2's success. Between 2014 and 2016, he secured both government and private sector housing maintenance projects worth millions. He narrated with relish how his contracts snowballed from area to area as he mastered the business:

> In Soshanguve … I got 60 houses … they gave me R120 000 … It was a lot of money ... we went to Mamelodi… I got 400 houses because I had performed well in Soshanguve… I got … close to R800 000 … gross [turnover]. My net [profit] was about R200 000 … In KwaThema we also renovated houses. Then Tsakane … then Ivory Park … Duduza as well … Mayibuye I got about 1 000 houses.

At the time of the interview, he was managing 10 rental properties. He had recently embarked on a guesthouse project in Mohlakeng, which was unfortunately delayed by the COVID-19 pandemic but started operating in July 2021 (see pictures below).

Image 5.8: P2's Guesthouse (Left 2), Onsite Bed Manufacturing (Middle) & Installation (Right)

5.3.6   The Role of Family in Entrepreneurial Success

P2 was born in 1966 in Kgotsoro village, Matlala district in Limpopo province. He had 10 siblings from the same mother and different fathers, three of whom had passed away. His childhood memories were more bitter than sweet. He had serous identity issues, starting with his dubious birthdate. Quizzed about the numerous sixes in his birthdate (i.e. 1966/06/06), he conceded that it was bizarre and attributed it to the confusing birth registration procedures under the apartheid f the time.

5.3.6.1 *Maternal extended family*

Family life in Limpopo was unstable financially, emotionally and socially. Stripped of their arable land due to apartheid policies, they had to abandon self-sustaining, subsistence farming. P2's worst nightmare was not knowing his father's identity, which impacted on the formation of his own. His mother abandoned him when she remarried and she took his siblings with her. Raised by his late grandmother, he was dismayed when it emerged that he had been calling the wrong person Mom:

> Ja! I used to joke about it … my mom's marriage (in-laws). I don't think that they liked me … they wanted to throw me away [abandon me] …my grandma accepted me as a loving mom … (Laughs in a self-mocking tone) … I remember staying there at one stage … they accused me [of throwing stones at] other people's windows… they took me [back] to my grandmother … my grandmom … raised me with my uncle … and my other cousin who… was also rejected by the [family]… Ja, it was … family politics … when you are my age, you start to … connect [the puzzles] … they never basically explained … that oh, this one belongs there, I belong there. So, unfortunately it was a bit complicated.

P2 thought he might be a first-generation entrepreneur as he was unaware of anyone in his family being involved in business. To his knowledge, his family in Limpopo were subsistence farmers and/or domestic workers, and his relatives in Mohlakeng were factory employees. Again, he lamented the mystery of his father's identity, which, if unraveled, could provide him with answers:

> I think I was the first one (entrepreneur) … I don't know where it comes from. Maybe it comes from my unknown father… I went there [to his place] … my mom had already passed on… So, there's no-one confirming (laughs) … *Ba shwele ka ditaba* (they died with secrets) … even the grandfather and grandmother don't know about your existence. They didn't have a business either. If they are the ones, I'm not sure.

Coming from a poor family without any entrepreneurship background and poor economic prospects limited P2's career options. But he was determined not to let this control his fate and the legacy he wanted to leave behind. Ending up as a labourer in the same factory as everyone else in his extended family was also out of the question. Yet he was aghast when his uncle suggested that he join the police force, given his anti-establishment stance as a student. Caught between a rock and hard place, he

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capitulated and enlisted as a policeman, which he found humiliating. So disinclined was he to join the police service that he equated it to a death sentence:

> I was a subtle activist and … my former schoolmates … were surprised: … You joined the police? … But now because it was my uncle's suggestion … he had to support our family back home, me this side and him and his wife … so maybe it was that challenge. I remember that I never slept. I just thought, hai this guy … I'm sure he doesn't want me anymore… for me it was farfetched; being a cop had never crossed my mind… He explained to me: No being a cop is easy. You just go there … I was very hurt. It was like … he's killing me. But because at home… they are not working … siblings are attending school … [there is] no one, I am supposed to be the breadwinner. So, I reluctantly went to join.

Although he narrated it with self-mockery and humour, P2 found the policing college experience excruciating. That his worst fears about this career materialised when he was shot and nearly killed was like adding salt to a wound:

> Hammanskraal was hell …it was the first time I had to endure such a harsh, harsh, harsh situation… the training, the punishments … I did consider that even if I were to abscond, where would I run to? … I would still have to go back to the very same people, and they are going to say ah, *o ganne mosebetsi, eya gae* (you declined a job, go home) … When I tell people the story, they laugh … some of us older ones didn't have choices … so you endured those situations… you find yourself in a situation in which when you go backwards, you hit the wall and when you go forward, you are in fire … so you choose which one is best… it was social problems that made me find myself in the police, to be honest.

Irrespective of its apparent irrelevance at the time, his stint as a policeman eventually helped to finance his entrepreneurial endeavours through savings and sustained them through monthly pension payouts that augmented his household income.

P2 credited his late grandmother with motivating him to accept himself while he was still a poor, dark, young African man struggling with abandonment and self-identity issues. In contrast to his previous disparaging remarks about his mother, he only sang his grandmother's praises. He appreciated how she had provided for him and his similarly abandoned cousin-sister; how she took back his mother and siblings after the divorce; and how she had dissuaded him from dropping out of school like his schoolmates by threatening to chase him out of her house. He likened her to someone who washes a vagrant clean and coverts them into a decent citizen:

> I can just picture myself growing up, being so unpresentable … I think even the family my mother was married into *ne ba sa mpatle, ba mpona ke le montshonyana, ke se prensentable*. Laughs. *Bare hai o, a tsamaye* (They didn't want me. They saw me as this darkish one who is not presentable. They said this one, hai, he must go). But my grandmother … embraced me. So, I thank her for that. It's like someone took you from sleeping in the pipes, washes you and makes a person out of you… *O le marobaladipipe …* and then *a go tlhatswa and then obo o nna motho* (as explained).

He similarly praised his maternal uncle in Mohlakeng, whom he regarded more as a brother because of their narrow 11-year age gap. He was a resourceful link between rural Limpopo and urban Gauteng that ultimately helped P2 to launch his career in a township. He provided P2 with necessities like accommodation and advised him to become a policeman. He also gave up his own dreams in order to become a breadwinner for the entire household. Worth noting was that P2 did not seem to hold any grudge against other family members who had not supported him through his tribulation. He said he expressed his gratitude to his grandmother and uncle's investment in him by rewarding them with gifts like groceries, houses and/or vehicles, thereby sharing the fruits of his success.

5.3.6.2 Paternal extended family

Another important family network P2 had was his late paternal uncle *(Malome)* D and his extended family. Malome D was a very influential Mohlakeng ward councillor who also worked at the N factory. Among other things, he provided P2 with accommodation when he first arrived in Mohlakeng and provided references for his police academy application. Together with his son, cousin T, Uncle D supported P2 throughout his shooting ordeal. They were the first people he thought of calling at the hospital when he regained consciousness after his shooting accident. The late Uncle D also sold him the land where he launched his rental business:

> I had bought this stand from *Malome* D, T's dad, when he was still alive … behind the Mohlakeng hall. They were supposed to build a house there, but they didn't like it.

The late Uncle D's niece in-law, O, also informed P2 about a private sector led housing renovation opportunity in 2008 during a family social gathering. She introduced him to her fiancé, L, who was an influential decision maker, to ensure that his application was considered.

> I think it was *magadi* (lobola ceremony) … Yes, she was getting married to L … [who] was working for a certain company in Joburg. And then O asked [me] don't you still want that job from L's company? And then I went to this company to submit my things – my papers – everything, I was qualifying – my tax (laughs) certificate, my CK (company registration) – everything – I was qualifying in terms of my disability.

O also persistently motivated P2 to follow up on his application with L:

> But they never called me … I met O another time and she asked if they had not called me over yet and I said no. And she was with L…. L asks if I had submitted my things and I said yes. He says I am surprised why they are not calling you and yet you qualify... Then he went to his company and checked, found my things. It seems … he asked them why they were not calling this person. The mere fact that they didn't know me, they didn't call me. So, L … told them that no, this person qualifies. So, they called me the following day… when I go there, the CFO wants to blame me for not telling him that I know L. So, I say no, no… I didn't want to… to use L as if he was the one who does that. Then they … gave me a job… We were being paid per house R2 000… to repair the RDPs [houses].

This incident showed that without connections it would not have been easy for P2 to break into new markets. He needed someone to lobby for him and champion his rights. At the same time, he was conflicted because L was technically his distant relative. He did not want to be accused of nepotism, which could also compromise the person who had helped him by following up ith his office.

5.3.6.3 *Immediate family.*

P2 acknowledged that his immediate family (i.e. his wife and two sons) had supported him throughout his entrepreneurial journey. As business co-owner, his wife automatically served as a guarantor of his bank overdraft and credit facilities since they were also married in community of property. The family was always there for him, especially when he was feeling depressed:

> They assisted a lot, and they are still assisting even now … for instance at work you had some differences with someone, you know it's very important to come home and relate and obviously get the support from home that: No, that one is crazy… They take your side, unlike if you don't have that support.

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The family also encouraged him whenever he was about to give up:

> Sometimes you want to give up and say *hai nna kea tlogela* (I'm done). Cos, I remember I built some double storeyed house in Midrand … the guys who did the roof did it so wrong and the client one day called me… The roof *ne e wela* (was falling over) … they had not fastened it alright… it was a scary thing … (laughs) I started to say no, I no longer want to be involved in construction things… So, ja! [they were there] to motivate and say hey, don't worry … some of these things you don't do deliberately.

P2's immediate family also helped him to cope with life as a wheelchair-bound paraplegic. It was challenging to adjust to this new way of life, not only physically, but also emotionally. He somberly recalled how, upon being discharged from hospital, he bravely gave his wife the choice to either stay with him or leave. He reasoned that he did not want any distraction so that he could focus on his transition. Her decision to stay with him further cemented his trust in her:

> And then your wife also. She's also hurting but … may not say anything … I talked to her and said … I am going to be permanently this way and I won't blame you if maybe you choose to go … it's up to you but I'm okay … I know I was a bit insensitive to her (laughs) … she came back to me and said no, I choose to stay with you… then I trusted her that she wanted to.

He lamented the fact that his younger son, who was only three months old at the time of his accident, had never seen him walking. Yet he also appreciated the fact that his son was empathic towards him. Their bond grew as they spent time together:

> T is the one who tolerates me more than any other person… He knows nothing else.

P2's family had also helped him to come to a level of self-acceptance while navigating very awkward social situations.

> (Laughs) You need to accept that – Sometimes I joke about myself … I will be at the restaurant and tell them [my family]: You'll see, when they bring the bill, they'll give it to you. And for real, they take it to her. And they say *shem skepsel sa Modimo* (poor thing of God) … They say that lady is chowing his grant money… They see you eating and say *shem.*

He and his family usually used humour and self-mockery as a coping mechanism:

> I sometimes tell her [my wife] that hey, the way I'm eating, I'm so hungry other patrons are staring; poor man why did they bring him here? So, but hai it's life. Sometimes *o tshwanetse o igware* (you must mock yourself) so that you can move on with life. You shouldn't take yourself too

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seriously. If you take yourself too seriously and … force yourself to be like other people, then you'll have problems. You'll always be grumpy. Sometimes you have to identify yourself as different and embrace your situation.

Regarding his future and succession plans, P2 said he was trying to slow down as he was getting older. His sons had university qualifications, but they did not seem to have a genuine interest to take over his businesses yet. Nonetheless, their future seemed much brighter than his, given the legacy he had built thus far.

5.3.6.4 Other relatives

Now and again P2 tapped into his network of other relatives for assistance. For example, his sister-in-law persuaded him to invest R7 000 in a pyramid scheme, where he scored R50 000. He used that money to extend the first two rooms and garage into a fully-fledged house. When he was not able to conduct project site visits, he would hire some of his nieces as window cleaners. They would also proxy as security guards and snitch on his staff whenever they stole his building materials:

> Ja, some of them would be my nieces. I would tell them, watch out for these guys, they put cement in dustbins and come back to collect them in the evening.

In another instance he called on his cousin who was a police officer for support when he was experiencing racism and obstruction by white people during the construction of his flat. The racist incidents are discussed in more detail in the section on the impact of other social factors in entrepreneurial success:

> This old man, his son was a policeman, and he was working with my cousin in Soweto. So, my cousin told him that no, my brother is building nearby you. Then he got scared and told his father that hey, you were opposing this person and I work with his cousin. Then I think they calculated that hey, how are we going to be viewed… If we treat their fellow black person, fellow police for that matter incorrect. Then they started treating me right.

5.3.7 The Role of Friends in Entrepreneurial Success

P2 regarded himself as a hermit rather than a sociable person:

> I've got few friends … I'm a loner … I don't maintain friendships… I'm not a good friend, because you may come to me. and you expect me to come to you… Unfortunately, eish, I don't. I just have some acquaintances … I think maybe I end up annoying people.

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For him, managing people's expectations of him in terms of time and material possessions was challenging. He thought some people did not seem to handle his entrepreneurial success well because they had assumed he would fail.

> But post my accident… I think maybe I surprised some, maybe - I'm just speculating because you don't understand why some people drift away (laughs) … you're the one who is checking on them. They don't necessarily check on you unless you have a function, and you invite them. Then you start to realise that I don't think I need friends… Ja, you need acquaintances, people you just know. Laughs. You're just able to call them if you want something, as much as they can call me if they want something. That's it...

5.3.7.1 *Acquaintances Versus Friends*

In distinguishing acquaintances from friends, P2 cited as a friend a former schoolmate in Limpopo with whom he had kept in constant contact. That friendship had nothing whatsoever to do with business. By contrast, he had leveraged significant benefits for his business through his acquaintances. A friend of his in Soweto introduced him to the project manager of a large private sector housing renovation project, who made certain in the contractors' meetings that P2 would be included in the project.

> We were about … 20 contractors. And now you must know that I'm an outsider… In reality, those people … become resentful… The Whites are mostly racists anyway. So, luckily, I was recommended by this guy, who happened to be the project manager (laughs) … they would hold meetings without informing me … he'd stop the meeting and say, I want Philly to be here … I knew him through one friend who stays in Soweto … They had worked together … he referred me to him. … So, luckily, he respondent positively.

Irrespective of his introverted nature, P2 seemed to be well liked in the Mohlakeng community. In fact, in the study a fellow entrepreneur from Mohlakeng, Participant 3 (see Case 3) said P2 was his role model. P3 said he used to be one of P2's drivers before he got his vehicles adjusted. The locals were so familiar with each other that P2 even joked:

> People in Mohlakeng are related and you discover that a lot during funerals when it's time to sprinkle the sand … you see everybody just queueing.

Sometimes relying on acquaintances carried risks for P2. He related how one of his drivers liked to drink and often risked getting caught by the police. His recruitment strategy shed further light on the role that his social acquaintances had on his entrepreneurial success:

> In Soshanguve, they gave me 60 units saying no, we're just trying you out… and there were many, many contractors, guys who had already started in Sebokeng and came this way via Mohlakeng. I found them working in Soshanguve, so I joined them. Luck[ily] … I had this guy who helped and found me a squad. So, he was my supervisor, my manager basically… I was so blessed. So, these people were working [hard].

The same applied to his business expansion strategy. He used local personal connections to access resources such as land for his business. He related how an acquaintance's wife petitioned on his behalf when he wanted to buy his stand:

> M [a funeral undertaker] had purchased a stand from his next-door neighbor with the intention of building a storeroom for his vehicles. ...they advised him that no, don't that... his wife asked me; why don't you buy M's stand? I wasn't aware that M was selling the stand … M refused … the wife asked again; did you talk to M? I said M refused … she said hai, I'll talk to him man. He must sell you that stand. *Wai phandela* man (you're just hustling … he eventually sold it to me… where he had laid foundations … I built more rooms.

Having connections in the local municipality also proved a valuable source of information and advice, especially when he was starting out in the rental business:

> So, then I had two houses… And now, what do I with the two room and garage? Somebody from the municipality who was helping me with the plan came and said no man why don't you rent it out? Then I took his advice and I rented it out… 3 people got into it… during those times they were paying R350 … per room and then it worked.

His connections at the municipality also informed on available stands, which he capitalised upon during negotiations with sellers:

> When I get to the municipality and find out that M is owing about R13 000, the amount he demanded, I told him I said, they say you are owing, there. [I will pay your levies for you] … We agreed, he said Philly, take it and pay the R13 000.

5.3.7.2 Partners and Associates

P2 expressed reservations about entering partnerships with people other than his wife. He preferred compatibility in terms of background, upbringing and values.

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You take somebody, for instance it's Veronica, she grew up in Soweto and then her upbringing is not the [same] … You are from a very, very, poor background … when they say they went hungry … it's the day they ate bread without butter without some sausages and cheese… unless you sit down, and you explain each other's backgrounds … get to know each other … it's very important, the backgrounds, where you're coming from.

The goals and expectations of each partner were also determining factors in embarking on business partnerships. His focus was on his personal journey as a paraplegic navigating a hostile socio-economic environment:

That is why partnership, for me, wasn't going to work. As partners you've got different goals … he wants to buy a Lamborghini … you are focusing on investing … for your kids to grow up living much better … a decent place to stay; … [to] pay municipal levies – the basics … There are those who are saying … Philly ah, I would buy a Lamborghini and drive around the township so that they could see me, I'd drive it slowly… if I were you...

It emerged that P2 got swindled in Cape Town by unscrupulous members of a property syndicate of people of people with ANC connections who fronted as BBBEE partners. He was livid when he could only recoup R17 000 after a ten-year hotel investment of R100 000. The fraudsters were ultimately convicted, but that incident put P2 off partnerships. It also emerged that a fellow African "friend" had failed to rescue him when he was stranded for cash to complete a flat complex in the predominantly white Afrikaner suburb in the pictures below:

Image 5.9: P2's Flat Complex in Randfontein Town – Side and Front Angles

Before I could finish [the flat], I ran short of funds for the upstairs level ... [for] plastering and painting … My R400 000 was gone … I have to go look for money. I've got nowhere to go … he was my friend then – I had helped him before, this pharmacist guy. He had money. So, I approached him and his son. They came to check and … he … said, 'No, my son says we should not help you.' So hai! *E be ke tswa moena* (I left him well alone) ... I took it like it's a challenge. They had started to become my competitors … So, I moved on.

On more than one occasion P2 had to tap into a pool of cross-racial/ethnic acquaintances and associates. This happened frequently when he was building flats in a white area and was met with fierce resistance fueled by racism. For example, a White acquaintance sold him land when it was still taboo to do so. He was familiar with him as an acquaintance; otherwise he would not have sold him the land:

> It is now a small town … I bought a stand from this white guy I was a bit familiar with … he owned a lot of properties in Randfontein Mr M. Laughs. So, he sold me that stand.

On another occasion when he wanted to build a rental apartment he was undermined by White residents in the neighborhood because he was an African. They were so desperate to keep him out of the area that they offered to buy back the stand Mr M had sold him. He outsmarted them by overpricing it beyond their affordability, using the priceless advice he had earlier received from his Jewish associates:

> Then *maburu* - fellow Whites blamed him and asked him why he sold stands to Black people. They wanted to buy it back from me … (Laughter). It was a small stand… I bought it for R40 000… I was just chasing them away … They couldn't buy it at double the price … I knew that he doesn't know … I had knowledge about the importance of property because I just happened to meet some few Jewish guys during my going around hustling … they would tip you that if you buy property, never ever get less than what you bought it for.

The third instance was when he found moral support to complete the same apartment project from an unlikely source—a white municipality inspector:

> I was the first Black person to do that there so, yho! I struggled because every White person was my inspector. Every little thing, they phoned the municipality; [saying] hey, his guys are on top of trusses instead of scaffolders… they complained about little things. … Until the inspector – He's a White guy D – I'll never forget him. He was very helpful … Maybe he grew up with Black people that guy… always comes and say: Those people want to stop you … They don't want you to build here ... hey but don't tell them. I signed that thing showing them that he stopped but he said no, *wena* just continue building.

Anyway, he said he still relied on his own team to ensure the job was done properly, to avoid further sabotage and to prove his critics wrong:

> I did a double storey slab. I never called a White person [to assist] … I just called some Black guys who I know, and we did the slab … And they were so surprised! I remember the day they were pouring [the concrete]; they were all standing there … watching, probably thinking, this one will collapse since it's been not being done by Whites.

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Unfortunately, he hit another snag when he got stranded for cash to complete the same project and his chemist "friend" inexplicably would not help him. A lot was at stake, given the discrimination and hostility he had suffered, courtesy of the White community. He resorted to asking for favours across the colour bar. Again, he called on one of his white Jewish associates and advisors for financial assistance:

> Luckily, I had previously bought these 2 plots (laughs)… paying R2 000 per month in installments. They belonged to Mr L. He had an office in Sandton … I said: Hey man, I can no longer afford those plots … Laughs. And he was a Jew guy… He came to see the place. He became so inspired and said … how much do you want? … I needed about … R30 000. … He said … you only paid off R12 000, but I'll give you the R30 000 … He was buying them from me without value. He was just doing me a favour and said … I am giving you extra money. And ja, I managed to finish those flats and ja, people moved in.

5.3.7.3 Other Associates

P2 acknowledged the important role played by the post -injury rehabilitation centre in regaining his physical independence and mental fortitude following his tragic shooting accident. There he was taught basic skills such as food preparation, maneuvering with a wheelchair and lifting himself back into the chair after a fall. They also offered him practical onsite support and advice to ensure his comfort at home:

> They were very good. For me to be strong and to get to know so many tactics of being independent it was because of that rehabilitation school… It was run by a Greek woman… And I came back very hopeful, very strong. I was hoping that (laughs) I would walk again… you can become depressed if you can't do anything for yourself … they teach you [to] always assume that you are alone. Don't rely on anyone.

These skills proved essential for operations when he conducted project site visits and managed a lot of people.

5.3.8   The Role of Other Reference Groups in Entrepreneurial Success

It was not unexpected to learn that a self-confessed introvert and a teetotaler like P2 did not belong social clubs such as burial societies and stokvels:

> Even before, whilst I was still employed, I avoided stokvels and societies. But are you aware that many people learnt how to drink alcohol, both women and guys? … every month, it's boozing time. You also grew in the township, you know better… it starts off as a good society... The problem comes when it has to rotate and go to Veronica, and to Philly, and so and so. That's when you contribute R20 or R50… now you start drinking like nobody's business… you want to benefit from your contribution to the fullest.

P2 said he also avoided *makgotla* (local savings groups) in favour of insurance and investment products because he found some of the savings models illogical. That said, he had mentioned that his sister-in-law had recruited him into a township-based Ponzi scheme. He used the returns to extend the first rental property:

> It's just an interesting story – I think it was a pyramid scheme and I never believed in pyramid schemes. [In] Vosloorus township … police would find money in their shoes … My sister-in-law … she came with this idea and said, you should be putting in some money. People are making money ... I was reluctant … I said no, no, no, dude I'm injured, and you want me… to risk my last but … I became brave and … put in R7 000 [cash] … if I lose it, it's fine… These things are risks … three weeks [later], she took my wife and said this is the maturity week … they had got … R57 000 …They asked: Should we do it again? … I said NO WAYS! … Instead of taking it back, I just built … a house next to the two room and garage. And then ja! People just moved in there.

5.3.9 The Role of Social Media in Entrepreneurial Success

P2 confirmed that technology and social media had a positive effect on the way he conducted and marketed his businesses:

> Ja, it really changed [it] in a positive way because it helps us to communicate easily, to advertise … now people can write you on WhatsApp and ask if I have vacancies … in the flats whatever, even if we still have the boards. Especially me, I'm an agent/owner.

He used Twitter, WhatsApp and emails, but not Facebook. At the time of the initial interview, he did not yet have a website but was considering launching one to broaden his platforms for marketing the guesthouse. When it became fully operational in 2021 the bookings were done online.

5.3.10 The Role of Culture in Entrepreneurial Success

It was evident throughout the interview that P2 placed importance on certain values, norms, morals and practices that were linked both to his upbringing within the Pedi culture and to his religious beliefs. Some of his beliefs and opinions might seem conservative, but this made sense, given his background.

5.3.10.1 Culture, Cultural Identity and Self-worth

P2 emphasised the significance of names during the interview. His African name was Rabothata, which made me more curious than his other first names because it literally meant one who was born in adversity or dogged by trouble. He said he was named after his grandfather and explained the significance of this as follows:

> In the past the parents would make sure that you register the names of the person you are named after, where I am from; the village … It's very important. You cannot just pick up a name from the street and then make it yours. Like around here since these modern times.

The name was prophetic because P2 subsequently faced tremendous challenges in his life, including abandonment by his biological parents, hardships at schools and in the police force, and a near-fatal shooting incident. It is an open question whether P2 would have been named differently by his paternal family, and whether that would have influenced his life trajectory. That said, his entrepreneurial success was ample proof that he was able to rise above those challenges. As he elaborated, the names given by the local chief to the schools he attended were similarly totemic:

> Bakone Lower Primary … I started there … Higher primary was Sekgwari… high School was Ipopeng … Kgwari is a star, somebody who is able to master everything. So, the chief was encouraging his people … when he started that school … he said, no Bakone [people of the North], *ha re ipopeng*, let us build ourselves and be stars.

Therein lies the irony: P2's star was born out of adversity, not as a graduate of DiKgwari High School. Also, his star would shine brightest in a Gauteng township, miles away from his rural Limpopo village where prosperity was sorely needed.

5.3.10.2 Cultural Influences in Business

P2 confirmed that certain elements of African culture influenced his business approach and dealings with customers. He did not explicitly use the term *botho* (ubuntu), but his examples referred to that value system. He preferred the empathy in cultural norms to the ruthless inflexibility of modern Western norms:

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I think culture makes you … a little sensitive … business is a very straightforward thing… let's say … a person doesn't pay in your apartment. Businesswise, you must just (laughs), evict them immediately ... But … because we are from a different cultural norm, where *motho wa moutlwelanyana* and say, no, *tla ke mo tlogelenyana* (you emphathise with them and leave them a bit). Maybe next month they'll pay – without security, you … accommodate them … They'll also put forward their reasons … they will lie to you … you let them get away with it. But *ka sekgowa* (in the Western way) you enforce the lease agreement.

Cautious not to generalise to all Africans, he elaborated that his poor background oriented him towards being more communal and empathic when dealing with people:

Maybe the background of not having so much… makes you understand that this person, maybe they honestly don't have [the money] … Actually, it's not a business [approach] .... I think it's just your upbringing that taught you that at times you had nothing, but somebody somewhere thought you were just being stingy… When a person is struggling, it actually reignites your background. You remember where you come from.

P2's cultural sensitivity was ingrained by his experiences of social exclusion while trying to acclimatise to new environments. Growing up in a predominantly Pedi community in Limpopo he was unfamiliar with multilingual and multiethnic milieus. He first experienced social isolation while job-hunting in Johannesburg and recalled struggling to communicate with Zulu speakers. The phrase "culture shock" took on a whole new meaning when he was unexpectedly discriminated against by Coloured people in Toekomsrus township near Mohlakeng when he was an officer:

They (Coloured people) would call you with a K work (Kaffir)… So, you'd become so conflicted and say, these people, I'm coming here to intervene because they are fighting, and they are calling you the k word (laughing).

He attributed their racist behaviour to a breakdown in the social and moral fabric of that community resulting from alcohol abuse and lawlessness:

That's when I learnt about Coloured people's way of living … I am from a village where norms are … followed… proper norms of how to behave … [it] was … an experience…. I wanted to [quit but my commander] said I can't… The way they were drinking… It was too much … they would fight…

From these bad experiences, P2 learnt essential interpersonal skills such as tolerance, patience, mutual respect, acceptance and reconciliation, which later added value in the way he dealt with his employees and clients as a businessperson. He also

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learnt how to assert himself when he was authorised to do so, which was an advantage when he was dealing with reluctant racists:

> Initially … I would be offended because they (Coloureds) are drunk … then later, I was so used to [it] a bit … they also knew me, and they now accepted me, they respected me … I related well with them … when I come, I somehow make sure that I enforce the order.

Capitalising on aspects of township culture enabled P2 to cut operational costs, increase productivity and improve employee and community relations. For example, he provided better accommodation for his employees:

> I was the only person who didn't erect *ditentenyana, mekhukunyana* (small tents, shacks) ... I believe in something: If people are working in a township, if you erect a shack for them [employees], people isolate them. So, I would rent them places within the township … people, you must mingle with them. They must know... *Le babang ba bona.* (You're part of them).

Trust and acceptance by communities helped ease resentment from locals who felt further marginalised by losing out on economic opportunities. Thus, P2 contributed to local economies by supporting other small businesses:

> I believed that the local people benefit when I rent this place … it worked wonders … So, I was actually using that method all over, Soshanguve … Mamelodi … Tsakane … I part something for the local community … I never experienced resistance from the local community where they say, these people come from afar, look at them sitting in their shacks and taking our jobs … they can't protest easily because we stay among you.

In another context, P2's background as a policeman sometimes helped him to avoid hostile situations while doing business in white neighbourhoods. He said having a cousin as a policeman also made him part of the inner circle, since they were like-minded:

> My police bravery is the one that helped me … So, if you were part of the police force, *maburu* trusted them a lot. And *yena* this old man, his son was a policeman, and he was working with my cousin in Soweto. So, my cousin told him that no, my brother is building nearby you. Then he got scared and told his father that hey, you were opposing this person and I work with his cousin. Then I think they calculated that hey, how are we going to be viewed… If we treat their fellow black person, fellow police for that matter - incorrect. Then they started treating me right…

5.3.10.3 Cultural Influences and Family Values

P2 said he would have preferred to live in the township and not in the suburbs, were it not for the need for convenience in terms of personal and office space. What he liked most about townships was their communal lifestyle and sense of community. He found suburban life isolating, especially for children. In his view, the struggles of township life made people more appreciative of the value of connectedness and less self-centred:

> You're able to belong to a community, which is sometimes nice. Sometimes, when you live in a secluded [area] it poisons the kids' mentality … they become individualistic. Sometimes we blame our kids when they're depressed, greedy, and whatever … I'm not saying in a township there's no such, but it is perpetuated by the fact that they grew up getting things for themselves. In a suburb … whatever they want, they get … when they're older, we are surprised and say but this boy; he's got a lot but doesn't want to share.

He was taking practical steps to teach his children how to share with the underprivileged and to stay connected to the township community:

> That's why in December you just pack some grocery packs and identify people – not necessarily your employees, some struggling people in the townships .... You also take your children along when you distribute, so that they can see that when you have something, you don't have to hoard. … I think that will go a long way of changing their way of thinking.

5.3.10.4 Culture and Gender Relations

P2 believed in his culture; women were generally not prohibited from doing business, although there were still elements of sexism among some males. His personal view was that women could do anything, anywhere and could go into any sector they wanted if they set their minds on it. It all depended on their passion:

> I think the government has really tried to change things. It may be us who are implementing the government's things or legislations, who are still a little patriarchal maybe… women are just, maybe discriminated unfairly by individuals who believe in, ja *gore ke monna, ende monna ke ena o tshwanetseng gore a etse mosebetsi oo* (I'm a man, and a man is the one who's supposed to do that type of work). But they are no longer as many as they used to be. Lately, we have been accepting them.

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5.3.11 The role of Religion in Entrepreneurial Success

P2 confirmed that his religion and spirituality helped him in his journey towards entrepreneurial success, especially after the accident when his faith in God was tested:

> You must understand that after an accident like this … you're going to be challenged. Many people will say: *Mang, mang, ko kae, kae, hai man a kao fodisa* (so, so at such and such a place can heal you) … I would tell them that no, I don't think there's anything greater than God. I don't think a human being can do whatever.

P2's narration shed light on his intimate yet complex relationship with God. He believed that God intervened in different ways in his life. God was his source of comfort and hope, even though His ways were somewhat mysterious:

> Even after the accident you say wow! Hey *Modimo* (God) what are doing to me? Are you taking me back? What's wrong? What's happening? (Laughs) Am I cursed? … but along the way, things get better. You also get better. I think God knows us that if He doomed us, I wouldn't be alive today.

He also believed in divine favour and that God answered his prayers for success:

> The police … gave me money in 2000 … it was like: Maybe God can see that hai, I'll be broken more… if He doesn't do something. God was bribing me and saying no man don't cry so much… He could see that I was going to be down and out. Then I bought that stand.

Even his interpretation of luck and the importance of hard work were linked to God's divine intervention in his daily life:

> Luck is like God's grace … (laughs), you're able to achieve you goals because of *Modimo* (God). Hard work is propelled by God as well… Ja sometimes when you work hard, even opportunities come and it becomes easier … And someone sees that this person is doing a good thing and then they approach you or hire you.

P2 grew up in the Zionist Christian Church (ZCC), colloquially known as *Masione,* and was a regular member of its Mohlakeng branch. He said his grandparents were founder members of the ZCC, and his grandfather was among the senior pastors who led *lobola* (bride price) negotiations for its famous founder member. According to him, the ZCC split due to succession battles concerning who could ascend to the priesthood between the eldest and youngest sons (i.e. *mojalefa*). That in-depth discussion

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revealed some insights into the complicated interplay between family politics, culture, tradition and religion in the African context. The ZCC now has the Star and Dove sects, as represented by their badges. He belonged to the Doves, although the Stars were the biggest and most popular sect. Asked why he was not wearing a badge, he replied that a badge was just a label that neither defined one's character nor one's relationship with God:

> So, it's not necessarily that brochure makes you [a believer] – I know some people … may define it differently from me … I see it as a label which shows which church you belong to… Denomination. But it doesn't make you who you are not. Laughs. … whether you do wrong things … the badge will save you. That's just a fake… I think when you pray, even if you don't wear uniform, you can be saved from many things.

In his understanding, the ZCC was part and parcel of the broader Christian fold.

> Some of our members, they forget that one of the Cs (in ZCC) means that you're a Christian. They're thinking that ZCC is a different movement … as if they're not part of the Christian family. Many of our people, if you can say, you're a Christian, they can deny it.

P2 said ZCC members followed prescripts on nutrition and social conduct based on the Old Testament. That might explain why he avoided social gatherings like stokvels and frowned on inebriation. He and his family ate the meat of only those animals that had cloven hoofs and chewed the cud. But he did stress that abstinence was an expression of one's faith, not mere compliance:

> It's like the Muslims not eating food that is … [not] halaal. It's not because it makes them sick, but they just follow their faith … my boys, you can give them bacon ... They're going to tell you that no … even when I'm not there … you can grow up under such an environment and end up believing it because of your faith … it depends on how you trust your faith or … church rules … you may undermine them – it's up to you … Some ZCC people think pork makes them sick. I think it's subconscious faith.

He added that his church did not prohibit ancestral worship for practitioners. He was aware that his local church supported people in business through groupings or associations for the self-employed (*baipereki*), but he had never belonged to one. The church offered him spiritual and emotional support rather than practical business support.

P2 said the healing method of the ZCC was a derivative of the Apostle Paul's in the New Testament of the Bible. Before, the ZCC Bishop used to pray over pieces of cloth that were used by his representatives to pray over their followers. Then to make the prayers more accessible, cloths were replaced with papers produced in the head office. He foresaw virtual prayers becoming a game-changer because of advancements in social media and the social distancing challenges of COVID 19. He participated in prayer petitions for requests and to express his gratitude to God:

> I think its symbolic … I pray for myself, but under normal circumstances, you'd go to Moria [annual pilgrimage] in Limpopo… you'd put your prayer requests, whatever bothers you on the list because you believe that somehow the bishop will pray for all those things … and then somehow, things will work out … and you … submit not only the negative ones. You don't only go there to ask for things. Sometimes you go there to give thanks.

He hastened to add that prayers were not a panacea for laziness:

> Unfortunately, amongst us Christians, there are Christians who think things should happen magically. Laughs. I don't believe in magic. I believe in hard work … If you work hard, then things will happen for you.

5.3.11.1   Religion, Ethical Values, and Entrepreneurial Success

It was clear that P2 subscribed to high moral and ethical standards in his approach to personal and business life, which he mainly attributed to his upbringing. However, this strong sense of right and wrong could also be linked to his Zionist Christian religious beliefs and his former career as a police officer. His story abounded with examples of how he applied his ethical values and principles in his daily life. This included an incident when a house he had constructed was not properly finished. He said he went out of his way to fix it even though it cost him dearly:

> Maybe, one may say I was a bit cowardly, but I'm very apologetic when it comes to doing something for someone that I don't deserve – like taking your money … when you're not satisfied. For me, it bothered me… I got people who could rectify that … I lost money there, but I left with a clear conscience … I don't like to just collect money and go.

Although he said he encountered a lot of corrupt individuals, P2 was adamant that engaging in corruption was never an option for him. The risk of losing everything,

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especially since he was a former police officer, was simply not worth it. Wanton corruption and extortion had driven him away from the construction sector. According to him, corruption and extortion were even more prevalent in the public sector. By contrast, awards in the private sector were mostly based on performance, not patronage:

> And then you start getting involved in corruption. Then you might lose the whole thing you have worked for … That's what I believe in. And even these officials, sometimes … demand something … I would say: hey *monna* (dude) are you aware that you could get arrested? Are you aware that I'd be on the one side of the counter of the court while you're on the other side because you are the big fish? I am the small fish. They will use me as a witness against you … You'd get some guys saying no, we'll get you a R1 million project, but you must give us R200 000. I'd say, no, no, no … I mean I must work for these young chaps, hai! … I would refuse. I stopped construction because … I saw it becoming too polarised, there was even [in]fighting. As much as I'm not perfect –I don't want to spite anybody, and I don't want to find myself doing something that's against my conscience.

Based on his background, P2 was very conscientious and had high moral and ethical standards. He was also took a strong stand against fraud and corruption.

5.3.12 The Role of Political History in Entrepreneurial Success

P2 said that since starting his own business he was not as politically active as before due to the compromising nature of modern-day politics. He said he had never relied on affiliations with political parties for fear of being exploited as a disabled person:

> If you're a businessperson, you may think that you're safe in this particular party. But believe me, you'd be caught, somewhere … politics are changing … You'll be compromised … you may sympathise with a particular policy view … I don't think you can wholly support the policies of a particular party… some politicians view a disabled person as a vehicle to richness or to reach [their] goals.

When queried, he adamantly denied that he directly benefitted from the minimum 2% on government tenders awarded to disabled persons to promote universal access:

> No, no! It's a legitimate question … I don't see it that way – it's me approaching people and asking them. I don't remember … getting any jobs in Mohlakeng by virtue of being – no I never got any job because they expected people to beg them and say hey, *au nzame* (help me out). Laughs. I would submit my documents… I never used my disability to benefit me because, if I did that, then I would claim that no, actually I deserve to be hired first (laughs).

He was convinced that he was competing with everyone on an equal footing, adding that he was as much a victim of racism as anybody else:

> I never claimed my – that thing, basically. Even there, it was purely submitting everything when you get there – there in Rustenburg … they treat you like everybody else, especially because they don't know you. *Maburu ale ba ba worse.* (Those boers become worse) … They become hard towards you to the extent that they'll fight with you every time and you know how mines are. They don't work via the tendering system.

Despite his denials, P2 admitted to being advantaged by his disability in referring to a distant cousin-in-law helping him secure a business contract:

> And then O asked [me] don't you still want that job from L's company? … And then I went to this company to submit my things – my papers – everything, I was qualifying - my tax (laughs) certificate, my CK (company registration … I was qualifying in terms of my disability.

It was also clear that much of his earlier success was owed to the preferential tenders he secured from the government and private companies that were legislated to facilitate more meaningful economic participation by previously disadvantaged persons such as Africans, women and the disabled:

> [In September 2001] I registered a business but *nje*… I bought a shelf company…. During those times I wasn't knowledgeable about this business. I was just doing it for the tendering systems. The tenders had just started… and I just used it.

While lucrative, operating township businesses also had its own constraints. P2 was particularly frustrated by insufficient space in the township, which was partially why he relocated his home office and parking space for his vehicles. He complained that help was not forthcoming from the relevant authorities, which was prohibiting his expansion plans at the guesthouse:

> Lack of space in the township is a real killer … If they allow me, I have a hall for a restaurant, but problem is the space. I was discussing with one of the councillors that why don't you push [for the scrapping of legislation] that if you have five rooms or guesthouse, you must have five parking spaces … in a township, you can't offer that.

He was of the view that such legislation was prohibitive of business growth in townships and thereby detrimental to Black people:

> The current legislation is saying the township people, they must keep on doing the smaller things, and the suburb people can do the bigger things. So, which is going to disadvantage Black people in particular.

The lack of mentors and technical advisors in townships also limited access to information that was critical for strategic decision making. He was interested in selling liquor at his guesthouse but was worried about violating bylaws because he did not have enough knowledge about compliance. As a former police officer, abiding by the law was foremost in his mind:

> I'll end up doing an informal thing, which disadvantages you because you're not able to get the necessary information. You're not proud of what you're doing … then if you have an accident there, you're in trouble because they'll start saying you're operating a brothel.

What he liked about operating in townships was finding viable niches linked to township lifestyles, such as renting backyard rooms. However, he had to move with the times because the market was changing. For example, he noted that the younger generation prefer to live near their workplaces and other good facilities such as schools, hence the migration to the suburbs.

5.3.13 The Role of Other Social Factors in Entrepreneurial Success

Various social factors impacted on P2's life journey and influenced his attitude towards business, other people and life in general. His narrative demonstrated that he experienced different forms and levels of discrimination, be it colourism, classism or racism, which was compounded by ableism, following his accident. No phrase captures the entirety of his life journey as aptly as his own name *Rabothata*, which means a male born under difficult circumstances or literally one dogged by problems. Worth noting is his response to each challenge as he navigated life and the world of entrepreneurship. He evidently drew valuable lessons that he applied in his dealings with people in general.

5.3.13.1 *The Impact of Colourism and Classism on Identity and Self-Worth*

Being abandoned by his biological parents clearly left an indelible mark on his identity and self-worth. He seemed to think that having a darker skin made him unsightly and undesirable, especially when he was young:

> I think even the family my mother was married into *ne ba sa mpatle, ba mpona ke le montshonyana, ke se prensentable* laughs. *Bare hai o, a tsamaye* (They didn't want me. They saw me as this darkish one who was unpresentable. They said this one, he must go… I have a photo with my grandmother and my younger brother. You can see that *mara* here, I can also see that I was not that presentable.

To P2, colourism was like experiencing racism in one's own community. When I commented that I had met much darker people than him, he rejoined to much hilarity that living large in Gauteng enabled him to afford cosmetics that improved his complexion and self-image, unlike the cheaper ones in the village:

> *Gonanong ke tlhatswitswe ke go nna around gauta … ke tlhapa ka di dNivea.* (Right now, I've been cleaned up by living around gold (in Gauteng) … I wash with the likes of Nivea.

P2 believed that he was mistreated and subjected to ridicule (*a gwariwa*) at school because of his complexion, image and social status. That underscored his sense of isolation as a poor child from a rural village who relied on hand-me-downs:

> It was at school, where you are … accused [s] because of the way you are dressed. You wear this long, big shirt from your uncle.

He might never have appreciated high school had his deputy principal not designated him as the school bellringer. That was a rare highlight of his school days:

> *Ne ke letsa bele.* (I used to ring the school bell). You know, funny, our school, [we were] about like 1,500. Ja it was a big high school… the whole village's high school.

His comprehensive reflection on his role as a timekeeper seemed excessive, but I realised that it was intrinsically linked to his sense of identity as a poor black rural child with no value to add:

> Maybe they saw something [in me] like discipline because I was a very quiet child from a very poor background. You know if you are poor, you can't be loud… Because you don't have anything

to be loud about. Ja, we were from a very poor background, where you spend the whole day without eating anything.

The weighty obligation of ensuring that the whole school was run on time seemed to give him a sense of importance and relevance. It was a very demanding job, and why he was assigned that mammoth task mystified him:

> I never stayed away from school because I was asking myself if I say I am sick, who's going to ring the bell? I cannot phone the school … It was very, very taxing because other children have the comfort of just staying away from school … I must always be there … that's a huge responsibility... Till today … I don't know why the Deputy Principal … bestowed that responsibility to me. Maybe he had a link with my family somehow.

Other than being a bellringer, P2's overall schooling experience seemed unpleasant. There was no love lost between him and many of his former teachers. He complained bitterly about the lack of dedication and "arrogant" and "boastful" teachers, their failure to inspire confidence in learners, and their favouritism of certain students. He said they coerced learners into taking subjects they could not manage while they failed to provide the necessary support. Life during that period was harrowing, but he had no choice but to endure it:

> They promise you that you can run from the poverty at home … So, you had better tolerate [schooling], even if the teacher (laughs) does this thing to you because you are not presentable… some of us being a bit darker… so you can't blame these people. They look at you and say, aah, this is just a failure … that's the way in the past we endured.

Even though he valued education, schooling did not seem to have played a big role in P2's career. He always had to work harder because he was an average student. He confessed that he struggled with key subjects such as English, mathematics and science, and joked that with physical science he was only taking chances. As he saw it, education was his way out of poverty. Regrettably, he only managed to obtain an average "S" (school leaving symbol), which was disappointing because he did not qualify to enter a nearby college to obtain the teaching qualification at that he desired:

> I knew that I had to work harder because I wasn't so brilliant ... for me, I was just running away from poverty… "I wanted to be a teacher (laughs) but my grades were not great … I went to a

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teachers' college in Seshego. [Cousin] T was doing 3rd year there ... I couldn't make it… I had my classmate... He was lucky his uncle was a councilor… they took him in front of me and gave him space … Laughs … I begged him and said: hey, please talk to your uncle man … he said: no eish. *A re kea tshaba* (I am scared), ja, then I missed out.

Having no opportunities and social connections while he was stuck in Limpopo severely limited P2's career options. He was lucky to have uncles in Gauteng, but the pattern of feeling like a failure and a misfit continued when he started job hunting while trying to improve his matric symbols:

> I remember going to Bara (Chris Hani Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto) seeking administrative work. That time I didn't think I would be any other thing… I would take a train to Johannesburg, alight at Langlaagte and just wander [about] … you don't have [the] experience of looking for a job … You find these Zulu speaking security guys…You hardly speak Zulu…They can see that you are not from work … it was a trying time … a painful time. I would go to the library… spend my day there studying … whatever book … and then go back home later so that when my uncle came back, he would find that I had cooked.

To some degree, working at his uncles' factory was a viable career option in Gauteng, but he found it career limiting:

> I was studying… but … also [passing time] … taking my applications to Bara [hospital] ... I had no one, no connection. In Soweto, it was worse … Even this side of Randfontein [the paternal late uncle D] was there … but I did not want to work at [the factory] man … because he was working [there] … I didn't want this thing of all of us working there ... Laughter… even [cousin] T during the school holidays, they used to give him these temporary jobs there.

Ultimately, the fear of poverty and the desire to build a family legacy of success were the driving forces behind P2's business ventures:

> I usually tell people that fear … of going back to my poverty, ja after I got injured, was the motivating factor. That is why I never went the partnership [route]. The reason why, is that my journey was very personal… because I'm focusing on making sure that my children will not live on handouts the way I grew up.

In summary, P2's sense of identity and self-worth were impacted by his poor self-image as a dark-skinned, poor, rural village boy with a bleak future and no one in his social circles to promote him. These adverse factors motivated him to strive for success in life and in business.

5.3.13.2 *The Impact of Ableism/ Able-Bodiedism in Navigating Environments.*

Living with disability, especially in a township setting, brought P2 many challenges. Initially, his disability isolated him socially, which he confirmed was a common experience for that cohort of people. He seemed to have overcome them with various strategies, starting with focusing on regaining his physical independence and a positive mental state. That enabled him to cope with other social problems such as racism in the business world. He highlighted several practical problems faced by disabled persons, including losing physical control:

> Sometimes it happens, especially when you are still weak … that you fall down from the wheelchair … you have to struggle to get back [on] … if you were not taught … how to maneuver that, then you'll have a problem … you will be there until somebody finds you.

Inadequate infrastructure and facilities for disabled persons exacerbated matters:

> But at the police station [in Mohlakeng where I worked] the thing that bothered me for 2 months was that they had to carry me in and out… There was no ramp at that time.

Society's attitudes towards the disabled also made matters worse. People were not always accommodating, especially towards paraplegics, hence his reticence to socialise and become other people's burden. He humorously narrated people's experience of maneuvering in such difficult environments:

> So, I used to look at guys who are wheelchair bound. This guy has to wait for a [minibus] taxi. [They] don't want to deal with him… They say hai, no *ha rena space mfowethu and ba feta* (we don't have space homey, and they pass on) … they say no, wait for the next one … he comes, he says, no, *mfowetho*. I don't have space. And 10 of them will pass you by.

Notwithstanding the Government's preferential procurement policies for disabled persons, P2, highlighted the subtle but persistent biases that limited their economic prospects. To counter this, he was proactive with his investments. The pension payouts also proved useful whenever he needed project funds:

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> I like to joke and say if we both enter the bank … looking for a loan individually… Who is likely to get a loan between you and me? Obviously, the bank manager is more likely to give you the benefit of the doubt. With me he will think: This guy, on a wheelchair? Laughs… Hai, mara this guy. He can come with some technicalities … Yes, I'm a high risk…That's why I am very careful with my job… [and] how I invest.

Reflecting on his transition, P2 was amazed by his own bravery in tackling the challenges he faced, such as his decision to return to work two months after being discharged from the rehabilitation centre. He was appointed as an administrator and allowed to report for duty at the Mohlakeng branch, a few yards behind his house:

> I was brave … I'd wheel myself in the morning with a manual [wheelchair] … I remember my wife would say, let me push you and I'd say no ... And people would peek through the windows checking me [out of pity, wondering what was wrong with me].

The uphill battle of coping with disability, coupled with his desire was to prove himself to people who had written him off, motivated P2 to be successful:

> I know that after my accident, almost everybody just thought agh, *go fedile ka Philly* (it's over with Philly) … it's … rare for somebody … being wheelchair bound [to] think that he can achieve anything… Some of them said, ha: We thought you had gone home [to Limpopo] (laughs) … You can't blame them. Sometimes you must just accept the norm … that's a norm … after getting an accident, you're placed somewhere that agh, mncm! Gone!

Based on his own struggles, he expressed empathy with disabled persons who were never able to readjust and who suffered from bouts of depression:

> So, you're going to be depressed. You'll find yourself thinking that *mara*, this is not the life … I'd rather die... That's where problems begin… you change dramatically (laughs)… I remember coming back from hospital ... I had to deal with the changes in the home… You can't blame … people who kill themselves … until you experience that … some are not able to move on after accidents … Some … look at themselves say, hai, I'm finished.

P2's entrepreneurial success enabled him to enjoy a better quality of life. His self-confidence improved greatly when he regained mobile freedom by fitting his vehicles with levers and thus being more actively involved in day-to-day business operations. He was however reticent about spending money extravagantly on an expensive vehicle:

> I had seen on the television … a certain white guy on a wheelchair, and he was driving… Then I said no, I can do that. I then researched about that … I sold the second house ... for R170 000 ... I went … with M (the driver) … and saw Mercedes Benzes and we said you know what *tla re*

shebe fela re fepe mahlo (let's just feast our eyes) … they cost around R230 000… And we said no, but this is attainable mos… I was not brave enough to buy a Mercedes … We [found a cheaper one for] R130 000. Hai, I said no, I am buying it.

He gleefully recalled an incident when a white man doubted that he could afford an expensive car in cash while wheelchair bound. It seemed to reflect people's condescending attitudes towards paraplegics, but P2 took it in his stride:

A certain white guy … he can see me on a wheelchair – he's asking [me]: How can you buy a car instead of a house? I said: I have a house. He said: The secoone. I said I've got one. He said the third one. I said: I've got one. He said: No, I rest my case! ... He was trying to advise me… He meant well. So, I bought it. First person, (laughs) on a wheelchair…

His morale and social image were boosted even further when he was able to drive himself around the township in the high-end car. He was proud to project a different image of a person living with a disability to what the locals were accustomed to:

To be driven around, hai, it's not my thing! … my independence was a…reality … I was so relieved that now I don't have to wait for someone … in relation to my projects… "Driving in that thing [Mercedes]. Many people were surprised and saying maybe Philly *wa tsamaya* (is walking) … they were so fascinated by how I was able to drive.

Beyond gaining physical independence and self-acceptance, P2 developed a very positive outlook, coupled with a good sense of humor. The interview was filled with laughter, and he made it easy for me to probe sensitive topics:

Sometimes *o tshwanetse o igware* (you must mock yourself) so that you can move on with life. You shouldn't take yourself too seriously. Sometimes you have to identify yourself as different and embrace your situation.

Living with a disability presented P2 with various physical, emotional, and social challenges, but he overcame them and used them as motivating factors for attaining self-reliance, self-acceptance and, ultimately, entrepreneurial success.

5.3.13.3 The Impact of Racism on Doing Business

Racial discrimination was palpably the bane of P2's existence. He said he first learnt about the separation of colour when he was temporarily employed at White

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people's homes. That continued throughout his policing career and entrepreneurial journey.

> One way or another you experience racism

P2 also related some racially insensitive incidents involving his White suburban neighbours. Post-1994, structural racism and White economic domination created market entry barriers for people like P2. That White people owned land in Soweto was shocking, especially when he compared the pre- and post-apartheid land value:

> Mr M... I knew him when I was buying those plots on the way to Soweto … that whole place is his from [Zuurbekom] up to Soweto … he was selling those things [for over R12 000 per plot]. He said he bought them for R64 in 1974… (laughs). And he was a Jew guy.

He reflected on how these racial dynamics impacted him as a new market entrant without the necessary knowledge in the field or the social capital:

> My pricing was imaginary… because I was just using my instincts… I didn't know how to use this thing of square metres… I would just look at it and say hai this one, I will start with so much… during those times … I didn't know of many Black people who run the property business that I could ask about pricing … I was afraid of approaching Whites because I could sense an element of ehm … I don't want to say jealousy (laughs). … Ja, that's the right word. It's envy in the space … Exactly! So, I was scared of them.

First, he had to overcome the hurdles of getting a majority white municipal committee to approve his plans. Their engagements were characterised by racist undertones:

> And then one day I just went to the municipality with a plan … in that meeting they were 8 and there was one Black person. He didn't seem to understand why he was there… Isn't it when you are Black person … they just use you? You go there so that the minutes can reflect that you were present… he never said a word … (laughs) … he was an engineer … I remember I was very stubborn… So, they wanted me to change the plan and they had already approved it. So reluctantly I allowed them. So, I managed to build those 5 [apartments]… (laughs)… I was the first Black person to do that there so, yho!

Seeing his construction project in a White suburb through to the end would prove to be a roller coaster ride riddled with incidents of brazen racism and sabotage. Regardless of the support he got from more open-minded White associates, P2 had to deal with saboteurs who were determined to keep him out of a White area:

They tried very hard to block me when I was constructing … at one stage … White people – at night, they … ripped off all those cables [I had tubed in before laying concrete] and threw them on the floor. Laughs. So, it was a struggle… you can see this person was not stealing. He was just destroying … even the next-door neighbour- when I was making them sign for permission to build. Jerr, they fought. They even wrote a letter saying no. We don't want them here. He's going to build shacks here. "Ja, so it was just pure racism … during those times it was still early for them to accept that. Now things are much better.

For P2, attaining certain goals under difficult circumstances added to the thrill of taking risks. Ultimately, he proved both to himself and to others that he was not the failure that his naysayers had predicted.

5.3.13.4 *The Impact of Crime on Township Communities.*

Interestingly, P2 said he was never threatened with crime in Mohlakeng, even when he dealt in cash when he still starting out.

I think people thought I still had a gun, being a former cop and people were - I don't think there was any such threat that was ever posed on me or I experienced.

Nonetheless, it was a tragic twist of fate that the consequences of crime influenced P2's decision to venture into business. His story poignantly highlights the vulnerability experienced daily by township communities, regardless of their status.

5.3.13.5 *The Impact of COVID-19 on Business*

Due to COVID 19 restrictions, P2 was delayed in completing the guesthouse project:

I'm just taking a chance … I started it before COVID. I had started with renovations and then COVID came. It's killing me … I started last week – I am going slowly – because there's a hospital nearby. So, they are constructing a hospital there. My target was people who are visiting patients.

Things did indeed get better for P2 when COVID-19 subsided and restrictions were lessened. He finally managed to launch the project in September 2021 and was already receiving online bookings.

5.3.14 Lessons for Others

The three biggest success lessons P2 wanted to share with others were interrelated and had a lot to do with one's relationship with wealth and success. The first one was being modest and having realistic ambitions:

> I think starting small … some people, when starting a business – especially us black people … sometimes we become over ambitious … you want to make millions instantly, meanwhile it's not really feasible. Laughs. That's what I'd advise somebody who's starting out.

The second and third lessons concerned having a healthy relationship with wealth. This had to do with avoiding wasteful expenditure and overindulgence:

> The other thing is to respect the money you're making because it can break you or build you … you do well in business and become extravagant with unnecessary things (laughs) that are not business-related … you've got the pressure that eish, people know me as a successful person … I must show them by buying a big car… Lamborghini or something.

He was bothered by a growing trend of boastfulness by tenderpreneurs, to whom money came easily enough to waste. He believed that the risk of losing it all due to wastefulness loomed large, and that was not a viable option for him:

> You become a spendthrift … there's a famous thing in Mohlakeng, they call TAP – *pomp* … a person walks in and says, drinks for everyone … I'll tell you when to stop … when … they have had enough … you ask how much … the person says R32 000 … they swipe a credit card… For them … it's the power… Sometimes it's not success as such, it's to compete over unnecessary things … I want to show that *P a ka se mphale* (P won't outdo me) … That's the thing I find to be killing, the so called … the tenderpreneurs… … the thing you haven't work for you can't retain it … if you don't respect it, money will just fly away … it's not a lot of people who have second chances when … it comes to (laughs) finance … when you fall over, many times it's not easy to rise again.

P2 evidently did not take his hard-earned success for granted. For him, financial prudence was key to entrepreneurial success and wealth retainment.

5.3.15 Summary and Conclusion

P2's understanding of concepts of entrepreneur and entrepreneurship was that they were modern concepts in the African context. He was of the view that Africans were previously engaged in largely communalist, self-sustaining substance farming. His definition of entrepreneurial success incorporated achieving set goals within a

particular time frame. His venture into the business world seemed to be coincidental rather than planned (i.e. driven by necessity rather than opportunity). He attributed his success to hard work and luck, which he considered to stem from divine favour. His pension pay-out augmented his household income and freed up his business income for reinvestment. Cost-cutting measures for land acquisition, labour recruitment and project monitoring fast-tracked his asset base. His accommodative and flexible leadership and management style also enabled him to engender employee trust and stay ahead of the pack. Through entrepreneurial success, P2 was able to improve his personal lifestyle and physical mobility, which helped to project his image as an independent, self-reliant paraplegic.

It could be argued that misfortune and negative social and cultural factors played a big role in P2's entrepreneurial journey. Prefacing his success story with his tragedy exemplifies the harsh realities of township life while highlighting how he used his adversity as a motivating factor and capitalised on available resources to forge ahead. Both his family background of being poverty-stricken with a strong sense of abandonment and his personal circumstances of being a paraplegic motivated P2 to start a business. He also wanted to secure his own children's family identity and their material future to avoid them suffering the same fate. His entire life trajectory was aptly encapsulated by his African name *Rabothata* (i.e. one dogged by trouble).

On the surface, not much in P2's familial, educational and work background seemed relevant to his entrepreneurial journey. But digging deeper one realises that he learnt a lot of life lessons that prepared him for entrepreneurship. His resolve to craft his own career path saw him reversing the trajectory of poverty that had dogged him throughout his life. His fear of poverty and hunger also motivated him to tolerate school life, a policing career and to pursue business in a sector that was hard to

penetrate. This required self-sacrifice, endurance, self-discipline and resilience. Paradoxically, the biggest contribution his police career made towards his entrepreneurial ventures was financial. He used his pension payouts to augment his household income and finance his projects. He was empathic towards people who were weaker, poorer or more marginalised than he was, including his customers, which affirms his cultural sensitivity. That emotional disposition was entrenched by his own poor background and personal experiences of living with a disability. He was acutely self-aware and self-reliant and had learnt to embrace his weaknesses and strengths. Having a good sense of humour seemed to be an effective coping mechanism for him to navigate awkward social situations.

Friends, acquaintances and associates benefitted P2 with information and advice about land acquisition, asset management and the rental market. They also played the role of advocacy, petitioning and negotiating on his behalf and motivating him to persist with his bidding campaigns. In exceptional cases, they also provided him with finance to complete his projects. Whereas bitter encounters with fraudsters and jealous competitors seemed to make him more guarded and selective in his associations, charting new markets challenged him to be bolder and to broaden his social networks. To obtain support from a variety of people across the social strata, he had to look beyond his racial and ethnic networks for information and other forms of help. Interestingly, being a former policeman was an advantage when he needed defending from racially motivated antagonism as was the case when one of his cousins who was also a police officer intervened on his behalf with white people.

It is interesting to note that P2 labelled himself as a loner even though he seemed to navigate social situations with ease. His introverted personality made him guarded about fraternising randomly, but he maximised his interactions with a wide range of

people in the business world. What stood out was how readily an observer takes for granted the effort it costs a disabled person to navigate their physical and social environment. Without physical self-reliance and psychological readiness, P2 might have struggled to cope in the business environment.

From the experiences of racism and discrimination, P2 developed effective cross-racial and ethical bonds and networks that benefitted his business. Hostile relations across the colour bar taught him how to be tenacious, strong willed and determined to challenge the status quo. Similarly, his awareness of prejudice against disabled persons forced P2 to ensure that he was both physically and financially independent. P2 seemed to justify, absolve and rationalise other people's bad treatment of him. He often used the phrases such as: "You can't blame these people" and "I don't blame them" to exonerate people who were in a position to help him but did not. This tendency might be attributed to his Christian beliefs, since Christianity puts a lot of emphasis on forgiveness. Religion also influenced his high moral, behavioural and ethical standards.

Finally, there were various benefits that P2 derived from socio-cultural factors throughout his entrepreneurial success journey. His ancestral family did not play a direct role in his business journey. However, by providing him with accommodation and other material and moral support, they helped him launch his career first as a policeman and subsequently as an entrepreneur. After his accident key role players were his grandmother, his maternal uncle, his late paternal uncle and the latter's extended family, who gave him moral, emotional support and business leads. Cousins and nieces defended and lobbied on his behalf when he was vulnerable to business theft and sabotage. Abandonment and hardship taught him empathy and forgiveness, which he later said helped him to deal compassionately with his clients. The biggest

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support was from his immediate family. His wife was his partner in business and she and their sons supported him physically during recovery, psychologically by encouraging and motivating him when he was feeling down and socially when he was interacting with the outside world, which was not always accommodating for paraplegics.

From his culture and religion, P2 learned how to be empathic, forgiving, communal and to share with the less fortunate. His faith in God sustained him throughout.

P2 did not give much credit to legislated procurement set asides targeted at historically disadvantaged groups. However, he evidently benefitted from them as an African and a disabled man. He also took advantage of niche markets presented by township culture and lifestyle, such as backyard rentals of backrooms and garages. Despite the positive developmental changes in townships, he identified constraints that limited expansion and growth, including limited space, technical support and information, as well as inflexible bylaws. He desired more political support to ensure that legislation favoured township entrepreneurship.

Finally, although crime did not have a direct impact on P2's business, he was a victim of crime, having been shot and nearly killed in a nearby township. On the other hand, COVID-19 restrictions did delay his business expansion plans. The diagram below illustrates the different types of benefits and drawbacks per factor or network.

Figure 5.2: Examples of Benefits and Drawbacks of Socio-cultural Factors in P2's Narrative
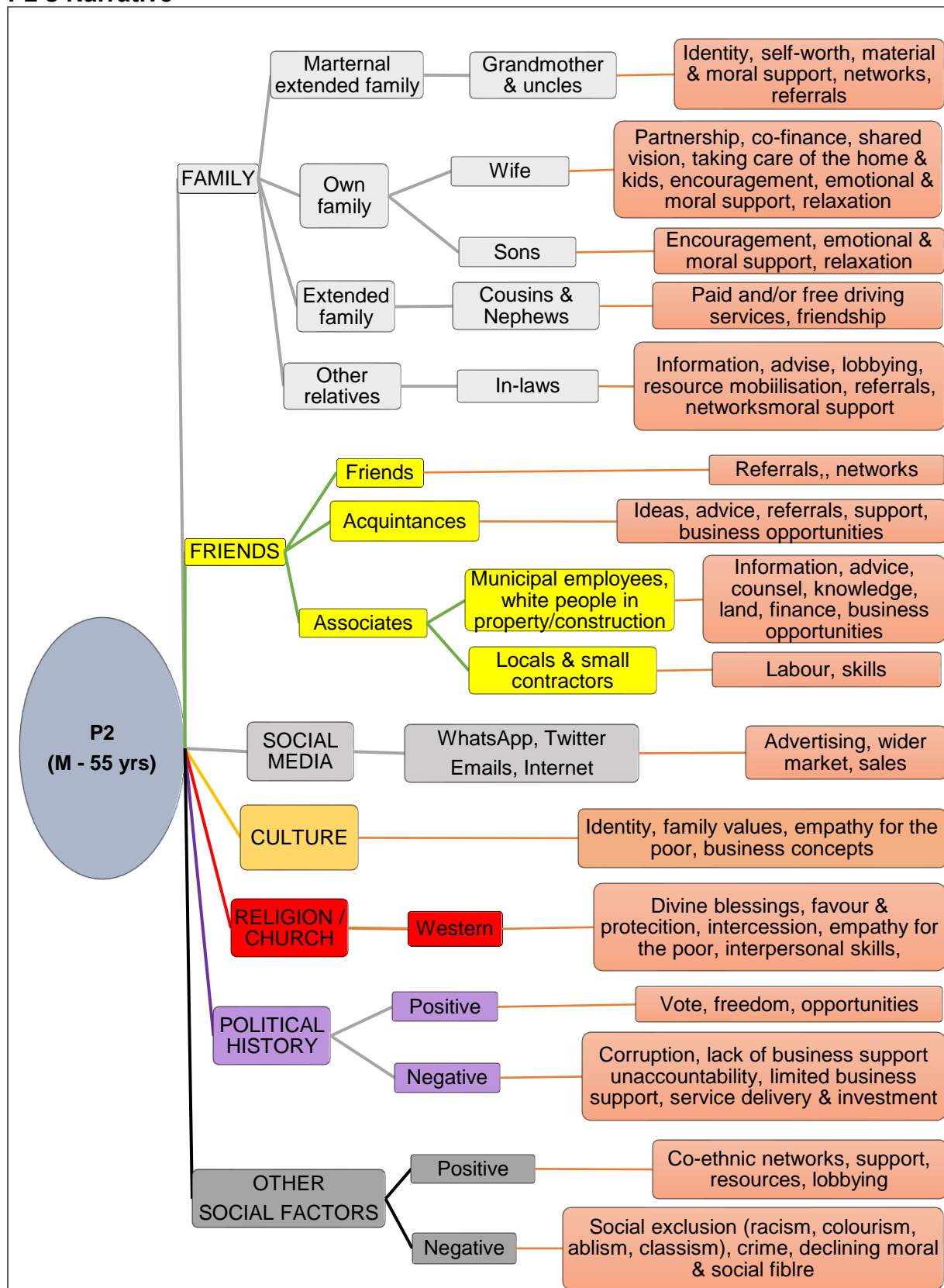
5.4 Case Analysis 3 – P3

5.4.1 Interview Details

- Date: 27 March 2021
- Length: 100 minutes
- Venue: Participant's grocery and liquor stores, Mohlakeng township, Randfontein

5.4.2 Personal Information

- Participant's nickname: P3
- Gender: Male
- Age: 41
- Place of birth: Mohlakeng township, Gauteng
- Ethnicity and languages: Zulu and Tswana
- Education: Grade 11
- Business training: Short courses in business management, sewing & computer literacy, business systems obtained in correctional facility/provided by the retail franchisor
- Working experience: Various prison duties: Running recreation programmes, sewing uniforms, farming, etc.
- Business experience Building construction & renovation, project management and rental property management
- Own family: Single with daughter then aged 12 years

5.4.3 Information on operational township business(es)

- Township: Mohlakeng, Westrand, Gauteng
- Type of business(es): Grocery & liquor stores & Residential rental property
- Year started: 2001
- Main products/services: Groceries and liquor & businesses rental property
- Number of employees: 18
- Gross annual turnover: + R800 000 per annum

5.4.4 Meaning of Entrepreneurship and Entrepreneurial Success

P3 struggled to equate concepts like entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial success to single terms in both Zulu and Tswana. Even with further prompting, he hesitated on suggestions like *tswellopele*, which is a Tswana equivalent for success.

To him, success was about meeting the milestones he had set for himself, which he used as indicators or measures of success:

> *Ja, nkare ke tswellopele* (I could say), eish (laughs). The problem is that *nna* (my) success I base it on *mosebetsi o ke ipeetseng one ka nako e ke peetseng yona* (the period I allocate for achieving something). Like my targets, like this year I want to do 1,2,3 or this month in the shop we want to change the layout.

The meaning of success to P3 was broader than achieving business success. It incorporated achieving personal, financial and life goals and being able to improve his lifestyle and that of his family:

> Nna (my) success *ke gore* (is that) from where I come from to where I am … to me my success is that now I can afford myself … It's not all about big – things or smaller things. As long as *fela if ke batla go ya* Durban I can afford, if ever *ke batla go etsa eng* I can - that's my success (I can go anywhere and do whatever I want) … my staff *ke se patela ka nako* (I pay them on time), *ko ntlung go jewa, ke tsogile ngwanaka a ya skolong* (there's food at home, I am alive, my child is going to school). Everything [is] alright. That's success for me.

He wanted his success to have a compounding effect on the community at large, which is an integral part of the ubuntu value system:

> Mostly my concern is to pay my staff. Those people have got families … you find … one [person] is looking after 10 people and it's great to see somebody happy … I found that whatever I do, I don't do just do for myself or for my daughter only or for my mother, but whoever is there is benefitting, whatever we do. My success is to see people *ba spana* … creating more work, a healthy lifestyle that people can live … it's no use that I can have whatever I have, and other people lack because … I'm going to need them at the end of the day.

The important success factors that he listed were discipline, eagerness to learn and not taking small things for granted, since everything had an impact. This means that he was goal oriented and achievement oriented.

5.4.4 Journey Towards Entrepreneurial Success

P3 was the sole proprietor of a supermarket incorporating a liquor outlet. As a teenager he was convicted of criminal activity and served 44 months in prison. Following his release on parole in 2002, he and his two friends resuscitated his family's corner shop near his home. They started off with one shelf, selling small items like popcorn and loose cigarettes. Then in 2003 P3 entered the South African Breweries

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Kickstart competition as part of a business management course. He won a R100 000 grant, which he used to fix the shop and buy more stock. His mother also helped him secure R40 000 from the National Youth Development Agency (NYDA) in 2007. They worked hard to renovate the shop and to attain entrepreneurial success.

In 2018, the Pick 'n Pay retail franchise asked P3 to partner with them as part of their township development programme. They assisted him to get R2.9 million worth of funding from the National Enterprise Fund (NEF) and Old Mutual Insurance to revamp the entire shop.

Image 5.10: P3 in his Grocery Store (Left) and other Sections of Grocery Store

Through the deal, he was able to supplement the grocery store with a bottle store next door, as shown in the images bellow. His staff complement grew from three to 18.

Image 5.11: P3's Liquor Store Adjacent to the Grocery Store

In addition to managing the stores, he also rented out business and residential properties. He said that with the stores, his annual turnover was over R8 million, which he agreed was reasonable for a township setting:

> We've been growing monthly … when we started the store, our turning rate [turnover] was 400k (R400 000). But currently we are going to 9 and 1m (R900 000 to R1 million).

He indicated that the disadvantage with the partnership was that sometimes their expenses under the franchisor's brand were too high. Although they did not have to pay any royalties, they had to buy stock from their suppliers, use their systems, and participate in their group advertising. Despite this he found that the partnership had advantages for him because he was getting ideas on expansion.

5.4.5 The Role of the Family in Entrepreneurial Success

P3 was born in 1979 in Mohlakeng township on the outskirts of Randfontein. He was the only child and lived with both his parents until his father passed away in 1996 when he was 17 years old. He attended Mohlakano Primary School and at Abe Phokompe High School where his subjects included Mathematics, Accounting and Science. He did not write Matric because he got into trouble with the law. He was convicted for car theft and spent over three years in jail.

5.4.5.1 Paternal family

It was primarily from his father that P3 learnt a lot about business. These lessons were influential in reviving the family business upon his release from prison:

> My father was running the same business I am running right now. It's a family business. He stared it in the 40s to where it is. In 1996, sadly my father passed away. From 1996, the businesses closed down.

P3 acquired a lot of business information, knowledge and skills from spending extended periods of time at the shop and assisting his father. For example, he learnt stratagems for ordering supplies—what, who from, where and how—based on his father's networks:

> Ja, most of the time *ke phetse mo shopong.* (I lived in the shop). *Ja, ke ne ke thusa, ke etsa eng* (I was helping out, doing whatever) … There was no other lifestyle *e ke ephetseng beside ya shopo* … (I have lived except this one). *Papa na chomana le bo mang* (who my father was befriending, etc.) … that knowledge, I learnt it from the shop [sic].

Although he was learning unintentionally or indirectly, this orientation also enabled him to deepen his understanding of how to configure business systems:

> I could see *gore ho go rekiwa nama kae … ho ha go buiwa go etswang … go capturiwa stock …* (I could see that oh that's where they buy the meat, oh ... when they come back, they capture the stock). Smaller stuffs, even though I was just there to eat and play. Ja, but that knowledge; it helped me a lot to be where I am.

P3 confirmed that his family business background assisted greatly when he took over the family store. He was under pressure to emulate his highly esteemed father and continue his legacy because locals even called him by his father's name Mbali:

> … *le pressure* … because my father … was once successful. So, when *ke kena mo ditlhakong tsa gage* (when I stepped into his shoes), *le nna* I have to be successful … where my father left off, I have to make sure … I do what is good.

The pressure to excel motivated P3 to strive to be like his father and to achieve the same goals of building the family brand from generation to generation:

> My family comes far in terms of businesses. Even my father from where came from, what he got from his father he took it somewhere. I am also taking it to another step.

P3 was greatly inspired by his father's charitable reputation. Just like his grandfather, his father's idea of entrepreneurial success included helping others:

> I'm telling you that my father – There are a lot of people he took to school. There are a lot of people who whenever they meet me tell that yho! At such and such a time, your father helped me with 1, 2, 3, I am here because of him.

So determined was P3 to pass on the family legacy that he had named his then 12-year-old daughter Mbali (flower) after his grandfather. He said he was encouraging her to work in his shop so that she could learn business skills just as he had done from his father (see 5.4.10 below). P3 was still single and living at his family home with his mother and daughter. His mother was helping him to co-parent. It was convenient to stay a walk away from the shop as he could respond quickly to emergencies.

5.4.5.2 Maternal family

P3 regarded his mother as the most supportive person in his entrepreneurial journey. She had given him physical, moral, emotional and financial support throughout his life, especially when he was incarcerated and when he started his business ventures. He understood the risk his mother was taking by putting up their family home title deed as security for a loan. Had he failed, they would have sunk together:

> I would say it's my mom … she believed in me .... whatever I wanted to do she was there. Like when I was taking loans for R40 000, I was getting a security from the house. She didn't say hey, my house, what, what! She says to me if you want to do this, do it … That's why I say [s]he's the pillar of my strength … though [s]he doesn't see it that way, but I can attest to it.

He valued his mother's ongoing support, even when she struggled to make ends meet:

> Ah, *ko tronkong* (in prison), Mama would come, but I would understand that [s]he was a housewife, she didn't have the monies ... she got money from here and there … I was with other friends. They would come as families, together. Whoever came, came…

His mother seemed to have played more of a nurturing role than his late father. In turn, P3 became the father figure when his father passed on. He said he was protecting his mother from other family members who were taking advantage of her and the family estate:

> It's just that where I grew up, I was closer to my mother's side [of the family] ... you have to protect your mother from your father's side … some [of my father's family members], when they are this side, they thought gore *ba tlo dlalla kamo* (running roughshod this side, taking advantage). But they ended up getting the picture … I will always be on my mother's side… to protect this.

5.4.5.3 Extended paternal family

Some of P3's paternal family resided in Mohlakeng, but the majority were based in Ulundi, KwaZulu-Natal, where they originated. He explained that his father's side of the family were very enterprising and well-off compared to his mother's:

> They are doing farming, in taxis and … others are well educated … They're doing very well. Ja … [this thing ya business is really coming from far back in the family].

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5.4.5.4 Other extended family members

P3 confirmed that three of his cousins were his employees and that he was happy with their performance.

5.4.6 The Role of Friends in Entrepreneurial Success

P3 was very proud of his strong network of friends and his active social life. Most of his friends were companions from his township with whom he had maintained enduring friendships. In fact, when he came out of prison, he started revamping his father's store with the help of two of his friends. Their humble beginning was comparable to running a *spaza* shop*:*

> I started with one shelf! … *Ne re rekisa* (we sold) whatever we could sell. Maskoppers (colourful popcorn) … Cigarette, whatever… No, no, no, there was no alcohol. There were 3 of us. It was me, O… he is still working with me … but he's not here right now; and M ... They are my friends. I ended up *ke spana le bone* (working with them).

5.4.6.1 Former fellow prison inmates

Clearly some of his friends influenced P3 both positively and negatively. He and his gang suffered the consequences of criminal behaviour. Together they served a prison term of 44 months in their late teens:

> So, 1988 I was not able to write my Matric. *Ke ile ka nna le bothata* (I encountered a problem). I went to prison … Ja, for car theft and I was released in 2002… it was a group… Peer pressure, ja … We were arrested [at the same time] … and we found others inside … I stayed there 3 years 8 months. Lots of things happens [sic].

At first the carefree, impressionable youngsters did not take incarceration seriously because they were enjoying the camaraderie of "hanging out" with *majita* (gents). That changed when they realised that their fate was in their own hands, and they could still reshape their future:

> We were lucky they [authorities] were more focused, and they were guiding us *gore* guys: This is life. If ever you want to stay in prison, you'll stay. If you don't want to stay you won't stay. It's your choices … we realised that no, this is not our place. We need to make sure that we do whatever we have to do and then we come out.

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Some of his former fellow prison mates, whom he affectionately called his team have remained in P3's inner circle of friends:

> Even those we went to prison with, we're still close… Let me say, my team, those of us who were together, before we met in prison ... we were 5 … We're still keeping in touch… *re a kopana, re etsang* (we meet up and do things), you see.

Fortunately, prison turned out to be a positive life-changing experience for him and his team. The fact that they were also in businesses was an added benefit because they could give each other support:

> *Le bone (they too)* they are doing well. *Ba spana* (they work). T has a security company… We meet up … We exchange ideas … and other friends I met in prison too, *bo W …* they are busy doing their own stuff. Let me say, my team, those of us who were together, before we met in prison, their life is better than before.

P3 said that his team also passed on business opportunities to each other, although he was the one who often referred whatever opportunities he had to them. Additionally, the team helped each other financially. Their support for each other was intentional and purposeful, focusing on creating a better future:

> Whatever we're getting for ourselves, we try to see how we can help each other so tomorrow when I need R10 000, I can be able to phone him. If he needs R5 000, he can also call phone me ... Cos we're trying to build one another so that we can be more successful.

From his team, P3 had also learnt how to adopt an unworried mental posture, which was necessary for circumventing stress:

> Even my friends and business associates – we talk … you say, homeboy I owe R30 000, and he says you are playing, I owe R3 million … You start to ask yourself: he's so happy. He says it's just R3 million, I'll pay it back. Meanwhile I'm sleeping in - stressed out over R30 000. I started to say that no man let me wake up … after 2 days you have been able to raise that money, you've paid it off – I wasted time.

5.4.6.2 Acquaintances and associates

P3 identified the principal of his former high school as one of the people who assisted him a lot in his business. T was the principal, P2's nephew (see Case 2) and the community gatekeeper who assisted me to obtain interviews in Mohlakeng

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township. Through T's referral, P3 secured a contract to run a tuckshop and a feeding scheme at the school:

> I've been doing business at his school … for close to 15 years … Even now I'm still running his tuck shop … We are the longest [serving] people at that school… It's nice.

That business opportunity enabled P3 to plough back into the community through various programmes:

> Even donations, we give them. [In] 2018, we gave them R5 000 … soccer kits, we buy for them. We participate [cooperate] sharp with them. It's one of our adopted schools.

5.4.6.3 Other Role Models in the Community

Beyond his father and family members, P3 was also inspired by local role models in the business fraternity:

> There are women who run shops in our group (business association) … we are together, and they help me, I help them.

Coincidentally, P3 used to be an apprentice of P2 (see Case 2). It was from him that he learnt a lot about business. He implied that theirs was like an uncle-nephew relationship even though they were not related. They remained each other's source of support:

> P2, the one who is on the wheelchair ... He's also one of the guys who motivated me … *O pushitse* P2 (he has pushed). I used to drive him … He used to send me on errands … when he was … in Mohlakeng. I was one of his best boys … I grew up under bo P2 ... Even when he has a problem, he can call me: Vusi can you help me with 1,2,3,4, and I'll do that… Even when he was buying his Mercedes. He came … and said *mchana, are tsamaye* (nephew let's go) … Even most of his projects, I know them… Renovating houses, those flats in Randfontein. I learnt - like boP2 are those people that - we took from them. I was his *stuurboy* – he thought we were just messengers – but we were learning.

5.4.7 The Role of Reference Groups in Entrepreneurial Success

In addition to the local spaza shop business associations, P3 also belonged to other clubs like stokvels (rotating saving schemes), social and burial societies. Although he joined mainly for socialising, there were several benefits for his business

ventures. He used the returns to augment his personal income so that he could free up his business income for reinvestment. He animatedly related his enjoyment of it all:

> *Hai di teng*! (they are there) … Ja! Stokvels, we have societies. Those are socials… Ja, burials. *DiMondays ra tshellana* (We rotate our payment scheme on Mondays). Ja, we do all those things …Yes, it's helpful because [of] now currently, my child's school fees, and everything is there. I pay it with that money… Ja, you pay ahead … we contribute R500 monthly, we have the one R600 for holidays. … It's not that I have to wake up tomorrow and pop up R20 000 for something. We know we plan that this is what happens.

Different social clubs served different purposes. He was a member of four societies. It is interesting to note that he placed a lot of value on his social image:

> There's the monthly one for burials, for uniforms, for suits, you get me? *Re ya re le right*! (We go looking sharp in suits) … We sit and have lunch. That's the one for investments and burials … We contribute R1 000 a month each.

He confirmed that he participated in these groupings not only for leisure but also to gain value-adding networks, finance, information and tangible business opportunities:

> Akere (isn't it) it's for associating and those people are mostly my customers … Cos somebody is working somewhere else, and they say, hai we are tired of buying tea accompaniments from the White areas. Come and pitch Vusi. I go to the company and pitch, and they give me a job [tender] … Like right now … we supply quantum eggs [to company XXX for immigrants] … foods, meats, they order from me, … Even the mines, we supply with peanut butter … there's … more opportunity outside than being here … my focus is to go out and do business outside and bring it [here].

As an owner-franchisor of the Pick 'n Pay brand, P3's business was entitled to certain forms of support, including training on systems, staff development, marketing, advertising and co-funding, which helped him a lot in setting up and promoting his venture. He also belonged to a business association comprising fellow owner-franchisors of the same brand (i.e. the same as P6 from Case 6). He said that platform also provided opportunities to give back to the community by mentoring nascent entrepreneurs and resuscitating old businesses:

> I've been mentoring some other guys who have shops. I am still a member of the Spaza Association … I'm still in the movement of trying to develop *makeishene* (townships) and their businesses. Even our old grandfathers' businesses, I have been trying to engage with their children: You can do this, try to do this … *molekeisheneng* you knew that *ko Ntate Mbali, ko Mosiane, ko Fourlights, ko kae kae* (popular businesses in the township). That's the culture we

grew up in … they must still know that those are our backbones as Mohlakeng businesses … Ja, what we refer to as spazas.

When I commented on his WhatsApp profile picture of him on a quadbike, P3 acknowledged that it was part of his multi-pronged strategy to be socially accessible to everyone in the township and to support local entrepreneurs. By so doing, he also avoided jealousy (*umona)* while simultaneously modelling to others how to learn from diverse experiences:

> That's how I planned my life *gore* I'm running business *mo lekeisheneng*, and I'm a role model to some other kids and all that stuff, and for me to be differentiated from other people, I have to do things that are different … *mo lekeisheneng* there's jealousy that you don't know of. Now you try and balance those kinds of activities.

5.4.8   The Role of Social Media in Entrepreneurial Success

As shown in the images below, P3 had technological equipment for business, such as stock management and security systems.

Image 5.12: P3 Monitoring his shops in Administration Office

He said he used social media mostly for advertising but not much for himself personally. At the time of the interview he did not have a website, but he was on Facebook, Twitter and WhatsApp. He believed that he himself was the best brand promoter, which worked best for his type of business.

> For my kind of business, I present myself. I'm here.

This made sense, given the meaning he attached to his social and cultural image.

5.4.9 The Role of Culture in Entrepreneurial Success

P3 identified strongly with both his paternal Zulu and maternal Tswana cultures and thought there were benefits from belonging to both. He mastered both languages but spoke mostly Zulu with his father's family:

> *Ke moZulu. Papa ke ma Zulu, Mama ke baTswana* (I am Zulu. Papa's family is Zulu; Mama's family is Tswana) … my father's culture, I still practice it … and my mother's too. I lived in two different cultures, which I think they were more supportive based on my viewpoint.

5.4.9.1 Culture, Cultural Identity and Self-Worth

Symbolism is obvious in the Zulu culture and it is often linked to one's identity. It is typically captured in family and clan names through totemism. P3 was proud of his lineage, which he explained interchangeably in both languages. In his view, cultural identity and self-worth were intrinsically linked to the success of the entire household and by extension the entire Ndlovu (elephant) clan. Because of his cultural name Vusimuzi, he saw himself as the one who had inherited the legacy of elevating his family name:

> *Ke Ndlovu nna* (I am an elephant) … my name *ke* Vusimuzi … which means I have to *tsosa motse wa ko gae* (raise up my family) … If *motse wa ko gae wa robala* (if my household is asleep/down), they'll start asking *gore* Vusi, your name says *tsosa motse* (raise the family), but your home is down what's happening? That is what is always pushing me to say … I must do more with my name's sake *gore ke Vusimuzi; umuzi wa ka Baba uvukile, umuzi wa ka Baba uyasebenza, into ezifana nalezo* (my father's household has arisen).

His identity was connected not just to ancestry but also to success. He identified himself with his father, a successful icon. This was a perfect foundation for building a long-lasting legacy, which was something that could be emulated from other cultures:

> The name went so big to the level that they also call me Mbali and even my daughter, I named him after my father … the family legacy must go on *e tswelle pele … makgoa ke ntho tse ba dietsang* (it must continue … White people do those things). Their legacy continues.

5.4.9.2 Cultural Influences in Business

What stood out for P3 about the two cultures was their general approach towards life and business. In his opinion, Zulus were overly assertive compared to Tswanas,

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whom he regarded as more benign. He said he conveniently adapted his cultural approaches to suit different situations to achieve his objectives:

> What I learnt in the two cultures – ko maZulung we are more direct … When we want something, we want something. Whatever you feel about it … it's like that. But ko baTswaneng, they tend to be more … I don't know what – they are quieter. *Bana le botho* … (they are humbler/civil) … *ha o bua le baTswana* (when you speak to Tswanas), there's respect … ko baZulung, you have to be a man. You don't have to feel pain for somebody. You have to be aggressive … Ja, I've learnt that … if ever I need that, I have to use *boZulu baka* (my Zulu-ness) in a different way, *boTswana baka* (my Tswana-ness) in a different way.

P3 certainly believed in ancestors and their divine intervention in his life and business was an integral part of his heritage. He saw his religious and cultural beliefs as intrinsically linked. Both sides of his family practised ancestral worship:

> Ja, no, in my family we do that. Like yearly, *ra tlhaba* (we slaughter) … *ka mo baTswaneng le ko maZulung* (both in the Tswana and Zulu families) mostly because my grandfather was - *e ne ele ngaka* (a sangoma/traditional healer) … Ja, that one [in Madubulaville] … we have *mathwasana* ("apprentice" sangomas) in the family … Ja, culturally we are there.

He was certain that honoring his ancestors and performing cultural rites at the shop brought him divine providence and was linked to his entrepreneurial success:

> They protect me … whatever; problems that we have. *Re chesa dimphepo* (burn muti/ traditional incense), we talk [to them] … [here in the shop] … we go to the cemetery, we clean the graves, *re etsa mesebetsi* (we conduct rituals). *re kenya diphandla. Saka se kgaogile* (we wear "bracelets" - mine is broken) … Ja, every year we do that.

Symbolic artifacts such as *isiphandla* (Zulu for bracelet made from goat skin when rituals have been performed) denoted cultural identity, personhood and self-respect. This was linked to his cultural heritage in that he adorned himself with cultural symbols as a form of covering:

> It shows that we have sacrificed for our ancestors … it's a symbol of protection … when you're not wearing it, you feel like you're not well dressed. But when you've put it on … you find yourself that you're more respectable, *wena* inside … I think for me as an individual, it's embracing who I am … I'm not shy about my culture … and like *ha se seo* (when it's not there), we feel like hey man, something is not right.

In P3's experience, most of their family's cultural and religious beliefs and practices were positive because they brought restoration and healing:

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I think it's all about … what you believe in… in my family … maybe sometimes you dream of something that's bad, you wake up in the morning. You burn *mpepho*, you sleep well… And maybe some[thing] happens, and you … go to the cemetery and clean the graves, talk to the ones at home ... My family practices in terms of restoring emotions help me … maybe you get annoyed by someone, and you lock yourself up and pray to God and say: *Moleko ke oo. Bona gore o tswa yang ka ona* (here comes trouble. See what to do) … Ja, when you get out of there, it's gone, you go forward.

Prompted further, P3 confirmed that his family also performed circumcisions as part and parcel of their culture and that was enforced by the elders in the family:

Ja, we do that stuff, ja, we do everything … In fact, in my family, there are still old people and *molao ke molao, and ke gotse ka one* (the law is the law, and I grew up in it) and we're still practicing it and all that stuff.

5.4.9.3 Cultural Influences and Family Values

Because of the emphasis he placed on creating a legacy, P3 seemed conscious of the importance of passing on the baton to his daughter although it was informal at that stage as she was still at school:

Ja, but *yena fela o bona fela gora hai ko phanda ka da* (She just sees it as a place to hustle / make a quick buck) … But so far, I am grateful, she's doing well at school and all that stuff. She's in Grade 5… she comes [to the shop]. She is working, doing everything.

While he had learnt a lot from spending time around the shop, observing how his father operated and accompanying him to his suppliers, P3 had mentioned that the older generations liked to keep their cards close to their chests by not revealing the "secrets" of the trade. He wanted to break the chain of keeping future generations ignorant about their secrets to success by passing on the knowledge and information:

I also don't what happened to my father to happen to me, that I pass away, and my child doesn't know anything. That's why right now I have tried to form systems, so that … even if you don't know anything … if you stay on it, you will know how to run it … It's for the next generations. *Batho ba pele ne ba na le dikoti gore hai … Ke skoti saka* (Our predecessors had secret sources for supplies) … I'm trying to be more [of an] open book and [teach] as many people as I can so that even if I am not here … the shop must be run as if I am here.

To P3, collectivity was equally valued in both Zulu and Tswana cultures:

These two cultures; what I like is that we're working together… *ra agana* (we build up each other).

Nevertheless, he expressed concern over a sense of entitlement among some family members. This spoke to his value system, which was more about meeting

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people's basic needs and not spoon-feeding them. He distinguished collectivism from individualism to avoid being manipulated and extorted:

> *Ra agana*, but sometimes … there are certain individuals … in the family who … *ba batla o baraple* (expect you to pray to them), like … *O ba ncenge, e be badimo ba rona* (you must beg them, they must be our gods). When there's something … the person feels as though *yena ke ena* (they are it) … I started to say to myself: I help people who want to be helped; not every Tom, Dick and Harry … you differentiate between the needs and the wants.

According to P3, collectivism and building together extended beyond the family to the community. He was passionate about sustaining the legacy of legends such as his later father and grandfather and the business concepts they had initiated, such as corner shops. His partnership with a big retailer was aimed at developing a model of resuscitating local business concepts while promoting an entrepreneurial culture:

> I think for now those are my goals … From way back, I started talking about … a franchise … in 2003/4, and it was difficult for us to break through … I wanted it here in the townships so that we could revive the culture … motivate the youth *gore* (that) everything is possible.

Given his passion about township entrepreneurship and appreciation of township life and culture, it was predictable that P3 did not see himself relocating to a suburb. He said the hushed suburban life reminded him of prison. What he liked most about township life was its relaxed mood even though it was bursting with activity:

> I grew up here … There's no better place than kasi (township). *Ke na le dichomi tse blomang disuburbsing* (I have friends who live in the suburbs). Hai! Lifestyle ya da! Laughs. Hai! Well, no hai, ke sharp. That lifestyle, no, I'm good) … I like socialisation. I can leave my home the way I want. … I've built relationships like *tse* sharp with a lot of people. Hai – suburbs life hai! (Laughs and sighs … Laughs.) *Re setse re tlwaetse sphithiphithi* (we are already used to the hustle and bustle) … Ja, *ke* the culture… I stayed too long in a quiet place. *No, nka tlhanya* (I could go nuts) (laughs) … I got much time to listen (laughs).

P3 also valued the local community's ongoing support even though they had initially expressed doubts in his ventures:

> You start knocking around doors. And that's why I say I'm passionate about the community, they didn't judge me as a person. They believed in me, and I made sure I didn't disappoint them. That's just that.

Still, he had mixed feelings about some of the people's sentiments. Unlike his team, who had shared a similar prison experience, P3 felt that other township dwellers

had no idea how difficult it was to sustain entrepreneurial success in a tough environment. Instead, they had unrealistic expectations of successful people like him:

> For us here in the township it's worse than worse to run a business. Everybody sees you as a miracle … Like you can manage everything and sometimes we also need people who can listen to us. It's not all about we say this, and it happens ... And sometimes when you say hey man *ke na le mathata, motho o nagana o tshegisa ka ena, gore hei monna 1, 2, 3 o nagana gore wena ha wa tshwanelwa ke go nna le mathata* (when you tell a person you have problems, they think you're mocking them, they think you're not supposed to have any) … They forget that you are a human being. If ever you socialise with them and they glorify you, then you'll find yourself far into a mess.

5.4.9.4 *Culture and Gender Relations*

In P3's experience, his culture(s) did not prevent women from participating in business. As proof that he personally had no issue with it either, he was encouraging his daughter to work in the store and learn some business skills. However, he maintained that some industries were too risky and potentially abusive for women, which may speak to gender-based violence:

> I don't see a problem … being led by a woman … there are different kinds of businesses … a night club; you cannot run as a woman … *e tlhatlhakane* (it's hectic) and people take advantage, and they will call you names. But the supermarket it's fine. You can run it. There are women who run shops in our group, and we are together, and they help me, I help them … It's not all about gender … women are becoming more successful in whatever they are doing … I am looking up [to] them so that I know more … Gender doesn't play any role.

He explained that in his case family politics were opposed to the empowerment of women. His paternal family practically ruined the business after his father died, yet they demanded a stake in the family business:

> I saw it with my mother. It's good that if you are a man and you have a wife, teach her what you are doing, so that when you are not there, she knows what is happening … Families sometimes, they are a problem. They take advantage of the situation... How it came about that our businesses should close down; my father's family also plays a role because [of] *bagateletse Mamaka* (they oppressed my mother) … But the thing that the family says: … *no ke tsa ko boPapa* (it's the father's assets) … They're big-headed … They were expecting that – this is a shop – Whatever my father was doing right … they didn't know. They just see the shop running and they come inside, they do whatever and the shop went down.

5.4.10 The Role of Religion in Entrepreneurial Success

As a person who was brought up in a family of believers, P3 said he grew up believing in God and was also a regular churchgoer. His uncle was a pastor of a

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traditional Africanist Pentecostal denomination. He distinguished his church from others as follows:

> *Modimo o teng* (God exists). I believe strongly in God … *Le kereke, malome waka ke moruti* (even the church, my uncle is a pastor) … No, no, no, Pentecoste are not Bazalwane (born-again Christians). [They] wear blue and white [uniform]… Ja, we go to church and all that stuff.

He believed that God was instrumental in his success because through his relationship with him, he felt loved, understood and was able to develop his identity:

> God loves me so much to do a lot for me… [Prison] helped me a lot to be closer [to God] and to understand who am I.

Since religion and culture were interwoven with his belief system, P3 was not conflicted about giving equal credit to God and his ancestors for radically changing his perspective on life and inducing him to patiently wait for his desires to be fulfilled:

> That's why I said to myself, *Modimo le badimo baka* (my God and my ancestors) – to take me ko tronkong it was a blessing to say: Chap, you've got to make decisions. You have time to think, relax, think, and plan, and I came out … and became motivated and was patient enough. I understood that when things don't happen today, they will happen tomorrow.

Studying the scriptures and identifying with certain Biblical characters motivated P3 to be a better person and to aim high. They became his role models and inspired him to remain faithful in God. Reading their stories uplifted his spirits whenever he was feeling down and hopeless:

> *Akere* Bible, everyone interprets it the way they want and the way they feel. Cos sometimes people interpret it for their own wellbeing, I interpreted it in myself, to understand myself. Like the stories of David, the way David grows. It put at the level that [God] could still do wonders. If [Joseph] could grow up and they chased him away from his home, but he ended up taking care of the very same people who didn't want him … whenever I'm down, I'm look at myself and saying: but in the Bible, there's something like that.

Nevertheless, P3 was quite open-minded about religion and did not deem it appropriate to judge people according to their beliefs. He did not like people who imposed their religious beliefs and rules on others. Being the socialite he was, he could easily manoeuvre his way in varying religious and spiritual spaces:

I've got friends *ba Bazalwane (*born again Christians), I go to whatever … I determine who I am. *Ke na le dichomi tsa maMuslim* (I have Muslim friends). Who you are is more important to you than me … who I am is more important to me. Judging one another is not something that I base it on … whatever belief you believe in, I'll support you ... But don't say I must take yours and make it mine.

5.4.11 The Role of Political History in Entrepreneurial Success

P3 agreed that the political history of his township had played a role in his business environment and in his success as a township entrepreneur:

Ja, I'm not a politician but … if politicians, *dipolitics ne diseo* (without politics), we would never be where we are.

As previously discussed, his grandfather was a business leader in a pre-apartheid township called Madubulaville, which was adjacent to Randfontein town. P3 explained that the community was evicted because White people did not want them to live close by and they were resettled in Mohlakeng, which means a place of reeds. Mohlakeng also had fountains (*metswedi*), causing sinkholes, which badly affected the local economy and housing construction. As with other townships Mohlakeng became just another labour reserve for White areas. Be that as it may, P3 was proud of what his forefathers had achieved in revitalising the area.

The fact that P3 was a beneficiary of a government-funded loan scheme bore testament that programmes targeting previously disadvantaged people did facilitate their successful township entrepreneurship. He acknowledged the role played by the democratic government, especially the previous local administration, in promoting entrepreneurs like him and supporting them in terms of information, networks and business opportunities:

The previous mayors, like the former mayor of Mohlakeng, the guy was more influential on us as small businesses. He was there, he listened to us, most opportunities whenever they came up, he would tell us … whoever wants to participate … can participate…. and … there was a forum for small businesses that was run by him … when I was applying for … the zoning certificate, he helped me a lot … to get the upgrading of electricity because the old shops used to have problems with high voltage … Hei, he helped us; he helped us.

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His main complaint was with politicians who failed to meaningfully assist township entrepreneurs but instead got involved with government tenders, which tended to entangle them in corruption. Fortunately, P3's business model of sourcing opportunities from the private sector and government entities beyond Mohlakeng enabled him to avoid dealings with corrupt local officials or being beholden to them:

> I don't do business with [local] municipalities. They have long been saying: Hey, come do this … I'm avoiding these things of they made me who I am. Mind you, municipalities in the Northern Cape, Tshwane use me for many things, for the food hampers [for poor communities] … Pretoria … Port Elizabeth, we supply them.

It was fascinating how P3 used a Tswana and Biblical allegory of a prophet who was not acknowledged in his hometown to explain the importance of establishing himself locally first and protecting his reputation by avoiding dubious local dealings:

> … *ka seTswana bare ngaka ga e tume gaabo* (in Tswana, a traditional healer does not become famous in his hometown) … People from outside, they will know him! … That's my belief … you establish yourself, after that you go out and do something out there.

His strategy was also to deal even-handedly with all political parties to avoid getting caught in the middle of their battles. He said he was not outrightly affiliated to a single political party, although he had politically affiliated friends and customers:

> *Akere* (isn't it) you know, there is fighting going on anytime. And when you associate yourself, with this group … when they fight, you get in the middle, you get ruined… Hai, I have ANC friends… EFF buy from me, I supply. Even ANC, when they have campaigns, they buy … *nna ke ntate wa shop* (I am the father/owner of the shop). That's it! [I'll] vote for whatever I vote for… When I am with EFF, I am EFF. When I'm with ANC, I am ANC …They know that I'm there for everybody … I'm not partisan.

Being non-partisan also enabled him to support political causes without compromising himself:

> It's a safe position. When ANC wants a donation if I can I give them. If EFF wants a donation, if I can, I give it to them … there's no loyalty in politics… A person can betray you - tomorrow he has changed affiliations and you are left out in the cold.

Although he enjoyed the township lifestyle, P3 listed several disadvantages of trading in a township, which he believed should be addressed for township businesses

to flourish. One of the big problems for P3 was the lack of access to up-to-date information, technology and infrastructure in townships:

> You get information late, ja in the township. Like, when you go to the internet of things … It's [more] expensive to run 3G than fibre. People out there are paying less than *mo lekeisheneng* … there are certain things, to make them takes longer than when you're in the suburbs … we don't have certain resources … that's what makes township businesses fail.

He also decried the lack of investment in township businesses by financial institutions:

> They don't take us seriously. Laughs… We're the ones who do everything. We are the ones who clean up everything, but they don't take us seriously. Like if ever I as an individual go to the bank looking for a loan. They will never take me seriously. But if I come wearing [a franchiser's uniform], they will take me seriously… they'll start *ba mpitsa ka bo Mr mang, mang* (calling me by Mr so and so … They don't take township businesses serious[ly].

Another dynamic, which he saw as a positive challenge, was the upward mobility of some township residents, which had resulted in noticeable changes in the township market. This required local businesses to be more innovative and to raise their game. P3 and his kind were forced to improve their standards of service to retain customers:

> Oh, it's changed a lot, from where we started to where we are now … before there was that loyalty of customers because of - I think it because of affordability … But people now people can afford, now people [have] choices, they can drive wherever they want, they can buy groceries wherever they want … That's why … I said to myself, if ever I will [get] stuck with the same old shop, I will lose opportunities. Hai, let me change and at least make it keep pace with the people I'm with …we try to adapt… even our service should be more proper.

He ensured that his staff was trained regularly and encouraged them to invest in their own development:

> I take them to bigger stores … I told them: If ever you're willing to learn more, you will go to the bigger stores … what they do in bigger stores, we do also do here. It's just that here, you see it in a smaller scale, there it's a bigger scale but it's the same.

5.4.12 The Role of Other Social Factors in Entrepreneurial Success

Imprisonment, crime and COVID-19 were highlighted as additional social factors that had impacted on P3's entrepreneurial success journey in one way or another.

5.4.12.1 Lessons learnt from imprisonment

Incarceration deserves special mention since it was a recurring theme in P3's narrative about his entrepreneurial success journey. In 1999, he was convicted for vehicle theft and sentenced to six years in prison. He served the first three years and eight months of the term and was paroled for the rest of the term for good behaviour. He illustrated in numerous ways how prison helped him to develop spiritually, psychologically, physically, academically and socially. On the spiritual front, prison deepened his relationship with God and helped develop his sense of identity:

> Prison showed me that the person can have a second chance. Cos of when I went to prison, everybody thought *hai go fedile* (it's the end). The concept and the culture and all that. I found myself *ko tronkong* (in prison) …

Psychologically, prison helped P3 stay focused on what was important in his life, developing a positive outlook, and making better choices. Although initially he and his friends took their situation in their stride, their mindsets soon changed when they realised they were doomed. Their real transformation began when they applied for relocation from a city-based prison to a more rural location. P3 found that whereas city-based prisons were incubators for gangsterism and constant fighting, rural ones provided more learning opportunities:

> And one other thing we took a decision that we were no going to stay in Krugersdorp … There was nothing… There are two different prisons. There's open kamp (camp) and closed kamp. Krugersdorp prison is a closed kamp because it's in town, eh, there's no activities. Burgerskloof it's … open kamp. It's in a farming area. (*Ke tronko e ko di plaasing*) …. There's a lot of activities … people's sentences there do not exceed 10 years. … We participate more there.

Having lived life in the fast lane of crime, P3 had come to appreciate the value of patience and self-control while serving his sentence in prison:

> [It taught me to wait] … for the next day because you don't know what's coming. Everything *o no o e batla nou, wa bona* (you wanted it now), no matter what, ja, and how to control my emotions and how to deal with situations.

Through his prison sentence he also learnt not to judge himself too critically by appreciating the circumstances of those who were worse off than him:

"… you find yourself *gore wena* hai you thought you were the worst kind. When you sit – hai! *Ole, ke ncgono. Hai ke sharp da*! (That one, I'm better. I'm good there). Laughter. When you're sitting by yourself you feel that you're the worst …"

P3 was kept physically active in the prison, doing chores and acquiring practical skills along the way:

> In the city-based prisons, they do things for you… You're always being locked [up] cos there's no space. But in the open kamp, we do things for yourself, there are people who cook, there are people who work in the farm, so that we can eat. There are people who work at the pigs … ja self-sustaining. It's not like at the city one where you wake up in the morning, you eat, you sleep… Here [in the city] they close at 1pm, there they closed at 4 pm.

Active participation counted towards P3's credit for good behaviour and a reduced sentence via parole:

> I was running recreation [programme] *ya ko tronkong* … after I had completed half of my sentence, even good behaviour was there because of [sic] inside we were active. We were not there – *ne re saje re robale* (eating and sleeping). We were doing a lot for the prison itself … We were able to create projects inside the prison …. Ja, we were so much active.

Because he had gone straight from school to jail, P3 had limited prior education and working experience. Prison thus benefited him academically too. It set him up for business by providing him with the necessary knowledge and life skills along with some hard-earned cash through hustling:

> *Azange ke spane* (I never had a regular job). Laughs. I just went down, *ka itatlhela mo metsing* (I jumped into the water) and I survived… Well, *ko tronkong* (in prison), we were doing these very things of running recreation [programmes]. It's not really working experience, but we learnt some skills … I started to do business management *ko tronkong* (in jail) … they were giving us courses. Tutors used to come there. Even Damelin [college] I did [a course] with them … sewing… with machines, ja. *Di prison tse tsotlhe ke rona re ne re ba eletsa di uniform tsa dichoir* … (We manufactured choir uniforms for all the prisons) … ko open kamp, you can make your own *mompani. Ne re bereka ko tronkong, ne re gola R52 ka kgwedi (*In open camp, you can make your own hustle. We were earning R52 monthly).

Socially, P3 also garnered interpersonal skills while he was still in prison:

> Like sometimes they ask me, but *wena* how can you manage this thing? I say no, I've learnt how to deal with *motho* (a human being). I've met different kinds of people … you learn, you start studying people. OK, this one what is his motive … and all that stuff.

As discussed earlier, P3 developed new friendships, which eventually resulted in extended business networks on the outside. He said he had become a role model

and mentor of other offenders and young people in his community and that prison authorities still invited him to inspire inmates. His prison sentence was invaluable:

> Even now they sometimes phone me. It's been 10, 20 years back … Come and motivate the people; come so that they can see you … I go… That's why I'm saying it was … I know prison is something that is bad. But for me … *ja, e nthsusitse* (it helped me).

Apart from crime, spending time in prison also rescued P3 from other social ills beleaguering his peers at the time:

> *Hai e nthusitse* (it helped me) … it was not for prison, maybe I would not be here. *Nkabe ke tlhokafestse* (I could have died) … cos AIDS was rife. I lost many friends ka AIDS *ka nako eo, wa ntlhaloganya* (that time you understand). *And we were on a fast life.*

Ultimately, it was the time he spent in prison that motivated him to restore his family business and build on his father's legacy:

> That's why I say … going prison was an eye-opener for me … If ever I didn't go to prison, certain things *nkebe ke sena tsona* (I wouldn't have). I could say it was a blessing in disguise for me… I started to know who I am … how best can I change my situation and it really helped me a lot. *Le ga nne ke tswa, ke tswile ke le* more motivated (Even when I left, I was more motivated). That's why I started to revamp our family business from the start.

5.4.12.2 *The impact of crime on business operations*

It is striking that P3 had experienced both ends of living in a crime-ridden community (i.e. as a former perpetrator and a current victim). Crime and shoplifting were the second biggest problems for him; hence he had set up cameras throughout his shops that were monitored in his office. He had experienced armed robbery in 2020:

> "There was once a *roof* (armed robbery) … But nobody got [hurt] … It's scary … I think those are the kinds of business risks that occur, and even the shoplifters fela … But we have not had yet a major, major – that's the only on that happened. But they didn't take – they only took alcohol … cash is there, but we don't [leave it in the] tills, our policy is that you don't stay with R1 000. When you reach a R1 000, you have to drop it off, so that you don't have to keep so much money."

The perpetrators were still at large. P3 appreciated the support he received from their retail franchisor:

> That's why I say, for Pick 'n Pay, that's the good part of it. They got support and counselling, all that stuff …

Because of the security risks associated with a cash business, P3 often had to work overtime, which could be stressful. It was a good thing his home was not far from the shop. He could keep an eye on things and respond quickly when there were problems.

5.4.12.3 *The impact of COVID on business operations*

COVID-19 also partially impacted the business because P3 had to suspend his tuck-shop services at the school and alcohol sales were restricted during specific lockdown levels. Wary of being targeted by authorities and jeopardising his opportunities, he religiously observed the legislated protocols:

> But right now, there's COVID … we closed [the school tuckshop] because of the regulations. As you know, if a problem arises, they will gun you down, government, just to make you the example. Now we said to ourselves: no, as long as they have a feeding scheme, the school times are flexible and the schools don't run altogether, there's no problem. When things go back to normal, we can [reopen].

5.4.13 Lessons for Others

P3 shared five important lessons with others, namely commitment, focus, time management, open-mindedness and independence. He aimed at maintaining high standards to protect his reputation and sustain his legacy, hence he adhered strictly to COVID-19 protocols:

> Ei, commitment. *Are re robale mo*! (We don't sleep here) …This life ja! Commitment, focus, time management … open-mindedness. Don't rely on other people's things. Nna I don't – like even [the franchiser], *ba tla go bolella go ai, o wa tlhanya o* (they'll tell you that ai this one is crazy). I always do whatever I have to do, as long as I pay you on time, for your stock I don't owe you … Ja, more freedom… Ja, no, there's no restriction, but you [should] never tarnish their image… Our goal is to provide people with good, clean food. That's why there are auditors … We audit our food. We prepare good stuff.

5.4.14 Summary and Conclusion

P3's journey towards entrepreneurial success was fascinating because it demonstrated the value of second chances and their potential to transform a person, especially a young person, from an offender to a productive citizen. He had also embraced all his life's lessons; good and bad. He had turned the prison experience

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into positive life lessons that defined the person he was today. His strong sense of identity and open-mindedness and his free-spirited nature definitely were palpable.

P3 could not define entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial success in precise terms. To him success was about achieving specific targets and goals periodically. His measures of success were both material and non-material and they extended beyond himself and his immediate family. Over and above providing for his mother and daughter, affording his daughter's education and some leisure activities, he wanted his employees and the local community to prosper too. His core non-material indicator of success was perpetuating a legacy from generation to generation by ensuring that his forefather's names were never forgotten. He also desired the same for all the pioneers in Mohlakeng. He emphasised discipline, time management, eagerness to learn and not taking small things for granted as crucial success factors. Open-mindedness and freedom were other lessons he highlighted, especially when it came to making strategic business decisions.

Spending time in a rural-based correctional facility with structured programmes and authorities who invested in the inmates' holistic wellbeing also proved invaluable in developing P3 in all areas of life. He was able to self-reflect and make better decisions that eventually charted his path to success. While there he grew closer to God and leaned on his ancestors for guidance, prudence, protection and other divine favours. He also learnt valuable technical, interpersonal and business skills that he was able to apply in day-to-day- operations. Finally, he gained and maintained lifelong friends who gave him moral, emotional and financial support as well key information and business opportunities upon being parolled.

With support from various quarters P3 was able to restart both his life and that of his family business. From his paternal family he drew inspiration, a facility in the form

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of a shop and a legacy of having a famous icon in the community, which he aspired to pass on through his own daughter. From his maternal family he obtained emotional and moral support, especially from his mother. He regarded her as a pillar of strength because she was there for him in adversity and was willing to sacrifice even their family home to ensure that he succeeded. He and his friends took advantage of existing township entrepreneurship development programmes to revamp the family shop with financial and technical assistance from various government agencies and big companies.

P3 was deeply embedded in the township culture, judging from his understanding of township life. He seemed to navigate the intricacies of different social groups across culture, class, age, religion and politics with relative ease. His command of township lingo revealed the depth of his understanding of his community. He prided himself on his family and cultural background. In his opinion there were no longer any barriers to entry for women in all businesses. However, he thought women were potentially vulnerable to abuse in certain industries. This implied that gender-based violence was a problem. In his experience, family politics related to in-laws, not necessarily gender relations, were prohibiting women from meaningfully participating in businesses. His own experience was that the political history of a township played a role in both the success and failure of township businesses and that more should be done to help them. He had personally benefitted from the support of local authorities, but he avoided doing business directly with the local municipality for fear of entanglement in corrupt relationships.

Finally, P3 represented a good example of how socio-cultural factors can facilitate and/or influence success in entrepreneurship in a township setting. As shown in the figure below it is clear that all the factors—namely family, friends, reference

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groups, social factors, culture, religion and political history—played a role in his success. The diagram below illustrates the different types of benefits and drawbacks per factor or network.

Figure 5.3: Examples of Benefits and Drawbacks of Socio-cultural Factors in P3's Narrative
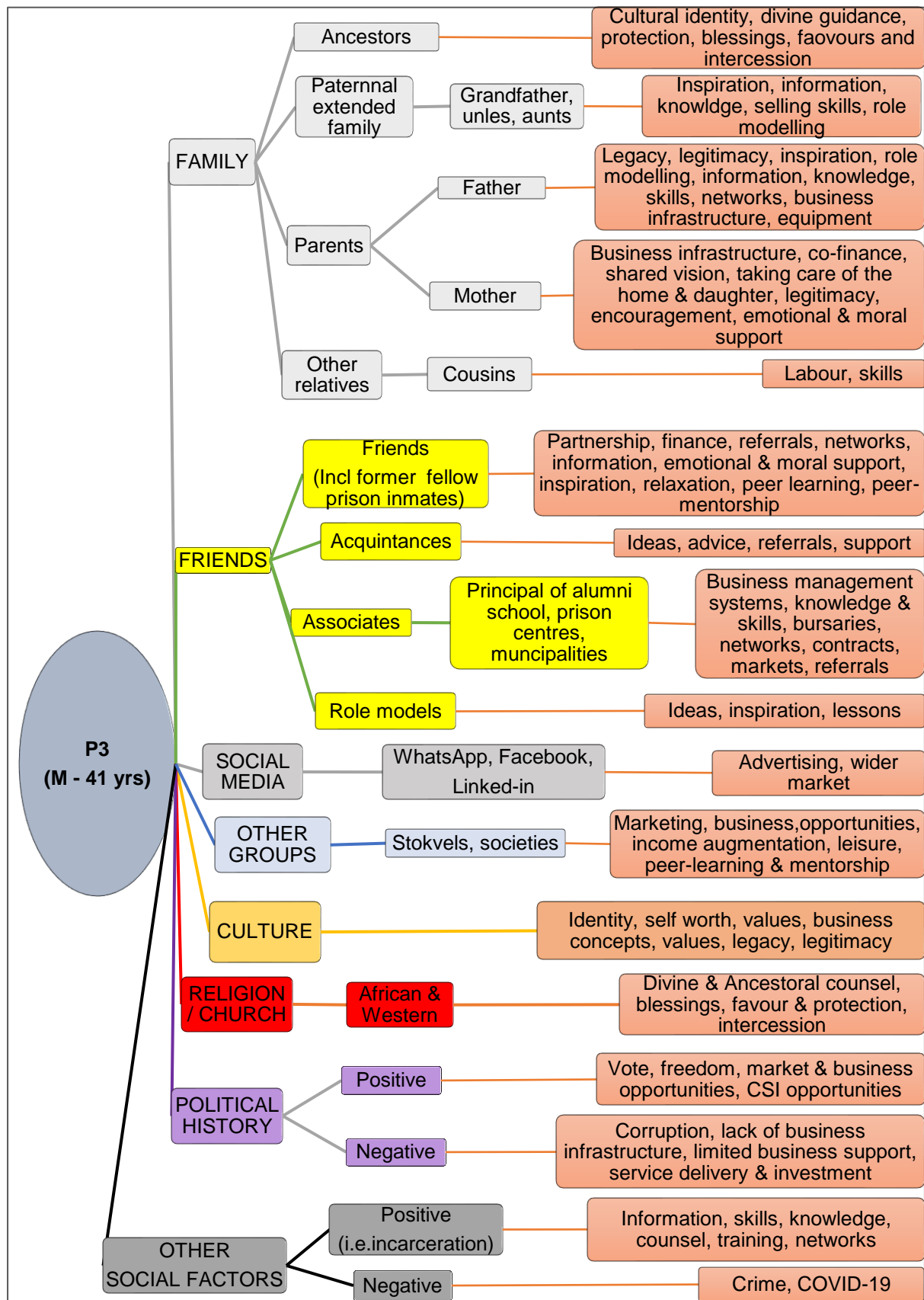
5.5   Case Analysis 4 – P4

5.5.1   Interview Details

- Date: 26 September 2021
- Length: 60 minutes
- Venue: Participant's home in Naturena, a suburb in Johannesburg South

5.5.2   Personal Information

- Participant's nickname: P4
- Gender: Female
- Age: 61
- Place of birth: Zola township, Soweto, Gauteng
- Ethnicity and languages: Zulu
- Education: Grade 10 (incomplete)
- Business training: Short courses in sewing
- Working experience: About 40 years in clothing manufacturing and alterations
- Business experience   Retail (butchery), clothing manufacturing, alterations and rental property management
- Own family: Married with daughter then aged 32 years

5.5.3   Information on operational township business(es)

- Township/suburb: Sews from home and at factory in Hyde Park suburb
- Co-owns 3 minibus taxis with husband operating in Zola, Soweto; co-owns rental property with husband at home in Naturena, Johannesburg South suburb
- Type of business(es):   Clothing manufacturing, minibus taxis operations & residential rental services
- Year started: 2005
- Main products/services: Fashion (various) & uniforms, local minibus taxi & rental services
- Number of employees: 5 seamstresses and 3 taxi drivers
- Gross annual turnover: Fluctuated (±R800 000 for sewing business)

5.5.4   Meaning of Entrepreneur(ship) and Entrepreneurial Success

5.5.4.1 Entrepreneur(ship)

Even with further probing, it was difficult for P4 to define an entrepreneur and entrepreneurship, and to find an equivalent Zulu phrase. The closest term she could think of was a businessperson:

Somashishini, maar ungathi igama le siXhosa lelo. Angazi ke siZulu. Angilazi. Inzima -Somashishini (businessperson) but it's a Xhosa name that one. I don't know in Zulu … it's difficult).

5.5.4.2 *Entrepreneurial success*

P4's definition of entrepreneurial success basically comprised feeling happy and satisfying her customers' needs:

> Eish, to be successful made me happy, respect my customers. Eh, if they say they are not happy with that thing, even if I see that it is right, I have to do it the way they want it … The customer comes first … You laugh even if when you feel that today, I don't want to laugh. When a customer enters, you smile. How are you Mam? You see? … Customer service must be number one.

Unfortunately, P4 said she could not provide an estimate of her annual income because her operations were severely impacted by COVID-19 restrictions and her income was fluctuating. Notwithstanding, she said her material assets were conspicuous proof of her entrepreneurial success:

> *Ntlu e, a ke e kolote. Ke e agile ka chelete ya go roka*. (This house, I do not owe it. I built it with money from sewing) … I bought the land and built it for myself and the cottages).

She was also able to assist family members to further their education at high quality institutions with income from sewing, thereby setting them up for business careers:

> My late brother's sons – how many sons he's got 4? [sic]. I used to change them. When this one finishes at university, I would fetch the next one … *Ba badile* (they studied). One did engineering X did computer [studies], he's self-employed. M studied at Sandton varsity [college] … he's a bookkeeper. N is in carpentry … *Ba itshebetsa kaofela. Ha ayo o sebeletsang lekgowa* (They're all self-employed. None of them is working for a White person) … the one in book-keeping … he does my books … But it's a business.

Throughout the interview, P4 commended white people in the suburb she was working from for supporting her business. She credited much of her business success to their interventions, including helping her to get a business site and more business deals. Except for providing school uniforms via government tenders, she was no longer heavily invested in township markets because she found them problematic in terms of payment for her sewing services. Her direct involvement in township markets

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was through the three minibus taxis she co-owned with her husband, which he was managing. The three factors to which she attributed her entrepreneurial success had to do with endurance, passion and honesty:

> *Ukubhekezela, uthand'umsebenzi wakho* (to persevere, love your work) and to be honest with your customers. Just tell them *iciniso* (the truth). If you don't know how to do something, tell them.

5.5.5 Journey Towards Entrepreneurial Success

P4 was born in 1960 in Zola Soweto. She attended school at Esithoweni Lower Primary and at Esithoweni Zola and Dr Vilakazi high schools. Her working career began early in life when she unfortunately dropped out of school in Form 3 (Grade 10) around 1977. She wanted to help her mother whom she saw struggling financially as a domestic worker after her father had passed away in 1962. It was at her first job of sewing police uniforms at a White-owned clothing factory in Johannesburg where she developed interest in sewing. She since committed herself to learn more about it:

> It's where I started *go rata go roka* (loving to sew). I worked there I'm sure for 10 years. I learnt there to sew … We were doing police uniforms … From there I left and wanted to learn more about sewing. I went to a college and learnt how to sew then.

Having improved her sewing skills, P4 worked for 12 years at a well-known expensive men's clothing shop, doing alterations. Interestingly, her entrepreneurial journey began after she got married in 1986 when she resigned from her job and from sewing. Instead, one of her late younger brothers who owned a shopping complex in Emdeni, Soweto, gifted her with a fully-fledged butchery, which she operated for 10 years. Regrettably, the business slowed down when big shopping malls started flooding township markets. She decided to go back to the same clothing alterations shop for a further 12 years. During that period, she bought her own machines and began moonlighting from home. She struck it lucky when her employer offered her a storeroom to use for her free-lance work after they relocated to a high-end suburban

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shopping complex in Hyde Park. Thankfully, she could still work from the storeroom when the company closed down. Her own company, Mirriam's Fashions and Alterations, was registered in 2005.

> I took alterations from other shops and did them here at home, whilst working … until that shop closed down. It's where I decided … that I must open my own …

Image 5.13: P4's Traditional Fashion Designs Sourced from her Facebook Page

P4 said she initially did a lot of business in townships, sewing and selling custom-made traditional clothing and doing alterations for individual customers. In fact, one of her first big contracts was sewing school uniforms for a prestigious college in Pimville, Soweto. However, payment issues made that avenue unsustainable. She found a better niche in servicing mainly white, high-profile clients in the suburbs. She had also secured a few substantial government contracts to supply school uniforms in townships but those were becoming infrequent, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic, when schools were not operating normally.

Image 5.14: P4's Uniform Designs Sourced from her Facebook Page

Over time, P4 acquired a substantial number of machines, split between her home and the workplace. They included five plain machines, four overlockers, one

cover seam machine, one blind stitch machine, one embroidery machine, two buttonhole-machines, industrial hot irons, and several cutting tables.

Image 5.15: P4's Other Traditional Designs Sourced from her Facebook Page

Over and above sewing, P4 and her husband were also operating three minibus taxis between Zola, Soweto and central Johannesburg. They were also renting out two cottages at the back of their suburban home, which augmented their household income.

5.5.6 The Role of The Family in Entrepreneurial Success

P4 was born into a large family comprising 10 children. She and her late twin sister were the fifth among her siblings. Her father passed away in 1962 when she was only two years old, leaving her mother to hold the fort as the breadwinner. P4 gained from her proud history of a business-oriented family. She gained a lot of inspiration, information, knowledge, networking and practical business skills from them.

5.5.6.1 Parental Family

It would seem that P4's entrepreneurial spirit was inherited from both of her parents. She was informed that her father, who passed on before she got the chance to know him, was a traditional herbalist:

> My father had a shop; I'm told he had a shop - I was still young – in Maimai (Jo'burg central). In Maimai. He was selling *ditlhare* (traditional medicines). They say you just came in… and told him where it was paining. He would not inspect you, but he could mix medicines for you.

Ultimately observing and assisting her mother triggered P4's interest in sewing. Ironically, this displeased one of her siblings who P4 said harboured more ambitious career aspirations for her:

> I developed a liking for sewing then because when I dropped out of school in Grade 10 … my elder brother who I come after, he wasn't happy at all. He said: why do I want to go and sew. Because my baby sister, the one who comes after me, last born, she's a midwife. Since she left school, she trained at Bara ... So, my late brother … he wanted me to do something [else]. But because I liked helping my mother, I got to love my mother's work. That's where I got to love it, my mother's work. Because my mother loved [her work].

Not only did she draw inspiration from her mother, but P4 also picked up fashion design ideas, practical sewing and marketing skills:

> Like if she wanted to unstitch, I would sit down next to her and unstitch for her … that time my mother would sew, then get on the road and sell, *dikhiba* (aprons - traditional dresses), dresses, whatever.

5.5.6.2 *Siblings*

Unlike her elder brother, some of P4's late siblings who were also enterprising were in full support of her entrepreneurial ambitions. One of her late elder brothers owned a fleet of 20 minibus taxis and sold cows and goats. Her late younger brother also owned a shopping complex and a building construction company in Emdeni, Soweto. They were not only a source of inspiration but also gave her tangible business opportunities when she was down on her luck. Regrettably, the influx of big retailers negatively impacted on their businesses. Similarly, her elder sister once negotiated a lucrative school uniform contract for P4 at her daughter's college in Pimville, Soweto:

> She went for a meeting. And it happened that they should struggle to find someone to make their uniform. [The other supplier] sometimes it's there, sometimes it's not there. She said she told them that no, I have my younger sister who sews. I'll speak to her on your behalf. She came to tell me that I should go to the school. I went, they talked to me. And hai, we agreed. It's where I started making uniforms. Otherwise, I was just doing alterations. Then the business grew.

The strong bonds between members of P4's natal family meant that they promoted each other and shared their material resources. This was evidenced by her younger brother gifting her with a butchery. She, in turn, was funding his four children's

tertiary education. Her family also provided emotional support for P4 during her most vulnerable moments. These included when she was hijacked while driving a branded butchery van (see section on crime). One of her brother's ensured that the vehicle was recovered with the help of her husband and a network of stokvel members.

5.5.6.3 *Own family*: *Spouse*

From her own family, P4, gained a lot of emotional, financial and moral support. P4 spoke fondly of her husband, whom she affectionately called Ntate or Mkhulu (father or grandfather) as a sign of respect. They had just celebrated their 40th wedding anniversary, having married in September 1981. They had a daughter and a grandson whom they were helping to raise. Ntate himself was operating their co-owned three minibus taxis. Coincidentally, they met when Ntate was still a minibus taxi driver in Zola:

> That's a lifetime. *Re godile kaofela* (we grew up together) … It was someone who used to ferry me *vele*. I would use my car only on weekends. Because even at home it was on the main road. So, you just step out of the gate, you wait at the door, and hop into a taxi and get to work.

Ntate eventually paid cash for four minibus taxis. Regrettably, he had to sell them off and drive for a bus company when township hostel fights affected the taxi industry. Then, he was involved in an accident while he was still a bus driver and injured his leg. This meant he had to go into early retirement, so he decided to purchase three minibus taxis in cash to generate more income for the family. They were currently enlisted on the Zola-Joburg route, and he had employed three drivers.

Having a like-minded soul like Ntate who loved business was a bonus for P4. He had done a lot to assist her to market her business and secure work:

> My husband, because he has more time during the day. He just wakes up and goes to Soweto to release the taxis … he leaves at 4 [am]. Then during the day, he comes back to sleep. Then he decided to approach schools and talk to principals … We found a lot of schools and sewed for them.

Not only that, Ntate was a hands-on person who offered P4 much needed, day-to-day support. P4 was very appreciative of the practical support he provided her, which freed up her time to focus on the business. Indeed, I did witness Ntate fussing over their grandchild throughout the interview and changing his clothes:

> *Ntate* supports me 100 percent because *le ha ke robala mosebetsing* or *ke tla le mosebetsi …
> wa pheha* (when I sleep at the workplace or bring work home … he cooks). *Le setlogolo wa
> setlhokomela.* (He even takes care of the grandchild). *Wetsa metlholo e kaofela* (he performs all
> these miracles). He's very supportive, my husband, very supportive.

5.5.6.4 Daughter

P4's 32-year-old daughter Z was already accomplished in her own right and was not directly involved in her mother's businesses. She was an accounts director and had her own house in another suburb. Her son was the centre of attention from his doting grandparents who took turns to babysit him. Z did however support her mother in different ways. For example, she put her profile on Google, which helped her to raise her profile and source more customers. She also found her a pattern designer, whom she paid per pattern. P4 stressed that patterns were critical for accurate sewing.

> My child attended … a university in Midrand. When my child was doing first year, she found me
> someone, a lecturer who was doing fashion design… She designs my patterns. If you want to
> learn to sew properly, you need patterns because you can't cut from the head.

5.5.6.5 Extended family members

P4 had to rely on other family members' support when the bus Ntate was driving collided with a truck in 2004. He was in coma for 14 days of his four-month hospitalisation period. He suffered broken feet and incurred 14 pins on his left side and nine pins on the right. Since she could not take time from work, P4 asked one of her nieces to stay in her house just to be able to keep the businesses afloat. That tragedy brought about tremendous stress for the family:

> I made her leave her job because I had to run the sewing [business]… and even my child, this
> one's mother (grandchild), she was attending school... I had to return with her – take her to
> school, bring her back. I can't let her go by herself. But during the day, I would leave the staff,
> hurry up to Milpark to check on him.

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5.5.7   The Role of Friends in Entrepreneurial Success

P4 described herself as a recluse. She claimed that beyond her family, she did not have any best friends:

> *Ke gotse ke se moto o mixayo* (I grew up being someone who doesn't mix). No, I don't have friends *nna*. My friends are my sisters, my siblings … My best friends are my sisters and sister in-law. If I have a problem to confide about, I speak to my *squeezas* (sisters-in-law) in Rockville. I tell them.

5.5.7.1 Acquaintances/Associates in Entrepreneurial Success

Beyond her extensive family networks, P4 had amassed a wide range of acquaintances and associates who were instrumental in the success of her business. She had also obtained support from highly placed individuals such as lawyers, White competitors, the First Lady of South Africa, Tshepo Motsepe (then a practising medical doctor) and her husband the President (then a trade unionist). It is also worth noting that she got unsolicited support from her inter-racial connections that boosted her profile. Her story indicated that she found operating in a suburb more conducive because she could access better business infrastructure and facilities. On the surface, it seemed relatively easy for P4 to acquire a high-profile ally like the current South African President. However, it became evident that she had established a trusting, long-term professional relationship with him and his wife:

> The President. As I explained that I sew alterations for shops. He was still in the unions way back. He used to buy from [XXX] … a men's shop. So, I was doing his alterations. And his wife – isn't it they live close by? She'd just come by, Mama Ramaphosa, *a itlela ka maoto a tlo reka borotho* (take a walk to buy bread). I was working opposite the shop where she used to buy bread. They were not even in the Presidency. After she was done shopping, she would go from shop to shop and gre*et al*l of us … she was a doctor … She would go into these small shops *a re dumedise* (greet us), and enquire until we got… connected … We were exchanging phone numbers. So, when she no longer saw me because that shop closed down, and I got the place downstairs from that lady, she called me: Ousi Miriam, *o ko kae*? … She asked whereabouts and I told her, and she came.

Since then, P4 had been making them whatever type of clothing they wanted. This included the Madiba-styled shirts the President was featured wearing in the Sunday newspaper published on the day of the narrative interview with P4. She said

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she also got a lot of support from White people while working in Hyde Park. This included rent-free infrastructure, advocacy and finance. The first person to cut her a big break was her former boss, who provided her with basic facilities in a high-end shopping centre.

> And there was one lady *wa leburu* (boer/White), who had a storeroom below and she said Miriam, because I was taking alterations and taking them home. During the day we need you and you're not around. Because sometimes we don't know how to pin something. She then gave me her storeroom in Hyde Park … That's where I was able to now work with alterations, companies' uniform, housekeepers' uniform, weddings, traditional garments, that they want. It's how my business started.

The same lady also paid the rental fee for the storeroom when she relocated to work with women on the farms. Another critical intervention came from two white lawyerrs who advocated for P4 to get her facilities upgraded in the same shopping complex. She elaborated:

> And then it happened that one of my customers, he's a top lawyer Mr K and Mr B. They're used to that storeroom I was working from because I'm working with high profile people. They said Ma'am Miriam, there's no window, there's no aircon; because it's a storeroom, *vele* … in Hyde Park. Then they decided to sit down both of them. They [wrote] a letter to the [shopping centre] that they were not happy the way where I was working from, and [the shopping centre] is getting a lot of customers – high profile coming to me. Because even at the centre there, I am sewing alterations for shops. The likes of [famous clothing brands] … so, then they made me a shop. I said I can't afford a shop upstairs.

White people also helped to market her business in the shopping complex by featuring her in their magazines and referring her to other customers:

Nna ke rokela dihigh profile … ke di lawyer tse kgolo tse tsebiwang (I sew for high profile … they are big shot lawyers who are famous) … Even their wives, they bring them there.

Over and above that, some of her clients funded her daughter's tertiary education:

> Hai, no, *makgowa a mole a supportive hampe* (the Whites there a very supportive … Because even my daughter … studied … at Rhodes. *Ne ke patallwa ke makgowa nna … Ba ke sa ba berekeleng* (I was paid for by Whites … who were not my employers).

Contrary to the apparent unconditional support she obtained from her inter-racial and township associates, P4's relationships with their township-based counterparts

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seemed parasitic. Her scepticism of friends and associates, especially *ko lekeisheneng* (in townships) seemed justified. She was once fleeced by some teachers whom she had enlisted as associates for school uniform contracts. That experience greatly indebted her and put her off township markets, except when she was servicing them through government contracts (e.g. for township school uniforms):

> We found a lot of schools and sewed for them. But it didn't last long because *ne ba ja chelete* (they used to eat the money). The teachers, they were eating the money. You'd find that I'd go to the bank to do an overdraft or loan, buy material, sew, pay the people I worked with. Even January I put in some stock for them – 200 trousers, jerseys, tunics, golf t-shirts … Winter and summer [garments], tracksuits. But come February, March when I go to collect there's no money at the school … [There was no deposit] … Our agreement was that I would sew, the parents would buy from them. Then they would take some percentage … Whatever they sold, they took R2. That was a lot of money I was giving them … it's a lot of money. So, I saw that I was now getting into debt from banks because they don't pay, I just cancelled it.

5.5.8 The Role of Reference Groups in Entrepreneurial Success

Unlike her husband, P4 said she did not belong to any social clubs like stokvels (rotating schemes) and societies:

> No, I'm not one for those. I do investments. *Ke Ntate motho wa dilo tseo* (It's Ntate who is for those things) … I have funeral schemes. If I want to save money, I save it at the bank … *Ha ke motho was dioutdoor* (I'm not an outdoorsy person). I leave here and go to work, come back here. Then … when my mother was still alive, Sundays I would go to my mother's.

Ntate, on the other hand, belonged to P4's brother's stokvel. P4 nevertheless benefitted from Ntate's social networks too. She called on them whenever she encountered problems, such as the day she was hijacked from her butchery van:

> It so happened that where they parked it, the house next door, the owner was my customer from Emdeni (Soweto) and attends stokvel with my brother and my husband. It's marked, isn't it he can see it … Then he took out a phone and called … I was still working from home … He took out a phone and called my brother and asked him… So, my brother that side when they told him that here's the car *a vele a vutha batho ba ditaxi ba ilo lata koloi* (he immediately rallied people from the taxi industry to fetch the vehicle).

5.5.9 The Role of Social Media in Entrepreneurial Success

Technology and social media were becoming more and more important to P4 when she wanted to launch a full online business. Since her daughter put her on Google, some of her customers were able to find her there. She was also on WhatsApp

and Facebook. She said she had yet to find a more reliable courier service than her current one to maintain her professional standards:

> Right now, I'm doing housekeepers' uniforms. I courier them to the likes of Cape Town. Tomorrow I have to wake up and go to Fordsburg to buy materials because the material they have selected I don't have it. I will sew 2 overalls, 4 – that have to go with a person leaving on Tuesday on a 6 o'clock flight to Cape Town. They're going to Cape Town. I have been trying – I have found one company whom I want to do online [services] for me. But they don't seem good online because I have paid them, but I have not seen what's happening.

5.5.10   The Role of Culture in Entrepreneurial Success

P4 was adamant that she did not obtain the kind of support she had expected from her own Black people, except perhaps for her family. She was more likely to be assisted by Whites (*makgoa*). Her attitudes were also influenced by her previous bad experiences with Black customers who did not pay, as discussed in the section on friends and associates:

> Eish, our people – You know with me there in Hyde Park, 99% it's White people. The person who I can say is supporting me is the President, because his clothes are sewn by me, he and his wife … [The] President I don't mind. Sometimes when he wants me, a car fetches me here from the house. And I know that I do whatever they want me to do, and they pay me and bring me back home.

The same could not be said for her other Black clients. She was dismayed that at times they even called her professional capabilities into question. She attributed the lack of support from Black people to an element of jealousy (*umona*), which was contrary to the philosophy of ubuntu. This behaviour can also be described as a form of internalised racism, whereby Africans discriminate against each other:

> Ninety-nine percent, or I can say 90%, it is white people who support me. *Batho ba batsho* (black people) … they want discount. *Ha o moroketse o tla nna a e goga*! (when you have sewn them something, they will be pulling it apart). Black people. Hoo, hai! … they doubt my skills! … I've have been in this for 32 years, working … I'm a professional. You can wake me up at 2 o'clock and say do this, I'll do it for you. No, *nna* to be honest, *ke makgowa* (it's Whites) who support me.

Perhaps except for traditional African designs, which were inspired by indigenous knowledge she gleaned from her mother, P4 neither attached any significant meanings to African cultural symbols nor linked them to her entrepreneurial success. Her African

name was Thembekile (trustworthy/reliable), which was a name she seemed to live up to, based on her narrative. However, she did not attach any significance to it in relation to her entrepreneurial success. In fact, in her experience township life and culture, were not progressive. Rather, the culture of violence and crime were a disincentive. The way P4 approached the topic of culture seemed to have been influenced by her long-standing exposure to a predominantly White suburban market. To her, White people were generally more supportive than her fellow Africans, especially those living in townships.

5.5.10.1 Culture and family values

As discussed under family, P4 took pride in her entrepreneurial family tradition, which had been passed from generation to generation. Not only did she and siblings take from their parents, her nephews and nieces also did the same. Her family members had formed a strong support network through which they offered one another practical, personal, and business support. It seems that P4 was more family oriented than community oriented, unlike her husband. The fact that she shared her success with her family suggests that she was not individualistic but communal. However, she did seem to prioritise the success and sustainability of her business endeavours hence her exploration of other new markets.

5.5.10.2 Culture and gender relations

P4's take on the impact of gender relations on entrepreneurship from a cultural perspective were intriguing since she and her husband were Zulus. Asked if the Zulu culture or her in-laws supported women to be in business, she replied:

> Eh… No, *rona re maZulu a mo. Ha re maZulu a Natal Kwa Natal, mosadi o dula gae. But nna monna waka a ke tsebe ke gore o goletse mo.* (We are the Zulus from here. We are not Zulus for Natal. In Natal, a woman stays in the home. But my husband, I don't know if it's because he grew up here). That's why he's supportive. And today's life needs two people who work.

The fact that Ntate's family was living in Gauteng seemed to make things easier for the couple. They could both relate to the hardships brought about by modern life.

5.5.11 The Role of Religion in Entrepreneurial Success

P4 did not place emphasis on religion as a key factor in her entrepreneurial success journey. She and her husband regularly attended the Methodist church in Diepkloof, Soweto where she participated in a prayer group:

> Ai, church for me … I do go to church, So, participate in the service … I pray on Sundays – join the prayer session. When I get out, I go back to my house.

It was clear that the non-payment culture within her former circles had also put her off sourcing business from her fellow congregants. She had previously tried making church uniforms while she was still living in the township:

> I was doing them whilst we were still in Zola, so they were also problematic … So, the only best thing is to do things professionally …Because with people, they'll tell you: I'll pay you next week, blah, blah, huh uh, no! Let's exchange hands.

By contrast, her husband Ntate was highly active in the church. He was serving as a *moreri/ledodana* (preacher/church elder) who were famous for their pristine red waistcoats over grey pants and white shirt church attires. As *moreri,* Ntate was thrust into a public leadership role. This explained why he did not carry a gun even when he needed one when working in a dangerous environment like the minibus taxi industry.

5.5.12 The Role of Political History in Entrepreneurial Success

P4 confirmed that political history played an important role in her personal success and in the development of the country in general. She said even though she was not a member of any political party she did vote. Through the government's transformative policies of supporting designated groups such as women, youth and the disabled she had secured at least three government contracts worth about R500 000 each throughout her business career. The problem with government

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contracts was that they were a bit inflexible with payment terms and very demanding in terms of time frames:

> Government contracts, you don't charge government … Like, maybe if they have given you 100 tunic, 100 trouser[s], eh 100 jerseys, they bring them over. You do the shirts – [for] boys, shirts and pants. [For] girls it's tunics. Then maybe they will tell you that they are giving you 500 000 [rand] … For the whole thing … the costs are yours … they will give you a quarter [of the fee] to buy material. If it runs short, you make up the balance.

However, P4 blamed small contractors for that hard stance. She said their unprofessionalism and financial mismanagement messed up arrangements for everyone else:

> They used to give us money before. So, *rona batho ra itshenyeletsa* (We mess things up for ourselves as people) … You take that money. Before you pay people, you buy material, you change your house, you change furniture. Come, date of delivery … you have no stock. They go to [XXX school uniform retailer], cut labels. You have messed up things for us there. Otherwise, government was giving us money before.

She partially agreed that the government had helped Black people to do better in business but with a strong caveat: politicians were corrupt, especially since a specific incumbent took the high office:

> Yes, somewhere, somehow, they did. *Bona ba eja chelelete* (They eat the money). They do eat the money to be honest. But! *Nkabe ke sena shopo ko* (I wouldn't have a shop in) Hyde Park. *Nkabe ke se mo Naturena mo, if ne e se batho ba politiki. Bona ba thusa* (I wouldn't be here in Naturena if it was not for politics [political transformation]. They do help … [Party XXX] started with [MMM] to eat the money. *Ba agile.* (They did build) …There are a lot of houses they have built, not a little … *Baya idla imali* (uses the same expression of 'they eat money' in Sotho and Zulu to stress the point).

When asked if she personally felt empowered by government as a woman, she said she used to feel more so under the leadership of the former female Gauteng Premier. She lamented her unseating due to politics:

> uMokonyana to be honest, hai she used to empower us. Mokonyana! Mokonyana had said boMama look here, I want to empower you, maybe for 5 years. For next 5 years, I take another group because for one year, there's nothing I can say I empowered you with. So *basheshe ba m'susa ke … Ipolitiki ke leyo* ((so they quickly removed her then … That is politics).

5.5.13 The Role of Other Social Factors in Entrepreneurial Success

Social ills like crime, violence, social unrests and COVID-19 impacted negatively on P4 and her partner Ntate's journey towards entrepreneurial success. This was especially so while they were still living in the township.

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5.5.13.1 *The impact of crime, violence and social unrest on business operations*

After they got married, P4 and Ntate stayed in Klipspruit, Soweto for about 10 years. Unfortunately, they had to relocate to Naturena when the violent wars between hostels dwellers and township residents escalated following the first democratic elections in 1994. At that time, P4 was sewing from home and Ntate was operating four minibus taxis. According to P4, Ntate was forced to sell his minibus taxis and work as a bus driver until he retired early due to an accident. He was only able to re-enter the taxi industry as a pensioner but had to employ drivers in the township.

In addition to the derogatory names assigned to taxi drivers like *bomageza*, Ntate was also exposed to endless danger in townships. He was once shot at. P4 said she was often so worried about his safety that it affected her reproductive abilities. She revealed that she miscarried three times due to stress:

> "Heish! Ja, this job of theirs … it's dangerous. I lost three kids due to that job. Yes, I've got only one daughter who's alive … because whenever I was highly expectant, *thola ukuthi iyasuka impi* (you find that the wars are starting) He has no gun. *Ke moshomaedi. Ke moreri ko kerekeng* (he is a preacher at the church) … The fighting starts, they fetch him, you don't know whether he will come back or not come back … So, you'll find that when I am 7 months pregnant, the wars start – the child becomes – high blood goes up … that's when he decided to sell of the taxis and search for a job.

P4 also related her own harrowing hi-jacking and robbery incident. She said she was driving home in a van branded with the butchery logo that was packed with clients' clothing items she was taking home to work on:

> So, as I was getting on the freeway, the robot closed on me. When it closed on me, the boys came… from nowhere. They came in and took them with. Fortunately, there were shops who used to pay me weekly. I was carrying close to 2 200 [rand] and I gave it to them …They dumped me over that side in Lens [Lenasia, township near Soweto] and took the phone … No, they didn't do anything to me. They took the car. They were in a hurry to drink that money *akere* (isn't it)? After they had dumped me, I saw the van going. I saw a tar road and followed it whilst trying to stop cars. As I was trying to stop, one guy stopped. He asked me what the problem was. I told him. He took me to Moroka police station [in Soweto]. So, after that guy dropped me off, there was no use because I didn't know them … Where will I say they come from? They had covered themselves. I did not see them.

It was thanks to the intervention of one of P4's customers who was part of *Ntate* and her brother's social network that the vehicle was recovered. Since then, P4 said she avoided driving altogether and was commuting by bus to and from work. Such incidents highlighted the impact that social ills like crime, unemployment and alcohol abuse were having on the economy and society.

5.5.13.2 *The Impact of Covid-19 on Business Operations*

COVID-19 also severely impacted on P4's sewing business. Since lockdown restrictions had been introduced, P4 had to temporarily reduce her staff from five to two because she could not afford them. The going was so tough during the higher levels of COVID-19 restrictions that she had to work overtime at the shop in Hyde Park. She often forfeited days of comfortable sleep while working there instead of at her home in Naturena:

> Business was slow. It's only now that it's picking up a bit right now as we went back to Level 2 … I was not sleeping at home this whole week … I was sleeping in Hyde Park, working day and night. I returned home yesterday (Saturday). *Ake robale! Ngiya sebenza imini yonke* (I don't sleep! I work the whole day). Then because I have a kitchen there and a fridge, I cook dinner … or else, I buy readymade. *Ngidle, ngigeze, ngibuyele emshinini, ngi sebenze futhi* (I'd eat, bathe, get back to the machine and work again).

She explained that her gruelling routine was necessary for maintaining the inflow of business, especially that of regular customers. After all, they were more dependable than government contractors:

> *Ja, re tlwaetse* (we are used to it) because we sometimes take government jobs – this one of Bana Pele [school uniforms]. So, we have dates. We have due dates there. Also, when you've taken government's work, government doesn't want that if they give you their tender, you are doing other jobs. So, during the day; because they inspect us, we do theirs … At night we know that after 5 [pm] we close the door so that we can do our orders. Because we can't stop our regular customer[s] and tell them we can't take your jobs … Because this one it's once a year. This year we have not got it yet.

5.5.14 Lessons for Others

The lessons P4 wished to share with others if they wanted to follow in her footsteps in business or sewing were mainly about starting the career early in life, commitment and sacrifice:

Like sewing. I keep telling them that *ukuthunga* - you can't learn sewing when you're older. It's difficult. You have to grow with it. And *ukuthunga*, there's no time for socialising … *Ukuthunga* – A person arrives now and says I am going to a wedding next week … And I'm one person who doesn't like it when I say to you must come fetch your things today or fitting, I'm only starting with them in the morning. No! I want to do it during the week, when you arrive do the fitting. And those fittings, they are supposed to be such that if you arrive from Limpopo or so, I should be able to say, go and have coffee, I am finishing them off now … You sacrifice.

5.5.15 Summary and Conclusion

P4's journey towards entrepreneurial success was dynamic and filled with many highs and lows. While her first business venture, a butchery in Zola Soweto, eventually folded due to decreased demand, she managed to re-establish herself in the clothing sector. She started the sewing business doing alterations, custom-made fashions, and school, uniforms, servicing various markets, whilst still in Soweto. After getting married, she and her husband relocated to a suburb, where she continued to service township markets mainly through government contracts for school uniforms. White people became her main clientele when she opened a shop in the Hyde Park suburb. Evidence of her entrepreneurial success was being able to generate a steady income, maintain her customer-base, purchase land and build a house with cottages and educate her daughter, nephews, and nieces. She augmented the income from sewing with operating three minibus taxis in the township and renting out cottages in her backyard in the suburb in partnership with her husband.

P4 derived substantial benefits from her immediate and extended family, as well as inter-racial networks played a role in P4's case. Through her business-oriented parental family, she was exposed to various kinds of information, knowledge, and practical skills such as selling, marketing and sewing. She was practically launched into business by her brother who gifted her with a fully-fledged butchery. Her husband and daughter also played an important role in her entrepreneurial success. They gave her practical, emotional, and moral support, including marketing her business, and sourcing tangible opportunities. Their close-knit extended family also provided a lot of

support when she went through tough times, such as when she was hi-jacked. Given her sedentary lifestyle and introverted nature, P4 did not consider social networks such as friends and social groups as important. Except for indigenous knowledge about African designs and family values of caring for one another, she did not seem place much value cultural influences and religion in her entrepreneurial success either. Her interest in township markets had waned because of a poor payment culture and lack of confidence in her professional skills.

P4 did acknowledge the importance of political history in her entrepreneurial success. She acknowledged the support she got from a female political leader, the then female Premier of Gauteng who helped secure government tenders for women with the aim of empowering them. However, she thought such positive gains were being undermined by corruption. While it was expected that her family would be her strongest network, it was quite interesting to discover inter-racial networks were so critical to P4's entrepreneurial success, especially in the sewing business. Her positioning in a white suburb was strategic because it provided her with better infrastructure and exposed her to additional niche markets, such as mainly white male lawyer clients. That way, she could still service other markets (e.g. via government tenders for township school uniforms). Beyond being regular customers, they helped her secure business facilities and more clients, market her business and even funded her daughter's tertiary education. The minibus taxi service that was still based in the township and managed by her husband augmented her family's income, along with the cottages she was renting out at her suburban home.

In conclusion, the social and cultural factors that played the biggest roles in P4's entrepreneurial success were her parental, own and extended family, as well as her acquaintances and associates. Friends, reference groups and religion did not seem to

play any role, whereas culture and political history played a moderate role. Social factors such the lack of support from the Black community, crime and COVID-19 had impacted negatively on her entrepreneurial journey. The diagram overleaf illustrates the role of the social and cultural factors in her entrepreneurial success highlighting the different benefits or negatives per factor.

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Figure 5.4: Examples of Benefits and Drawbacks of Socio-Cultural Factors in P4's Narrative
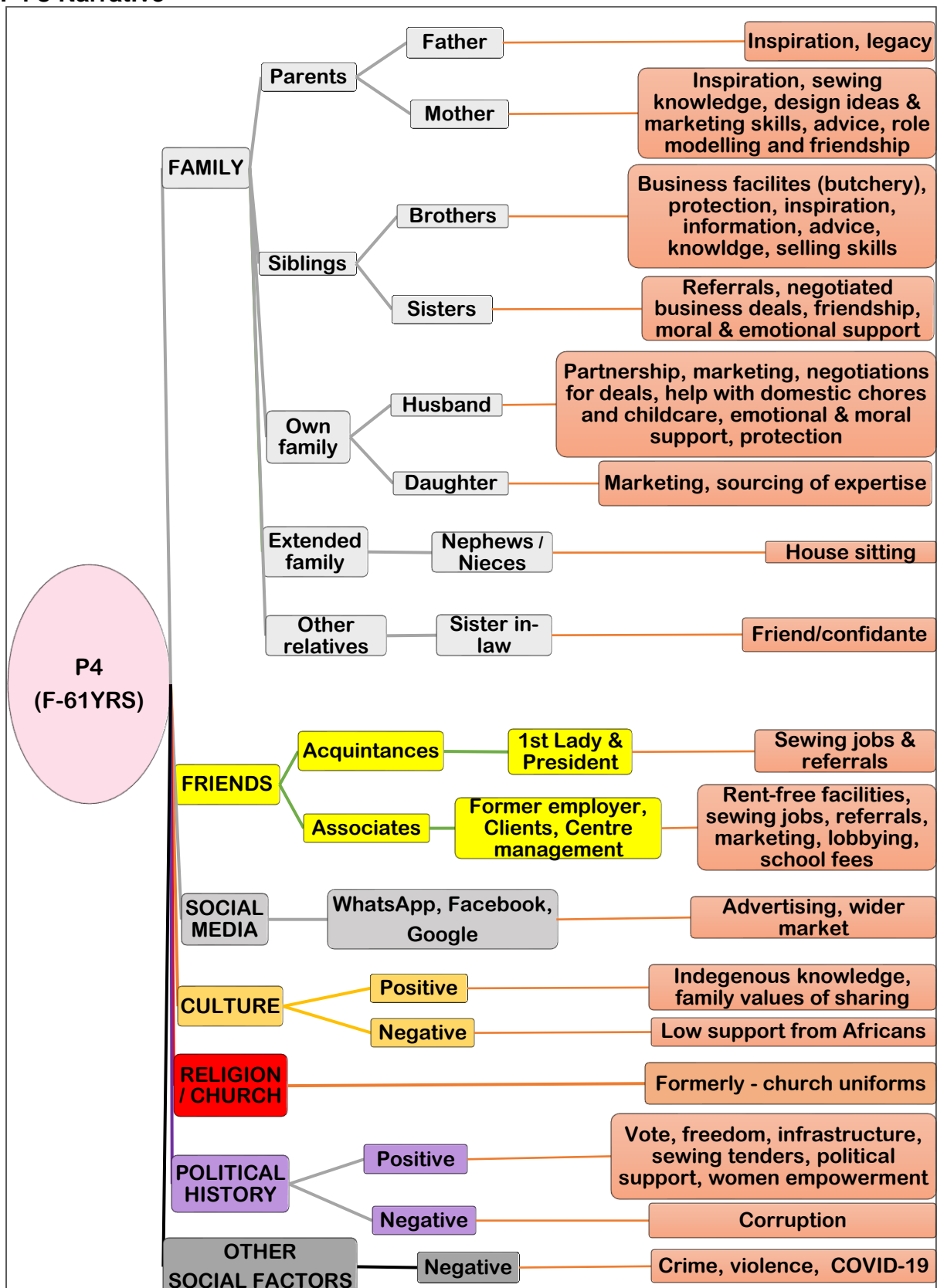
5.6   Case Analysis – P5

5.6.1   Interview Details

- Date: 14 October 2021
- Length: 235 minutes
- Venue: Participant's home-office in Meadowlands, Soweto

5.6.2   Personal Information

- Participant's nickname: P5
- Gender: Male
- Age: 52
- Place of birth: Rockville, Soweto, Gauteng
- Ethnicity and languages: Tswana
- Education: Matric
                             Diplomas in the African Management Programme and Management Development Programme from UNISA.
- Business training: Short courses in business management
- Working experience: Manager in leading retail and printing companies
- Business experience   Printing, Water purification and Car rentals
- Own family: Married with 2 daughters then aged 22 and 13 years

5.6.3   Information on operational township business(es)

- Township: Meadowlands, Soweto, Gauteng
- Type of business(es): Car rentals
- Year started: Registered in 2000 but started in 2005 due to initial failures
- Main services: Minibus and panel van rental services
- Number of employees: Six
- Gross annual turnover: R3 to R4 million per annum

5.6.4   Meaning of Entrepreneur(ship) and Entrepreneurial Success

5.6.4.1 Entrepreneur(ship)

P5 spoke at length about what he considered it meant to be an entrepreneur. Even so, he could not find a Tswana concept that could adequately describe an entrepreneur or entrepreneurship. He settled for the male version of a businessperson:

> Hai, you can just say like a businessman, *rakgwebo.* I don't think there's a terminology or a definition you can say is Tswana or the name itself that you can translate into Tswana. I would say in that case *e tlabe e le rakgwebo fela*.

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His definition of an entrepreneur was someone who added value to products and services, diversified, innovated and made a profit:

> Look, there won't be a right definition for that but personally I believe that anyone who can change anything, whether you invent something, whether you sell something … to generate income and make it big, then you are an entrepreneur … As long as you can innovate … as long as you can also move from one type of … business to another and still be successful, you're an entrepreneur.

Innovation was so important that it influenced P5's decision not to join the minibus taxi industry. To him, operating minibus taxis was not real entrepreneurship:

> It's like an informal thing. When you sell fat cakes there and then tomorrow you do whatever. Though at least you know that you have to make a profit but with taxis, I wouldn't regard those people as entrepreneurs. You want to make money. The car goes out and returns. You can't think out of that box.

P5 also distinguished an entrepreneur from a self-employed person. In his view, entrepreneurship was not about amassing money and settling:

> You're not just a businessperson, where you'd say I want to work. If I can just have R1 million, I'll be okay. Then what's going to happen after you have that million?

Another important element for P5 was that an entrepreneur was a visionary who was versatile enough to adapt to changes in the business environment:

> You know, as an entrepreneur, *o lebella dilo ko pele* (you look ahead) … when life is changing, and the economy goes on … you move! … If you're in a property rental business, people no longer rent because they don't have money … you have to look for something else, because you're no longer getting business from the other side … Diversity, it's important.

He identified an entrepreneur as a risk-taker who pursued every business idea to its logical conclusion (even if it required partnerships); investing one's own funds and embracing failure as part of success were other critical elements of entrepreneurship. Based on his own experience, being an entrepreneur was also about playing to one's strengths and having the passion for what one was doing. He stressed that patience was also key to succeeding in the arduous journey of entrepreneurship:

So, entrepreneurship it's *ha o na le kgatlego – thaasello* (interest – perseverance) rather … that, I want to do this so I will do it … "That's why I was telling [my wife] that you become patient. I said I want to build Avis. It's tough, it's taking time.

Finally, P5 remarked that what a lot of Black people didn't realise about entrepreneurship was that it meant investing and reinvesting in one's business, working hard and making sacrifices. He cited an interview with a controversial Afrikaner entrepreneur, Johann Rupert, on a predominantly Black radio station, who pointed out that many Black people squandered their opportunities by splashing out on flamboyant lifestyles. The man was attacked for his views, but P5 believed they rang true.

5.6.4.2 Entrepreneurial success

P5's definition of entrepreneurial success encompassed growth, expansion and sustainability:

I'd say success is – whatever that you do, once you turn it to a bigger thing whereby you will employ people, you will eh – financially you will be stable for years and still continue building that eh thing eh establishment or entity, ja. As long as it's growing …

Using the examples of AVIS, Kentucky Fried Chicken and McDonald's, he noted that the most successful brands were ones where there was succession from one generation to the next. The brand innovators were not necessarily the ones who enjoyed the fruits of their labour while they were still alive. Although he identified job creation as one measure of entrepreneurial success, P5 had downsized from 12 to six employees. He said it helped him to simplify business processes, cut operational costs and avoid staff problems, thereby keeping up with the trends:

Just like other companies started outsourcing their HR, that's exactly what I decided to do … I retained a few … doing salary admin, doing UIF admin … and then … they also give you a headache. So, I decided that *nna* I am car rental business. So, I'd rather give people *dikoloi* (vehicles), companies *dikoloi* to drive themselves … If their driver gives them problems, it's theirs … They'll give me my money, my vehicle will be returned … if it has problems, they'll cover it with their own insurance ... troubles are minimised from my side.

The accumulation of business assets was a key entrepreneurial success indicator for P5. He took pride in doing so well that he had acquired 24 vehicles. This number had risen from 10 when I first learnt about him in 2019. Another important measure he used was financial growth:

> What you started it's growing. For years, you've managed to sustain it and its still growing, you know. It's still growing from … annual turnover of R100 000 to annual turnover of about R3-4 million. I mean its growth. It's sustainability… over the years.

The third indicator of entrepreneurial success for P5 was being able to afford the finer things in life for him and his family, such as renovating his house, going on vacations and buying his wife a brand-new sedan. Lastly, he said other key factors for his entrepreneurial success were planning, implementing and working hard.

5.6.5   Journey Towards Entrepreneurial Success

P5 was born in Rockville, Soweto in 1968. Because of relocation from one Soweto township to the other, he attended Molalatladi Lower Primary School in Pimville, and then completed his schooling at Masekhene Higher Primary and Anchor Secondary School in Meadowlands. Although he matriculated in 1989 with technical subjects (Electronics, Physical Science and Mathematics), P5 did not pursue a career in that field. Instead, he joined a big clothing retailer as a casual employee until he became permanent. He was promoted to supervisor and then store manager. He then relocated to Mafikeng to become a store manager and a buyer for a competing clothing retail store. At the same time, he registered with Unisa for correspondence in two management diplomas. Fortunately, he was sponsored by big corporations via the Black Management Forum (BMF), of which he had been a member since 1991.

P5's entrepreneurial journey got off to a bumpy start in 1999 while he was in Mafikeng. He had risked it all by resigning from work and investing his entire severance package and savings in a printing company, followed by a water purification venture.

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The two-year long trial ventures fell through, but for him the failures were worth it. He said he had learnt valuable lessons about selecting good businesses and markets that matched one's skills, which was essential for long-term entrepreneurial success:

> I had chosen the wrong business and I didn't have the experience for it … it was a quick business, whereby you could just install computers … You know these young boys who say: let me start a business and they start with internet … that's what I did … And also … Mafikeng is not … as big like … in Joburg or in other metros … which are busy ... And I didn't have even clients, who could sustain the business … I mean you get people who say, please make a CV. Those are just people who add on but it's not real income.

His overall assessment of falling at the first hurdle in business was constructive:

> Look, I think it was a good experience. You know, *othoma ntho* (you start a thing) out of nowhere and without experience. Then it fails, but at least you learn out of that and you know that even if you can go back that I should not do this because you now know your mistakes … Look, business is a jungle … If you don't know your story – I mean even people who think they know but at some point, they fail. It's tough out there.

To put that chapter behind him, P5 resorted to formal employment at a leading food company in Johannesburg in 2001. Thereafter, he joined a filming company doing project management. There he acquired a new set of skills in managing and training people on how to use complex printing machines. Eventually that printing company withdrew from South Africa, retaining only its distributers. It was during that transition that P5 bought his first minibus, which he later used to formally launch his business. He resigned from work in 2004. Although he had not planned to enter the car rental industry, he tapped into the lucrative car rental niche market and capitalised on township transportation and tourism trends. During that era, owning a kombi (microbus/minubus) was fashionable in townships. Some were even named after famous athletes like Zola Budd and Mary Decker for their efficiency, speed or design specs. Kombis are typically used as taxis, school transport or for local tourism:

> I remember I bought a *khumbi* (Kombi or minibus). I was buying it … for personal use, saying hai let me have a *khumbi* that's mine … whilst I was still employed … it was a microbus Caravelle (VW) … It was in style … I had top of the range 2.6 Caravelle … a green one. … Now suddenly people started [saying]: Hey dude transport us somewhere. We want transport to somewhere. Then I started saying oh OK, there's money here. I'm no longer going to use it just to wander around *molekeisheneng* (in the township).

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Image 5.16: A Typical Caravelle 2.6 Microbus – Photos Provided by P5

Since then, P5 never looked back. He paid about R100 000 for the first vehicle via instalments from his personal savings. By the time he had acquired six vehicles, he was focused on this business fulltime. His rental strategy was effective because he would charge a fixed amount per vehicle, not per person. The reinvestment method he used to purchase the second kombi would also constitute his modus operandi for accumulating his fleet of 24 vehicles:

> And then bought the second one. Same model … after I had finished this one - cos I had to push it - the money that I got from this business I was doing, I would throw it in … the idea was to pay off early because of now the loan itself, the interest was going down … it was also a Caravelle … it's a ring this thing. Whatever that comes in, you pay, and then you buy ... I started with 1 car to 24 cars paying for them. I mean out of those cars, I owe 2.

Reinvesting in vehicles was P5's tried and tested method of simultaneously accumulating assets while reliably meeting his customers' demands:

> And then from there then till today, I mean reinvesting. *Ha ke thola fela chelate, koloi enngwe, ha ke thola chelate, koloi enngwe. Ne go sena luxury mo nthweng ena* (Whenever I got money, another vehicle. There was no luxury in that) I think even this house I built [renovated] when now I had about 14 to 15 cars and it was a four-room [house].

P5 animatedly recalled using some trickery to secure vehicles from the same dealership brand just to keep up with demand from the movie industry. He said a banking technical error resulted in him buying two vehicles on the same day. However, he was not worried about repayment because business was good. He got a big break when a township-based film company, ZOLA 7 requested him to transport its crew. During production breaks, he would lease the kombis out for weddings, funerals, picnics and tours to accommodate other clients. As demand in filming grew, he outsourced to other minibus owners, including taxi operators, to maintain his

customers. By the time he had acquired six vehicles, he was in business fulltime. He added Quantums and Caravelles to keep up with the trends. Another opportunity he grabbed with both hands was transporting the staff of a big retailer. That predictable income stream and regular shifts enabled him to plan:

> So, the advantage with it was fetching them at night and brought them at home because they were knocking off late … the nice thing about it was that it was a fixed contract whereby now they pay you monthly… Income becomes stable, ja. … unlike commercials and movies, they only book *koloi* (vehicle) when they need to make commercials, but it was not permanent or a fixed contract … So, with Woolworths, I think … it was 3 years.

Image 5.17: P5's Quantums for transporting passengers and goods

His recruitment strategy of using drivers from the township also enabled P5 to reduce costs, as did leasing *khumbis* without drivers. In a nutshell, he was operating just like other well-known car rental companies though he was based in Soweto:

> I was like a mini-Avis *molekeisheneng* (in the township).

Due to his desire to offer a unique service, P5 never joined any minibus taxi rank, no matter how tough the going got. He lamented the lack of support from township operators who did not understand his business concept:

> Business goes and goes … *wa kgarathla* (you hustle), knock [on] all the doors, make sure that everybody [comes to you] instead of going to Avis … Black people *ne ba sa etse dintho tse tshwanang le tse jwalo* (they were not doing the same kinds of things) … like, even if you wanted to outsource. You say to a person give me your car, but it was not going to be driven by you, it was going to be driven by other people, they refuse.

He said he survived that tough period by taking risks and recalled owing almost R2 million at one point, with inclusive monthly instalments of up to about R50 000. Determined to rubberstamp his own brand, he said the risk paid off at the end:

> So that was the risk I was taking out of all the people who within the same industry I was competing with … I had to give that extra service. So that was the advantage for me … If a

company says … we just need a car and you say no, I can't do it … then they say OK, we can't pay our driver for nothing and you as well … So, we might as well go to Avis because Avis will us a car that we can use… I had to render that service. And it worked for me.

P5 also recounted how blind trust in clients had sometimes landed him in trouble along the journey towards entrepreneurial success. Clients had the tendency not to report damages to his vehicles, which cost him a lot:

> You find a person saying: I want a vehicle now, now. And you are thinking: It's a month's business and good money, let me give them. Then you forget to do things like a checklist … By the time it comes back … they say give us proof that it crashed … When a person is not telling the truth, you lose.

Those expensive mistakes and lessons from competitors taught him the value of designing watertight mechanisms to protect his vehicles with the help of technology:

> And with those mistakes *akere le wena awa gola* (isn't it you also grow) you say eish those type of mistakes cost me… I have a full system whereby when you come to fetch a car, we tick, you sign that you found the vehicle this way – the same way Avis does it … If there's a lease, you have to sign for us, but we still take pictures.

He also sourced professional services as his business became more complex:

> I used to develop them myself before but now I have lawyers, whereby now these things legally bind them. Even though mine was also legally binding them … there are other legal matters which unfortunately you can't cover but at least a lawyer can help you and make it easier for you so that next time if someone has destroyed your property, you can claim. So at least that way, you are covered.

Besides panel vans, P5 said he had also sampled the private sedan market and bought four of them for production crews. Unfortunately, two of them were written off due to accidents. The insurance did replace them, but he decided not to pursue that angle because that service was not as profitable as the one from renting out kombis. He had recently uncovered a goldmine of supplying the filming industry with panel vans to transport heavy equipment. This expanded his services beyond ferrying passengers and increased his capacity to 24 vehicles:

> The same industry but on that wing, I couldn't enter … Then I realised that no man, there's something I'm missing … People are making money … because whenever they needed *khumbis* for passengers they would come to me but when they needed for goods or equipment, they go somewhere else … then I bought 2 panel vans. And luckily, I had cash ... Then they started working … Now as we speak, I have … 13 panel vans … strictly for goods.

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Image 5.18: P5's Panel Vans

The next idea P5 said he wanted to pursue was providing four-ton trucks that could ferry bigger filming equipment, which were currently in high demand. He also wanted to pursue further studies because working from home and having simple business processes put him at risk of getting bored. He reiterated the importance of adapting one's strategies and changing with the times to accommodate customers' needs, something other local operators did not do enough:

> Things are changing … Don't get stuck on one thing … like the taxi guys do. Right now, there's no business on their side. They don't know where to go.

5.6.6   The Role of the Family in Entrepreneurial Success

P5 was the youngest of three brothers. Although both his parents were still alive, the children grew up at his elderly maternal aunt's house because his parents struggled to find them a home. The family had to split up and could only reunite with him at a family hostel in Meadowlands when they were in higher primary. According to P5, both sides of his family were part of the Sophia Town community who were evicted during the enforcement of the Group Areas Act 41 of 1950 and relocated to Soweto. His grandfather had a house in Meadowlands, but his father decided to stay with his aunt instead. The constant relocation destabilised P5's family unit so much so that P5 had some difficulty piecing together the events sequentially:

> Actually, we never had our own home … so one would be there, one would be there [sic]. I think my mother was staying in Rockville with my aunt … and then my father … was staying with his elder aunt though his father had a house in Zone 8 [Meadowlands], but he never stayed with his father. So, he spent some time staying with his uncle [as well] … The time I attended at Masekhene, I was staying at the hostel. My parents did find a small place right there … There were two hostels for men only and then this one was for family.

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P5 was convinced that his entrepreneurial nature was innate, not acquired. He credited himself for an early start in business due to his socio-economic situation:

> There's no one who inspired me. I think that entrepreneurship sometimes maybe is in the blood … I started this thing when I was in Standard 2 (Grade 4). I sold apples whilst doing standard 2. Whenever I knocked off from class, I would go to the corner or to Faraday [market] to stock up apples and put them at my corner … the truth is some of us grew up without the luxury of playing …You come from school and get straight into another job.

5.6.6.1 Paternal and maternal family

P5 claimed that he could not think of anyone on both sides of his family who had inspired him to become an entrepreneur since most of them were ordinary labourers. He said his father was an ordinary driver and could not recall his mother ever working since she was a stay-at-home mom. Both of his elder brothers were still working at golf courses as caddies. However, based on his earlier definition of an entrepreneur, it was apparent that P5 had ruled out existing familial influences in his journey:

> There's no person who I think might have had a serious business, even though there were some with businesses … there was a relative, the person had [minibus] taxis. He was staying in Meadowlands Zone 3. With the taxi wars, he relocated to Kei [Transkei/Ciskei] … But I don't take taxis as serious, serious business, even though it has money. I wouldn't regard a taxi owner as an entrepreneur … They are not innovative.

5.6.6.2 Siblings

The person who seemed to have directly influenced P5 was his elder brother, whom he used to assist in some popular small retail ventures:

> My elder brother was selling ice-creams … That guy was supposed to be one of the millionaires we have … [He] used to sell ice-creams on the outside of the hostel's small gate … near Anchor [high school] the school children used to go there … During lunch… [me and] my friends … would go and help him … you'd find this long queue.

Despite this, P5 seemed reluctant to regard his brother as a major influence in his decision to become an entrepreneur. Rather, he regarded him as his contemporary (or even a competitor) since they were both young at the time:

> The only thing I wouldn't say was that he was my role model cos of I was also there too … I started myself selling apples when I was in standard 2 … So, it's not something that I would say I took from him … there's this thing that *bogosi wa bo tsallwa* (royalty is something you are born into) though I don't believe in such things, but I think maybe it was in us. Our parents didn't do that thing.

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5.6.6.3 Own family

P5 was married with two daughters aged 22 and 13 respectively. He was so proud of his family that he had named his company after their initials: LMK:

> Initial was Lord It was before K2 was there … It was the three people's initials here at home… [Now] we are four but luckily, she is K, so that K stands for [her too].

5.6.6.4 Spouse

P5 and his wife got married 23 years back in 1998. He claimed that his wife had never helped him in business, but then he distinguished help from support:

> She has never! … Even if she can be angry with me, she has never! She has never! But the difference is she has supported me … There's a difference … And you know why I say she has never? It was because there's times she doesn't know how many vehicles there are.

There were indeed many material and intangible ways (some small, some big) in which P5's wife supported him throughout his journey towards success. They included augmenting the household income through her formal job, subsidising his business income, and taking care of their children and home:

> "I remember when we were starting out, she was employed, and I was not … Sometimes I would run out of petrol, she would take it out of her pocket, then, you know *go tshwarantsha moo* (making ends meet there) … Remember we look at success as if you achieved it by yourself, without looking at the fact that whilst you were doing those things when there was not food in the house, who was buying it? … When the child wants school shoes … who was buying them? *So ke partnership, wa bona* (you see). Because she had to take responsibility *ya legae* (of the home) when I am flying around doing things.

That partnership was especially important whenever P5 needed to make big, legally binding decisions:

> You know like I said I got the support I needed, because of once you get married in community of property, buying a car, they would want her signature. Buying a property or anything you would – whether you want a loan her thing … She never gave me a hard time.

He remarked that marital options were not a subject of debate within the African community because Black people preferred to marry in community of property. However, that could sometimes raise thorny legal challenges. He related an incident whereby one of his friend's had a conundrum because he wanted to start a venture,

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but his wife was refusing to sign on his behalf. He considered himself fortunate not to have to resort to desperate measures because of the lack of his wife's support:

> So, there were two options … it's either I forge her signature and that's fraud. Second thing is that I divorce her and then after getting this, I remarry her … he had that predicament that this person didn't want to attach a signature ... So, some of us fortunately became lucky.

Sharing the same vision for the family with his wife was also an important factor in P5's business success:

> She shared my vision, even though in terms of operations *na seo da* (she was not there) but … she could see that … we are going somewhere … Let me give this guy *ke mothuse ka ntho tse tshwanang le tse jwalo* (help him with such things). And, and you talk.

P5 said he also received essential emotional and moral support from his wife:

> You know sometimes she looks at me and says: *mara wena o* stressed … You know simple things like *go go apeela* (cooking for you), like saying: you know today I want to cook you a meal that will make you relax. They count … You can imagine if that support was not there ... You're all alone. When you're annoyed, there's no one saying hey man you're tired, here's some water. Things like that.

Mrs P5's continued support proved worth it, even though according to him, sometimes her trust seemed to waver due to peer pressure. He said he rewarded her in the most conspicuous ways and was delighted to finally fulfil his promises:

> I did tell her that one day I am going to buy you a Mercedes Benz and I am also going to build you a house. And she thought … I'm joking … We live in a nice house … Friends would come here having bought BM[W]s, Audis, Mini Coopers. I remember one time she remarked: We in this house only buy Quantums … And after years … I remember it was her birthday. I bought a new Mercedes Benz for her in cash. Brand new Mercedes … as a gift *kare tshwara* (I said take) you were there for me all these years.

Rewarding his wife for her support was one of P5's method of dealing with family tensions caused by business-induced stress. They needed to keep the household intact since the risk of destroying what they had built was a reality:

> You don't need an additional wayward challenge at home … You have come this far working, trying to build something, then when you get home it's war … You have to balance.

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5.6.6.5 Children

P5 also acknowledged the moral and emotional support his children provided him. They too were rewarded materially for their efforts. He considered his children fortunate to enjoy such a comfortable life and even to go on vacation by themselves:

> The way I was saying the support I was receiving so much, including the kids sometimes saying: You're working too hard. Sometimes, without us … they went everywhere … to the likes of Cape Towns [sic] whilst young … something that we never got … I went to Durban when I was already working … That was the first time I went to the beach … They went many times, flying, for holidaying only.

All in all, P5 was grateful for the time, space, freedom and trust his family gave him, which motivated him to dream bigger and to soar even higher:

> I was like shocked when they told me that: You know sometimes you need a holiday by yourself. Go, whether a week or two weeks … Find yourself relaxed … Ei, with others they would say, where are you going; what alone? Hai, wait a minute … it's something that you don't see, but when it's them telling you, then, you see that eish, I have support.

He saw his children's curiosity about business matters and concern for his welfare as signs of caring. They queried him on traffic fines or offered him practical help. But since they were still studying, he was not yet nurturing their interest in business matters:

> We chat … Remember I work from home … So, it's easy for them to hear that oh, Papa is fighting … sometimes we have an informal meeting here in the house … Cos even last time when I was fighting with the taxi people. They asked me: Is it those taxi people again? Laughs. Even if I'm not there, they know that eish by the way our challenge might be taxis, might be wasteful employees, might be, that company if we didn't do proper paperwork.

5.6.6.6 Other relatives

P5 sometimes tapped into the practical help offered by relatives such as his nephews, one of whom was his employee:

> I have a brother, two … nephews. When they got licenses, I used to send them … one of them is still working for me. But even those who are available, maybe it's necessary to fetch a car somewhere or deliver somewhere and our drivers are not here, I occasionally take him along and say hey dude let's go and do this … without any fee, payment.

5.6.7 The Role of Friends in Entrepreneurial Success

P5 did receive various kinds of assistance from a few of his friends. He formed a partnership with two of his friends (*dichomi*) for his first venture in printing but had to let them go when the business was unsuccessful:

> Ja, *ke dichomi* … they are people from Meadowlands too. Eventually, I had to take them out because of [sic] we failed. I remained with one. I got a tender at the Pretoria Zoo … We did it I think for 6 months … the reason why we couldn't supply there were because of late payments. You know when you don't have money and at the same time you supply people don't pay you … you wait for a year and meanwhile you are spending your own money.

It was through a referral from a friend that P5 found his house, which eventually became his home-office:

> One of my friends, who was living up the street. His home is in this same street. That time I was in Zone 1 (Meadowlands … when I got this four-room house. And he told me that hey man go to V … I was staying at [my parents] home. And then he told me that hey man, there are people who are selling a house. They're moving away, they're going to KZN. *E ne ele tshehlanyana* (it was a bit shabby/greyish) … then after working for a while, I said now I need my time. The family at least deserves a better house … I had to revamp [it].

There was one friend P5 said he admired. He seemed proud of his hard-earned achievements, against all the odds:

> I have a friend by the name of LR … That guy was a petrol attendant. He started business with *mazimba* (Simba chips). Today his business … I think he makes close to half a million per year, even a million … From petrol attendant to *mazimba a* five bob. Now he has built a family house, it's big, it's huge. He bought that spaza shop [corner shop]. He bought himself a car. He bought a car for the wife. He took the children to school. He's still working hard.

In P5's books, LR was a truly inspirational entrepreneur:

> So, I can say he is one of the people I respect for working hard or one of the entrepreneurs I respect. By the way, you don't have to be a millionaire or billionaire … Once you start something… and build on that thing, and it keeps on growing then [you are] entrepreneurial. So that's the person in my life I think I am together with.

He and LR also supported each other financially:

> He is one guy who I can say to hey man give me R50 000 right now I am running short, he can do so. Just like if he said to me ei man, *ke kgopilwenyana* (I have tripped a bit), the stock is running short, I can do so.

Besides LR, P5 relied on his close group of friends for relaxation. They included his nephew who occasionally helped him with work. With age and people getting scattered, he was no longer fraternising at famous taverns:

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Ee, I have friends. Every weekend when I'm not working, I'm usually out in the streets. They're there. *Ba ke nwang le bona.* Those are the ones I imbibe with … even growing older counts. I no longer have 20 friends or so or 100 … the group we *blom* (hang) with … chances are–that every weekend we can be together, it's five. But like as in friendship, to have 1 000 people, going to the likes of … *Disoufeng le batla go tlalatlala* [local popular tavern - wanting to be all over the show], no! We'd rather sit here by the gate and drink.

5.6.7.1 Acquaintances

Although somewhat random, it was through ideas, advice and referrals from neighbourhood acquaintances that P5 landed solid businesses opportunities. It began with transporting people with his trendy personal green 2.6 Caravelle kombi mentioned earlier while he was still employed. Another acquaintance's request helped him to flourish in the filming industry:

> One driver who was working for ZOLA 7 noticed that I had a vehicle … a guy from Meadowlands … said: … May I please use it because of [sic] we want continuity. They were filming ZOLA 7 with it. You could see it on TV. It was a blue one … So, for them to go as a crew, he would need to use his car [for music], meanwhile this side, ZOLA 7 had to be shot … that's how I entered ... So now, my three vehicles were now in the film industry.

Yet another profitable opportunity presented itself when someone suggested that he transport employees from a big retailer, thereby diversifying his services:

> I got a contract from Woolworths .... It was still this thing of now that people know that by the way that brother over there has a vehicle and we need transport at work … it was a referral. I don't remember who it was … Then I got one from Westgate … I started going to others and said: Guys, I am doing this and that at Westgate Woolworths, give me business … I got Parktown, Greenside ... At the same time, I was also doing the movies.

5.6.7.2 Associates

Several associates also played an enabling role in P5's entrepreneurial success journey. As the deputy chairperson of the Mafikeng BMF branch, he secured a sponsorship from big corporations to improve his education and managerial skills:

> It was a bursary. I think they were also targeting Black managers to upgrade them, especially in the field of business and management … whether marketing, whether finance, whether human resources, because of [sic] those courses cover those things … Development Management Programme is like a mini-introduction of an MBA.

Through the BMF, P5 was also able to network with high profile individuals such as CEOs, managers of different companies and senior government officials who were also politicians, thereby obtaining information, advice and knowledge:

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It exposes you … you meet people … you interact … you're gaining experience … you learn, there are workshops … I sometimes hear people calling it networking … you meet with people whom one day you'll need … especially in business.

It was critical for P5 to maintain connections with local minibus taxi operators for outsourcing purposes to keep up with demand. However, he lamented their one-sided relationship, whereby he often had to compromise to retain clients:

You give them their fee. You take a smaller fee … but meaning to keep the market because if you don't supply, people will go somewhere else and then you will lose the business. *So,* to close that clumsy gap you approach those you know and say man since you have a car, give it to me so I can use it. You keep the market, you see.

5.6.7.3 *Role Models*

P5 explained that he did not like to label people as role models because he was wary of them letting him down. That seemed to have affected him when he was politically active, as discussed further in the section on political history:

I don't have role models … you know why? I don't want to be disappointed. I even told the kids: Don't surround yourself with another person's life because of you'll be disappointed. Whilst you're saying Papa, Papa, tomorrow you hear that Papa was killing people … Or he had 10 wives ... Or Papa was stealing ... You were saying Papa was working hard for these Quantums *kante* (meanwhile) Papa was selling drugs ... So, … just don't have role models. Yes, you can learn some other things from other people, but *wena* do your own thing.

Although he was reluctant to call LR a role model, he encouraged his children to recognise and appreciate relatable local achievers such as him:

That's why I said: 'My child, when you write your assignment go and interview *abuti* (brother) L. Don't say Mandela because of everybody is going to say Mandela … don't go far. He's right here, the one who raised you. He's your father too, by the way … Don't go to a person you don't know. The real case study you want is this.'

It was obvious that P5 was well informed about local and international entrepreneurs and was influenced by his predecessors, even if he did not always acknowledge it. For example, he was inspired by the late Dr Richard Maponya's expansion model:

One day I will buy a building moSoweto and they get surprised that I have a 22-office park building in Soweto … Why not? I mean the money that is circulating is a lot … We used to have smaller shops that were well known. But nobody thought of – except one for Maponya … He was the only person who opened a supermarket.

He also reluctantly cited Johann Rupert's controversial views on tenderpreneurship, when he was interviewed on a Black radio talkshow, which he believed were true:

> I wouldn't want to use this guy cos I know that this guy benefitted out of apartheid. But he once said … as much as I've benefitted from apartheid, but I worked as well. My parents yes, they benefitted … we were living a good life with businesses, but I had to put something as well … and reinvest. He even made an example: … Black people, you are annoying about one thing. You get a tender or get millions and then you buy a BMW, you go to Taboo [high end bar] and unfortunately, he was criticised that hey man you are a racist … But that's a fact. I mean if you get 5 million, you buy BMW … you spend a lot of money on alcohol or clothing. Then what's going to happen if you don't get the next deal?

5.6.8 The Role of Reference Groups in Entrepreneurial Success

P5 was not a member of any social groups like stokvels. He claimed that if he had a choice, he would never use banks because they made a few individuals rich. He said they only subscribed to one burial club to honour his wife's wishes and joked that it was the female of the species (*bomme*) who were fond of such things. To him, local schemes were mere high-risk models with no real benefits:

> So, coming to stokvels, how I came to this point that I don't want anything *e leng gore ha e mperekele* (that doesn't work for me) … you say to me *ra godisana* (we're in a rotating scheme), we're 10, I give you 1 000 [rand]. That 10, maybe I'm the last one, I will get that 10 000 [rand]. But there's no investment there. It's money I kept for you. It's the same as keeping it at home … And its disadvantage is where; if one dies, within that 10 … you're going to lose R1 000. Somebody else … loses a job, they don't have that money to pay you … So, you've lost 2 000 [rand]. … The risks are high there, you see.

When I remarked on his WhatsApp profile with cycling gear, he explained that he enjoyed cycling in groups but did not belong to any club. The sport gave him opportunities to plough back through various projects, however:

> Oh, last we were doing one for a charity, in Soweto. We did 25 kilometers. The organisers had targeted some schools that they wanted to buy [school] socks and shoes [for]. We had to contribute a certain amount and then at the same time cycle … We started in Tladi and circled around Vilakazi and came back via Protea for 25 kms …The event was organised by a cycling group, though I'm not a member. I was invited the guys from *moDisoufeng* (popular tavern nearby) …They know that we just cycle.

5.6.9 The Role of Social Media in Success

P5 agreed that technology like smartphones and social media had benefitted him a lot in business, especially with time and cost-cutting on his marketing budget. With his background in the printing industry, using technology was uncomplicated. He was on WhatsApp, Linked-in and Facebook but not yet on Twitter:

> Yes, in the olden days you would advertise for a lot for people to get to know you … you would print a piece of paper and then you take it around … if you had money … you'd do a billboard. You'd have a www website … Right now, … everybody on earth uses WhatsApp … You can post whatever that you do .... Twitter … it's another platform that is easy to do business on … you don't spend a lot. … It's just data … … So, with this [smartphone], he's sitting here, just taking pictures .... edits it himself and sends … Facebook, same thing.

5.6.10 The Role of Culture in Entrepreneurial Success

Culture did play a role in P5's personal, family and business life, but not excessively because South Africa is a multicultural society. He linked some of its elements to his entrepreneurial success, notably the practice of acknowledging his ancestors and utilising township transportation trends to his advantage.

5.6.10.1 *Culture, Cultural Identity, and Self-worth*

P5 was a moTswana with some relatives based in the Northwest province. Surprisingly, his official name Lot was erroneously recorded as Lord due to some bureaucratic bungling, which also discouraged him from changing it:

> My name is Lord …It was supposed to be Lot – L-O-T. Then somehow, they made a mistake at Home Affairs, they made it Lord … I don't really like it but I was born with it. But it happens that my great, grandmother … *ke khoko* - my father's grandmother lived for more than 100 years … she was blind … whenever we would come into the house, she would recognise us by our voices … She gave me the name of Mothusi. At school I used Lord, but as I was growing up I decided to use Mothusi though I haven't yet put it on my ID.

His African name of Mothusi (meaning Helper) was symbolic to him. It gave him a unique identity that was linked to his paternal family. Unlike Lot, which was a common name in his maternal family, he knew of no other P5 in the family. Save for feeling blessed to have been named by his *khokho*, a noble matriarch, P5 did not

directly link his cultural identity to his entrepreneurial success. He had not yet put it on his identity documents due to onerous governmental processes.

5.6.10.2 Cultural influences in business

Interestingly, P5's approached the influence of culture on entrepreneurial success from a multicultural perspective. He argued that while it was important to retain one's key cultural and traditional principles and practice, it was also essential to acknowledge that South Africa was a multicultural society. This required businesspeople to adapt and to accommodate everyone:

> It's difficult to conduct business mainly based on your culture …The business side, it has to be standard… that argument - which I foresee us not winning - that says if I am Tswana, I must only speak Tswana, my children should only learn Maths in Tswana … In Botswana, in Swaziland, even in Lesotho and in China, Germany … they've got one culture, they're using one language… It's easy for them to do that.

He believed that a negotiated solution, not retaliation, was crucial, since the clock on South Africa's history could not be turned back. The issue of land was a sore point:

> We were colonised, fair enough, it's bad … We must accept that … We cannot go back and say let's take arms and dispossess them of land the same way they did us … there are many ways, that are still killing us even now, whereby we can't get our land back.

To him, running a culturally specific business was neither realistic not practical in the current globalised business environment. Official business languages were essential:

> You can imagine if the Vendas had decided to know Venda alone in their little corner. … Then I have to go and a presentation … without understanding Venda, them not understanding Tswana, but insisting to speak Tswana and them speaking – there's no way we can do business … It's a standard way of doing business. It's even worse because now its global … One day I'll find myself in the USA wanting to do business with someone there or them coming over here. I can't say hai, I am a moTswana, let's do it in seTswana.

Despite this, P5 did embrace cultural practices such as ancestral worship, which he said were important for his entrepreneurial success:

> I believe in them … I sometimes make my own little corner, a short one and remember my father, remember my grandfather, remember my grandmother and others who've had an impact in my life.

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He had however adapted his style of honouring his ancestors for convenience's sake and because he was no longer pressured by his mother who was still alive. For example, he no longer performed animal sacrifices:

> I think I've only done it once in my lifetime. And even then, it was my mother pressurising me: *Ei o tshwantse o tlhabele badimo*! (you must sacrifice for the ancestors). I did it once at my home in Zone 1 (Meadowlands) … Even the children know this now. Once a new car arrives, then it has to go to the graveyard where my father is. It has to pass there. Even before it does anything, it must – Well with COVID [19], unfortunately there was no entry [at the cemeteries]. *But wa bega* (you report) ... That's why I say you don't have to have a function to report. You sit alone like this in the quiet and then *wa bega* … You don't have to slaughter; each and every time you get something, *o se o phalla* (spill blood).

He explained that *go bega* was an expression of gratitude to the ancestors (both the living and the dead) for helping him to succeed:

> I mean it's – it's like thanksgiving ... Something like hey man: I have achieved something like this, boPapa I have to let you know. You're no longer there. My mother it's easy. I go to the house. Even that's the same procedure. When it comes (the new car), I take it to my mother. Mama I bought a new car. Whether *o tshela snuif* (pours snuff) or not, *mare e tshwanetse e fete ko teng* (but it has to pass there). I go to my father's side; it must pass there. I go to my mother's side; it must pass there. I am going to report to them that here's another car again. *Ke a leboga gore* (I am thankful that) I have achieved something.

P5's nuanced business strategy showed that he understood township culture and markets. He capitalised on popular township trends and various elements of township culture, like trendy minibuses for the local filming industry. He acknowledged that when he first started with car rentals in 2004, owning a kombi was already fashionable in the townships. Kombis were (and still are) used as taxis, school transport or for local tourism. It was the trendiness of Caravelles and Quantums in townships that opened more doors for P5 in the filming industry. He recruited young, familiar township drivers who understood township transportation needs as a cost-saving mechanism.

5.6.10.3 Culture and family values

P5 considered it critical to instill cultural values and principles within his household, starting with the medium of conversation in the home:

> But now in terms of culture, there are many things we have to stick on. *Mo ntlong mo go buiwa seTswana. Ba entse sekgowa ko sekolong, maar montlung ba bua seSteswana* (Here at home we speak Tswana. They studied English at school, but they speak seTswana).

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He was also passionate about passing on family and cultural traditions such as those espoused during wedding ceremonies. He was usually called upon to lead *lobola* (bride price) negotiations and to explain how merging different tribal systems was important for uniting families. He said he owned land in Phokeng and was a member of the chief's council, which consulted with the community on various issues:

> So, in terms of *setso* (culture), I'm a family person. I leave [drop] everything whenever I have to perform traditional duties in the house. I'm a family man, whether from my father's side or whatever …I always go all out for family … Wherever they need me in person. And in most of them, it was not about resources. Like hey man, you are the uncle. Even those to whom I'm not an uncle, but they are just family ... When coming to family, I don't make a mistake.

P5 stressed that he lived by his personal values, which he did not label as ubuntu although they were similar. He hoped his children would subscribe to the same principles even if he could not predict how they would turn out:

> My children know that they have to respect people. They know that they have to respect any elder or person who lives on earth. They have to respect us here in the house. They have to go to school. They have to know that you have to be clean .... Those are values and principles ... Eh, you can do as much, but sometimes you don't know where you end off … Sometimes you get lucky – there are some kids who are raised well but *ko bofellong ba felelletsa ba ralla sekgwa* (in the end they go astray).

5.6.10.4 *Culture and gender relations*

P5 confirmed that the Tswana culture was more inclusive than before, and women could be in business. He cautioned against the Western tendency of judging people's cultures without fully understanding how they demarcated gender roles:

> Ja, eh, changes are many. I think our women are more free [sic] than Afghanistan, if we're not getting propaganda anyway. *Akere* sometimes we sometimes say these people are oppressive … If Americans feel that their wives can go and work, but Afghans feel that in their culture, they have to work for their wives. When I say to my wife don't go and work, my culture says so, but I work for her and take care of her. It's my responsibility to take care of my wife and my children. Abuse *e kena kae moo* (where does abuse feature there)? … It's our agreement. We don't want to find ourselves imposing our things on others.

He reiterated that in a multicultural state like South Africa and a global world it was not always practically possible to impose monolithic ideals and practices:

> Yes, today you can still uphold your culture in different ways … But you cannot sometimes insist on things that we done … So, you have to compromise and then mix [that thing] (*le kopanye ntho eo*). In the end, you find a solution in such a way that you have each practiced your traditions as different tribes, nations or cultures.

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5.6.11 The Role of Religion in Entrepreneurial Success

P5 said he was no longer as religious as he was as a youth. He claimed that his parents used to force him to attend church. He therefore took part in all the rites of passage such as baptism and confirmation. Irrespective of his religious beliefs, P5 said he allowed his wife and children to attend church and to determine their own beliefs, be it in ancestors, Jesus Christ or in God through ancestors. P5 seemed to have acquired a lot of his leadership and interpersonal skills from his active church involvement, although he did not acknowledge it. Remarkably, he met his wife when he was the church youth club chairperson, and she was his secretary:

> You know at some point I was a chairperson of the youth club at church at NG [Kerk]. I was a director of youth… running youth clubs that were – from Wolmaranstad to Tembisa to Daveyton … I had almost 300 youth clubs under my watch, can you imagine. But … I didn't know the Bible. I went to church.

He joked that his local church bribed him to attend church, but he used the opportunity to implement his community projects:

> I have projects that I'm doing … with churches - Lutheran … my projects are for grannies only. Wherever they want to go I transport them for free … There's a social club for the elderly here in Zone 9, same thing with them. Soccer teams I sometimes buy their [kits] … But they tend to bribe me by saying: Come *monna* we want to give you a certificate in front of the congregation to say thank you … That's the time you'll find me going to church.

P5 espoused the value of caring for his community and sharing the fruits of his success with them. He however attributed his empathy towards the less fortunate to the hardship he had experienced as a youth, and not necessarily to religion:

> I think it's growing up struggling because of you know where you come from and when you think of where you are and then you go back that *ei san*! … that mindset comes back that there are people who need me. I don't think that I could sleep here today and even eat but knowing that the mother next door or the children next door don't have … I'll make it a point that it's either I share or, I will take out money and buy them bread.

It was because of that shared struggle that P5 said he was perplexed by corrupt individuals and their lack of empathy with the poor. That was the antithesis of ubuntu:

> So, … maybe, *ke yona ntho ya tshokolo* (it's this thing of struggle). Ja, automatically it's there. And black people most of us grew up that way, anyway. But now the problem is that I'm surprised

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that today *ra ikutswetsa* (we steal from ourselves). I'm surprised that today *re utswetsa batho ba sokolang ba neng ba tshwana le rona* (we steal from those who are struggling like we were).

5.6.12 The Role of Political History in Entrepreneurial Success

It is interesting that P5's business model was built on the structural disadvantage put in place by apartheid. Inadequate and unreliable public transport served his business interests well. As a former political activist via platforms such as the BMF, P5 was aware of the role played by the political history of townships in entrepreneurial success. Although he had voted in all the elections, P5 said he was disillusioned when his political party fielded a potentially corrupt candidate against his advice. He was dismayed by how politics had changed some of his close associates and friends in disturbing ways. Moreover, he said, open and candid debate was being stifled. This undermined democratic principles and limited participation in politics:

> They didn't listen. And we all know what happened. Signs were that these guys were corrupt … that here, we're heading for disaster … in the past there used to be healthy debate in politics, especially ANC... You could say whatever that you like politically, and I too could do the same … After that, whenever you said something, you would be sworn at ... And then some of us just decided that we'll just vote for anyone that we vote for I decided that no … I'm not going to participate in any political platform, except to become a commentator like when I'm watching TV or talking to you that I'm sick and tired of these thieves.

He was concerned that the ramifications of these political events were filtering down throughout the ranks. Society was still divided by race and class, poverty and inequality. Sooner or later the impact of poverty was going to catch up with everyone, including the rich, even though white people would be the least affected:

> ANC even knows. They have messed up big time … You know, a Black person deserves better … I hate it when a person tells me that, ja even Whites were stealing money. I say: They were stealing it to develop themselves … If you steal it, steal it for building another person's life who's your own, then it's fine ... A Black person's life is going down. Even with the so-called middle class that is to have been built ... The economy is a mess. And now the problem is that we are not used to doing our own businesses. Whites are still well to do … Private sector is – especially White companies – they're making a killing, in our time. There's nobody touching them … Human Rights, whatever little we did, now we have regressed.

In the same vein, he bemoaned the limited financial investment in the growth and development of township economies and the inadequate support for township

businesses by government institutions that were set up to help previously disadvantaged businesspersons. He shared his past struggles in obtaining business loans:

> If I had support like for example if our government supported us … I know they have such institutions the likes of DTI, IDC… If people like us give them a proposal or a plan and then looking at how you grow … I once did a proposal looking for about R10 million. The banks wouldn't give me obviously because they wanted collateral … I don't have it. I don't have land, my property is a 4-room [house]… they say you're a risk, they can't assist you.

His experience with the government tendering system when he was trying out the printing and water purification businesses was similarly unpleasant. He said smaller players were sidelined whenever substantial bids were on offer:

> You'll go there and do proposals … They'll give you those smaller things, Printing – they'll say we want you to make us copies or we want you to design us something. But it wasn't that big to sustain you for life … And water purification too, I attempted … You know there are other things that need government ... But because of the red tape and the corruption inside there … they will give you … something that's worth R10 000. But when there's something worth R500 000 or R10 million, it has to go to somebody else.

He wished strategies used by the likes of the late Dr Richard Maponya, who invested heavily in township businesses, could be replicated but with more shares for Africans:

> Simple things like property … So, instead of waiting for Old Mutual, even these malls, we could have done that. Right now, your ABSA, Old Mutual, FNB came and built in Dobsonville and Maponya Mall. Even that does not belong to him, because of he had land, but then he had to go into partnership with those developers … I mean why not? Why don't you create a Sandton? Sandton was once a *sganga* (open veld) and plots.

Closer to home, P5 decried the unaccountability of his ward councillors for their deflection of responsibility and neglect of service delivery to their constituencies:

> *Hai* in fact, the local councilor is worse … I approached them and said we want to do those humps for the kids and the community … I wasn't even supposed to tell the councilor that thing myself. They said to me I must do a [petition]. I said do you realise … that means I must do your work? … I did it and gave it to him. When I followed up, they said but I handed it over, you follow-up with JRA [road agency]. I did follow-up with JRA. That we should have them [humps] I had to do them. So, that's why I say that I hate, especially ANC guys, because of they are not doing anything benefiting us.

5.6.13   The Role of Other Social Factors in Entrepreneurial Success

P5 was a victim of social ills like theft, crime, violence and social unrest. Degrading standards of township life were also making him seriously consider relocating to suburbs. He said the only reason he had not moved his business out of a township was because he was saving on operational costs in line with current trends of converting parts of one's home into office space.

5.6.13.1 The impact of classism, racism and social exclusion on business success

P5 highlighted that Soweto suffered from an image problem due to the lack of confidence in township businesses:

> People still don't believe that in townships there can be such businesses in Soweto. Some have doubts; no, I first want to see the cars. And then I remind them: When you go to Avis, you just pay Avis without ever seeing the car. You don't know what you're getting ... and then Avis will decide. If you want H1, they can even give you VW. You don't even have a say … So, I told them that you know what, if you still want to see the car you don't trust me.

He detested the characterisation of township businesses as informal and untrustworthy, which was a common problem cutting across different industries:

> There are people who think that with certain businesses you have to have business space somewhere. … you cannot do that business *mo lekeisheneng* (in a township) … I am sure there are people who will leave here, take a taxi, and … go to Avis at the airport, or in Sandton …. There's service here at Toyota … there's VW. But there are people who believe that … Toyota over there looks like it's not real … it seems that when you're in a township, yho! Your business must be the one that is informal. Once you formalise a business, people don't believe that no *maar ko lekeisheneng*? Business *e* so?

In his view, certain ceilings or thresholds were set for township businesses by limiting them to certain industries, whether explicitly or not:

> Taverns survive, pubs survive, spazas survive, taxis survive, but there are other businesses which people don't believe … that you can do the right thing when you are located in a township, you see.

For P5, such perceptions bore the hallmarks of racial profiling, discrimination and classism. He said as a law-abiding citizen, he found such practices unfair:

> If you don't trust me, you don't trust Black business … So, anything, in other words, that's done by Black people, that means you don't trust … If I was in Randburg, somewhere … or in Sandton, you wouldn't even ask … You would pay knowing that you would get the car. But because of you hear that I'm in Soweto [you ask questions] … You go there, you formalise things. I mean I pay

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tax, I have permits for these cars that are given to me by the government. Everything of mine is registered – it's a registered company with CIPRO.

He was disconcerted by his fellow Black people's lack of support of township businesses, which he argued perpetuated the underdevelopment of townships:

> That's why we won't develop, you see. Ja, and I feel offended, ja … It's black people who are doing that. I've got a lot of white clients … unless the person may ask … especially with Quantums … – Is it not a taxi – like a taxi, you see. That's their only worry, *daai ding* (that thing). But *ha bamphe mathata* (they don't give me problems). But some of our black brothers and sisters sometimes ask: Can I come and see the car first? Why, why should you see the car first. And if you're not interested leave it! Let's just leave it.

Taxi operators who could not handle competition from the likes of Uber were another source of frustration for P5. He complained about differential treatment favouring suburban, white-owned rental and/or tourist companies ferrying Whites. He viewed this continuation of historical inconsistency in standards and expectations as a key socio-cultural hinderance for township entrepreneurs like him:

> You go to Sandton there's no one stopping you … it's a serious challenge … tourist cars, Quantams come here in the township, driven by a white person … or … with Whites therein … they regard it as formal with White people … it's not supposed to be accosted. *Abelungu* (It's white people) … You have black people; you tell them that your vehicle is from the township …They will stop it. *Bare hai hindlela yethu* (it's our route) … A white person can come, without even having the right documents but can do whatever they want.

5.6.13.2 *The impact of lawlessness, crime and social unrest on entrepreneurship*

P5 attributed such discriminatory and condescending tendencies to the lack of professionalism and education, but at the same time to stubbornness or aggression inculcated by a pervasive culture of lawlessness in townships. He was displeased by the undemocratic practices of some township dwellers and their lack of adaptability:

> *Dibusiness tsa mo lekeisheneng di etsiwa ka nkane* (Township businesses are operated aggessively) … I don't think it's only taxis, though taxis are the worse ones … A mechanic can just decide that I am fixing here in the middle of the street, bylaws or no bylaws … Traffic cop takes those things, it's a war … Spazas fight … Pakistanis have arrived … if those people came legally, and then they did registered businesses, you don't have a right to say*: ke kasi yaka ena* (it's my township).

He explained that standard taxi operators in stagnant industries tended to infringe on other people's rights out of frustration. He admired how Uber outsmarted the taxi industry by providing a safer, convenient, door-to-door transportation service. His verdict was that such changes had affected all industries, citing petrol stations incorporating grocery shops and online banking as additional examples. When it came to crime and violence, history seemed to be repeating itself in P5's case. Early in the interview, he had recounted how hostel wars had destabilised his family unit and derailed his brother's ice-cream business endeavours:

> I remember at some point he had about 7, 8 bicycles … yeses (exclamation) – this guy was making a killing but as to what happened? Oh, oh ho, it was the hostel wars to which destroyed things … it was whilst we were staying in the hostel … he ran away and stayed somewhere else, and we stayed elsewhere. As you can imagine, when you stay in someone else's house, you can't do those things. I think ja, the whole family was disturbed by that. So, I can imagine that if there was no such thing, that guy would have been far.

P5 himself suffered setbacks due to crime, some of which was perpetrated by his competitors. Even when he claimed for stolen vehicles from insurance, he did not fully recover his money due to their depreciation:

> Out of that 24 [vehicles], I think I lost four from theft, hijacking … all the stolen vehicles were Quantums … The vehicle was R500 000, then you use it for two years, then somebody steals it. Insurance will pay you R300 000 … When you're supposed to get another vehicle … Even if you put up a challenges high deposit, but still *ke skoloto* (a debt) *…* those were some of the that one is dealing with taxi people and some of them decide to steal your cars.

Employee drunkenness, theft and abuse of vehicles were some of the issues that led P5 to rethink his human resourcing strategy and to cut down his pool of drivers:

> You've got drivers, who sometimes when they have to go to work, they are drunk … And you need them at that time, they don't come … Or *ba zola fela ka dilkoloi* (they just gallavant with vehicles) … there was one guy who I trusted, he was one of the trustees, he was stealing petrol … such things, of you don't have them, then less problems.

Lawlessness coupled with intermittent service delivery were other vices for P5:

> Bylaws, if garbage collectors decide that today we're not going to Soweto – something which will never happen in a suburb – they don't come. If somebody has decided to empty their dustbin … Things that we're not used to. Dumping on its own … people go past robots (traffic lights), stop signs when in Soweto but when they enter into Sandton they stop. Even when they are alone and there's no other car coming, *wa ema tsi* (they stop still) observe and then go. … *Ja, a gona molao* (there's no order).

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P5's business operations were also impacted by social unrest and riots. He said the recent riots had not directly affected him since they happened quickly, unlike in KZN. However, they were an ominous future sign unless things changed radically:

> Crime, strikes, sometimes when you're in Soweto you can't leave Soweto … All those protests. Imagine you have to deliver a car for a client, and it's shut down everywhere ... So, those are disadvantages that eventually or at some point will push one to leave.

P5 was also considering leaving the township because of the deteriorating quality of life in Soweto, and the breakdown in its social and moral fabric:

> At some point I thought I would live here until, but I feel that now I have to leave Soweto. Lifestyle *ya teng ha e monate* (the lifestyle is not enjoyable). You see kids drinking on the streets, *o ka se kgaleme* (you can't chastise them), who are you? People can decide to have a party next to your house and park their cars there … there's nothing you can do. People are stealing. We have to install electric fences, install cameras. Whenever you have to leave, you have to find someone to housesit. There's not enough security.

The looming threat of gender-based violence heightened his concerns over his daughters' safety:

> Some of us are affected – when you see abled young men aged between 22 and 35 [years] who are lounging there at the corner drinking beer and it's during the working hours … So, you're no longer safe in a way… You don't even know what will happen if you can send your child to the shop … it builds those things that eish, you know, she's going to pass by those 20 boys drinking beer, you see, you see those kinds of things?

Because of the lack of recreation facilities to occupy unemployed young people, they were at high risk of engaging in criminal activity. He wanted government and the private sector to work together and prioritise these challenges:

> So, it's disturbing, you see. And it's stressing. You get worried that tomorrow, the same guys who are sitting there at the corner – you will be coming in with groceries and they take them from you, you will be coming with a car and they break into it, you see?

5.6.13.3 *The impact of Covid-19 on business operations*

P5 acknowledged that the COVID-19 pandemic and its related restrictions had imposed hardship on the whole business community, albeit in different ways:

> The beginning of March last year [2020], when this thing started it affected us and seriously so … Yes, a lot of people lost … especially the first 2 months of Level 5. Hey, it was tough man. All cars were parked. There was nothing happening.

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He called out what he saw as the hypocrisy of most banks during the onslaught of the COVID-19 pandemic. He argued that they were the least supportive of efforts to assist struggling businesses and poor people. Instead, they further indebted them with extended repayment terms, meanwhile they continued to enrich themselves:

> You see Covid exposed many people and it taught us a lot of things. I asked [bank X a] simple question … I said let me know. Tell me of any bank that said, we are giving out, at least a million vegetables in all the areas of South Africa that guys, here, eat since there's nothing happening in the country. Or bread to say we are giving you some relief.

Despite this, P5 still smiled when he reflected on how the turn of events had benefited his own business and how he made the most of those challenging circumstances. He had discovered that some film companies preferred to outsource their transportation staff benefits due to the steep costs associated with observing COVID-19 protocols like refumigating vehicles daily and maintaining social distance. Thus, he was able to tap into the previously impenetrable but lucrative market of ferrying filming crews, who were not allowed by companies to use public transport, including Uber. The fact that P5 did not have to operate like regular taxis, whereby clients were charged per passenger, was advantageous to him. Once again, his business model of vehicle rentals, not taxi services, was the ultimate winner:

> But then it went to Level 4 … The restrictions within the filming industry was more [on] to channels to put more budgets to ensure that these people are fetched from their own yards and that there is social distancing … for safety of their people ... Now, that's where we got contracts, where we never used to get them. Ja, so that's why I say that it was an advantage … to the point that you get 120 000 [rand] where if COVID was not there, you wouldn't get it … When other people were struggling having shut down, we helped out … *akere* ours is not the same as taxis. They were losing … it's luck that we struck.

5.6.14 Lessons for Others

The important lessons P5 wanted to share on entrepreneurial success concerned implementing one's ideas and plans no matter how small or big, as well as hard work:

> Think, think, and while you're thinking, anything you're thinking or anything you plan, do it. Do it. There's no plan or thinking doing that is stupid or an idea that cannot work. Yes, it might fail but

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once you don't implement it, you will never know … Work hard, put more effort to what you're …
I think those are the major, major, major ones.

5.6.15   Summary and Conclusion

P5 was familiar with entrepreneurship concepts, having studied business management. By the time he started with his failed ventures in printing and water purification, he already had extensive working experience within the field. His initial business failures did not discourage him but motivated him and taught him valuable lessons about refining his services and targeting the right market. He launched his car rental company while still employed and only resigned when he had acquired enough vehicles and tested the market. He benefitted substantially from capitalising on township transportation trends, but the real value-add came from entering the local filming production industry. Business and financial growth, the ability to afford a comfortable life for himself and his family and the accumulation of business and family assets were proof that he enjoyed entrepreneurial success immensely.

It can be concluded that P5 profited in different ways from social and cultural factors, especially his family, friends and culture. His brothers inspired him and taught him selling skills when he was young. His wife co-financed his ventures, especially at the beginning of his entrepreneurial journey. She also took care of household responsibilities and raised their children to free him up for business activities. Although his wife and daughters did not help him with day-to-day-operations, they supported him emotionally and morally, which helped him maintain a balanced life. Some acquaintances gave him ideas and advice that saw him tapping into niche markets, while he used outsourcing when he was oversubscribed. From bosom friends he got business partnerships, finance, moral support, downtime and peer-learning. He did

not belong to social clubs and was no longer religious, but he used those platforms to advance his charitable causes.

The benefits of being deeply rooted in culture were inculcating family and ubuntu values such as respect, caring for the poor and embracing diversity in a multicultural society. P5 recognised the role of political history in townships but did not seem to have benefited directly from government township business interventions. He was frustrated by party-political corruption, unaccountability and the decline in democratic processes. He highlighted racial profiling, crime, poor service delivery, lawlessness, youth unemployment and rising poverty as some of the socio-economic factors undermining the country's post-apartheid developmental achievements. Unexpectedly, COVID-19 presented him with new opportunities. Due to the degrading standard of township life, he was strongly considering exiting the area.

Figure 5.5: Examples of Benefits and Drawbacks of Socio-cultural Factors in P5's Narrative
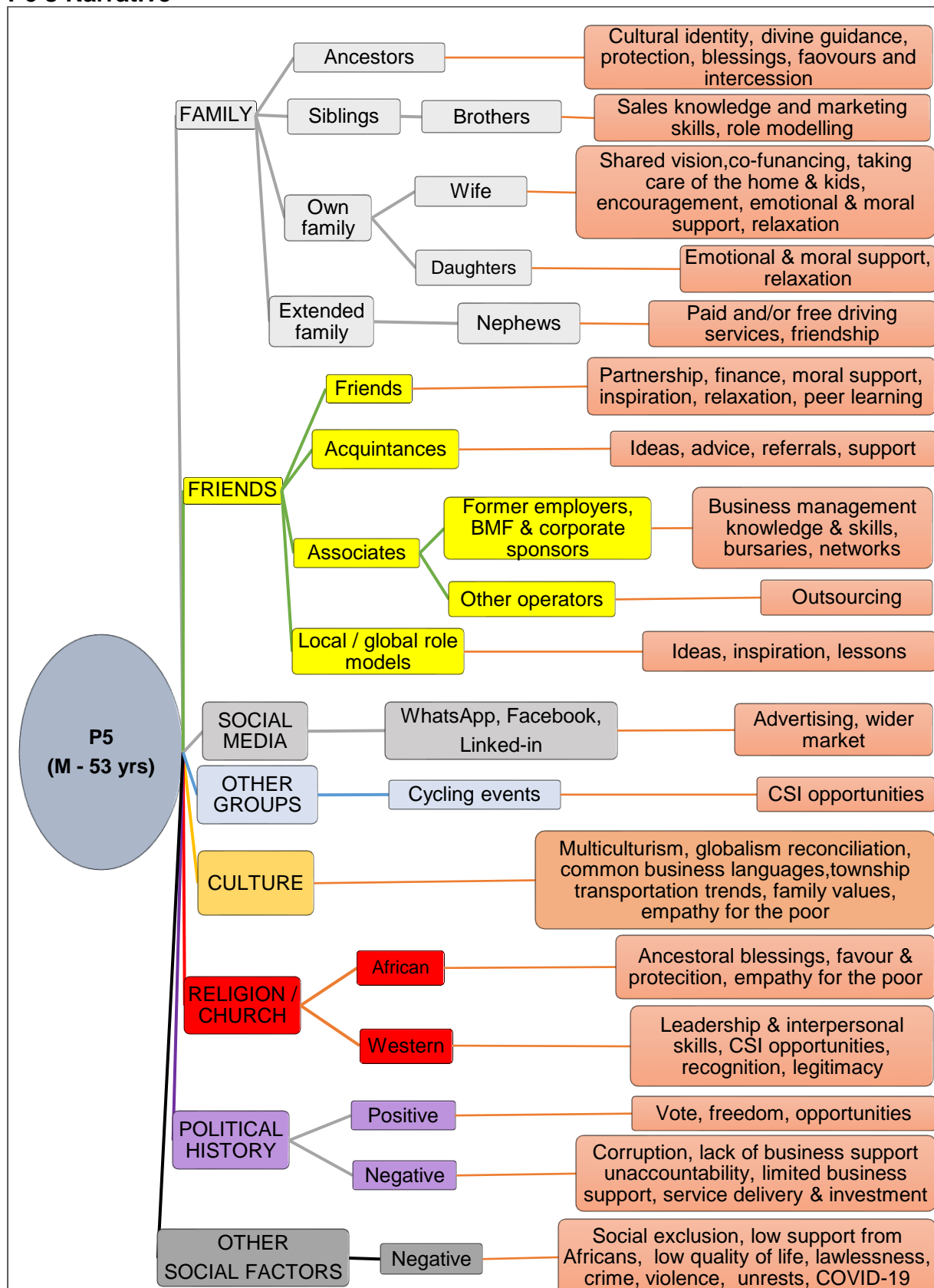
5.7 Case Analysis 6 – P6

5.7.1 Interview Details

- Date: 29 January 2022
- Length: 120 minutes
- Venue: Online interview on Microsoft Teams, Photographs taken in Katlehong township, Ekurhuleni

5.7.2 Personal Information

- Participant's nickname: P6
- Gender: Female
- Age: 44
- Place of birth: Katlehong township, Ekurhuleni Gauteng
- Ethnicity and languages: Born Xhosa but speaks mainly Zulu and Sotho
- Education: Matric & Diplomas in Travel & Tourism (incomplete) and in Management
- Business training: Job-shadowing and business systems orientation provided by the retail franchisor
- Working experience: Airport customer management
- Business experience Retail (supermarket) and rental property management
- Own family: Married with 4 sons then aged 20, 16, 10 & 4

5.7.3 Information on operational township business(es)

- Township: Katlehong township, Ekurhuleni Gauteng
- Type of business(es): Supermarket with liquor outlet and rental property
- Year started: 2005 but from a different, smaller shop
- Main products/services: Retail and residential rental services
- Number of employees: 16
- Gross annual turnover: R15 million

5.7.4 Meaning of Entrepreneur(ship) and Entrepreneurial Success

5.7.4.1 *Entrepreneur(ship)*

P6's definition of an entrepreneur was someone who realised their ideals. To her, entrepreneurship was also about developing yourself and others, thus creating employment:

> It's someone who starts and manages their own business without the normal confines and boundaries in the corporate world … You start with an idea. You must nourish it and grow it along with the people around you.

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She could not think of any equivalent term in Xhosa, her mother tongue, or in Sesotho, which she had adopted since she got married.

5.7.4.2 Entrepreneurial success

P6 understood her entrepreneurial success in the context of being in an equal partnership with her husband. Their grocery and liquor stores alone turned over approximately R15 million per year. She viewed this as being successful in entrepreneurship because they were doing well despite being relatively new entrants in the supermarket industry:

> We are self-taught because we only did two weeks of real training. I am also gaining more independence and not spending too much time at the shop. Today I have been able to stay away from work and I know what's going on because we have systems in place.

Their entrepreneurial success notwithstanding, P6 said she was yet to achieve her personal aspirations. Her biggest wish was to spend more time with her children and not be directly involved in the business:

> "If I could, I would be a full-time stay-home mom."

P6 was dissatisfied with the financial rewards from their franchisee owned grocery and liquor business, because of the regulations imposed by the franchisor. She found it frustrating that the franchisor insisted on keeping her and her husband on the same payroll as their staff despite the company's impressive annual turnover. Clearly, the franchise model they were part of had certain disadvantages:

> We earn a salary. Our combined net salary is R30 000. And even that we had to fight for.

Nevertheless, their business income was materially benefitting their family, which was her way of measuring their entrepreneurial success:

> We renovated the house, bought a car, paid off the other car, and we are able to take our children to better schools.

The three entrepreneurial success factors she highlighted were her family's support (discussed later), her resilient personality, and previous working experience:

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> First of all would be my family … Point number two would be my personality because I am a very resilient person, I always say resilience has always been key in everything I do. I never give up. I push and I push and if I can't find a solution now, I just leave the problem and when I get back to it … my mind is clearer and I'm able to attack it in a different method, which normally works … Most of the time I'm successful because I don't just fight for the sake of fighting, but I fight for what is right. And thirdly I'd say my [working] experience has taught me a lot. From … dealing with customers, being in management, being in senior positions … being exposed to a lot of things.

5.7.5 Journey Towards Entrepreneurial Success

P6 was born in 1977 in Katlehong township, Ekurhuleni (formerly East Rand). She completed her primary education at Umkhatizwe Primary School in Thokoza, a nearby township. From Grade 8 to Grade 10 she attended a predominantly Coloured high school in Edenvale before moving to Rosslyn High School in Eastgate to complete grades 11 and 12.

Although she did well in science subjects, she did not follow a career in that field. After matric she enrolled at WITS Technikon for a three-year Diploma in Travel and Tourism. Unfortunately, she did not finish her studies but instead found employment as a customer service relations agent for Air Botswana in 1998 when she was in her early twenties. She occupied that position until 2000 when she was promoted to supervisor and subsequently to airport manager in 2006. She regarded her move to Sky Wise Airline as airport manager in 2014 as one of the highlights of her career in that industry even though she resigned a year later. Overall, P6 said she benefited substantially from her working experience, and accumulated essential skills relevant to her current business:

> Airport life is just, it's fabulous and fancy … So, I enjoyed it. I enjoyed working with customers and dealing with difficult customers ... And I learned a lot … when it comes to customer service … it gave me an opportunity to travel to a lot of places.

In between her career moves, P6 resumed her studies and acquired diplomas in the New Managers Course and Advanced Management Programme (MAP) at Wits Business school in 2009 and 2011 respectively. These events coincided with glad

tidings in her romantic and family life. Her then boyfriend asked for her hand in marriage and paid lobola for her in 2001. They wed in March 2001 and were blessed with a son, W1, in December of the same year. Their second son, W2, was born in 2004. It was a real challenge for her to balance her job, motherhood and tertiary education. However, she found that she was pregnant with her son W3 while studying for a management diploma. The baby of the family, W4, was born in 2017 when P6 was already full time in business. Her entrepreneurial journey had begun in earnest after she had resigned from her job in 2015. Her intention was to take a gap year to attend to the children, but her husband persuaded her to join him in business instead of searching for another job. She never looked back:

> At that time my husband was owning a small supermarket in the township … So, when [the airline] was not working out, I decided to … join him and work with him [as a full partner].

P6 had joined her husband in the capacity of an equal partner and managing director of their business. Her husband had been renting a small shop from a neighbour since the 1990s, selling necessities like bread, cigarettes, chips and *kotas* (township burgers). In 2017 they decided to expand their corner shop concept by applying for a grocery store franchise with a leading retailer brand similar to P3's (Case 3). They had identified a bigger shop in a different section of Katlehong for this purpose (see images below).

Image 5.19: P6's Outer Shop Images in Katlehong

> We just decided we want we want to have a bigger version of this and that's when we … came across this [franchise] a concept for supermarkets … in Rockville [Soweto]. So, we saw it and we loved it and we said, OK, we have to have this.

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Fortunately, they received a R5 million business loan from the Small Enterprise Finance Agency (SEFA) in 2018. The loan term was over five years, but they did not have to start repaying until a year had lapsed. They used the funds to renovate the shop and install equipment. The only training they received from the franchisor was a two-week stint shadowing the owner of a similar store in Winchester, south of Johannesburg. Although the store was located in a vastly different demographic area, they learnt a lot from it because it was bigger. The long and arduous process of securing the franchise eventually bore fruit in August 2019, when they officially launched the grocery shop (see images below).

Image 5.20: Grocery Aisles Inside P6's Shop in Katlehong

Image 5.21: Deli and Fresh Meat Sections at P6's Grocery Shop

Their liquor outlet was eventually opened in January 2020 (see images below).

Image 5.22: P's Liquor Store (Outside and Inside)

5.7.6 The Role of the Family in Entrepreneurial Success

P6 was the youngest of five children, comprising two boys and three girls. Her mother and siblings were still alive but her father had died in 2019. She was currently married to her high school sweetheart, who was 10 years her senior, and they were blessed with four sons. P6 stressed that as a matter of principle she and her husband did not employ family members in their businesses. However, they had made an exception to accommodate their eldest son's special circumstances, because he was rewriting some of his matric examinations. P6's family was so valuable to her that she listed their support as the first among the three key factors for her entrepreneurial success:

> They've been very supportive of the journey because the entrepreneurial journey goes up and down. It's always full of challenges but having a good support system … assists me actually in making sure that I focus on what I need to focus on … and having people who believed in me and who knew that I was capable and kept on encouraging me… to take the risk … just the support mattered a lot. And that is from my mother and my husband. They have always been there throughout.

Below are additional roles played by her family in various aspects of P6's life as a daughter, wife, mother and businesswoman as they relate to her entrepreneurial success journey.

5.7.6.1 Parental family

It seems that P6 had drawn inspiration to be an entrepreneur from both her parents, who had experimented with various small business ventures of their own:

> My father was a factory worker, what we call *difirm*, and he was even a supervisor, at some point. Then he joined the [minibus] taxi industry … He had one taxi. That's how we earned an income.

What P6 admired the most about her father was that he helped her build her self-image and self-confidence and that of her sisters (see more under culture). Moreover, he supported her career choices and motivated her to achieve her best in whatever she did. She confirmed that by doing this, her relationship with her father assisted her

in building a partnership with her husband whereby they complemented each other vis-à-vis their various family and business roles.

By contrast, P6's relationship with her mother seemed more robust and was sometimes peppered with tensions, which she jokingly agreed were "beefs" between them. She found her mother's vehement opposition to her business ventures rather ironic, given that her mother was enterprising in her own right. Their "beefs" aside, P6 valued her mother's advice, which she interpreted as well-meaning motherly concern for her daughter's welfare. After all, she had experienced first-hand the challenges of running a business while managing a home:

> My mother is very anti-business. She was a stay-home mom, but she was also an insurance broker and did a lot of marketing … She did not enjoy doing that because of the long hours and risks associated with that kind of work … she had property that she had rented out.

By her own admission, P6 was truly her mother's daughter. Not only was she following in her mother's footsteps career-wise, but their characters and personal choice mirrored each other. Some of their similarities were striking:

> My mother married an older man like me; she was also doing business although she did not like it. [Also] my mom has been a stay-at-home mom since I was aged 10.

As she did with her father, P6 also commended her mother for helping to develop her self-worth, self-confidence and independence as a woman. She and her husband had faced financial hardships as nascent entrepreneurs:

> [W4] came very unexpectedly and at a very, very sensitive time … It was quiet in terms of our finances *ka mo ntlung* (in the house). It was quite tough during that period because I wasn't working, the business was closed. My husband was also around and this [franchise] thing was just taking long… We even had to take our kids out of the private schools … we had to put them *ko* public school… And then the smaller one … I had to home school them for some time … we tried it and it didn't work well because I was so ill only to realize that I was expecting another one.

They had to downgrade their children's education to a public school but managed to secure a government subsidy for it. Her mother was also her source of financial, practical and moral support. Not only would she babysit for her while she was travelling

for work, but she would also subsidise their household income with income from her rental property:

> So, we basically lived … on assistance from my mother … financially she was the one who was assisting.

5.7.6.2 Own family

Her family's significant role comes into sharp focus when viewed from the many different roles P6 was trying to balance as wife, mother, business manager, leader of a franchisee steering committee, student and church member. The example below is a case in point:

> Towards the end of MAP [Management Advancement Programme], I was actually wondering … why am I just sleeping in class and not coping. *Kanti* I was expecting my number three, eish! And I was planning to do MBA the following year, but I mean I just thought *hai* it's not going to work with this small baby, huh uh! So yeah, I never … had the chance to go back and do it ... in 2011, then he was born in Feb… and whilst we're waiting for the [franchise] project to kick off in 2017. Then I had another bonus surprise … He's now four.

5.7.6.3 Husband

P6 spoke highly of her husband and his helpful role throughout her working career and entrepreneurial success journey. In her view, he was not threatened by her success and leadership credentials despite being 10 years her senior. On the contrary, he was the one who motivated her to venture into business full-time. He also supported her chairpersonship of the store-owners' steering committee:

> My husband has been very supportive throughout … When I left my job, he's the one who said: Why don't you come and join me? Let's pull our efforts together.

Equally business-minded, her husband had even dabbled in the construction industry, but he divested when corruption and bribery became rife. As things stood, they were full-time, equal partners and shareholders in the business. Evidently, P6 picked up some business skills while assisting her husband at the shop:

> He had already started his own business sometime back. So, after work I would go to him [or on weekends], you know help him out … that's what I did for a year or two.

Based on their personal strengths, they had split their roles to focus on different aspects of the business for greater efficiency:

> I'm more on the management, planning, administrative, strategy, customer relations side. He's more on the operational side … like taking stock, but he also deals with customer service.

Despite her high regard for her husband and all the other support he was giving her, P6 had all but given up on trying to reform her husband when it came to household chores. She jokingly fell short of calling him lazy:

> I have accepted that my husband has no hands (*ha ana matsoho*). I have let that one go. I used to try to change him.

5.7.6.4 Children

To mitigate her husband's lack of support in that area, P6 had trained her elder sons to do household chores and babysit their siblings. This came in handy given her hectic schedule. Her eldest son, W1, was reluctantly roped into the business where he was mainly assisting his father with daily operations:

> Only W1 works for us but he was forced to because he has to rewrite some matric subjects… he is not interested.

His lack of interest aside, W1 was also the one tasked with setting up various social media platforms to market the business.

5.7.6.5 In-laws

Her in–laws had never played a direct part in their ventures. Nevertheless, her mother-in-law and sister-in-law provided significant support for P6's and her husband, especially as a newly married couple and parents:

> When we got married, I actually moved - still in Katlehong - like a block away. That's where my husband lived (laughs). So, I came, and I lived with his family … just to try and raise funds so that we could move out. But things didn't work out the way we wanted it to … so we stayed here longer than we thought we would need to … So, my mother-in-law passed away in 2012 and then my sister-in-law also moved out. So, we were left alone. So, we just decided to stay here for some time and get things going and then eventually … the plan is to buy land somewhere … for the kids later on, even for ourselves, preferably.

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She had no complaints whatsoever about their relationship with her in-laws because they had thus far avoided family politics poisoning their business affairs:

> So, you know, living together was not that difficult, and with my kids because it's a … big house, so we managed to sort of make room for everybody. So, it wasn't really a big family. Although we felt like, you know, it's a bit cramped … We don't involve family in our business matters because it not only becomes a business thing but a family thing that is discussed outside of the business.

5.7.7 The Role of Friends in Entrepreneurial Success

P6 had three long-term friends. Two of them were fellow church members from Katlehong. The third friend hailed from Soweto, and they had known each other from college.

5.7.7.1 Friends

It was from her Sowetan friend that P6 got information about owning a franchise business:

> There's a friend of ours who went there and then came back impressed saying: hey, I saw this small [franchise] grocery shop and hey, I'm impressed … And it was … at that time when we're having that conversation that we want something.

Other than that, the role her friends played in her entrepreneurial success journey was that of providing emotional and moral support, downtime and relaxation, which she needed as a diversion from her busy life:

> They provide the balance. We are able to talk about things other than work.

5.7.7.2 Associates

As part of their agreement, the franchise group was responsible for marketing their business and providing some training and orientation for their team:

> Prior to opening we were actually given a two-week training … it's another [franchisee's] store … just shadowing … people … which is a different market from ours, but anyway the basic principles are the same. The system is the same.

However, she found the training and support from the franchisor inadequate.

> It's a bit difficult to shadow somebody when you don't even understand what they're doing. And then you're expected to do it when you're on your own. So, when we opened it as quite tricky … we thought that [the franchisor] would actually give us … all the support, but after three days or so, had they pulled out and we're on our own … So yeah, we had to hit the ground running.

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She said they were overwhelmed by their additional responsibilities and relied on their other networks for further advice:

> We would try to find our way through its we called people for assistance and … we did whatever we could to survive, and we did.

5.7.8 The Role of Reference Groups in Entrepreneurial Success

Due to trust issues, P6 said she was not a member of any of the local groups and clubs:

> I don't like groups … I tried to join a burial society in my street, but then money started to disappear, and I left.

The only group she belonged to was the steering committee for fellow retail franchisees, of which P3 (Case 3) was also a member. She was the chairperson of the committee, which comprised 11 members, of whom only three were females. The position of chairperson was supposed to rotate, so she was annoyed at always being thrust into a leadership role:

> I have been nominated as chairperson since 2019 when we started the committee. Eish, these guys don't want to let me go.

P6 was also not happy with the committee's general lack of impact because of the franchisor's inflexibility when it came to systems and operations. In her understanding, theirs was a franchisee-owned, **not** a franchisor-owned model:

> It's ineffective because of [the retail franchisor's] loyalty issues. Having a Big Brother is a problem. They are treating us as franchisees not as independent owners.

Based on her remarks about being resilient, it seemed likely that their stalemate would eventually be resolved.

5.7.9 The Role of Social Media in Entrepreneurial Success

According to P6, the role of social media in promoting their business was still minimal at this stage. This was probably because the franchisor was assisting them with marketing:

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We are just exploring. My son is setting us up on Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter. But we are on WhatsApp a lot.

5.7.10 The Role of Culture in Entrepreneurial Success

P6 was inspired by a rich variety of African cultural backgrounds.

I'm 100% Xhosa, Mom Xhosa, Dad Xhosa … I was born Xhosa, but I don't really know it that well because I studied in Zulu, and I am married to a Sotho.

She affirmed the important role played by both the broader and local culture, especially ubuntu values in her entrepreneurial success.

Definitely, especially humility, respecting the community and customers.

These were the values she was practising in her daily engagements with her staff and the broader community. Sharing and giving back to the community through employment creation and charitable acts were her other ways of practising ubuntu.

5.7.10.1 *Culture, Cultural Identity and Self-worth*

Surprisingly P6's real name, Nada, was not Xhosa, her culture of origin. She did acknowledge that it was an unusual name, coming from a Xhosa father:

My name ei, my dad was very adventurous. He liked all these English names but then this one is not English. It's Latin … for a Lily … There's a type of Lily called the Nada … in my entire life I've only met one another at the airport from I think she was from Netherlands, oh. She was also surprised … it's very unique.

This spoke volumes about his desire for his daughter to blossom and stand out. She stressed that in contrast to the meaning of the word *nada*, which in Spanish and Portuguese is "nothing", she was definitely something and somebody. She confirmed that she identified more with the Zulu and Sotho cultures since she spoke both languages more often. She cited her selection of exclusively Sotho names for all her children as a further example of her affinity with her husband's Sotho culture.

5.7.10.2 *Cultural influences in business*

Understanding the community of which she was a part and being able to contribute to employment creation in her own township were among the highlights of

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P6's entrepreneurial success. The majority of their staff lived in the vicinity of the shop. Although she said they benefitted greatly from their good relationship with the local community, they had realised that if staff live and work in the same area they tended to influence each other. Sometimes this became a problem when they had to discipline staff. If there was a theft for example, the staff tended to cover for each other:

> It can tarnish your image …. [Hence] 80% of our staff are from nearby. The rest are the ones we have replaced. They also live in Katlehong but not in the same area as the shop so that there can be more diversity.

As discussed under other social factors, there were many challenges in operating in a township, notably alcohol and drug abuse, theft, looting during unrests, and xenophobia. These problems were undermining ongoing efforts to develop and sustain the culture of entrepreneurship in her township.

5.7.10.3 *Culture and gender relations*

Asked if the cultures she identified with supported women in business, P6 replied:

> I'm a city girl, so for me culture is not an issue.

She elaborated that the values her parents and especially her father had inculcated as a young girl were more influential than predominant societal and cultural beliefs:

> My dad taught me and my sisters to be independent, to believe in ourselves and to go for what we want. The girls were encouraged to get drivers licenses and to further our education … He believed in empowering women.

She believed that modern South African culture(s) supported women's entrepreneurial ambitions:

> I like the phase: *Wa thinta abafazi [wa thinta umbokodo. Uzofa*!]

That maxim, which has been adopted as a mantra for women empowerment in South Africa, means: "You touch a woman; you touch a rock. You will die!" Notwithstanding this, sexist practices sometimes got in the way of female development

and empowerment in the business world. This is discussed further under other social factors.

5.7.11 The Role of Religion in Entepreneurial Success

As an active member and regular attendant of her Jehovah's Witness church, P6 believed that religion and her faith in God played an important role in her entrepreneurial success:

> I believe that everything happens in God's time ... My faith really helped me, especially during the hard times … Some people may see it in other ways, but I see it as the hand of God.

Her church had been conducting services via ZOOM since 2020 due to COVID-19 restrictions. She said that from prayer and reading the scriptures she drew courage as a businesswoman operating in a challenging socio-economic environment:

> I pray a lot for strength… As a woman, you carry the world on your shoulders.

It was interesting to discover that P6's husband is Muslim. Though he was not a staunch adherent, he did attend the Mosque. She responded in the negative when asked if their different religious affiliations interfered with their personal, family or business affairs, she quipped:

> You know what, it's you do you, I do me.

Her church did not offer P6 any direct business support. However, two of her employees were recruited from her church. She insisted that they were appointed and promoted purely on merit and were not receiving any preferential treatment:

> Business is business. We don't give special treatment to anyone. They started as cashiers. One worked with [a leading retailer] and is now a supervisor … One has an accounting degree and is now an administrator … They were promoted based on their performance.

5.7.12 The Role of Political History in Entrepreneurial Success

P6 agreed that the political history of her township played an important role in her entrepreneurial success and acknowledged that she was a beneficiary of

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transformative policies like BBBEE, especially as an African woman operating her business in a township:

> Finance from government has been really helpful … We couldn't have done it without government.

She said she did vote, but she was not politically active and was not close to any politicians:

> "It's my husband who knows them personally … I treat everybody the same ..."

5.7.13 The Role of Other Social Factors in Entrepreneurial Success

Gender roles, racial inequality, crime, violence and social unrest were some of the social factors that were impacting on P6's entrepreneurial success. They are discussed below.

5.7.13.1 Gender roles and entrepreneurship

P6's case brought to the forefront the importance of reproductive issues for women in business. The interruptions brought about by the birth of her four boys, homemaking and schooling, meant that she always had to balance her career interests with her different roles and responsibilities. Things became more complicated when she joined her husband in business full-time. These realities surfaced during the interview when she had to take a break to feed the children who were rightfully demanding her attention:

> Sorry about that. I'm home and trying to multitask, so I'm also cooking.

Sometimes P6's desire to be more directly involved in her children's development conflicted with her career and entrepreneurial ambitions. She raised this challenge several times during the interview:

> I don't have a helper (domestic worker) … I am a very hands-on type of person … I used to home-school my children, but I had to stop doing that when we started with the process of applying for the franchise.

She said she had learnt to adapt, prioritise and focus on what was most important to her at the time:

> Juggling family and business is very stressful, but I have learnt to cope with it. I have learnt to live with it … If the house is not clean, I just leave it. Even now there are things all over the place. It's just that I don't care.

One of the themes that ran through P6's narrative was her acute self-awareness as an empowered woman leader who came into the world of work ready to deal with whatever challenges confronted her. As discussed, her father had instilled in her self-confidence and a sense of uniqueness. She said she learnt the art of leadership in a multicultural setting at her first high school:

> I went to a Coloured school … for Grade 8 up to Grade 10 and it was in a Coloured area and that was my first exposure to a different culture, different language with a different way of doing things … it was my first exposure to English… the only lesson actually that I learnt from that high school that I still apply even today, which I think really shaped me … was of [sic] being able to stand up for what's right, so even if I stand alone … Because I always make reference to that even now and I still tell people when they need such advice.

When she moved to another high school to complete grades 11 and 12, her leadership qualities were recognised when she was elected as a prefect. She cited an incident when she had to stand up for her rights and those of her classmates. A teacher had called them names and they staged a mutiny, refusing to go to class until the principal intervened and the teacher apologised. Even though she confirmed that South African women entrepreneurs were generally supported in their ventures, she was of the view that certain ceilings were set for women vis-à-vis their male counterparts because sometimes women were overlooked for senior positions in favour of men:

> You have to work harder than men to prove yourself.

Moreover, the element of sexism (potentially intermingled with racism) sometimes raised its ugly head, especially when she was still in the airline business. She related an incident when she was overlooked for a senior post in favour of a White male even though she thought was more suitably qualified than him. What was particularly unsettling to her at the time was that it was fellow women who were not

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supportive of her and were instead sabotaging her ascent up the ladder of corporate success. Initially she tried to stand up for herself as she had learnt from high school. When that did not work, she changed tactics. She worked hard and proved her worth until another opportunity presented itself. Her patience and adaptability finally paid off in 2006 when she was eligible for the manager post and followed the right procedures to get it.

P6's resilience was also tremendously challenged when they first opened the shop in 2019. Her initial experience was somewhat an anti-climax. She had not anticipated the enormity of hernew responsibilities, which required micro-managing people and systems:

> Being in in retail, it's a bit tricky with having to fully trust people to do everything. … there's cash that's just roaming around, so you need to… keep your finger on everything that goes in and out to be able to keep track of what's happening. Then when we opened, it was quite hectic. I must say we were very excited, looking forward to the challenges and you know, with the new staff, everybody was excited … I never thought that I would spend most of my life in the office. I wanted to be out there helping customers … But I found myself sitting in the office having to lock up that cash, having to count coins having to deal with tough issues, oh my goodness, and I hated it so much!

Once again, her resilience eventually paid off. She also learnt how to delegate and build up her own support system. That freed her up to pursue her other passions:

> I had no choice … a month later I then I employed a lady who had been working in the cash office somewhere else in Germiston. So, at least now … I had somebody to assist me … I didn't even take a day ... for … the first two years or so. But now I just learned to … take it easy. And, you know, give my children sometime and myself whenever I find a chance.

5.7.13.2 *The impact of violent crime, xenophobia and unrest in entrepreneurship*

Violent crime is endemic in Katlehong township, taking different forms such as xenophobic attacks, lootings and vandalism. Some of its roots could be traced back to long-term hostilities between residents and hostel dwellers pre- and post the 1994 democratic elections. In fact, her father's taxi operation was affected by these wars,

which were exacerbated by the proliferation of impoverished informal settlements. P6's own personal experience of crime tells it all:

> Within a month of our opening, we had our first armed robbery … Imagine! … When we are still learning and we still teething and we're still not even understanding what's happening … so we had that bad experience and they just took cash from the tills and they left, and they were never found … yho! It was a traumatic experience for us and the staff members … And by the way, there was the first robbery. And then the next month, which was October, they came again same date, which was the 15th. I still remember that … And I was right there, I had just left the office, locked the office and decided to go downstairs and get something to eat … and then I got downstairs … these guys had just entered the store …

Such traumatising experiences highlighted the vulnerability of women entrepreneurs like P6 in crime-infested areas. Moreover, her case flagged the failure of law enforcement agencies to protect local businesses. Her narrative continued:

> … and I could recognize them from last time. We also found out later that they also went to other stores saying and robbery in other stores. We decided to beef up our security. So, we had armed guards outside … just monitoring and undercover … moving around and checking … if there's anything they alert everyone and call the police and you know the police if they come, they come normally they come after 10 years.

The severe impact of crime on her township's entrepreneurship initiatives was starker when she quantified the cost of mitigating against it. She elaborated:

> It's an additional very costly service yes. But at that time, we felt that we needed it … And in the area where we're at, it's a low-income area and there's an informal settlement area just close by … We pay them 27 000 and a half (rand per month) … Imagine! … It's outsourced. So, we pay the owner and then the owner pays all his employees … obviously he wants to pocket as well.

5.7.13.3 The impact of social inequality on township entrepreneurship

Running a business near an informal settlement presented specific challenges for P6 because issues of poverty, unemployment and declining moral and social fabric were perennially staring her in the face. The presence of so many poor and unemployed people who were vulnerable to substance abuse provided a hotbed for social unrest and the destabilisation of the community.

5.7.14 Lessons for Others

The lessons P6 wished to share with others was encapsulated in a single word:

> The only word I can think of is resilience … *ukuphikelela*.

She explained that resilience was necessary to overcome the many challenges she faced, especially as a woman in leadership positions:

> I always tell people that you must fight on. You must never give up. Storms will come, tsunamis will come. It's scary and it's stressful but don't be afraid. You must trust in yourself to find solutions.

5.7.15 Summary and Conclusion

P6's journey towards entrepreneurial success really began in 2015 after she had resigned from her job as an airport manager responsible for customer services. She joined her husband who had been running a *spaza* shop from a facility he was renting from a neighbour. Together they decided to form a partnership and applied for a grocery and liquor outlet franchise in 2017. Their application only materialised a year later, however their relatively new venture was proving to be successful since they were making a gross annual turnover of about R15 million and had 16 staff members, excluding themselves. While she was dissatisfied with the limits set by the franchisor on their salaries, she was happy that their entrepreneurial success was impacting on their overall household and family prosperity. They had managed to renovate their home, pay off one vehicle and buy a new one, and improve the quality of their children's education. They augmented their income by renting a business property in Katlehong township. Their business was also contributing towards the development of their mostly low-income and informal community through employment creation.

Regarding the role of social and cultural factors in her entrepreneurial success, P6 credited her family for the support they had given her throughout. She singled out her mother and her husband for their continued encouragement and motivation for her to succeed. However, she also acknowledged her late father for empowering her as a girl child and giving her a strong sense of identity. Although her in-laws did not play a direct role in their business, they had welcomed P6 into the family and provided her

family with a home when they needed it the most. That had given her security to pursue her career goals. Along with her mother, her elder sons also pitched in with practical support in the home by childminding and doing house chores. This freed P6 up for business activities.

P6 only had three close friends whom she interacted with mainly for downtime and relaxation. However, it was one of these friends who informed them about a franchise that she knew of in Soweto that cemented their interest in the venture. She did not belong to any local social club but was a chairperson of a Steering Committee for franchise owners where they lobbied for more rights and independence from the franchisor.

As far as culture was concerned, P6 identified mostly with the Zulu and Sotho cultures even though she was Xhosa. She affirmed the role of ubuntu values in her entrepreneurial success journey, stating that they helped her to relate to customers and improve her relations with the community. Although gender was not an issue for her, she highlighted the impact of reproductive issues and the additional demands placed on women entrepreneurs. She interpreted her previous experience of being overlooked for a senior position of a white male as an example of ceilings being set for women in certain business settings. In her view, women had to do more to prove themselves than their male counterparts. However, as her husband's equal partner, she did not experience this directly. Her husband was fully supportive of her entrepreneurial ambitions.

Religion also played an important role in P6's entrepreneurial success journey. She relied on prayer and God's divine intervention whenever she faced challenges, and credited Him for overcoming them. She also acknowledged the importance of political history in her entrepreneurial success, notably the financial support she got

from government agencies. Although operating in a township posed socio-economic challenges like crime and violence, unemployment and inequality, P6 thought these conditions provided her with opportunities to make a meaningful contribution in the development of her township.

In conclusion, the social and cultural factors that played a mainly positive role in P6's entrepreneurial success were her parental and own families, culture and religion. Friends, reference group and social media played a moderate role. Although Katlehong's political history meant that she could benefit from the government's transformative and revitalisation policies, this was undermined by social factors like crime, violence, xenophobia and social unrest. The diagram overleaf illustrates the role of the social and cultural factors in her entrepreneurial success, highlighting the different positives or negatives per factor.

Figure 5.6: Examples of Benefits and Drawbacks of Socio-cultural Factors in P6's Narrative
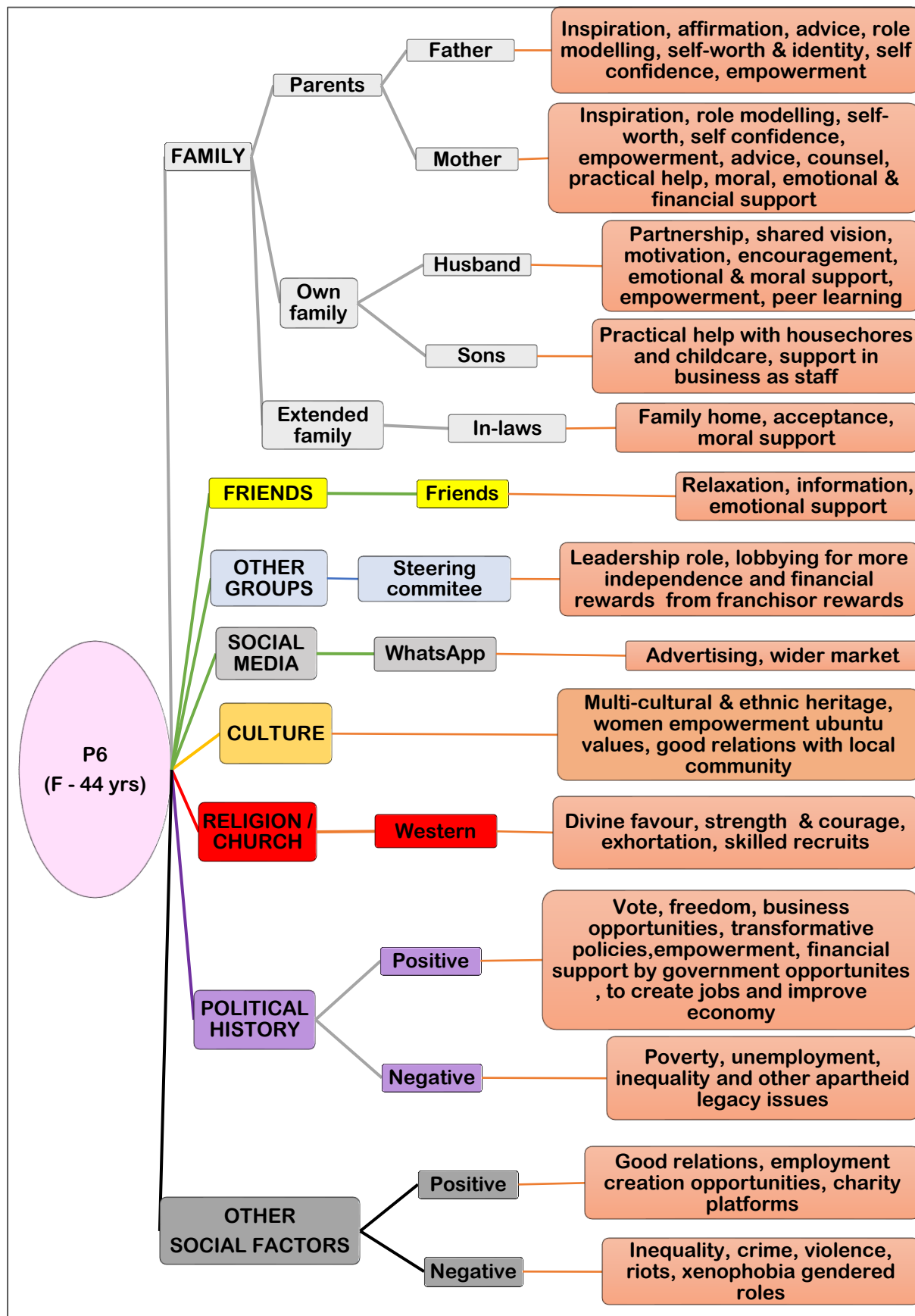
CHAPTER 6: RESEARCH FINDINGS
PART 2: CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS

6.1   Introduction

This chapter comprises a cross-case analysis of the findings from individual interviews with participants. Its goal is to interpret data from the field in the light of existing entrepreneurship theories, models and emerging theory by integrating them with the literature reviews in Chapters 2 and 3. To this end, the chapter compares the similarities and differences among participants in relation to specific themes linked to the main research questions.

The chapter commences with a review of the meaning participants attached to concepts such as entrepreneur, entrepreneurship, entrepreneurial success and their measures and contributing factors in sections 6.2 to 6.4. This is followed in sections 6.5 to 6.7 by an analysis of the role played by socio-cultural factors in entrepreneurial success across the six cases. For the sake of consistency with the objectives of the study and the previous individual case analysis, these factors are discussed under the broader themes of family, friends and other reference groups, culture, religion, political history and other social factors. Section 6.5 provides a comparative summary of the different roles played by socio-cultural factors. This is followed by a brief discussion in Section 6.6 on the individual, managerial, demographic and economic factors in entrepreneurial success as reported by participants. Section 6.7 highlights the lessons the participants wanted to share with others about their entrepreneurial success journeys. Section 6.8 provides the chapter conclusions.

6.2   The Meaning of Entrepreneur and Entrepreneurship

Of the six research participants, only P5 (Case 5) (car rentals) and P6 (Case 6) (grocery and liquor outlets) could immediately define the concepts of entrepreneur and entrepreneurship in English. They had both studied and practised business management for years and possessed relevant qualifications. P5's definition was the lengthiest and most theoretical and incorporated someone who was innovative, diversified their products and services, adapted their business strategies to market changes, grew their business and made a profit. P6 emphasised the implementation of an idea and bringing other people along as one grows one's business. P5's definition was the most detailed. He concurred that there is no single definition of an entrepreneur. His admission that there is no single way of defining an entrepreneur or entrepreneurship corresponds with the study's literature review findings in Chapter 2 (Filion, 2021:72; Ncwadi, 2018:4). The participants' characterisation of an entrepreneur's attributes aligns with the study's operational definition that was developed to deal with the challenge of multiple definitions (also see Figure 2.1). It encompassed elements of change agency, opportunity identification and exploitation, initiative, risk-taking, innovation of value-added products and or services, resource mobilisation, venture creation and financial goal achievement (Block *et al*., 2017:63; Fisher *et al*., 2014:478; Østergaard, 2019:22).

Where P5's views seemed to diverge from the study's operational definition was when he distinguished an entrepreneur from a businessperson. He argued that a businessperson was a self-employed person who was comfortable with a steady income based on a simple business model. His stance was influenced by his belief that minibus taxi operators were not entrepreneurs. Hence, he did not regard some of his own relatives who operated taxis as entrepreneurs. By contrast, this study

assumed a hybrid approach towards entrepreneurship, which accommodates different types of entrepreneurs. These include venture creators, technopreneurs, intrapreneurs, extrapreneurs, social entrepreneurs and the self-employed. The sizes of their operations might differ, depending on the nature of their businesses. (Bögenhold *et al.*, 2019:147; Drucker, 2014:22; Filion, 2008:1; Østergaard, 2019:18).

P5's comparison between entrepreneurs and businesspeople is also interesting in the South African context. As discussed in Chapter 3, local definitions accord with international trends, which discourage uniform theoretical approaches to entrepreneurship (Kubone, 2019:92-93; Manyaka-Boshielo, 2017:2; Ncwadi, 2018:35). Instead, firms tend to be legally distinguished according to their levels of formality, size and turnover. They can be classified either as survivalist, micro, small, medium, or large enterprises (Fourie, 2018:1; Rakabe, 2016:5; Bvuma & Marnewick, 2020:5).

Regarding African terminology, none of the participants could think of vocabulary that could best describe the terms entrepreneur or entrepreneurship in their African languages. The closest words they could find were *mogwebi* or *morekisi* (Tswana, Sotho or Pedi) or *somashishini* (Zulu/Xhosa)*,* which translates into a businessperson or trader. Both P1 (Case 1) and P2 (Case 2) further explained that no such concept exists in African languages. They perceived entrepreneurship as a relatively modern concept in the African context. According to them, Africans in pre-colonial times did not focus on amassing personal wealth but were mainly self-sustaining subsistence farmers. They said African kings typically partitioned pastural and agricultural land to cater for all households. Since their communal way of life did not necessitate trading (*gorekisa/kwebo*), people did not exchange goods for money but shared with each other if the need arose.

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The participants' views were reflective of ongoing debates on the historical origins and evolution of entrepreneurship and its related concepts of capitalism and free enterprise. There is consensus that whereas entrepreneurship was a common feature among European and some Asian countries, it was not necessarily practised in Africa and the Americas until the proliferation of colonialism, imperialism and the slave trade (Chitonge, 2017:6-7; McFarlane, 2015:17; Zukas, 2020:740-745). It is in view of such different understandings of entrepreneurship that scholars have called for socially and culturally sensitive approaches to entrepreneurship and economic development in non-Western contexts (Muñoz & Kimmit, 2018:2; Kuratko *et al.*, 2015:2; Patankar *et al.*, 2018:42; Swartz *et al.*, 2019:2). This is the position adopted in the study, hence its objective to explore the impact of social and cultural factors in entrepreneurial success.

Despite the shortage of descriptive vocabulary for the phenomenon of entrepreneurship, it was evident that all the participants were truly entrepreneurial. The narrative of their entrepreneurship journeys bore testimony that they embodied the attributes used in the operational definition of an entrepreneur in this study. The participants were innovative change agents who took the initiative, took risks, adapted their business strategies by venturing into niche markers, focusing on growth and making a profit and were making an impact within their family, social and community circles.

6.3 The Meaning of Entrepreneurial Success

Whereas most participants struggled with a definition of an entrepreneur or entrepreneurship, all of them could readily describe what entrepreneurial success meant to them subjectively. Their views included achieving their set business and financial goals, satisfying their customers' needs, being happy or being content with

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what they had, and being able to afford their personal and family lifestyles. Through the narrative interviews discussed in the individual case analyses, they detailed examples of their personal and business achievements throughout their entrepreneurial success journeys. Their understanding was consistent with extant literature, which purports that entrepreneurial success is a multi-dimensional or multi-faceted concept without a unitary definition (Fisher *et al.*, 2014: 478-492; Angel, Jenkins & Stephens, 2018:3; Razmus & Laguna, 2018:2; Wach *et al.*, 2016:1098-1121). Their view also conformed with the basic definition of entrepreneurial success adopted in the study, namely the success of a business venture and/or the success of the entrepreneur linked to it (Fisher *et al.*, 2014: 478-492; Angel *et al.*, 2018:3; Razmus & Laguna, 2018:2; Wach *et al.*, 2016:1098-1121). The fact that each participant qualified for the study is also proof of their entrepreneurial success. They met most of the quantitative criteria often used as proxies of their entrepreneurial success. These included number of employees, gross annual income and the degree of business formality (Oyeku *et al.*, 2014:15-16; Razmus & Laguna, 2018:2; Zhou *et al.* 2019:158).

The study also found that participants attached far deeper meanings to entrepreneurial success than superficial ones based mainly on financial indicators. For example, entrepreneurial success was particularly symbolic to P2, who was an African paraplegic hailing from a rural area and operating from a township. Through his achievements he could project an image of independence and self-sufficiency in a society that did not adequately accommodate people living with disabilities. P2 also took pride in being the first Black person in his area to break through in the rental property sector in an exclusively white market. The same could be said about P3, who found his entire entrepreneurial success journey redemptive. As an ex-convict, he was able to show that people could succeed if provided with second chances and essential

support. For P4, servicing high-flying clients such as the President, the First Lady and reputable Caucasian lawyers was a major source of pride. Equally, P5 regarded expanding as a township-based Black entrepreneur in historically impenetrable industries like the car rental service and filming as the hallmark of his entrepreneurial success. In a more abstract sense, for P2, 4 and 5, success lies in partly erasing the past - being able to triumph over socially constructed racial boundaries erected by the colonialism and the apartheid government.

The fact that participants also linked business success to identity, personal worth and self-image highlights the importance of personal fulfilment in subjective interpretations of entrepreneurial success. This is an important finding since most leading scholars have been calling for more research on the different import entrepreneurs attach to their success. (Angel *et al.*, 2018:2; Chen, Chang & Lee, 2015:900; Fisher *et al.*, 2014:478; Wach *et al.*, 2016:1099).

Beyond that, entrepreneurial success meant more to participants than just accumulating material wealth. It was also about the passion to develop family members, personnel and other people in the community. For example, P4 paid for four of his nephews' and nieces' tertiary education, while P1 and P3 emphasised staff development. All the participants except P4 were giving back to the community through charity projects like groceries, school uniforms, sports kits, traveling clubs for the elderly and supporting the election campaigns of political parties. Overall, the participants' views and experiences of entrepreneurial success corresponded with the theoretical definition of the concept as expanded in the study. In the literature, entrepreneurial success was not limited to economic outcomes but included personal fulfillment and impacting positively on society (Fisher *et al.*, 2014:484; Oyeku, 2014:15; Razmus & Laguna, 2018:3; Wach, *et al.*, 2016:10). It can also be argued that the

participants' understanding of entrepreneurial success was influenced by ubuntu values, which are underpinned by collectivism and resource-sharing in all aspects of life, including economic activity. This is discussed further under the role of culture and religion in entrepreneurial success.

A further element signified by the participants' narratives was that entrepreneurial success is a process that evolved over time and involved restructuring. Their individual trajectories differed. For example, as he expanded his businesses, P1 completely changed his model from providing IT services in a partnership with friends to going solo and focusing on the township hospitality sector, auto services and student accommodation. Similarly, P2 abandoned construction due to corrupt, potentially compromising practices in the sector and focused exclusively on property rentals. On the other hand, P3 spread his wings by targeting prisons and municipalities outside his township in order to boost his offerings. P5 decided to test different models. He changed from printing to water purification and ultimately to car rentals. Even within the latter, he modified his niche markets as he accumulated more insight and experience in the transportation industry. For P4, sustaining her business proved to be a battle due to a poor repayment culture in townships fashion markets. She left them to focus exclusively on suburban customers, mostly White, while retaining the taxi operations managed by her husband and renting out cottages in her back yard. Similarly, P6 and her husband resorted to a franchisor-owned model for expansion of their grocery and liquor outlets, which they were subsidising with rental property.

These examples show that the participants constantly processed and evaluated their ideas, plans and actions as they navigated towards entrepreneurial success, which is in line with the process approach to entrepreneurial success (Przepiorka, 2015:41; Packard, 2017:536; Staniewskia & Awruk, 2019:434; Wach *et al.*,

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2016:1099). Moreover, the impact of time and process differed from one participant to another, based on their individual journeys. It is precisely for these reasons that individual pathways to and dimensions of entrepreneurial success should be factored into analyses of entrepreneurial success (Razmus & Laguna, 2016:1-11; Wach *et al.*, 2016:1098-1121; Fisher *et al.* (2014:478-492).

All participants acknowledged moments of failure and hardship in their journey towards entrepreneurial success. For example, P4 temporarily resumed formal employment in a sewing factory after her butchery struggled to survive the competition from big business. Similarly, when P5's first two businesses failed, he resorted to full-time employment until he was confident about his car rental business concept. He attributed his failures to a lack of markets, ill-conceived business concepts and/or lack of government support. These findings were not unexpected since failure was approached as an integral part of entrepreneurial success in framing this study (Cacciotti & Hayton, 2014:5-6; Fisher *et al.*, 2014:481; He, 2017:114). What is worth noting was that both P4 and P5 said they learnt valuable lessons that helped them to adjust their business models for better performance and results. That they started completely new businesses in different sectors shows that failure can motivate entrepreneurs even more to aspire to succeed, provided they are not discouraged (Hsu *et al.*, 2017:37-40; Khelil, 2016:72; Mandl *et al.*, 2016:10).

6.4 Entrepreneurial Success Measures/Indicators

Participants' entrepreneurial success indicators included making a profit, business growth, customer satisfaction and being well known in the community. As expected, the participants' levels of business success differed, based on their estimated gross annual turnover. The majority of them seemed to have profitable ventures. P4 was the only participant hesitant to quantify her success in monetary terms since COVID-19

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had really hit hard. However, all the other participants were comfortable with sharing that their gross annual income exceeded R1 million. P1 had the highest number of employees (90) and operated the widest variety of businesses. He was followed by P3 and P6, who owned a supermarket and liquor outlets with 18 and 16 employees respectively. Both P2 and P5's cases illustrated that job creation was not always an indicator of firm growth success. It all depended on the type of business and industry they were engaged in. P2 had over 80 employees when he was in construction, but he reduced them to five employees when he focused exclusively on rental property and the guesthouse. Similarly, P5 cut down from 12 to six employees because of his vehicle outsourcing model. COVID-19 also impacted staff retention: both P1 and P4 were compelled to retrench staff.

Participants also emphasised reinvestment in their businesses via the accumulation of business assets as an important measure of entrepreneurial success (e.g. residential units for P2, vehicles or kombis for P5, or sewing machines for P4). Personal and material rewards of entrepreneurial success such as purchasing or upgrading family homes and private vehicles, affording private education for the children or relatives, and affording family vacations were also highlighted. Participants also regarded employment creation and the sharing of their achievements through charitable acts as important entrepreneurial success indicators.

Current literature indicates that there is no one-size-fits-all method for appraising entrepreneurial success, and that both quantitative and qualitative measures should be incorporated. Evidently, participants' measures or indicators of entrepreneurial success corresponded with the four broad categories formulated for the study in Table 2.4. These were firm performance, internal and external work relations, personal fulfilment and community impact, which were consistent with the extant literature on

entrepreneurial success (Fisher *et al.*, 2014:484; Oyeku, 2014:15; Razmus & Laguna, 2018:3; Staniewskia & Awruk, 2019:434; Wach *et al.*, 2016:1099).

6.5 Entrepreneurial Success Factors

This study presupposed that entrepreneurial success was influenced by multiple and multidimensional micro and macro factors that are interrelated (Dendup *et al.*, 2017:2; Langroodi, 2017:1; Shakeel *et al.*, 2020:1-2; Swartz *et al.*, 2019:1; Muñoz & Kimmitt, 2018:7; Razmus & Laguna, 2018:2; Swartz, 2019:2; Valliere, 2019:2). As shown in Table 2.1, these were classified into five broad categories, namely individual, demographic, management/institutional, economic and socio-cultural factors. In keeping with the study's objectives, this cross-case analysis is on the role of socio-cultural factors in entrepreneurial success. The rest of the factors will be discussed briefly under the role of other factors in entrepreneurial success.

6.6 The Role of Socio-Cultural Factors in Entrepreneurial Success

This exercise of delineating the different roles played by each stakeholder in the entrepreneurial success is key for deepening understanding of how entrepreneurs accumulate social capital throughout various stages of the entrepreneurial process. It also provides further insight on the impact of these networks on the performance of entrepreneurs and their ventures (Giménez-Nadal, *et al*, 2022:7; Hingten *et al.*, 2015:186).

6.6.1 The Role of Family in Entrepreneurial Success

All the participants could highlight many different ways in which their families supported their entrepreneurial success journeys. However, as expanded upon below, the levels and types of support they received differed from participant to participant. These findings support the notion of family embeddedness, which maintains that one's immediate and extended family are among the most important pillars in

entrepreneurship (Hack-Polay *et al.*, 2020:241; Farrukh *et al.*, 2017:303; Powell & Eddleson, 2017:614). According to Charman (2017:11) and Hardnack and Liedeman (2016:14), budding township entrepreneurs rely mainly on their families for finance and equipment. Families were also immediate sources of networks, skills, information and the like.

The exercise of disaggregating different types of support offered by different family members revealed a much wider range of direct/ indirect and/or material/intangible support than was highlighted in the literature. Direct business-related support ranged from advice and counselling, information, knowledge, skills, finance, business facilities/infrastructure, equipment, networks to marketing. Indirect support included childcare, homecare, family business legacy, role modelling, inspiration, moral and emotional support, downtime and relaxation.

6.6.1.1 Ancestral Family

P1, P3 and P5 were the participants who explicitly credited their ancestors for their entrepreneurial success. Since ancestors (*badimo/amadlosi/abaphansi*/living-dead) include at least five generations, they can technically be classified as part of the family network (Mekoa, 2019:99; Ushe, 2017:154). In the participants' case, great grand relatives (*abokhoko*) and immediate family and relatives such as late parents, siblings and the entire extended paternal and maternal families comprised the family network. The role of ancestors in entrepreneurial success is discussed in more detail under religion and ancestral reverence. However, it should be noted that their ancestors' role straddles familial, cultural and religious facets.

6.6.1.2 Paternal/Maternal Extended Family

P1 and P3 were the participants who reported the oldest family background in entrepreneurship. They had enjoyed more intergenerational and ancestral benefits

from direct interaction with extended paternal relatives like grandparents, aunts and/or uncles who ran successful businesses. They also perceived these family members as role models and stalwarts who created long-lasting family legacies, traditions and reputations that they had passed down the family line. In fact, P3 even ran the same grocery store business as his father, who was emulating his paternal grandfather. This intergenerational transmission of entrepreneurial tendencies through traditions and role-modelling is regarded as one of the essential factors in entrepreneurial success, especially in family businesses (Abbasianchavari & Moritz, 2021:2; Giménez-Nadal, *et al*, 2022:2; Suddaby & Jaskiewicz, 2020:2). Linked to this, P1 and P3 benefitted from their families' long-established inter-generational support systems. These included a good reputation in the community, traditional African and modern business knowledge plus values, knowledge, skills and family networks (Ruiz-Palomino & Martínez-Cañas, 2021:2).

Since he did not know of any entrepreneurial members in his ancestral, extended and parental families, P2 considered himself a first-generation entrepreneur. His extended family helped him transition from area to area and from career to career. His uncles in Soweto and Mohlakeng townships provided him with accommodation and other material support until he was financially stable. They and his grandmother in Limpopo continued to encourage and motivate him throughout his shooting ordeal and his adaptation to a challenging life as a paraplegic. Among other examples, it was through the lobbying of an in-law of one of his uncles that he was able to secure a contract to renovate houses in the private sector. According to Carpenter and Phaswana (2021:2), Magubane (2016:58-59) and Mpofu-Mketwa (2020:72), ubuntu practices provide social capital for rural immigrants who stay with their urban relatives, which some have labelled as Black Tax. However, this might be burdensome for lower-

income families who may also be struggling to survive. As P2 himself recalled, when one of his uncles suggested that he join the police, he interpreted it as a sign that he was becoming a financial burden to him and his household. The only other relevant participant who might have been influenced by his extended family to start a business was P5. However, he disregarded this and claimed that he was a first-generation entrepreneur in his family because he did not consider relatives who operated minibus taxis as entrepreneurs.

6.6.1.3 Parental Family: Parents

All the participants except P5 and P2 were directly influenced by their parents to start businesses. Parents also played a role in providing material and non-material support such as finance, business facilities, indigenous knowledge and skills, motivation and encouragement, as well as practical non-business-related support such as child-minding and doing household chores. This is consistent with literature review findings, according to which parents (especially those who are enterprising in their own right) nurture their children's entrepreneurial intentions through intergenerational succession, role modelling and practical support (Antawati, 2016:2; Cardella *et al.*; Giménez-Nadal, 2022:10). P3's case stands out in this regard. After his father died, his mother supported him throughout his incarceration and financed his efforts to revive his family's grocery store. She was also helping him raise his daughter since he was a single father. Likewise, both P1's and P6's parents invested very early in their careers by providing them with private education in reputable township-based or suburban institutions. Charkaborty *et al.* (2016:3) postulate that in paternalistic families, children who become entrepreneurs tend to be favourably disposed towards their families. This seems to apply in both these cases. By giving her an uncommon name, P6's father helped to build her sense of worth and self-

confidence. He also empowered her as a young girl by encouraging her to be educated and obtain a driver's license so that she could be self-reliant.

6.6.1.4 Siblings

Of the three participants who credited their siblings for their entrepreneurial success, P4 received the most support from her brothers and sisters. This included a fully-fledged butchery, marketing, lobbying and technical support. She readily reciprocated by paying for their children's tertiary education and sourcing their professional services when they finally ventured into business. P1 appointed his brother—who had been trained by and worked for their father as a mechanic—as a supervisor in his own auto-shop. On the other hand, P5's brothers served as role models from whom he learnt selling skills from an early age. Participation by family members is typical among family business owners who intend to pass down their traditions (Giménez-Nadal *et al.*, 2022:2; Suddaby & Jaskiewicz, 2020:2). Among African families who practise ubuntu, mutual support among siblings is typically expected (Carpenter & Phaswana, 2021:2; Magubane, 2017:4; Mpofu-Mketwa, 2020:72). P3 was an only child and P6 said she and her husband avoided employing family members due to family politics. Based on P6's interview, it was apparent that she, her husband and their family had agreed not to involve relatives in their business affairs. She explained that she had a cordial relationship with her mother-in-law and sister-in-law even while she and her husband as a couple with children were still living at her husband's family home. There was no interference in their marital affairs. After the death of her mother-in-law, her sister in-law had moved out of the house amicably. Relevant African literature on this matter reviewed in Chapter 3 suggests that an African bride's (*makoti*) good relationship with her in-laws, especially her *mamazala*

(mother-in-law) is critical for her marital wellbeing (Nganase & Basson, 2019:229; Zungu & Maphini 2020:66; Sennott *et al.*, 2020:2).

6.6.2.5 Other Relatives

Second and third generation relatives such as cousins, nephews and nieces played a significant role in all the participants' entrepreneurial success except for P6's. They mostly participated in their businesses as employees or as additional sources of practical support such as housesitting and childminding in P4's case. "Favours" were usually returned in the form of providing resources for further education (e.g. in P2's and P4's cases). These examples demonstrated a strong ubuntu kinship values system of sharing resources and the fruits of entrepreneurial success (Carpenter & Phaswana, 2021:2; Magubane, 2017:4; Mpofu-Mketwa, 2020:72).

6.6.2.6 In-laws

Of the three respondents who were supported by in-laws in their entrepreneurial success journeys, P4 was close to her sister in-law, whom she regarded as a confidante. P2's sister-in-law enlisted him in a pyramid scheme where he luckily generated cash to build a house for rental purposes. P6's mother-in-law and sister-in-law came through for her and her husband when they allowed them to stay at his family home at a time when they struggled financially. Although P6 reported feeling uncomfortable to be sharing intimate space like a home with her in-laws, she said that it was a short-term experience and there was mutual respect and clear boundaries. According to Mpofu-Mketwa (2020:71-89), African women may experience cultural practices differently from their male counter parts, especially when relationships are toxic. This did not seem to apply in this instance.

6.6.2.7 Immediate/Own Family: Spouses

P3 was the only single participant in the study. The rest had been married for more than 10 years at the time of their interviews, with P4 having recently celebrated her 40th anniversary. Since all of them were married in community of property (COP), the participants took it for granted that their spouses were equal shareholders in their businesses[9]. They had contributed financially towards the ventures, for example through subsidies or as loan guarantors. P5 even went to the extent of saying that COP regimes were not negotiable in African communities. Nevertheless, the type of partnerships and involvement in business operations by their spouses differed. Whereas P1, P2's and P5's wives were not involved at all in business operations and had their own jobs, P4's and P6's husbands were fully operational. P1 and P2 disclosed their plans to involve their wives in hospitality-related business operations. P5 did not seem to have any immediate plans in that regard as his business was less complicated. The meaning the male participants attached to the nuanced emotional and moral support that their spouses played in their journeys towards entrepreneurial success was worth noting. They highlighted how their wives motivated them by sharing and supporting their vision, trusting them with household resources, entrusting them with their families' futures, and helping them to relax and de-stress, which brought a balance to their lives. They also readily acknowledged how difficult it would have been to achieve entrepreneurial success were it not for their wives' support. As a result, they were glad to reward their wives with gifts like expensive vehicles and holidays. While there is extensive literature on gender and women in entrepreneurship[10], it was difficult to find studies that specifically deal with the indirect supportive roles of wives towards

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[9] In terms of the Marriage and Matrimonial Property Act 3 of 1988, the Community of Property regime confers equal status to spouses and provides for them to have equal shares of all marital assets. (https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/gcis_document/201505/act-3-1988_1.pdf).

[10] For example, Irene (2016), Meyer & Landsberg (2015), Agholor *et al*. (2015:45) and Shakeel *et al*. (2020:2).

male entrepreneurs and how this contributes to their business success. Scholars such as Bird and Zellweger (2018:2) address this aspect somewhat through their concept of relational embeddedness, which holds that spousal and other relationships are important for achieving entrepreneurial success. However, their focus is on entrepreneurs' relationships with others (e.g. spouse, relatives and staff members) within a formal business partnership context. This suggests that further research is necessary on this aspect, as it relates to social capital accumulation.

The same can be said about how the female participants, P4 and P6, interpreted the value of the support they received from their husbands. They applauded their spouses for supporting them throughout their careers and for encouraging and motivating them to excel in their entrepreneurial endeavours. P4's husband was the most supportive in that he performed non-traditional gender roles such as cooking and babysitting over and above marketing support and securing new business opportunities. P6 and her husband had split their business management roles to suit their personalities and styles and he was supportive of his wife's leadership role in the franchise owner steering committee. Such practices are a deviation from stereotypical African gender roles, which both ladies attributed to modern South African life. They explained that in modern, urban settings they did not necessarily conform to the traditional rules and obligations of an African *makoti/umtshakazi* (bride). In an African marital context, a *makoti* typically marries into the *mkhwenyana's* (groom) family. The wife is expected to build the home, raise children and cater to the needs of her husband and the extended family while the husband is the financial provider. As discussed in Chapter 3, there are elaborate and intricate pre- and post-wedding processes for initiating the bride to these roles and responsibilities (Moeti, 2018:182; Montle, 2020:161; Sennott *et al.*, 2020:1; Zungu & Maphini, 2020:66).

6.6.2.8 Children

P6's eldest son was an employee in her grocery store, but none of the other participants' children were directly involved in their businesses. Some were too young (e.g. P1's children), still in school (e.g. P2's, P3 and P5's children) or pursuing their own career paths (e.g. P2's and P4's children). P4's and P6's daughters also assisted with marketing and sourcing additional expertise (e.g. a pattern-design expert for P4).

The issue of succession was discussed with relevant participants. In the main they did not foresee their children taking over their businesses unless they could not find alternative employment. P3 was the most intentional in his attempts to groom his daughter as a successor. He even named her after his father and encouraged her to "hustle" for money at his grocery store so that she could be exposed to business knowledge and skills, albeit indirectly. The others were orientating their children to their businesses when they expressed interest. There are studies that have established that children with entrepreneurial parents tend to emulate them in their adult lives (Suddaby & Jaskiewicz, 2020:2; Abbasianchavari & Moritz, 2021:2). However, time will tell if this could apply to participants in this study. What is relevant is that the participants appreciated the invaluable emotional and moral support their children provided them throughout their entrepreneurial success journeys. As was the case with their spouses, empathy, compassion, encouragement and motivation were the main themes. For example, P2 related how his younger son was more empathic towards him as a paraplegic because he had never seen him walk. He also shared how he, his wife and children used humour to cope with awkward social situations. P5 said his children, like his wife, encouraged him to take solo vacations to rest and be refreshed, which was important to keep him balanced. The children too were rewarded with gifts like holidays and other material comforts. As discussed earlier, these types

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of support are rarely documented as social capital for entrepreneurs, hence the references on this aspect were scant. These examples underscore the value of family and relational embeddedness the participants attached to entrepreneurial success (Bird and Zellweger, 2018:2). It also alludes to the subjective (non-financial) meanings entrepreneurs attach to entrepreneurial success (Angel *et al.*, 2018:1; Wach *et al.*; 2016:1099).

In summary, the study found that family members, whether immediate or extended, played an important role in the entrepreneurial success of participants. However, their support and participation differed from participant to participant. Factors such as gender relations, culture, religion and class also influenced how families interpreted their roles and obligations in relation to their entrepreneurial members (Grant, 2013:100-101; Patankar *et al.*, 2018:43; Hack-Polay *et al.*, 2020:241). Except for P3, participants generally seemed to perceive supporting their relatives and sharing the fruit of their entrepreneurial success as a form of ubuntu. They did not find it burdensome or refer to in a negative light as some do with the notion of Black Tax (Carpenter & Phaswana, 2021:2; Magubane, 2017:4; Mpofu-Mketwa, 2020:72). Only P3's paternal family appeared to place certain obligations on him since his was a family shop; their initial support could therefore be characterised as a "poisonous gift" (Charkaborty *et al.*, 2016:3; Patankar *et al.*, 2018:43; Sieger & Minola, 2017:1). Regarding hindering family practices, participants often pushed back by establishing firm boundaries. They did this either by not involving family at all in their businesses (e.g. P6), assisting relatives only when they could afford to (e.g. P3) and/or ignoring their naysaying and disparaging remarks (e.g. P1 and P4). The findings on the support provided by immediate family suggests that a nuanced

approach to analysing family social capital or social networks in entrepreneurship is necessary (Bird and Zellweger, 2018:2; Ruiz-Palomino & Martinez-Cañas, 2021:3).

6.6.2 The Role of Friends in Entrepreneurial Success

Overall, the study confirmed the observation that friends can be a valuable source of social capital for many entrepreneurs, especially nascent ones (Burt, Katarzyna & Burzynska, 2017:3; Chen *et al.*, 2015:900; Goraya, 2019:1; Gümüsay, 2015:1; Rodgers *et al.*, 2019:11; Ruiz-Palomino & Martinez-Cañas, 2021:7). However, the value-add of the study was to further disaggregate this category into friends, acquaintances, associates, role models and mentors. This was informed by the participants' own elaboration of the varying nature of their friendships vis-à-vis entrepreneurial success. The exercise can be described as social network analysis, through which interactions among various actors within each network were explored. It unearthed the distinctive contributions per connection (Borgatti & Halgin, 2011:1169; Perry-Smith & Mannucci, 2015:8-9; Tabassum *et al.*, 2018:1).

6.6.3.1 Friends

Friends were important sources of information, advice, peer-counselling, peer-mentorship and practical or financial support for four of the six participants. This finding was consistent with that of local and global studies (Burt *et al.*, 2017:3; Chen *et al.*, 2015:900; Charman, 2016:2-3; Ruiz-Palomino & Martinez-Cañas, 2021:7). Although P1, P3 and P5 all started their first ventures with friends, they seemed to have outgrown those relationships and preferred to keep their friends as social rather than business connections. P3 seemed to enjoy his long-term friendships the most. He had maintained very strong connections with his fellow ex-convicts, some of whom he had met in prison. They not only shared mutual emotional and moral support through peer-mentoring, but also shared information, networks and business opportunities and

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supported each other financially. Generally, most of the participants used friends for leisure and relaxation purposes to maintain a balanced life rather than as sources of support for their businesses. These findings are consistent with social network theory, according to which actors derive different benefits from different connections, depending on the nature and purpose of their connections. Moreover, as participants matured the networks changed over time, reflecting their dynamic nature (Borgatti & Halgin, 2011:11691170; Holme, 2015:1; Klyver, 2006:2-5).

Only P2 and P4 claimed that they had no friends, hence they regarded themselves as hermits. However, P2 acknowledged that he was let down by people he regarded as friends when he most needed them during the completion of his apartment in a white suburb. Moreover, his disability seemed to make him feel awkward socially. As noted by various scholars, issues of reciprocity and trust or the lack of it are fundamental to maintaining social networks (Aldrich & Zimmer, 1986:11; Bird and Zellweger, 2018:2; Granovetter, 1973:1361; Hirschman & Kendall, 2015:40; Plaatjie, 2019:40-41).

6.6.3.2 Acquaintances and Associates

The participants' acquaintances were typically random individuals in their communities and social or business circles. On the other hand, their associates were people they already had some business relations with (e.g. former employers, clients or service providers). Both acquaintances and associates provided participants with critical information, knowledge and advice that opened up business opportunities or helped them expand their markets. For example, P5 was advised by several acquaintances about using his private kombi for different transportation purposes instead of as a regular taxi operator. In P2's case, neighbours would lobby on his behalf to access land or to find clients for his rental property. P4's chance meeting with

the current President's wife, who was a medical practitioner at the time, resulted in a long-term lucrative opportunity for her fashion business. The President, the First lady and their networks became her regular customers. Participants' acquaintances were not part of their dense or central networks and yet they provided them with essential business information and advice or land or potential clients that ultimately contributed to their entrepreneurial success These examples seem to support Granovetter's (1983:201) theory on the strength of weak ties.

Another theory that found resonance with the study was the one advanced by Hikido (2017:2580) on interracial social capital or "co-ethnic" social capital, which is about social networks formed across racial or ethnic groups. P2 gave countless examples of how White people, some of whom were mere acquaintances, came through for him when he needed information, advice, favours or even funds to complete his construction project in a hostile and predominantly Afrikaner suburb. As discussed in Chapter 3, apartheid polices ensured that different racial groups live segregated lives and that predominantly White areas were better serviced than those occupied by Black people (i.e. Africans, Coloureds and Indians) (Carpenter & Phaswana, 2021:2; Mabin, 2013:12; Mahajan, 2014:5; Pernegger & Godehart, 2007:2) Similarly, P4 was supported by her White, suburban, well-to-do clients, most of whom were male. Cross-cultural and cross-racial connections also emerged as very strong social networks for P4 and P5, who found it difficult to operate exclusively in township markets where their products and services were underrated and undermined by their fellow Africans. This is also discussed under other social factors.

6.6.3.3 Role Models/Mentors

P1 was the only participant with a formal mentor who was providing him with technical skills, information and knowledge in a structured way. The mentor was his

former employer who had returned to China, his native country. Like P5, he was inspired by local and international entrepreneurs alike. P5 also acknowledged the influence of legendary township entrepreneurs, like the late Dr Richard Maponya, in their own drive towards entrepreneurial success. P5 highlighted the importance of acknowledging less famous local role models like his friend who ran a grocery store. Similarly, P3 credited local heroes like his fellow ex-convicts with whom he had a co-mentoring relationship. He also acknowledged P2 and his fellow franchise owners as his (peer) mentors. Studies underpinned by social learning theory have found a link between entrepreneurial role modelling and entrepreneurial intention or desirability. Entrepreneur role models typically encourage others to pursue certain career paths and goals (Liu *et al.* 2019:3; Malebana, 2016:9; Fellnhofer & Puumalainen, 2017:6).

6.6.3   The Role of Other Reference Groups in Entrepreneurial Success

Reference groups consisted of formal and informal structures whereby participants could get additional support such as social clubs or associations such as *makgotla* (local burial schemes) *stokvels* or *megodisano* (rotation schemes). P3 and P6 were the only participants who belonged to the same steering committee for fellow grocery store franchise owners. P1 and P3 participated in burial societies and rotation schemes, but P3 was the participant who derived the most benefits from membership of such schemes. Amongst others, they helped him to supplement his household income, save for his daughter's education and vacations, expand his business networks and to source new business opportunities. This made sense as he said he was very steeped in township culture and enjoyed the camaraderie and fanfare associated with such groupings. The rest of the participants held a dim view towards such schemes because to them they had no meaningful financial value. P3 also kept contact with his former prison facility, which gave him business opportunities and

platforms to mentor young people in prison facilities. The way he and his ex-offenders related with the prison systems is also evidence that the deeper the entrepreneur is embedded in a social ecosystem, the more benefits their ventures derived (Bird & Zellweger, 2018:2; Nambiar, 2020:24; Ruiz-Palomino & Martínez-Cañas (2021:2). Although he did not belong to any social clubs P5 used cycling events as a means of advancing his charity projects, whilst P1 belonged to *makgotla* (local burial schemes) societies to promote his products and services. He also joined a motorcycling club whenever he had time for leisure purposes and cited limited time as an inhibiting factor in balancing his personal and business life. These findings confirm the literature on stokvels, societies and other local schemes that more often than not, entrepreneurs do not use the schemes for business purposes, and that the benefits derived from them are indirect (Matuku & Kaseke, 2014:1; Bophela & Khumalo, 2019:28; Ngcobo & Chisasa, 2018:226; Storchi, 2018:41).

In summary, participants valued friends, acquaintances associates, role models and other reference groups because these connections benefitted their entrepreneurial ventures materially and non-materially. The greatest benefits participants such as P1, P5, P3 and P6 derived from their friendships were moral and emotional support as well as leisure and relaxation. Though the friends' role seemed to have declined from active business involvement over time, it was still highly valued by participants. Inter-racial or co-ethnic support from white South Africans as highlighted by Hikido (2017:3) helped to sustain and/or unlock new market opportunities for P2 and P4 whenever they struggled with racism and other various forms of social exclusion. P1 was the sole beneficiary of a formal mentorship relationship from his former employer from which he derived technical skills transfer, advice and counselling. He and others like P5 drew valuable lessons from local and

global entrepreneurship role models. Unlike the other participants, P3 highly valued groups and schemes like stokvels and societies and actively participated in them the most. Amongst others, he used those connections to augment his income, market his business and mentor upcoming entrepreneurs. The same applied to his relationship with his former prison facility which additionally provided with tangible business opportunities. In a nutshell, the findings support the argument that friends and other social networks play an important role in entrepreneurial success since entrepreneurship is by and large a social process (Cardella *et al.*, 2020:9; Ruiz-Palomino & Martinez-Cañas, 2021:7).

6.6.4   The Role of Social Media in Entrepreneurial Success

All the participants acknowledged the positive impact of technology and social media in general, which aligns with trends in entrepreneurship (Ahmad *et al.*, 2018:7; Burt *et al.*, 2017:121; Liu *et al.*, 2017:2; Olanrewaju, 2020:90;). Most of them were already on platforms such as Facebook, Google, Twitter, and WhatsApp. Nonetheless, given his IT background, P1 seemed to be the most advanced in terms of maximum usage of social media, which he had linked to his online-ordering and delivery services. Social media was generally used by participants for marketing purposes.

6.6.5   The Role of Culture in Entrepreneurial Success

The study sought to explore the extent to which participants were embedded in the broader national and local cultural networks or ecosystems, and which of these elements facilitated or inhibited their entrepreneurial success. For this analysis, the discussion focuses on the salient aspects, notably how cultural influences impacted on participants' identities and self-worth, family and business values and practices, as well as gender in relation to entrepreneurial success. By and large the study found that participants were influenced by African, Western, modern South African and

township cultures. Culture also played an important role in the entrepreneurial success of participants, albeit in different ways and to varying degrees. These findings align with the literature review, which established that an entrepreneur's cultural background influences how they approach entrepreneurship and their behaviours as businesspeople. This usually manifests through their values and practices (Bosma *et al.*, 2020:25; Cardella *et al.*, 2020:7; Castillo-Palacio *et al.*, 2017:7; Monyai, 2018:9-10).

6.6.5.1 *Culture, Cultural Identity, Self-Worth and Entrepreneurial Success*

One of the most prolific findings of this study was the powerful meanings associated with African names and their importance in the formation of one's identity in relation to all areas of one's life. A name can either be a blessing or a curse. The participants' narratives mostly supported the notion that in the African context a person's name influences and reflects the person's self-perception, self-worth and overall approach to life. For example, P1's name Lehlohonolo means luck or fortune. His family hails from the Bafokeng clan, who take pride in their tribal traditions. The fact that entrepreneurship by many of his paternal extended family members was such an immense source of pride for him that he named his business Bafokeng Corner after the Southern Sotho clan name. He also used the Bafokeng totem, *mutla,* which is a rabbit, as his company logo. Similarly, P3 found being named Vusimuzi (one who hoists up the household) and belonging to the clan of elephants (Ndlovu) very symbolic. He explained that wearing *isiphandla* increased his sense of masculinity. It made him feel like a real man who was strong, safe and protected. *Isiphandla* is a bracelet made from animal skin that is usually cut from the animal slaughtered during the ritual to appease or honour ancestors. P3 also identified with both his parents' cultures and used negotiation skills associated with each tribe accordingly. He claimed

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that in the business world he could easily traverse between being Zulu (i.e. aggressive or assertive like his father's side of the family) and being Tswana (i.e being humble like his mother's side of the family).

P2's case presents another dimension to the importance of names in that it demonstrates the ill fate associated with bad names. He was named Rabothata after his grandfather, which in the Sotho dialects translates to one born under difficulties or one who is dogged by troubles (*mathata*). The Sotho (all dialects) proverb that says *leina lebe seromo* (a bad name is a bad omen) rang eerily true in his situation (Guma, 2001:267; Lebaka, 2019:8). He had certainly experienced a lot of troubles in life, including being abandoned by his mother, colourism, classism and racism, being shot and nearly killed and navigating entrepreneurship as a paraplegic. The fact that he had never found out who his biological father was also made him feel dejected as it was directly linked to his identity. Ironically, it was the very *mathata* that inspired P2 to succeed against all odds. This was gleaned from the pride he took in the naming of the schools he attended. One of the schools was Sekgwari, named after P2, a star, or one who masters everything. His own ability to master hostile environments was truly remarkable. P5 was named Mothusi (Helper) by his great-grandmother, his *khokho*. He recognised her contribution towards his entrepreneurial success indirectly through ancestral reverence. Interestingly P6's father named her *Nada* after a lily in Latin, nothing to do with his Xhosa background. However, having a unique identity and being a girl-child supported by her father made her feel empowered. P6 also said she liked the local empowering women slogan W*a thinta abafazi wa thinta imbokodo* (You touch a woman you touch a rock). She shared how she had adopted her husband's Sotho culture and the way it had influenced the naming of her own children, but this was not relevant to the study. P4 would not be drawn much into the discussion about culture

because of her bad experiences with township markets. She and her husband had also experienced harrowing incidents of township crime and violence. Nonetheless, it was noted that her African name was Thembekile, which is Zulu for one who can be trusted.

As discussed in Chapter 3, entrepreneurship literature on the link between African culture and entrepreneurial success is sorely lacking. Fortunately, I was able to rely on a whole body of literature on the different African ethnic/tribal clans in South Africa to deepen understanding in this regard. The literature includes the meanings of proverbs, praise poems, totems and other folklore and integrates the importance of names and naming of people, animals and objects in African societies (e.g. Dlamini & Ocholla, 2018; Guma, 2001:267; Futhwa, 2011:16; Lebaka, 2019:8; Makgopa, 2019; Monyai, 2018; Toure, 2018; Zungu & Maphini, 2020:67). The participants' cases are examples of how internalising their cultural values and practices influenced their unique approach to entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial success. (Cardella *et al*., 2020:7; Castillo-Palacio *et al*., 2017:7; Chakraborty *et al*., 2016:38).

6.6.5.2 *Culture, Values, Practices and Entrepreneurial Success.*

The initial literature review had anticipated that all of Hofstede's cultural dimensions would be pertinent to the study, for example culture vis-à-vis power-distance, wealth creation, risk-taking, long or short-term orientation and indulgence versus restraint (Hofstede & Milosevic, 2011:5). However, it was found that participants had adapted their business practices and embraced the modern way of doing things. Due to their cultural background, they were not conflicted about things such as taking risks, wealth, long-term orientation and restraint. They understood these aspects as part and parcel of entrepreneurship—as discussed under the section Meanings of Entrepreneurship. P5 elaborated that multiculturalism was the modus

operandi of today's business world. Using the example of languages, he explained that a universal business language such as English was necessary. This acceptance of other cultures and their way of life is referred to as acculturation or assimilation, which is a common feature of modern society (Lebaka, 2019:1). Notwithstanding this, participants still held on to African values, principles and certain customs and traditions, which they had also infused into their business practice. Hofstede's cultural dimensions in relation to individualism vs collectivism (integration of individuals into primary groups) and masculinity vs femininity (division of emotional roles between women and men) were therefore still relevant to the study (Lebaka, 2019; Castillo-Palacio *et al.*, 2017:6; Sharma, 2010:787-788).

Another worthwhile finding was that all participants could elaborate on how they were practising ubuntu kinship and communal values in their daily lives and fusing them into their business practices. These values included humility, respect, love and the sharing of resources and success. Sharing common struggles such as poverty, deprivation and discrimination seemed to increase sensitivity to the struggles of others and heightened a sense of empathy among participants. This was especially so with P2. Throughout the interview, he kept on absolving others for their ignorance whenever they discriminated against him for being dark, poor, rural, township, African or paraplegic. Instead, he took pride in his ability to overcome *mathata* and he also expressed the desire to share his success with those around him. Similarly, for P5 and P6 empathy for the poor and compassion for them stemmed from their own personal experience of poverty and prompted them to invest in community projects. In P4's case the value of sharing resources was evident in the way she supported her siblings by paying for their tertiary education and their entrepreneurial ventures.

P1, P3 and P5 stood out as participants who directly linked their entrepreneurial success to the way in which they fused their business practices with their African tribal/ethnic/cultural identities and traditions, norms, customs and rituals. Their common understanding was that ancestors opened the pathways to success and mediated between them and God. They therefore honoured their ancestors through sacrifices of various kinds. Under normal circumstances that would mean slaughtering an animal and having a ceremony (*moletlo/umsebenzi*). However, these measures were adapted due to personal preferences, space or even COVID-19 pandemic restrictions. Thanksgiving was an important aspect of cementing their relationship with their ancestors: whenever they had acquired an asset, they first presented it to their ancestors.

Applying an Afrocentric lens to the study affirmed that in African settings *ubuntu/botho*, the belief that "I am because you are", is the prevailing value system of most Africans. Ubuntu encompasses values such as respect, humility, collectivism and putting others first, which forms the basis for building collectivism, social cohesion and solidarity (Makhubedu, 2009:7; Langa *et al.*, 2016:44; Rena, 2017:2; Wessels, 2016:1). Another applicable concept in the light of these findings is *Ubuntupreneurship*. It is a phrase coined by Kasu (2017:26) to describe how the ubuntu indigenous knowledge and value systems influence the day-to day behaviours and practices, the entrepreneurial climate and communal wealth creation in African settings. These are expressed through showing humility, respect and acknowledgment of others' personhood while serving them. Their conceptual understanding of ubuntu is similar to the discourse reviewed in this study, especially when they defined entrepreneurial success. They too identified uplifting others and

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contributing to the development of the community as indicators of entrepreneurial success (Kasu, 2017:27; Langa *et al.*, 2016:44; Razmus & Laguna, 2018:2).

Since culture is not static and evolves over time, it was evident that there was flux between collectivism and individualism in the way participants experienced private and business life in townships. The idea of growing together and sharing common struggles are elements typically associated with African collectivism. Unfortunately, the breakdown in social and moral fabric meant that people are becoming more individualistic, something that both P2 and P5 were concerned about. For example, P1 bewailed how people were becoming more self-centred. P5 was frustrated that when children in the neighbourhood acted in unacceptable ways, he could not chastise them (*kgalema).* According to him, this went against the African norm that a child is raised by the whole village and can be admonished by any adult. Similarly, P2 noted that because his sons enjoyed their personal and private space and the materials he could provide them in a suburb, they might find it difficult to share with others, unlike township children.

Aspects that reflected the downside of collectivism were also raised. For example, P1 and P3 related how some of their relatives expected more in return than they had contributed to their entrepreneurial success, the type of family politics that P6 and her spouse avoided at all costs. It was also experienced by P4 and P5, who were frustrated by the lack of support from their fellow Africans. The fact that participants expressed mixed feelings about the notions of individualism versus collectivism was indicative of a changing society. It also suggests that in reality these cultural notions are not mutually exclusive but can coexist (Hingtgen *et al.*, 2015:186; Hofstede & Milosevic, 2011:5). On the other hand, *umona* (jealousy), rivalry, xenophobia and the destruction of business properties during social protests are but

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some of the permeations of destructive side of 'solidarity' and 'collectivism' in township contexts, whereby people think everyone should be at the same low level (Koens & Thomas, 2015:10). These behaviours can be likened to the PhD syndrome (pull-her-down), a phenomenon that is reportedly rife among women business leaders who fail to support one another in the corporate world due to professional envy (Mutsagondo, 2015:1; Van der Schyff, 2017:37).

6.6.5.3 Culture IKS, Business Practices and Entrepreneurial Success

Participants also benefitted from indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) that are part of African culture. These included the use of knowledge and skills on African/tribal fashion designs by P4 and totemism by P1, who named his business after his Bafokeng tribe and used *mutla* (rabbit) for his business logo. Such IKS treasures and other traditions would have been passed on intergenerationally both orally and through socialisation (Futhwa, 2011:16; Dlamini & Ocholla, 2018:140; Makgopa, 2019:163-164). Totemism is a common practice among African tribal clans. People who practise it revere specific animals with which they have spiritual connectedness, identifying with their distinguishing characteristics (Makgopa, 2019:163-164; Toure, 2018:1; Rodgers *et al.,* 2018:4).

P1, P3 and P5 stood out as participants who linked their entrepreneurial success directly to their relationship with their ancestors as discussed under family and under religion. Dedicating one's plans, belongings and achievements to one's ancestors is an important feature of most African cultural rituals and indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) (Makgopa, 2019:163-164; Dlamini & Ocholla, 2018:140).

Apart from the national culture, participants also tapped into the local township culture for innovation and to diversify their products and services. For example, by providing a one stop facility with a carwash, tavern and *chisanyama* (barbeque) facility

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P1 was taking advantage of township entertainment trends. Similarly, P2 launched into the burgeoning backyard rental business, while P5 capitalised on nuanced township tourism and transportation trends to launch his business. These examples show that the participants were adapting to the prevailing local township cultural environment while retaining their original tribal/ethnic beliefs and traditions (Lebaka, 2019:1).

6.6.5.4 Culture, Gender and Entrepreneurial Success

Women's participation and empowerment in economic activity is one of the indicators used to test the health of the entrepreneurial culture of any society. The difficulty experienced in finding very successful women participants for the study who met the criteria outlined in Chapter 4 was reflective of the disproportionate participation of women in entrepreneurship. This issue, along with the unique circumstances that lead to women's business failure, are well documented (Agholor *et al.*, 2015:45; Irene, 2017:23; Kojane, 2020:110; Meyer & Landsberg, 2015:3454; Nyakudya *et al.*, 2018:1; Shakeel *et al.*, 2020:2; Smit, 2021:2). Since none of the women who participated in the study explicitly flagged discrimination on the basis of their gender as a contributing factor, it is not possible to evaluate the extent to which sexism played a role in their entrepreneurial success journey. Like their male counterparts, the female participants commended government and other stakeholders' efforts to promote women's participation in entrepreneurship in line with the Constitution and Government's transformative policies. They too were direct recipients of support such as business finance or government contracts. This increase in participation by and support of women entrepreneurship is acknowledged by many local and global gender scholars (DPME/DSBD, 2018:2; Flowerday, 2015:1; Meyer & Landsberg, 2015:3454; White, 2014:8).

It is interesting that some of the male participants felt that women were not physically safe in certain industries, especially in liquor sales. While some might perceive this as paternalistic, it is a valid concern when one considers the escalation in crime-related incidents and gender-based violence in South Africa (Kojana, 2020:370; Kubone, 2019:92; Wild & Cant, 2021:6). As it turned out, the female participants in the study experienced horrendous incidents of armed robberies or high-jacking at gunpoint firsthand, which exposed their pronounced vulnerability.

P6's case showed that although she enjoyed taking care of the children, because her *mkhwenyana* (son-in-law) was disinclined to assist with household chores, such duties could become additional sources of stress. By contrast, P4 felt liberated enough to focus more on her business since her husband was hands-on in the household. She could even sleep at work. Since P6 attributed her husband's attitude towards household chores to laziness, it is difficult to ascribe it to male chauvinism. This is because she commended him for being very supportive of her career ambitions and saw her as an equal partner in all their ventures. Besides, she thought he was simply averse to doing chores and said she had accepted that about him. She had also forfeited the option of hiring a helper because she enjoyed being hands-on in her household.

The women participants' experiences are reflective of the ambivalent feelings expressed by women traversing cultural and modern societies and the different pressures brought about by modern lifestyles. Since women are also working and do not always stay with their in-laws, they are less prepared and exposed to the dynamics of being a *makoti* (Moeti, 2018:194; Montle, 2020:161; Nganase & Basson, 2019: 220).

This finding amplified the importance of conducive household arrangements in the success of women entrepreneurs. They appreciated it when their husbands were

full partners in their endeavours and offered them moral and practical support, as this was essential for them to pursue their personal goals. Gender scholars have argued that the types and quality of support provided to women entrepreneurs is often misplaced because it does not adequately address what they expressly require. They found that women often need more internal business management and people relations knowledge and skills to cope with day-to-day operational matters to sustain their ventures (Irene, 2017: Kloppers, 2018:170-171; Dana, Demartini & Ramadani, 2019:1-2; Smit, 2021:2).

To sum up, by and large, the study found that participants were influenced by African, Western, modern South African and township cultures. Culture also played an important role in the entrepreneurial success of participants, albeit in different ways and to varying degrees. These findings align with the literature review, which established that an entrepreneur's cultural background influences how they approach entrepreneurship and their behaviours as businesspeople. This usually manifests through their values and practices (Bosma *et al.*, 2020:25; Cardella *et al.*, 2020:7; Castillo-Palacio *et al.*, 2017:7). The participants' views on culture show that people's opinions evolve over time because of their changed socio-economic circumstances. Moreover, they show that belief systems and practices such as individualism and collectivism can co-exist and people can adapt them as and when necessary to promote their business interests (Hofstede & Milosevi, 2011:1; Muñoz & Kimmitt, 2018:3; Valliere, 2019:1-2).

Culture played an important role in determining personal and business identity, especially for P1 and P3. Participants had internalised the ubuntu value system and infused it into their daily life and business experiences; they were incorporating aspects like African language, totems, knowledge, skills, norms, customs and

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traditions into their entrepreneurial perspectives. Some, like P1, P2, and P5, benefitted from niche market opportunities presented by the prevailing township culture. Among those who believed in ancestral reverence, there were specific benefits to maintaining a relationship with one's ancestors in the journey towards entrepreneurial success, including divine guidance, blessings, favour and protection. As stated before, research into the relationship between (African) culture and entrepreneurial success was limited. These findings can therefore be interpreted mainly through the lens of the African worldview as gleaned from African literature (Dlamini & Ocholla, 2018; Guma, 2001:267; Futhwa, 2011:16; Lebaka, 2019:8; Makgopa, 2019; Monyai, 2018; Toure, 2018; Zungu & Maphini, 2020:67).

Lastly, it was found that the women participants generally felt empowered by the people and systems around them throughout their entrepreneurial journeys, especially by their spouses. This can be attributed to the country's progressive constitutional democracy and the transformative policies of the Government. Nonetheless, they expounded on how certain domestic arrangements enhanced or inhibited their performance as business managers. This implied that practical non-direct support was as valuable as business operational support. Sexism was not raised as an issue in accessing economic opportunities.

6.6.6　The Role of Religion in Entrepreneurial Success

Both African and Western religions played an important role in the participants' journeys towards entrepreneurial success. These are discussed separately for ease of reference. Although some links between religion and entrepreneurship could be found in African literature, there was a dearth of current local studies on the relationship between religion and entrepreneurial success.

6.6.6.1 African Religion and Entrepreneurial Success

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P1, P3 and P5 were the participants who specifically linked their entrepreneurial success to their African religious beliefs and practices. However, P3 was the only participant who attended a typical African traditional church (Pentecostal), where his uncle was a pastor, which meant that they incorporated both African and Western religious practices. These three participants confirmed that they believed in ancestors (*amadlozi/badimo*) and that they performed the rituals required by their religion as part of their business practices. Ancestors played an important role in mediating between them and God and interceding with Him on their behalf. Ancestors were also honoured because they blessed participants with divine guidance, protection, favours and good fortune. Hence these participants expressed thanksgiving via elaborate ancestral ceremonies, visitations to the gravesites or animal sacrifices, which they regarded as symbolic acts of reverence and gratitude. Other examples included P3 burning incense in his shop and P5 presenting every new kombi to his ancestors at their gravesites and to his mother, who was still alive. These practices were moderated by modern lifestyles, space considerations and COVID-19 restrictions, however.

Ancestral worship is a common practice among African Christians even though some churches discourage the practice (Öhlmann & Hüttel, 2018:1; Maisela, 2017:48). It stems from the African world view that people never really die, hence ancestors are regarded as the living dead (*abaphansi*) or gods (*badimo*). Ancestors played the role of intercessors and sources of spiritual guidance and divine blessings, favour and protection, which were critical for the participants' overall prosperity (Mekoa, 2019:99; Idang, 2015:104; Masondo, 2015:3-5; Ndemanu, 2018:71). Horsthemke (2017:125) explains that among other purposes, sacrificial slaughter is to obtain healing, restore or revive relationships and open the lines of communication between and among the dead and the living. Participants who subscribed to these beliefs, such as P1, P3 and

P5, clearly considered and explicitly linked these practices to their own entrepreneurial success.

6.6.6.2 Christianity/Western Religion and Entrepreneurial Success

P1, P2, P3 and P6 were the participants who expressly credited their Christian religion or spirituality for their entrepreneurial success. They were affiliated to various Christian churches, which they attended regularly on Sundays (P1 – Catholic, P2 – ZCC, P4 – Methodist, and P6 – Universal Kingdom). P5 was still affiliated to the Lutheran church in which he had grown up and learnt leadership skills. He was no longer a regular member, however. He said he used the church as a platform for implementing his charitable initiatives. He seemed disenchanted with organised religion in general. Although P4 participated in formal church prayer sessions, she did not explicitly link her spirituality or church going to her own entrepreneurial success. Participants who were devout church members believed that their faith in God, through Jesus Christ and His redemptive divine intervention, sustained them throughout their entrepreneurial success journeys. They relied on the scriptures, prayer and supplication to God for guidance and sustenance, especially when they were going through financial troubles and other physically or emotionally hazardous periods, for example when P2 was adjusting as a paraplegic after a near-fatal shooting incident and when P3 was in prison for three years. They also believed that God bestowed His divine favour and blessings on them as they planned for and executed their business operations. P1 and P3 did not see any contradiction between their African and Western spiritual/religious beliefs but saw them rather as a continuum. For P1, P2 and P3, the church and its priests or pastors played more of a counselling, or spiritual support role and less of a direct role in daily business operations. For both P1 and P5 the church also provided a platform for doing charity projects.

According to Hoogendoorn *et al.* (2016:522), religious people translate their faith into practical entrepreneurial actions coined as belonging, believing, bonding and behaving. Holland (2015:22-23), Kojana (2020:104), as well as Annuar and Ali (2021:259) similarly found a strong link between religious beliefs and the motivation to launch, operate and achieve business success among Christians and Muslims. Strong faith and trust in God and a close relationship with Him motivated believers to start businesses and helped them to overcome difficult challenges such as economic recessions. Religious faith can also provide entrepreneurs with the moral basis for doing good for others (Rietveld & Hoogendoorn, 2020:1309). Local churches such as the ZCC provided information and skills development on entrepreneurship (Öhlmann *et al.*, 2016:7; Öhlmann & Hüttel, 2018:1). Nonetheless, the potential of churches as a source of social capital for entrepreneurs was largely underutilised (Manyaka-Boshielo, 2017:7; Kojana, 2020:110).

In summary, religion and spirituality (both African and Western) played a positive role in the participants' journeys toward entrepreneurial success. This included accessing divine favour and blessings, spiritual reflection, counselling, exhortation, and connectedness throughout the participants' entrepreneurial success journey. The main actors and institutions in this area of life were God, ancestors, priests and church institutions. Through the church some of the participants were able to give back to the community through charity projects. The findings confirmed the important role played by religion and spirituality in entrepreneurship even though the participants did not capitalise on its potential as a source of social capital for entrepreneurs. This suggests that more research should be done on the topic (Gümüsay, 2015:1-2; Smith *et al.*, 2021:7; Kojana, 2020:110).

6.6.7 The Role of Political History in Entrepreneurial Success

This section reviews how the history and politics of townships impacted on the entrepreneurial success of the participants. It focuses on the participants' interpretation of events, the extent to which they benefited from transformative policies targeted at historically disadvantaged groups, which include township dwellers, their participation in political structures and the challenges they faced in doing business in townships.

6.6.7.1 Political History and Entrepreneurial Success

Participants acknowledged the impact of history and politics on township entrepreneurship and on their personal entrepreneurial success journeys. They were certain that they had benefitted from the political history of townships. They also recognised the role played by iconic African leaders in the abolishment of apartheid, creating opportunities and building legacies for the next generation. These included township entrepreneurs like Dr Richard Maponya and political figures such as the late former president Dr Nelson Mandela and Mme Winnie Mandela. They also regarded them as role models. Based on their narratives and interpretation of events, participants seemed to have benefited from the social cohesion, cooperation, resilience and solidarity that are characteristic of most townships. It is a form of social capital built from sharing the same socio-political struggles and it is evident among other historically marginalised groups. (Beresford, 2020:3; Chiwarawara & Masiya, 2018:60; Elo *et al.*, 2015:7; Jones, 2019:319; Khosa & Kalitanyi, 2016:52; Langa *et al.*, 2016:44).

6.6.7.2 Transformative Policies and Entrepreneurial Success

Participants also highlighted the positive impact of transformative policies instituted by government in partnership with the private and civil sectors to address

historic backlogs created by apartheid in townships. P1, P2, P3, P4 and P6 were direct beneficiaries of enterprise development programmes in the form of finance, government tenders, information, networks, marketing, and equipment. P1, P3 and P4 even commended specific politicians such as mayors and premiers for their support. Women's empowerment and preferential procurement came through strongly as a positive outcome. The only participant who struggled to get government support when he was starting out with his printing and water purification business ventures was P5.

It was anticipated that participants would be direct or indirect beneficiaries of financial and/or non-financial entrepreneurship development programmes targeted at designated groups such as Africans, youth, women, the disabled and township dwellers, since this was part and parcel of the country's economic development strategy, as detailed in Chapter 3 (DPME/DSBD, 2018:2; Flowerday, 2015:1; Landsberg, 2015:3454; White, 2014:8).

6.6.7.3 Challenges of Operating in Townships and Entrepreneurial Success

Participants identified inadequate support from township markets and deficient business and ICT infrastructure as some of the threats to entrepreneurial success in townships. These were compounded by high levels of unemployment, poverty and inequality, coupled with social ills like crime, substance abuse and social exclusion, which were common features of their business environment (see the discussion on other social factors below). The challenges faced by township entrepreneurs are well documented in the literature, as discussed in Chapter 3. Underinvestment in township economies characterised by weak buy-in among customers and limited support for local small businesses, which undermined township entrepreneurship, is a recurring theme in township entrepreneurship discourse (Boris & Ndou, 2019:1; De Kadt *et al.*,

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2019:4). As argued in Chapter 3, the dynamics of a weak culture of entrepreneurship and social capital in townships really manifested the long-lasting effects of apartheid and other discriminatory policies (Hikido, 2017:3; Maisela, 2017:15-16;). The location of participants' businesses on the fringes of townships put them at a disadvantage because they were not strategic sites like tourist attractions or suppliers (Charman *et al.*, 2017:1; Mukwarami & Tengeh, 2017:333).

6.6.7.4 *Participation in Political Structures and Entrepreneurial Success*

All the participants said that they did not belong to any political formations although they still voted during elections. Some, P3, for example, sponsored political parties whenever they could through donations. The main benefit of maintaining connections with political figures was gaining access to information on business opportunities, networks and markets. However, participants preferred to steer clear of politicians. They complained about corruption, *tenderpreneurship* and fronting, claiming that some of the politicians solicited bribes for government tenders. Corruption, *tenderpreneurship* and fronting are unproductive bids for entrepreneurial success; they are in fact destructive and ultimately undermine the culture of entrepreneurship. Typically, politically connected individuals abuse their networks to the disadvantage and ultimate exclusion of smaller businesses or marginalised entrepreneurs (Baumol, 1996:89; Pike *et al.*, 2018:3; Salahuddin *et al.*, 2020:20; Dassah, 2018:15).

6.6.8 The Role of Other Social Factors in Entrepreneurial Success

The other relevant social factors in participants' entrepreneurial success were related to the social climate of the township or environment in which they lived or operated their businesses. These factors are discussed under the headings of crime, violence, social unrest, social exclusion due to colourism, racism, ablism, the impact

of the COVID-19 pandemic, poor social infrastructure and the declining moral and social fibre in townships.

6.6.8.1 *Crime, Violence, Social Unrest and Entrepreneurial Success*

All participants complained about the high levels of crime, violence and social unrest, which impacted township entrepreneurship and their own entrepreneurial success. Every single participant had been a victim of crime perpetrated against either themselves or their business. These included theft of goods, armed robbery, hijacking and a near fatal shooting. P4's and P6's experience of hijacking and armed robbery respectively highlighted the acute vulnerability of women township entrepreneurs. As discussed in Chapter 3, there is evidence that crime, violence and social protest are among the key elements putting township businesses at higher risk (Kubone, 2019:92; Maziri & Madinga, 2016:1; Matumba & Mondliwa, 2015:1; Mukwarami & Tengeh, 2017:331; Rakabe, 2016:2).

It was ironic that P3, who was a perpetrator of crime as a youth, also became a victim of crime when he was reformed as a seasoned entrepreneur. Fortunately, with the intervention of the prison system he was able to change his ways and pour his energies into meaningful economic activities. The interrelationship between personal entrepreneurial traits of innovativeness, risk-taking and a high need for achievement, economic (business opportunities and resources) and socio-cultural factors (access to social capital, and cultural and religious beliefs) ultimately brought about a positive change in his life and his entrepreneurial ventures (Isenberg, 2016; Roundy, 2016:2-3; Pirie, 2020:35; Spigel & Harrison, 2018:2).

6.6.8.2 Colourism, Racism, Internalised Racism, Classism and Entrepreneurial Success

Social exclusion resulting from colourism and racism was mainly experienced by P2. He struggled a lot with his identity, especially when he was still a young, poor, dark skinned African hailing from rural Limpopo Province. This was compounded when he was competing with predominately white Afrikaners in the construction industry. On the other hand, P1, P4 and P5 raised concerns about internalised racism, which manifested in the form of classism, whereby they were being overlooked and undermined by fellow Africans who underrated their products and services, especially since they were township-based. The study premised in Chapter 2 that negative demographic profiling of entrepreneurs along the lines of age, gender, race/ethnicity, class, educational background, age, location and disability can limit their potential to succeed (Bhoganadam, 2018:305; Kuratko *et al.*, 2015:2; Meyer & Landsberg, 2015:3454). Inevitably, side-lined groups such as Black people, minority groups, women, youth and informal settlement dwellers are less likely to succeed due to inequality and discriminatory practices regarding access to resources for business (Goraya (2019:37-38; Maziriri & Madinga, 2016:1; Mkubukeli & Tengeh, 2016:3; Nyakudya, Simba, & Herrington, 2018:1). These factors propelled participants to search elsewhere for support and to diversify their products, services and markets. As discussed before under friends, their situation was ironically mitigated by the co-ethnic support they received from their White customers, who even lobbied for them (Hikido, 2017:2580).

6.6.8.3 Disability, Ableism and Entrepreneurial Success

P2's experience of social exclusion was the most egregious of all participants. Not only was he a victim of institutionalised and social racism, colourism and violent

crime, but he ended up having to confront the reality of life as a paraplegic and with it the marginalisation of disabled persons. He had to learn to adapt to life with limited mobility in an environment that did not adequately accommodate people with a disability. Despite this, his case too illustrates the power of redemptive and second chances. Like P3, a positive mental attitude, the support of his family, religious beliefs, social networks and the opportunities provided by transformative government policies enabled him to stay economically and socially active. Here too, entrepreneurial success was attributable to the interrelationship between individual and economic factors (Isenberg, 2016; Pirie, 2020:35; Roundy, 2016:2-3; Spigel & Harrison, 2018:2).

6.6.8.4 COVID-19 Pandemic and Entrepreneurial Success

At the time of the fieldwork between August 2020 and January 2022, South Africa was fluctuating between Lockdown Levels 3 and 1, which imposed restrictions on trade. All the participants were partially or entirely affected by the COVID-19 pandemic and its associated restrictions of maintaining social distance. Those in the retail and hospitality spaces (i.e. P1, P2, P3 and P6) could still continue and were only affected in relation to liquor sales. P1 and P5 admitted that the COVID-19 pandemic taught them to think differently, adapt and diversify their products and services.

Of all the participants, P1 had to retrench many of his staff members due to the impact of COVID-19. This brought down the total number of his employees from 135 to 90. P2 had to shelve his plans to complete and launch his guesthouse. Liquor sales restrictions limited P1, P3 and P6, while P5 and P4 were not able to ferry passengers at full capacity. Studies on the impact of the COVID-19 on economic activities demonstrated how natural disasters such as the COVID-19 pandemic can have potentially devastating effects on entrepreneurship in typically fragile township economies. Compliance with protocols such as social distancing at two metres, wearing masks and the restriction of alcohol sales and social gatherings were

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particularly challenging for transportation, entertainment and tourism businesses since they rely on high customer volumes (Ajam, 2020:1; Omonona *et al.*, 2021:370; Torrington, 2020:4; UNDP, 2020:1.).

P1 and P5 were nevertheless able to identify niches in customised services, which opened up other opportunities for their ventures. P1 ramped up his on-line-based delivery services and P5 secured previously unattainable staff transportation contracts from the filming industry. There is evidence that the pandemic presented entrepreneurs in all sectors with an opportunity to innovate and reposition themselves in the market (Mkansi, 2021:19; UNDP, 2020:14).

6.6.8.5 Poor Social Infrastructure, Declining Moral and Social Fibre and Entrepreneurial Success

In addition to crime, lawlessness and the other social problems identified, participants were concerned about inadequate social amenities, substance abuse and the degrading moral and social fibre in townships. These problems were compounded by poverty, high youth unemployment and the proliferation of informal settlements, among other factors. The fact that three out of six participants were no longer living in townships and that all six were sending their children to the suburbs for a better education was a clear indication of their lost confidence in political and civic institutions and leadership. This disenchantment with the declining quality of township life, which was impacting negatively on the culture of entrepreneurship, is an indication of the non-conducive environment in which township entrepreneurs operate (Boris & Ndou, 2019:1; Kubone, 2019:92; Mpangane, 2020:110; Denoon-Stevens and Ramaila, 2018:432).

In summary, this section detailed the important role played by socio-cultural factors based on participants' narratives and literature reviews. These factors were

likened to social networks in the social network theory explored in Chapter 2. They included families, friends and other reference groups, social media, culture, religion, political history and other social factors. It has shown that most of the social-cultural factors have had a positive effect on the entrepreneurial success of participants. The benefits derived from these socio-cultural factors were either directly or indirectly related to business operations and consisted of both material and non-material support. They included information, knowledge, skills, business networks, business opportunities, markets, values, legacy, divine favour and protection, as well as moral and emotional support.

However, other social factors such as crime and the decline in moral and social fibre that impacted negatively on the participants' entrepreneurial success.

6.7 The Role of Other Factors in Entrepreneurial Success

The main focus of the study was on the role of social and cultural factors in entrepreneurial success, but it is important to refer briefly to other factors participants identified as key to their entrepreneurial success. In line with the framework outlined in Chapter two, they are discussed under the categories of individual, demographic, managerial/institutional and economic factors.

6.7.1 Individual Factors

When asked to list the top three additional factors that were key to their success, participants typically cited psychological and behavioural traits associated with entrepreneurs. High on their lists were commitment, discipline, hard work, patience, perseverance, passion for what one was doing, eagerness to learn, implementing one's plans, not taking small things for granted and honesty with customers. Participants' responses were consistent with literature review findings on the psychological and behavioural traits that predisposed people to entrepreneurial

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success. They included goal achievement, client satisfaction-orientation, grit, risk-propensity, resilience, locus of control, tolerance of ambiguity and self-efficacy, all of which are psychological or personality traits associated with entrepreneurial behaviour or disposition (Baluku *et al.*, 2016:15; Lawal *et al.*, 2016:342; Mooradian *et al.*, 2016:232; Pirie, 2020:35; Przepiorka, 2016:41; Shakeel, 2020:1-2).

6.7.2   Demographic Factors

The research comprised case studies of six participants (four males and two females) one of whom was disabled. They were all of African descent but belonged to different ethnic tribes. Their ages ranged between 40 and 61 years. The participants did not list age as an important factor in their entrepreneurial success. As discussed earlier physical, cultural background and/or gender did play a role in the participants' entrepreneurial success. P1, who held an IT degree, was the only participant who identified education as an important factor in his entrepreneurial success. Not even P5 and P6, who had extensively studied, and practiced business management attributed entrepreneurial success to one's level of education. In fact, P5 admired the likes of his enterprising friend LR with "rags to riches" stories of growing from a petrol attendant to a millionaire.

P3 and P4 had not finished Matric but like the other participants, they had all received various kinds of relevant business knowledge and skills through informal and formal training via their families and business support institutions. They held scheduled sessions online and on-site since his mentor is a long way away. Ultimately, all the participants emphasised providing good quality products and services to their customers as an important factor in their entrepreneurial success.

Gender, race/ethnicity, class, educational background, working experience, age, location and disability were highlighted as the key democratic factors influencing

entrepreneurial success. It was argued that marginalised groups such as Black people, minority groups, women, youth and rural dwellers were less likely to succeed due to inequality and discriminatory access to resources (Irene, 2017:23; Jones, 2017:320; Olivas & Frankwick, 2016:11 Azoulay *et al.*, 2020:65; Goraya (2019:37-38; Maziriri and Madinga, 2016:1; Mkubukeli & Tengeh, (2016:3; Bhoganadam *et al.*, 2018:305; Yazici *et al.*, 2016:1014). This study found that participants were able to succeed despite the challenges associated with their demographic profiles (for example as Africans, township dwellers, ex-convicts or the disabled). This was largely attributed to the combination of the personal attributes and supportive socio-cultural environment they had cultivated for their businesses to succeed (Dendup *et al.*, 2017:2; Langroodi, 2017:1; Muñoz & Kimmitt, 2018:7; Razmus & Laguna, 2018:2; Shakeel *et al.*, 2020:1-2; Swartz *et al.*, 2019:2; Valliere, 2019:2).

6.7.3   Managerial/Institutional Factors

As discussed earlier under their understanding of entrepreneurial success, participants highlighted how they identified niche markets, designed and marketed their products and services, recruited or retrenched staff to adjust to changing circumstances and used their family, social, cultural, religious and political networks to heighten their business acumen and improve their firms' performance. Most of these strategic insights were revealed as participants traced their entrepreneurial success journeys in their narratives. It is interesting to note that P1 was also the only participant who highlighted having a formal mentor as key to his entrepreneurial success. His mentor was a Chinese national and former employee who owned a business in the IT sector.

Managerial and institutional factors constitute the way in which entrepreneurs plan for and operationalise their business decisions using the resources accumulated

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to create and sell their products and services. This involves activities such as planning, budgeting, staffing, networking, and creating and employing relevant systems and technologies (Agholor *et al.*, 2015:41-42; Aparicio *et al.*, 2016:3; Snider, 2015:38-43; Tur-Porcar *et al.*, 2018:9).

6.7.4 Economic Factors

The research participants confirmed that economic factors indeed played an important role in their entrepreneurial success. In some instances they presented them with business opportunities. For example, most participants directly and indirectly benefitted from transformative economic policies such as BBBEE policies by virtue of being Africans, township operators, women or all three. While others were severely disadvantaged by the COVID-19 pandemic restrictions, P1 and P5 were able to access more niche markets during this period. Unfortunately, in many instances economic factors created big challenges for the participants. The main finding from the interviews was that the government and business sectors were not investing sufficiently in township infrastructure, facilities and technology to sustain high levels of entrepreneurial success. Even though there had been many positive developments since the dawn of democracy in 1994, these gains were being eroded by poverty, unemployment and inequality. Participants were also concerned about the decline in the social and moral fabric of townships and the deteriorating quality of life they provided.

Economic factors encompass the economic climate, markets, economic policy and regulatory environment, and the availability and accessibility of support (e.g. infrastructure, business facilities, finance and technical skills development). They also include practical challenges such as disrupted power supply and inadequate business premises that hamper daily operations (Akinyemi & Adejumo, 2017:625; Dendup *et*

al., 2017:3; Castaño *et al.*, 2015:1); Bosma, 2020:25). These factors were covered at length against the backdrop of township of entrepreneurship in Chapter 3. It was found that the long-lasting and damaging legacy of apartheid has resulted in a low level of entrepreneurial activity in townships. This is reflected by amongst others, the lack of diversity, survivalism and informality, underwhelming job creation and firm growth levels (Boris & Ndou, 2019:1; De Kadt, 2019:29; Fourie, 2018; Herrington and Coduras, 2019:10; Maisela, 2017:109; Makhitha, 2016; 258-260; Mamabolo *et al.*, 2017:1; Mukwarami & Tengeh, 2017:332; Swartz, *et al*, 2019:3; Torrington, 2020:2).

6.8 Lessons for Others

The lessons participants wanted to share with others about entrepreneurial success were similar to the additional factors they attributed to their success, including having a vision, ambition, passion, commitment, discipline, hard work, patience, perseverance, eagerness to learn, implementing one's plans, not taking small things for granted and honesty with customers.

The literature review established that mental attitudes of passion, vision and ambition are attributes entrepreneurs supposedly possess as part of their psychological makeup (Bula, 2011:2-5; Oyeku *et al.*, 2014:18-20). Additionally, entrepreneurship is about effectively and efficiently operationalising one's business ideas and plans (Agholor *et al.*, 2015:41-42; Aparicio *et al.*, 2016:3; Snider, 2015:38-43; Tur-Porcar *et al.*, 2018:9).

6.9 Chapter Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to provide a cross-case analysis of the findings from the study in the light of the extant literature reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3. It began by comparing the participants' understanding of concepts such as entrepreneur, entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial success. Thereafter, it dealt with how different

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participants interpreted the role of each of the socio-cultural factors in their entrepreneurial success in terms of both benefits and disadvantages. Since entrepreneurial success is a result of multiple personal and environmental factors, these were also briefly discussed in this chapter.

The analysis uncovered that although only two of the six participants in the study could readily define the concepts of an entrepreneur or entrepreneurship, all six narratives demonstrated that they embodied the attributes of entrepreneurs as in the operational definition of the study. They related how they innovated products and services, identified and catered for niche markets, expanded their operations, took risks and made a profit in the process. Their understanding of entrepreneurial success was that it was basically about achieving what they set out to do. However, to them entrepreneurial success was also making contributing to the development of their families and communities and not just achieving their personal goals. This was not only found to be consonant with the extant literature, but it was also part and parcel of their ubuntu kinship value system. Hence their indicators of success included material benefits such as houses, cars and vacations but also being able to provide for their families, educate their relatives and assist poorer communities through charity projects.

The participants acknowledged that socio-cultural factors played an important role in their entrepreneurial, albeit in different ways and to varying degrees throughout their journeys. To gain a deeper understanding of how each factor impacted directly on the entrepreneurial success of participants, it was necessary to disaggregate each factor into different types (i.e. family, friends, other reference groups social media, culture, religion, political history) and to equate them to social networks. A wide range of benefits were unearthed as a result, ranging from information, knowledge, skills

(including IKS), finance, markets, business opportunities, networks, advice and mentorship to moral and emotional support. Most of the findings on family, friends and to some extent culture confirmed the local and international literature review findings in Chapters 2 and 3 that these factors were important for entrepreneurial success.

The most noteworthy findings of the study were related to the way some of the participants, for example P1, P3 and P5, considered their entrepreneurial success to be intrinsically linked to their African cultural identity, traditions and values and to customs such as totemism and ancestral reverence. These findings were interesting since no such links are mentioned in the literature. Another significant finding was that some participants did not see any contradiction between their African and Western beliefs and viewed both as essential for their entrepreneurial success. Even P2 and P6, who did not necessarily subscribe to African traditional religion, did credit their religious faith for their entrepreneurial success. They highlighted the importance of the divine blessings, favours, providence and protection that they derived from their relationship with God throughout their entrepreneurial success journeys.

Socio-cultural factors also impacted negatively on entrepreneurial success, notably social factors such as the legacy of apartheid's racial segregation policies, the decline in social cohesion and moral fibre of township communities as well as crime and corruption. It was also important to refer to other individual, demographic, managerial and economic factors that play a role in entrepreneurial success. In particular, it was acknowledged that the economic climate in which participants operated their businesses was often constrained due to high levels of unemployment, poverty and inequality. Limited investment in business infrastructure and business support were also serious impediments to entrepreneurial success. This was also raised under the challenges faced by participants in operating businesses in such

environments. These negative factors had caused some of the participants to migrate to suburbs in order to secure a better and safer life for their families.

While socio-cultural factors are important, it was also found that individual attributes, and mental and behavioural dispositions such as goal-orientation, perseverance, hard work, commitment and passion were also critical to achieving entrepreneurial success. More research needs to be conducted on the topic of the impact of socio-cultural factors on entrepreneurial success, however, especially on the under-researched aspects of cultural and religious beliefs and practices.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

Entrepreneurship has been a strategic focus of economic policy as it is regarded as an important vehicle for the economic growth of South African township economies and for addressing their various socio-economic challenges. Sadly, however, many township entrepreneurs face an uphill battle because their enterprises often fail to achieve the basic aims of job creation and innovation that are usually tied to entrepreneurship, let alone the noble goals of contributing towards the reduction of poverty and inequality. Even with the many odds they face, there are township entrepreneurs who succeed. I was motivated to understand which factors contributed to the success of these operators. I identified a gap in research on the role played by socio-cultural factors in the entrepreneurial success of township operators. Through this study I sought to understand how township entrepreneurs made sense of socio-cultural factors in aiding or impeding their entrepreneurial success within township settings.

Section 7.2 of this final chapter of the study provides an overview of the thesis in terms of the key highlights of each chapter. This is followed in section 7.3 by a discussion on how the key research question and sub questions were addressed in the study. Section 7.4 deals with the theoretical, methodologic and managerial contributions the study has made to the field of entrepreneurship. The limitations of the study are addressed in Section 7.5, along with some of my reflections on the research process. Section 7.6 submits key recommendations based on the findings of the study and the chapter culminates in conclusions in section 7.7.

7.2   Overview of the Thesis

Chapter 1 provides an introduction and background to the study and the rationale for focusing on townships. Townships have historically been inhabited by the majority of the South African population and by the majority of the country's previously disadvantaged individuals. Township dwellers also bear the brunt of most of South Africa's socio-economic challenges (Bvuma & Marnewick, 2020:5; De Kadt *et al.*, 2019:4; Statistics South Africa, 2016b:50-57). Gauteng was chosen as a research site because it hosts the majority of South Africa's townships and is a macrocosm of most trends in township entrepreneurship (BusinessTech, 2016; Statistics South Africa, 2016b:20).

Chapter 1 introduces the research problem and purpose statement, key research question and sub questions, as well as an overview of the research methodology. It also covers the contributions of the study and its limitations.

Chapter 2 provides a conceptual and theoretical framework for the study. It begins by defining the key concepts such as entrepreneur, entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial success. The literature review establishes that entrepreneurship is a contested field of ideas and approaches (Filion, 2021:72; Ncwadi, 2018:4). Consensus on the exact definition of concepts such as entrepreneur, entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial success may never be reached (Bögenhold *et al.*, 2019:147; Fiet, 2022:2; Packard, 2017:536). This is mainly because entrepreneurship is a multi-disciplinary field that is influenced by specialties such as economics, psychology, sociology, management and anthropology (Bögenhold *et al.*, 2014:120; Prince *et al.*, 2021:27). Nevertheless, there are certain parameters that can be used to delineate each research project (Fiet, 2022:2-3). To mitigate this problem, I came up with operational definitions for the study based on the characterisations of other scholars.

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An entrepreneur is defined in Chapter 2 as an agent of change who identifies and maximises resources and opportunities to innovate products and services for specific markets, usually taking risks in doing so. Entrepreneurs usually own businesses either as sole proprietors or partners. They often use profit-making as an indicator of success, although they may not necessarily be motivated by it (e.g. Bosma, *et al.*, 2000:12; Domov, 2016:2; Filion, 2008:10; Kolade *et al.*, 2021:54; Oyeku, *et al.*, 2014:14; Rokhman & Ahaamed, 2015:31; Shane, 2003:4; Wright & Steven 2015:1). The key characteristics of an entrepreneur are illustrated graphically in Figure 2.1.

Entrepreneurship is defined as the process of identifying and taking advantage of opportunities in the market to achieve specific economic objectives, which involves taking risks and investing one's resources (Packard, 2017:536; Venkataraman,1997:120). As an academic field, entrepreneurship is about understanding how these processes unfold in the real world and the different roles and tasks undertaken by entrepreneurs to realise them (Ruiz-Palomino & Martinez-Cañas, 2021:4).

From the literature review of 24 local and international studies,[11] I gathered that entrepreneurial success can be broadly defined as the achievement of goals set for the business venture by the entrepreneur who pursues them. From this review, I understood entrepreneurial success to be a multi-dimensional outcome, which is a result of multiple micro/individual and macro/environmental factors (i.e. personal, managerial, economic and social). I developed a model to expand on its

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[11] Fisher *et al.* (2014:484); Oyeku, (2014:15); Razmus & Laguna, (2018:3); Staniewskia & Awruk (2019:434); Wach *et al.* (2016:1099).

components,[12] including the fact that entrepreneurial success is a journey and a process that occurs over time and involves failure.

Entrepreneurial success can be measured both qualitatively and quantitatively as well as subjectively. Since the focus of the study was on socio-cultural factors and the subjective meanings participants attached to their entrepreneurial success, I highlighted seven of these factors (i.e. family, friends, other reference groups, social media culture, religion, and other social factors). Finally, the model helped me to extrapolate four indicators of entrepreneurial success. These were firm performance, internal and external stakeholder relations, personal fulfilment and community impact.

Since entrepreneurship is a contested field of theoretical approaches, I explored three broad models, frameworks and classifications. The first was the Framework of frameworks approach by Kuratko *et al.* (2015), as depicted in Figure 2.2. The second one was from Audretsch *et al.* (2015), who classified approaches as organisational, behavioural, performance and eclectic. The third type of clustering of entrepreneurship theories was furnished by Bula (2011), which were also included in Fiet's (2022) review. As shown in Table 2.1, the theories were grouped in five categories, namely economic, psychological, sociological, anthropological and resource-based.

I ultimately adopted the Social Network Theory as the main framework for understanding the role of socio-cultural factors in entrepreneurial success in township settings. It was classified as one of the resource-based theories, although it also has elements of anthropological and sociological theories. This theory, which is also known as the Social Capital Theory, posits that entrepreneurs are embedded in a larger social network structure that constitutes a significant proportion of their opportunity structure (Chen *et al.*, 2018:4-5; Obstfeld *et al.*, 2020:2). I provided local and international

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[12] Refer to Figure 2.3.

examples of how different family, social, cultural, religious and community networks benefit entrepreneurs in relation to business resources such as information, knowledge, skills, finance, markets, mentorship and equipment. Social networks also provide much needed moral, emotional and practical support, which may be in the form of childcare, accommodation and role modelling. Besides South Africa, the countries reviewed included America, China, Cuba, India and Kenya (Hingtgen *et al*.; 2015:186; Patankar *et al*., 2018:41; Rodgers *et al*., 2019:7-13). Further discussion on the application of the theory in the study ensues in section 7.3 below.

Chapter 3 begins with a review of the context of township entrepreneurship research. I conducted an audit of 40 studies of township entrepreneurship in order to conceptualise terms and to highlight key themes, focus areas and research methodologies. In a nutshell, the South African understanding of entrepreneurship concepts was similar to international understandings, with the exception that in South Africa enterprises are categorised by size, (i.e micro, small, medium or large) depending on their annual income. The main focus here is on the informal sector and the challenges facing SMMEs, which is a reflection of the status quo of township entrepreneurship. It is through this exercise that I identified a shortage of other studies on the influence of socio-cultural factors in entrepreneurial success.

In Chapter 3 I elaborate on the context of township entrepreneurship and its impact on entrepreneurial success. I give an historical account of how township entrepreneurship has evolved since the colonial and apartheid periods. I also showcase how township entrepreneurs are being supported through various policies and programmes, focusing mainly on the Gauteng province. These measures include legislation such as BBBEEE and business resources such as finance, skills development, markets and mentorship offered by various development institutions

(DPME/DSBD, 2018:2 Flowerday, 2015:1; White, 2014:8; Gauteng Provincial Legislature, 2022).

I pay much attention to the conditions under which townships operate and note that the business environment is not conducive and the culture of entrepreneurship is severely underdeveloped. Due to poor business and ICT infrastructure, townships have become less and less attractive for investment in productive businesses such as manufacturing. This will further perpetuate the skewed economy of townships towards the retail sector and ultimately slow down township entrepreneurial success even further (De Kadt, 2019:29; GDED, 2014:12; Hare & Walwyn, 2019:1; Koens, 2015:8; Matumba & Mondliwa, 2015:26). Similarly, the onslaught of the COVID-19 exposed the vulnerability of township economies in the light of a poor entrepreneurship culture (Ajam, 2020:1; Omonona *et al.*, 2021:370; Torrington, 2020:4; UNDP, 2020:14). I conclude that the discriminatory political, social, political and economic policies of previous dispensations effectively destroyed the culture and that their legacy still lives on.

Lastly, Chapter 3 identifies various types of social capital and socio-cultural factors that impact on township entrepreneurial success. This revealed that there is very limited research on this subject. I had to rely on African literature to gain more insights into familial, cultural, religious and other elements that could have a bearing on entrepreneurial success (e.g. by Futhwa, 2011, Guma, 2001, Makgopa, 2019, Dlamini & Ocholla, 2018, Makhubedu, 2009, Monyai, 2018, Toure, 2018, and Zungu & Maphini 2020). This challenge proved advantageous since it helped me to generate more insights on the relevance of these factors to entrepreneurial success, particularly ubuntu kinship values, culture and religion. These scholars address issues such as ancestral worship, the social and economic role of African brides and identity formation

from an African world view, many of which have not necessarily been linked to entrepreneurial success before.

In Chapter 4, I detail the research methodology. I approached the study from an interpretivist ontological and epistemological paradigm, value-laden axiology using a qualitative methodology. (Aldawod & Day, 2017:7-9; Alharahsheh & Pius, 2020:42; Bell *et al.*, 2019:27-38; Chilisa & Kawulich, 2012:9; Crafford, 2015:56-59). The key features of the research design are its cross-sectional, multiple case study approach and narrative inquiry (Bell *et al.*, 2019:22-23; 59; Heale & Twycross, Hickson, 2016:282; Rantakari & Vaara, 2017:5-62018:7; Yin, 2003:14-15.) I employed triangulation data collection techniques (i.e. literature and document reviews, narrative interviews and observations). Individual entrepreneurs were considered to be units of both observation and analysis (Bell *et al.*, 2019:71; Sedgwick 2014:1; Yin 2003:26).

Participants were selected through a non-random, purposive sampling procedure, based on inclusion and exclusion qualification criteria I had identified for the study (Bell *et al.*, 2019:389; Rajasinghe *et al.*, 2021:13). I used snowballing techniques, gatekeepers and my own networks to identify potential participants (Bell *et al.*, 2019:390). A semi-structured interview schedule, which consisted of open-ended questions, was used for the narrative interviews[13]:

For data analysis, I used the basic forms of thematic narrative analysis and social network analysis methods, which involved coding data into broad themes and providing detailed descriptions of findings from the field (McKether & Freise, 2019:2; Reissman, 2005:2). The presentation of findings includes direct quotations from the narrative interviews as well as photographs to illustrate the type of business activities the participants were engaged in.

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[13] See the Interview Schedule in Appendix 3 and the Introductory Letter in Appendix 4.

A total of six township entrepreneurs were interviewed, hailing[14] from Katlehong, Mohlakeng, Mapetla and Meadowlands townships in Gauteng province. The sample comprised two females and four males between the ages of 40 and 61 years old. They operated businesses in tourism, entertainment, transportation, fashion and residential rental property industries, among other enterprises. Their types and levels of education differed, with the lowest being Grade 8 and the highest a degree in information and communication technology (ICT). All participants had also completed short business management courses. They reported estimated annual incomes ranging between R800 000[15] and R15 million. The number of employees in their businesses ranged between five and 90 people. The detailed profiles of the participants are provided in Table 4.1 in Chapter 4.

Chapter 5 provides the findings from the field. It highlights the participants' profiles, definitions of the key concepts of entrepreneur, entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial success, their journeys towards entrepreneurial success, which were elicited through narrative interviews, as well as the role played by socio-cultural factors in their entrepreneurial success. At the end of each individual case analysis, the benefits and drawbacks derived by the participants per socio-cultural factor or network are displayed in a diagram to illustrate the main ones that influenced them.

Chapter 6 consists of a cross-analysis of the six cases in the study against the same seven themes as in Chapter 5. The aim of the chapter is to contrast the six individual cases in the light of the literature reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3. The highpoints of the latter two chapters are discussed at length below. Also covered

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[14] Summaries of the research methodology and process are demonstrated in Figures 4.1 and 4.3.
[15] Reported by P4 for the sewing business alone, excluding the rental and minibus taxi operation income.

briefly in Chapter 6 are the other three entrepreneurial factors (i.e. demographic, managerial, and economic), which were not the focus of the study.

7.3　Research Question and Sub Questions Revisited

Using the narrative inquiry and case study approaches, this study sought to explore the role played by socio-cultural factors in the entrepreneurial success of selected township entrepreneurs. It aspired to answer this main research question: How do entrepreneurs in Gauteng townships interpret the role that socio-cultural factors played in their success? The sub questions focused on participants' definitions of concepts such as entrepreneur, entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial success, including definitions in their own African languages; highlights in their journeys towards entrepreneurial success, based on their life trajectories; how socio-cultural factors facilitated or impeded their entrepreneurial success, and lessons they could share with others on entrepreneurial success.

Based on the literature reviewed, the study was underpinned by four assumptions, namely that entrepreneurial success is a result of a combination of macro and micro/internal and external/personal and environmental factors; that the value or contribution of each factor varies over time through different business life stages; that socio-cultural factors such as family relations and friendships play an important role throughout an entrepreneur's journey to success; and that there are not enough studies on the role of socio-cultural factors in entrepreneurial success in township settings.

The rest of this section addresses how the research question and sub questions were answered, continuing from the discussion on how social network theory was applied in the study.

7.1.1 How do Entrepreneurs in Gauteng Townships Interpret the Role Socio-Cultural Factors Have Played in Their Success?

In order to answer this key research question, I began by conceptualising socio-cultural factors in the context of South African township entrepreneurship. This involved developing a framework for operationalising social network theory, which I selected for exploring this research topic. I identified seven specific socio-cultural factors, namely, family, friends, other reference groups, social media, culture, religion, political history and other social factors (e.g. racism, classism and ablism). I then equated these socio-cultural factors to social networks as framed in social network theory.

In terms of the framework depicted in Figure 2.4 in Chapter 2, each factor was broken down into further categories to examine their networks and their potential benefits or disadvantages. The first part of the framework comprises a breakdown of the different types of socio-cultural factors, shown in Table 7.1. below.

Table 7.1: Examples of Socio-cultural factors

Socio-cultural factors	Examples
Family	Immediate – spouse/partner and own children Biological –- parents and siblings Extended – grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins, nephews and nieces – both maternal and paternal **Ancestors – discussed under culture & religion** Family and business values and traditions
Friends and other reference groups	Notable friends, acquaintances and associates Membership of associations, societies, stokvels etc.
Culture (Broad African and township)	**Values, norms, customs, traditions, beliefs and practices** **Language, totems** **Social skills** **Membership of cultural groups and institutions**
Religion	**Spiritual beliefs, values and practices** **Membership of religious groups and institutions**
Political history	Influence/impact of township history, politics & culture Political affiliations and membership of political parties
Other social factors	Social inclusion or exclusion on the basis of race, gender, age, physical ability, location, or other Social relations, social cohesion Crime, violence Corruption, tenderpreneurship

Socio-cultural factors	Examples
	COVID-19 and other social environmental factors

Selected sources ordered by factor: Family and friends: (Hack-Polay *et al.*, 2020:241; Farrukh *et al.*, 2017:303; Powell & Eddleson, 2017:614; Charman, 2017:11). **Culture:** (Hardnack and Giménez-Nadal, *et al*, 2022:7;; Hofstede & Milosevic, 2011:5; Dlamini & Ocholla, 2018; Futhwa, 2011:16; Koens & Thomas, 2015:10; Lebaka, 2019:8; Makgopa, 2019; Magubane, 2016:58-59; Monyai, 2018;2 Mpofu-Mketwa, 2020:72; Öhlmann & Hüttel, 2018:1; Maisela, 2017:48 Mekoa, 2019:99; Idang, 2015:104; Masondo, 2015:3-5; Ndemanu, 2018:71). **Religion:** (Horsthemke, 2017:125; Holland, 2015:22-23; Kojana, 2020:104; Annuar and Ali (2021:259) Rietveld & Hoogendoorn, 2020:1309 Smith *et al.*, 2021:7). **Political history**: (Beresford, 2020:3; Boris & Ndou, 2019:1; Chiwarawara & Masiya, 2018:60; Elo *et al.*, 2015:7; Jones, 2019:319; Khosa & Kalitanyi, 2016:52; Langa *et al.*, 2016:44). **Other social factors:** Baumol, 1996:89; Pike *et al.*, 2018:3; Salahuddin *et al.*, 2020:20; Dassah, 2018:15; Isenberg, 2016; Roundy, 2016:2-3; Pirie, 2020:35; Spigel & Harrison, 2018:2; Bhoganadam, 2018:305; Kuratko *et al.*, 2015:2; Meyer & Landsberg, 2015:3454).

Table 7.1 shows that the potential social networks that are accessible to entrepreneurs are quite extensive when they are disaggregated into smaller units. Many of the examples highlighted in **green** were mainly uncovered via the review of "non-entrepreneurship" literature[16] and during the narrative interviews. This finding underscores the need for more research in respect of these aspects, especially on the role of (African) family values, culture and religion in entrepreneurial success and entrepreneurship in general.

The second part of the framework disaggregates the potential contribution of each socio-cultural factor to entrepreneurs' access of direct/indirect and material/intangible resources. Examples of these benefits and disadvantages are provided in Table 7.2 below.

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[16] See for example Dlamini & Ocholla, 2018; Guma, 2001; Futhwa, 2011; Lebaka, 2019; Makgopa, 2019; Monyai, 2018; Toure, 2018; Zungu & Maphini, 2020, Phaswana, 2021, Magubane, 2016; and Mpofu-Mketwa, 2020.

Table 7.2: Types of Potential Benefits/Disadvantages of Socio-cultural Factors

Potential benefits for entrepreneurial success	
Material support	**Non-material (intangible) support**
- Finance (e.g. capital, security, loan, subsidy) - Equipment - Business facilities, premises, or infrastructure - Marketing/markets - Business opportunities/contracts - Business partnerships/co-ownership - Information - Knowledge - Business & technical skills - Networks - Practical help (e.g. logistical) **Platforms for giving back to the community/ uplifting others**	- Emotional/moral support - Motivation/inspiration - Advice & Counselling/peer counseling - Life, interpersonal and social skills - Mentorship/peer mentorship **Prayers/Spiritual connectedness** **Divine favour/blessing** **Divine protection** **Self-identity** **Self-worth** - Self-reflection - Legitimacy - Leverage - Downtime/relaxation/leisure
Factors potentially disadvantageous to entrepreneurial success	
Include but not limited to crime, social exclusion, racism, ablism, classism, declining moral and social fibre and a lack of social cohesion, COVID-19-pandemic	

Selected sources**:** Hingtgen *et al.*; 2015:186; Patankar *et al.*, 2018:41; Rodgers *et al.*, 2019:7-13). Chen, 2018:937; Ioanid *et al.*, 2018:936; Klyver *et al.*, 2008:332; Perry-Smith & Mannucci, 2015:9; Zaato, *et al.*, 2022:553; Nganase & Basson, 2019:229; Zungu & Maphini 2020:66; and Sennott, Madhavan & Nam, 2020:2

Table 7.2 highlights resources such as finance, markets, equipment, infrastructure and business opportunities and indirect or intangible benefits such as moral, emotional or practical support (e.g. child minding). I also investigated the negative facets of socio-cultural factors, including the degeneration of the moral and social fibre of township areas, violence, crime and corruption.

Again, many of the benefits highlighted in green were mainly uncovered through the review of non-entrepreneurship African literature (e.g. by Dlamini & Ocholla, 2018; Guma, 2001:267; Futhwa, 2011:16; Lebaka, 2019:8; Makgopa, 2019; Monyai, 2018 Toure, 2018; Zungu & Maphini, 2020:67) and the narrative interviews. This suggests that more can be gleaned by disaggregating the types of social capital entrepreneurs can leverage per social factor or network.

7.1.2 How did Participants Define Concepts Such as Entrepreneur, Entrepreneurship and Entrepreneurial Success, Including in Their Own African Languages?

It was interesting that only two participants could really define these concepts. None of them could find matching concepts in their own languages. Nevertheless, their entrepreneurial life stories confirmed that they were actively engaged in the performance of entrepreneurial tasks such as starting business ventures, taking risks, investing resources in their businesses and innovating products and services for niche markets for a profit. They also embodied the traits of entrepreneurs identified in the study, such as innovation and risk-taking (Block *et al.* 2017:63; Fisher, *et al.*, 2014:478; Østergaard, 2019:22).

The fact that participants could not think of corresponding concepts or terms for entrepreneurship in their own African languages was evidence that the way it was currently understood and practised was more of a 20th century development. They had adapted to aspects of Western culture and merged them with their own culture. Indeed, the literature review established that the term entrepreneur only began to be accepted as a term in the 1800s (Brown and Thornton, 2013:402; McFarlane, 2016:17). Notwithstanding this, some scholars have argued that entrepreneurial ventures in non-Western countries predate the Biblical era (Patankar *et al.*, 2018:42).

The key takeaways from the two participants who defined an entrepreneur and entrepreneurship include making one's ideas a reality by actioning them, taking advantage of available opportunities, growing one's business, as well as building others along the way. These definitions align with the literature reviewed in the study as also discussed in section 7.2. above (Packard, 2017:536; Ruiz-Palomino & Martinez-Cañas, 2021:4 Venkataraman,1997:120) Their definition of an entrepreneur fits in with the operational definition developed for the study as shown in Figure 2.1.

These findings suggest that there is room for the development of African words and phrases to encapsulate the meaning of these terms in the South African context. This is especially so because the participants' understanding of entrepreneur is framed from a communalistic perspective, which emphasises communal wealth accumulation and sharing of the fruits of success because of their affinity with the ubuntu kinship value system. Such subjective context-specific meanings are understudied (Angel *et al.*, 2018:1-2; Ismail *et al.*, 2016:122). Kasu (2017:26) has even coined terms like *ubuntupreneurship*.

Given that entrepreneurial success is an economic activity, it is usually measured objectively with quantitative economic measures (Razmus & Laguna, 2018:2; Oyeku *et al.*, 2014:15-16). However, this study confirmed that subjective, qualitative and non-financial interpretations and measures of entrepreneurial success are equally significant. Participants identified entrepreneurial success indicators that were similar to the ones in the model (i.e. firm performance, internal and external work relations, personal fulfilment and community impact), albeit to varying degrees. They also confirmed that entrepreneurial success was more than just achieving business or personal goals, but also about impacting positively on their immediate communities (e.g. through skills development, charitable contributions and peer-mentorship).

Entrepreneurial success further enabled participants to contribute to social cohesion through the breaking down of traditional and socially constructed barriers typically associated with entrepreneurship in South Africa. These include racism, ablism and the exclusion of ex-offenders. They also used both quantitative and qualitative measures (e.g. profit, job creation and material possessions), as well qualitative and subjective measures or indicators (personal fulfilment, customer satisfaction, achieving one's goals). This validated the literature review findings (Fisher *et al.*, 2014:484; Oyeku, 2014:15; Razmus & Laguna, 2018:3; Staniewskia & Awruk, 2019:434).

7.1.3 What Were the Highlights of the Participants' Journeys Towards Entrepreneurial Success, Based on Their Life Trajectories?

The findings confirmed that the journey towards entrepreneurial success was a personal one for each participant as suggested in the model in Figure 2.3 in Chapter 2. Their trajectories reflected that each journey was a process that took time and encompassed the elements of risk taking, failure and attaining different milestones at different phases of enterprise venture development (Bruyat & Julien, 2001:168; Kuratko, *et al.*, 2015:5; Rwigema *et al.*, 2008:8; Przepiorka, 2015:41). These points confirmed that entrepreneurial success was a consequence of different types of personal and environmental factors. These include the entrepreneurs' attributes and managerial styles as well as the social, cultural and economic contexts they operate in (Fisher *et al.*, 2014: 478-492; Angel *et al.*, 2018:3; Razmus & Laguna, 2018:2; Wach *et al.*, 2016:1098-1121; Zhou *et al.* 2019:158). Through the trajectories I was thus able to get detailed accounts of how socio-cultural factors influenced the participants' career paths as they transitioned to adulthood, as discussed further below.

7.1.4 Which Socio-Cultural Factors, if any, Facilitated or Impeded Their Entrepreneurial Success and how so?

The study verified that socio-cultural factors do play an important role in entrepreneurial success, be it positively or negatively, at the levels of both the literature review and field research. Since I had identified many types of socio-cultural factors that impacted on township entrepreneurial success, it was necessary to group them into the seven categories of family, friends, other reference groups, social media, culture, religion, political history and other social factors (Giménez-Nadal *et al.*, 2022:7; Hingten *et al.*, 2015:186). Ultimately, the benefits derived by participants in the study depended on how deeply embedded they were within each social network or structure. This was demonstrated graphically at the end of each participant's individual case analysis in Chapter 5. It was also illustrated in Table 6.1 in Chapter 6 whereby the links were extrapolated between and among each socio-cultural success factor, their benefits, disadvantages and success indicators in relation to entrepreneurial success. The sub-sections below provide a truncated version of this evidence.

7.1.4.1 The Role of Family in Entrepreneurial Success

The study found that in one way or another participants did rely on various family members for support throughout their entrepreneurial success journey. This confirmed that family embeddedness within one's immediate and extended family is one of the most important pillars in entrepreneurship (Antawati, 2016:2; Charman, 2017:11; Farrukh *et al.*, 2017:303; Giménez-Nadal, 2022:10; Hack-Polay *et al.*, 2020:241; Hardnack and Liedeman, 2016:14; Powell & Eddleson, 2017:614; Suddaby & Jaskiewicz, 2020:2).

What stood out for me was the value participants attached to non-direct, intangible, moral, emotional and practical support, such as their spouses' performance of household chores. These may be simple practical tasks, but they were significant, especially for women participants. The male entrepreneurs acknowledged that they might not have succeeded without their wives' support and appreciation, or without taking vacations with family and sharing the fruits of entrepreneurial success with them. Indeed, it is critical to approach entrepreneurship as a social activity that is embedded within social structures like a family.

Other issues contemplated within the African family settings were the positive and negative impact of factors such as ubuntu kinship value systems, which imposed additional responsibilities. For example, family members are expected to support their immediate and extended relatives financially, which may present an additional financial burden, colloquially known as Black Tax, which often has a negative connotation (Carpenter & Phaswana, 2021:2; Magubane, 2017:4; Mpofu-Mketwa, 2020:72). Likewise, the gendered identities and roles of African brides were considered. Traditional roles expected of African brides were forced to be more flexible for African women, especially those who worked outside the home (Nganase & Basson, 2019:229; Zungu & Maphini 2020:66; Sennott *et al.*, 2020:2).

Family structures that were identified as significant for the study were multi-generational maternal and paternal extended family (e.g. ancestors, uncles, aunts and cousins), parental family, including parents and siblings, other relatives, such as in-laws, as well as their own family (i.e. spouses and children). Beyond direct, business-related support such as finance, equipment, business premises and labour, families were also key sources of intangible support. Notably, they infused family values and traditions into their personal and business lives. In cases where entrepreneurship was

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an important part of their heritage, they benefited from inter-generational role-modelling and the legacy and legitimacy of their family history in their communities. Families also provided moral and emotional support for participants when they needed encouragement or relaxation.

Generally, the participants found their families to be supportive of their entrepreneurial endeavours and not burdensome. Except for one participant, who claimed that some of his relatives demanded more than they were entitled to, the participants considered sharing their entrepreneurial success benefits as an expression of ubuntu and not as burdensome, as purported by the notion of Black Tax. The two female participants in the study found some of their household responsibilities to be onerous. However, they enjoyed both practical and emotional support from their spouses and children.

In collectivist settings (e.g. socialist Cuban, Islamic and Chinese communities), support from extended relatives (e.g. via financial transfers) seems to be the norm (Burt, Katarzyna Burzynska, 2017:3; Chen *et al.*, 2015:900; Goraya, 2019:1; Gümüsay, 2015:1; Hingtgen *et al.*, 2015:186). The same generally applies in South Africa, where such support is generally regarded as an expression of ubuntu kinship values. The contribution of this study is that it extends our understanding of the nuanced role of the extended family in supporting entrepreneurs specifically and the extent to which this is interpreted as Black Tax. Most of the studies reviewed on Black Tax are discussed in the context of the challenges of practising ubuntu values in a modern society (i.e. by Carpenter & Phaswana, 2021, Magubane, 2017, and Whitelaw & Branson, 2020). Only one study was found that linked Black Tax to youth entrepreneurship (i.e. by Matlala & Shambare, 2017). This suggests that more research is needed on this topic.

7.1.4.2 The Role of Friends in Entrepreneurial Success

The study confirmed that entrepreneurs' relations with people and structures outside their families also play an important role in their entrepreneurial success journeys. Again, the level of influence of these relations depends on the relational embeddedness and reciprocity within such structures or networks (Bird & Zellweger, 2018:2; Namibiar *et al.*, 2020:24; Ruiz-Palomino & Martínez-Cañas, 2021:2). The categories of friends included acquaintances, associates, role models and mentors.

Some of the benefits participants derived from their friends were finance, partnership, information, knowledge, skills and business referrals. Only one participant had a formal mentorship relationship. However, at least three participants referred to their friends or associates as their role models or sources of inspiration. An element of the theory of weak ties was seen in accounts of random acquaintances providing participants with vital information or knowledge that could significantly change the course of their entrepreneurial success journey (Aldrich & Zimmer, 1986:11; Granovetter, 1973:1361;).

Although friends did assist in formal business matters (e.g. as partners or employees), their biggest role seemed to be in the provision of social, emotional and moral support in the form of leisure, peer-counselling or peer-mentoring. This suggests that the informal peer-learning and peer-mentorship that occur between entrepreneurs themselves needs to be encouraged and nurtured. Another important finding was that inter-racial networks were critical for tapping into external affluent niche markets, for example in suburbs, which were previously inaccessible to some of the participants. This finding builds on Hikido's theory of co-ethnic social network, which was formulated in the context of the Western Cape townships of South Africa (Hikido, 2017:2580).

7.1.4.3 The Role of Other Reference Groups in Entrepreneurial Success

Stokvels (rotational saving schemes) and societies are common savings and investment vehicles in South African townships (e.g. burial, holiday, grocery and savings clubs) (Matuku & Kaseke, 2014:1; Bophela & Khumalo, 2019:28; Ngcobo & Chisasa, 2018:226; Storchi, 2018:41). However, in line with general trends, they did not gain much traction from participants in this study. They were just regarded as a vehicle to connect to markets or as channels to do charitable works.

7.1.4.4 The Role of Social Media in Entrepreneurial Success

The fact that the participants accredited the role of technology and social media in entrepreneurial success indicates that they were comfortable with using these platforms. They were already on platforms such as Facebook, Google, Twitter, and WhatsApp (Ahmad *et al.*, 2018:7; Burt *et al.*, 2017:121; Liu *et al.*, 2017:2; Olanrewaju, 2020:90). Access to such platforms can be enhanced by further investments in the ICT infrastructure of townships.

7.1.4.5 The Role of Culture in Entrepreneurial Success

The study was premised on the foundation that entrepreneurs are cultural creatures and that their cultural backgrounds influence how they interpret and perform their entrepreneurial roles (Castillo-Palacio *et al.*, 2017:2; Storr & Butkevich, 2007:251). Since culture is multidimensional and heterogeneous, it was necessary to understand its impact both at the national (generic African) and local (township) levels (Hofstede & Milosevi, 2011:1; Valliere, 2019:1). The themes of identity formulation and self-worth, family and business values, principles, practices, indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) and gender relations were used for this purpose.

The study confirmed that participants subscribed to the African kinship value system of Ubuntu, which emphasises humility, respect, sharing, solidarity and

communalism, among other values (Kolade, *et al.*, 2021:54; Kasu, 2017:27; Rodgers *et al.*, 2019:7-13). As anticipated, however, the degree of influence of culture differed, depending on how much each participant had internalised such values (Cardella *et al.*, 2020:7; Castillo-Palacio *et al.*, 2017:7; Chakraborty *et al.*, 2016:38). The participants came from different tribes or ethnic groups—Zulu, Tswana, Pedi and Sotho. They typically infused their national and cultural backgrounds in the design of their personal and business brands and to innovate unique products and services linked to African cultural and township trends. These included African cuisines, regalia, transportation and accommodation trends. Inter-generational transfer of IKS was also evident in cases where participants acknowledged that their forefathers passed on information, knowledge or skills (e.g. running a corner shop, teaching them how to sew or referring them to their networks) (Makgopa, 2019:163-164; Dlamini & Ocholla, 2018:140).

One of the most striking findings was that at least three participants directly linked their entrepreneurial success to their adherence to particular African traditions and rituals, such as ancestral reverence, performing sacrifices for ancestors or wearing traditional ceremonial objects (Bosma *et al.*, 2020:25; Cardella *et al.*, 2020:7; Castillo-Palacio *et al.*, 2017:7; Monyai, 2018:9-10). Unfortunately, because of the decline in townships of social cohesion and moral fibre, the study found that negative tendencies such as a non-payment culture, individualism, inverse racism and jealousy (*umona*) were taking root and undermining the social capital within these communities. Some of these features were indicative of the assimilation of modern Western lifestyles (Hingtgen *et al.*, 2015:186; Hofstede & Milosevic, 2011:5).

7.1.4.6 *The Role of Religion in Entrepreneurial Success*

The predominant religions identified in the study were both traditional African and Western (mainly Christian). Notably, the study supported the view that in African settings, familial, cultural and religious beliefs are intrinsically linked to one another. Moreover, economic activity such as entrepreneurship and people's roles and responsibilities are seen as a continuation of their belief systems and practices rather than as separate, unrelated activities. These are the key pillars of the African worldview (Dlamini & Ocholla, 2018; Guma, 2001:267; Futhwa, 2011:16; Lebaka, 2019:8; Makgopa, 2019; Monyai, 2018; Toure, 2018; Zungu & Maphini, 2020:67). This resonated with the Western Christian and Muslim religions, which tend to regard economic participation as a practical expression of one's faith and duty (Charman, 2018:564; Holland, 2015:22; Hoogendoorn *et al.*, 2016:522; Annuar & Ali, 2021:259).

It was concluded from the literature review that religious faith and institutions as sources of social capital for entrepreneurial success are a decidedly understudied area (Diamant, 2019:1; Gümüsay's, 2015:1-2; Smith *et al.*, 2021:7; Manyaka-Boshielo, 2017:7; Kojana, 2020:110). Nonetheless, at least four participants who subscribed to a religious faith drew a direct link between their beliefs and their entrepreneurial success. In line with literature review findings, they considered acts such as praying, reading the scriptures and attending places of worship as important because they connected them to God or their ancestors (Annuar and Ali, 2021:259; Holland, 2015:22-23; Hoogendoorn *et al.*, 2016:522; Kojana, 2020:104). Additionally, they claimed that they obtained divine guidance, protection, favours and blessings. More significant was the finding that those who practised ancestral reverence and animal or other sacrifices linked their entrepreneurial success directly to these beliefs and practices, highlighting the importance of local context in attributions of entrepreneurial

success (Mekoa, 2019:99; Horsthemke (2017:125; Idang, 2015:104; Masondo, 2015:3-5; Ndemanu, 2018:71).

7.1.4.7 The Role of Political History in Entrepreneurial Success

The influence of the political history of townships on entrepreneurial success was analysed from the point of view of transformative policies, opportunities and challenges of operating in townships and participation in political structures. On the positive side the biggest benefits participants seemed to have derived from political history was overcoming the legacy of apartheid and attaining political freedom and enfranchisement through social cohesion, cooperation, resilience and solidarity. It is a form of social capital built from sharing the same socio-political struggles, and it is evident in historically marginalised groups. (Beresford, 2020:3; Chiwarawara & Masiya, 2018:60; Elo *et al.*, 2015:7; Jones, 2019:319; Khosa & Kalitanyi, 2016:52; Langa *et al.*, 2016:44). Township entrepreneurs have also been targeted via specific policy and programmatic interventions to improve their access to business resources such as finance, markets, skills development, equipment and mentorship (DPME/DSBD, 2018:2; Flowerday, 2015:1; Meyer & Landsberg, 2015:3454; White, 2014:8).

On the negative side, socio-political factors continue to have a damaging effect on the sustainability of an entrepreneurial culture. The legacy of colonial and apartheid policies has had a long-lasting impact on the growth and development of township enterprises (Hikido, 2017:3; Maisela, 2017:15-16). This was also acknowledged by participants in the study. Even though they too were beneficiaries of the plethora of transformative policies and programmes to support township entrepreneurs, this does not seem enough to redress the situation. Participants still perceived underinvestment in business and ICT infrastructure, coupled with their marginalised location and a lack

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of confidence in Black township entrepreneurs as a serious drawback (Boris & Ndou, 2019:1; Charman *et al.*, 2017:1; De Kadt *et al.*, 2019:4; Mukwarami & Tengeh, 2017:333). Corruption and tenderpreneurship (overreliance on government procurement) were singled out as the main culprits in undermining due process of doing business in townships (Dassah, 2018:15; Pike *et al.*, 2018:3; Salahuddin *et al.*, 2020:20).

7.1.4.8 *The Role of Other Social Factors in Entrepreneurial Success*

The findings suggested that other social factors linked to the demographic profiles of entrepreneurs, such as age, gender, education physical ability and location, also play an important role in entrepreneurial success (Isenberg, 2016; Pirie, 2020:35; Roundy, 2016:2-3; Spigel & Harrison, 2018:2). The most pertinent social issues in the study were colourism, racism and classism, which were mainly experienced through a lack of support and the underrating of products and services provided by Black township entrepreneurs Goraya (2019:37-38; Maziriri & Madinga, 2016:1; Mkubukeli & Tengeh, 2016:3; Nyakudya *et al.*, 2018:1).

Crime was also a common problem that affected all participants. Some of them, especially females, were direct victims of criminal acts (Kubone, 2019:92; Maziri & Madinga, 2016:1; Matumba & Mondliwa, 2015:1; Mukwarami & Tengeh, 2017:331; Rakabe, 2016:2). Ironically, one of the participants who was a former criminal and ex-convict also had his store robbed at gunpoint. Another male participant, who was still a police officer at the time, was sentenced to 'life imprisonment' as a paraplegic due to a shooting incident. Having a person living with disability as a participant was eye-opening. It exposed the special circumstances that this cohort of entrepreneurs live under that are not immediately recognisable to able-bodied persons. Navigating physically inaccessible business and social environments is particularly challenging,

especially when one is already marginalised as an African or township dweller Bhoganadam, 2018:305; Kuratko *et al.*, 2015:2; Meyer & Landsberg, 2015:3454).

The impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, which was another important environmental factor, was a double-edged sword. On the one hand it led to a loss of business and the shedding of much needed jobs due to stringent measures decreed by the government to mitigate the spread of the disease (Ajam, 2020:1; Omonona *et al.*, 2021:370; Torrington, 2020:4; UNDP, 2020:14). On the other hand, the pandemic also presented opportunities for some of the participants to innovate products and services and to access markets that were previously inaccessible (Mkansi, 2021:19; UNDP, 2020:14).

Interestingly, sexism was not found to be an inhibitive factor in the entrepreneurial success of women in the study, despite this being a common finding among gender scholars (Agholor *et al.*, 2015:45; Irene, 2017:23; Kojane, 2020:110; Meyer & Landsberg, 2015:3454), Nyakudya *et al.*, 2018:1; Shakeel *et al.*, 2020:2; Smit, 2021:2). Both male and female participants were appreciative of the progressive regulatory framework for gender relations in South Africa. However, they did acknowledge that women were still not participating fully or meaningfully in some industries, such as high-end food retail (e.g. restaurants) and transportation. They also raised concerns about the physical safety of women, since crime was rife in townships. This suggests that although barriers to entry into these sectors have been reduced, more needs to be done to support women entrepreneurs as they navigate various operational environments (Dana *et al.*, 2019:1-2; Irene, 2017:300; Kloppers, 2018:170-171; Smit, 2021:2). Further research on the theme of sexism in relation to the role played by socio-cultural factors in entrepreneurial success within township contexts might be necessary to arrive at more conclusive findings.

7.1.4.9 *The Role of Other Factors in Entrepreneurial Success.*

Since entrepreneurial success is a result of multiple and multidimensional factors, it was determined that several non-socio-cultural factors play an important role in attaining entrepreneurial success. However, these were not the main focus of the study unless they were directly linked to socio-cultural factors. They were psychological, demographic and economic factors. Psychological factors were characterised as personality traits associated with entrepreneurial behaviour or disposition. They included goal achievement and client satisfaction-orientation, grit, risk-propensity, resilience, locus of control, tolerance of ambiguity and self-efficacy (Baluku *et al.*, 2016:15; Lawal *et al.*, 2016:342; Mooradian *et al.*, 2016:232; Pirie, 2020:35; Przepiorka, 2016:41; Shakeel, 2020:1-2). The psychological traits participants highlighted included commitment, discipline, hard work, patience, perseverance (*thaasello/ukubhekezela*), passion for what one was doing, eagerness to learn, implementing one's plans, not taking small things for granted and honesty with customers.

Demographic factors included age, race, gender, class, physical or mental ability, location, level of education and work experience. The demographic factors were found to be more relevant if they impacted negatively on the entrepreneurial success of participants (i.e. through social exclusion via racism, sexism, ablism, classism or ageism). Worth noting is that neither education nor working experience were highlighted by participants as a key factor in the achievement of their entrepreneurial success even though they are often highlighted as such in the literature (Bhoganadam *et al.*, 2018:305; Yazici *et al.*, 2016:1014). Only one participant who held an ICT degree stated specifically that education was an important factor in his entrepreneurial success.

The managerial factors reflected upon included how participants interpreted their entrepreneurial roles in terms of providing and managing the resources necessary for successful ventures (Agholor *et al.*, 2015:41-42; Aparicio *et al.*, 2016:3; Snider, 2015:38-43; Tur-Porcar *et al.*, 2018:9). These were unpacked during the narrative interviews as the participants related how they sourced finance, recruited staff, managed internal and external stakeholder relations and used social capital to achieve their objectives. Their execution of their managerial roles was in line with the definitions of an entrepreneur and entrepreneurship provided above. For example, while they took initiative and risks to innovate niche products or services (e.g. residential rental property, transport logistics for the film industry, or uniform supplies), they balanced that with operational cost-cutting measures such as sourcing (co)funding and equipment from relatives or using their personal savings to avoid debt and hiring locals and relatives. Lastly, economic factors included the impact of macro and micro economic policies, the provision of business infrastructure and ICT, and bylaws and other legislation that affect business operations (Akinyemi & Adejumo, 2017:625; Bosma *et al.*, 2020:25, 2017:3; Castaño *et al.*, 2015:1). The impact of these factors was covered in the discussion about operating businesses in township environments, which were often unconducive.

The table below provides a comprehensive summary of how each social factor or type of social network contributed towards the different participants' entrepreneurial success. Socio-cultural factors that had a negative impact on their entrepreneurial success are also listed.

Table 7. 3: Benefits and Disadvantages of Socio-Cultural fActors on the Entreprneurial Success of Participants

Type of social factor	Structure type	Benefits / disadvantages	Entrepreneurial success	Participants
Family Factors				
Ancestral family	Ancestors (living and deceased). Also included under culture & religion	Family values and traditions (including business-related), identity and self-worth, divine mediation, blessings, favour & intercession	Personal fulfillment Firm performance	P1, P3, P5
Paternal/Maternal extended family	Grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins	Legacy, family values, IKS, skills, knowledge, business networks, emotional & moral support material support (e.g. accommodation)	Firm performance Personal fulfillment Internal/external stakeholder relations	P1, P2, P3
Second generation relatives	Nephews and nieces	Employees, skills, knowledge, voluntary help, moral and/or emotional support,	Firm performance Internal/external stakeholder relations	P2, P3, P4, P5
Other relatives	In-laws	Advice, information, friendship	Internal/external stakeholder relations Personal fulfillment	P2, P4, P6
Parental family	Parents	Infrastructure, equipment, skills, knowledge, voluntary help, moral and emotional support	Internal/external stakeholder relations Firm performance Personal fulfilment	P1, P3, P4, P6
	Siblings	Infrastructure, equipment, Employees, skills, knowledge, voluntary help, moral and/or emotional support	Firm performance Personal fulfilment Internal/external stakeholder relations	P1, P4, P5
Own family	Spouse / partner	Partnership, finance, Marketing, technical, practical, moral and/or emotional support,	Firm performance Internal/external stakeholder relations Community impact	P2, P4, P5, P6
	Children	Marketing, technical,	Firm performance	P2, P4, P5, P6

Type of social factor	Structure type	Benefits / disadvantages	Entrepreneurial success	Participants
		practical, moral and/or emotional support	Internal/external stakeholder relations Personal fulfilment	
Social factors				
Friends and other reference groups	Friends and associates	Partnership, employees, finance, moral & emotional support, peer counselling/mentorship, information and/or referrals	Personal fulfilment Internal/external stakeholder relations Community impact Firm performance	P1, P2, P3, P6
	Role models (local or global)	Advice, ideas, information, lessons		P1, P3, P2, P5
	Social groups, associations, stokvels, societies	Peer mentorship, referrals, opportunities, networking, charity platforms, finance, information, advice, knowledge, skills	Firm performance	P3, P1, P5
Cultural factors				
Culture (Broad African and township)	Ancestral influences Indigenous values and knowledge systems	Identity, self-worth, values, norms, customs, traditions, beliefs and practices, language, totems, social skills	Personal fulfillment	P1, P2, P3, P5, P4, P6
	Township culture and markets	Information, markets, skills, networks, business opportunities	Internal/external stakeholder relations	P1, P2, P3, P5, P4, P6
	Friction between individualism (self-centredness) and collectivism (jealousy, rivalry, lack of support) Africanism & modernism			P1, P2, P3, P5, P4
Religious factors				
Religion (African and/or Western)	African religion Ancestral worship, spiritual beliefs, values, and practices	Divine favour, blessings and protection, intercession by ancestors	Personal fulfillment Firm performance	P1, P3, P5,
	Western religion Prayer, supplication, reading the scripture, church attendance, spiritual	Divine favor, blessings from God Exhortation, guidance, intercession from spiritual leaders	Personal fulfilment Community impact	P1, P2, P3, P5, P6

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Type of social factor	Structure type	Benefits / disadvantages	Entrepreneurial success	Participants
	counselling from religious leaders	Platforms for charity projects		
Political and historical factors				
Political history	Influence/impact of township history, politics & culture & Transformative policies for historically disenfranchised groups	Favourable policies, information, marketing, networks, business contracts, skills development, finance	Firm performance Personal fulfilment Community impact Internal /external stakeholders	P1, P2, P3, P5, P4, P6
	Corruption, tenderpreneurship	Destructive entrepreneurship		
Other social factors				
Other social factors	Township life and business life Impact of social ills (e.g. COVID-19, crime, corruption, racism etc.)	Social exclusion, decline in moral and social fibre, low quality of life, low growth, poor business performance, disinvestment	Firm performance Personal fulfilment Community impact Internal /external stakeholders	P1, P2, P3, P5, P4, P6
	COVID-19	New business opportunities, diversification	Firm performance Personal fulfilment Community impact Internal /external stakeholders	P1, P3, P5

Note: **Own compilation**

This table links these findings to the participants' indicators of entrepreneurial success, which corresponded with the four broad categories formulated in Table 2.2 in Chapter 2. These were firm performance, internal and external work relations, personal fulfilment and community impact.

7.1.5 What Lessons can Participants Share With Others on Entrepreneurial Success?

The lessons participants wanted to share with people such as other entrepreneurs, researchers, policy makers and entrepreneurial development

practitioners include having a vision, ambition, passion for what one was doing, commitment, discipline, hard work, patience, perseverance, eagerness to learn, implementing one's plans, not taking small things for granted, and honesty with customers. What can be concluded from their inputs is that they emphasised personal and managerial attributes supposedly embodied by entrepreneurs. This implies that they considered their own agency as important, a factor which was highlighted in the operational definition of an entrepreneur for the study (see Figure 2.1 in Chapter 2).

7.4   Contribution of the Study

This research makes a valuable academic contribution to the body of knowledge about entrepreneurial success in African contexts, and more specifically in township settings. This is because it provides more insights into how entrepreneurs are able to succeed, from their own point of view, amid the challenging circumstances of township economies. The study contributes to the entrepreneurship field in three ways, namely theoretically, methodologically and practically. These are discussed below.

7.4.1   Theoretical Contribution

The study provides insights into the relationship between socio-cultural factors and entrepreneurial success within a South Africa township setting. The Social Network or Social Capital theory was elected for the study because it focuses on how entrepreneurs use their social relationships and structures to access business resources (Ameh & Udu, 2016:22; Aldrich & Zimmer, 1986:8; Chen *et al.*, 2018:4-5; Granovetter, 1973:1361; Grabher & Konig, 2017:121; Obstfeld *et al.*, 2020:2). However, the theory had to be adapted to the African, South African and township contexts to make it relevant to the circumstances of the participants. Disaggregating the socio-cultural factors into seven categories of family, friends, other reference groups, social media, culture, religion, political history, and other social factors enabled

the study to uncover many benefits and drawbacks of social networks in relation to entrepreneurial success. So did listing the direct/indirect and material/intangible benefits (e.g. information, skills, finance, equipment, practical, and emotional support) or drawbacks (social exclusion, racism, sexism, etc.). Digging deeper into each category of socio-cultural factor by type of social structure also illuminated their relational value. It helped in understanding the complexity of relationships in attaining and sustaining entrepreneurial success.

Another theoretical value of the research was focusing on the subjective meanings of concepts such as entrepreneur, entrepreneurship, and entrepreneurial success, as well as their associated contributing factors and indicators. This type of research has been found to be sorely limited (Angel *et al.*, 2018:1-2; Ismail *et al.*, 2016:122). Highlighting the qualitative measures of success such as community impact and personal fulfilment in the model was important because entrepreneurial success is as much a socio-cultural outcome as it is economic (Cardella *et al.*,2020:9-10; Shakeel *et al.*, 2020:1; Swartz *et al*, 2019:2). The findings of this study also confirmed that entrepreneurs derive as much value from their indirect and non-material support (e.g. psychosocial support, such as family, humour and laughter, encouragement, helping with household chores and raising the children) as they do from direct and material support (e.g. finance, equipment, skills and markets). Therefore, the definition and analysis of social networks and social capital should be broadened. This builds on the notion of relational embeddedness (Bird & Zellweger, 2018:2)

Thirdly, the study makes a meaningful contribution to the body of knowledge on entrepreneurship through the incorporation of non-entrepreneurship African literature in the interpretation of entrepreneurial success (e.g. on the significance of totemism

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and ancestral reverence). For example, understanding how the African worldview influences the way township entrepreneurs interpreted their entrepreneurial roles and actions vis-à-vis their family, cultural and religious backgrounds was very significant (Idang, 2015:104; Masondo, 2015:3-5; Monyai, 2018:9-10; Ndemanu, 2018:71).

Linked to the above, the final contribution of the study is towards the development of Welter's Contextualising Entrepreneurship Theory (Welter, 2011:164; Welter & Baker, 2020:41-60. It is a timely response to the call for more non-Western research. Its in-depth investigation into South African township cultural expressions will hopefully motivate more scholars to explore other non-Western contexts not only in Africa, but also in Latin America, Middle East and the Oceanic.

7.4.2   Methodological Contribution

The study was a response to the call for more qualitative research on entrepreneurship research, which offers a unique way of studying the subject. Qualitative research helps to generate new theories through its ability to delve more deeply into entrepreneurs' dynamic realities within their own contexts (Kriel, 2017:21; Rauch *et al.*, 2014:333).

The in-depth multiple case study approach was also valuable because it contributes to the further understanding of the context of successful township entrepreneurs and how their success is influenced by various socio-cultural factors. It also produced data that is rich in quality and provides a unique perspective (Heale & Twycross, 2018:7). Such studies are in short supply, especially in South Africa (Charman *et al.* (2017c:37-38). Using narrative inquiry was both suitable and value-adding for settings like African townships where storytelling is a way of life. It helped to elicit indigenous knowledge and traditions, which are considered to reside in the

minds of people and are typically transmitted orally (Dlamini & Ocholla, 2018:138; Ngulube, 2002:97).

Finally, the combination of narrative and social network analysis with the case study approach added methodological value to the research in terms of data collection and analysis. It allowed for different relationships within each case to be explored in more depth and depicted in terms of their strength, direction and complexity (Luxton & Sbicca; 2020:4; McKether & Freise, 2019:26).

7.4.3   Practical Contribution

Interested parties such as policy makers, academics and development practitioners can benefit from the study, making informed decisions when they design relevant interventions targeted at entrepreneurs operating in these spaces. Entrepreneurs themselves, especially nascent ones, might glean lessons from those who have walked the path to success in challenging markets. In particular, lessons could be learnt on how to use socio-cultural factors to benefit entrepreneurial endeavours. Mainly, they concern providing appropriate and nuanced support to different cohorts of entrepreneurs, such as women and the disabled. They also relate to intensifying efforts to create an enabling environment for township entrepreneurship through the provision of business infrastructure and operational support.

7.5   Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, the two broad areas of recommendations proffered cover further research and development of the township entrepreneurship field and practical support for township entrepreneurs.

7.5.1   Implications for Further Research

Further research should be conducted in the realm of township entrepreneurship, covering the following areas:

- in-depth studies on specific, relatively understudied socio-cultural factors such as culture and religion

- the use of narrative inquiry and/or a case study approach in studying entrepreneurship

- how socio-cultural factors can be leveraged as social capital for township entrepreneurs, and

- in-depth studies on the subjective meanings and interpretations of entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial success in African settings.

Such studies should not be limited to qualitative approaches but should ideally include quantitative research such as surveys involving bigger samples of township entrepreneurs.

7.5.2 Managerial Implications

Government and other stakeholders in entrepreneurship development should provide more nuanced support to address specific cohorts of entrepreneurs. For example, women may have different needs, depending on their personal circumstances. Single women with children may differ from married with children in their household arrangements and support systems. Therefore, their types of support needs might differ (e.g. for childcare services or domestic support). This implies that the types and levels of support must be customised as much as possible, based on the analysis of the entrepreneurs' embeddedness within a social network. Importantly, the needs of entrepreneurs living with disabilities should be prioritised.

Secondly, efforts to stamp out crime, violence and social unrest, especially in formerly disadvantaged areas like townships, should be ramped up. Urgent attention should be given to protecting business and social infrastructure to avoid further disinvestment in these local economies.

Thirdly, more investments are needed in business and social infrastructure to ensure the smoother operation of township enterprises. Government and its private and civil sector partners should continue to provide direct material support in the form of finance, skills, facilities, equipment and mentorship.

Fourthly, government and its private and civil sector partners should invest in the provision of more indirect, intangible support to social structures and programmes that support townships (e.g. grants and subsidies for indigent households; sports, arts, culture and recreation programmes to build and sustain social cohesion; psychosocial support for victims of crime and abuse; crime and substance abuse awareness prevention; improvement of communication on available sources of support).

Fifthly, extraordinary support provided during pandemics and other natural disasters should be made more accessible to marginalized areas to avoid undermining what has already been achieved through previous township entrepreneurial efforts.

Sixthly, entrepreneurship development practitioners should provide more information, knowledge and skills development interventions on how township entrepreneurs can identify, develop and utilise their social networks within their family, friendship, social, cultural, religious and political structures in their communities in order to achieve entrepreneurial success.

Lastly, more specialised modules or courses should be available on the entrepreneurship development in marginalised areas of South Africa such as townships in order to build the theory of this field of entrepreneurship.

7.6   Limitations of the Study

Like all scientific inquiries, this study must address the limitations inherent in the methodology adopted. A good starting point is acknowledging that each and every construct that has been discussed in the study comes with its own shortcomings. In

some cases, however, qualitative research is compared to and judged against its quantitative counterpart. This line of reasoning is counter-productive because the two methodologies are distinctive. The strength or weakness of each study and its design should be judged by the purpose for which it is intended and the rigour of its procedures (Bell *et al*, 2019:17-18). With this in mind, this study was affected by two main limitations, which were structural and practical in nature. They are discussed below, along with steps undertaken to mitigate their negative impact.

7.6.1   Design Limitations

The most common criticism levelled against qualitative research is that it lacks transparency. It is often accused of insufficient clarity on philosophical and methodological choices. Hence, researchers are encouraged to make informed choices about their research paradigms and to declare them (Aldawod, & Day, 2017:9; Bell *et al*., 2019:34; Harrison *et al*., 2017:13-14; Rajasinghe *et al*., 2021:5-6; Yazan, 2015:134). I therefore attested that this study was informed by an interpretivist paradigm, both ontologically and epistemologically, as well as by a value-laden axiology.

Linked to the above, qualitative research is criticised for being obscure and unmethodical in terms of data collection and analysis procedures ((Aldawod, & Day, 2017:9; Bell *et al*., 2019:34; Harrison *et al*., 2017:13-14; Rajasinghe *et al*., 2021:5-6; Yazan, 2015:134). To counter this problem, all the steps undertaken in the research process both during the literature review and fieldwork were clearly detailed in the methodology section of the thesis in Chapter 4. All the data collection and analysis tools were also clearly articulated and adequate records were kept for audit trails (Bell *et al*., 2019:40; Linneberg & Korsgaard, 2019:6; Miles & Huberman 1994:278; Rajasinghe *et al*., 2021:9278).

Another perceived limitation of qualitative methodologies is that while they have higher levels of validity and produce richer data than their quantitative counterparts, they tend to be more subjective and are not generalisable to wider populations (Babbie & Huitt, 1979:7; Bell *et al.*, 2019:360; Mouton & Marais, 1990:103; Thomas & Meyers, 2015:1). In this study, the perceived "limitation" of case study-narratives had an inherent strength. The goal was to attain analytical generalisability instead of statistical generalisability across the wider population of township entrepreneurs. Non-generalisability was an embedded feature of a design that is helpful in delivering information-rich findings (Bell, *et al.*, 2019; 22-23; Duxbury 2012:9; Clough et al., 2004:97; Kikooma, 2006:55; Rae & Caswell, 2000:221).

The final relevant limitation of qualitative studies concerns the use of case studies. Urbinati *et al.* (2019:10) pinpoint the difficulties of organising and integrating volumes of data generated within and across cases, as well as the tendency to lose focus on the research topic. To mitigate this limitation, I used a semi-structured interviewing schedule to ensure consistency in the topics and questions during interviews and observations. Coding was used to narrow down large volumes of information into common themes and to focus the analysis on data that responded to the key research questions (Elliot, 2018:2858; Linneberg & Korsgaard, 2019:6; Maher *et al.*, 2018:2).

7.6.2 Practical Limitations

There were practical limitations in conducting the study, which influenced how I designed and carried out the research (Bell *et al.*, 2019:37). The first one was related to the availability of participants. It was not easy to find successful township entrepreneurs, especially female participants, who were few and far between. This is understandable because most township enterprises (especially those run by women)

are classified as survivalist and operate in the informal sector. This is discussed fully in Chapter 3. They therefore did not meet the criteria for inclusion in the study. Linked to that, although many potential participants did not have issues with participation in the research per se, it was very difficult to secure actual interviews with them. As a result, I replaced respondents who did not engage with the study after being pursued several times. The qualitative case study approach helped substantially in mitigating this challenge. It enabled me to be flexible, in line with the purposive non-random sampling procedure.

The second main challenge was conducting fieldwork during the pandemic between 2019 and 2021. Lockdown restrictions relating to COVID-19 delayed the fieldwork considerably. This was compounded by the destabilising effect of the unrests of July 2020, which saw many businesses unable to operate. I dealt with these challenges by observing the necessary protocols, such as wearing masks, sanitising and keeping social distance.

7.7   Conclusion

The aim of this research was to explore how Gauteng township entrepreneurs interpret the role of socio-cultural factors on their entrepreneurial success journeys and the meanings they attach to their success within specific township contexts.

The study involved an extensive literature review on entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial success in order to develop an appropriate theoretical framework. The literature reviews also deliberated extensively on the various socio-cultural factors that impact on entrepreneurial success. Also reviewed was the context of township entrepreneurship in order to highlight the support, opportunities and challenges faced by entrepreneurs in these areas.

The Social Network Theory was adopted as the main framework. However, it was adapted for the better understanding of the impact of socio-cultural factors on entrepreneurial success in the African and South African context of townships. The socio-cultural factors identified were equated to social networks. They comprised families, friends, reference groups, social media, culture, religion, political history and other social factors.

In terms of methodology, the study relied on a qualitative case study approach using narrative enquiry. It involved narrative interviews with six entrepreneurs who had lived in Gauteng townships, where they owned businesses.

The study's findings confirmed that socio-cultural factors do play an important role in the entrepreneurial success of township entrepreneurs albeit in different ways and at different levels. The study indicates that socio-cultural factors are effective social networks when they facilitate entrepreneurs' access to information, skills, networks, finance and markets. However, they negatively impact on entrepreneurial success when they engender social exclusion, decay in social moral fibre, crime and corruption. Unexpected findings were that some entrepreneurs attached greater value to the role of African culture and religion than I had originally assumed.

The uniqueness of the study is in its methodological approach of using storytelling as a tool to unravel the impact of socio-cultural factors on each participant's entrepreneurial success journey. Applying social network analysis also helped me to unearth additional benefits of social networks, including legacy creation, the formation of identity and the practical application of ubuntu kinship and indigenous knowledge systems (IKS). Most of the limitations of the study that were inherent in the qualitative methodology, were mitigated to ensure the design quality. These measures included

transparency about the interpretative value-laden research paradigm adopted and clear details of the steps followed in the research process.

I believe that the study has made a meaningful theoretical, methodological and practical contribution towards the development of the field of entrepreneurship.

Motho ke motho ka batho – I am because you are

(Ubuntu proverb)

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APPENDIX 1

Appendix 1: Inventory of South African Township Entrepreneurship Research - 2009 to 2021

No.	Author & Year	Institution	Topic	Method	Key findings
1.	Asoba, S.N. & Patricia, N.M. (2021)	Walter Sisulu University	The profit motive and the enabling environment for growth of survivalist township entreprenurship	The study adopted a quantitative research design based on the selection of respondents using a convenience sampling strategy.	▪ Essentially the study considers the problem of failure to grow among survivalist entrepreneurs as reported in related literature. ▪ Many survivalist entrepreneurs fail to grow beyond the survivalist phase; there is no consensus on the underlying cause for such a phenomenon. ▪ Survivalist entrepreneurs do not pursue the profit motive significantly, but they faced inhibitions presented by the economic environment in which they operate. ▪ Government and other stakeholders in the national economy are recommended to develop a suitable legal and institutional framework with strong structures to ensure the growth of survivalist entrepreneurs.
2.	Frimpong, K.A. (2021)	Nelson Mandela University		A qualitative research design was adopted in this study. The study used both primary and secondary methods for data collection, - i.e. interviews and documents analysis respectively. Data was analysed through inductive thematic analysis.	▪ Social capital is a contributing factor to the growth of an informal economy. The findings revealed that bonding and bridging social capital have significant effects on the growth of informal businesses. The study equally found out that the informal sector faces other challenges, outside social capital, such as crime and security issues, and inadequate trading spaces. ▪ The study recommends that the government should consider improving the security needs of the township to boost the informal sector. The local government needs to organize programs to educate informal business owners on the importance of social capital.
3.	Letuka, P. & Lebambo, M. (2021)	University of Johannesburg	A typology of challenges facing township micro-tour operators in Soweto, South Africa.	Qualitative study design using in-depth interviews to collect data from 10 micro-tour operators. Data analysis	▪ Micro township-based tour operators categorized by three levels of challenges: macro, meso, and micro. ▪ The challenges range from the transformation of the tourism industry, discord in entrepreneurship policy intentions and intervention approaches, historic

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No.	Author & Year	Institution	Topic	Method	Key findings
				utilised content and thematic analysis to identify the typologies of the business characteristics and challenges.	infrastructural challenges, perception of townships' general economy, and background based on the negative political impact of the apartheid system. ▪ The study concludes that the state of micro-tourism enterprises in townships is still underdeveloped as a result of the challenges
4.	Mabunda, P. (2021)		Investigating g "lack of access by the township entrepreneurs in supplying medicine and medical equipment to health facilities" a case for Gauteng province	Literature review	▪ The determinants of medicines shortages included delayed payments to suppliers, non-performance of suppliers. The common challenge of township entrepreneurs includes factors such as poor access to finance; customer dynamics; management of stock; lack of equipment and infrastructure; high levels of competition.
5.	Mosia, M.B. (2021)	North West University	Analysing unemployment in a selected township economy: A business owner perspective	Qualitative study of small business owners in Sharpeville township	▪ The study has shown that there are many challenges faced by township entrepreneurs that need to be carefully assessed and thoroughly dealt with. ▪ These challenges include factors such as lack of support and capital, as well as competition from foreign-owned businesses, culture and historical backgrounds. ▪ The study also showed that there is potential for township businesses to create employment and be self-sustainable and there is a need for investment in this area.
6.	Udimal, T.B. & Biyase, M. (2021)	Southwest Forestry University, China & University of Johannesburg, South Africa	Identifying the binding constraints of the township economy of South Africa.	Aanalysis of Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation Township Micro-Enterprise Survey dataset for the period 2010 to 2013.	▪ The main binding constraints for township economy in South Africa are cost and supply of electricity. ▪ With the exception of gender, whether or not the shop owner receives delivery fromsupplier, no of fulltime family employees and whether or not the shop owner owns a cellphone, the rest of the other control variables are mostly significant. ▪ Being part of any buying collectives enhances the profitability of the business.
7.	Wiid, J.A. and Cant, M.C., (2021)	University of South Africa	Obstacles faced by owners of township micro, small and medium enterprises to acquire	Exploratory research, conducted among 498 MSMEs located in	▪ Despite various interventions by the SA government, many MSMEs have failed due to a lack of support from the financial institutions tasked with providing capital and funding to these enterprises.

No.	Author & Year	Institution	Topic	Method	Key findings
			funds for survival and growth (2010-2020)	South African townships,	▪ The study revealed that obstacles restraining growth relate to the economic climate, business environment, personnel and finances. ▪ The challenges to access funds can be grouped into three possible constructs: institutional requirements, administrative aspects and perceptions of financial institutions. Despite the many obstacles in the path to acquiring funds for their survival and growth, MSMEs have continued to operate on a small scale. ▪ However, the reality is that, without much-needed funds and financial support it will be difficult for MSMEs to grow and reach their full potential, which will hinder their ability to bear the envisaged fruits of economic growth and the elimination of poverty.
8.	Bvuma, S & Marnewick, C. (2020)	University of Johannesburg,	Sustainable Livelihoods of Township Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises towards Growth and Development	This study deployed qualitative exploratory research. A sample of 21 SMME owners/managers operating in Soweto was used, and data were collected using in-depth interviews and observations.	▪ The study revealed township SMMEs are complex and dynamic and need various interventions in order for them to be sustainable. ▪ The SLF for township SMMEs can be used as a guideline for SMME owners/managers and policy makers when formulating ICT adoption policy.
9.	Mpofu-Mketwa, T.J., 2020.	University of Cape Town	'Asihlali Phantsi!': a study of agency among isiXhosa-speaking women traders in a Cape Town township	A case study methodology (n=25) was adopted using participant observation and in-depth interviews. Miles and Huberman's thematic coding approach guided the qualitative analysis.	▪ The study found that structurally imposed constraints were rooted in class, multiple sources of power dynamics, and material constraints related to health; while opportunities emanated from market mechanisms of supply and demand, community social support systems in the form of social capital and social networks, family support and statutory social welfare programmes. ▪ Other key findings included resistance to patriarchy, cultural norms and practices, such as submission to abusive partners and unreasonable demands from extended family members.

No.	Author & Year	Institution	Topic	Method	Key findings
10.	Nambiar, Y., Sutherland, M. & Scheepers, C.B. (2020)		The stakeholder ecosystem of women entrepreneurs in South African townships	This study thus explored the role of the various stakeholders by conducting semi-structured interviews with 40 women entrepreneurs in eight townships, as well as leaders of five small business support organisations	▪ The majority of interviewees believed that male entrepreneurs are provided with more support ▪ Gender-based discrimination was experienced from staff, customers, suppliers and competitors, and ranged from customers attempting to question the credibility of the female entrepreneurs through to malicious or criminal activity, perceived to demonstrate that it is "easier to take advantage of a female". ▪ As an initial response to their choice of entrepreneurship as a career option, 18 interviewees had the support of families and friends, but 13 found they were unsupportive, skeptical or discouraging. Nine experienced their families and friends having mixed reactions. ▪ The interviewees felt that the lack of marketing and support for townships had a direct bearing on their ability to grow their businesses. ▪ Family and friends tend to be the providers of most support, usually in the form of emotional care and encouragement, as well as some assistance with marketing. ▪ The finding that women entrepreneurs rely as much on faith-based groups as they do on family to help them cope with challenges is new to this field of study and is thus of importance.
11.	Torrington, *et al.* (2020)		COVID-19: The impact on small businesses and gaps in current solutions: the case for better solutions to support entrepreneurs in townships	Survey of 233 entrepreneurs in six South African provinces on the impact of COVID-19 on their businesses	▪ 77% female-operated ▪ Most employ six or fewer people. ▪ 95% can't pay employees. ▪ 50% do not think their businesses will survive. ▪ 93% do not have any other income sources. ▪ Gaps in access to information about where to go and how to access business support ▪ Most funding programmes available are too restrictive and risk-averse and therefore unavailable to the majority of township entrepreneurs.

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No.	Author & Year	Institution	Topic	Method	Key findings
12.	Kubone, S. (2019)	North West University	Role of supporting and stimulating the township economy and informal sector in the Gauteng townships	Survey of 68 Soweto, Gauteng Province township enterprises	▪ Highlights need to evaluate impact of support provided to enterprises ▪ A range of challenges are faced by township enterprises including finance, markets, business infrastructure, etc.
13.	Myeko Z. & Iwu, C.G. (2019)	Cape Peninsula University of Technology	Obstacles Faced by African Copreneurs in Black Townships of the Western Cape, South Africa	This study adopts a mixed research methodology, involving both quantitative and qualitative techniques. Data collection instruments included a questionnaire and an interview schedule involving 150 subjects.	▪ The findings reveal, among other things, that major obstacles include the lack of finance for business expansion, as well as the lack of relevant information about government support, crime and absence of infrastructure. ▪ This study provides an opportunity to understand the specific challenges that c face, as well as information about the state of African copreneurship in black townships in the Western Cape.
14.	Charman, A. (2017)	Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation	Micro-enterprise predicament in township economic development: Evidence from Ivory Park and Tembisa	Census of 2 509 Ivory Park & 1 722 Tembisa microenterprises, Gauteng Province townships	▪ Enterprises are similar in structure despite area differences. ▪ Resource constraints, thin markets and access to land and business infrastructure are highlighted as challenges. ▪ Calls for less stricture regulations to enable formalisation.
15.	Charman, A.J.E. *et al.* (2017)	Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation	Small Area Census Approach to Measure the Township Informal Economy in South Africa	Enterprise census in township settlements within 5 major RSA cities	▪ 9,400 individual informal enterprises identified, entailing 10,220 primary and secondary activities, distributed within a population of 325,000 and comprising 97,000 households. ▪ The approach permits significant advances to the understanding of the spatial dynamics of the informal sector.
16.	Hikido, A. (2017)		Entrepreneurship in South African tourism: The impact of inter-racial social capital.	Ethnographic study of women-run tourism businesses in Khayalitsha & Guguletho townships, Cape Town	▪ Contributes to theory of critical race theory ▪ Contends that social capital is not just co-ethnic but can be cross-cultural and interracial ▪ Study reveals power imbalances and deep inequalities between Black and White women in South Africa. ▪ Highlights the importance of personal agency among historically disadvantaged groups

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No.	Author & Year	Institution	Topic	Method	Key findings
					▪ Found that these businesses benefit from long-term relationships with both foreign tourists and with white owned local business (in accessing markets, customers, outsourcing, etc.)
17.	Maisela, R. (2017)	University of the Witwatersrand	Social capital and entrepreneurial performance of immigrant and South African entrepreneurs: A comparative study between immigrant and South African entrepreneurs in Kwa-Tsa-Duza.	Cross-sectional data analysis of South African & immigrant entrepreneurs' performance	▪ Both groups embrace entrepreneurial action. ▪ Deprivation drives entrepreneurial action much more among South Africans than among immigrants. ▪ Locals respond very negatively to competition and do not see benefits (e.g. of social capital brought by immigrants).
18.	Manyaka-Boshielo, S.J. (2017)	University of Pretoria	Social entrepreneurship as a way of developing township economies	Ethnographic approach to literature review of township entrepreneurship & social entrepreneurship Case study of Nellmapius township, Pretoria, Gauteng, using participatory observation	▪ Identifies common challenges of township enterprises ▪ Advocates for a holistic approach to studying this field ▪ Stresses the importance of religion (practical theology) in supporting entrepreneurship, boosting their morale and motivating township dwellers (empowerment)
19.	Mukwarami, J. & Tengeh, R.K (2017)	Cape Peninsula University of Technology	Sustaining Native Entrepreneurship in South African Townships: the Start-up Agenda	Self-administered survey of 121 of spaza shops in Gugulethu & Nyanga, Cape Town	▪ Key challenges include restricted access to seed capital, inability to benefit from bulk purchases, competition from non-South African shops, lack of business information, unsuitable business location, and the lack of collateral. ▪ Other customary challenges include a high level of crime, high cost of security and limited management skills.
20.	Ngwenya, K. (2017)	University of South Africa	Somali immigrants and social capital formation: A case study of spaza shops in the Johannesburg township of Cosmo City	The thesis, being a qualitative study, used semi-structured, unstructured interviews and direct observation as data collection methods	▪ The impact social capital has had on Somali businesses ▪ Argues against the perception that Somali business expertise is derived solely from the principles of economics ▪ Argues that social capital plays a pivotal role in shaping the Somali spirit of entrepreneurship.

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No.	Author & Year	Institution	Topic	Method	Key findings
					Examines the role of social capital in the creation of Somali human and financial capital
21.	Charman, A. (2016)	Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation	The South African township economy and informal micro-enterprises: What are the prospects for youth employment and entrepreneurship?	Semi-structured interviews, focus groups and observations 30 respondents	▪ Local youth are not exploiting business opportunities in own communities, but immigrants are. ▪ Immigrants have better social-networks, technical skills, knowledge of markets, and business acumen. ▪ Yet the informal economy provides the unemployed youth with a starting point from which to enter the labour market.
22.	Hartnack, A. & Liedeman, R. (2016)	Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation	Factors that contribute towards informal microenterprises going out of business in Delft South, 2010-2015	5-year longitudinal study of informal businesses in Delft South, Cape Town 20 case studies included	▪ Broader socio-economic constraints and household shocks play a role in the failure of informal township business. ▪ Success and failure are complex issues and should be studied together. ▪ Even where businesses closed, there were benefits accrued (e.g. skills, assets etc) and some entrepreneurs pursue new business opportunities.
23.	Makhitha, K.M. (2016)	University of South Africa	Challenges impacting on small independent retailers' performance in Soweto, Johannesburg, South Africa	Survey of 104 independent retailers in Soweto	▪ Competition from malls and immigrants was a major challenge. ▪ Other limitations are high costs of doing business, shortage of skills and ineffective marketing strategies.
24.	Maziriri, E.T. & Madinga, N.W. (2016)	Vaal University of Technology	A Qualitative Study on the Challenges Faced by Entrepreneurs Living with Physical Disabilities within the Sebokeng Township of South Africa	15 Sebokeng township entrepreneurs living with disabilities	▪ Access to capital was the biggest challenge. ▪ Discrimination by lending institutions due to disability ▪ Discrimination by society resulting in lack of self-confidence ▪ Lack of or minimal support by agencies ▪ Poor facilities and customised equipment
25.	Rakabe, E. (2016)	REDI 3X3	Prospects for revitalising township economies: from the fringes to the mainstream. A case study of Tembisa	Survey of 170 non-retail enterprises 54 & face-to-face interviews with owners in Tembisa	▪ Non-retail informal enterprises in Tembisa are mostly 'traditional' in nature. ▪ Townships cannot achieve internally driven local economic revitalisation without the presence of emergent MIEs, or at least sufficient conditions to support them. ▪ Strategies to support informal enterprises or revitalise the township economy are not differentiated to suit the needs of the different categories of informal enterprises or and constraints they face, i.e. those that

No.	Author & Year	Institution	Topic	Method	Key findings
					are more traditional and those that are more modernising.
26.	Tengeh, R.K. (2016)	Business Perspectives	Entrepreneurial resilience: the case of Somali grocery shop owners in a South African township	Two focus groups with 13 Somali immigrants	▪ Almost all the current Somali grocery shops in the study area have been victims of crime and theft. ▪ Virtually all the Somali grocery shops that were victimized during the xenophobic outburst have since re-opened. ▪ The themes of resilience and adversity unmistakably indicate the propensity of Somali grocery shop owners' ability to bounce back. ▪ To limit risks, Somalian owners do not run the shops, which is different from other African immigrants in townships.
27.	Koens, K. & Thomas, R. (2015)	University of Applied Sciences, The Netherlands & Leeds Metropolitan University, UK	Is small beautiful? Understanding the contribution of small businesses in township tourism to economic development	Review of existing research analysis of interviews with 90 tourism business located within and outside the townships of Langa and Imizamo Yethu, Cape Town	▪ While the involvement of small, locally owned businesses is beneficial it is limited by conflicts of interest, lack of trust, limited social networks and little attachment to the township locality. ▪ Oversupply of unregulated small businesses leads to owners competing heavily against each other. ▪ Mainstreaming of small businesses is required if the net benefits of tourism are to benefit the 'the poor'.
28.	Matumba, C., & Mondliwa, P. (2015)	University of Johannesburg	Barriers to entry for black industrialists-the case of Soweto Gold's entry into beer.	Case study of Soweto Gold, a recent entrant, to illustrate the barriers to entry and expansion in the beer industry.	▪ The South African economy is characterised by concentrated industries, which pose particular challenges for the increased participation agenda. ▪ The study highlights the new opportunities created by the niche craft beer segment of the industry and the interaction between the mainstream and craft brewing. ▪ The lessons that have emerged are the difficulties that entrants face in getting product to market when the supply chain vertically integrated. ▪ The study also highlights some broader lessons for government support programmes by illustrating the challenges where capabilities exist and finance has been provided.
29.	George, R., & Booysens, I. (2014)	University of Cape Town	Township Tourism Demand: Tourists' Perceptions of Safety and Security	Investigate tourists' perceptions of safety	▪ The study found that the majority (73 %) of respondents felt safe while on a township tour. Eighty-three percent of those surveyed were satisfied with the

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No.	Author & Year	Institution	Topic	Method	Key findings
				and security while on a township tour. A structured questionnaire was used to collect data from 317 tourists who participated in township tours in the Greater Cape Town area.	township tour that they went on, while 82 % of respondents said that they would recommend a township tour. This paper argues that there is a latent demand for culture-led, experience-based township tourism product development to create more opportunities for entrepreneurship and local economic development. Further recommendations for policymakers and tour operators are also provided.
30.	Gwija, S.A. *et al.* (2014)	Cape Peninsula University of Technology	Challenges and Prospects of Youth Entrepreneurship Development in a Designated Community in the Western Cape, South Africa	Self-administered questionnaires that were distributed to 132 respondents from database of a youth support organisation	▪ The key inhibiting factor was a lack of awareness and inaccessibility of existing youth entrepreneurship support structures and initiatives (e.g. by the NYDA). ▪ Red tape, access to finance, business support & premises were other typical challenges. ▪ It is not an easy task for youth entrepreneurs to find good employees – ageism factor.
31.	Mahajan, S. ed. (2014)	World Bank	Economics of South African Townships Special Focus on Diepsloot	Mixed method case study of Diepsloot business census that documented 2,509 Diepsloot businesses Interviews with a sample of 450 business owners	▪ The vast majority of the township's self-employed are "survivalists, informal, new, and micro-size. ▪ Foreign nationals have an oversize presence. ▪ Diepsloot also harbours a rising class of "active entrepreneurs" who by choice are profitably running growth-oriented, employment-generating businesses, with the potential of doing so on an even larger scale. ▪ Typical township challenges (crime, lack of access to finance, premises etc)
32.	Moloi, K.C. & Nkhahle-Rapita, M.A. (2014)	Vaal University of Technology, South Africa	The Impact of Fashion Entrepreneurs' Traits on the Success of Fashion Business in the Gauteng Province of South Africa	Survey of 208 fashion entrepreneurs in the in Vanderbijlpark & surrounding townships	▪ 92.3% of fashion entrepreneurs said they took risks by working long hours in order to succeed in business. ▪ 100% were motivated by the success in their business. ▪ 75.9% considered themselves creative. ▪ There were no significant gender differences except for self-confidence, where more males said they were more confident. ▪
33.	Neneh, B.N & Van Zyl, J. (2014)	University of the Free state, South Africa	Growth Intention and its Impact amongst SMEs in South Africa	▪ Survey of 200 owner-managers of SMEs ▪ n the Free State (Bloemfontein,	▪ The vast majority of the township's self-employed indeed are "survivalists, informal, new, and micro-size. ▪ Foreign nationals have an oversize presence.

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No.	Author & Year	Institution	Topic	Method	Key findings
				Botshabelo, Mangaung)	▪ Some factors (i.e. locus of control, self-efficacy, prior business exposure, level of education, entrepreneurship education, need for achievement, tolerance of ambiguity and uncertainty, and business registration compliance) significantly affect growth intentions of entrepreneurs. ▪ Growth intentions are significantly related to actual firm growth i.t.o. sales and asset growth. ▪ Contrary to similar studies, no significant relationship was found between growth intention and employment creation. ▪
34.	Preisendoerfer, P. *et al*. (2014)	Institute of Sociology, University of Mainz, Mainz, German & University, Port Elizabeth, RSA	Black entrepreneurship: a case study on entrepreneurial activities and ambitions in a South African township	Survey of 350 adult residents of Walmer Township, Port Elizabeth (GEM Study?)	▪ Contrary to the common assumption, entrepreneurial activity and ambition could not be qualified as low. ▪ Factors influencing the probability of self-employment are similar to what is known from many other studies in the field of entrepreneurship. ▪ Socio-demographic attributes (gender, age), human capital factors (schooling, health) and social network resources (membership of organizations, self-employed friends) are significant predictors of entrepreneurial activity. It proves to be difficult, however, to explain who, in fact, articulates entrepreneurial ambitions.
35.	Charman, A.J.E. *et al* (2013)	Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation	Enforced informalisation: The case of liquor retailers in South Africa	Primary research in Delft South township, Cape Town,	▪ Enforcement produces informality in the liquor sector. ▪ Describe key aspects of shebeen business practice, including the responses to greater law enforcement ▪ The great majority of shebeens continue to evade the law by downscaling their activities. ▪ This finding has implications, not just for liquor policy in South Africa, but for understanding both theories of formalisation and theories of the informal economy.
36.	Grant, R. (2013)	University of Johannesburg	Gendered Spaces of Informal Entrepreneurship in Soweto, South Africa	Mixed method Survey of 100 firms and in-depth interviews with 30 firm owners	▪ Soweto's informal production entrepreneurs act in the "do it yourself economy," embedding their firms within their township localities and linking beyond whenever possible.

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No.	Author & Year	Institution	Topic	Method	Key findings
					- Urban & economic planning compartmentalises work and other aspects of life, thus limiting the potential (especially of women). - Success is linked to gender. - Entrepreneurs are hidden away, hence the sum of their combined activities does not register on development radars. - A focus on current informal-economy policies on retailing, youths and new entrepreneurs misses existing production talents and their local and wider contributions.
37.	Lebusa, M.J. (2013)	Vaal University of Technology	The prospects of making small retail outlets in the townships aggressively competitive	15 semi-structured interviews with traditional Small Retail Outlets owners in Sharpeville, Boipatong, Bophelong, Sebokeng and Evaton	- Owners did not display aggressive competitiveness when dealing with other competitors within their market. - Lack of entrepreneurial behaviour and strategy among owners - The Sedibeng local municipality development unit is neither visible nor supportive.
38.	Tengeh, R.K. (2013)	Cape Peninsula University of Technology	A Business Survival Framework for African Immigrant-Owned Businesses in the Cape Town Metropolitan Area of South Africa	Mixed method Survey 135 immigrant-owned SMMEs Interviews and focus group discussions with 13 respondents	- AIEs face a range of challenges when starting and growing businesses. - Furthermore, the AIEs rely more on certain entrepreneurial attributes as they seek innovative and unconventional solutions to problems increase sales revenue while minimising cost.
39.	Mbonyane, B. & Ladzani, M.W. (2011)	University of South Africa, Pretoria, South Africa	Factors that hinder the growth of small businesses in South African townships	30 businesses exploratory, descriptive and qualitative survey of 30 businesses in Kagiso Semi-structured interviews were used to gather data.	- The slow growth rate can be attributed partly to the lack of support that small, medium and micro-enterprises receive from support institutions, and partly to their own internal weaknesses. - The findings furthermore revealed that the most common causes impeding business growth are a lack of legal knowledge, a lack of funding and a general lack of business acumen.
40.	Njiro, E. *et al.* (2010)	University of Johannesburg	A situational analysis of small businesses and enterprises in the townships of the Gauteng province of South Africa	Survey of 40 businesses in 5 Gauteng regions	- Most businesses in townships are very small, with fewer than 10 paid employees ≥R1m p/a. - Most are formal because they are registered for value-added tax and taxes and they operate on formal

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No.	Author & Year	Institution	Topic	Method	Key findings
					premises. Most respondents demonstrated high entrepreneurial cognition with very accurate knowledge of business management practices and the meaning of legislative policies (e.g. B-BEE).
					▪ Most businesses were conversant with the use of banking and credit cards and they avoided personal loans and indebtedness.
					▪ Most businesses demonstrated a good work ethic, kept records for their financial transactions daily.
					▪ However, they were unable to achieve financial flexibility to pay for medical aid, paid leave and unemployment benefits for themselves and their employees. Many said that they had not benefited from BEE as intended by the provisions of the Department of Trade and Industry.

APPENDIX 2

Appendix 2: Inventory of Entrepreneurial Success Research - 2009 to 2019

No.	Author & Year	Institution	Topic	Type / Purpose of study	Research methods	Key findings
1.	Razmus, W. & Laguan, M. 2018	University of Lublin, Poland	Dimensions of entrepreneurial Success: A Multilevel Study on Stakeholders of Micro-Enterprises	▪ 2-step qualitative and quantitative study of indicators and dimensions of entrepreneurial success ▪ Focused on established micro-firms employing +10 people	▪ In-depth interviews with 12 suppliers and customers ▪ Survey of 475 stakeholders of 57 micro-firms ▪ Sampled Polish entrepreneurs	▪ Identified six dimensions at the individual level (i.e. Entrepreneur satisfaction, Work-life balance, Firm social responsibility, Firm reputation, Employee satisfaction & Client satisfaction) ▪ Identified four dimensions at the firm level (i.e. Entrepreneur satisfaction, Relations with the environment, Pro-social activity & Firm credibility)

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No.	Author & Year	Institution	Topic	Type / Purpose of study	Research methods	Key findings
2.	Charman, A.J.E & Petersen, L., 2017.	Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation	Temporal and spatial enterprise change in a township informal economy: A resurvey of micro-enterprises in Delft South.	To identify all existing micro-enterprises within an area of sufficient size to adequately reflect the spatial dynamics of business distribution whilst enabling the researchers to obtain a qualitative understanding of enterprise dynamics	Rerun of survey conducted in 2010 (approx. 2km2 /10,000 households)	▪ The 2015 research found that the number of micro-enterprise activities had doubled (from 879 to 1798) with growth recorded in all but two sectors. ▪ One of the main drivers of change are survivalist businesses in the fast moving consumer goods market segment; the majority of these microenterprises are run by middle-aged women. ▪ The research found insubstantial evidence of businesses relocating to the high street, though there is evidence of fluid adaptability and innovation in the positioning of businesses and their product focus.
3.	He, L. (2017)	Edith Cowan University, Australia	The Perceived Personal Characteristics of Entrepreneurial Leaders	▪ Empirical study of the personal characteristics of entrepreneurial leaders (ELs)	▪ Underpinned by the "common characteristics" model in which ELs have characteristics of both entrepreneurs and leaders. ▪ Semi-structured interviews and a short questionnaire were used ▪ 25 Australian business owners and corporate managers	▪ "Confirms" legitimacy of entrepreneurial leadership as a new concept ▪ Participants understood the concept of entrepreneurial leadership as distinct from those of entrepreneurship and leadership. ▪ Highlights were the importance of integrating pragmatism with ethics and embracing failure as a necessary part of entrepreneurship.
4.	Kriel, S. 2017	The Independent Institute of Education, Durban	Creating sustainable entrepreneurship: Cross-sectional qualitative in-depth interviews to describe Durban SME entrepreneurs'	▪ The purpose of the research was to describe SME entrepreneurs' perceptions of the success factors that were needed to create prosperous businesses.	▪ 4 Durban entrepreneurs ▪ In-depth interviews	▪ Many factors contribute to entrepreneurial success. ▪ A lack of support for businesses impacts negatively on entrepreneurship in South Africa.

No.	Author & Year	Institution	Topic	Type / Purpose of study	Research methods	Key findings
			perception of motivation for entrepreneurship using key success factors	▪ The aim was to assist potential entrepreneurs to strive for success by establishing their own business, which could encourage sustainable entrepreneurship in Durban and essentially SA.		
5.	Przepiorka, A.M. (2017)	University of Lublin, Poland	Psychological Determinants of Entrepreneurial Success and Life-Satisfaction	▪ Quantitative study ▪ Focused on the relationship between action, orientation, hope, goal commitment, entrepreneurial success & life satisfaction ▪ Aimed at determining the role of psychological characteristics in the entrepreneurial process	▪ Survey of 344 potential entrepreneurs in pre-launch stage ▪ Survey of 127 actual entrepreneurs	▪ There was a positive correlation between entrepreneurial success hope and action orientation. ▪ Those who were more action-oriented were more satisfied with their lives. ▪ Those who were more committed to their goals achieved greater success. ▪ Life success correlated positively with entrepreneurial success.
6.	Irene, B.N.O. (2016)	Cardiff Metropolitan University, Wales	Gender and entrepreneurial success: A cross cultural study of competencies of female SMEs operators in South Africa	▪ Mixed approach study ▪ The purpose was to identify gender (female) and context (South African) specific behaviours that delineate entrepreneurial competencies.	▪ Study 1- qualitative: 50 individual interviews with 50 female entrepreneurs ▪ 10 focus group discussions with 78 entrepreneurs were completed. ▪ Study 2 was quantitative: 780 entrepreneurs completed a 6-part questionnaire	▪ Results found that competencies had a major influence on the business success of female South African SME operators. The results demonstrate that self-reported competencies can predict business success in female-owned South African SMEs. The findings were largely consistent with existing models, but behavioural differences defined different competency domains, possibly associated with cultural differences..

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No.	Author & Year	Institution	Topic	Type / Purpose of study	Research methods	Key findings
7.	Przepiorka, A.M. (2016)	University of Lublin, Poland	What Makes Successful Entrepreneurs Different in Temporal and Goal Commitment Dimensions?	▪ Identify different stages (pre-launch & post-launch) i.r.t. temporal & goal-commitment dimension (effort, persistence, goal satisfaction), prelaunch and postlaunch phases) ▪ Indicate differences between entrepreneurs and non-entrepreneurs.	▪ Comparison of 127 Actual and 344 Nascent entrepreneurs with 475 participants either not interested in opening their own business or showing low intention to start their business ▪ Used the Scale of Entrepreneurial Success, Zimbardo Time Perspective, Inventory, and Goal questionnaires	▪ Both actual & nascent of entrepreneurs were more future-oriented and perceived their presence less fatalistically than the group not interested in becoming entrepreneurs. ▪ Entrepreneurs put in more effort, were more persistent in pursuing their goals, and derived more satisfaction from their goals.
8.	Wach, D., Stephan, U. & Gorgievski, (2016)	Institute for Work, Organizational and Social Psychology, Germany	More than money: Developing an Integrative Multi-factoral measure of Entrepreneurial Success	▪ A study of qualitative and quantitative study to conceptualise and operationalise "subjective entrepreneurial success"	▪ Interviews with 185 & Survey of 184 German entrepreneurs ▪ Used the Subjective Entrepreneurial Success-Importance Scale (SES-IS)	▪ Five success factors were identified by entrepreneurs (i.e. Firm performance, Workplace relationships, Personal fulfilment, Community impact & Financial rewards) ▪ Validity of SES-IS confirmed ▪ Concludes that entrepreneurs value various indicators of success, with monetary returns being one option.
9.	Devece, C. Periz-Ortiz, M. & Rueda-Armengot, C. (2016)	University of Valencia, Spain	Entrepreneurship During Economic Crisis: Success Factors and Paths to Failure	▪ Identifies fundamental entrepreneurial factors driving growth of new businesses under different economic conditions	▪ Uses Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) survey data to ▪ Applies fuzzy-set qualitative analysis (fsQCA) to identify basic entrepreneurial characteristics and drivers of entrepreneurship	▪ Access to capital is biggest challenge. ▪ Discrimination by lending institutions due to disability ▪ Discrimination by society results in a lack of self-confidence. ▪ Lack of or minimal support by agencies ▪ Poor facilities and customised equipment

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No.	Author & Year	Institution	Topic	Type / Purpose of study	Research methods	Key findings
10.	Dijkhuizen, J. *et al.* (2016)	Tulburg University & Erasmus University, Netherlands	Feeling successful as an entrepreneur: a job demands—resources approach	▪ Quantitative, cross-sectional study ▪ Investigated how an entrepreneur's job demands relates to their work-related strain and engagement and feeling of subjective success	▪ Online survey of 277 Dutch entrepreneurs ▪ Used questionnaire based on the Demands-Resources (JD-R) Model	▪ Work-related strain is related to both less personal and less financial subjective business success. ▪ Work engagement is related to higher personal but not financial subjective business success. ▪ Both high job-demands and low job resources predicted work-related strain. ▪ Contrary to similar studies, high job demands were not related to low work engagement as low job resources did.
11.	Yadav, M.P. (2015)	University of Rajasthan, India	Model of Entrepreneurial Success: A Review and Research Agenda	Review of entrepreneurial models to find the most widespread factors of entrepreneurial success	▪ Literature review 9 models (i.e. 1) Indigenous Indian 2) Timmon; 3) General model; 4) Wickham, 5) Entrepreneurial Capital; 6) Hisrich & Peters; 7) Integrative; 8) Conceptual and 9) Rajput models	▪ Both micro (individual) and macro (environmental) factors are necessary for building a comprehensive model of entrepreneurial success. ▪ Social, financial and human capital are equally important in explaining success. ▪ Opportunity, environment and personal motivation play a strong role. ▪ Innovation, management skills, organization and personal motivation play a moderate role. ▪ Sets out research agenda for developing countries like Nepal using the models
12.	Fisher, R. Maritz, A. & Lobo, A. (2014)	Swinburne University of Technology, Melbourne, Australia	Evaluating entrepreneurs' perception of success	▪ Through qualitative research, used to explore concept of entrepreneurial success ▪ Themes emerging therefrom informed the development of nine indicators. ▪ The indicators were subjected to exploratory and confirmatory factor	▪ 10 entrepreneurs for qualitative study ▪ 213 entrepreneurs for survey using measurement ▪ Australian samples	▪ Entrepreneurs perceive entrepreneurial success as the presence of both personal and Macro level variables. ▪ The research supports theorizing that suggests entrepreneurial success is a multidimensional construct best captured by more than financial and economic indicators.

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No.	Author & Year	Institution	Topic	Type / Purpose of study	Research methods	Key findings
				analysis in a subsequent study		
13.	Moloi, K.C. Nkhahle-Rapita, M.A. (2014)	Vaal University of Technology, South Africa	The Impact of Fashion Entrepreneurs' Traits on the Success of Fashion Business in the Gauteng Province of South Africa	• Quantitative study to establish the impact of in personality traits on success in the fashion industry.	• Survey of 208 fashion entrepreneurs in the in Vanderbijlpark & surrounding townships • Used self-administered questionnaire to rate a list of entrepreneurial 8 personality traits (Risk-taking, Self-motivation, Ambition, Motivation, Positive Attitude, Creativity & Innovation, Opportunity recognition & Commitment.	• 92.3% of fashion entrepreneurs said they took risks by working long hours in order to succeed in business. • 100% were motivated by the success in their business. • 75.9% considered themselves creative. • There were no significant gender differences except for self-confidence, where more males said they were more confident.
14.	Oyeku, O.M. *et al*. (2014)	Federal Institute of Industrial Research & Babcock University, Nigeria	On Entrepreneurial Success of Small and Medium Enterprises (SMES): A Conceptual and Theoretical Framework	• Define entrepreneurial success from SMEs perspectives • Propose financial & non-financial measures for entrepreneurial success in Nigeria	• Literature review of six various models / frameworks / theories (i.e. Management, Leadership, Personality-based, Human Capital, Goal-setting & General Giessen-Amsterdam models)	• Success can be measured quantitatively (profit, sales return on investment etc.) and qualitatively (knowledge and business experience, ability to offer quality products/services, corporate responsibility etc.). • Proposes an all-inclusive measure covering both financial and non-financial criteria
15.	Neneh, B.N & Van Zyl, J. (2014)	University of the Free state, South Africa	Growth Intention and its Impact amongst SMEs in South africa	• Identify factors determining growth intention among existing business owners • Explore impact of growth intention on actual growth	• Survey of owner-managers of SMEs using self-administered questionnaire • 200 owner-mangers responded in the Free State (Bloemfontein, Botshabelo, Mangaung)	• Vast majority of the township's self-employed indeed are "survivalists, informal, new, and micro-size. • Foreign nationals have an oversize presence. • Some factors (i.e. locus of control, self-efficacy, prior business exposure, level of education, entrepreneurship education, need for achievement, tolerance of ambiguity and uncertainty, and business registration

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No.	Author & Year	Institution	Topic	Type / Purpose of study	Research methods	Key findings
						compliance) significantly affect growth intentions of entrepreneurs. ▪ Growth intentions are significantly related to actual firm growth i.t.o. sales and asset growth. ▪ Contrary to similar studies, no significant relationship was found between growth intention and employment creation.
16.	Tengeh, R.K. (2013)	Tengeh Cape Peninsula University of Technology	A Business Survival Framework for African Immigrant-Owned Businesses in the Cape Town Metropolitan Area of South Africa	▪ Develop a framework for African immigrant businesses	Mixed method Survey 135 immigrant-owned SMMEs Interviews and focus group discussions with 13 respondents	▪ AIEs face a range of challenges when starting and growing businesses Furthermore, the AIEs rely more on certain entrepreneurial attributes as they seek innovative unconventional solutions to problems & to increase sales revenue while minimising cost.
17.	Sefiani, Y. (2013)	University of Gloucestershire, UK	Factors for Success in SMEs: A Perspective from Tangier	▪ Develop a clearer understanding of the factors that influence success of small and medium enterprises in Tangier, as perceived by local owner-managers	Survey of 40 businesses in 5 Tangier regions	▪ There are three generalized influences on the success of SMEs: 1) 'Owner-manager attributes' with an emphasis on the language skills factor – i.e. French as a 2nd language; 2) Financial and networking partnerships; 3) Location in the 'free zones'
18.	Uddin, M.R. & Bose, T.K. (2013)	Khulna University, Bangladesh	Motivation, Success Factors and Challenges of Entrepreneurs in Khulna City of Bangladesh	Desk top review and data analysis from entrepreneurs running business in the Khulna City of Bangladesh	Data was collected using structured questionnaires developed based on previous studies. Factor analysis and multiple regression technique were used to identify and analyse factors associated with motivation, success and	▪ Independence, personal and family security, self-employment and intrinsic factors were associated with motivation. ▪ Business environment, policy issues, infrastructure, raw materials, political instability and costs of equipment were found linked with challenges of entrepreneurs in Khulna city. ▪ Managerial capability, experience and training, family support and honesty, social

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No.	Author & Year	Institution	Topic	Type / Purpose of study	Research methods	Key findings
					challenges of entrepreneurs.	network, price and location are success factors.

APPENDIX 3

Appendix 3: Interviewing Schedule

- INTERVIEWING SCHEDULE -

NARRATING THE ROLE OF SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS IN ENTREPRENEURIAL SUCCESS: A STUDY OF TOWNSHIP ENTREPRENEURS

by

Veronica Mathebula

19231858

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

PhD Entrepreneurship

in the

FACULTY OF ECONOMIC AND MANAGEMENT SCIENCES

at the

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

Study leaders:

(Dr M. Moos and Dr A. Crafford)

Date of submission

15 May 2020

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1. INTRODUCTION

My name is Veronica Mathebula. I am a second-year Doctoral (PhD) student at the University of Pretoria in the Department of Business Management, Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences. As part of our studies, we are required to conduct research on a topic that is relevant to the work of the department. My interest is in how entrepreneurs operating in townships have managed to succeed despite the many challenges they face. I am focusing on case studies of Gauteng township entrepreneurs so that I can understand in more detail some of the factors which have contributed to their success in business.

My approach to the study is to conduct in-depth interviews, which are more like conversations. Depending on the amount of information you have, we may need three (3) to four (4) interviews, but these will be requested ahead of time.

In the interviews, we will begin with you giving me your personal and business background information. Then you will tell me your story as a person entrepreneur and the journey you have travelled to achieve success in business in a township environment. I will probe further if I need clarity or more information on a topic as we go along.

The original plan was to conduct interviews face-to-face, preferably at your business site. However, due to the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown, we are allowed to be more flexible and to use electronic means such as Skype, WhatsApp calls and so on for interviews. Together, we will make the arrangements in advance and use the most convenient media platforms available to you.

If you have any written documents such as CVs, biographies, magazine features, or documentaries that can provide more information about you as an entrepreneur, please share them with me. It would also be very helpful if you could keep a journal of your thoughts and reflections on the topics we will be discussing until we are done with the interviews.

Please note that all the interviews will be recorded and transcribed. With your permission, I may also take photographs or shoot videos of you. The information you provide will be treated as confidential. It will mainly be shared with my lecturers and

supervisors at the university and through my thesis and other publications such as journals. No information will be shared with any other person without your permission. Your responses will not be traceable to you unless you give me permission to quote you directly.

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2. INTERVIEW 1

QUESTIONS

1. BACKGROUND

To begin with, please tell me about yourself, your background, your family, where and how you grew up, your schooling, training, working experience and so on.

Areas to be covered on demographics

- Name
- Gender
- Date and place of birth
- Family (parents, siblings, extended family)
- Language – mother tongue and other languages
- Language mostly spoken at home
- Ethnicity (tribe)
- Education (primary and high school, tertiary education)
- Working experience
- Training for business (formal & informal)
- Marital status and own children (if applicable)

2. PROFILES OF CURRENT OPERATIONAL TOWNSHIP BUSINESS(ES)

For each business, obtain information on:

- Name of business
- Year started
- Type of business
- Main products/services
- Number of employees

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- Gross annual turnover
- Contact details
- Hard and soft copies of profiles, magazine features, photographs, awards etc.

3. ENTREPRNEURSHIP JOURNEY

Let's talk about your journey as an entrepreneur, how you started, where, when and how, who supported you and your entire experience of your first business ventures.

Areas to be covered:

- Type(s) of initial ventures
- Sources of inspiration and influences
- Beginning phases and steps taken
- Sources of resources to start initial business ventures (e.g. infrastructure, finance)
- Performance and status of first ventures and reasons
- Initial operational challenges and mitigation
- Experience of failure and dealing with it
- Key lessons learnt from earlier entrepreneurial ventures for self and others
- Application of lessons in later ventures

INTERVIEW 2 – 4

4. ENTREPRENEURIAL SUCCESS

I would like to hear your views on what an entrepreneur is and what entrepreneurial success entails in your own experience and cultural context.

Areas to be covered:

- What/who is an entrepreneur
- Words or phrases in mother tongue used to describe what or who is an entrepreneur
- Meaning of success in general
- Personal definition of entrepreneurial success
- Words or phrases in mother tongue describing entrepreneurial success

- Measures or indicators used to determine own entrepreneurial success
- Own assessment of success using the measures
- Factors that contributed to own success
- Other aspects wherein success is desired

5. FAMILY

Let's talk about your family in more detail and the role they have played in your journey towards entrepreneurial success.

Areas to be covered:

- Description family life and family relations since childhood
- Views on whether the family has been supportive of entrepreneurial ventures
- Help provided over the years by specific members of immediate and/or extended family since start of entrepreneurial journey.

Probe for information, knowledge, skills, networks, markets, finance, infrastructure, other intangible support (e.g. emotional support)

- Who in the whole family has been the most supportive and how
- Family life and practices that have influenced approach entrepreneurship and conduct business such as:
- Values
- Customs
- Rituals
- Child-rearing practices
- Traditions (passed from generation to generation)
- Family practices that **have not** helped
- Whether values, customs, traditions and child-rearing practices learnt from family are also practice with own children
- Ways family was not supportive in the journey towards entrepreneurial success (if any) and how it could have done better

6. BROADER CULTURE

I am interested in the role that the broader culture plays in the life of entrepreneurs. Please share your views on the broader culture and its role in your journey as an entrepreneur.

Areas to be covered:

- Tribe or ethnic group belonged to
- Language mostly used in business
- Similarities and differences between family culture and the broader culture, if any
- Views on whether there is a distinct township culture and how it differs from family and/or the broader culture
- How the broader culture relates to entrepreneurship in terms of:
- Meanings around gender / gender roles / power relationships
- Child rearing practices
- Meanings around status and sources thereof
- Meanings around individualism vs collectivism
- Meanings around wealth and success
- Risk taking
- Uncertainty avoidance
- Accumulation of wealth
- Aspects of culture (i.e. customs, rituals, traditions etc.) that have assisted in succeeding as an entrepreneur

Probe for information, values, skills, networks, markets, finance, infrastructure, business opportunities, markets and other intangible support

- Cultural factors that **have not** helped
- How the broader culture can assist entrepreneurs to be more successful

7. FRIENDS

Tell me about your friends, if any, who have helped you in business.

Areas to be covered:

- Who they are

- How they met them
- The nature of your relationship with each of them (e.g. how close they are/were, how often they meet/met, where they like to spend time together)
- Current status of friendship(s)
- How the friendship has evolved over time (specify for each friend)
- Views on whether friendships have helped achievement of success in business

Probe for information, knowledge, skills, networks, finance, markets, infrastructure, other intangible support (e.g. emotional support)

- If friends have not helped in achieving success, how they could have done better

8. SOCIAL NETWORKS AND OTHER REFERENCE GROUPS

Let's talk about other personal networks (such as social clubs) that have played in your success.

Areas to be covered:

- Who they are – specify each type and elaborate on:
    - membership type (e.g. voluntary, paid, eligibility, legal status etc.)
    - group size /membership
    - Frequency of gatherings
- How if applicable, networks and clubs assisted in journey towards entrepreneurial success

    Probe for information, networks, knowledge, skills finance, markets, infrastructure, other intangible support (e.g. emotional support)
- If the networks have not assisted, how could they have done better

9. TECHNOLOGY AND SOCIAL MEDIA

Let's talk about how technology and social media have influenced your success.

Areas to be covered:

- Type of technology and social media platforms used and how they have changed over time

- Platforms are used to promote the business
- How social media helped your entrepreneurial adventures

  Probe for information, knowledge, skills, networks, finance, markets, infrastructure, other intangible support (e.g. emotional support)

- If these platforms have not assisted, how this can be improved

10. FAITH AND/OR RELIGION

The role of faith and/or religion in entrepreneurial success is another factor that I would like to explore further with you. Please tell me more about your spiritual beliefs (if you have any) and how these have assisted you to achieve success in your business ventures.

Areas to be covered:

- Faith/region or religious beliefs subscribed to
- Membership of a church, mosque or temple of worship and role if applicable
- Views on how faith and religious beliefs have assisted in attaining success
  Probe for information, knowledge, skills, networks, markets, finance, infrastructure, business opportunities, markets
- Views on wealth accumulation in the light of faith/religion
- Aspects of faith/religion that **have not** been helpful in entrepreneurial success journey and how this can be improved

11. HISTORY AND POLITICS

I am interested in your thoughts on the role that history and politics play in entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial success, especially in townships.

Areas to be covered:

- Views about the political history of townships like Soweto, Mamelodi, Kathorus etc.
- How the political history has impacted on township entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs in general.

- Personal experience of political history and its impact on own entrepreneurship journey.
- Affiliation to / membership of political structures and role played in them (no need to name if so desired)
- How participating in these structures has helped in achieving entrepreneurial success

Probe for information, knowledge, skills, networks, markets, finance, infrastructure, business opportunities, markets

- Ways in which history and politics **have not** enabled success and how this could be remedied

12. TOWNSHIP LIFE AND EXPERIENCES

Let's talk about your township life experience and how it has influenced you as a successful entrepreneur.

Areas to be covered:

- Name of township and length of stay
- Experience of living in a township over the years including highlights and disadvantages
- How township life experiences have influenced the decision to start a business in a township, and specifically the current township
- How living in a township has influenced the way the business(es) are operated/managed
- Unique or specific things about township markets (if any) that have contributed to own entrepreneurial success

Probe for information, skills, knowledge, networks, finance, markets, infrastructure, other intangible support (community support etc.)

- Comments on how the township market has changed over time and the impact, if any, the changes had on personal success
- Ways, if any, operating a business in a township limits your entrepreneurial success

- How township environments can be improved to enable the success of entrepreneurs

13. OTHER ENTREPRENEURIAL SUCCESS FACTORS

So far, we have mostly been talking about social and cultural factors that play a role in entrepreneurial success.

- Are there any other factors that you think have been important to your entrepreneurial success that you wish to highlight?
- Would you say these factors are more important or less important than the ones we have discussed thus far? Please elaborate.

14. LESSONS LEARNT

Please share with me the important lessons you have learnt about entrepreneurial success.

Areas to be covered:
- Lessons learnt from:
  - Life and business experiences
  - Other entrepreneurs
  - Policy makers and government agencies
  - People who assist entrepreneurs with financial and non-financial support (e.g. banks, NGOs).
  - Researchers/academics
- Lessons other people can learn from self

15. CONCLUSION

We have come to the end of our interviews. Thank you very much for availing yourself and participating in my study. I will keep in touch with you and update you on progress with my studies. Do you have any questions for me at this stage?

THE END

Appendix 4: Copy of Introductory Notes for Participants

COPY OF INTRODUCTORY NOTES FOR PARTICPANTS

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Introductory notes

Dept. of Business Management

NARRATING THE ROLE OF SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS IN ENTREPRENEURIAL SUCCESS: A STUDY OF TOWNSHIP ENTREPRENEURS

<u>Research conducted by</u>:
Ms V. Mathebula (19231858)
Cell: 066 302 1997

My name is Veronica Mathebula. I am a second-year Doctoral (PhD) student at the University of Pretoria in the Department of Business Management, Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences. As part of our studies, we are required to conduct research on a topic that is relevant to the work of the department. My interest is in how entrepreneurs operating in townships have managed to succeed despite the many challenges they face. I am focusing on case studies of Gauteng township entrepreneurs so that I can understand in more detail some of the factors which have contributed to their success in business.

My approach to the study is to conduct in-depth interviews, which are more like conversations. Depending on the amount of information you have, we may need three (3) to four (4) interviews, but these will be requested ahead of time.

In the interviews, we will begin with you giving me your personal and business background information. Then you will tell me your story as a person entrepreneur and the journey you have travelled to achieve success in business in a township environment. I will probe further if I need clarity or more information on a topic as we go along.

The original plan was to conduct interviews face-to-face, preferably at your business site. However, due to the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown, we are allowed to be more flexible and to use electronic means such as Skype, WhatsApp calls and so on for interviews. Together, we will make the arrangements in advance and use the most convenient media platforms available to you.

If you have any written documents such as CVs, biographies, magazine features, or documentaries that can provide more information about you as an entrepreneur, please share them with me. It would also be very helpful if you could keep a journal of your thoughts and reflections on the topics we will be discussing until we are done with the interviews.

Please note that all the interviews will be recorded and transcribed. With your permission, I may also take photographs or shoot videos of you. The information you provide will be treated as confidential. It will mainly be shared with my lecturers and supervisors at the university and through my thesis and other publications such as journals. No information will be shared with any other person without your permission. Your responses will not be traceable to you unless you give me permission to quote you directly.

Thank you very much for participating in this important research

Veronica Mathebula

APPENDIX 5

Appendix 5: Copy of Copy of Consent Form for Participants

COPY OF CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS

Consent for participation in an academic research study

Dept. of Business Management

NARRATING THE ROLE OF SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS IN ENTREPRENEURIAL SUCCESS: A STUDY OF TOWNSHIP ENTREPRENEURS

<u>Research conducted by</u>:
Ms V. Mathebula (19231858)
Cell: 066 302 1997

Dear respondent

You are invited to participate in an academic research study conducted by Ms Veronica Mathebula, a student from the Department of Business Management at the University of Pretoria.

The purpose of the study is to investigate the role socio-cultural have played in the entrepreneurial success of township entrepreneurs in Gauteng.

Please note the following:

- This study involves face-to-face and/or online interviews using an interviewing schedule as a guide. All the interviews will be recorded and transcribed. With your permission, photographs or videos of you may be shot.

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- The interview is more like a conversation whereby you are encouraged to tell your story and I prompt you for further information or ask clarity questions. Please answer all the as completely and honestly as possible.

- Depending on our progress and the details of your story, we might hold 3-4 interviews.

- The information you provide will be treated as strictly <u>confidential</u>. Your responses will not be traceable to you unless you give me permission to quote you directly.

- Your participation in this study is very important. You may, however, choose not to participate and you may also stop participating at any time without any negative consequences.

- The results of the study will be used for academic purposes only and may be published in an academic journal. I will provide you with a summary of our findings on request.

- Please contact my study leader, Dr M.N Moos, on tel. (012) 420-4667 (e-mail: menisha.moos@up.ac.za) if you have any questions or comments regarding the study.

Please sign the form to indicate that:

- You have read and understand the information provided above.
- You give your consent to participate in the study on a voluntary basis.

Respondent's signature: _____

Date: _____

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