

**Women entrepreneurs and belonging in entrepreneurial
resourcing practice.**

by

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Abstract

Women's entrepreneurship has been lauded as a potential key contributor towards social and economic development and well researched over the last three decades. Central to these studies is the acknowledgement of gendered and racialised patterns in the field and the consequent association of entrepreneurship with maleness and whiteness. This has resulted in unequal access to resources for women entrepreneurs and a sense of alienation and non-belonging. Furthermore, black women entrepreneurs have been noted to experience the double-negative of race and gender thus experiencing disproportional alienation, being severely under resourced and resulting in their enterprises being smaller and less profitable than their white counterparts. Entrepreneurial resourcing is key to venture development and success, with belonging being found to influence resourcing practices. In this study, the entrepreneurship as practice (EaP) approach was employed to explore the belonging and resourcing practices of 26 black women entrepreneurs in South Africa utilising a narrative design, situated in the social constructionist paradigm. The study provides several contributions. Firstly, it contributes a new conceptual framework about the practices that black women entrepreneurs within certain contexts, employ to negotiate belonging and resourcing. Secondly, it extends the Occupational Perspective of Health theory (OPH) from Psychology, into entrepreneurship. Thirdly, by employing OPH, the study refines the existing theories of entrepreneurial belonging by revealing the interdependent nature of belonging with doing, being and becoming. The study then makes a methodological contribution by offering a systematic approach for the examination of practice interrelationships and complex entrepreneurial experiences. Additionally, it makes an empirical contribution with the unique dataset of life histories of black women entrepreneurs from across the African continent. Finally, it offers practical strategic guidelines for navigating, fast-tracking and achieving belonging and resourcing for marginalised entrepreneurs.

Key words: *Entrepreneurial belonging, resourcing, black women entrepreneurs, entrepreneurship-as-practice, resourcing-as-practice, forms of capital, capital conversion, intersectionality, community as resource.*

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1. Introduction

This chapter establishes the foundation for this study on belonging and resourcing practices of black women entrepreneurs in South Africa. It opens with the broader background context of enterprise development and women's entrepreneurship in Africa and builds into the gender and racial gaps in access to entrepreneurial resources (Martinez Dy, 2019; Romero & Valdez, 2016a). This will be followed by an examination of the relationship between women entrepreneurs and belonging in resourcing practices, building into the research problem and a discussion on the research context of South Africa as a relevant setting for studying black women entrepreneurs' experiences with belonging and resourcing. Lastly, the research questions, the research design employed to answer them and the theoretical, practical and methodological contributions of this research will be addressed. The chapter concludes by outlining the contents of the remainder of the document.

1.1. The background

Enterprise development has been posited to be pivotal to economic growth, jobs creation and innovation in Africa (World Bank, 2019). Small and medium enterprises in particular are predicted to play a significant role in Africa's economic recovery post the Covid-19 pandemic (Sadibe, 2020). Women's entrepreneurship in particular has been touted as a key vehicle for economic and social development (Hechavarria et al., 2019; Sarpong et al., 2022). Recognizing this potential, the World Bank has been calling on governments to implement policies that enhance the economic resilience of women-owned enterprises, particularly post the challenges presented by the pandemic (Copley, 2020). A woman-owned enterprise is described as one in which one or more women owns 51% or more of the enterprise (Ibrahim et al., 2016).

Gendered and racialised patterns, however, have been noted to impact women's ability to access resources and their sense of belonging in entrepreneurship (Barragan et al., 2018; Erogul et al., 2021; Wheadon & Duval-Couetil, 2019) as well as their, both which are key for entrepreneurial endeavour (Martinez Dy et al., 2017). This is in spite of women-owned enterprises having proven to be

equally sustainable (Ibrahim et al., 2016). This could have negative consequences for the economic development of regions such as sub-Saharan Africa, reported to have more females than males starting up entrepreneurial businesses (Nziku & Struthers, 2017).

1.2. Women entrepreneurs and belonging in resourcing practices

The gender gap in access to capital for women entrepreneurs is well acknowledged in literature from a global perspective (Brush et al., 2018; Espinoza Trujano & Phiri, 2022) as well as a sub-Saharan Africa perspective (Etim & Iwu, 2019). This is in spite of controlling for factors such as education, age, rural residency and employment status (Demirguc-Kunt et al., 2013). This is also in spite of women entrepreneurs having been found to have equal growth intentions as their male counterparts (Ngoasong & Kimbu, 2019); and women directors proven to contribute positively to firm and portfolio value (Gyapong et al., 2016; Roberts, 2016). This gap in access to resources is argued to have resulted in women-owned businesses not fulfilling their growth potential (Irwin et al., 2023) and being more likely to close operations within the first five years (Shava, 2018). It is estimated that sub-Saharan Africa loses \$95 billion in productivity annually due to the lack of full integration of women entrepreneurs in the regional economy (Mastercard, 2019).

The gender gap in access to resources exists at the various stages of business development from pre-startup and nascency, to the early-stage and established phases (Leitch et al., 2018). This gender gap has been ascribed to both supply (institutional) and demand (agent) side issues (Kanze et al., 2018; Leitch et al., 2018). Whilst significant progress has been made on researching these institutional and agentic factors over the last few decades, the gap and contradictions persist (Alsos & Ljunggren, 2017). Additionally, it has been noted that when it comes to entrepreneurial resourcing, women entrepreneurs face disproportional contextual challenges related to local or regional social and cultural norms (Adom et al., 2018) as well as retrogressive legal and regulatory frameworks (Etim & Iwu, 2019; World Bank, 2019).

Research has found that entrepreneurial resourcing is context-specific; often related to industry norms and values; and where fitting in with expectations is noted to increase the chances for small businesses to access resources (Stringfellow et al., 2014). However, this fitting in or belonging, defined as experiencing being part of a social fabric (Anthias, 2008), is often elusive for women (Barragan et al., 2018; Erogul et al., 2021; Essers et al., 2020), as entrepreneurship is not a level playing field (Jones & Clifton, 2017; Martinez Dy, 2020). Entrepreneurship is associated with masculinity (Garcia-Lorenzo et al., 2021; Wheadon & Duval-Couetil, 2019) and consequently in conflict with womanhood (García & Welter, 2011; Martinez Dy, 2020), with some cultures and business environments being noted to be hostile to women entrepreneurs (Carranza et al., 2018; Yunis et al., 2018).

Furthermore, entrepreneurship has been associated with whiteness which has resulted in black female entrepreneurs and other non-white female entrepreneurs being noted to experience a sense of double alienation (Essers et al., 2020; Martinez Dy, 2020; Martinez Dy et al., 2017). Industry reports support these findings, noting that black entrepreneurs are less well-resourced than their white counterparts and thus face greater difficulty in starting up and growing businesses (Timm, 2018). Several theories have been postulated to account for gender and racial disparities including effects of historical inequalities (Chambers, 2018) and inadequacies in social and human capital (Brush et al., 2019). What is becoming apparent, however, is that resource allocation and accumulation tend to favour better-resourced actors (Barrett & Vershinina, 2017; Brush et al., 2019; Vincent, 2016) and social hierarchies and their enduring position may have more relevance to entrepreneurial resourcing than has been previously understood (Martinez Dy, 2020). Whilst increasing attention has gone into the study of women entrepreneurs in Africa in the last 10 years, significant gaps remain and there have been calls to examine how women entrepreneurs innovatively navigate the hostile business environments in which they find themselves (Ojong et al., 2021).

With these contextual layers in view, recent calls have been made to move women entrepreneurship studies from the agent versus institution approaches to

examining the processes and practices in between (Garcia-Lorenzo et al., 2018). Scholars have proposed that utilising a practice approach that encompasses context and integrates the supply and demand side (McKelvey, 2004) would be beneficial for studies of women's entrepreneurship, as it is said to overcome the weaknesses of both approaches (Janssens & Steyaert, 2019) and can offer various insights into how people build, carry out, and understand social interactions (Higgins et al., 2019). However, whilst the practice approach has seen significant progress in fields such as strategy, management and organisational studies, it is still nascent in entrepreneurship (Champenois et al., 2020; Thompson et al., 2020). This study will thus apply an entrepreneurship as practice (EaP) approach to the study of the belonging and resourcing practices of black women entrepreneurs.

1.3. Research problem

Research has found that gender is embedded in financing (Swail & Marlow, 2018) and underpins how financiers and entrepreneurs relate in more intricate ways than the visible differences between women and men (Alsos & Ljunggren, 2017). Earlier studies in the field of women's entrepreneurship, however, have been criticised for assuming as normative the combination of maleness and entrepreneurship and focusing studies on the comparisons between men and women (Bourne & Calás, 2013; García & Welter, 2011; Jones & Clifton, 2017). This approach has been accused of taking the starting point of women entrepreneurs as underperformers compared to their male counterparts (Dean et al., 2019). There have thus been calls for research on women entrepreneurs to move beyond differences between women and men, towards studying the heterogeneity of women entrepreneurs (Henry et al., 2021; Marlow & Martinez Dy, 2018; Poggesi et al., 2019).

Secondly, whilst gender is universally utilised as an identity factor, academics advise against making assumptions that gender effects are universal across races (Collins, 2015; Kimberlè Crenshaw, 2015; Yacus et al., 2019). The assumption of universal gender effects is said to have resulted in studies that look at women entrepreneurs as a homogenous group (Yacus et al., 2019) and negated the differences in experiences of non-white or racialised women (Orser

et al., 2019). Recent studies have found that the gender gap in access to resources is noted to disproportionately impact black women entrepreneurs in particular, who have been found to be severely under-funded (Martinez Dy, 2019; Wang, 2019). This is said to have resulted in black women entrepreneurs being more likely to operate small, labour intensive and low profit businesses (Knight, 2016). Scholars thus argue that there is need to theorise more around the disadvantage that positionality based on race and gender may impose on entrepreneurial activity such as resourcing (Martinez Dy, 2020).

Entrepreneurial resourcing is noted to be a complex process demanding the balancing of both entrepreneurial distinctiveness and belonging (Henry et al., 2021; Shepherd & Haynie, 2009). Belonging encompasses both identifying with and being accepted by a particular community in a social location (Rogers & Ahmed, 2017). Because entrepreneurial resourcing is social-relational, it is said to require an understanding of the rules of the game and performances of belonging (Hill, 2018). Fitting in with industry norms and expectations; and belonging has been noted to increase the chances for small businesses to access resources (Stringfellow et al., 2014).

Women entrepreneurs have been noted to face more hostility in entrepreneurship than their male counterparts (Carranza et al., 2018). Studies have found that women entrepreneurs have had to employ various practices in order to belong and access resources (Barrett & Vershinina, 2017; Orser et al., 2019). This has included practices such as silencing gender by concealing experiences of disadvantage related to gender (Bourne & Calás, 2013; Radu-Lefebvre et al., 2021); and employing technology (Orser et al., 2019) and/or proxies (Radu-Lefebvre et al., 2021; Vershinina et al., 2019) to bypass gender, race and role biases. Further, women entrepreneurs have been found to switch up identities depending on context, deciding to bring to the fore either gender, race or entrepreneurial identity in order to belong (Harvey, 2005; Stead, 2017) or balance in liminal gendered states (Birkner, 2020).

On the contrary, other women entrepreneurs have been found to deny altogether the existence of gender effects in their entrepreneurial belonging and practice

and/or push back against gendered assumptions (García & Welter, 2011; Jones & Clifton, 2017). Research notes that belonging can be elective (Anthias, 2013) and that feelings of belonging vary across locations, space and time (Doan & Portillo, 2017). Less is known, however, about belonging practices in resourcing.

Social identity theory has been touted to have the potential for the analysis of rich 'other-oriented' behaviour (Pan et al., 2019) which often plays out in relationships between financiers and entrepreneurs where gender and racial stereotyping behaviours have been found to play a role in evaluations of ventures (Balachandra et al., 2019). Social identity theory posits that the groups which people belong to such as football teams, race or gender are a key source of prestige and self-esteem as they give a sense of social identity (Tajfel, 1978). These are known as in-groups and according to the theory, in-group favouritism and bias occurs to increase self-esteem fed by comparison to an out-group and resulting in discriminatory treatment of the out-group (Brown et al., 1979). However, because people can belong to multiple groupings, simultaneous membership in many groups can result in complex identities that shape perceptions and experiences of bias in various ways (Gillborn, 2015).

The concept of intersectionality, which has roots in black feminism, sought to extend social identity by illuminating the complexity of marginality when people are at the intersection of several groupings (Kimberlé Crenshaw, 1991; Gillborn, 2015). Whilst promising, both social identity theory and intersectionality, however, fail to highlight how belonging is said to be in continual accomplishment through different practices (Antonsich, 2010; Stead, 2017) and what these practices are. Utilising an EaP approach, therefore, may be able to illuminate new findings. This study thus proposes to focus on the practices of belonging in the entrepreneurial resourcing processes of black women entrepreneurs.

Practice scholars assert that a practice consists of arrangements of doings and sayings (Champenois et al., 2020). Narrative has been offered as an ideal site for examining the construction of experiences and creation of reality whilst being constituted of it (Jones & Clifton, 2017). It has been put forward that narratives allow for an understanding of events and practices (Hjorth, 2007); context

(Clandinin, 2006) and are sites through which performances (linguistically and non-linguistically) and emic constructions of belonging and the influence of gender and race in resourcing can be examined (Jones & Clifton, 2017). Narratives can also allow for the examination of how such constructions are reinforced within an economic system (Barrett & Vershinina, 2017). The narrative design is suited to the EaP approach as it is noted to make evident the interplay of structure and agency (Rogers & Ahmed, 2017). Narratives have been used in EaP in some studies, albeit to a limited extent (Champenois et al., 2020), such as in a study of gendered practices and their use as strategic devices (García & Welter, 2011). This study will thus be utilising a narrative design.

1.4. Research context: South Africa

South Africa is noted to be one of the countries in the world, with the highest economic disparities across racial and gender lines (Haya & Amaleya, 2019). It has been put forward that in order to better understand the racial and gendered nature of entrepreneurship (Erogul et al., 2021), an understanding of historical and cultural events and how the effects of such contingent events remain in current contexts is required (Bourne & Calás, 2013; Knight, 2016; O'Neill & Viljoen, 2011). Various Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) policies have been put in place in attempts to redress the socio-economic impact of past oppressive gender and racial policies of the apartheid regime including supplier development programs that incentivize large corporations to include previously disadvantaged people into their supply chains (Das Nair & Landani, 2021).

However, studies have found that these policies have not been entirely effective, with few women entrepreneurs accessing formal finance more than two decades post-apartheid (Phillips et al., 2014). Black women entrepreneurs in South Africa, in particular, have been noted to be disproportionately under resourced and reported to experience a double negative of being both black and female (Jennings & Tonoyan, 2022; Nambiar et al., 2020).

This is in line with findings in the western world where effects of historical inequalities are reported as having a lingering effect on black entrepreneurs who tend to face greater difficulty in growing their businesses (Chambers, 2018).

There is however a dearth of research on studies on entrepreneurial resourcing practices for developing countries like South Africa (Derera et al., 2014; Poggesi et al., 2016). This context thus makes South Africa as a country, particularly relevant for a study on the belonging and resourcing practices of black women entrepreneurs.

1.5. Research questions

Belonging has been well explored in fields such as management (Bennett et al., 2019); migrant tourism (Su & Chen, 2017) and various studies of citizenship, group cohesion and an individual's position within these frameworks and the wider social fabric (Schmitt, 2010). Less is known however about the dynamics, conditions and contexts that allow, enable or facilitate for some women entrepreneurs to employ some practices versus others to perform belonging (Stead, 2017). Less is also known about how these dynamics may differ for black women entrepreneurs (Knight, 2016) as research notes that the management of and responses to inequality tends to differ by race (Bey et al., 2019). Little is also known about how these belonging practices influence or intertwine with resourcing practices (Keating et al., 2014).

The research questions that this study therefore seeks to answer are:

- **Main question:** How does belonging contribute to resourcing, in the context of entrepreneurship as practice, for black women entrepreneurs in South Africa?
 - *Sub-question one:* What kind of belonging practices are employed by black women entrepreneurs?
 - *Sub-question two:* What kind of resourcing practices are employed by black women entrepreneurs?
 - *Sub-question three:* What kind of belonging practices aid in the resourcing practices of black women entrepreneurs?

1.6. Research contribution

This research makes several theoretical contributions as well as practical, methodological and empirical ones as highlighted in the sections below.

1.6.1. Theoretical contribution

Whilst the concept of belonging has been studied in various fields such as management (Bennett et al., 2019); migrant tourism (Su & Chen, 2017); identity (Doan & Portillo, 2017) citizenship and society (Anthias, 2002; Lähdesmäki et al., 2016; May, 2011; Schmitt, 2010); it has been less applied in the areas of women's entrepreneurship (Birkner, 2020; Eroglu et al., 2021; Stead, 2017) and studies of black women in entrepreneurship (Essers et al., 2020; Knight, 2016). There have been calls for research in entrepreneurship to move beyond examining the differences between women and men entrepreneurs towards studying the heterogeneity of women entrepreneurs (Henry et al., 2021; Marlow & Martinez Dy, 2018; Poggesi et al., 2019). This study fills these gaps by generating a new conceptual framework (Corley & Gioia, 2011; Reay & Whetten, 2011; Ridder et al., 2014) about how black women entrepreneurs negotiate belonging and resourcing in certain contexts.

Secondly, by utilising the Occupational Perspective of Health theory (OPH) (Hitch et al., 2014b; Wilcock, 1999) from psychology as an analytical frame, it extends theory by drawing from perspectives outside of entrepreneurship (Edmondson & Mcmanus, 2007; Reay & Whetten, 2011; Ridder et al., 2014). Thirdly, by utilising OPH as an analytical frame (Hitch et al., 2014b; Wilcock, 1999), it refines the existing theories of entrepreneurial belonging (Birkner, 2020; Essers et al., 2020; Stead, 2017) by revealing the interdependent nature of entrepreneurial belonging with doing, being and becoming.

Lastly, entrepreneurial behaviour and process have in the past been studied in an economic, functionalist and rationalist way (Hill, 2018), overlooking what happens during and in-between processes and practices of entrepreneuring (Garcia-Lorenzo et al., 2018). There have thus been calls for academia to move towards a practice perspective that incorporates wider societal context (Henry et al., 2021) including gender and race (De Clercq & Voronov, 2009; Hill, 2018; Thompson, Verduijn & Gartner, 2020). There also remains need to examine how enduring positions in social hierarchies based on race and gender influence and affect resourcing practices (Martinez Dy, 2020; Vincent & Pagan, 2019) and resource inequality (Martinez Dy et al., 2017); and a dearth of studies that focus

on all four forms of capital (Ruiner, 2019). Through combining the use of OPH theory (Hitch et al., 2014b; Wilcock, 1999) and Bourdieu's forms of capital theory (Bourdieu, 1986b) the study fills these gaps and contributes to refining (Corley & Gioia, 2011; Ridder et al., 2014) the theories of entrepreneurial belonging (Birkner, 2020; Essers et al., 2020; Stead, 2017) and EaP (Champenois et al., 2020; Hill, 2018) by revealing new insights about the resourcing and belonging practices of black women entrepreneurs.

1.6.2. Practical contribution

Studies in women's entrepreneurship that have examined resourcing have had a heavy focus on the pre-startup and nascent stages of venture creation (Gherardi, 2015; Hill, 2018; Swail & Marlow, 2018) and mainly been in the developed world context (Garcia-Lorenzo et al., 2018; Keating et al., 2014; Stringfellow et al., 2014). There however remains gaps in research focused on resourcing post-nascency (Hill, 2018) and resourcing in the developing world context for women entrepreneurs (Shava, 2018). The proposed study will look to contribute to closing this gap.

Industry research revealed that when women are able to earn they tend to invest 90% back into their families and communities compared to 35% for men (CGI, 2011). This has implications for economic progress both at community and national levels. This research could thus have practical use for policy makers such as the government of the republic of South Africa that have plans for turning South Africa into a thriving and inclusive society (Government of the Republic of South Africa, 2017). The findings could be applied towards policy implementation around access to resourcing that could be focused towards black women entrepreneurs and help level the playing field. Additionally, the findings could be adopted by regional policy makers that are involved in driving gender and racial inclusivity in economies.

Thirdly, this research has practical applications for women entrepreneurs in the developing world context who may be looking to learn about resourcing practices that work for others. Further, this study could be useful for women entrepreneurs

seeking to learn about practices of belonging that could help them navigate their entrepreneurship journey more effectively.

Lastly, the proposed study could have practical application for institutional financiers, funders and support agencies who seek to understand and support black women entrepreneurs. It could also have practical application for ecosystem players such as entrepreneurship accelerators or trainers that seek to increase women's participation in entrepreneurship.

1.6.3. Methodological contribution

Whilst a number of studies have looked at similar topics such as how members of minority groups choose to support each other in particular capital raising contexts like crowdfunding (Greenberg & Mollick, 2017); how women tend to use personal networks for resourcing (Kwapisz & Hechavarría, 2018); and gender differences among small and medium entrepreneurs seeking external financing in Canada (Orser et al., 2006); they have tended to employ a quantitative approach. There thus remains insufficient insights into the why of resourcing practices and more so in the developing world context (Leitch et al., 2018). There have thus been calls for qualitative studies to contribute to theory building and look at issues related to being female and other identities such as race and the process or ability to acquire entrepreneurial resourcing (Greenberg & Mollick, 2017; Kwapisz & Hechavarría, 2018). This study will apply a qualitative approach and contribute to filling this gap.

Secondly, whilst practice theorists have conceived that a practice consists of organized 'doings and sayings', few EaP studies have utilised life history narratives in their designs (Champenois et al., 2020; Thompson et al., 2020). This study will make a methodological contribution to EaP by applying a life history narrative design.

Lastly, a distinctive empirical contribution of this research lies in its rich and unique dataset of life histories from Black women entrepreneurs from across the African continent. The study captured detailed narratives spanning multiple countries and cultural contexts, providing unprecedented insights into how

African women navigate entrepreneurship through different historical, social and economic landscapes. This diverse dataset allowed for a deep exploration of how cultural heritage, historical contexts and contemporary challenges shape entrepreneurial practices.

1.7. Scope of study

The research investigates the belonging and resourcing practices of 26 purposively sampled Black women entrepreneurs with formalised businesses in South Africa. The research is situated in a social constructionist paradigm (Andrews, 2012; Pritchard et al., 2019) and employs the EaP approach (Champenois et al., 2020; Janssens & Steyaert, 2019; McKelvey, 2004). A narrative design (Clandinin, 2006; Hjorth & Steyaert, 2004; Jones & Clifton, 2017) using oral histories (Leavy, 2011; Sarkar, 2012), photo diaries (Latham, 2003; Schultze & Avital, 2011); and written logs (Schultze, 2014; Schultze & Avital, 2011) is adopted to examine the belonging and resourcing practices. This methodological choice aligns with the study's focus on understanding how participants navigate their entrepreneurial journeys through both observable practices and their subjective experiences of belonging.

South Africa as a context is particularly significant as it provides unique conditions for examining how historical socio-economic factors of apartheid influence both belonging and access to resources among Black women entrepreneurs. The study specifically explores the intersection of gender and race, while acknowledging other demographic factors primarily in relation to their influence on belonging and resourcing practices. This boundary allows for a focused examination of how Black women entrepreneurs navigate and negotiate their position within entrepreneurial spaces.

1.8. Contents of the document

This research study is organised as follows:

Chapter 1 introduces the study, providing the background, context and laying out the research questions and the study's theoretical, practical, methodological and empirical contributions.

Chapter 2 presents a comprehensive literature review that begins by defining women entrepreneurs and exploring their relationship with capital through Bourdieu's theoretical lens. The review delves into social identity theory, intersectionality and the concept of belonging, before examining entrepreneurship through a practice-based approach. This theoretical foundation sets up the study's unique perspective on how belonging and resourcing interact in entrepreneurial practices.

Chapter 3 details the methodological approach, outlining a narrative research design that employs oral history interviews alongside photo and written diary methods. The chapter explains the sampling strategy, data collection methods, and analytical approach, including the use of the Occupational Perspective of Health Theory as an analytical frame.

Chapters 4 -7 present the findings starting with summaries of the participant's life story narratives (chapter 4); the findings on belonging (chapter 5); the findings on resourcing (chapter 6); and the findings on how the practices of belonging intersect with the practices of resourcing (chapter7).

Chapter 8 presents a detailed discussion of the findings, organizing them into ten major themes and chapter 9 builds on these findings to present the study's theoretical contributions, including a new conceptual framework for understanding the relationship between belonging and resourcing in entrepreneurship. The chapter compares this new model with existing theories and outlines its practical and methodological contributions.

The document concludes with Chapter 10, which summarizes the key findings in relation to the original research questions, acknowledges the study's limitations, and provides recommendations for future research. The chapter ends by emphasizing the significance of understanding how belonging and resourcing practices intersect in the experiences of Black women entrepreneurs.

2. Literature review

Women entrepreneurs have been extensively studied in academia over the last 30 years (Yadav & Unni, 2016). This chapter will review extant literature in the field of women's entrepreneurship beginning with the definition of women entrepreneurs; then honing into the issues surrounding women entrepreneurs and access to capital; and the criticisms of how studies in the field have been done to date. This will be followed by a discussion of the gendered and racialised nature of entrepreneurial resourcing; highlighting how social identity theory and the concept of intersectionality have been put forward as useful theoretic and analytic lenses for entrepreneurial resourcing; and pointing out some of the weakness of intersectionality. Subsequently, the chapter will introduce the concept of belonging; highlighting its development in literature and in the study of women entrepreneurs; and its connection to entrepreneurial resourcing. This will culminate in the introduction of EaP as a useful approach, that compensates for the weaknesses of intersectionality, for studying resourcing and belonging; and concluding with the gaps identified in EaP literature around the belonging and resourcing practices of black women entrepreneurs.

2.1. Definition of women entrepreneurs

The term 'women entrepreneurs' has been defined in various ways in different studies with some texts defining it as women who lead and organize businesses and create employment (Tripathi, 2012); or women who start, organise and operate businesses (Rashmi, 2016). Other texts qualify it as the women that participate in businesses with a known and traceable location (Maru & Chamjor, 2013). Criteria for the definition have been proposed which include percentage ownership, employment, management and formality of the business the women are involved in (Avolio, 2011). A woman-owned enterprise has been described as one in which one or more women owns 51% or more of the enterprise (Ibrahim et al., 2016) and also as one that employs 51% or more women (Rashmi, 2016). Whilst the common denominator in the definition is the female gender, studies tend to define it according to context of research (Avolio, 2011). Thus for the purposes of this study, the definition of women entrepreneurs will be borrowed from a combination of definitions from Rashmi (2016) and Tripathi (2012) as 'women who start, lead and organize businesses' (Rashmi, 2016; Tripathi, 2012).

Women enterprises will be defined as ‘formally registered businesses, in which one or more women owns 51% or more of the enterprise’ (Avolio, 2011; Ibrahim et al., 2016).

2.2. Women entrepreneurs and access to capital

Studies reveal that entrepreneurs often experience high stress due to the emotional demands and uncertainties inherent in building a business (Shir et al., 2019). The entrepreneurial project is said to be constantly going through transformation and evolution and likened to an endurance act layered with struggle (Murdock & Varnes, 2018; Shir et al., 2019). To endure and thrive, entrepreneurs have been said to need to employ certain practices to create order, adapt to tensions, sense make and manage key phase transitions (McKelvey, 2004) as well as defining junctions to keep the entrepreneurial project alive (Murdock & Varnes, 2018). It is noted that the ability to access capital is key for venture development and growth (Stringfellow et al., 2014).

2.2.1. Bourdieu's Forms of Capital Theory

The literature splits capital largely into four categories, with many building on Bourdieu's Forms of Capital theory that conceptualized capital into economic, social, cultural and symbolic (Bourdieu, 1986b, 1990). Economic capital which is related to financial and economic assets; social capital is associated with relationships and social networks; cultural capital is related to tacit knowledge, skills and know-how such as education; whilst symbolic capital is related to power and status in particular fields (Çakmak, Lie & McCabe, 2018; Hikido, 2018; Hill, 2018; Vincent, 2016). For the purposes of this study the forms of capital are defines as below:

- **Economic Capital:** *Encompasses monetary resources and financial holdings that facilitate wealth generation and economic advancement (Nowicka, 2013; Vershinina & Rodgers, 2020)*
- **Social Capital:** *The aggregate value and advantages or resources, both economic and intangible, that emerge from networks of relationships within a specific field of practice. (Brush et al., 2018; Keating et al., 2014).*
- **Cultural Capital:** *Manifests in three distinct forms: embodied (internalized behaviours, mindsets and dispositions), objectified (ownership of culturally*

valued items), and institutionalised (formal qualifications and credentials that validate expertise (Çakmak et al., 2018; Yeröz, 2019).

- ***Symbolic Capital:*** *The accumulation of prestige, legitimacy, and societal recognition bestowed upon individuals through others' acknowledgment of their achievements and status which emerges from the interplay between possessing notable attributes and receiving social validation of these distinctions (Çakmak et al., 2018; Vershinina & Rodgers, 2020).*

The different forms of capital are given meaning and valued differently by context (Nowicka, 2013) and are said to be transferrable from one form to another (Bourdieu, 1986b). Of all the four capitals, economic capital is often cited as the most essential for interacting in economic systems and as well as the most transformable into the other three capitals (Karataş-Özkan, 2011). Overall, Bourdieu (1986, 1990) claims that how we act (our practice) comes from the combination of our ingrained habits, the resources we have access to (capital), and the environment we are in (field) and makes it an ideal theory for the study of entrepreneurial resourcing.

2.2.2. The gendered and racialised nature of capital

Subsequently, the entrepreneurial world has been found to not be a level playing field for women entrepreneurs (Espinoza Trujano & Phiri, 2022; Irwin et al., 2023; Jones & Clifton, 2017). Studies have exposed for example that there is a gap in access to capital and resources for women entrepreneurs versus their male counterparts, in spite of women entrepreneurs being found to perform better in certain industries (Gicheva & Link, 2013; Guzman & Kacperczyk, 2019; Irwin et al., 2023).

Literature further notes that when it comes to access to capital, white entrepreneurs have been privileged compared to their black counterparts (Knight, 2016; Wang, 2019). This has translated into black women entrepreneurs, experiencing a 'double-negative' based on race and gender (Jennings & Tonoyan, 2022) and being found to be severely under-funded (Martinez Dy, 2019; Wang, 2019). As a result, black women entrepreneurs are noted to be more likely to operate low profit, small and labour intensive businesses than their white

counterparts (Knight, 2016). Several theories have been postulated to account for the gender and racial disparity including effects of historical inequalities (Chambers, 2018) and inadequacies in social and cultural capitals (Brush et al., 2019). Ultimately, the gap in access to resources has been ascribed to both supply (institutional) and demand (agent) side issues (Kanze et al., 2018; Leitch et al., 2018).

2.2.3. *The supply view*

On the supply side, the inequality in access to capital has been ascribed to investor driven biases linked to the perception of women entrepreneurs being higher risk (Kanze et al., 2018; Malmström, Johansson & Wincent, 2017); less growth oriented (Guzman & Kacperczyk, 2019); and less credible and capable than their male counterparts (Bigelow et al., 2014; Mohammadi & Shafi, 2018; Stead et al., 2024). Other studies point to biases and stereotypes linked to gender (Balachandra et al., 2019; Brush et al., 2019); race (Martinez Dy, 2019; Stirzaker & Sitko, 2019); and perceived role incongruity (Eddleston et al., 2016; Malmström et al., 2020). Lastly, studies have also pointed to issues of homophily, as the finance industry is male dominated may be resulting in men funding those who are like them (Brush et al., 2018) as well as lack of government support for women entrepreneurs (Jha & Alam, 2022).

2.2.4. *The demand view*

On the demand side, it has been found that women entrepreneurs were highly less likely to ask for external financing than their male counterparts (Kwapisz & Hechavarría, 2018); more likely to be less equipped to effectively interact with potential funders (Malmström et al., 2017; Thébaud, 2015); and their networks found to be less resourced (McAdam et al., 2019; Neumeyer et al., 2019). Some research has pointed to women entrepreneurs not having growth intentions or choosing industries with limited growth potential as a contributing factor to this gap (Leitch et al., 2018) even though other studies have debunked the notion that women entrepreneurs have lower entrepreneurial confidence (Jennings et al., 2022). Additionally women entrepreneurs have been found to have negative perceptions of external financiers (Marlow & Mcadam, 2012; Saporito et al., 2013); and fear the perceived risk of loss of control of their businesses (Becker-Blease & Sohl, 2007; Marlow & Mcadam, 2012).

As a result, women entrepreneurs have had to rely more heavily on the use of personal sources of capital (Coleman & Robb, 2009; Yacus et al., 2019). This is reported to have resulted in women entrepreneurs not being able to fulfil their potential for economic contribution (Chinomona & Maziriri, 2015) and their businesses being skewed towards smaller operations (Ibrahim et al., 2016; Irwin et al., 2023). It has also resulted in women-owned enterprises receiving lower valuations (Poczter & Shapsis, 2018); and being more likely to close operations in the early stages (Shava, 2018) compared to men-owned enterprises. For sub-Saharan African, the lack of full integration of women entrepreneurs in the regional economy, is estimated to translate to an annual loss of \$95 billion in productivity (Mastercard, 2019). To date, studies that cover how women go about the resourcing for all the four types of capital remain rare (Hill, 2021; Vershinina & Rodgers, 2020).

2.2.5. Criticisms of past studies on women's entrepreneurship

Earlier studies in the field of women's entrepreneurship have been criticised for making assumptions that gender effects are universal across races (Collins, 2015; Kimberlè Crenshaw, 2015); thus negating the differences in experiences of non-white or racialised women (Orser et al., 2019); and looking at women entrepreneurs as a homogenous group (Yacus et al., 2019). Further, they have been criticised for assuming as normative the combination of maleness and entrepreneurship (Bourne & Calás, 2013; García & Welter, 2011; Jones & Clifton, 2017). It has been put forward that doing this takes as an underlying starting point, the hypothesis of women as underperformers in comparison to their male counterparts, who are assumed to be the standard (Dean et al., 2019). Recent calls have thus been to move research beyond differences between women and men entrepreneurs towards studying the heterogeneity of women entrepreneurs to bring out the richness in the diversity of women entrepreneurs (Henry et al., 2021; Marlow & Martinez Dy, 2018; Poggesi et al., 2019). This study is filling this gap by focusing on the practices of black women entrepreneurs.

Research has found that gender and race are embedded in how financiers and entrepreneurs relate in more intricate ways than the visible differences between women and men and/or people of different races (Alsos & Ljunggren, 2017; Leitch et al., 2018; Martinez Dy, 2020). Ngoasong and Kimbu (2019) assert that existing financing frameworks fail as they neglect the social embeddedness of entrepreneurship and overarching institutionalised social structures (Brush et al., 2009). Access to entrepreneurial resources for women entrepreneurs has been noted to be worsened along racial lines with findings pointing to black women being severely under-funded (Martinez Dy, 2019). Research has found that in spite of being in the same industry, the agent's social position, which is influenced by gender and race effects, impact entrepreneurial activity and access (Martinez Dy et al., 2018). This has resulted in black women entrepreneurs being limited to family connections for financing (Welsh & Kaciak, 2018); and more likely to operate on a small scale with low mobility and profitability (Knight, 2016).

Subsequently, it has been reported that for women in developing countries, the gap in access to capital is exacerbated by the added disadvantage of social, cultural and structural inequalities (Leitch et al., 2018). Academics have thus advocated for research to move beyond *if* gendered assumptions impact women entrepreneur behaviour and outcomes to *how* (Jones & Clifton, 2017); and to look at differences in experiences of women entrepreneurs of marginalised races (Martinez Dy et al., 2017; Martinez Dy & Agwunobi, 2019; Orser et al., 2019).

2.2.6. The way forward for gender and race in entrepreneurship

Because gender and race, as markers of identity, are interconnected inextricably (Collins, 2015; Kimberlè Crenshaw, 2015) and are both self-determined and externally determined by others (García & Welter, 2011), some academics in the field have been advocating for the use of intersectional matrix, multi-level theories as well as interdisciplinary approaches to the studies of entrepreneurial resource inequality (Martinez Dy et al., 2017) and women's entrepreneurship (Poggesi et al., 2016).

Scholars have called for research to move beyond the agent versus structure approach of examining fixed qualities of individuals and institutions towards examining the processes and practices that happen in between (Garcia-Lorenzo et al., 2018). It is asserted that this could consequently enable the investigation of the more invisible explanations for the gender and racial gap in access to capital (Baker & Welter, 2017) and enable better understanding of the complexity surrounding the entrepreneurial resourcing challenge rather than reifying the experiences of a few (Bourne & Calás, 2013; Knight, 2016).

2.3. Social identity theory

Social identity theory has been put forward as a possible lens for the analysis of rich ‘other-oriented’ behaviour (Pan et al., 2019). Social identity theory argues that the groups to which people belong such as race or gender, also known as in-groups, are a key source of prestige and self-esteem as they give a sense of social identity through the mechanisms of social categorisation and social identification (Tajfel, 1978). It further posits that individuals will tend to favour and be biased towards those they perceive to be in-group members to increase self-esteem, fed by comparison to an out-group and resulting in discriminatory treatment of the out-group through the mechanism of social comparison (Brown et al., 1979; Pan et al., 2019).

This ‘other-oriented’ behaviour tends to play out in relationships between financiers and entrepreneurs where gender and racial stereotyping behaviours have been found to play a role in evaluations of ventures (Balachandra et al., 2019). Some studies have found, for example, that male investors are more interested in investing in male entrepreneurs and female investors found to be more interested in female investors in spite of performance (Ewens & Townsend, 2020).

2.3.1. Social identity mechanisms

Social identity works through three social processes or mechanisms to create the in-group versus out-group behaviour; social categorization, social identification and social comparison. Social categorisation allocates people into groups for better understanding and identification; social identification is how adoption of group norms and behaviors is done by its individual members (Bornewasser &

Bober, 1987) and; social comparison is where individuals compare themselves with others in the in-group and against those in out-groups (Henry Tajfel, 1982; Wang, 2019).

Social identity theory further argues that a person views things from the group's perspective (Mael & Ashforth, 1992) and studies in entrepreneurship have noted that an entrepreneur's social identity influences their behaviour and practices (Alsos et al., 2016). Additionally, given a socially diverse world, when it comes to interactions, people tend to belong to more than two categorisations and social groups (Nicolas et al., 2017). Social identity theory thus posits that individuals may have numerous identities linked to their different groups of affiliation (Meister et al., 2014; Oakes & Turner, 1986) and that in different contexts, different social categorisations may influence both self-perception and perceptions of others (Oakes & Turner, 1986) and new categories may emerge (Nicolas et al., 2017).

Much of the research on social identity has focused on race and less applied to gender (Rogers et al., 2015). Whilst certain aspects of the theory have been applied to management literature in areas such as employee behaviour, commitment and organisation prestige, less research has been done in entrepreneurship and even less so in women's entrepreneurship (Edelman et al., 2018). Recent studies, have thus been calling for the study of women entrepreneurs to move towards the consideration of the multiple social identities and the intersectionality of these identities (Jennings & Tonoyan, 2022; Wang, 2019).

2.3.2. *Intersectionality*

The concept of intersectionality, which has its origins in black feminism, illuminated the complexity of marginality when people are at the intersection of several groupings (Kimberlé Crenshaw, 1991; Gillborn, 2015). It goes beyond conventional analysis to focus attention on biases that are experienced from simultaneous membership in many groups and examines how complex identities, social categories and contextual environments can shape perceptions and experiences of bias (Constantinidis et al., 2019; Gillborn, 2015; Martinez Dy & Agwunobi, 2019; Romero & Valdez, 2016b). Intersectionality has seen increased

application over the last decade in various studies (Martinez Dy & Agwunobi, 2019) covering areas such as minority entrepreneurs (Vorobeve, 2022); women entrepreneurs' motivation (Poggesi et al., 2016); family-based resourcing (Valdez, 2016); older women entrepreneurs (Stirzaker & Sitko, 2019); digital women entrepreneurs (Martinez Dy et al., 2017); and in the exploration of entrepreneurial finance policy responses that better address black women's grievances (Scott & Hussain, 2019).

Whilst intersectionality has been lauded as a promising analytical concept for unveiling overlapping inequalities (Scott & Hussain, 2019) and revolutionary potential to transform studies of women's entrepreneurship (Abbas et al., 2019), it is a contested construct (Stirzaker & Sitko, 2019) and scholars have argued that the way it has been applied in entrepreneurship studies overlooks its foundations in Black feminist activism and collective struggle (Martinez Dy & MacNeil, 2023). Further, intersectionality has been critiqued for its identity-heavy focus that assumes taken for granted social categories (Anthias, 2013) whereas entrepreneurship identity is argued to be more of a social process (Anderson et al., 2019). Consequently, this identity-heavy focus tends to overlook issues of context, site and location that impact how individuals construct their subjective positions (Calás, ou & Smircich, 2013). Lastly, it is contested that studies on intersectionality have paid insufficient attention to the political, relational and processual natures of the construction of gender, race and class (Calás et al., 2013; Scott & Hussain, 2019).

In contrast, belonging, has been cited to be a complex social and political process, which, whilst drawing on conventional categories of identity such as gender and race, goes beyond them (Stead, 2017). Scholars have thus called for studies in women's entrepreneurship to examine the wider concept of belonging, due to the social embeddedness of entrepreneurship, and to encompass social context not just social categories (Martinez Dy & Agwunobi, 2019; Stead, 2017; Wang, 2019). Furthermore entrepreneurial resourcing has been argued to be a complex process demanding the balancing of both entrepreneurial distinctiveness and belonging (Shepherd & Haynie, 2009) and researchers have called for studies to both engage intersectionality as a fundamental base but also

look beyond it in order to better understand how historical power dynamics and social structures shape entrepreneurial opportunities and outcomes for marginalised entrepreneurs (Martinez Dy & MacNeil, 2023). Therefore in this study, intersectionality is applied as a fundamental starting point in the design and sampling criteria by focusing on the experiences of black women entrepreneurs and will be addressed further in chapter 3.

2.4. Belonging as a concept

The concept of belonging has had diverse definitions and meanings in literature (Lähdesmäki et al., 2016) with some scholars defining it as “A sense of ease with oneself and one’s surroundings” (May, 2011, p.368); “... being part of something” (Filstad et al., 2019, p.116); “Identifying with and feeling attachment to a social group” (Simonsen, 2018, p.120); or embeddedness from experiencing inclusion in a bigger community (Skey, 2013). The concept has predominantly been related to political and national citizenship and scholars have argued for its extension beyond ethnic terms (Schmitt, 2010).

Belonging has been cited to be context specific (Erogul et al., 2021) and based on conditioned relations (Lähdesmäki et al., 2016); culturally and socially constructed (Anderson et al., 2019); and encompassing both affective and material dimensions (Filstad et al., 2019). It has thus been offered that a sense of belonging plays a pivotal part in connecting the social and social change to the individual (May, 2011) and that it is culturally enabled or hindered (Simonsen, 2018).

Some scholars have argued for a distinction between belonging and identity, claiming that belonging goes beyond identity which is about self categorisation (Skey, 2013). Stead (2017) supports this view positing that belonging is a web of social, cultural and political processes of navigating numerous identities whilst self- and social-identity is related to conventional social categories such as race, gender and ethnicity. Further, scholars have argued for a distinction between role identity, obtained through actions and performance; and a sense of belonging, obtained through personal experiences and cultural and social constructions (Anderson et al., 2019). Other scholars have posited however that

belongingness results from and/or can be enabled or constrained through continuous identity work and formation that creates a sense of credible group membership (Stead, 2017; Swail & Marlow, 2018). May (2011) adds that identity is essentially about belonging. Lastly, there have been calls for the examination of belonging in a more integrated way that alongside dimensions such as doing, being and becoming for more holistic insights (Hitch et al., 2014b).

2.4.1. Developments in the concept of belonging

Due to the fluidity of the concept of belonging, it has been applied in literature in various ways. In their review of the development of the concept, Lähdesmäki et al. (2016) summarised it as being thematically applied in literature in five key ways being; spatiality, intersectionality, multiplicity, materiality, and non-belonging. This fluidity is believed to have allowed for ambiguous yet critical and nuanced analysis of citizenship, group cohesion and an individual's position within these frameworks and the wider social fabric (Schmitt, 2010). It has additionally been reported to have allowed for the examination of the mutual effect of self and society (May, 2011); as well as the affective and political dimensions of belonging (Antonsich, 2010).

2.4.2. Belonging in management and entrepreneurship studies

Management and entrepreneurship studies have pointed to the concept of belonging as being a process that is socio-relational, constantly mediated through material and social aspects and negotiated in practice communities (Filstad et al., 2019). The concept is posited to be dynamic, with plurality of form and in continual accomplishment through different practices (Antonsich, 2010; Stead, 2017). Practices in this regard are defined as behaviours, including bodily and mental activities, and discourses that are routinised and interconnected in the form of shared understanding (Reckwitz, 2002), to make up progressively wider constellations (Keating et al., 2014; Thompson, Verduijn & Gartner, 2020). For the purposes of this study, entrepreneurial belonging (EB) is defined as the developing of a sense of community connection through the journey of becoming entrepreneurs that progresses the different stages of the development of one's venture (Erogul et al., 2021).

Studies on EB are emerging (Barragan et al., 2018; Birkner, 2020; Erogul et al., 2021; Stead, 2017) with few studies focus on how belonging in negotiated across the different stages of venture development from nascency to established business (Erogul et al., 2021). In management, studies have discussed how women in certain male dominated industries tended to employ tactics and activities such as gender concealment and fabrication, to reduce the impact of their gender in an attempt to be accepted in their fields of practice (Bennett et al., 2019). Another example from entrepreneurship is a study of migrant tourism entrepreneurs by Su and Chen (2017). The study found that migrant tourism entrepreneurs often had to balance activities that maintained belonging and connectedness with local authorities and groups for economic purposes on one hand, with maintaining a healthy distance of non-belonging socially, on the other (Su & Chen, 2017).

2.5. Belonging and women entrepreneurs

EB has been noted to be a primary driver for entrepreneurs and entrepreneurial action (Champenois et al., 2020). The field of entrepreneurship, however, has been found to not be gender neutral (Erogul et al., 2021) and that EB in particular is gendered (Birkner, 2020). Entrepreneurship has been heavily associated with masculinity (Garcia-Lorenzo et al., 2021; Wheadon & Duval-Couetil, 2019) and consequently in conflict with womanhood (García & Welter, 2011). Women have thus been noted to face more hostility than men in entrepreneurship (Carranza et al., 2018) with some cultures and business environments being found to be firmly against females being entrepreneurs (Yunis et al., 2018). This has resulted in women often needing to negotiate belonging and group membership in the field and practice of entrepreneurship (Barragan et al., 2018; Essers et al., 2020; Swail & Marlow, 2018). In addition, studies have found that entrepreneurship is associated with whiteness which has resulted in black and other non-white female entrepreneurs being noted to experience a sense of double alienation (Essers et al., 2020; Jennings & Tonoyan, 2022; Martinez Dy et al., 2017; Nambiar et al., 2020)

Studies have noted how some women entrepreneurs choose to silence gender matters altogether in the entrepreneurship context by concealing experiences of

gender-related disadvantage (Bourne & Calás, 2013). Other studies found that women entrepreneurs felt compelled to embrace masculinity and diminish their femininity to belong in entrepreneurship and be considered legitimate (Garcia-Lorenzo et al., 2018; Radu-Lefebvre et al., 2021; Stringfellow et al., 2014; Swail & Marlow, 2018). Other practices that have been employed by women entrepreneurs have included, accessing international stakeholders to back them (Vershinina et al., 2019); and utilising technology and proxies in an attempt to bypass gender, racial and role biases both access capital (Barrett & Vershinina, 2017; Greenberg & Mollick, 2017; Orser et al., 2019; Radu-Lefebvre et al., 2021) and attain some sense of belonging (Stead, 2017; Swail & Marlow, 2018).

Further, some women entrepreneurs chose to distinguish their work lives from their non-work lives in attempting to belong (Bourne & Calás, 2013; Bruni et al., 2004). Some academics have argued that this distinction of work and non-work lives and the metanarrative of work-life balance has a gender subtext that is produced, reproduced and reified (Gherardi, 2015). Gherardi (2015) further posits that the underlying assumption is that the two worlds are separate and a woman's duty to balance when they choose to enter entrepreneurship when this is not the taken for granted case for men (De Clercq et al., 2021). Thus, in certain ambiguous or critical interactions where a number of actors were involved, it was found that women entrepreneurs often activated boundary work to distinguish the two worlds and defend each symbolic space (Bruni et al., 2004). Other studies found that some black women entrepreneurs chose to switch up identities depending on context, choosing between gender, race or entrepreneurial identity in order to belong (Harvey, 2005; Stead, 2017). Lastly, some women entrepreneurs were found to choose to establish their businesses in feminised sectors to avoid non-conformity and promote legitimacy and belonging (Swail & Marlow, 2018).

On the contrary, some studies have alluded to women entrepreneurs tending to deny the existence of gendered assumptions altogether in an attempt to not portray themselves as disempowered (Jones & Clifton, 2017). Jones and Clifton (2017) however assert that this inadvertently legitimises and normalises

asymmetric social and power relations. Another study by García and Welter (2013) found that women entrepreneurs of higher status tended to push back against gendered assumptions, using their non-belonging or outsider status to innovate and disrupt common practices.

What is clear, however, is the connection between entrepreneurial belonging and entrepreneurial resourcing (Shepherd & Haynie, 2009). Studies have noted that businesses increase their chances of accessing capital if they focus on fitting in with what is expected of them in the field (Stringfellow et al., 2014). It has also been offered that the more embedded and accepted a business is within its wider structure the better for its sustainability and performance (Anderson & Jack, 2002).

What yet remains unclear are the dynamics, conditions and contexts that make, allow, enable or facilitate for some women entrepreneurs to employ some practices versus others and has led scholars to call for studies that can look into the gendered dynamics of entrepreneurial belonging (Erogul et al., 2021). Furthermore, scholars have pushed for academia to examine belonging within an occupation in a more integrated alongside other practices (Hitch et al., 2014b). This points to a move towards a practice perspective to encompass its processual nature (Champenois et al., 2020) and its embeddedness and the interconnectedness other practice dimensions and wider societal context, including gender and race (De Clercq & Voronov, 2009; Hill, 2018; Keating et al., 2014; Thompson et al., 2020).

2.6. Entrepreneurship as a practice

Whilst the practice approach has made headway in fields such as strategy, management and organisational studies, it is still nascent in entrepreneurship (Champenois et al., 2020; Thompson et al., 2020). Entrepreneurship research has in the past, generally dealt with entrepreneurial behaviour and process in an economic, functionalist and rationalist way (Hill, 2018). Studies have tended to examine the fixed elements of entrepreneurship, overlooking what happens during and in-between processes and practices of entrepreneuring (Garcia-Lorenzo et al., 2018). This is in spite of the practice of entrepreneurship being

noted to be a community phenomenon that is socially constructed and for which context matters (Anderson & Gaddefors, 2016). There have thus been calls for new approaches to research that reflects actual versus assumed circumstances (Henry et al., 2021) and can provide more insight into how entrepreneurs form, perform and analyse activities (Higgins et al., 2019).

2.6.1. *The practice approach*

Recent years have seen a movement towards the practice turn for the study of women's entrepreneurship (Hill, 2018) advocating that the intertwined process of gendering and entrepreneuring can begin from the analysis of a particular practice (Gherardi, 2015). Garcia-Lorenzo et al. (2018) contend that the creative and organizing actions of entrepreneurial processes can be better observed in the context between the entrepreneurs as actors and the institutions and societies they interact with (Ozasir Kacar et al., 2023; Yousafzai et al., 2019). This reflects the practice approach and challenges the notion that entrepreneurship is inherent (De Clercq & Voronov, 2009) nor characterised by a particular stereotype (Yousafzai et al., 2019). Rather, it presents entrepreneurship as a community phenomenon that creates a society (Anderson & Gaddefors, 2016); and is moulded and sustained by society (Anderson & Jack, 2002) and that entrepreneurial practice represents diverse of ways of doing things (Higgins et al., 2019).

EaP also proposes that entrepreneurship is related to structures (Anderson & Ronteau, 2017) and that entrepreneurs have a distinctive positioning and identity in society, based on cultural norms and amplified by media (Anderson & Warren, 2011; Pritchard et al., 2019). It therefore invariably rejects the dualistic approach of considering the individual (agent) and the social (institutional) as separate units but rather intertwined and affecting each other (Anderson & Warren, 2011; Champenois et al., 2020; Sklaveniti & Steyaert, 2020). It follows that practices are thus considered the unit of analysis in EaP (Anderson & Warren, 2011; Claire et al., 2019). EaP is suited to the study of belonging which is said to be performative rather than fixed by categories (Erogul et al., 2021; Schmitt, 2010); and embodies both personal and social dimensions of socialising, discourses and practices (Antonsich, 2010).

Critics of the practice approach however argue that the agent and institution be viewed as a dualism since their strata in social reality have separate ontologies (Mole & Mole, 2010). Objections have also been raised regarding the definition of what constitutes a practice being blurred (Thompson et al., 2020). Additionally, critics warn that the plurality of theoretic approaches and propositions associated to the practice approach remain unclear (Champenois et al., 2020; Reckwitz, 2002).

Proponents have however countered these arguments, theorising that the process of entrepreneuring in particular, is about the enacting and intertwining of several practices that are processual, relational, material and real-time (Champenois et al., 2020; Thompson et al., 2020); and are socially situated and enabled thus going beyond economic function (Anderson et al., 2019). They therefore contend that the practice approach offers a way of integrating the agent (micro) and institutional (macro) approaches at the meso level of practices (Hill, 2021; McKelvey, 2004); and overcoming the distinct issues associated with both approaches (Janssens & Steyaert, 2019). This makes it suitable to the studying of the gap in access to entrepreneurial resources for women entrepreneurs that has contentiously been attributed to both agent and institutional elements (Kanze et al., 2018). It is also suited to the study of belonging as it fills the contextual gaps (Hill, 2021) for which intersectionality has been criticised (Anthias, 2013; Calás et al., 2013) and would also encompass the processual nature of belonging (Scott & Hussain, 2019).

2.6.2. *Resourcing as practice*

Proponents of EaP propose that to better understand entrepreneurial behaviour, processes and outcomes, studies should look to focus on a particular practice (Gherardi, 2015). They argue for example that processes of pitching are distinct and different from processes of resourcing (Thompson et al., 2020). Resourcing as a practice has thus emerged as a sub-field of EaP (Keating et al., 2014). Whilst there has been an increased research focus on women entrepreneurs in Africa over the last decade, resourcing focused research has centered on the constraints they face rather than the strategies they apply to attain, utilise and accumulate resources (Ojong et al., 2021).

Scholars of EaP assert that looking at outcomes alone is insufficient without the examination of the field in which events, interactions and transactions happen (Çakmak, Lie & McCabe, 2018). Whilst some attention has been paid towards social resourcing related to social capital under EaP, less is known about the enactive component of the process of entrepreneurial resourcing for other forms of capital required to grow an enterprise. These resources include economic capital, argued to be the most essential for interactions in economic systems (Karataş-Özkan, 2011) as well as social, cultural and symbolic capitals (Bourdieu, 1986b; Martinez Dy, 2019).

It has been put forward that the relationship between entrepreneurship and inequality stems from its embeddedness in the social interaction of agents and institutions and social structures including race and gender (Martinez Dy, 2020). EaP scholars posit that the social position one occupies, which encompasses race and gender dynamics (Hill, 2018), influences their belonging and results from the convergence, intersection and conversion of capitals (Nowicka, 2013). It is argued that this social position is both internally determined through an actors social conditioning based on their perceptions of connection and embeddedness in a field (Stringfellow et al., 2014); and externally through the existing rules, expectations and field power relations that establish and are established by access to capital (Hill, 2018). There however remains need to examine the resultant constraints or otherwise that enduring positions in social hierarchies based on race and gender may have on resourcing processes and practices (Martinez Dy, 2020; Vincent & Pagan, 2019).

2.7. Conclusion to the literature review

This literature review in this chapter examined the complex landscape of women's entrepreneurship, with particular focus on the intersecting challenges faced by black women entrepreneurs in accessing resources and establishing belonging within entrepreneurial spaces. Through the review three key arguments emerged. Firstly, it highlights that resource use and allocation, which is critical to entrepreneurial venture success, is impacted by gendered and racialised patterns (Barrett & Vershinina, 2017; Brush et al., 2019; Vincent, 2016). This is said to

have resulted in black women entrepreneurs being disproportionately under-resourced (Martinez Dy, 2019) and being more likely to operate small, labour intensive, low mobility and low profit businesses with higher failure rates (Knight, 2016; Nziku & Struthers, 2017; Shava, 2018).

Secondly, the literature has revealed that belonging is key to entrepreneurial endeavour (Champenois et al., 2020) and entrepreneurial resourcing (Shepherd & Haynie, 2009; Stringfellow et al., 2014). However, the field of entrepreneurship has been found to be associated with masculinity (Carranza et al., 2018; Garcia-Lorenzo et al., 2021; Wheadon & Duval-Couetil, 2019) and whiteness which has resulted in black female entrepreneurs being noted to experience a sense of double alienation (Jennings & Tonoyan, 2022; Martinez Dy et al., 2017; Nambiar et al., 2020).

Thirdly, the literature has noted that the functionalist and rationalist way (Hill, 2018); and agent versus institution approaches (Garcia-Lorenzo et al., 2018); with which studies on women entrepreneurs have been focused, has left some gaps. It is noted that these approaches have tended to overlook wider societal context including gender and race (De Clercq & Voronov, 2009; Thompson et al., 2020); the social embeddedness of entrepreneurship (Ngoasong & Kimbu, 2019); and what happens during and in-between processes and practices of entrepreneuring (Garcia-Lorenzo et al., 2018). Additionally, whilst social identity theory and in particular intersectionality have shown promise towards filling these gaps (Scott & Hussain, 2019), they have been criticised for their heavy focus on social categorisation (Anthias, 2013) which is said to overlook the political, contextual and processual nature of belonging (Bourne & Calás, 2013; Calás et al., 2013; Stead, 2017). EaP has thus been advanced as an approach that can fill these gaps as it encompasses context, processes and practices and integrates the agent versus institutional approaches (Champenois et al., 2020; Thompson et al., 2020).

This study will therefore seek to close a number of gaps identified in the literature. Firstly, whilst there have been studies on belonging practices of women entrepreneurs (Birkner, 2020; Espinoza Trujano & Phiri, 2022; Essers et al.,

2020; Stead, 2017), less is known about the belonging practices of black women entrepreneurs. Secondly, whilst some work has looked at the resourcing practice of entrepreneurs, there has been a heavier focus of social resourcing related to social capital (Champenois et al., 2020; Keating et al., 2014) and less on resourcing practices of the other forms of capital, argued to be equally essential for interactions in economic systems (Karataş-Özkan, 2011; Ruiner, 2019). Little is also known about the resourcing practices of women entrepreneurs and less so, of black women entrepreneurs. Finally, by employing the EaP approach, the study will contribute to EaP literature by advancing our understanding of the belonging practices of women entrepreneurs in the context of resourcing, and in particular, for black women entrepreneurs, utilising the research design and methodology outlined in the next chapter.

3. Research design and methodology

Academia demands that scholars make clear the interrelationship between methodological choices and epistemological/philosophical assumptions (Rodriguez et al., 2016). This chapter will first outline the research philosophy and paradigm in which the study is situated, followed by an account of the proposed research design and methods, including the units and level of analysis and the population from which participants were sampled. Subsequently, the data collection and analysis methods that were used are discussed and the chapter closes with reflections on the challenges, ethical considerations and limitations of the study.

3.1 Research Philosophy

Practice approaches have been noted to be ununified, with EaP studies over the years drawing from both traditional practice approaches of the likes of Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1986; Çakmak et al., 2018; Stringfellow et al., 2014) and Giddens (Anderson & Jack, 2002; Giddens, 1987; Mole & Mole, 2010), to the more recent approaches of Schatzki (Cetina et al., 2005), Reckwitz (2002); and the process view of entrepreneuring (Johansson, 2004). In spite of this plurality, the social ontology of the practice approach is clear and views reality as consisting of arrays of practices imprinted in human bodies, language and minds; interconnected texts and objects; and that practices are interdependent (Champenois et al., 2020).

EaP asserts that in order to come up with practice relevant discoveries, studies are required to provide adequate account of *how* entrepreneurial processes and practices are navigated and negotiated to get a particular outcome, such as access to capital (Hill, 2018). A practice is said to include the understanding of the doing and saying of things and how they are done by others; knowing the rules of the game of an activity; and knowing the acceptable means and outcomes of an activity which includes routine and unpredictable elements (Champenois et al., 2020; Higgins et al., 2019).

3.2 Research Paradigm

This study is situated in the social constructionist paradigm in order to explore

and expose the constructions and practices of belonging and resourcing of black women entrepreneurs (Pritchard et al., 2019). The social constructionist view claims that knowledge and reality are constructed and contingent on human practices and are made in the interaction between people in a social context (Andrews, 2012). It is thus in alignment with the practice approach (Champenois et al., 2020).

The social constructionist paradigm further serves the argument of society being viewed as both subjective and objective, where language plays a key role in building social reality not than just reflecting it (Jones & Clifton, 2017); and that meaning is shared and constitutes a taken-for-granted reality (Malmström et al., 2017). This makes it relevant for the study of the doings, sayings and rules of the 'game' of resourcing (Keating et al., 2014). Further, a social constructionist position is said to be advantageously suited to the study of women entrepreneurs (Brush et al., 2009) as it provides a foundation for the understanding of entrepreneurial resourcing practice which is posited to be gendered and racialised, both which are considered to be socially constructed and interactional (Harrison & Mason, 2007).

Additionally, the social constructionist paradigm is aligned to the study of belonging which has been cited to be context specific, conditioned on relations (Lähdesmäki et al., 2016); and culturally and socially constructed (Anderson et al., 2019). Belonging is also said to be a process (Filstad et al., 2019) that is performative, and done through discourses (Schmitt, 2010); and embodies both personal and social dimensions of social practices (Antonsich, 2010). Lastly, as belonging is said to be spatial, political (Lähdesmäki et al., 2016) and can be elective (Anthias, 2013), it is suited for study within the social constructionist paradigm that is ideal in the research of concepts that have dynamic and malleable meanings and where context is constructed from interpretations of shared understanding and language (Marlow & Mcadam, 2012).

3.3 Research design: Narrative

The study utilised narrative to explore the practices of belonging and resourcing of black women entrepreneurs. Narrative has been offered as an ideal site for examining the construction of experiences and creation of reality whilst being constituted of it (Jones & Clifton, 2017). Narratives are noted to link stories and life history to greater social phenomena and are relevant for studies of phenomena which are focusing on day to day life as it is lived (Hatch & Wisniewski, 2002; Larty & Hamilton, 2011). The way stories are narrated can give us a view of how the narrator sees their relationships and group membership (Pentland, 1999) and also expose sociocultural context (Carless & Douglas, 2017).

Consequently, evaluating the narratives and their relevance allowed for an understanding of the performances (linguistically and non-linguistically) and processes through which black women entrepreneurs emically construct belonging (Labov & Waletzky, 1966); and the influence of their constructions of gender and race within the resourcing practice (Jones & Clifton, 2017). The narratives allowed for a linking of information from their stories with real world structures and beliefs (Green, 2008); context (Clandinin, 2006); enabled us to link events with practices (Hjorth, 2007); and how they are reinforced in systems such as an economic system (Barrett & Vershinina, 2017). Narratives allowed for the sharing of experiences and reflections collectively (Middleton, 2013) and as such, were a relevant approach for answering questions on entrepreneurship (Vaara et al., 2016) and entrepreneurial practices (Gherardi, 2015; Hjorth, 2007).

Scholars have argued that narrations of business practices allow for the challenging of assumptions of neutrality of race and gender in entrepreneurship (García & Welter, 2011). A narrative design is said to be suited to answering questions which are expected to reflect experiences of varying aspects and stages of the business evolution as they are said to permit high levels of flexibility on topics beyond the immediate focus, yet which may still shed important insights into the topic (Leavy, 2011; Wang, 2019). As belonging is said to be contextually produced, it was important to understand if there were any intersections of constructs beyond gender and race that influenced the black women

entrepreneurs sense of belonging and their resourcing practices and narrative afforded the study new insights into them (García & Welter, 2011). As such, narrative offered a good design for the answering of the questions on the belonging and resourcing practices of black women entrepreneurs.

A narrative design is suited to the EaP approach as it makes evident the interplay of structure and agency (Rogers & Ahmed, 2017). A narrative approach to process research, takes a sampling of narrative event histories to explore intangible elements in an entrepreneurs daily life (McKelvey, 2004). Scholars argue that entrepreneurship, as an interlinked process of several practices (Bruni et al., 2004), can be analysed from a single contextualised practice [such as practices of belonging] through narratives and discourses (Gherardi, 2015).

Furthermore, narrative is suited to the study of belonging and broader social relations at various points in space and time (Anthias, 2002; Pentland, 1999). Anthias (2002) posits that narrative can be a medium through which reality is performed and constructed, and considered a practice in its own right, when considered as the confluence of effectivities. Finally, a narrative approach can highlight the influence of context and temporality of constructions of concepts such as belonging, in different settings (García & Welter, 2011; Rogers & Ahmed, 2017), making it ideal for this study.

Lastly, because practices have been noted to be difficult to catch in individual cases and single interviews, yet could emerge in collective information as rapport is further developed (Malmström et al., 2017), the study carried out the research over several business calendar months. Scholars advice that narrative data collection be in line with the natural length of the practice being studied (Hassett & Paavilainen-Mantymaki, 2002) and with resourcing practices tending to follow business monthly cycles (Stringfellow et al., 2014), the design was in line with the phenomena being examined.

3.4 Research methods

The research employed an inductive qualitative approach using oral history interviews (Labov & Waletzky, 1966; Leavy, 2011; Sarkar, 2012), with minimalist-passive data collection techniques (Jones & Clifton, 2017), to explore the belonging and resourcing practices of black women entrepreneurs. Qualitative methods are noted to be useful for deconstructing the intricate overlapping workings of social dynamics and resource exchange (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006).

Oral history interviews aim to highlight the marginalised voices and stories that have less presence in mainstream research and recent calls have been made for the method to be used for the study of women's entrepreneurship (Dean et al., 2019). The oral history interviews employed open-ended models involving storytelling which is considered as core to knowing (Johansson, 2004; Leavy, 2011).

The oral history interview was complemented with real time engagement methods, done by collecting of material at the point of occurrence (Swail & Marlow, 2018), through picture diaries and written diary logs from the participants (Schultze, 2014). This enabled for triangulation of data collection methods and the production of rich, thick data (Morse, 2015). Such combining of methods is aligned with EaP ontology (Champenois et al., 2020).

3.5 Unit and level of analysis

In EaP, practices are the unit of analysis (Anderson & Warren, 2011; Claire et al., 2019) and include the processes of storytelling (Jones & Clifton, 2017), speech acts (Reckwitz, 2002) and interactional acts (Dunnett & Visconti, 2018). This enables researchers to "empirically study real-time doings and sayings of practitioners" (Claire et al., 2019, p.1) that make up larger constellations of practices that are interrelated, intertwined and embedded (Thompson et al., 2020).

Due to this focus on the doings and sayings of *entrepreneuring*, the analysis was done at the meso-level, bringing together micro and macro aspects, thus

overcoming the challenges of the dualistic approaches of individual versus institutional analysis (Anderson & Ronteau, 2017; Claire et al., 2019). It was therefore suited to the study of belonging which is performative (Schmitt, 2010); and said to embody both personal and social dimensions of discourses, practices and interactions (Antonsich, 2010) as well as resourcing (Keating et al., 2014).

3.6 Population and sample

Oral history studies tend to have fewer participants than in-depth interview studies (Leavy, 2011) with some studies noting a single case (Marlow & Mcadam, 2012) and others noting up to 100 participants (Guest & Johnson, 2006). This study covered 26 black women entrepreneurs in line with similar narrative studies on identity construction and opportunity which had 10 participants (Ozasir Kacar & Essers, 2019) and another on gender identities and practices that had 19 participants (García & Welter, 2011).

Purposive sampling, which is aligned with qualitative studies (Stiehler, 2016), was employed with the list of black women entrepreneurs developed through recommendations from entrepreneur networks and communities (Valdez, 2016). Drawing from the recommendations of Martinez Dy and MacNeil (2023) to apply intersectionality as a “threshold concept” (Martinez Dy & MacNeil, 2023, p1), which entails utilising it as a fundamental starting point rather than an end point or analytical frame, I applied it into the basic criteria for sampling which included the following:

1. The women entrepreneurs had to identify as black
2. The women entrepreneur had to be a majority shareholder in the business or be the head of a majority women-owned business.
3. The business had to be formally registered.
4. The business should have tried to access institutional financing

A potential challenge that I had anticipated with the above criteria, was finding sufficient women entrepreneurs that fitted it and were willing to participate given the requirements. I mitigated this risk by working with existing entrepreneur networks with whom I had previously established rapport to support recruitment (Suzuki et al., 2007; Valdez, 2016) as well as the use of social media as a

recruitment tool (Gelinas et al., 2017). The social media call for participants that was employed is included as Appendix A.

This resulted in 40 potential participants responding and 27 participants agreeing to participate in the research. Unfortunately, 1 participant had to be excluded from the research for failure to sign their informed consent form resulting in 26 participants for the study with demographic data as summarised in Table 1. below.

Table 1. Summary of participant demographic data

Participant	Age Range	Nationality	Industry	Marital Status	Children	Education Level	Main income source
1	35 - 44	Zimbabwean	Fashion	Divorced	2	Diploma	Employment
2	25 - 34	South African	Crafts	Single	0	High School	Business
3	25 - 34	South African	Crafts	Single	0	Bachelors	Business
4	35 - 44	Zambian	Beauty	Widowed	3	High School	Business
5	25 - 34	South African	Wellness	Divorced	4	Masters	Employment
6	25 - 34	Zimbabwean	Logistics	Single	0	Bachelors	Business
7	35 - 44	Zambian	Finance	Married	2	Bachelors	Business
8	45 - 54	South African	Technology	Divorced	3	Bachelors	Business
9	35 - 44	Zambian	Logistics	Married	3	Diploma	Business
10	25 - 34	South African	Food & Beverages	Single	0	Masters	Employment
11	35 - 44	South African	Social entrepreneur	Single	0	Masters	Business
12	35 - 44	Kenyan	Coaching	Married	1	Masters	Business
13	35 - 44	Ghanaian	Beauty	Single	1	Bachelors	Business
14	45 - 54	South African	Food & Beverages	Divorced	2	Bachelors	Business
15	25 - 34	South African	Creative	Single	0	Diploma	Business
16	> 55	South African	Media	Married	2	Masters	Business
17	35 - 44	South African	Coaching	Divorced	2	Bachelors	Business
18	35 - 44	South African	Construction	Single	0	Bachelors	Business
19	35 - 44	South African	Sanitation	Single	0	Diploma	Business
20	35 - 44	Zimbabwean	Accounting	Single	0	Bachelors	Business
21	35 - 44	South African	Energy	Married	2	PhD	Business

22	35 - 44	South African	Education	Married	2	Bachelors	Business
23	25 - 34	South African	Technology	Engaged	0	Bachelors	Business
24	35 - 44	South African	Education	Married	3	Honours	Business
25	45 - 54	South African	Coaching	Divorced	1	Masters	Business
26	35 - 44	Zimbabwean	Recruitment	Single	0	Bachelors	Business

3.7 Data collection

The sources from which data is drawn and tools employed to collect data determine the data produced, the meanings drawn from it and therefore the claims that can be made from the knowledge (Suzuki et al., 2007). Academics encourage having a flexible relationship between sampling, data collection and analysis in qualitative research (Spiers et al., 2002). To ensure the production of rich, thick data, triangulation was employed using oral history narrative interviews (Morse, 2015); participant photo diaries noted to be suited to complement interviews (Latham, 2003; Schultze & Avital, 2011); and written diaries in the form annotated logs from the participants to approximate ethnographic data (Schultze, 2014; Schultze & Avital, 2011). The data was collected remotely due to the lockdown restrictions as the data collection was done during the Covid-19 pandemic. The data was collected over a period of 12 months to allow for several business calendar months of collection.

3.7.1 Oral history interviews

The oral history format of interviews follows a process of storytelling that is utilised to gain insights into the socially constructed thinking or the how and why of the participants life (Leavy, 2011). This interview format addresses one of the main deficiencies of other interview types related to artificial setting, that is said to reproduce the researcher's categories, through "regarding the interview as a social encounter and the text as a discourse" (Johansson, 2004, p.286). In oral history interviews, the interviewer employs minimalist-passive interview techniques, that take a non-directive approach, to minimise the co-construction of the stories (Jones & Clifton, 2017). It is said that oral history interviews can divulge the meaning of theory in practice and answer questions related to

belonging to certain groupings such as class, race and gender (Hatch & Wisniewski, 2002).

In spite of this, storytelling is still an event in a particular context therefore it remains necessary to account for the co-constructed nature of the produced story by analysing both the interviewee's and interviewer's turns at talk (Johansson, 2004; Jones & Clifton, 2017). Oral histories whilst being about a particular topic, will seek to gather data that covers a long period of the participants life, not limited to the said topic but which could be linked to later pertinent experiences (Leavy, 2011).

Oral history narratives are aligned with the EaP approach (Champenois et al., 2020) as they provide both empirical evidence and key insights into the meanings that participants attach to certain processes, practices and events (Sarkar, 2012). They utilise open-ended models which allow for themes to emerge inductively, rather than tying them to pre-existing theory (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Oral history narratives thus made it possible for the researcher to obtain descriptions of the participant's lived world through the discursive practices and linguistic categories employed to interpret situations of interest (Gherardi, 2015). This method enabled participants to recount how they have practiced belonging and resourcing drawing on the assumption that language is core to the formation of reality (Gherardi, 2015).

For this study, an initial oral history narrative (Leavy, 2011) focused on retrospective storytelling around the participant's upbringing, career development and social and entrepreneurial lives was undertaken (Gherardi, 2015). The aim was to inductively draw out key historical, social and cultural context (Carless & Douglas, 2017; Clandinin, 2006) whilst gaining insights into the how they have practiced and performed belonging and resourcing in entrepreneurship. The interview guide is included as Appendix B.

The interviews were done remotely via Zoom which has been rated above alternative means of interviewing including in-person, mobile phone and alternative videoconferencing software (Archibald et al., 2019). Zoom has been

credited with strengths such as ease and convenience of use, increased interface for discussing personal matters, as well as increased access to a larger pool of participants whilst saving time and money on travel (Gray et al., 2020). The interviews ranged in length from 34 minutes to 123 minutes each as per oral history narrative tradition and were recorded and stored securely via electronic device (Gherardi, 2015; Stringfellow et al., 2014). This resulted in 1529 minutes of oral history interview data collected across the 26 participants as highlighted in Table 2 in the next section.

3.7.2 Photo and written diary methods

The photo-diary method is a visual representation of phenomena of interest whilst the written diary is an annotated log both kept by the participants to accompany interviews (Latham, 2003; Schultze, 2014). These diary methods capture and make explicit experiences, making both the interview and analysis that follows more concrete (Schultze, 2014). The diaries are recorded by participants to provide some evidence and context of their day to day happenings and their importance and meaning to the participant (Schultze & Avital, 2011). Diary methods are said to bridge the gap between theory and empirical practice (Latham, 2003) as they approximate ethnographic and other observational research which are most popular in EaP (Champenois et al., 2020). They are said to be complementary to narratives and aid in avoiding only capturing post-hoc rationalised constructions (Swail & Marlow, 2018) and can enable the exploration of everyday practices to capture both the routinised and unpredictable (Champenois et al., 2020; De Clercq & Voronov, 2009).

Photo diaries and logs are noted to be useful where in-person observations may not be possible (Schultze & Avital, 2011) and were employed for this study as the data collection was done during Covid-19 pandemic lock down periods which resulted in trends towards remote working or working from home (Connely, 2020). Participants adopted an adjunct-ethnographer role, recording their own surroundings and practices as well as others around them thus serving a similar function to field notes (Zimmerman & Wieder, 1977). Written diaries increase historical completeness whilst the photo diaries increase knowledge past

language limitations, thus both contributing to enhancing data completeness (Schultze, 2014).

The study required to have participants take at least one picture diary of events and situations related to their entrepreneurial practices and send them via WhatsApp over a 12month period. The pictures were accompanied by written logs capturing the high-level essence of when, where, what, how, who and why from the entrepreneur's own perspective. WhatsApp has been utilised with success in diary techniques for the exploration of in situ settings and situations of interaction and has been credited with ease and quality of reporting and communicating (Kaufmann & Peil, 2020). The participants were prompted weekly via WhatsApp to submit their diary entries (Kaufmann & Peil, 2020). This resulted in 274 picture diary submissions and 200 written log submissions across the 26 participants as highlighted in Table 2 below.

3.7.3 Summary of data collection methods

To summarise the data collection process that was undertaken, each participant took part in one central oral history narrative interview via Zoom that covered their life history, career development and entrepreneurial journey. Furthermore, they were required to submit at least 1 photo diary and 1 written diary log over a period of 12 months related to their day-to-day entrepreneurial activities. All the participant but one, were able to submit photo diaries and written logs with submissions ranging from 2 – 49 picture diaries; and 2 – 29 written logs. This resulted in 26 interviews totalling 1529:30 minutes; 274 picture diary entries and 200 written logs being collected as summarised in Table 2 by participant.

Table 2. Summary of data collected

Participant	Number of Interviews	Interview length (mins)	Picture diaries submitted	Written log diaries submitted
1	1	58:49	5	5
2	1	79:36	41	9
3	1	97:44	18	6

4	1	50:45	2	2
5	1	123:01	5	4
6	1	37:55	7	7
7	1	58:34	6	6
8	1	69:22	11	8
9	1	69:14	28	28
10	1	70:10	19	3
11	1	71:06	29	29
12	1	64:38	17	17
13	1	45:56	10	10
14	1	51:43	12	10
15	1	47:17	3	3
16	1	40:09	7	7
17	1	38:59	0	0
18	1	51:40	7	5
19	1	66:43	4	4
20	1	34:04	5	5
21	1	55:24	6	6
22	1	62:23	9	9
23	1	40:34	5	3
24	1	51:16	10	6
25	1	57:23	2	2
26	1	35:53	6	6
Total	26	1529:30	274	200

This amount of data is typical of narrative analyses that tends to be based on larger amounts of biographical data (Hunter, 2010).

3.7.4 Saturation

A review of EaP studies found no discussions surrounding any particular approach to saturation. Failure to reach saturation however, negatively impacts the quality of research and its content validity (Fusch & Ness, 2015). Recommendations for purposive sample sizes are inconsistent and rather put forward the notion of theoretical saturation, being the point at which no new themes emerge or are observed in the data, as the guiding principle (Guest & Johnson, 2006). However, as scholars of qualitative studies recommend a flexible approach to sampling, data collection and analysis (Spiers et al., 2002), this study took a flexible or iterative approach to saturation by adopting guidelines from Guest and Johnson (2006) where data was collected, analysed and coded for every six interviews and assessed for new themes. Saturation was thus assumed when no new codes or themes emerged.

3.8 Data analysis

Narrative analysis is about analysing the stories that are told by people (Gartner, 2007). This requires that the social, cultural and historical context within the texts are also analysed from various angles to unveil deeper hierarchies and presuppositions (Hunter, 2010). Past narrative studies, however, have been noted to have fallen short on the explanation of the choice of both theoretical and analytical frameworks (Larty & Hamilton, 2011). Furthermore, the practice approach puts forward a unit of empirical analysis, the practice, that has in the past been overlooked yet allows researchers to highlight the wide array of entrepreneurial phenomena (Thompson et al., 2020). Thompson et al. (2020) further assert that the practice approach repositions the nature of language and the part it plays in entrepreneurship from a way of representing the world, to ways of intervening and acting on it, with discursive-material practices being said to carry meaning, influence and intentionality to every scenario. This section therefore provides an outline of the process that I took to analysing that data.

3.8.1 Transcription

Each oral history interview was first transcribed according to conversation analysis (CA) tradition. In CA, transcript development and analysis are taken as central to the methodological and theoretical underpinnings of studies as well as the research questions being addressed (Davidson, 2010). The analysis of data therefore began with the transcription process which allowed me to get familiar and intimate with the data without applying any *a priori* notions of themes to allow for the research to be data driven (Anderson, 2009).

Scholars have argued that this process does not necessarily have to be manual to begin with and that automated transcription technology may be useful for first-pass transcripts, in preparation for further manual reviewing and editing particularly where data is at a larger scale (Moore, 2015). I thus first applied automated transcription technology in the form of Otter.AI as a tool to initially transcribe the recordings of the interviews. As scholars emphasise that transcription is part of the analysis process and must happen in tandem with examination of data and be undertaken by the researcher (Davidson, 2010), I then undertook a more detailed manual review of Otter.AI generated transcripts, consisting of 614 pages of transcribed pages from the 1529:30 minutes of interview data, comparing them to the recordings and made corrections to any errors. During this initial analysis phase I listened to the recordings numerous times and made separate notes of my own impressions of what was being communicated, doing so with humility (Hunter, 2010).

3.8.2 Coding

The use of software for CA has been the subject of controversy in linguistics oriented analysis as the notion of coding has not typically been employed due to the focus on the interaction in CA that results in researchers needing to narrate or sense-make the numerous features of the conversation (Paulus & Lester, 2016). Paulas and Lester (2016) however argue that Atlas.ti has features useful for CA as it supports the analysis of mixed data such as text documents and images; a flat coding structure that supports inductive analysis; and provides the ability to review, add notes and explanations, visualise, code and interpret data in one place. I therefore utilised Atlas.ti in my analysis process by entering each

entire transcript into the tool and coding each one line by line into initial codes (Hunter, 2010).

Scholars have argued that data collection and analysis, no matter how thorough, must be transformed into meaningful insights to advance knowledge (Klag & Langley, 2013). Pentland (1999) suggests that there are four levels of structure for building theory from narrative as depicted in Figure 1 below and posits that narrative theory is typically concerned with integrating the top three levels – moving from text to phenomena.

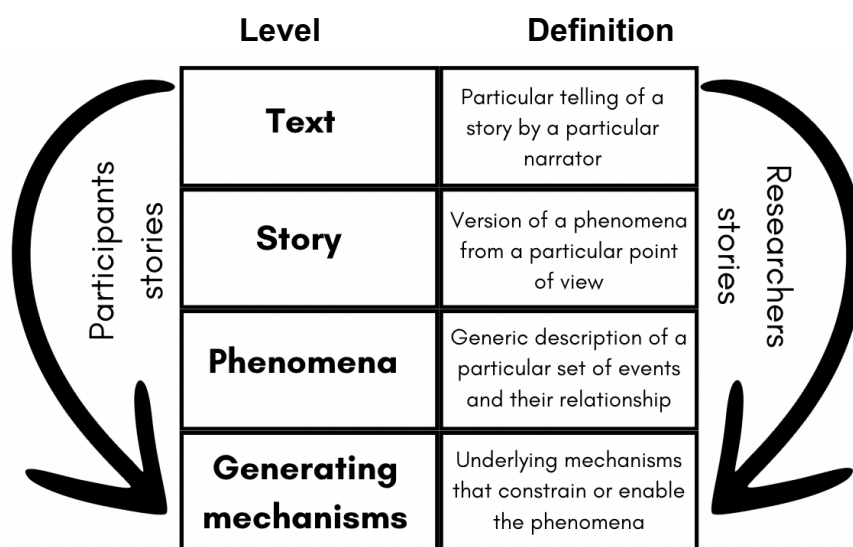


Figure 1. Levels of structure in narrative – Adapted from Pentland (1999)

I borrowed from this approach for the analysis, working from the transcribed data to coding it into 1st order codes, paying key attention to sentiment related to belonging and resourcing practices; and gender and race. These 1st order codes were further analysed and ordered into initial broader 2nd order categories (Woods et al., 2016). Thereafter, data from the photo-diaries and logs was also coded and analysed in a similar process by participant, making a consistent effort to examine new emerging codes and categories from the picture and log data that aligns and/or conflicts with the narratives (Paulus & Lester, 2016) and examining it from different angles (Marlow & Mcadam, 2012, 2015). Through the process, I noted my thoughts in a memo file for each participant (Hunter, 2010) thus acknowledging my own theoretical stories in the model as a product of

narrative too as there may be several alternative ways of accounting for the phenomena (Pentland, 1999). This initial analysis resulted in 1395 codes and 79 categories generated from 614 pages of interview data, 274 picture diaries and 200 written logs, a 'critical mess' (Gartner, 2010, p.7) from which I then attempted to identify patterns and theoretical frameworks from which to further analyse the data.

3.8.3 *Choosing the analytical frames*

Narrative scholars have argued that multiple analytical approaches to a single narrative can yield diverse interpretations which can reveal both explicit content and significant omissions (Gartner, 2007). I thus took a leaf from the critical mess approach that adopts an intentionally flexible stance toward understanding entrepreneurship and remains theoretically and empirically neutral, to allow for multiple pathways to insight (Gartner, 2010) and went back to researching of theories that better suited the data and initial insights gathered (Martinez Dy & MacNeil, 2023). This proved to be more challenging regarding the data and insights gathered on entrepreneurial belonging as theories in the space are still emerging (Birkner, 2020; Essers et al., 2020; Stead, 2017); as opposed to theories of entrepreneurial resourcing which are more developed (Bourdieu, 1986b; Çakmak et al., 2018; Hill, 2018, 2021; Yeröz, 2019). Thus to further analyse the data and insights on entrepreneurial resourcing, I adopted Bourdieu's Forms of Capital theory as the primary analytical frame (Bourdieu, 1986b; Çakmak et al., 2018; Hill, 2018, 2021; Yeröz, 2019).

Scholars have however noted that analysis of narrative data necessitates both innovative thinking and technical skill (Larty & Hamilton, 2011). It has been put forward that qualitative research can incorporate theoretical frameworks that extend beyond the primary discipline to encompass perspectives that address diverse sociocultural domains (Carless & Douglas, 2017; Martinez Dy & MacNeil, 2023). As such, I decided to look outside of the field of entrepreneurship for theories that better suited my data and insights on entrepreneurial belonging and found the Occupational Perspective of Health (OPH) theory from occupational science, spoke closely to my initial analysis.

3.8.4 Occupational Perspective of Health Theory

OPH theory examines belonging in the context of an occupation, such as entrepreneurship (Wilcock, 1999). OPH scholars have noted that doing, being, becoming and belonging are inter-related, reciprocal and multidimensional (Hitch et al., 2014b). Hitch et al. (2014a) further assert that these four dimensions are critical for engagement in an occupation as well as survival, health (Wilcock, 2007) and overall wellbeing (Morris & Cox, 2017; Wilcock, 1999). Occupational engagement, for the purposes of this study, is defined as “the involvement in an occupation with current positive personal value attached to it” (Morris & Cox, 2017, p.160).

3.8.4.1. Definitions

There have been challenges in defining what each of the constructs of ‘doing, being, becoming and belonging’ encompass, with some scholars positing that definition could be futile (Crabtree, 2003). What seems to be of relative consensus however is that there is some overlap in definitions and what constitutes each construct due to the nature in which they tend to overlap and intertwine within the context of one’s professional occupation. Nonetheless, for the purposes of this study the constructs of doing, being, becoming and belonging will be defined as follows:

- **Doing:** *Taking part in both positive and negative activities (Twinley, 2013) of work and leisure (Forhan, 2010); by choice or obligation (Hitch et al., 2014b) in a visible way that can be observably recognised (Hitch et al., 2014a). It also includes one’s reflections on ones being (Lala & Kinsella, 2011) as well as other sedentary or mental activity, behaviour and participation (Lyons et al., 2002).*
- **Being:** *Ones nature, habitus (Spiegel & Bourdieu, 2005) or essence (Wilcock, 1999). Associated with psychological, philosophical and spiritual elements (Hitch et al., 2014a) and includes elements of identity, ability and roles as well as consciousness and creativity (Hitch & Pepin, 2021).*
- **Becoming** – *Self-actualization (Wilcock, 1999), the formation of professional identity or self-concept through the internalization of occupational attributes, competencies, and value systems (Forhan, 2010).*

Associated with hopes and aspirations and requiring some form of growth or evolution within a person and a sense of future time (Hitch et al., 2014b)

- **Belonging** – *Having a sense of community connection (Erogul et al., 2021) associated with feeling valued and included socially; interacting and connecting with others within an occupation with mutual support and reciprocation; and feeling engaged within ones occupation and satisfied with life (Hammell, 2014)*

Therefore, based on the initial analysis of my data and the insights gathered on entrepreneurial belonging, I adopted OPH as the secondary analytical frame through which to further analyse the data as it was a better suited framework to work from.

3.8.5 Applying the analytical frames

A second level of analysis (Montgomery et al., 2007), that applied the two theories (OPH and Bourdieu's Forms of Capital) as analytical frames, was then undertaken to deepen the analysis (Littlewood, 2014). This phase involved systematically revisiting each participant's data sources, including their life history transcripts, photo-diaries, and written logs to specifically examine speech acts (Reckwitz, 2002), practices and visual portrayals related to entrepreneurial doing, being, becoming and belonging (Dunnett & Visconti, 2018) according to OPH (Hitch et al., 2014b; Wilcock, 1999) and defined in above section; and those related to the resourcing of the four forms of capital according to Bourdieu's Forms of Capital (Bourdieu, 1986b) as defined in chapter 2 which were subsequently linked to an aggregate dimension or phenomena of interest. Figure 2 below depicts an example of the second level analysis process.

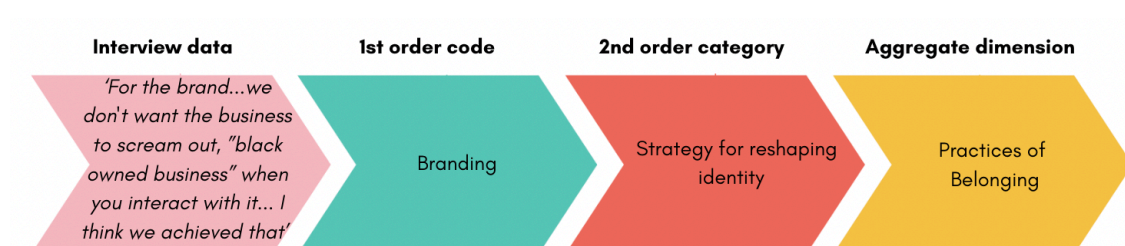


Figure 2. An example of the second level analysis process

Through this second level analytical process, 578 codes and 41 categories were identified. What then emerged was an iterative process between analysis and the

beginning of writing up (Hunter, 2010), which I initiated by developing summaries of each participant's life story into one to three pages (Stirzaker & Sitko, 2019). With each life story summary, I constructed accompanying summary tables that highlighted the key codes related to the practices of entrepreneurial doing, being, becoming and belonging as per OPH (Hitch et al., 2014b; Wilcock, 1999); and those related to the resourcing of the four forms of capital as per Bourdieu's Forms of Capital (Bourdieu, 1986b) for each participant. Through this iterative process, I engaged the approach of constant comparison of the stories (Lyons et al., 2002) which enabled me to identify the most common practices across the narratives. This further narrowed down the codes to 146 codes and 22 categories from which 10 themes were generated (Lyons et al., 2002).

Throughout the process, I attempted to ensure that the insights generated for each summary respected and reflected the participant's experiences and reality (Pessoa et al., 2019). Further, I tried to maintain key contextual elements, fully understanding that narratives themselves are inherently contextual constructions, shaped by the narrator's intent, audience and circumstance (Sarkar, 2012); and existing within an intertextual framework that resonates with broader discourses and societal narratives (Gartner, 2007).

3.8.6 Confirmability, credibility and transferability

Scholars of entrepreneurship argue that studies in the field have favoured rigour over relevance (Frank & Landström, 2016) and EaP tries to address this through the flat ontological perspective that the social realm is on a single or no level through its embracing of the duality of reality rather than dualism (Champenois et al., 2020). Confirmability speaks to the extent to which the data, its interpretation and results are rooted in the persons and contexts of research rather than the researcher's imagination. EaP research valorises the importance of localization and contextualisation (Steyaert & Landström, 2011) and whilst this is said to increase confirmability (Newth, 2018), transferability becomes a challenge (Champenois et al., 2020).

This study design addresses confirmability issues by being rooted in the context and with the focus on practices and speech acts of participants (Reckwitz, 2002).

To increase confirmability the study clearly outlines the steps and processes that were taken throughout the project to enable traceability of steps (Newth, 2018). It also includes a comprehensive documentation of the decision-making processes thus facilitating transparency in analytical procedures and acknowledgment of empirical heterogeneity (Lewis, 2009). The triangulation of methods additionally contributes to confirmability (Fusch & Ness, 2015).

Instead of accepting transferability as collateral damage for confirmability in EaP, some scholars advocate for the application of research to multiple contexts and perspectives to reveal entrepreneurial activities and practices (Champenois et al., 2020). This study adopted this by ensuring diversity of age and business experience of the participants as well as diversity of business types and industry in the sample to enable some level of transferability.

Credibility refers to the extent to which the participant's constructed realities are reflected in the study (Newth, 2018). Scholars have been critiqued for insufficiently questioning how their own positions, biases and practices shape studies and the credibility of their findings (Champenois et al., 2020). To address this, I applied high levels of self-reflexivity through-out the research project (Sarkar, 2012) and made clear any personal biases and/or perspectives in the research writing (Bruni et al., 2004; Newth, 2018).

3.9 Challenges

The first potential challenge I had anticipated for the study was not finding enough participants who would fit the criteria and also came from diverse industries and business types. To address this, I worked with existing entrepreneurial networks that work with women entrepreneurs and with whom I have established rapport, to assist in recruiting potential participants (Suzuki et al., 2007).

Furthermore, with the amount of participation required which included the life history interviews and photo and written diary and logs, I was concerned about the risk of participant attrition over the 12 month period, which could negatively impact the number of participants for the study (Kwapisz & Hechavarría, 2018). To address this, I emphasized the importance of the study and its contribution to

women's entrepreneurship to the participants and sent the ones that were lagging in submissions, weekly reminders via WhatsApp.

3.10 Ethical considerations

All research that includes human participants involves some type and level of risk and the larger the risk, the higher the care that must be taken to reduce it for the protection of participants (D'Espíndula et al., 2016). D'Espíndula et al. (2016) advice that risk be analysed and ethical consideration be given to issues related to the interviewer, interviewee and interview.

For this study, in order to reduce the risk related to myself as the interviewer in relation to potential biases I may hold and bring to the interaction and analysis, I applied high levels of self-reflexivity to challenge and manage any assumptions of shared meaning (Sarkar, 2012). To manage the risk for the interviewee, I made sure that informed consent forms were developed, reviewed and signed by each participant and a copy kept by them. These forms included details of the aims of the study, the time commitment and information that would be required, as well as contact information for the researcher and supervisor. The forms are included as Appendix C.

Participants were also explicitly informed that there would be no incentives for participating in the study to ensure any assumptions are managed and misunderstandings avoided. Because the units of analysis in EaP are the practices and speech acts, participants were treated as anonymous and not identifiable based on any findings; with the practices and quotes treated anonymously too.

Finally, to reduce the risks related to the interview, I looked to formulate effective interview questions and pilot tested the interview guide with a few people withing my network that fit the profile of the intended participants as well other researchers and experts (Kallio et al., 2016). Kallio et al. (2016) advice researchers to request for scrutiny and feedback in advance of the interview, and this study adopted this process to ensure that the interview answered the questions and was not deemed harmful. All interviews were recorded; permission

to do was sought in advance; and access to both the recordings and analysis were granted to the participant (D'Espíndula et al., 2016). Recorded interview data was stored on a laptop and in the cloud, all of which are password protected.

3.11 Limitations

As with most qualitative research studies, generalisation beyond the context is challenging (Spiers et al., 2002). The focus on practices rather than people as the centre of this study, however, creates some level of abstraction and de-contextualisation that could contribute to a level of generalisability into other similar contexts (Morse, 2015).

The narrative design and particularly the oral history interview method utilises self-reported stories from the past that lack corroboration and are subject to what participants remember (Fusch & Ness, 2015; Sarkar, 2012). By applying triangulation of methods, this study tried to mitigate this limitation (Morse, 2015).

Finally, the focus on depth that is inherent to the narrative design is said to often sacrifice breadth in studies that apply the design (Leavy, 2011). I addressed this limitation by ensuring diversity of industry, business type and location of participants. Additionally, I addressed this through the use of other data collection methods and data types, such as the photo-diaries and written logs, that added further contextual elements to contribute to breadth (Morse, 2015).

4. The Findings

Scholars have posited that narrative methodologies inherently embody reflexivity, wherein researchers examining participants' narratives simultaneously confront their own epistemological and methodological frameworks (Gartner, 2007). Throughout the research study, I adopted this dual analytical process as it is said to not only illuminate existing entrepreneurial discourse paradigms but also generates novel conceptual frameworks for understanding entrepreneurial phenomena (Gartner, 2007).

4.1. Introduction

The interpretation and representing of other people's voices is a difficult undertaking that requires great humility and consideration (Hunter, 2010). Studies that examine personal narratives often analyse individual stories to examine personal accounts and written texts and allow for the elaboration of identified key elements related to the phenomena of interest as well as how the different actors were positioned in these stories (Vaara et al., 2016). In order to begin the sharing of the findings drawn from the research, this chapter will focus on outlining each participant's life story in one to three pages, based on the 614 pages of interview transcripts. These stories encompass summarized versions of the participants' origins and upbringing and journeying into their adult lives and careers. The stories aim to draw out pivotal moments in their lives that have contributed to shaping who they are; the challenges and triumphs they have experienced; and the practices they have developed particularly related to entrepreneurial belonging and resourcing in their entrepreneurial journeys.

Further, select picture diary and written log data are included within each life history summary where applicable, to enrich our understanding of the participants lived experiences by revealing deeper layers and nuances, particularly those related to practices of belonging and resourcing (Suzuki et al., 2007). Additionally, each summarized life story narrative is accompanied by two tables each that highlight the key codes related to the belonging and resourcing practices of each participant, organized utilising OPH and Bourdieu's Forms of Capital as analytical frames as described above in section 3.8.5 and in line with the research objectives and questions. This chapter will then be followed by two

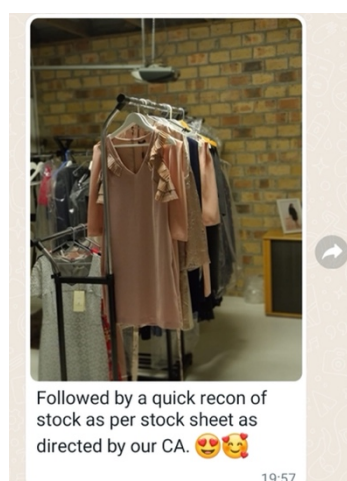
additional findings chapters dedicated to the findings on entrepreneurial belonging and resourcing respectively.

4.2. Summary Life Story Narratives

4.2.1. Participant 1

P1 was born and raised in a tight knit community in rural Zimbabwe, to a religious family. Her grandparents were well known in her village as her grandfather was a local pastor whilst her grandmother was a stay-at-home guardian. P1 was born out of wedlock, which led to her mother leaving the village to move to the city to try and earn a living to support P1 financially, thus leaving her to be raised by her grandparents. Growing up with this background, P1 felt that she was always expected to behave at her best to uphold her grandparents' name and image wherever she went in her community. As a child, she was a high performer in primary school and was quite confident. This was, however, short lived when she moved to a much sought after high school for top performers where she was first exposed to people of other races. She spent her high school years feeling she was not good enough and turned to sport as a way to escape.

She moved to South Africa for her tertiary education and studied Information Systems. After graduating, she had a hard time getting permanent employment

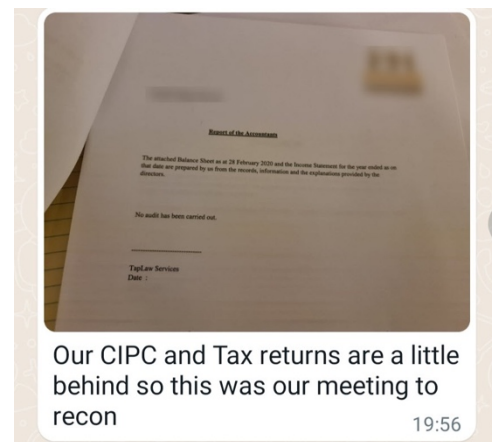


'as a foreigner' and claims she felt like doors were always closed on her once the potential employers found out she was Zimbabwean. As such, a recruiter that she had connected with advised her to get an entry level job, despite her qualifications, as a way into the corporate world, leaving her feeling not good enough again. In spite of this, she took the advice, entered the corporate world and slowly climbed the ladder from the inside. Her entrepreneurial journey began when a

gentleman she had met whilst networking on a business trip complimented her sense of fashion and encouraged her to potentially pursue it as a business. He went as far as inviting her to Istanbul, Turkey, where he was from, promising to host her and introduce her to fashion houses there, should she one day gain the courage to start the venture. P1 enlisted the support of a female relative to go

with her, looking for safety in numbers. True to his promise, the gentleman from Istanbul hosted them and introduced them to the vibrant fashion industry in Turkey, marking the launch of her fashion business that imports clothes from Istanbul and sells them in South Africa. Her first customers were friends and family who attended a small fashion party that she hosted. The feedback she received from them gave her the confidence to pursue the venture further and business grew steadily to a point where she was able to increase her inventory and cargo her products from Istanbul.

Through the journey, P1 has faced many challenges, particularly in managing the financial aspect of her business. Whilst she has hired an accountant to help with this, she feels she still has a long way to go to better understand and manage her finances. In spite of the financial challenges, she has been reluctant to take on any external funding, even though she had received two good equity offers. P1 cites the fear of losing control of her business and not wanting to be accountable to anyone else as the reasons she rejected the offers. Additionally, P1 has experienced challenges with hiring employees citing issues with overstepping of boundaries and her own inability to delegate effectively as the main ones.



Despite these challenges, she has experienced significant successes. She is proud of her ability to increase her inventory and the positive feedback she receives from her customers. She also values the personal growth and self-understanding she has gained through her entrepreneurial journey. However, being a divorced mum of two and the sole breadwinner, she does not feel confident enough in her business' ability to support her and her sons financially and as such still works in a fulltime job in corporate, whilst running her business on the side. P1 feels her corporate job has been an asset for her entrepreneurial journey as she applies her learnings from her corporate job to her business and learns mostly from the corporate executives she works for. Additionally, she

keeps her entrepreneurial knowledge up to date by attending webinars and reading articles that are often recommended from her job.

Lastly, whilst she still turns to sport to maintain good mental health, she narrates that her spiritual beliefs play a significant role in her life and business. Her spirituality makes her feel guided in her entrepreneurial journey as a source she can tap into when in doubt. Thus, she sees her business as more than just a means to make money, but also a way to serve and impact others positively.

Summary table for Participant 1 – Belonging practices

Doing	Being	Becoming	Belonging
Asking for help, Dealing with shame, Fighting for one's place, Starting small, Working hard,	Being fearful, Being resilient, Leaning on community, Leaning on physical activities or creative, Leaning on professional network, Leaning on spirituality,	Anchoring successes, Building confidence, Getting technical certifications, Learning from other entrepreneurs, Taking comfort in feedback,	Accessing external financing, Branding, Giving back, Inspiring others, Networking, Niching, Selling, Getting specialised learning,

Summary table for Participant 1 – Resourcing practices

Economic	Social	Cultural			Symbolic
		Embodied	Objectified	Institutionalised	
Branding, Leaning on professional networks, Maintaining a job,	Leaning on community, Leaning on professional networks, Networking	Being resilient, Branding, Leaning on physical or creative activities,	Branding,	Niching, Getting specialised learning	Branding, Giving back, Inspiring others,

Not wanting financing, Researching online, Selling and bootstrapping		Leaning on spirituality,			

4.2.2. Participant 2

P2 is a determined and resourceful 33-year-old entrepreneur, who co-founded a business that employs local artisans to create unique sustainable products. She



grew up in a lower middle-income family with entrepreneurial parents and speaks to an upbringing that was marked by many financial ups and downs. This included a period where their home was repossessed by a bank and having to move into a two bedroomed house as a family of six. In spite of the financial issues, her family life and upbringing were both stable and loving.

Her start in industry was marked by dropping out of university three times. Twice due to financial constraints, and the third time because she discovered, halfway through the first year of the law program she had enrolled for, that she did not actually see it as a career she wanted to pursue. Notwithstanding the dropping out, she was determined to still find success and so moved to London where she took on several odd jobs, before finding herself as the personal assistant to two CEOs in a large corporation. She credits her early exposure to entrepreneurship to her parents and the time spent serving the CEOs, as major learning grounds for running a business.

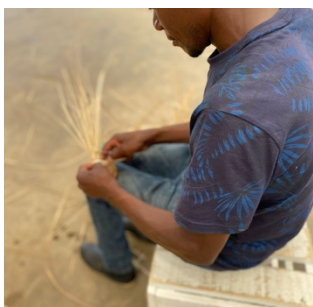
Calling herself a 'born artist', P2 learnt the art of making origami swans by hand, from a Japanese roommate in London. Following an unplanned visit to a market with her sister whilst visiting home in South Africa, she witnessed other artists selling products that they made by hand, as a business. This excited her as she had always felt that African culture looked down on creative careers compared to

other 'more formal careers' such as law. But now witnessing these creatives turn their art into business, she saw the potential for sharing her art with the world and she convinced her sister to start a crafts business with her.

They first started the business by selling origami swans at markets whilst still in formal employment. Soon afterwards, as it started to gain traction, she and her sister decided to quit their jobs to go full time into entrepreneurship, working first from their home and using their personal savings to fund the venture. However, they soon realised that running a business was tougher than they had anticipated when they ran out of savings, as the sales they had forecasted did not materialise. This sparked a need in them to be both creative and resourceful to survive - from asking for 'freebies' from suppliers; to borrowing from friends and family; to pivoting their business a few times to better suit prevailing market needs and trends; and to finally seeking external funding. In order to focus on her business, P2 disconnected from her social media so that she would not be influenced by naysayers as she believed that as a university drop-out without a formal tertiary qualification, getting a good job was not possible and entrepreneurship was her only real option.

Their first external funder was a white male financier, FunderX, whom they were introduced to by one of their regular customers (white female 1). The relationship started off well, but they soon sadly realised, that within the contracts they had signed with him, were several predatory terms. For example, unbeknownst to them, he had included a first right of refusal for any further funding they would seek and offered to buy a 30% stake of their business for ZAR 650,000. P2 and her co-founder felt this amount undervalued their business and sought other options. Two months following FunderX's offer, a new funder - InstitutionY, offered the co-founders ZAR 2 million for the same 30% stake, proving right their concerns of being undervalued. It was at this point that they discovered the right of first refusal clause as FunderX immediately put down a counteroffer of ZAR 4 million for the same 30% he had tried to get for marginally less, only two months before. The entire exchange broke their trust in FunderX, leading to a lawsuit that they were luckily able to come out of a few months later with support from pro-bono lawyers from a large legal firm – FirmZ, recommended through another

customer (white female 2). This encounter severely impacted her trust in funders and P2 turned to competitions as a way of fundraising equity and interest free money.



Despite the challenges they have faced with funders, P2 believes one of her biggest successes has been the ability to build a great team of 13 full time artisans, most of whom they recruited from the 'roadside'. Whilst they had to provide them with lots of training to upskill them, she believes it has been her ability to know and care about what they need as well as paying them a good salary that has resulted in a very loyal team.

Summary table for Participant 2 – Belonging practices

Doing	Being	Becoming	Belonging
Dealing with hostility, Dealing with imposter syndrome, Delaying having a family, Disconnecting from naysayers, Not accepting entrepreneur title, Sacrificing, Starting small, Working Hard,	Being overwhelmed, Leaning on physical or creative activities, Leaning on spirituality,	Anchoring successes, Building a team, Building confidence, Embracing failure, Getting support, Learning to sell, Prioritising mental health, Taking comfort from feedback,	Accessing external financing, Creating allyship Embracing the value in being black and female, Networking, Niching, Getting specialised learning,

Summary table for Participant 2 – Resourcing practices

Economic	Social	Cultural			Symbolic
		Embodied	Objectified	Institutionalised	
Accessing financing from local investors,	Cold outreach, Creating allyship,	Embracing the value in being black and female,	Branding, faking it	Niching, Getting specialised learning,	Winning awards, Winning competitions,

Accessing financing from banks, Accessing financing from clients, Accessing financing from friends and family, Accessing grant funding, Asking for freebies, Bartering, Creating allyship, Researching online, Selling and bootstrapping, Using personal sources of funding, Winning competitions	Leaning on family, Leaning on friends, Networking,	Leaning on physical or creative activities, Leaning on spirituality,			

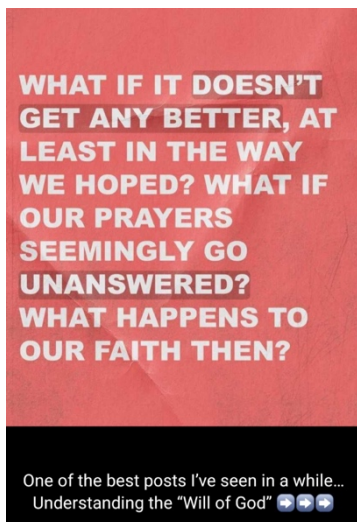
4.2.3. Participant 3

P3 was born and raised in a lower middle-class family in South Africa, to working class parents. Her father was a business man whilst her mother was a nurse. In spite of having a formal job as a nurse, her mother also tried her hand at entrepreneurial ventures with very limited success. P3 credits this early exposure to entrepreneurship as part of why she and her siblings always had entrepreneurial aspirations growing up, and contributed to her embarking on the entrepreneurship journey in her adult life.



Following a stint in corporate and the encouragement of one of her male supervisors, P3 decided to embark on her journey into entrepreneurship with her sister. They co-founded a homeware company, focusing on the production of kitchenware and tableware. Their business was born out of a shared passion for creating beautiful, functional, and sustainable products. They started small, with a modest investment and a handful of employees, but always had a grand vision.

Their entrepreneurial journey was not without its challenges. One of the most significant lessons they learned came from failed venture in the Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) market that they started opportunistically during the COVID-19 pandemic. For this venture they secured a contract with a large oil company to produce and supply PPE. However, the venture proved to be a logistical nightmare as they were unable to meet the demand, and the venture ended in failure. In spite of the failure, this experience proved to be one of the most valuable lessons that P3 felt was pivotal in her entrepreneurship journey as it taught her the importance of understanding her business' capabilities and setting realistic expectations for her clients.



This lesson proved invaluable in her current homeware business when her and her sister secured their first major corporate client, the Midrange Store. Because of the previous experience of failing to deliver for a client, they wanted to get this right by communicating their limitations upfront in an honest and assertive manner. In this way, they could deliver on their promises without compromising the quality of their products or their relationship with the client. P3 believes this honest approach is key in maintaining good relationships with

clients.

P3's entrepreneurial journey is deeply intertwined with her spirituality, which serves as a guiding force in her business ventures. She views her business not merely as a commercial enterprise, but as a spiritual calling and a means to contribute positively to the world. Her spiritual beliefs instilled in her a sense of certainty, purpose and resilience, enabling her to navigate the challenges of entrepreneurship with grace and gratitude. She views entrepreneurship as a selfless act, focusing on the difference they are making in their employees' lives and the quality of the products and services they were offering their clients. For P3, her customers, team, and suppliers are above her own needs which has resulted in many sacrifices along her entrepreneurial journey such as foregoing a regular salary and taking only the bare minimum to keep her lights on and pay her bills.

Her relationship with her sister and co-founder is another key factor in her entrepreneurship journey. At the start of their entrepreneurial journey, the sisters lived together, but later decided to move into separate apartments in order to try and maintain a healthy work-life balance. P3 felt their work relationship would often overspill into their home life resulting into a feeling of being 'ever-on'. Despite the move, they remain very close, maintaining a strong and supportive sisterhood. Their bond and shared vision have been instrumental in their entrepreneurial journey, helping them navigate the challenges of the business world as they continue to grow their company. And whilst P3 hopes to start a family of her own in future, she feels this will have to be put on hold for now as

the demands from the business make her feel it would not be possible to juggle both at this time.

Summary table for Participant 3 – Belonging practices

Doing	Being	Becoming	Belonging
Accepting things as they are, Dealing with shame, Delaying having a family, Leaning on experience, Learning from mistakes, Not accepting entrepreneur title, Sacrificing,	Being authentic, Being fearful, Being honest, Being overwhelmed, Being vulnerable, Having grace, Having gratitude, Leaning on spirituality,	Anchoring successes, Building a team, Building confidence, Embracing failure, Getting support, Learning from other Entrepreneurs, Learning to sell, Taking comfort from feedback,	Accessing external financing, Branding, Creating allyship, Embracing the value in being black and female, Seeing entrepreneurship as a calling, Getting specialised learning, Taking advantage of government policy,

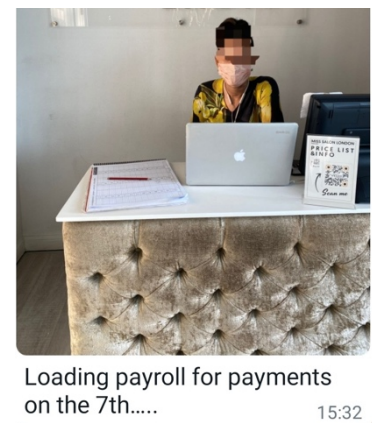
Summary table for Participant 3 – Resourcing practices

Economic	Social	Cultural			Symbolic
		Embodied	Objectified	Institutionalised	
Accessing local investors, Accessing financing from banks, Accessing financing from clients, Accessing financing from	Creating allyship, Leaning on family, Leaning on friends,	Branding, Embracing the value in being black and female, Having grace, Leaning on experience, Leaning on spirituality,	Branding,	Getting specialised learning,	Branding, Winning competitions

friends and family, Accessing grant funding, Asking for freebies, Branding, Creating allyship, Researching online, Taking advantage of government policy, Winning competitions,					

4.2.4. Participant 4

Participant 4 was born and raised in a large middle-class family in Zambia. She speaks of a fun upbringing, marveling at how her mother was ‘the boss of the house’ who run a home efficiently whilst also having a fulltime job and a business on the side. Something she feels she has not been able to master quite yet. P4 did not further her formal education post high school as she had ambitions of becoming a supermodel. She however did not have the confidence to pursue it and opted to first work in a store before being encouraged by a male customer to explore becoming a flight attendant instead, a role she kept for 10 years and that she feels helped her gain the confidence to be able to interact with people.



During this time, she moved to South Africa, got married and had plans to further her education. However, the plans were derailed when she fell pregnant with her first son who was diagnosed with autism, prompting her to make the decision to be a stay-at-home mum. Her and her husband went on to have two more sons progressively, thus extending her time as a stay-at-home mother. As her children started to grow up, she felt that she was missing out on having conversations with fellow adults and needed to do more with her life. This led her to explore the possibility of starting a business after being encouraged and taught how to do nails by a male nail technician she would get her nail treatments from.

She first thought she would get into it part-time by potentially renting a table in the store, enticed by the flexibility of part-time work giving her the ability to also manage her family life. It so happened that the store owner was looking to sell the salon as she was exploring the idea. Whilst she could not afford to buy the business on her own, she connected with a fellow mum from the school her sons went to, and they together decided to buy a beauty store, in spite of her not immediately knowing how she would fund her part of the purchase.

She first turned to her husband for funding, but he was reluctant to support the idea, citing 'low cashflow' and raising concerns about how she would manage her family duties whilst owning a business, resulting in some friction between them. In spite of this, she remained steadfast, believing in her ability to balance her responsibilities towards her family and her business and thus decided to sell her car in order to fund it.

Interestingly, her entrepreneurial identity was not immediately apparent to her even after she had started her venture. It was only after her husband's passing that she truly identified as an entrepreneur. This tragic event marked a turning point in her life as she felt her journey was being observed by two sets of eyes - those waiting for her to fail and those watching to see how she would persevere. This transformed her entrepreneurial journey from a supplementary income source into a necessity for survival and birthed a new commitment to her life and her family's well-being.

Despite the societal stereotypes and the tendency of others to trivialise her business, both because of its nature (being in a feminine industry), and her gender, she remains unapologetic and proud of her work and the thriving enterprise she has sustained for over a decade. She credits luck and good planning for not needing to source any external funding as the business was self-sustaining from get-go because customers have to pay cash on delivery of service. Secondly, she believes her ability to build good relationships with her suppliers has contributed to the business' sustainability and growth sustainability as she has been able to negotiate supplier credit and move from paying cash on delivery for products paying on consignment sold. And lastly, she believes that having a co-founder and business partner with different yet complimentary skill sets has been a saving grace as they have both been able to work to their strengths and fill in for each other's weaknesses.

Over the years, she has grown more confident and assertive in her entrepreneurial identity, understanding that by being proud of her work, she was not only validating her own efforts but also inspiring others. In this way she sees entrepreneurship as a calling in which she has been able to touch many lives through the conversations she has with her customers in her salon and by being an example to them too.



Summary table for Participant 4 – Belonging practices

Doing	Being	Becoming	Belonging
Choosing one's own work hours, Fighting for one's place, Learning from mistakes, Sacrificing,	Being committed, Being excellent, Being fearful, Being overwhelmed, Being resilient, Being vulnerable,	Building a team, Building confidence, Finding oneself in entrepreneurship, Getting support,	Changing the poor black woman narrative, Giving back, Inspiring others, Joining an existing business, Partnering,

Taking opportunities as they come,			Seeing entrepreneurship as a calling, Getting specialised learning,

Summary table for Participant 4 – Resourcing practices

Economic	Social	Cultural			Symbolic
		Embodied	Objectified	Institutionalised	
Accessing financing from supplier, Not needing financing, Partnering, Researching online, Selling assets to access financing, Using personal sources of funding,	Joining an existing business, Leaning on friends, Partnering,	Being excellent, Being resilient, Leaning on spirituality	-	Getting specialised learning,	Giving back, Inspiring others,

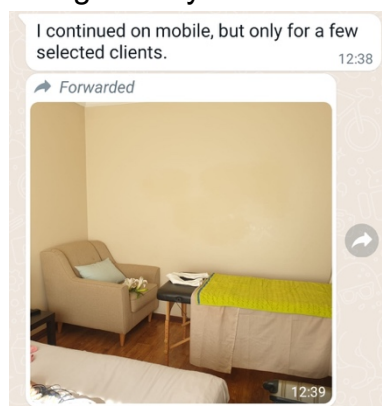
4.2.5. Participant 5

Participant 5 was born and raised in rural South Africa to a large religious family. She grew up in a neighbourhood where there were no role models when it came to people who were professionals, let alone had gotten an education past high school. Her mother, in spite of being a high school dropout herself, was passionate about education and worked hard to try and shield P5 and her siblings

from the negative influences of their surroundings by taking them to schools outside of their community. Despite her parents' efforts to enable their education beyond high school, P5 initially dropped out of university to go overseas, to pursue a career in dance, against her parent's wishes. Her dance career was unfortunately short-lived as two years in, she found herself pregnant with her first son, forcing her to pack up that career and return home to South Africa.

Her return was not easy as she felt that she had disappointed her parents, but she was determined all the same, to make up for it by going back to university. This time round, however, her parents did not financially support her as they felt she had already missed her chance for an education, something they valued deeply, and they were now focused on educating her younger siblings. This meant that she had to look for paying work in order to put herself through university whilst also raising her son. Undeterred by the challenges, P5 went on to successfully put herself through several University programs and holds three master's degrees and is considering doing a PhD, something she is very proud of.

Having grown up in a large family with seven siblings, P5 always wanted to have a large family of her own. Her dream to have many children was however briefly



interrupted when she got divorced having only had two children at the time. She battled with thinking about how she could still make having a big family a reality without a partner, something she felt would be frowned upon by her family and society, whilst also juggling a career. Backed with concerns about the biological clock ticking she made the choice to adopt a third child from within the extended family as

she contemplated her options, which included freezing of her eggs and considering surrogacy. P5 is very motivated by her children and dreams about owning a hotel one day and building a brand that her children can build from in future.

P5 had early exposure to entrepreneurship through her parents, who whilst being shop floor workers, always had some entrepreneurial venture or the other on the side. Additionally, her parents encouraged P5 and her siblings to sell products such as ice-cream, within the community, to raise funds for extracurricular activities like school camp outings, that they could not typically afford. As such, P5 feels she is no stranger to entrepreneurship even though she did not identify as one until her current venture, in spite of having tried many ventures before. For her, it was act of paying salaries to a team of employees that brought home the fact that she was an entrepreneur as it created within her a deeper sense of responsibility and eagerness to find solutions to make payroll like pivoting her services.

She started her current business in wellness because she herself is a lover and consumer of wellness treatments and wanted to be able to access them at will. Having tried several other ventures before, with limited success, she bought the wellness business from a peer, using her savings and a contribution from one of her mentors, hoping an existing business may have better chances of success. Unfortunately, the business has never broken even since inception which has meant that she has had to keep subsidizing its costs from her salary. Despite this, she has not considered getting external funding as she believes that would entail chaining herself to a financier and puts too much risk on her personal assets and what she is trying to build for her children. Thus, P5 still has a fulltime job and runs the venture on the side.

P5 believes she is a changemaker and sees entrepreneurship as a way to not only make money but also create jobs and change the shape of the economy. Having been supported and mentored in her early career by three black women who were her seniors in corporate, she tries to navigate the business world with a similar sense of purpose and determination. She is also a strong advocate for supporting small businesses and believes that the key to their success lies in the community's willingness to buy from them. She believes white people are better at supporting businesses in their networks than black people, as she has felt disappointed at the limited support she has received from her family and friends

who have kept going to other service providers even though she provides the services they need.

Equally, she argues that large corporations often overshadow small businesses, and she advocates for consumers to be more intentional about where they spend their money. In spite of this and the fact that her job gives her access to a large network of professionals, she feels she has not yet built the confidence to promote her business to her professional network as much as she

Here's my dilemma... I am about to close my beauty spa I have been operating for 4 years, because of stagnation, exacerbated by COVID19 lock down. I really would like to turn it around, but feeling exhausted in trying and not getting anywhere... plus I've made it a pet project for the past year (literally keeping it for just myself and close family/friends), since we have been trying to observe COVID19 protocols and people avoiding to be in contact with others.

could have because she does not believe the service is good enough yet. She is, however, only getting to the point where she can ask her professional network for advice on how to keep the business alive and has found it valuable for learning.

Participant 5's passion for entrepreneurship is deeply rooted in her belief in its potential to uplift communities. She believes that by supporting small businesses, communities can stimulate local economic growth and create a more sustainable future. Despite the challenges she has faced, she remains optimistic, resilient and determined to make a positive impact on her community.

Summary table for Participant 5 – Belonging practices

Doing	Being	Becoming	Belonging
Asking for help, Dealing with shame, Disconnecting from naysayers, Learning from challenges, Learning from mistakes, Not accepting entrepreneur title, Sacrificing,	Always been and entrepreneur, Being committed, Being excellent, Being overwhelmed, Lacking confidence, Leaning on church/religion, Leaning on friends, Leaning on professional network,	Building a team, Building a community, Building confidence, Getting support, Pivoting, Taking comfort from feedback,	Branding, Joining an existing business, Niching, Getting specialised learning,

Starting small, Taking opportunities as they come,			

Summary table for Participant 5 – Resourcing practices

Economic	Social	Cultural			Symbolic
		Embodied	Objectified	Institutionalised	
Branding, Leaning on professional network, Maintaining a job to finance the business, Not wanting financing, Researching online, Using personal sources of funding,	Joining an existing business, Leaning on church / religion, Leaning on family, Leaning on friends, Leaning on professional networks, Leaning on other community	Being excellent, Branding,	Branding,	Niching, Getting specialised learning,	Branding

4.2.6. Participant 6

P6 was born in Zimbabwe to a stable and small middle-income family, being one of three daughters. She was raised in a quiet neighbourhood and remembers her parents as being supportive of what she did. Her schooling from primary to high school was at a boarding school where she recalls being actively involved in extracurricular clubs that she credits for instilling an early entrepreneurial imprint on her.

She moved to South Africa to pursue her tertiary education but struggled to find a job in corporate after completing her bachelor's degree in finance. This led her to having a number of small part time jobs before ending up working at a Start-up. Whilst she does not necessarily call herself an entrepreneur, preferring the term 'Start-up person' – she credits having worked in the Start-up world in her early career for shaping her into becoming an opportunity seeker and problem solver.



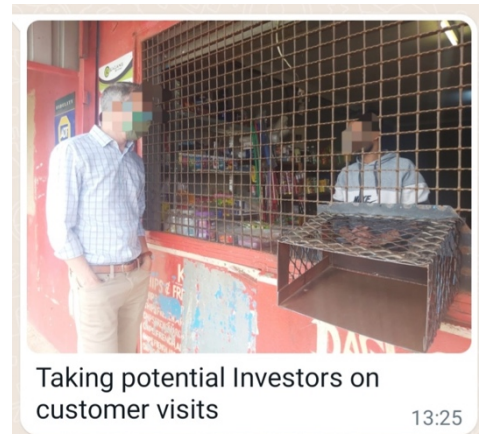
Wholesaler/ supplier visits as we envision our own warehouse

She started her business after applying to get into an accelerator program that required her to move to Ghana for a year. Whilst her parents were concerned about her moving countries, they supported her desire to start a business and gave her their blessing and thus she jokingly calls them her co-founders as they part-funded her upkeep. She was also fully encouraged to pursue the opportunity by the

CEO (black male) of the Start-up she worked for even though she was unsure about what she wanted to do. She praises the accelerator program for guiding her; helping her shape her thinking; enabling her to build a team and; providing her with the resources (including equity funding) to launch her venture in a very hands-on practical way.

The journey has not been without sacrifice, however, as P6 believes it has negatively impacted not only her ability to have a stable income but also her ability to date romantically stating that she feels she dates her business as it keeps her busy around the clock. She also feels that being an entrepreneur comes with the pressure of expectation of success from the public and cites being extremely nervous when she had to update her social media to reflect her business credentials. Additionally, running a business in the logistics sector, serving low-income communities comes with its own challenges such as security and safety concerns, particularly for her as a woman. Further, she speaks to the challenge of needing to invest highly in educating her market segment who tend to be poorly educated.

Within the context of entrepreneurship, P6 acknowledges to have in the past, felt pressure as a female entrepreneur to look like she knew what she was doing at all times and hoping people would think she was smart enough. She stressed that this was particularly more so in the context of fundraising. P6 believes that the odds were stacked against her fundraising as a woman, and feels biases exist against



women in logistics, which is traditionally perceived as a male industry. As such, she feels her fundraising journey has taken unnecessarily longer than it should have. To circumvent the bias she has had to use tactics such as strategically adding the presence of her male co-founders in meetings to enhance the impression on potential investors.

In spite of the hurdles, she credits the entrepreneurial journey for the exponential growth she feels she has experienced as an individual, something she doesn't believe she would have been able to experience had she been in a corporate job. Additionally, over time, she has realised the power of asking for assistance from those with expertise in areas where she felt out of her depth. Participant 6 also speaks to the importance of building relationships and networks for enabling a sense of community with others who understand the journey as well as for learning and support. She cites these relationships as also key for meeting investors, partners, co-founders, customers and other key networks to enable business growth. Through relationship building, P6 has been able to raise further equity funding, after the accelerator program, from angel investors and family and friend networks.

Finally, Participant 6 remains dedicated to her vision of making a meaningful impact in her chosen market. She continues to be inspired by the resilience of the people she serves in low-income communities. She uses that inspiration as a driving force for her own commitment, perseverance and resilience through the ups and downs of entrepreneurship.

Summary table for Participant 6 – Belonging practices

Doing	Being	Becoming	Belonging
Accepting things as they are, Asking for help, Joining an incubator/accelerator, Dealing with imposter syndrome, Not accepting entrepreneur title, Sacrificing,	Being resilient, Leaning on community, Lacking confidence,	Building a community, Building a team, Building confidence, Getting support, Learning to sell,	Accessing external financing, Faking it, Giving back, Networking, Partnering,

Summary table for Participant 6 – Resourcing practices

Economic	Social	Cultural			Sym
		Embodied	Objectified	Institutionalised	
Accessing local investors, Accessing financing from family and friends, Faking it, Joining an incubator/accelerator, Partnering, Selling and bootstrapping,	Joining an incubator/accelerator, Leaning on community, Leaning on family, Networking, Partnering	Being resilient,	Faking it,	-	Giving back

4.2.7. Participant 7

Participant 7 was born and raised by extended family in Zambia, having lost both her parents as a toddler. She grew up in a quiet, upper middle-income neighbourhood, being raised by her uncle and aunt, and went to good private schools. She takes pride in having gone to good schools with ‘white teachers’

that ensured that there were several extracurricular activities that they could be involved in from an early age, such as art. This, she believes provided her and her cousins with a better overall educational experience than the average child that went to a government school in Zambia. Whilst her uncle and aunt always tried to make her feel included and like she belonged, she still struggled with the feeling of needing to be, and do, more to earn her place in their home and tended to work harder than their biological children.

P7 initially wanted to pursue a law degree but due to financial constraints could not afford the program. A male advisor encouraged her to try and pursue a program in banking and finance, something she did not know existed before then, and she obliged. She speaks to her uncle's belief in and encouragement of her, as a key influencing driver of her ambition even when her initial plans were seemingly derailed. The banking and finance program landed her in a career that started with a job in a bank, exposing her to the ins and outs of corporate banking.

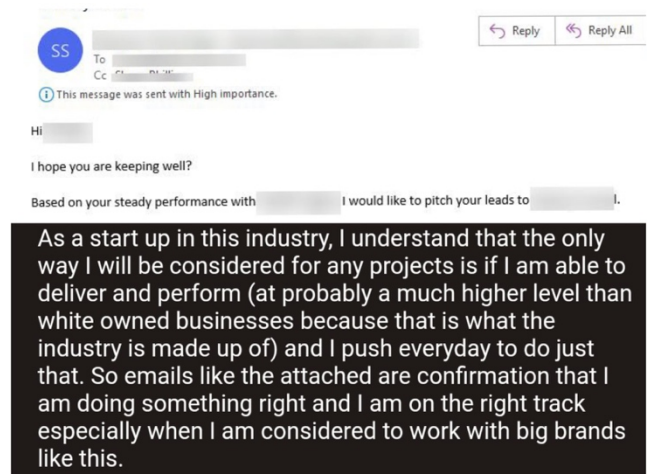


Soon after, she moved to South Africa because her husband-to-be was living there. Once she got married, she chose not to look for a job immediately but to rather do consulting work that gave her some flexibility so that she could 'settle into her marriage'. This exposed her to a range of businesses in financial services where she took the opportunity to learn as much as she could, eventually landing her in a role as country manager for one of her clients. In this role, P7 was exposed to cutting edge technology and how it can enhance financial services, something she ultimately brought into her own business when she eventually embarked on her entrepreneurial journey.

Encouraged by her husband, an entrepreneur himself, P7 set up her business in the financial services sector focusing on supporting other financial services businesses with backend technology, call center support, as well as consulting. It was important for her that she use all the knowledge she had gained from her consulting and corporate experience to not only make herself a living but also enable other businesses. She additionally speaks about a black female mentor

sparking her confidence to finally start her business, something she always knew she wanted to do but somehow managed to keep pushing forward as she never felt good enough, particularly being in the white-male dominated finance industry.

For P7 however, even though her job earned her good money, she wanted to build something of her own to leave a legacy for her children and future grandchildren. This is in spite of being told outright by an older male mentor that it would not be easy for her as a black female entrepreneur to succeed in the predominantly white-male industry. Thus, to build up her confidence, she first started her business as a side hustle, whilst still maintaining her corporate job. She believes this allowed her to be able to experiment, fail and learn in a safer way until she got to a point where she felt she had figured out her business model and could transition fully. Being a black female entrepreneur, she feels that she's needed to prove herself and work twice as hard to achieve her goals.



Participant 7 bootstrapped her business using personal savings as she initially sought to grow the company without external funding. This resulted in financial challenges for the business and also negatively impacted her personal and family finances. There was a particularly significant impact on her extended family that she used to support, as adjustments regarding the allocations they had been accustomed to, had to be made. Secondly hiring and maintaining a stable workforce has been a challenge as P7 feels it is hard for good people to commit to a small business when larger businesses pay better. Lastly, P7 claims that being an entrepreneur has negatively impacted her ability to spend time with her nuclear family and she speaks to ever feeling guilty about, and being overwhelmed by, how little time she has to spend with her children as she grows her business.

In spite of the challenges, P7 has experienced some success and credits her ability to form partnerships as a key lever that has enabled both her confidence in and acceptance into the industry, as well as her business growth. She speaks to initially having challenges securing contracts from large companies due to her business' start-up status but later getting access to them and other opportunities through partnering with larger companies. Once in, she was quickly able to prove herself by delivering with excellence to cement a place for herself in the industry and creating direct relationships which led to additional business. She further credits networking through conferences and events, both virtual and in person, for giving her access to other entrepreneurs she can learn from and commiserate with, as well as access to potential partners and employees for her business.

Through increased entrepreneurial experience, perseverance and partnerships, P7 has gained confidence in herself as an entrepreneur. She stresses the need for entrepreneurship to be more inclusive of black women through more deliberate support, as she believes black women are very entrepreneurial but are often just denied the chance to prove themselves.

Summary table for Participant 7 – Belonging practices

Doing	Being	Becoming	Belonging
Dealing with imposter syndrome, Fighting for one's place, Not accepting entrepreneur title, Starting small, Working hard,	Being excellent, Being fearful, Leaning on professional network,	Anchoring successes, Building a team, Building confidence, Getting mentorship, Getting support, Learning to sell,	Accessing external financing, Changing the poor black woman narrative, Networking, Partnering, Selling,

Summary table for Participant 7 – Resourcing practices

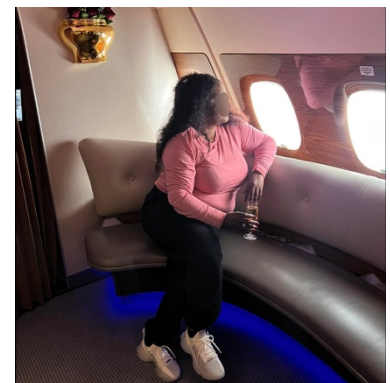
Economic	Social	Cultural			Symbolic
		Embodied	Objectified	Institutionalised	

Accessing financing from friends and family, Leaning on professional networks, Maintaining a job to finance the business, Not needing financing, Partnering, Selling and bootstrapping Using personal sources of funding,	Leaning on family, Leaning on professional networks, Networking, Partnering,	Being excellent, Embracing the value in being black and female,	-	Getting formal qualifications,	-

4.2.8. Participant 8

P8, is a tech entrepreneur in her early 50s. She was born and raised in rural South Africa by her grandparents in the apartheid era. P8's mother had her at a young age and left her to be raised by her grandparents as she moved to the city to look for work as a house help (maid), in order to be able to make money to financially support her. As such, P8 grew up around extended family

members moving between her two sets of grandparents who were all involved in some form of community business or the other. This meant that her school life was constantly disrupted moving from school to school as she shifted locations. This was coupled with the fact that by the time she was getting into senior high school in the late 80s, the country was experiencing extensive racial unrest



resulting in a highly volatile and unreliable school system for the discriminated black African population.

Consequently, P8 did not do well in her high school final exams first time round, resulting in her not qualifying to go to university. In spite of the poor results, a lack of role models to look up to and insufficient finances to pursue tertiary education, P8 was still determined to go to university to make a better life for herself and thus, two years later, she re-wrote her high school exams and had good enough results to qualify for all Universities. Despite qualifying for all Universities on paper, and applying to many, P8 received limited acceptance letters and no financial scholarships to attend any of the programs. She believes this was due to the discriminatory policies against black people coupled with the fact that the postal system was unreliable in black areas.

She opted to find a job with the courts as they had programs where one could be offered a job and be sponsored for study as well. However, early into the role and training, she found out that she was pregnant and the policy at the time, was not to sponsor individuals with children. This, she indicates, was discriminatory against women as most men with children on the program simply denied having them and were allowed to continue, whilst the women could not do the same. P8 felt her dreams had been derailed by the start of her family and heavily blamed herself for it.

Notwithstanding, it was this same perceived derailment that led her to work in a government department that supported small business development. It was here that she was exposed to entrepreneurship at a scale greater than a community business. By the late 90s she was running a business of her own full time, which she states, whilst big, was a survivalist business as she did not fully understand the ins and outs of business. Thus, a few years in, post-apartheid, she decided to close the business and finally go to University. With two children in tow at this point, she pursued a Bachelor's degree and post graduate diploma in marketing, a feat she says was only possible because of the University's child care facility.

Her entrepreneurial spirit was still alive though, as P8 who calls herself an action-oriented visionary, identified a gap in her community where people were lacking computer literacy skills. Hence, she set up a venture, in partnership with some black men, to provide computer literacy training. This partnership however, fell apart when she realised they were more interested in having her on board to gain access to contracts, that under the black empowerment policies required women to be on board, and not as a real equal partner who they respected. P8 posits that black men in particular, feel they have to be in competition with black women for resources as they were also denied opportunities during apartheid. Thus, she eventually left this partnership to go it alone.

Though lacking confidence to do so and going through depression from the betrayal in her previous business and also a divorce she had gone through, P8 went ahead and set up her own business with the encouragement of other women entrepreneurs on a mentorship program she was on. It was their encouragement and confidence in her that made her feel she was actually an entrepreneur as before then she had preferred to call herself a business owner. This is because she had associated the word entrepreneur with 'white men' and 'being successful' and as she was neither of these two things, could not identify with it, till then. Armed with new confidence she launched her business in partnership with a large bank that provided funding for operations.

P8 speaks to the role of allyship particularly of white women as key in her journey. For example, she found most encouragement from the white women on the mentorship program and speaks to other white women in her network opening up their networks of white men as key to enabling her business. Whilst the white women themselves may not have given her resources, their 'opening up of doors' to resource holders (white men) was crucial as the white men welcomed her, mentored and guided her in growing a business in tech, something she does not think could have happened if she was not introduced through people they trusted (white women).

Further, P8 speaks to the significance of having support structures as key for enabling her business success. Though divorced, she spoke of how supportive

her ex-husband of 25 years was in his commitment to her success during their marriage including being a sounding board for her decisions and offering managerial skills for her business. Additionally, as a dedicated mother, she highlighted the importance of being present in her children's lives while simultaneously building her business. This balancing act has served as her motivation to succeed, as she sees entrepreneurship as a means to provide her children a better future and set an example for them to be proud of.

Everyday is a new day. You have an opportunity to just do you 🇿🇦 I'm flying the South African flag



Finally, as her business continued to grow, mostly through sales, P8 grew to embrace her identity as a black woman in the tech industry and recognise the value and opportunities that came with it. She thus chose to leverage her unique position as a black woman to access resources

and benefits meant to empower marginalised groups in entrepreneurship, via government policies, not only for herself and her business but for others that look like her in the tech sector.

Summary table for Participant 8 – Belonging practices

Doing	Being	Becoming	Belonging
Accepting things as they are, Learning from challenges, Not accepting entrepreneur title, Not taking advantage of government policies,	Always been an entrepreneur, Being committed, Being fearful, Being honest, Being lonely, Leaning on community, Leaning on physical or creative activities, Leaning on spirituality,	Anchoring successes, Building confidence, Embracing failure, Getting mentorship, Getting support, Learning from other entrepreneurs, Prioritising mental health,	Accessing external financing, Creating allyship, Embracing the value in being black and female, Networking, Seeing entrepreneurship as a calling, Supporting other entrepreneurs,

			Taking advantage of government policy,

Summary table for Participant 8 – Resourcing practices

Economic	Social	Cultural			Symbolic
		Embodied	Objectified	Institutionalised	
Accessing financing from a bank, Creating allyship, Selling and bootstrapping, Taking advantage of government policy, Winning competitions,	Creating allyship, Leaning on community, Leaning on family, Networking,	Embracing the value in being black and female, Leaning on spirituality,	-	Getting formal qualifications,	Supporting other entrepreneurs, Winning competitions

4.2.9. Participant 9

P9 was born and raised by her grandparents in a low-income community in Zambia. Her young mother was widowed by the age of 23. She left P9 behind to be raised by her grandparents and moved to another city with her two younger siblings. Whilst she was an average student, P9 who attended government school, was very confident and action oriented and this earned her many spots in leadership positions. This included being a school representative that led to her receiving a scholarship in high school, much to her mother's relief.

P9 who refers to herself as a doer that often starts things without overthinking or planning. For example, she started her tertiary education not knowing what she wanted to study. She stumbled across a diploma in public relations program at a government institution that she could qualify for and jumped on the opportunity

without knowing how she would pay for it. However, it paid off as she made friends with some wealthier students and got through college living with them for free and only needing to pay tuition fees. This meant that she did not get to ask her mother for too much money as government tuition fees were generally low.

Post college, she first worked in corporate for an events promotion business. This exposed her to many decision makers and her confidence and action orientation meant that she soon rose up the ranks, giving her a certain level of financial independence. Thus, when her soon to be husband who was living in South Africa proposed to marry her, she felt she had to sacrifice her career and independence for marriage, a decision she made reluctantly as she moved to South Africa.

Immediately after arriving in South Africa, P9 got pregnant with her first child. She expresses a sense of not belonging as she could not find a job; was no longer financially independent; was away from her mother; and did not have any friends in her new country of residence. In as much as she had a partner that could provide for their young family, P9 craved having some financial independence and the ability to make her own financial decisions and thus she decided to start a business.

She started her business from home, using social media, as something to keep her busy and make a bit of money but soon she started to see an uptake of customers. The first version of her business was focused on supplying wedding products and accessories from South Africa to Zambia but as she had little business experience and knowledge it proved to be difficult to scale and she soon realised there was more to business than just having a great idea.



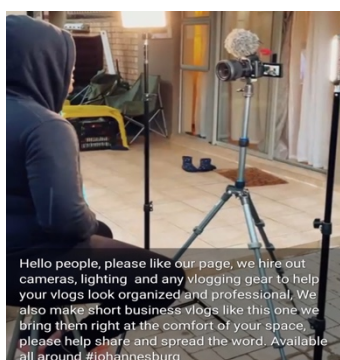
Pregnant with her second child she decided to pivot the business into a general logistics business that supported businesses in Zambia and South Africa to move products between the two countries. Again, she promoted the business using various social media platforms including Facebook and WhatsApp. As the business started to grow, she decided to properly brand it

and give it a new level of professionalism and asked her husband, a creative, to design a professional logo for her. This proved to be a key turning point for the business as demand for her services shot up after the rebranding. It was as though the new branding gave her a new level of credibility, much to her surprise.

This time round however, it was the fast spike in demand and her lack of financial education and management skills that got in the way of her business growth. P9 found herself extremely stretched from managing over ten social media groups; as well as managing the operations and finance for her business from her house. It got so bad that her house looked like a warehouse and she could not afford to give herself maternity leave ending up in her being back to work four days after having her second child. This created a lot of strain physically for her but also for her family and her relationship with her husband.

Additionally, her lack of financial education and management skills meant that she could not keep good track of her business' finances even though she was in a unique position where her customers paid upfront for their products. Which such a business model, P9 never needed to access external funding. However, she was so focused on the 'doing of the operations' that she did not put in place any systems or tools to help her track of her business' finances, let alone separate them from her personal ones. Further, her husband lost his job during this time resulting in the loss of one income. Whilst he decided to join her to work with her in her company, they were both not great at managing money and found themselves deep in debt with several angry customers leaving poor reviews on their company web pages.

P9 was determined to learn from their mistakes and immersed herself in doing online business and finance courses that could help them recover both personally and in their business. This helped both her and husband understand their business better and helped them dig themselves out of the debt hole. She also went back to all her angry customers and asked them to remove their poor reviews, something they obliged. She cites this as one of her successes, the ability to get her clients to return and believe in the service again.



As her business recovered and continued to grow, P9 believes that she would not have made all the mistakes she had if she had a stronger network of entrepreneurs to connect with and mentors to guide her in South Africa. As such, she created her own platform to mentor and enable other entrepreneurs like herself not to make similar mistakes. This has proven to be a key resource for learning, belonging and driving sales not just for the entrepreneurs she supports but also her own business.

Summary table for Participant 9 – Belonging practices

Doing	Being	Becoming	Belonging
Dealing with shame, Learning from mistakes, Not accepting entrepreneur title, Starting small, Working Hard, Taking opportunities as they come,	Being committed, Being overwhelmed, Leaning on community, Self-advocating,	Building a community, Building confidence, Following others on social media, Getting mentorship, Pivoting, Provisioning for downtimes, Systemizing work processes,	Branding, Giving back, Networking, Role modelling, Selling, Getting specialised learning, Supporting other entrepreneurs,

Summary table for Participant 9 – Resourcing practices

Economic	Social	Cultural			Symbolic
		Embodied	Objectified	Institutionalised	
Accessing financing from clients, Branding, Researching online,	Cold outreach, Leaning on community, Leaning on family, Leaning on friends, Networking	Branding,	Branding,	Getting specialised learning,	Branding, Giving back, Role modelling, Supporting other entrepreneurs,

4.2.10. Participant 10

P10 was born to teenage parents in a rural area in South Africa. Her mother was 17 years old and her father was 18, when she was born and as a result her mum had to drop out of school. As such, she was mostly raised by both sets of grandparents and feels that she was growing up alongside her parents rather than being raised by them. She was an introverted child who loved reading. So much that she was perceived as weird in her neighbourhood where education was not taken seriously especially as it was a time when political riots were rife, and the black neighbourhoods barely had electricity.

In spite of having dropped out of school, P10's mum was committed to ensuring that her daughter went to a good school which meant that she was moved from one school to the next at the slightest dissatisfaction, finally ending up at a multiracial school outside of their neighbourhood. P10 remembers playing with children of all races and not feeling segregated against. However, whilst she was able to visit their homes, they were unable to visit hers due to the unrest in the black neighbourhoods. Her grandparents, whom she was mainly raised by were also committed to enabling her education and they themselves would attend night literacy classes after their work to set a good example. This meant that they were barely home and P10 had to look after herself from an early age.

Post Highschool, P10 was not sure about what she wanted to pursue as a career. Having come from a family of mostly females that did not complete Highschool, she had no role models to look up to for career inspiration nor guidance and believes this disadvantaged her. She was clearer about what she did not want, such as not wanting to date early nor fall pregnant at a young age like her mother, rather than what she wanted. As such she ended up changing between two programs at university, and eventually dropping out to find a job as she did not immediately see value in tertiary education.

Once out of university, she worked in corporate first and although she enjoyed it, she soon realised that her lack of tertiary education limited her ability to climb up the career ladder. She would witness her peers that had completed a university program surpass her and this negatively affected her self-esteem. She thus decided to go back to university part-time whilst still maintaining her job, and the corporate financially supported her decision. Eventually, she left corporate to work to a Start-up and here she felt more appreciated and was exposed to many learning opportunities with access to key leadership and entrepreneurial minds. This set her entrepreneurial spirit alight but sadly, in spite of being a great workplace, the Start-up failed. Now armed with a Bachelors and Honours degree, P10 applied for a master's degree in the United States, for which she was accepted, and she briefly migrated.

P10 felt she did her master's degree in order to try and understand business better and always had the intention of returning home to put it to work in running a soup kitchen and making it self-sustaining, as she believed good nutrition was critical for communities to thrive. On return to South Africa mid covid pandemic however, she was out of money and could not find a job. This landed her in depression as she felt her community expected her to come back with a plan for success and she had none. Her mother, a diabetic, upon seeing P10's deteriorating state, encouraged her to join her on a diet and it was during this diet that she started to experiment with making sugar, dairy and gluten free cookies.



This was the beginning of her entrepreneurial journey, from solving a problem for her and her mother, she realised there was an opportunity to turn this into a venture. Backed with funding and encouragement from her mother who also offered her space in her house to create a kitchen for the

business, P10 found renewed purpose. Coincidentally, with the renewed purpose, came many employment offers and P10 accepted an offer through her network of friends. To keep running her business, she partnered with a friend with complimentary skills to move things forward and soon what started as a business that sells to supportive family and friends, was selling product into celebrity circles and gaining momentum using social media.

The journey has not been without its challenges. Firstly, P10 felt extreme pressure about having come back from the USA only to 'run a bakery' as she believed her community expected 'more'. Secondly, she had challenges with product pricing that kept fluctuating, leading to an inability to take advantage of economies of scale and maintaining good pricing for her clients. She overcame this challenge by passing on the costs to her customers as she believed that she was providing a quality product. Thirdly, she found that she barely had any down time as her business consumed her day in and out. Lastly, P10 still struggles with entrepreneurial identity and feels others deserve that title and not her as she is still gaining entrepreneurial experience.

On the upside, P10 speaks to some of her successes being her ability to build a brand that is gender and race neutral, something that she and her co-founder were deliberate about as they felt that if the brand was associated with black females, it would be perceived as less quality from the get-go. She believes that she would rather be judged by the excellence of her product than her gender or race. Secondly, her strong network has been a valuable resource for growing her sales, learning from other entrepreneurs as well as mentorship on all things business related.



Thirdly, P10 who is unmarried but dating a fellow entrepreneur believes that this relationship has been helpful as she now has someone to bounce things off. Lastly, she asserts that the fact that both her and her co-founder are unmarried and childless has been an advantage for them as they are able to take equal risk in the business without worrying about the welfare of their families.

Whilst she feels her business is not yet ready for external funding and she wishes there was a roadmap to make the journey easier, P10 continues to build her business and is ensuring she is learning the lessons from the challenges, celebrating the wins and enjoying the growth she is experiencing as she pushes beyond her comfort zones. As her business grows, she continues to be deliberate about creating opportunities for other small businesses to grow too by using them in her supply chain.

Summary table for Participant 10 – Belonging practices

Doing	Being	Becoming	Belonging
Asking for help, Dealing with hostility, Dealing with imposter syndrome, Dealing with internal conflict, Dealing shame, Joining an incubator/accelerator, Leaning on experience, Learning from mistakes, Not accepting entrepreneur title, Starting small,	Being committed, Being excellent, Being honest, Being overwhelmed, Lacking confidence, Leaning on church/religion, Leaning on friends	Building a community, Embracing failure, Following others on social media, Getting support, Getting mentorship,	Anchoring successes, Branding, Faking it, Giving back, Networking, Niching, Partnering, Taking pride in entrepreneur title,

Summary table for Participant 10 – Resourcing practices

Economic	Social	Cultural			Symbolic
		Embodied	Objectified	Institutionalised	
Accessing financing from friends and family, Asking for freebies, Branding, Consulting on the side, Faking it, Joining an incubator/accelerator, Maintaining a job to finance the business, Not needing financing, Partnering, Selling and bootstrapping,	Cold outreach, Joining an incubator/accelerator, Leaning on church / religion, Leaning on family, Leaning on friends, Networking, Partnering,	Being excellent, Branding, Leaning on experience, Taking pride in entrepreneurial identity,	Branding, Faking it,	Niching	Branding, Giving back, Faking it,

4.2.11. Participant 11

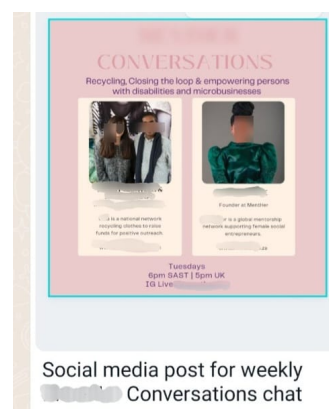
P11 was born in a rural area in South Africa to teenage parents. She was raised between the rural area where she was born, the suburbs where her grandmother lived and farmlands in the peri-urban area where her parents eventually moved to, amongst extended family. She sees this as an advantage as she was able to experience life from three very distinct perspectives and grew up around a supportive extended family. Her parents went on to be educated, with her father setting up medical practices in both black and white neighbourhoods post-apartheid. This meant that he was rarely home and was usually stressed out as

racial tensions were still rife yet both parents tried to create a supportive and stable family environment for P11 and her siblings.

P11 was in primary school by the time the apartheid regime was ending and so always attended mixed race schools. She remembers being friends with children of all races during her primary school but experiencing a distinct difference in Highschool where the various racial groupings mostly kept to themselves and only socialised in sport. P11 believes her school experience was a reflection of the transition that the country was experiencing as there was still so much uncertainty about who belonged where.

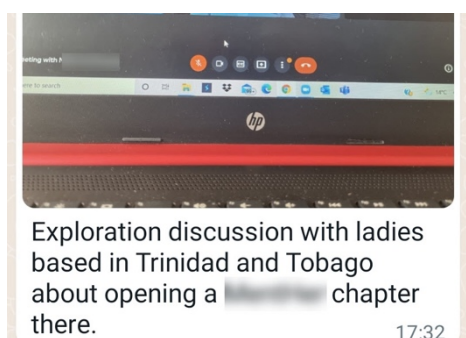
She chose to pursue business programs at university after receiving some career guidance from her father. P11 knew that she wanted to work for herself and become a businesswoman, and driven by her Highschool experiences, was particularly interested in telling stories of unseen people and changing the 'poor black narrative' that was driven by the media, and thus pursued a degree in business and marketing. Post her studies, she first worked in corporate and disliked it as she did not feel they cared enough about social impact and treated it rather like a tick-box exercise. Thus, she moved to working for a social enterprise, which she loved as she felt the space treated people of all social backgrounds and standing with respect. Thus after working in the sector for a while, she decided to pursue a Masters in social innovation, and this became the springboard from which she set up her social enterprise upon completion.

P11's social enterprise focuses on mentoring young female social entrepreneurs. Through her networking and studies, she had recognised a gap in guidance and support for women in the space. She speaks to having been mentored by three key figures (one male and two female) in the business and social entrepreneurship space during her university days and how critical this was for shaping her as an entrepreneur and how she chose to run her business. Her studies also challenged her to focus on a niche and though this made her nervous as she felt that would be closing herself off to many opportunities, she decided to



do it anyway, thus focusing on young female social entrepreneurs in the 'start-up phase'. This niching proved to be an asset as it meant that she was able to focus and attract the right people willing to support her business, using mainly social media platforms.

The journey has had its downsides, the main one being that her business is not self-sustaining as she feels people in South Africa are hesitant to spend money for personal skills development, expecting it to be free. This has resulted in strained personal finances to the extent that she was unable to afford to do many social things with friends. She has also experienced challenges with dating as non-entrepreneurial potential partners do not understand what she does for a living, often asking her to find a 'real job', whilst the entrepreneurial potential partners tended to be as busy as her, trying to make their businesses work. Additionally, whilst her parents have been supportive of her journey and choices, including allowing her to still live at home though she is in her 30s, they have aired concerns about her ability to be financially independent without their help. Lastly, she has experienced the pressure of her community perceiving her as successful and expecting her to help out financially when in fact she herself is trying to make ends meet.



In spite of the challenges, P11 continues to forge on and believes her biggest successes have been in her ability to batter skills and also get free support, resources, guidance and comfort on the journey, from her network. Secondly, through her network she has been able to form partnerships with people willing

to volunteer their time to mentor her clients and create educational content. Additionally, she is proud of having created a recognizable brand that others identify with. Lastly, she is also proud of the fact that she has been able to mainly self-fund the business through doing consulting and speaking work on the side as she does not feel ready to get external funding yet since her business still experiences irregular revenues.

In spite of the success, P11 does not call herself entrepreneur as she believes entrepreneurship is either associated with hustlers from a South African perspective or successful people from a global one and she believes she is neither. Despite this she remains committed to continuing to grow her business, learning from feedback from other entrepreneurs and providing access to knowledge, resources, markets and networks to the marginalised women creating social impact in their communities.

Summary table for Participant 11 – Belonging practices

Doing	Being	Becoming	Belonging
Asking for help, Dealing with imposter syndrome, Leaning on experience, Not accepting entrepreneur title, Sacrificing,	Being overwhelmed, Leaning on community, Leaning on family values/heritage	Adjusting business identities, Building a team, Getting coaching, Getting mentorship, Getting support, Getting technical certifications, Leaning on other Entrepreneurs, Taking comfort from feedback,	Branding, Changing the poor black woman narrative, Inspiring others, Giving back, Networking, Niching, Partnering, Selling, Getting specialised learning, Supporting other entrepreneurs,

Summary table for Participant 11 – Resourcing practices

Economic	Social	Cultural			Symbolic
		Embodied	Objectified	Institutionalised	
Accessing financing from friends and family,	Leaning on community, Leaning on friends, Networking,	Branding, Leaning on experience,	-	Niching, Getting specialised learning,	Branding, Giving back, Inspiring others,

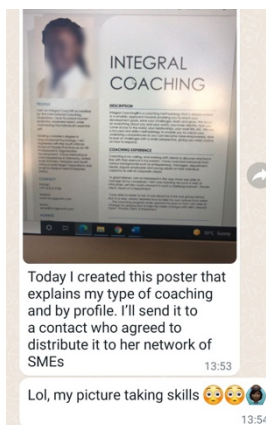
Asking for freebies, Bartering, Branding, Consulting on the side, Not needing financing, Partnering, Researching online, Using personal sources of income,	Partnering,				Supporting entrepreneurs,

4.2.12. Participant 12

P12 was born and raised in Kenya to a large middle-class family in a rather shielded environment. She was sent to strict boarding schools during her primary education that had a heavy focus on academics. She moved to South Africa in the final year of her Highschool and struggled to integrate into the education system particularly during her first year of university as it required critical thinking and she felt the Kenyan education system had only prepared her for memorising and regurgitating information rather than thinking. Additionally, her father had to make many financial sacrifices to get her through university as she was required to pay international fees which are higher than fees levied on locals and this added extra strain on her and her performance but she managed to make it right through to a master's degree.

After failing to find a job in South Africa upon completing her studies, P12, through her network, looked into opportunities internationally and secured herself a one-year internship in Germany. This gave her some much-needed work experience and she was confident she would be able to secure a job on her return to South Africa. However, this proved to still be a challenge but again, her network came

through with an opportunity, which she took even though it was not in her field of studies. It was during this time that she met her husband to be who had an opportunity to work in Dubai and she joined him. Dubai proved to be a tough experience however as although she got great work opportunities in terms of job titles and responsibilities, she sadly experienced, and felt she had to put up with, a lot of sexual harassment to keep her job. Two years later, it became unbearable and she returned to South Africa.

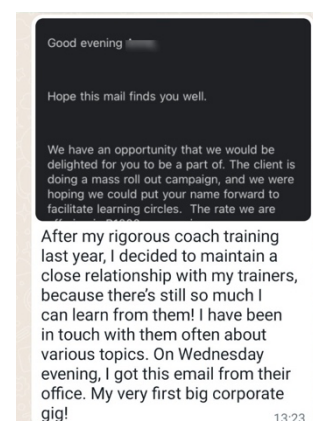


It was upon returning this time and following the fact that she was only getting opportunities for short term consulting work, that P12 bought a coaching practice from a friend. P12 is passionate about developing human talent and believes her work is her calling particularly that she has had diverse culture and work experiences living in different countries. She identified a gap in coaching for middle management and decided to have a niche in that space. She acquired her practice using her savings and financial backing from her husband who has also been instrumental in teaching her the 'harder' business skills as she believes her strength has naturally been in the softer skills. P12 asserts that having a husband who is able to take care of the family's expenses has made her more comfortable to follow her passion.

P12 has grown her practice mainly through referrals and word of mouth from her network. She struggles with direct selling and attributes this to being afraid of rejection, having self-doubt and imposter syndrome. Interestingly, whilst her network is multi-racial, P12 observes that she only gets referred to potential clients who are black. Additionally, a number of people she looks up to in the industry have encouraged her to take on projects in the racial transformation space even though her area of interest is enabling human potential. Further, she has realised that she finds better responses from black people when she advertises through a particular online coaching platform where coaches post their profiles. Lastly, she believes her being a foreigner with distinct darker skin has negatively impacted the growth of her practice.

In spite of the difficulties, P12 credits her network, that she is very deliberate about curating, for supporting her with guidance and coaching of her own. She has, however, experienced a lack of vulnerability on their part as most of her network of entrepreneurs want to be perceived as successful. She believes this has limited them as a network from potentially profitable partnerships or collaborations and learning opportunities.

Additionally, she credits her network for helping her grow her client base and is particularly proud of having large corporations as clients. Finally, having her own practice has enabled P12 to have time with her 2year old daughter as she can decide her work hours, something that is of importance to her.



Whilst she still struggles with hard skills such as finance and marketing for her business, P12 remains committed to keep learning and improving. And even though she does not identify as an entrepreneur yet as she feels she is a novice in the field, she believes through more practice, she will continue to gain confidence and self-assurance and looks forward to eventually breaking into the 'white market'.

Summary table for Participant 12 – Belonging practices

Doing	Being	Becoming	Belonging
Choosing one's own work hours, Dealing with imposter syndrome, Dealing with internal conflict, Learning from challenges, Taking opportunities as they come,	Being authentic, Being vulnerable, Leaning on professional network,	Getting coaching, Getting mentorship, Getting technical certifications, Learning from other entrepreneurs, Learning to sell, Systemizing work processes,	Inspiring others, Joining an existing business, Networking, Niching, Partnering, Role modelling, Seeing entrepreneurship as a calling, Selling,

			Getting specialised learning, Taking pride in entrepreneur title,

Summary table for Participant 12 – Resourcing practices

Economic	Social	Cultural			Symbolic
		Embodied	Objectified	Institutionalised	
Accessing financing from friends and family, Asking for freebies, Leaning on professional network, Partnering, Researching online, Selling and bootstrapping, Using personal sources of funding,	Cold outreach, Joining an existing business, Leaning on family, Leaning on professional network, Networking, Partnering,	Taking pride in entrepreneurial identity,	-	Getting specialised learning, Niching	Giving back, Inspiring others, Role modelling,

4.2.13. Participant 13

P13, was born and raised to a middle-class and highly academically accomplished family. Both her parents were holders of a PhD from top league universities and this meant that the family lived in several countries as the parents pursued various academic career opportunities. Whilst this caused some instability in terms of the number of schools P13 and her siblings attended during

their primary and secondary education, P13's parents always strived to keep their home life as stable as possible, leaning heavily on their religious beliefs to bring up their children in a very hands-on manner.

P13 and her family finally settled in South Africa when she was in Highschool. She went on to university and completed a degree in marketing. However, because of her parents' career paths and accomplishments, P13 believes they valourised higher degrees and wished it for their children. Whilst P13's two siblings ended up reaching masters and PhD level respectively, P13, as a Bachelor's degree holder, always believes she was made to feel, like the least successful in her family no matter her other non-academic achievements.

P13 was always the most adventurous child in her family. Her career post university started off with her moving to Burkina Faso for a year as an intern for an organisation and she learned to speak French. On her return to South Africa, she got into a graduate program with a major car distributor and here is where she believes she first learnt how to market and sell as her salary was commission based. However, whilst she was earning good money, she felt dissatisfied with her career progression and moved to work for a fast-moving consumer goods distributor where she learnt about running a full business unit, supply chain management and had opportunities to work in various African countries and experience their different cultures.



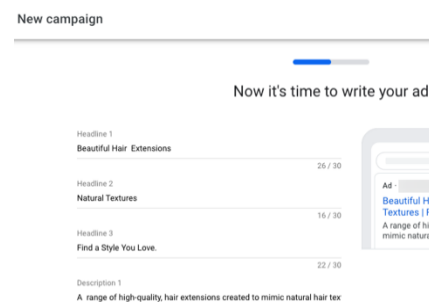
P13 had a knack for spotting opportunities to fill gaps in supply for products and had one entrepreneurial venture or the other on the side when she was in full time employment. She would use the time when she would travel for her corporate assignments to buy goods she felt would sell for a good price in South Africa. She was 'pushed' to go full-time into entrepreneurship after her role was made redundant. Now that she is running her own business, a thing she had always aspired towards, she speaks of ever feeling overwhelmed and that the experience is scarier than she could have imagined. Additionally, because she is in the beauty industry, traditionally considered to be

a feminine industry, she often feels she has to adjust how she describes what she does according to audience, to make it sound “more serious” or worthwhile. This includes her family, who even though are supportive of her business, are ‘concerned’ and often ask her when she is finding a real job.

P13 started her business using her own funding and speaks about how this negatively impacted her personal finances, including her ability to take on social engagements with friends, as she could not afford the lifestyle she had as an employee. As she grew her business, she additionally managed to access working capital loans, which she feels were exorbitantly priced and has thus shied away from ever since. Further, she got accepted into a female only business accelerator program that she believes was a major turning as she finally felt a sense of belonging being amongst like-minded people, something she did not have growing up around her family of academics. It was through this accelerator program that she was introduced to a venture capitalist who ended up investing in her, a process she said felt was straightforward, due to the training she had received from the accelerator.

In spite of these wins and the fact that she has had several ventures before the current, P13 spoke to feeling nervous about calling herself an entrepreneur because she felt that it required her to commit fully to the journey and that was a scary thought for her. She credits the relationships she has with several women leaders she worked with in her corporate career, as well as her network of women entrepreneurs that she met through the accelerator program, as great sources of comfort, knowledge and resources including sales opportunities. She believes that having such networks is important as she feels many women, including herself, lack confidence and tend to dream small and thus having other women to lean on and learn from, is helpful in enabling belief. Thus, it was through the process of being on the accelerator program and going through the fundraising process that she finally felt confident enough to call herself an entrepreneur and change her social media profiles to reflect this.

In ending, P13 continues to be thrilled by the prospect of building her own business, focusing mainly on online marketing and sales. She continues to learn and grow herself through podcasts and her network and feels reaffirmed that she is on the right path through the great feedback she receives from her customers on both her product and brand. She also loves the fact that being an entrepreneur has given her better control of her time as she is able to have flexible work hours, something she is grateful for as a single mum to a teenager.



Summary table for Participant 13 – Belonging practices

Doing	Being	Becoming	Belonging
Choosing one's own work hours, Joining an incubator/accelerator, Not accepting entrepreneur title, Sacrificing,	Always been an entrepreneur, Being overwhelmed, Having gratitude, Lacking confidence, Leaning on family values/heritage,	Anchoring successes, Building a community, Building a team, Following others on social media,	Accessing external financing, Branding, Selling, Getting specialised learning, Taking pride in entrepreneur title,

Summary table for Participant 13 – Resourcing practices

Economic	Social	Cultural			Symbolic
		Embodied	Objectified	Institutionalised	
Accessing local investors, Branding, Joining an incubator accelerator,	Joining an incubator accelerator, Leaning on professional networks, Networking,	Branding, Leaning on family values and heritage, Taking pride in entrepreneurial identity,	Branding,	Getting specialised learning,	Branding,

Leaning on professional network, Researching online, Using personal sources of funding,					

4.2.14. Participant 14

P14 is a mid-50s food and beverages entrepreneur whose business focuses on producing and supplying wines under her unique African name brand. She used to be a teacher before she forayed into entrepreneurship and is still passionate about knowledge sharing as she believes 'once a teacher, always a teacher' and thus moves in the world of entrepreneurship with this sense of sharing. She is particularly passionate about sharing knowledge with black women as she believes they carry the biggest burdens of society and thus need the most help.

Born in a low-income family in one of South Africa's largest cities to a single mum, P14 grew up in a black segregated area where sharing and community were the mainstays. She remembers a neighbourhood of bustling entrepreneurs and being asked to help out in different ventures, whether you were related to the entrepreneur or not, and being rewarded for it at the end of the day with food to take home. Whilst there was deep segregation and clear social hierarchies in the country, with black people being constantly reminded of their place at the bottom of that hierarchy, P14 recalls her community as being resilient with an ability to look beyond their struggle and remain hopeful. It was this community that laid the foundations of who she was later to become as an entrepreneur.

Her earlier school days were characterised by moving from school to school due to the unrest and riots that were rife in their neighbourhood. Despite this, her mother, who was a disciplinarian, held firm on the importance of education for

P14 and her siblings. Upon completion of Highschool, P14 went to teacher's training (certificate program) and started working at a school in another black neighbourhood. She speaks to how tough it was working in the environment as she had to play multiple roles for the children she was supporting - from teacher; to social worker and counsellor; and often bodyguard as the area was ridden with gangsterism in addition to the race related riots and unrest. Additionally, she had to work with very limited resources and was frustrated about the lack of capital allocation to schools in black areas that often led to poor academic results from the students year on year.



P14 believes delving into the entrepreneurial space was a brave move for her, as having come from a social sciences background, she had no formal business training plus the wine industry is known to be traditionally male and white. As a single mum herself, she drew strength from her mother and maternal grandfather's examples as they both had small community businesses when she was growing up. Further, coming from her background where the alcoholic beverages of choice were beer and hard spirits, she had no prior knowledge of wine but when she was exposed to how it was made, fell in love with the process of how a grape could be turned into a beautiful beverage that can be paired with food, and wanted in on the industry. Combined with being frustrated with her teaching career, she went into the space after the apartheid regime had ended and a new political climate, that was more encouraging of women's participation, was underway as she felt that all the doors that had previously been closed to her were now open and there was nothing to stop her.

Whilst the wine industry was outrightly not welcoming, P14 leaned on the self-love, belief and esteem instilled in her by her mother, and the support structures from government that were being put in place to support the participation of black women in industry, to keep going. She was determined to find her way through the unfriendliness as she understood that it would be difficult to survive in the space without building relationships with those who owned the means of

production (white males). And thus she focused on finding common ground with them through forming partnerships. Though she felt that these partnerships were superficial because they were solely at brand collaboration level, and no 'real asset' exchanges were, P14 still took advantage of them to gain her place in the industry and grow her sales. She also experienced a lot of resistance concerning her African brand name with many suggesting that she change it to an English name. However, she was unwilling to compromise on this as she believed that it was important to be proud of one's heritage.

Whilst the government support programs have helped P14 with skills development both from a business management perspective as well as winemaking, she believes more can be done on the funding side as there is still an expectation of collateral which she does not have as a single black woman. P14 believes that for government policies to be effective, they need to be informed by the reality and experiences of black entrepreneurs. Further, she asserts how access to markets locally, is not a level playing field for black entrepreneurs. She cites an example of being excited about being accepted as a distributor into a large retailer, only to be disappointed when she found her products being displayed in a pitiful manner like she was a charity case. She believes there would be less need for funding if access to the market was equal.



In spite of the struggles, she has experienced success with her wines being listed and sold internationally in countries such as Germany and the United States. She has also had a lot of media coverage, something she believes is a double-edged sword. This is because it allows her to be an inspiration to other black female entrepreneurs, something she loves; yet on the other hand creates the impression of her being successful, something that puts her under pressure as she does not believe this is her reality. All the same, she is content with her entrepreneurial journey and hopes that her presences in the wine industry encourages other black women to enter the industry and help drive transformation. She is intent to keep learning through networking and to embrace

her shortcomings in the hopes that her journey will not only give hope to the next generation of entrepreneurs but will also make their path easier.

Summary table for Participant 14 – Belonging practices

Doing	Being	Becoming	Belonging
Asking for help, Choosing one's own work hours, Dealing with hospitality, Disconnecting from naysayers, Not taking advantage of government policies, Taking opportunities as they come, Working Hard,	Being overwhelmed, Being resilient, Having grace, Leaning on family values/heritage, Not compromising, Self-advocating,	Building a community, Embracing failure,	Accessing external financing, Branding, Changing the poor black woman narrative, Creating allyship, Embracing the value in being black and female, Giving back, Inspiring others, Networking, Niching, Partnering, Taking advantage of government policy, Taking pride in entrepreneur title,

Summary table for Participant 14 – Resourcing practices

Economic	Social	Cultural			Symbolic
		Embodied	Objectified	Institutionalised	
Accessing grant funding, Branding,	Creating allyship, Networking, Partnering,	Being resilient, Branding, Embracing the value in being	Branding,	Niching,	Branding, Giving back, Inspiring others,

Creating allyship, Partnering, Taking advantage of government policy, Using personal sources of funding,		black and female, Having grace, Leaning on family values and heritage, Taking pride in entrepreneurial identity,			

4.2.15. Participant 15

P15, was born in South Africa to immigrant parents from Swaziland. She describes her father as militant as every aspect of their family life was strictly regimented. Her father ensured that during school days, all his children were focused on academics, sports and religion and during school holidays they would be shipped off to the village in Swaziland in order to keep close ties with their roots. P15 speaks to life in the two places being starkly different. In South Africa, they lived as a nuclear family, in a middle-income suburb with similar expectations levied on female and male children. Whilst in Swaziland, they lived in a rural village that held strict patriarchal views of men being superior and surrounded by extended family. As such, P15 was exposed to different cultures from an early age, coupled with the fact that her parents took her and her siblings to good multiracial schools.

P15's father was an entrepreneur who exposed his children to entrepreneurship from an early age by having them work in his business. P15 was 16 years old when she would handle the bookkeeping at her father's business. In spite of this, her father did not want his children to become entrepreneurs, preferring that they pursue degrees and get into formal employment. Consequently, despite being creative, P15 studied accounting, not out of passion but necessity and got a job in the insurance industry. She speaks to struggling with settling into her career

as she was inspired by her father and driven towards entrepreneurship. This, coupled with having a cruel boss (white male) who did not respect his staff, pushed P15 to quit her job at 25 years of age to try her hand at entrepreneurship, against her father's will.



"Packaging is like theater, it can tell a story" - Steve Jobs

P15 runs a creative packaging business that she started from home, using her savings. She believes that perceptions matter and that people and things are judged at first sight and thus wanted to create beautiful product packaging that helped individuals and businesses to create the impression that they desired upfront. The beginning of her entrepreneurial journey was not an easy one, apart from the loss of a monthly salary, P15 faced backlash from her friends and family. She recalls friends stopping to invite her to events as she could no longer afford it and extended family being very worried that she would influence their children to go into entrepreneurship, a path they felt was inferior to a corporate job and did not believe would work. She also does not date romantically, as she is very focused on her business.

Despite the backlash, she believes she has inspired many people in her family and social circles as they ask her about her journey, and it has sparked their interest in creating additional sources of income outside of their salaries. Whilst her biggest challenge is funding, as she has struggled to access both government and private capital support due to stringent requirements, she has found networking to be critical in helping her subsidise her costs. Through networking she has been able to find cost effective key people for her business, such as lawyers and accountants; advisors to guide her; other entrepreneurs to partner with or draw comfort from; and ultimately support in increasing her sales. P15 continues to grow her business through bootstrapping, eliciting the help and support of her siblings and parents, as extra hands as she has found retaining staff challenging as a small business.



We cannot escape evolution, it is the constant transformation. "The only thing that is constant is change"

Notwithstanding her business growth, P15 does not call herself an entrepreneur as she claims not to know the definition of the word as different people define it in different ways. Whilst she believes that it is about creating an income for oneself

and opportunities for others through job creation, she feels she is still defining what it means for herself. She feels entrepreneurship requires one to be eloquent and likeable as she believes how one carries themselves impacts their business growth and that one's personal brand is often intertwined with their business brand.

Finally, P15 advocates for the learning of sales and financial management as critical skills for business alongside the building of resilience and adaptability. Ultimately, whilst she believes her main strengths lie in not being afraid of asking for opportunities and help; she is also cognisant that the business world is not easy on women and that one must fight for their place in it and be willing to take opportunities as they come.

Summary table for Participant 15 – Belonging practices

Doing	Being	Becoming	Belonging
Dealing with hospitality, Disconnecting from naysayers, Fighting for one's place, Joining an incubator/accelerator, Leaning on experience,	Always been an entrepreneur, Being committed, Being overwhelmed, Being resilient, Leaning on church/religion, Leaning on physical or creative activities, Self-advocating	Adjusting business identities, Anchoring successes, Building a team, Embracing failure, Getting support, Learning to sell,	Branding, Inspiring others, Networking, Partnering, Role modelling, Selling, Getting specialised learning,

Not accepting entrepreneur title,			

Summary table for Participant 15 – Resourcing practices

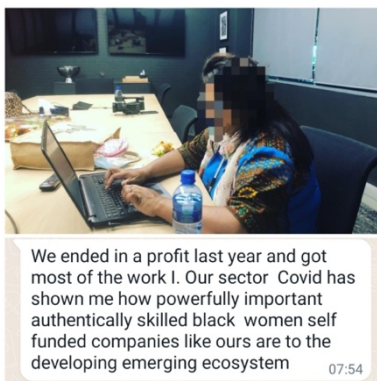
Economic	Social	Cultural			Syndicate
		Embodied	Objectified	Institutionalised	
Accessing financing from suppliers, Asking for freebies, Branding, Joining an incubator/accelerator, Leaning on professional networks, Partnering, Researching online, Selling and bootstrapping, Using personal sources of funding,	Joining an incubator/accelerator, Leaning on church / religion, Leaning on family, Leaning on professional networks, Networking, Partnering,	Being resilient, Branding, Leaning on experience, Leaning on physical or creative activities,	Branding,	Getting specialised learning,	Branding, Inspiring, Other, Role, Motivation

4.2.16. Participant 16

P16 is of Indian heritage and was born in South Africa. Under the Black Empowerment Policies for South Africa – South Africans of Asian and mixed-race origins are classified as 'black'. She was born and raised in a middle-income area in a large city and her father was a freedom fighter alongside many famous black South African freedom fighters. She is thus a child of racial activism and as a dark skinned Indian feels she has experienced racism and colourism from both her community and from the country at large. She comes from a family with diversity in terms of religion and sexual orientation yet who are kept together by very strong values. Values such as tolerance, being pro-choice and feminism are mainstay and respected.

P16s mother came from a poor family whilst her father came from a more privileged family. They were, however, both intent on ensuring their children got a good education which saw P16 complete her bachelor's degree during very turbulent times in South Africa's political history. She grew up in a neighbourhood that has the reputation of having been quite militant during the struggle for democracy and speaks to being traumatised at the treatment that black people used to experience.

She, however, also raises the fact that she felt there was a level of mediocrity within her community that was tolerated, and she was intent on never being a part of it but rather being a disruptive pioneer in whatever she did. Her belief about the reason behind this mediocrity is the lack of skills which led to having unqualified people running key roles and thus for her, it mattered that she studied and thus she went on to study journalism.



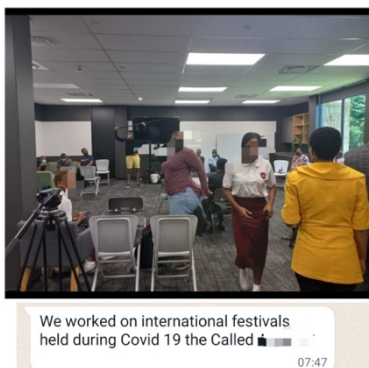
Consequently, P16 who is now in her mid-50s, runs a media business that has been in existence for over 18 years. Both her and her business have won several local and global awards for the work that they do and she is proud that this was based on the excellence of their service as one of the few long-standing black agencies amongst many white agencies in the space. She is also proud that

her success has not been based on taking advantage of any black empowerment government policies nor tenders and has been on pure merit. Further, she takes pride in the fact that her success was possible despite her agency's focus on telling the stories of marginalised black people in music, arts and culture, something she did not want to compromise on as a child of activism. Over the years, she has employed over 36 people and has been able to buy a home without any bank debt.

In spite of the accolades, she feels her business would have done better had she had business and financial education. This was more evident during the covid

pandemic lockdowns when sales from referrals, which she was mostly dependent on, dried up and she had to let go of her staff. This haunted her as she felt she could have planned better for such times during the hey days. P16 also believes that because the excellence of her work spoke for itself and resulted in referrals, she never developed real sales nor pitching skills. This meant there were several projects she had started with her own cash that she thought would attract investment of some sort that just never materialised resulting in sunk capital. Further, there were occasions when she would be taken advantage of by middlemen who took large margins from deals they passed on to her. Additionally, P16 feels that the growth she had experienced through referrals may have resulted in her being lazy and arrogant, things she believed she needed to unlearn in order to adapt to the dynamic environment during and post pandemic.

Concurrently during that Covid-19 pandemic, P16 was diagnosed with a rare throat cancer and had to have emergency surgery, leaving her without fully functioning vocal cords and a long recovery period. This time, however, showed her what a loving community she had around her as she received well wishes, gifts and help from people all over the country, something she is grateful for. This period also showed her how much her service was appreciated even though her clients had marginally smaller budgets, they still sent business her way, which allowed her to support some of the staff she made redundant with contract work. Ultimately, the outpouring of support and care she received highlighted the depth of her connections and the impact she had made on those around her.



Notwithstanding these trials, P16 embraces her entrepreneurial identity and continues to fight for her business' survival as she is passionate about changing the continent's narrative from one of a begging continent to that of an attractive investment destination. She feels that the South African economy is still very white-owned and that the racial and gender transformation efforts by government have been purely window-dressing and she wants to look beyond South Africa for business growth. P16 who sees herself as a Pan-Africanist and frowns upon Xenophobia, has made

strides in partnering with other media agencies across the continent to chart her business' growth. She has chosen to keep looking on the bright side of life, taking responsibility for the mistakes she made in the past and looking to correct them as she moves into the future. She hopes to be able to grow her business through accessing funding and partnerships, something she has not done well in the past.

Summary table for Participant 16 – Belonging practices

Doing	Being	Becoming	Belonging
Asking for help, Not accepting entrepreneur title, Sacrificing,	Being excellent, Having gratitude, Leaning on church/religion, Leaning on friends, Leaning on family values/heritage, Not compromising,	Building a team, Learning to sell	Branding, Changing the poor black woman narrative, Embracing the value in being black and female, Giving back,

Summary table for Participant 16 – Resourcing practices

Economic	Social	Cultural			Symbolic
		Embodied	Objectified	Institutionalised	
Accessing financing from client, Branding, Using personal sources of income,	Leaning on church / religion, Leaning on community,	Being excellent, Branding, Leaning on family values and heritage,	Branding,	-	Branding, Winning awards,

4.2.17. Participant 17

P17 was born in a rural area in Northern South Africa to parents who were both teachers. Her earlier life is characterised by being in a strict and religious boarding school and only being home during school holidays. Their

neighbourhood was a tight-knit community where everyone knew each other and looked out for one another's children as their own. With both parents as teachers, they emphasised both the importance of a good education and the need for their children to make good decisions and would stress on how everything P17 and her siblings did were building blocks to their future. As such, P17 only experienced some level of freedom when she went to university in a different, urban province.

P17 graduated with a degree in education and after two years of teaching at a high school felt she wanted to do more with her life and went back to study for a diploma in business management. She then joined a medium-sized organisation that focused on event management for entrepreneurs as their first employee in the province where she lived. This meant that she had to set up the business from scratch as their headquarters was in a different province. It was here that she was exposed to the ins and outs of running a business both through the setting up of a branch and through the interactions with the entrepreneurs they were serving. Additionally, through the events business, P17 was exposed to working with government agencies and in particular, supporting key ministries in shaping and implementing their black empowerment policies to the benefit of entrepreneurs.

Inspired and guided by her father who retired early from teaching to go into business, P17 soon branched out to set up a business of her own. She credits her father for not only believing in and encouraging her but also equipping her with business and financial management skills. She believes that she was able to achieve a lot because of his belief in her and though her first few ventures were not entirely successful, she kept on the path because of his support and encouragement. Eventually she set up a coaching business (current venture) focused on supporting women entrepreneurs on their journeys as she wanted to pay forward what she had received from her father and use what she learned from her own failures to support others. She is a proponent of taking responsibility for and being in charge of one's own path in spite of the past and whether or not one has support from government, and this is the approach she takes when supporting her clients.

A divorced mother of two, P17 has always started her businesses using her own savings. Though this puts strain on her personal and family finances, she expresses never bothering to look for external funding as her perception has been that it usually takes more than six months to access any type of funding and she never had the luxury or time to do so, especially that the outcomes could not be guaranteed. She thus has had to be resourceful in how she has grown her practice, starting with offering some free coaching to give potential clients a taste of what she does and eventually converting them to sales. She has leaned heavily on networking to grow her practice and is deliberate about extending access to networks she gets into, to her clients too.

P17 has experienced several ups and downs with her business. The most significant challenge being the impact of the Covid-19 lockdowns on her ability to run physical events, the channel through which her coaching was mainly delivered. She found herself unprepared as she did not have an online presence and had to cancel all her events. This forced her to go digital and tailor her delivery to an online channel. This detour, though initially hard, opened up international opportunities for her as she was now able to serve international clients. Though scary at the start, she took up the opportunities and through practice and the positive feedback she would receive from her clients, became more and more comfortable in serving international markets. This, she counts as her biggest success to date.

Through this, P17 has learnt that it is often within challenges that one finds opportunities. She remains committed to never giving up even though she feels that the South Africa market does not fully appreciate coaching let alone, paying for it. She is additionally committed to continuously improving her skills and service through receiving and paying for coaching of her own, thus exemplifying what she preaches. She believes that women entrepreneurs can succeed in spite of the hurdles they experience in business and their challenging pasts within the South African context and remains dedicated to supporting as many of them as possible on their journeys.

Summary table for Participant 17 – Belonging practices

Doing	Being	Becoming	Belonging
Not taking advantage of government policies, Gleaning from previous experience,	Being committed,	Building confidence, Embracing failure, Getting coaching, Getting support	Embracing the value in being black and female Networking, Supporting other entrepreneurs, Taking advantage of government policy,

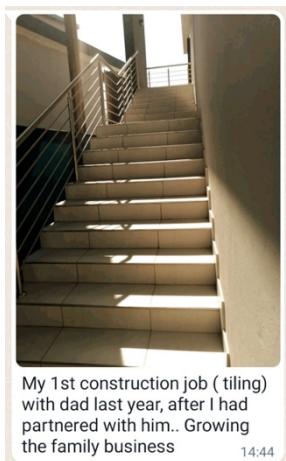
Summary table for Participant 17 – Resourcing practices

Economic	Social	Cultural			Symbolic
		Embodied	Objectified	Institutionalised	
Not wanting financing, Using personal sources of funding,	Leaning on family, Networking,	Embracing the value in being black and female, Leaning on family values and heritage,	-	-	Supporting other entrepreneurs,

4.2.18. Participant 18

P18 was born and raised in an upper middle-class family to career oriented parents. Her mother was an academic and her father, a business owner. She remembers her family life growing up as loving and stable in a neighbourhood she speaks to as being safe. P18 grew up being exposed to entrepreneurship through her father's venture and was raised with the values of working for what you wanted even though her parents could afford many things. P18, who narrates having been a shy child, consequently went to good schools throughout and though not an A student, was a hard worker and qualified to get into an economics degree post high school.

Two years into the degree though, P18 decided to quit as she hated the program and being in class all day and felt more excited and driven by the idea of buying and selling things, much to the disappointment of her parents. P18 who sees herself as a calculated risk taker is inspired by her mother who besides being an academic, owns properties and has always done some business venture or the other on the side. And thus, as a compromise with her parents, P18 proposed to study a part-time marketing degree so that she could still pursue her itch to do business whilst studying. Her parents agreed to the proposal, and encouraged by this, P18 went on to start her first business and also complete her degree in record time.



Over the years, P18 has started a few ventures with limited success. Wherever she saw opportunity, she went for it and has through trial and error moved through several industries – from beauty to sanitation to branded food and beverages (current venture). At some point in this journey when things got tough, she decided to get a job and found herself feeling stuck and miserable working in corporate. At another point, she was in a romantic relationship and had moved in with her partner who did not allow her to pursue any business ventures. She speaks to feeling lost during this time and realising that entrepreneurship was more than a passion for her but rather a calling. As such, she decided to leave the relationship (and is single to date); moved back home to work in her father's construction business; whilst also growing her own branded water business on the side.

Despite this realisation, and the fact that people in her network often go to her for business advice, P18 does not call herself an entrepreneur, preferring the term 'hustler'. This is because whilst she is a go-getter who charts her own path, she feels she is still learning in business and is not yet at her peak. She speaks to finding the journey extremely challenging as she feels stretched by needing to play several roles in her business as she finds it hard asking for help, a weakness she concedes comes from a need to be super woman. Further, though her

parents have been supportive by contributing to funding her ventures in addition to her own savings, she touches on being constantly under financial pressure. Despite this, she chooses not to take external funding following a bad experience with an overdraft that she felt she was never ready for as she lacked financial management skills at the time. Lastly, even though she is a proponent of 'fake it till you make it' - she talks to struggling with selling as she feels that the 'shy child' is still within her.

Thus, to keep going, she often looks up to celebrity entrepreneurs that she follows on her social media, as following their progress gives her encouragement and hope. She feels her interactions with entrepreneurs in real life have not always been positive as they have tried to leech off of her ideas and experience that she feels she has worked hard for and they have not earned. In spite of this, she takes encouragement from and believes in her ability to bring to reality the many ventures she has and will continue to dream up. This,



she sees as her biggest success and a quality that makes her feel invincible. Hence, she continues to be ambitious about her business growth whilst prioritising learning through online research and hopes that through her journey, other women are encouraged to pursue entrepreneurship. Finally, her vision is to one day be in a position to empower women entrepreneurs to be self-reliant in one way or another.

Summary table for Participant 18 – Belonging practices

Doing	Being	Becoming	Belonging
Learning from mistakes, Starting small, Taking opportunities as they come,	Always been an entrepreneur, Being overwhelmed, Leaning on family values/heritage,	Anchoring successes, Building confidence, Learning to sell, Provisioning for downtimes	Accessing external financing, Faking it, Joining an existing business, Networking,

		Seeing entrepreneurship as a calling, Getting specialised learning, Supporting other entrepreneurs,

Summary table for Participant 18 – Resourcing practices

Economic	Social	Cultural			Symbolic
		Embodied	Objectified	Institutionalised	
Accessing financing from friends and family, Faking it, Not wanting financing, Researching online, Using personal sources of funding,	Joining an exsisting business, Leaning on family, Networking,	Faking it, Leaning on family values and heritage,	Faking it,	Getting specialised learning,	Faking it, Supporting other entrepreneurs

4.2.19. Participant 19

P19 was born in a rural area to a low-income family. She is of mixed-race ancestry and in the South African race categorisation system would be referred to as ‘coloured’. However, within the black empowerment policies – coloureds are considered ‘black’ as they were also previously segregated against and disadvantaged to a different degree. As such, when the political climate in South Africa was starting to move towards democracy her grandmother, the matriarch of the family who was strict and decisive, decided to move their family to the

nearest big city. Still, even with the city move, they had to live in a segregated area for coloureds that was rife with gangsterism.

P19 remembers her upbringing being about moving from one section of the area to another due to security concerns and recalls an instant where her family were robbed and held at gunpoint, necessitating such a move. Hence, she moved from school to school depending on security concerns and where they lived till they settled in a better neighbourhood. As a child born out of wedlock, her grandmother was her main caregiver as her parents lived in different places. Even so, there were high expectations for her to become a medical doctor like her father because at that point her mother only had a high school qualification. Although unsure of the career path she would take, P19 was certain being a medical doctor was not what she wanted for herself, much to her family's displeasure.

P19 went on to study a degree in financial technology. Whilst she did not enjoy it, and the program had a high drop off rate, she was intent on finishing it as she felt she needed to back her decision. Post the degree however, she was certain she did not want to work in the space and decided to move back home to her mother in the rural area. On return she found that her mother had started a plumbing business and had taken herself back to school pursuing a certificate in plumbing. Her mother gave P19 two choices – to either join her in the plumbing business or get a job as she was not going to have her lounging in her house, purposeless. P19 decided to join her mother in the business, a decision her father disapproved of as he saw it as the inferior option, and leading to him disowning her.

over six months resulting in the temporary collapse of their business and many legal suits from their staff for non-payment of salaries. Following this tough lesson, P19 and her mother resolved to only supply organisations that could pay within 7 days of invoicing. These new terms were first received with some resistance particularly from commercial clients whom she feels expect women entrepreneurs to be 'nice' and to accept any terms thrown at them, as she does not believe a man putting down similar terms would be met with the same resistance.

Realising this, P19 wanted to be part of the solution by being a voice for women in plumbing and decided to join the board for the association in charge of continuous development for plumbers in South Africa. She learned much which helped her up the standards for her own practice but also the low statistics of women in the sector. Digging deeper into the issue she realised that it was because women experienced hostility in the sector from being

- Women in Technical



undermined to being sexually harassed. Consequently, P19 set up a support organization for women in the sector and through it has been doing advocacy work to try and transform the industry and make it more inclusive. Whilst there is some progress, she still believes more needs to be done to move past lip service promises to real change.

P19 who is single and does not have children chose to not have a family as she felt having one would dim her entrepreneurial ambition. She was inspired by women in business that she saw on TV growing up and the strong lineage of women she comes from. To keep both her and her business growing, she surrounds herself with likeminded entrepreneurs she meets through networking and speaks about two key white male mentors that have been instrumental in her growth. Through networking and the guidance of her mentors she has been able to gain sales opportunities as well as build partnerships. And though she feels she has to work twice as hard, being a black woman, to prove her worth and keep growing her business, she continues to celebrate her wins as they come.

Summary table for Participant 19 – Belonging practices

Doing	Being	Becoming	Belonging
Dealing with hostility, Delaying having a family, Fighting for one's place, Learning from challenges, Learning from mistakes Working Hard,	Being authentic, Being committed, Being honest,	Building a community, Getting mentorship, Getting technical certifications,	Accessing external financing, Branding, Giving back, Inspiring others, Joining an existing business, Networking, Partnering, Selling, Supporting other entrepreneurs, Taking advantage of government policy, Taking pride in entrepreneur title,

Summary table for Participant 19 – Resourcing practices

Economic	Social	Cultural			Symbolic
		Embodied	Objectified	Institutionalised	
Accessing local investors, Accessing financing from friends and family, Accessing financing	Joining an existing business, Networking, Partnering,	Branding, Taking pride in entrepreneurial identity,	Branding,	Getting formal qualifications,	Branding, Giving back, Inspiring others, Supporting other entrepreneurs, Winning awards,

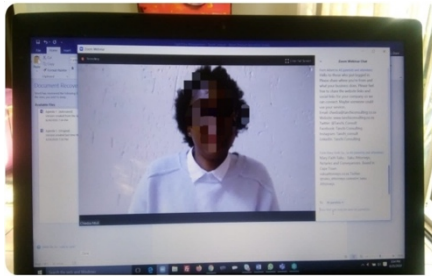
from suppliers, Accessing grant funding, Branding, Partnering, Taking advantage of government policy,					

4.2.20. Participant 20

P20 was born in Zimbabwe to a Zimbabwean mother and a father from Botswana. Her earlier years of life were spent between the two countries as she was sent to boarding in Zimbabwe from the age of five whilst her parents lived in Botswana. This meant that she was only ever with her parents in Botswana during school holidays and speaks to living in a typical middle-class neighbourhood. Her mother was an entrepreneur and thus P20 was exposed to entrepreneurship from her early teens. Although she loved school and was an eager student, P20 describes her time in boarding school from such a young age as lonely and survivalist.

P20 moved to South Africa to pursue her tertiary education, choosing to study an accounting degree in one of the large cities. Following her studies and professional training requirements, she was poached by an audit firm to help them with setting up their firm in another city. P20 speaks to being a deeply empathetic person and used this as a tool to create meaningful relationships that turned into clients. Thus, after building up the practice and client base, she was poached again by one of the firm's clients to help them with a turnaround strategy. Eventually when it turned out that part of the turnaround strategy had to include letting go of people, P20 decided this was her time to set out on her own. She felt

this would be easier than looking for a job as she claimed finding jobs was tougher for foreigners in South Africa.



Facilitating a cashflow masterclass for entrepreneurs

12:26

Though afraid to take the leap, P20 leaned on the experience of having worked at these two firms and inspiration from her mother's entrepreneurial journey, to set up her practice focused on helping business owners to understand their finances better. She chooses to not box herself into the title of 'accountant' as she feels that limits the value she brings to these firms. She also does not necessarily call herself an entrepreneur as she associates the term with successful people in technology and not people in the service industry such as herself, preferring to rather use the term 'problem-solver'.

Her decision to become an entrepreneur did not come without issues, however. Not only did it negatively impact her personal financial situation but also her friendships, which she refers to as having faded away due to her inability to socialise as before based both on financial and time constraints. Thus P20, who is single and does not have children, had to build new social circles through her church and leaned heavily on her professional network including her former employers to help her build her network. She credits networking for enabling her to meet new people she could build relationships with and speaks to how most of these relationships now overlap from social into business.



Shooting some financial literacy content for entrepreneurs

P20 who has bootstrapped her business chose to only have females as her client base. She claims to be more comfortable working with women as they work differently from men, whose approach she refers to as, brazen. She outrightly speaks to being intimidated by men and unable to operate with, let alone compete with, them as she is not as confident as men are. P20 indicates that this is not because of any negative interactions she has necessarily had with them but her own feelings of not being equal and thus prefers to work in the niche she has carved out for herself – working with and serving females.

Whilst P20 has tried applying for grant funding to grow her business, her attempts have been unsuccessful as she claims most local grants are reserved for locals. Consequently, P20's biggest challenge has been staffing and not being able to afford market rate salaries. To work around this, she has often used volunteers in her workforce whenever possible or people with less experience who can take a lower salary. This, she has learned however, can be a double-edged sword as it can impact the quality of work produced. She thus makes extreme efforts to document and systematise as much of the work as possible to make life easier for her team.

In spite of the challenges, she continues to grow her business and credits networking for enabling her to learn from other entrepreneurs' experiences that helps her improve her business. She also keeps her entrepreneurial knowledge up to date through continuous professional development programs; online and in person entrepreneur events; and through following other entrepreneurs online. While she rarely celebrates wins, she speaks to her biggest success being her ability to have survived as an entrepreneur for over eight years whilst supporting other entrepreneurs. She credits her ability to prioritise her mental health and well-being as the cornerstone for the sustained success.

Summary table for Participant 20 – Belonging practices

Doing	Being	Becoming	Belonging
Accepting things as they are, Learning from mistakes, Not accepting entrepreneur title,	Being committed, Being fearful, Being overwhelmed, Being resilient, Leaning on church/religion, Leaning on friends, Leaning on community, Leaning	Building a team, Following others on social media, Getting technical certifications, Learning from other entrepreneurs, Prioritising mental health,	Branding, Networking, Selling, Getting specialised learning, Supporting other entrepreneurs

	on physical or creative activities,	Systemizing work processes,	

Summary table for Participant 20 – Resourcing practices

Economic	Social	Cultural			Symbolic
		Embodied	Objectified	Institutionalised	
Accessing financing from friends and family, Branding, Leaning on professional networks, Researching online, Selling and bootstrapping	Leaning on church / religion, Leaning on community, Leaning on professional networks, Networking,	Being resilient, Branding, Leaning on physical or creative activities,	Branding,	Getting specialised learning,	Branding,

4.2.21. Participant 21

P21 was born and raised in a middle-class suburb and refers to her upbringing as ‘near perfect’. She was raised in a stable nucleus family setting in a calm neighbourhood, with extended family members living near enough to them that they could spend time together, without being too much in each other’s spaces. Her parents were civil servants, her mother being a nurse and her father, a health inspector. P21 and her twin sister went to a good catholic school, considered to be one of the best for producing top math and science students at the time. As such, they both qualified for scholarships to study chemistry for tertiary from a top corporate in the space.

P21 speaks to having a rough time doing her undergraduate degree as it was at the cusp of the shift between the apartheid government and the democratically elected government and thus racial tension and unrest was high. Whilst her

corporate sponsor expected her to immediately study for an honour's and master's degree post her undergraduate, she opted not to due to the volatile racial environment at the time, choosing instead to start working for them as a scientist. Her career progressed with working in corporate and then government for over 16 years all the while helping her twin sister out part time, with a business she had started in the solar industry.



Being Chief Executive in a small business means involvement in everything – daily tasks included. It's a major transition from managing a function in a large organisation. Exhaustion and stress are common; many customers want to speak to the founders and time is extremely limited.

For P21, joining her twin sister in the entrepreneurial world was inevitable but it was purely a matter of when. Whilst both sisters are married with supportive husbands and stable families, they remain very close, with their two family units almost operating as one. As such, P21's biggest concern was the financial implications on the family of not having a guaranteed salary especially that her sister's husband also worked in the business fulltime. Eventually, P21 became more and more miserable working in corporate and in spite of the fears, the two couples decided there would never be a perfect time for her to make the move and with their full support, she took the leap.

This leap happened during the Covid-19 pandemic lockdown but P21 who claims to have a high sense of self-worth believed in her ability to add value as she was fully aware of where the gaps were, having worked in the business part time. She draws her self-worth from having proven to herself that what she puts her mind on, she can achieve, taking examples from being a corporate executive to recently completing a PhD. However, one of the biggest challenges she faced was the hostility in the sector, which she refers to as 'cut-throat', as it is traditionally known to be white and male. P21 speaks to being unable to get big wholesale clients as contracts would not be given to them as black females in the industry. She points to most of the major commercial buyers being white men who either did not trust black women or did not want to give business deals to black women. Thus, they experienced better success with black customers in the retail space with smaller invoices than the wholesale larger clients.

To circumvent this challenge, P21 hired white men in key customer facing roles to act as fronts for the business. Whilst frustrated about the need to have to do so she found that this practice opened up large-scale opportunities that boosted the business' growth significantly and cemented them as key players in the sector. Consequently, she took advantage of government policies that dictated for a certain percentage of black ownership in key projects in the sector to propose partnerships to her white male competitors as there was mutual need and benefit for both parties to work together. Whilst sometimes sobering, she has made peace with the dynamics of the sector and counts these strategies and the resulting growth as her biggest successes.

At a personal level, P21 soon realised that entrepreneurship was different from working in a large corporate and that some of the strengths that had made her successful before in a large corporation, such as big picture thinking, were not as important at this stage of the business which needed more hands-on operational tinkering. This left her stretched and challenged particularly that they could only afford a small team. Further, the salary cut she had to contend with post making the move was significant and some months she was not able to pay herself. Through these challenges, her husband remained supportive of the decision which helped her eliminate the temptation to think of a Plan B as she kept trying to grow the business.

This challenge taught her the need to build a good team early in her entrepreneurship journey, something that continues to be a challenge with limited resources as a small business.

Between the cost of recruiters and competition from larger operations,

P21 has had to make do with hiring less qualified people and training them up internally. She has found it useful to hire more entrepreneurial people that are able to do more than their job description and has learnt to live with the constant fear of losing good key people that she has trained up.



Optimism when starting to recruit for a new role, but disappointment when best candidates are not looking this way - possibly looking the direction of large blue chips or public entities.

Last year, two attempts to hire were abandoned.

In spite of the many hurdles, P21 and her twin have had success with fundraising, having recently closed an equity fundraise. She points to the journey of navigating funding having been a perilous one, from experiencing high interest rates with loans and high collateral requirements from predatory financiers and not knowing about equity in spite both her and her twin being holders of MBAs. She credits exposure to an accelerator program and extensive online research for educating them on the route. Although receiving equity investment required an extensive due diligence process and diluting their stake in the business, she was happy to take the route to enable the business' expansion.

Lastly, P21 credits her extensive professional network from her corporate career and academic journey with enabling her success in the entrepreneurial space through the opening up of doors to opportunities and key people. She additionally credits the entrepreneurs she met on the accelerator program for creating a sense of safety for her to share her challenges as someone who often feels unsafe in her sector and for expanding her learning and perspective of business even though they were from different sectors. She credits accelerators for enabling cross-sector knowledge exchange as it allows people to engage freely without worrying about divulging business secrets to a competitor. As she continues to grow her business and gain more visibility, she hopes that it contributes to real transformation in her sector.

Summary table for Participant 21 – Belonging practices

Doing	Being	Becoming	Belonging
Dealing with hospitality, Joining an incubator/accelerator, Starting small,	Being committed, Being lonely, Being overwhelmed, Having grace, Leaning on professional network,	Building a team, Learning to sell	Creating allyship, Fronting white people, Joining an existing business, Networking, Partnering, Getting specialised learning,

		Taking advantage of government policies,

Summary table for Participant 21 – Resourcing practices

Economic	Social	Cultural			Symbolic
		Embodied	Objectified	Institutionalised	
Accessing local investors, Creating allyship, Joining an incubator/accelerator, Leaning on professional network, Partnering, Researching online, Taking advantage of government policy	Creating allyship, Joining an incubator/accelerator, Joining an existing business, Leaning on family, Leaning on professional network, Networking, Partnering,	Having grace,	-	Getting specialised learning, Getting formal qualifications,	-

4.2.22. Participant 22

P22 is of mixed-race heritage and was born and raised in a low-income neighbourhood reserved for 'coloureds' (mixed race people) during the Apartheid days. She remembers financial constraints being a recurring theme for their family and her parents working very hard in trying to carve out a different life for them. She recalls her mother, a housewife, trying different recipes in an attempt to expose their family to different kinds of foods not just the ones associated with their culture. This eventually turned into a side income for the family as her mother

would bake goods and send P22 and her sister to sell them in their neighbourhood to help supplement their father's salary.

In their efforts to set their children up for a better life and avoid the negative elements of their community, P22's parents sent her and her sister to a semi-private catholic high school outside of their neighbourhood. At school, P22 recalls often getting into trouble for being expressive and talkative; whilst in their neighbourhood she would be mocked and called 'white kid' for going to a 'better school'. This was the way P22's community tried to ostracise anyone that tried to reach for 'better' by no longer making them feel part of the community. P22, found this period in her life traumatising as a sense of belonging was very important to her and she felt like she did not fully belong either at school or in her neighbourhood.

To this day P22 finds the concept of 'reaching for better' as emphasised by her parents both optimistic and problematic. She feels it implies some underlying shame in where they lived and grew up with the need to detach from a piece of ones identity in order to 'be better' or successful. She recalls looking to international role models for inspiration as a result and never local ones. Yet, on the other hand, she believes it was growing up in that same environment with its community practices that shaped and informs who she is and how she exists it the world today. She thus struggles with the question of why her roots must be disowned in the quest for better and is working through her own internal process of 'decolonialisation' to start appreciating her origins and look more to local women for inspiration.



P22, who describes herself as a struggling student with limited self-belief, went on to qualify for university and studied a degree in Human Resources. She got into retail immediately after finishing the program claiming there was no luxury of time and money for her to take any breaks in between.

After 6 months in retail and corporate with a boss she describes as horrible, she

realised she did not like the work nor the environment, prompting her to quit and try her luck in consulting. She got into consulting first as a trainee in a firm and worked her way up to bigger roles up to partner level. After more than eight years in the space, she got to a point where she felt her values were not aligned to her work environment and she decided to quit to set up her own training company focused on creating conducive learning experiences and environments that affirm self-belief.

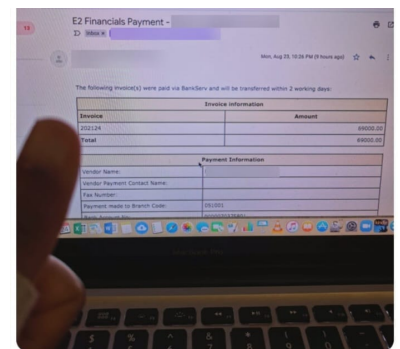
Deciding to get into entrepreneurship was not without its challenges however, with the main one being the strain that it created between P22 and her husband who she describes as a planner whilst she is more spontaneous. He was not for the idea of her setting out on her own without having significant savings as back up. The decision to become an entrepreneur negatively impacted their family finances as her income was often up and down on a monthly basis. This resulted in their credit rating being negatively impacted and them needing to move to a smaller apartment. In spite of these challenges P22, who self-funded the business, was intent on building something of her own based on her value system of building meaningful relationships with clients first, before closing the deal.

She thus spent a significant amount of time in her earlier days in entrepreneurship, building relationships and getting to understand what her potential clients needed. This strategy eventually paid off as she built up a steady client base that included many big corporates and which grew through referrals from happy clients. Despite the growth, she did not consider herself an entrepreneur till recently as she associated entrepreneurs with solid business plans and strategies, and she operated more from instinct thus preferring the term 'consultant'. However, as the business grew, she describes feeling like she was growing alongside it, gaining confidence in being more her authentic self as she realised that her way of doing things, though different, was valid and she therefore was an entrepreneur.

Although P22's husband was initially concerned about her journey, she speaks to his support, particularly in managing the domestic responsibilities, as a great enabler for her to run her business. He plays a very active role in parenting and

caregiving for their sons and whilst this works perfectly fine within their unit, she feels the judgement and pressure from her community as there is still the expectation that she, as the woman, should carry the heavier domestic responsibility. She however refuses to conform to this gender norm, choosing rather to keep pioneering in the business space. As her business has grown, so has the family's financial stability, enabling them to move to a bigger house, take family vacations and provide for her parents. She marvels at how the banks now want to give her personal credit yet when she really needed it for her business, was denied access, and expresses feeling that the financial system is meant to exclude black people.

Finally, P22 touches on being intimidated by everything to do with finance and never wanting to apply for external funding because of this. She worried that any process for applying for funding would expose her weaknesses as this is where she feels the least competent. Consequently, she believes this fear has set the business back from really scaling, something that remains a challenge. Further, because she is bad at



The relief when a big invoice gets paid

23:17

asking for help, she often feels overwhelmed and overworked, leaving her with little time to spend with her family and grappling with guilt over it. She credits her network of entrepreneurs for being a safe place for sharing and learning for her as she realises, she is not alone in this struggle and should be kinder to herself. She is also being deliberate about putting in time with her accountant to try and get a better grip on the financial side of her business. She hopes that as she continues to grow in her journey, she can help change the narrative for girls and women from similar backgrounds as hers and be an inspiration that enables them to try entrepreneurship and chart their own way of doing it.

Summary table for Participant 22 – Belonging practices

Doing	Being	Becoming	Belonging
Accepting things as they are, Dealing with internal conflict, Delaying having a family, Not accepting entrepreneur title, Sacrificing,	Being authentic, Being overwhelmed, Being vulnerable, Having grace, Leaning on community,	Adjusting business identities, Anchoring successes, Building a community, Building confidence, Finding oneself in entrepreneurship,	Changing the poor black woman narrative, Embracing the value in being black and female, Inspiring others, Role modelling, Selling, Getting specialised learning

Summary table for Participant 22 – Resourcing practices

Economic	Social	Cultural			Symbolic
		Embodied	Objectified	Institutionalised	
Leaning on professional networks, Researching online, Selling and bootstrapping, Using personal sources of funding,	Leaning on community, Leaning on family, Leaning on professional networks,	Having grace,	-	Getting specialised learning,	Inspiring others, Role modelling,

4.2.23. Participant 23

P23, was born and raised in rural South Africa to a strict, religious family. She grew up around a large, loving extended family surrounded by cousins, with her primary caregivers being her mother and grandmother, both of whom were teachers. As such, she enrolled into school earlier than typical for a rural

upbringing and was a bright student. Her education, however, was heavily negatively impacted by a lack of reliable power supply as she recalls not being able to study at night due to poor lighting. In spite of this she made it into university and studied economics.

Her entrepreneurial journey started at university where she met her business partner, now turned fiancé. Their first venture was aimed at addressing her own personal struggle of not having access to power for study, when they built a solar powered tablet device. They soon met challenges with this business as whilst the tablet worked well, the business was capital intensive, and they could not access external funding due to a lack of credit records. Neither of them had any credit facility to their names being students and the business was not in operation long enough to have its own credit record. This sparked the idea for their second and current venture, a technology platform that enables small businesses to create a financial track record that enables them to access credit.



September 2021 - I got selected to be part of the program and was invited to present and attend Summit in Cape Town.

As soon as P23 and her partner were done with their bachelor's degrees they joined several accelerators that helped them to shape the idea and launch it into a business. P23 believes it was better to get into entrepreneurship at this stage as she had no family of her own nor any real responsibilities to worry about. She credits the accelerators for providing them with training, mentorship and access to experts and networks

that were invaluable for the duo as they lacked business experience and networks. It was also through one of the accelerators that they were able to access investors from outside of South Africa, for their business. P23 claims they had to look abroad in order to bypass the stringent requirements of local financiers and had a smoother path as they were introduced through the accelerator's networks.

Despite having some success with fundraising, P23 speaks to struggling to get clients due to the nature of their product which seems to require long sales cycles.

This puts extensive pressure on the business to meet its monthly obligations, especially salaries. To get around this challenge, P23 focuses on strategic networking through her relationships from the accelerators as well as online communities to enable warmer intros and referrals to potential clients in attempts to short cut the process. Additionally, her business takes on consulting work through partnerships with larger firms in order to subsidise the income from the main product.

On the personal side, P23 indicates feeling like she had to grow up quicker than her peers and put on an appearance of maturity, particularly online. This is because she felt her personal brand and profile had to be in line with that of her business in order for the business to be taken seriously. As a result, she lost many friends that didn't understand her new path and behaviour. Further, P23 believes that she has had to delay getting married and starting a family because of taking the entrepreneurial journey and doesn't see herself doing it any time soon as she feels entrepreneurship is better suited for those with less family responsibility.

To keep motivated, P23 leans on her mentors that she credits for helping to keep her accountable, and the entrepreneurial community with whom she is able to share ideas and vent with when need be. She prides herself for having a diverse team with diverse nationalities and backgrounds that she believes enriches her learning on other countries and industries. She is intent on staying in entrepreneurship as she believes in her ability to pivot if need be rather than quit. Lastly, through the journey she has been able to travel and win award recognitions, things she is very proud of and have helped solidify her feeling of belonging in the space.



March 2021 - I attended a networking function ("sip and Paint") hosted by [redacted]. I got to meet amazing entrepreneurs as well as mentors.

Summary table for Participant 23 - Belonging practices

Doing	Being	Becoming	Belonging
Delaying having a family, Joining an incubator/accelerator, Leaning on experience,	Being committed, Being resilient, Having grace,	Anchoring successes, Building a community, Building a team, Building confidence, Getting mentorship, Learning from other entrepreneurs, Learning to sell,	Branding, Networking, Partnering, Selling, Getting specialised learning,

Summary table for Participant 23 – Resourcing practices

Economic	Social	Cultural			Symbolic
		Embodied	Objectified		
Accessing local investors, Branding, Joining an incubator/accelerator, Researching online,	Joining an incubator accelerator, Networking	Being resilient, Branding, Leaning on own experience,	Branding,	Getting specialised learning,	Branding, Winning awards,

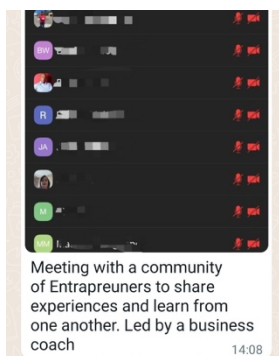
4.2.24. Participant 24

P24 was born and raised in a rural area in South Africa and describes her upbringing as ‘normal township community living’. She recalls her community being one where everyone knew everyone and where it was expected that one greets one’s neighbours as you passed them on the way to stores. She went to a school that was taught in vernacular languages and speaks to struggling with making a switch between one school and another that taught in different local languages. She went to study an honours degree in technology without really knowing what the program entailed and struggled to find work for a while post

completion. She believes these early days of struggling to find work imprinted within her a need to set up a business that could enable black students to be able to navigate the corporate world by equipping them with problem solving skills they could use to sell themselves better.

Her start in entrepreneurship, however, only began after a substantial period in the corporate world even though P24 and her husband had discussed the possibility for starting their own business for years before they actually made the move. She speaks to having written a long list of things to tick off first before feeling comfortable about making the move and never feeling comfortable to do so until her husband was retrenched. It was at this point that they felt that this could be the opportune time for him to start a business as, upon reflecting on their next move, she realised she had ticked off many of the things on her list. However, as they were in the process of thinking about what business to start, her husband got an amazing corporate job offer that they could not let pass them by and thus they decided as a couple that he would take the job whilst she would quit hers to set up a business providing technology solutions to small businesses.

Whilst scared about the idea of going full time into entrepreneurship, P24, a self-proclaimed problem solver, speaks to being comfortable about calling herself an entrepreneur the minute she made the jump because she had always had entrepreneurial traits even whilst working in corporate. She was thus intent on giving entrepreneurship her best as she knew she could return to the corporate world if at all she completely failed and could lean on the support from her husband to bear the journey. Her biggest struggle with the transition has been not having a guaranteed salary as a self-funded business. She touches on how this required mental preparation to get through and highlights the loneliness that comes with the journey as a major issue. Additionally, she recalls struggling to make sales particularly to large corporations, which necessitated her pivoting to niching into the small business space. Lastly, P24 speaks about being ever stretched and working longer hours as she thinks about the business all day and night.



P24, who claims to be shy, talked about how she needed to start learning to network as a practice to build relationships in her industry to enable sales. She credits online communities and her previous networks for enabling her to get partnerships that have been key in driving her business' growth. She additionally credits the use of social media and online communities for her marketing as key to her growth. She has also been deliberate about forming relationships with other entrepreneurs for the purposes of learning, sharing experiences, collaborating and reducing the loneliness that comes with the journey.

On the upside she has enjoyed the flexibility her business gives her as she is better able to manage her family schedules and also loves the ability to think independently. With the growth of the business has come an increase in her own confidence as an entrepreneur and P24 is intent on keeping on the path in spite of the challenges. She has also been able to give back to her community by putting aside time to teach robotics to children in the low-income areas. She speaks to her biggest success being the fact that the business is still standing post the disruption that came with the pandemic and is looking to grow the business to serve more and more sectors in future.



Summary table for Participant 24 – Belonging practices

Doing	Being	Becoming	Belonging
Choosing one's own work hours, Dealing with internal conflict, Joining an incubator/accelerator	Being authentic, Being committed, Being lonely, Lacking confidence, Leaning on professional network,	Adjusting business identities, Anchoring successes, Building a community,	Giving back, Networking, Partnering, Getting specialised learning,

		Learning to sell,	Taking pride in entrepreneur title,

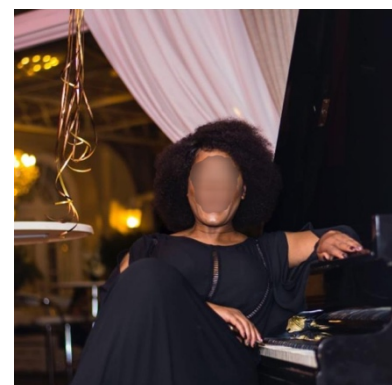
Summary table for Participant 24 – Resourcing practices

Economic	Social	Cultural			Symbolic
		Embodied	Objectified	Institutionalised	
Joining an incubator accelerator, Partnering, Researching online, Selling and bootstrapping, Using personal sources of funding,	Cold outreach, Joining an incubator accelerator, Leaning on community, Leaning on family, Networking, Partnering,	Taking pride in entrepreneurial identity,	-	Niching, Getting specialised qualifications	Giving back,

4.2.25. Participant 25

P25 who is in her early 50s was born and raised in rural South Africa. She has rich knowledge of South Africa's history and proudly recounts how at the time she was born the country was divided into 11 independent states and that one needed a passport of sorts to move from one state to the next. She remembers needing to attend schools in different states from where she lived because they had better catholic church run boarding schools.

P25, a self-professed 'daddy's girl', iterated that the fact that her family could afford to send her to these 'better schools' meant that they were doing economically better than the average black family in their community at the time.



Thus, when it was time to go to university, P25 qualified to get into what was traditionally a 'white university'. It was here however that she that she remembers feeling, for the first time, like she was at the bottom of the rung. She recalls her first year being a blur and feeling disoriented and lost as the campus she was at had less than 20 black students with no mentorship support for them. She ended up dropping out of the university after a year, as her parents could not afford the fees. This was much to her relief as she then went to a 'black university', at the time referred to as 'bush universities', and here she thrived, completing two honours degrees in math and psychology.

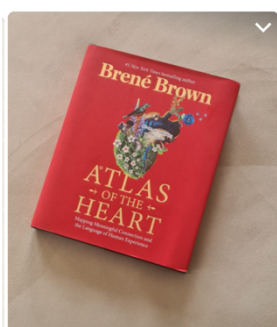
Despite P25 being one of the few people with an honours degree qualification in her province, something her and her family were proud of, she struggled to secure a job interview post university. To get around the issue, P25 decided to change her name and 'pretend' to be white. She chose to use her father's English middle name as her surname and only used her initials rather than her full African names when applying for interviews. This approach worked and she was soon interviewed and hired to join the provincial behavioural science institute. P25 recalls being well supported and mentored by white team members when she got into the institute, in spite of her having fabricated her race to do so. This experience was starkly different from her time at the 'white university' where there was a lack of support, thus shaping her belief in the power of mentorship for enabling success.

Interestingly, P25 pointed to experiencing more resistance and lack of acceptance from her fellow black colleagues especially when she was seconded to work in the police department, which was at the time, predominantly male. The resistance was so palpable to the extent that no black person called on her office for anything. Unsure why, she concluded it may have had to do with questioning why or how come she was there, working amongst 'the whites', in the more senior roles. She speaks to this time being extremely challenging as she felt she had to constantly prove herself to her fellow black people. She leaned on the support of her parents and supportive white colleagues to keep going under the pressure till she moved jobs.

Her journey into entrepreneurship however was precipitated by a series of unrelated events. First, was a move to a new province to join her then fiancé and get married, and then a second move to yet another province to support her fiancé-turned-husband in a new role he had gotten. This resulted in P25 ending up in a job she did not particularly like, out of a lack of good options in her new home province. She lasted only a year in this role and faced extreme hostility when she tried to leave for a new opportunity, something she was now familiar with. So familiar that when she took on a new role that she loved and where she was respected, she suffered from severe imposter syndrome and fear of being 'found out' to be not as great as they thought.

Sadly, this coincided with a nasty divorce process she was going through and thus she lacked the family support she was accustomed to. Noticing the problems she had with imposter syndrome, her boss recommended that P25 attend workshops in vulnerability and bravery by renown expert Brene Brown. It was these experiences in both her professional and personal life, coupled with the training on vulnerability and bravery, that ultimately informed the business she would eventually set up, a coaching practice supporting organizations with tools that enable supported integration of people in the workforce.

P25 speaks to having leaned heavily on her professional reputation and network to secure referrals to start her business as she had challenges with proactively selling as a new entrepreneur. She speaks to having difficulties with positioning, let alone pitching, her offering in a way she felt was sellable and needing to get coaching on that. Additionally, she recounts being in a constant state of overwhelm and burnout from needing to do so many things compared to when she was in a corporate job with many assistants. This coupled with a lack of resources to hire key people to enable the business' growth, something she says is expensive to do, have been the major challenges she was faced.



Brene Brown's research continues to inspire and teach. This is the latest of her work that I'm reading

In spite of the challenges, she has had many breakthroughs including getting in a business partner with complimentary skills as that has meant she can focus on the areas she is strong in whilst leaving the rest to her partner. Secondly, she decided to specialise and niche in a space she loves, and this has ensured that most of her clients become repeat clients and refer business to her, to the extent that she did not feel a major dip in business

revenue during the Condi-19 pandemic lockdown. Further, she believes that her entrepreneurial journey and what she was learning from the training she was doing for her business, saw her through the divorce ordeal, she was going through as she was able to apply the tools to get through the challenges in the court case. This resulted in a landmark win, one of the first of its kind, for women in South Africa.

Lastly, P25 practices what she preaches by applying the learnings from the trainings on vulnerability and bravery in her own life; learning from her experiences and mistakes; and not being despondent, as she continues to grow her business. She speaks to her faith and spirituality as the overarching tool she calls on to navigate both her business and personal challenges and being comforted by the idea of a higher being looking out for her.

Summary table for Participant 25 – Belonging practices

Doing	Being	Becoming	Belonging
Dealing with hospitality, Dealing with imposter syndrome, Dealing with shame, Fighting for one's place, Learning from mistakes, Not accepting	Being excellent, Being fearful, Being overwhelmed, Being vulnerable, Lacking confidence, Leaning on professional network, Leaning on spirituality, Leaning	Adjusting business identities, Anchoring successes, Building a team, Embracing failure, Getting coaching, Getting technical certifications, Learning to sell,	Faking it, Networking, Nicheing, Getting specialised learning, Supporting other entrepreneurs, Taking pride in entrepreneur title,

entrepreneur title, Sacrificing, Starting small,	on family values/heritage		

Summary table for Participant 25 – Resourcing practices

Economic	Social	Cultural			Symbolic
		Embodied	Objectified	Institutionalised	
Faking it, Leaning on professional networks, Partnering, Taking advantage of government policy,	Leaning on family, Leaning on professional networks, Networking, Partnering,	Being excellent, Faking it, Having grace, Leaning on spirituality, Taking pride in entrepreneurial identity,	Faking it,	Niching, Getting specialised learning,	Faking it, Supporting other entrepreneurs,

4.2.26. Participant 26

P26 was born and raised in rural Zimbabwe by her maternal grandparents. She was born out of wedlock and both her parents went on to marry other people and had families of their own in different cities. She grew up on a small holding farm which was far from others and thus did not have other children her age nearby in her earlier years. She recalls growing up surrounded by pets rather than friends and that it was only when she went to a boarding school for high school that she was around other children her age and was able to make some friends.

P26 moved to South Africa to pursue her tertiary education as some of her extended family lived there. Upon completing her degree in human resources, she speaks to having taken the traditional route of first working in corporate for many years before thinking about making the leap into entrepreneurship. During her years in corporate, she worked under many trailblazing female leaders who she credits for having inspired her to reach for greater heights. When she turned

35 however, she realised that she did not like the work she was doing anymore and felt that the lack of autonomy to implement things she felt were needed in her work was stifling. She thus quit her job to try her hand at entrepreneurship in the recruitment space.

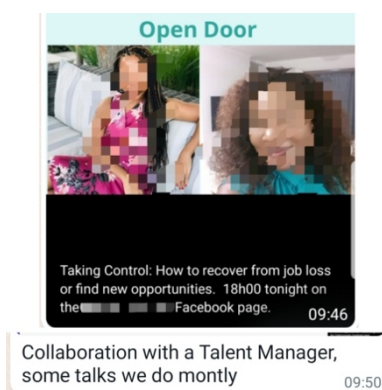
The journey into entrepreneurship came with a lot of anxiety for P25. Whilst she was excited about the potential to be her own boss and not answer to anyone, she was concerned about not being able to support herself financially. However, once she became an entrepreneur, it was the isolation and loneliness that came with the territory, that proved to be worse than the financial concerns. She realised not all her friends and family could identify with her new path nor why she made the move from a corporate job and felt unprepared for the emotional toll that came with that. Additionally, she experienced two different kinds of pressure from her community once she set up her business - on the one hand there was the pressure of being expected to be successful, whilst on the other she felt some of her community thought she had simply failed to secure a job thus getting into entrepreneurship. As such, she has had to be selective about who she shares about her entrepreneurial journey with.

P25 thought the softest landing she could secure herself into entrepreneurship was to partner with a colleague that was already running a recruitment firm and offer additional services. Whilst their skills were complimentary and P25 added value through the provision of specialist services, their personalities seemed to be incompatible, and they clashed a lot. As such, after a year of trying to make the partnership work, she realised that they were never going to be fully productive with all the emotionally taxing personality clashes. She thus decided to end the partnership and set up her own recruitment practice using her savings and a bit of funding from family.

P25, who is in her late 30s, single, with no children and lives alone, always believed she was not good at maintaining relationships owing to her lonely upbringing. Further, whilst she thinks networking is good, she is skeptical about



networking with entrepreneurs from outside of her personal and professional circles as she cannot be sure of their authenticity. However, to kick start her practice she tapped into her old corporate network to let them know she had set up on her own and several of them became paying clients. Further, to recruit her first few hires, she deliberately reached out into her Zimbabwe network as she felt the people who came from where she was from would have a similar work ethic to hers and she could avoid the mistakes of personality clashes experienced in her previous partnership. Both strategies seemed to work and she has since leaned more heavily on her network to learn, get advice and ask for resources.



Whilst her business has continued to grow, she believes it would have grown further with external funding, something she has shied away from due to concerns about owing money. She has thus settled on growing her business organically and slowly through bootstrapping. P25 also struggles with limited capacity when it comes to people and tools for her business. She speaks to having better experiences accessing resources from outside of South Africa rather than locally owing to negative attitudes towards foreigners by locals. She has thus resorted to accessing tools from her networks outside of South Africa and settles on short-term collaborations with locals for capacity rather than longer-term partnerships.

Notwithstanding her business growth, P25 believes her biggest success has been her ability to get to a more stable emotional and mental place in her entrepreneurial journey. She credits the support system she has put in place for herself through her network of family and friends and her learning to ask for help when she needs it, something she was not always good at. She also credits learning to plan and provision better for the down times during the up times as key to enabling her emotional stability. Finally, while she prefers to refer to herself as 'self-employed' rather than 'entrepreneur', she has gotten more and more comfortable with others referring to her as entrepreneur owing to her longevity in the game.

Summary table for Participant 26 – Belonging practices

Doing	Being	Becoming	Belonging
Accepting things as they are, Asking for help, Disconnecting from naysayers,	Being authentic, Being fearful, Being lonely, Being overwhelmed, Leaning on physical or creative activities,	Building a team, Getting support, Prioritising mental health, Provisioning for downtimes	Joining an existing business, Networking, Partnering, Selling,

Summary table for Participant 26 – Resourcing practices

Economic	Social	Cultural			Symbolic
		Embodied	Objectified	Institutionalised	
Accessing financing from friends and family, Leaning on professional networks, Not needing financing, Partnering, Selling and bootstrapping, Using personal sources of funding,	Joining an existing business, Leaning on family, Leaning on friends, Leaning on professional networks, Networking, Partnering,	Leaning on physical or creative activities	-	-	-

4.3. Conclusion

In this chapter, we walked through a summary of each participant's life story, tracing them from their origins and upbringing, right through to their career and entrepreneurial

journeys, with their unique challenges and triumphs. For each participant, I tried to capture the most meaningful and pivotal moments, a huge challenge to try to achieve, given the depth and wealth of their sharing. The next two chapters will thus explore the findings on the belonging and resourcing practices of the black women entrepreneurs, respectively, to provide a deeper understanding of their lived experiences.

5. Belonging

5.1. Introduction

Having presented the narrative summaries in chapter four above, this chapter and the next will focus on the elaboration of the findings on the belonging and resourcing practices of the black women entrepreneurs, utilising the analytical frames of OPH and Bourdieu's forms of capital theories, respectively. This chapter will thus examine the findings on the most common belonging practices employed by the participants in their entrepreneurial journeys, supported by verbatim quotations. The chapter will open with a glance at the main practices that were extracted from the participant's stories related to doing, being, becoming and belonging through the analytical process detailed in chapter three. This will build into a section discussing the practices under the first three pillars of OPH – 'doing, being and becoming' and will culminate in a section on the belonging practices that the participants employ in their entrepreneurial journeys.

5.2. The Belonging Practices at a Glance

Table 3 below provides a summary of the most common practices that were found to be employed by the participants, analysed and organized by the dimensions of doing, being, becoming and belonging as defined in OPH and described in chapter 3.

Table 3. The practices at a glance - Doing, Being, Becoming and Belonging

Doing	Being	Becoming	Belonging
Accepting things as they are	Always been an entrepreneur	Adjusting business identities	Accessing external financing
Asking for help	Being authentic	Anchoring successes	Branding
Choosing one's own work hours	Being committed	Building a community	Changing the poor black woman narrative
Dealing with hostility	Being excellent	Building a team	Creating allyship
Dealing with internal conflict	Being fearful	Building confidence	Embracing the value in being black and female

Dealing with imposter syndrome	Being honest	Embracing failure	Faking it
Dealing with shame	Being lonely	Finding oneself in entrepreneurship	Fronting white people
Delaying having a family	Being overwhelmed	Following others on social media	Giving back
Disconnecting from naysayers	Being resilient	Getting coaching	Inspiring others
Fighting for one's place	Being vulnerable	Getting mentorship	Joining an existing business
Joining an incubator/accelerator	Having grace	Getting support	Networking
Leaning on experience	Having gratitude	Getting technical certifications	Niching
Learning from challenges	Lacking confidence	Learning from other entrepreneurs	Not committing to entrepreneurship
Learning from mistakes	Leaning on church/religion,	Learning to sell	Partnering
Not accepting entrepreneur title	Leaning on community	Pivoting	Role modelling
Not taking advantage of government policies	Leaning on family values/heritage	Prioritising mental health	Seeing entrepreneurship as a calling
Sacrificing	Leaning on friends	Provisioning for downtimes	Selling
Starting small	Leaning on physical or creative activities	Systematizing work processes	Getting specialised learning
Taking opportunities as they come	Leaning on professional network	Taking comfort from feedback	Supporting other entrepreneurs
Working hard	Leaning on spirituality		Taking advantage of government policies

	Not compromising		Taking pride in entrepreneurial identity
	Self-advocating		

A glance over the practices revealed a fairly equal number of practices being employed by each dimension. Further, and throughout the narratives, there were sentiments around race and gender as markers of identity that appeared to play an intricate role in how the entrepreneurs developed and / or chose these practices within each of the four dimensions. These will be discussed alongside the practices in the two sections that follow in this chapter, highlighting the relevance of research that takes an intersectional lens.

5.3. Practices of doing, being and becoming

In OPH, doing has been elevated to being considered as the core of being, becoming and belonging as it is said to be working alongside them (Hitch et al., 2018). This was evident within the narratives of the entrepreneurs with clear overlaps identified across the dimension of doing and the other three dimensions. These practices of doing included both ‘mental doing’, such as ‘dealing with shame’; and ‘physical doing’, such as ‘joining an accelerator’ (Lyons et al., 2002; Twinley, 2013). One could even argue that the act of narrating their life stories and entrepreneurial journeys was also a form of mental doing as it made them reflect on their own being, albeit by choice.

A deeper analysis of the findings on the practices of doing utilising OPH as an analytical frame, revealed that these practices were developed and/or employed to manage three main aspects related to their entrepreneurial lives. The first category of practices was related to dealing with the negative impacts of the sacrificing the participants believed they had to do when they became entrepreneurs. A second set of practices was focused on dealing with the external hostility they experienced in their entrepreneurial journey. Whilst the final set of practices was focused on dealing with the internal conflict they experienced as ‘black’ and ‘female’ entrepreneurs in South Africa.

Consequently, the following section discussing the practices of doing, being and becoming will be organized into these three aspects, starting with the practices developed for managing sacrificing; followed by those developed to deal with external hostility and those focused on dealing with internal conflict. The chapter will then close off with a section discussing the practices of belonging.

5.3.1. Managing Sacrificing

Whilst the journey of entrepreneurship overall was highlighted as being tough, the majority of the participants spoke to the 'transition into entrepreneurship' in particular, as being a challenging one as all but one participant first had a corporate or other kind of job or career before entering entrepreneurship. For some, this transition came with the making of financial sacrifices in terms of taking a pay cut when they became entrepreneurs and for others it came with time sacrifices in terms of having less time for friends and family as entrepreneurship took up much more of their time.

Tough transition – Financial constraints. It was scary... You want stability, right? And normally, there's a sense [of stability] that a job gives you that, at the end of every month... you're going to get a salary and...things are sort of predictable, in a sense... [Now] having to sacrifice all of these other things and sort of jump into the unknown, literally. – P6, Logistics

Tough transition – Time constraints. I had to give more time to the business, which then meant that there was little time left for myself. There was little time left for me to even, even socialize, you know. – P1, Fashion

Furthermore, it emerged that the sacrifices the entrepreneurs had to make with transitioning into entrepreneurship took a heavy mental and physical toll on. The mental toll came mainly in the form of all the active mental decisions they had to make to forego certain things that they took for granted when they were employees working for someone else. Whilst the physical toll came mainly in the form of needing to work long hours in their businesses compared to working a normal eight-hour work day in their previous corporate roles.

Sacrificing – Mental toll. We had very good lives. But we knew that [with going into entrepreneurship]... it's going to pretty much change... [for

example] “Do we buy furniture (for home) or a vehicle (for the business)?”
... we *decided* to buy a vehicle. – P2, Crafts

Sacrificing – Physical toll. Because I'm building [the business], I'm very much just like, focused on building and not really doing anything else. – P11, Social entrepreneur.

A deeper look into the kind of sacrificing the participants had to do, further revealed four main areas of their lives where they had to make sacrifices in their pursuit of entrepreneurship as an occupation - social; financial; physical; and familial - often resulting in negative impacts

5.3.1.1. *Sacrificing - Social*

The findings revealed that the sacrificing that was happening in the participants social lives was either because they had less time for social interaction as most of their time was being spent on building their businesses or because their social circles started to exclude them from activities due to their having less things in common now that they had become entrepreneurs. This tended to particularly negatively impact two key areas of their social lives – the ability to have or maintain romantic relationships; and the ability to maintain friendships.

Inability to have/maintain romantic relationships. From a [romantic] relationship perspective, it's been tricky... I think with guys that I've met who are not entrepreneurs, it's been difficult explaining what I'm trying to do, right?... the first time I had a boyfriend tell me 'I should find a *real* job', it was really hurtful. And then like, the fourth time I heard it, I was like... “Okay. Bye. You're not cut out for my streets.” – P11, Social entrepreneur.

Inability to maintain friendships. But I think over a period of two years, my friends changed... I don't know if it's... it might be because I wasn't able to socialize with them in the same way we used to... and you have less and less in common as well... and the things you talk about totally change when you become an entrepreneur. And I think because of that, you start to drift apart. - P20, Accounting

For many, this often led to deep feelings of loneliness and isolation on their entrepreneurial journey, most often the result of the lack of a community of entrepreneurs within their social networks to learn from and commiserate with.

Being lonely. It is lonely as well, being an entrepreneur because, you know? Because you don't engage a lot with your peers. You engage either with your customers that you must please, [or] your suppliers that you must please. – P21, Solar

Consequently, the entrepreneurs spoke to developing practices to offset the negative impacts on their social lives (the mental and physical toll it took on them as well as the loneliness) from all the sacrificing that they had to undertake when they became entrepreneurs. Two key practices emerged as being useful for offsetting the negative impacts, namely leaning on an alternative existing community such as a church or other religious community; or building a new community.

Leaning on an alternative existing community. I think a lot of my 'now friends' that I socialize with, I know them from a business context (clients). Yeah, um, other than that, I would say my social life is really... my church circle. – P20, Accounting

Building a new community. I'm actually building a community of people.... through my clientele, [such that] if anybody's needing something, it's very easy to refer people to one another. And hence I say that I'm actually building a, you know, a community through it all. – P1, Fashion

5.3.1.2. Sacrificing - Financial

The second type of sacrificing that the entrepreneurs experienced was related to making financial sacrifices, particularly in trying to better their business. This takes the form of making financial sacrifices related to their own personal finances and/or family finances. For many, this did not only take the form of a pay cut from what they earned from their corporate careers but also came with the frequency with which they had to make these sacrifices and the uncertainty of when these sacrifices would end.

Sacrificing personal finances. Well, for one, erm, it was a salary cut for me. If you're in an executive level post, you earn well, anywhere in the country.

You take home anywhere from ZAR 80,000 to ZAR 200,000 a month. And so, when you're going to be an entrepreneur, your salary is not even guaranteed month to month. You have to pay your staff and see what's left for you. – P21, Solar Industry

Of special note is that when it comes to the term 'family' – this includes both their immediate families and their extended family, whom, as black women, they culturally feel obligated and / or are expected to support.

Sacrificing family finances. So firstly, financially, that is the biggest change because... I look after [extended] family in Zambia. So, when I was working, it was very easy to take care of my family. I was able to pay for my cousins... to pay for their education and whatever they needed. But now, it's not the same anymore, I've got enough only for my [nuclear] family, for my immediate family. P7, Finance

This failure to support their families sufficiently had both mental and physical negative impacts on the entrepreneurs with some reporting having feelings of shame for sometimes not being able to afford certain things whilst others spoke to having to dealing with negative physical consequences such as being kicked out of a home.

Dealing with shame. Because, you know ... people know you. Your friends know you as someone who's like... a jetsetter. You're always traveling... you are enjoying your life... shopping all the time.... and now having to really go to those same friends and ask them for money [was difficult]. - P3, Crafts

Physical consequences. We had to downsize a lot. We were kicked out twice from two apartments. It was definitely...a difficult time...The bills kept piling, and the money dwindled down so quickly. – P2, Crafts

Consequently, for many, this sacrificing came with a feeling of constantly living in fear, mostly related to fear of failure and not being able to recover financially, particularly after sacrificing so much.

Being fearful. So, there was an element of fear. And whether the company was going to do well. – P21, Solar Industry

To combat these negative impacts, two strong practices emerged as particularly useful, being, 'getting support' and 'learning'. With regards to the former, the main sources of getting support highlighted were family, friends and professional networks. Such financial support from family was seen to buffer the effects of the financial sacrifice in that the entrepreneur was not expected to contribute to family expenses whilst they navigated their early entrepreneurial journey. Furthermore, getting support from friends came in the form of borrowing/asking for money to cover either business or family expenses in times of uncertain cashflows from their businesses.

Getting Support – Family. My mom always says, “You can stay broke, because what do you do (not paying bills)?” So that's really helpful. I have that type of family that's just like, “What do you need to get? Okay, you can't get it now (can't afford to)? Let me help you and let me support you in this way”. So, it's been really awesome. That's what my family life is like.
– P10, Food and Beverages

Getting Support – Friends. Having to really go to those same friends and ask them for money [was difficult]... Money is a very sensitive topic, and when you get to a point where you ask people for money, relationships can change. Luckily with us, that did not happen. – P3, Crafts.

For many, developing the practice of getting support has required needing to learn to be vulnerable in spite of how uncomfortable it felt.

Being Vulnerable. It really changed a lot of my confidence and I was like “Oh my goodness, now I have to re-learn to be vulnerable, and I have to learn to depend on people, and this is so uncomfortable for me”. It changed that a lot. – P3, Crafts.

Getting support – Professional network/Being Vulnerable. I have my spaces in my, in the entrepreneurial community, where I've got people that I can just be vulnerable with and say like, “F... it!” Like right now, I mean, this morning, I sent an accountant an email saying, “Look, I've paid that...[but] cash flow is, it's just crazy you know? Waiting for invoices to

be paid...” ... So, she's my accountant, but I also consider her to be part of [the] many places where I can go [for support]. - P22, Education.

Learning is another practice that the participants spoke to as a way to combat the negative impacts of financial sacrificing. Of the many skills the participants felt they needed to learn to ease the negative impact of their financial sacrificing, one skill stood out as being particularly important - learning to sell. For some, however, learning to sell came with dealing with shame, as they had negative associations with the idea of selling, whilst for others it came with needing to build confidence in themselves.

Learning to sell. Learning sales, selling yourself is so important. And if you don't learn how to sell yourself early on in the business or find that early in the business [journey], you will struggle for the most part of the business until you're able to sell yourself as best as possible to anybody. – P15, Creative

Learning to sell / Dealing with shame. The reason why we're scared of selling is because we think selling is a sign of lack... As much as I thought it was, it was something embarrassing and something to be ashamed of... I always say to my kids that, “Look, if you don't want to sell anything in life, you're probably not going to be able to... run a business successfully.” You need to be able to know what [and] how to sell something. – P5, Wellness.

Learning to sell / Building confidence. There's still... that little shyness. I still get shy when I need to present myself or to sell myself to people, you know? But that's also something that I'm working on. [Because] as much as my products sell themselves... you also need to sell your product as well, you know? ... So, I'm working on being the upfront person that, you know... If my product can't sell itself, then I need to be that person that goes out there and sells the product myself. – P18, Construction

Furthermore, for many of the participants, learning to sell came through trial and error, with some of the errors having negative consequences on both their business and personal lives. Consequently, they had to develop the ability to learn from their mistakes and also learn from other entrepreneurs..

Learning from Mistakes. When you make mistakes... you have to learn and, you know? Apologise. Fix it and do better next time. And, you know, things that have happened, have happened. A post-mortem, only helps if it's about 'What can I learn from it?' - P25, Coaching.

Learning from Other Entrepreneurs. So, we have this group of coaches we meet every month and we talk about different topics.... You know, those entrepreneurs are willing to be vulnerable so that we can grow and exchange with each other how to grow out of the vulnerability. – P12, Coaching

5.3.1.3. Sacrificing - Physical

Subsequently, the participants spoke to having to make a lot of physical sacrifices in the process of being entrepreneurs. A sentiment that was largely shared was the feeling of needing to work 'twice as hard as black women' to get the same results that their white counterparts get easier. This was particularly noted for industries that were traditionally noted to be white and / or male dominated. Leading many to be in a state of constantly being overwhelmed and feeling thinly spread and taking both a physical and mental toll on them with negative health consequences.

Working hard. When I got into this industry, I remember one man that has been doing this for about 20 years, he was guiding me and acting like a mentor, and he told me right from the beginning, "It's not going to be easy for you. Because first of all, you're female and also, you're a black female - so it's not going to be easy for you." And so, right from the beginning, I realised I needed to prove myself and I needed maybe to even work twice as hard as anyone else to prove myself and show that I am capable... you have to put in a lot of work, a lot of sacrifices. – P7, Finance

Physical and mental health issues. My mental health and actual physical health [have been affected] because my job is already demanding with so many hours, and with the amount of time that I had to then put into my business, that's additional hours in a day. So that also just led to exhaustion. – P1, Fashion

Some key practices emerged as useful for managing the negative impacts of the overwhelm and physical and mental toll of their entrepreneurial journey were - leaning on spirituality; leaning on some form of creative or physical activity; building a team; asking for help; prioritising their mental health; and choosing one's own work hours.

Leaning on spirituality. When sometimes business gets overwhelming, or my life gets overwhelming, or things just get too much. I am led to fast. I don't just say, "I'm going to fast tomorrow", I believe that I'm spiritually led to fast. I believe I have to let go of food that week for me to regroup, etc. So, I will do that. – P3, Crafts

Asking for help. You do discover that you can't do everything on your own. And at times, you need to put your hand up and say, "Oh, I need assistance with this, or I need ABC". – P26, Recruitment

For many, the first place they looked regarding asking for help and building a team were from within their close circles of family, friends and former colleagues from their previous careers before trying to professionally recruit from the wider business community. This was mainly due to the fact that hiring was deemed as / found to be expensive as they had to compete for good talent with more established companies. This was in spite of the fact they needed the additional capacity to ease the physical and mental toll entrepreneurship had on them.

Building a team – Family. I told my husband... because he's quite, he's very creative. I'm like, "You know what, we need to take this business to the next level, you know?"... He says, "Okay, let's think, let's... mastermind". Then he came up with the name and logo - P9, Logistics.

Asking for help/ Leaning on professional networks. And then while I was sitting in the bathroom, texting... I thought, "Look... I've gotten exposed to a bunch of motivated women. Let me send this one message. Maybe this one message would be one... one way of me changing the face of the business. What things can turn around for the better from this one moment? ... One more message before I decide, I'm out. And I did send

that message. And I mean, the overwhelming responses, that came out of there. Um... it really humbled me. – P5, Wellness

5.3.1.4. Sacrificing - Family

Lastly, when it came to sacrificing, several of the participants with families felt that because of their entrepreneurial journey, they were often sacrificing either time with their family or putting strain on their family relationships in order to run their businesses. This impacted both children and spouses.

Sacrificing Family - Children. My kids sometimes they say “can I come with you to the office?” And I say, “You can't come because you're either going to just be bored, or you're going to be disturbing me”. Even when I'm at home over the weekends [and working], my kids will say, “But mom, what are you doing?” – P7, Finance

Sacrificing Family – Spouse. It (entrepreneurship) put a lot of strain on my marriage... if I'm very honest with you...hubby... doesn't like taking risks. And you know, he wanted to see like ‘the plan’ and I'm like, “F... the plan... I'm doing this”. Um, it did cause tension... between the two of us. – P22, Education

To manage the strain that the sacrificing of time and energy meant for family towards the business, the practice of getting support emerged as key. This was particularly important regarding the care of their children and other domestic duties. Spouses, parents as well as older children were a great source of support and contributed to reducing the strain they experienced.

Getting support - Spouse. Steve (husband) would be looking after the children and I would be like [Laughter] “I'm out of here” [and] off I go, you know? And people will be like, “What are you doing here, who's looking after your children?” And I'm like, “Steve. He's not a baby sperm donor. He's an active parent.” – P22, Education

Getting support – Parents. From a family point of view, even though, you know, growing up my parents were not always happy with my career

choices early on in life. And not glad I didn't get a post grad or anything, but very supportive (with her child). - P13, Beauty.

Furthermore, the participants spoke to having clear family value systems and leaning on them as a key practice for managing the strain they experienced from sacrificing family time and relationships. Having families with value systems that celebrated women working and believed that raising children was the role of the community, not just the mother, was important in relieving the strain of making family sacrifices.

Leaning on family values. I think the fact that I can raise two boys in our household where their mother is a very crazy wild entrepreneur and the father is the most stable one [is great] because I know by doing that, I'm helping to shape their view of what makes a successful woman and also yeah, breaking down and challenging patriarchy by just doing what I'm doing.

Conversely, a number of the unmarried participants felt that entrepreneurship was better suited to people without family responsibilities. The rationale attributed to this was that not having family responsibilities made them better able to take the risks required in business and / or be able to focus on their business 'without distraction'. As a result, several of them deliberately took the decision to delay starting a family.

Delaying starting a family – enabling risk taking. I think it helps being single [and] not having any children because you are able to take the risks. I am not saying that there is one that is better than the other. After choosing and deciding (to not have children yet), I [can say] ... I'm going to take my entire salary and purchase an oven. Versus when you are a mom, when you have to consider you know, kids and school fees... It does make it a little bit easier that I currently [have] none. – P10, Food & Beverages

Delaying starting a family – enabling focus. I'm hoping to create, you know? Time in the future when I can actually start my own family whenever that is going to be, I don't think any time soon. Because I'm still really very much at [the] early stages of the business and I'm not where I want the business to be. – P3, Crafts

Thus, although for many of the participants sacrificing is part and parcel of what they do in their entrepreneurial journey, they continue to find ways to cushion the negative impacts of it through the various practices and process of doing, being and becoming described above.

5.3.2. *Dealing with hostility*

It emerged from the analysis that a second set of practices developed within the dimensions doing, being and becoming was related to dealing with the hostility they experienced as black and/or females in entrepreneurship. Sometimes this hostility was faced from within their own homes or family units and other times in industry and the wider business community.

When it came to facing hostility from within their families, it was either related to entrepreneurship being seen to be at odds with traditional gender domestic roles or entrepreneurship being seen as a lesser career option than the more traditional corporate or professional career path by the black community. This hostility was faced from various family members including spouses, parents and even the extended family.

Dealing with Hostility - Spouse. You know, of course... men are never happy with certain decisions that you make, you know? Unilaterally especially. They're like ... 'Well, what about the children? I mean, how much time are you going to give them?' ... So, yeah, I mean, it did bring a bit of friction in the household.' - P4, Beauty

Dealing with Hostility – Parents. Like your parents would talk down [at you] like, "Don't get into art". I'm actually talking from experience when I say this, because I remember telling my dad that I wanted to get into design school and he was like, "But why would you want to do that when you can be a lawyer? You have really good grades." So, I never got into that. – P2, Crafts

For others, the hostility they had to deal with came from the industry or their wider business community and was usually to do with their being black and female in entrepreneurship. This was more so for the participants who chose to become

entrepreneurs in sectors that were traditionally noted to be male and white such as the wine, solar, sanitation and technology industries:

Dealing with Hostility - Industry. The solar industry is cut throat. I can tell you it is so... it is white male dominated to an extent that [if you are] a woman or a black woman, you don't get trusted... It was a sobering moment for us in the early stages of the business that this... is how this industry works. - P21, Solar Energy

Dealing with Hostility – Community. My people frown upon the fact that you have a wine brand with...an indigenous name. Some people [were] dismissing it, “No, change the name. It must be English.” – P14, Wine Industry

Conversely, the participants that chose to start businesses in sectors seen more traditionally as feminine such as beauty and crafts, experienced a different kind of hostility where they felt ridiculed and that their businesses were not taken seriously by people in the wider business community.

Dealing with Hostility – Community. You know... because I find that... especially being in the business... that we're in (beauty) - a lot of people don't think it's a... it's a business to say or it's a serious business.' – P4, Beauty Salon

To deal with the external hostility, several practices that were put forward by the participants, as useful. What was interesting is that some of the practices were more 'fight-based' such as fighting for one's place; not compromising; self-advocating; and disconnecting from nay-sayers. Whilst other practices were more 'peace-based' such as accepting things as they are; having grace; leaning on family values; being excellent; and being resilient.

Fighting for one's place. Every time someone sees [that] I'm a woman, they say “You can't do it. You don't know what you're talking about” ... It happened to us and it continues to happen to us but you need to keep pushing forward. And ... I think people only believe when they see you hold the spanner in

your hand then there are like “Wow... so, you really are a plumber.” – P19, Sanitation

Disconnecting from naysayers. I deactivated all my social medias... People will always talk and have their own little two cents into it and I didn't want to hear it. And so, I deactivated it so that I don't let the noise cloud my vision and what I was doing. - P2, Crafts

Conversely, the more ‘peace-based’ practices to dealing with external hostility included accepting things as they are; having grace both for self and others; leaning on spirituality; leaning on family values; being excellent and allowing the excellence to speak for itself; and being resilient. For some this meant that they were also reluctant to take advantage of any government policies that had been put in place to redress economic disparities such as the BEE policies in order to access business, as they felt it required too much fight.

Having grace / Leaning on spirituality. In those moments... I'm like (to self), ‘You know what... Don't stress yourself. Don't worry too much you know? Just know that... God's got your back you know? So, yeah, it's really nothing... Yeah, it's just... how it is’... I do challenges for myself, like I said this year, my challenges is [practising] gratitude and living in grace. – P3, Crafts

Being excellent / Not taking advantage of government policy. We are so good at what we do... we're so good in our craft as story tellers... I am 17 years in business....17 years ago with all the White Agencies (as competitors), we won Arts & Culture awards for the first 3 years... The economy of South Africa is very white owned. We must not pretend that there is any economic transformation... We have never ever, interrogated the B-BBEE . . . Black empowerment codes. We are not funded. We don't do corruption... We are [just] highly, highly skilled. - P16, Media

Whilst the participants spoke to the challenges that came with dealing with external hostility in entrepreneurship, they have found ways to navigate through the employing of key practices as discussed above. However, in addition to having to deal with

external factors, several of them also spoke to needing to deal with a lot of internal conflict. This is discussed in the next section.

5.3.3. Dealing with internal conflict

For many of the participants, dealing with internal conflict felt like part and parcel of the journey of being entrepreneurs. This internal conflict was mainly related to three aspects of their entrepreneurial journeys – lacking confidence; experiencing imposter syndrome; and feelings of one’s identity being at odds with entrepreneurship.

Lacking confidence. Like I said [for] many years, I've had this vision (to be an entrepreneur), you know? ... Having these dreams in my mind, I'm like (to self), “But how would I? Will I ever be able to do? ... I don't have the confidence that I need to be able to do that”. And so, um I did not think I was an entrepreneur. - P24, Education

Lacking confidence thus displayed itself in different forms for different participants. For some it came through lacking confidence in their ability to run and grow a business to a place where it could sustain itself, them and their teams on a full-time basis. This resulted in either starting small and staying small for some; running the business as a side hustle whilst maintaining a job for others; and not actively pitching or selling their business and only taking opportunities as they came.

Starting small. So, the idea was always there, it's something that I always wanted to do. But the start, I would always tell myself, “[I will start] next month” ... I needed to start with whatever I had... And as I started, it wasn't easy, but I got there slowly, you get to learn, and also... I was still formally employed. - P7, Finance.

Taking opportunities as they come. I wasn't really pitching to the client or not following up with the client... [It would be like] A friend calls and says, “Somebody who works at X company [needs Y]” ... Or tells his COO that, “Here's a friend, P25, call her, she can do this'.... Business development... was not a thing that I did very well. - P25, Coaching

For others, the internal conflict they experience came through as a constant fight with the imposter syndrome as they often associated the term 'entrepreneur' to 'success, whiteness and maleness'. This led to many not wanting to self-identify as an entrepreneur, preferring alternative terms such as business owner, risk taker or visionary. It also led others to constantly adjusting their business' identities and offerings to fit into what they believed the audience wanted it to be rather than pitch what it was.

Imposter Syndrome. I'd look at myself and say, "I don't think I can do this", even when people are telling me, "This is good". People would complement me, [and] I felt "I need to do more." ...I think for the longest time, it was that imposter syndrome. - P7, Finance.

Not accepting entrepreneur title – not the stereotype. I don't even call myself an entrepreneur. And then on the other side, I think I also greatly associate the term entrepreneur with success. That when I say 'entrepreneur', I think of like, Jeff Bezos is an entrepreneur, like Richard Branson's an entrepreneur... like those people are entrepreneurs. And I think there's a certain level of success that I haven't reached, that I almost feel like a fake calling myself an entrepreneur, you know? I'm like, "I'm trying but I'm not there yet." – P11, Social entrepreneur

Lastly, for some yet, the internal conflict was to do with a feeling that their identity – being black and/or female and/or mothers - was at odds with success and entrepreneurship. This was driven by both their upbringing where black people and/or where they came from, were less valued and the media stereotypes of entrepreneurship that did not look like them.

Identity in conflict with entrepreneurship - blackness. What it means if you're growing up in Z-Neighbourhood is that 'a better life' means you must get out of where you live. And you almost need to detach from a part of who you are 'to become successful.' And that sounds like such a paradox... it's so deeply problematic you know... [I am] Thinking, "Hang on, that's part of who I am. Why must I aspire to get out of an area that

shaped [me] and so much of the community practices that inform who I am and very much inform how I exist in the world now?" – P22, Education.

Identity in conflict with entrepreneurship - womanhood. I feel very intimidated swimming with guys like... I feel like I cannot thrive there. I cannot compete with men... It's something that I really struggle with. I feel intimidated. So, the way I present myself is... I probably become meeker when I know that the other person who is trying to get the same contract [I am vying for] is male and is probably more confident than I am about it – P20, Accounting

Interestingly, there were a few participants that spoke to not having much internal conflict with entrepreneurship, mostly due to having had exposure to the field from a young age thus feeling like they had always been entrepreneurs.

Always been an entrepreneur. I think for me entrepreneurship has always been [in me] ... I grew up in a family where both parents are entrepreneurs. It was always instilled in me because I started... my first ever business, which was a fail, when I was... in primary school - probably grade four or grade five... But it has always been there and our parents had always taught us to kind of be that person where you shouldn't just sit around and expect everybody to do everything for you. You have to do everything for yourself, you know? You have to go out there [and] try to support yourself - P18, Construction

However, for those that struggle with internal conflict, finding ways to build one's confidence in their entrepreneurial journey and ability emerged as key to dealing with it. Some the practices for building confidence were related to looking within oneself to build the confidence such as leaning on one's own experience from previous careers or experience from previous or current ventures; being honest and authentic; and being committed and resilient. Whilst other practices were related to looking outwards such as getting professional support like coaching, mentorship, professional qualifications; or joining an accelerator; or looking to others for confidence.

Leaning on experience – current venture. So when I go into spaces, and I pull something off, sometimes it scares me. Because I go like, ‘Shit... I can achieve a lot more if I just... put some weight behind my dreams.’ And I suppose in a way... the more I do that, the less [time] I have to feed my insecurities. P22, Education

Being committed. So, [if] you really want to succeed, you tell yourself this, “There’s no plan B, I no longer have Plan B. I must delete this thing of a plan B. It just must work out.” – P21, Solar Industry

Conversely, when it came to the outward looking practices for building confidence, some were focused on either looking to others for validation such as following other entrepreneurs on social media and taking comfort from their journeys or validation through feedback from others including clients. For others, outward facing practices were more about gaining skills and tools for navigating internal conflict and/or building confidence, such as getting coaching and mentorship, getting a professional qualification, niching or joining an accelerator

Following other entrepreneurs. So, I know the entrepreneurs in my network. I know, the entrepreneurs that I follow on social media. And obviously, social media is not an accurate reflection of what’s happening with them or with the businesses but from time to time, I can look up and be like, “Okay, so and so is making progress. So and so is doing this’. And, that is actually encouraging to see, yeah. – P11, Food and beverages

Getting coaching. I have a coach who’s helping me through that (confidence). It’s improved dramatically. So, you know, first of all, realizing that, “Oh, my God... I need to work on myself” and then working on it next, so that you can strengthen. So that you can be yourself no matter what is going on around [you]. So, for me, coaching has really helped. - P12, Coaching

Furthermore, for participants that went straight into entrepreneurship post tertiary education and did not have any other work experience as well as those that lacked a strong social network, it was joining incubator and accelerator programs that enabled them to build up confidence and deal with imposter syndrome.

Joining an incubator/accelerator. When we started, we were in an incubator... where they, you know? I received a lot of training there, because I didn't really have any work experience - that helped... I also was involved with X incubator. There also... we got mentorship from... experienced people... I think accelerators are also, you know, helping small businesses to grow. – P23, Technology

Through both the inward and outward facing practices of dealing with internal conflict, the participants have found that they do not only build up their confidence and manage imposter syndrome and feelings of identity incongruency but they also start to find more of themselves in entrepreneurship. Lastly, the practice of anchoring success surfaced as key for dealing with the different kinds of internal conflict. It included the celebrating of wins and finding ways to remember the successes one had in the past when current times felt harder.

Finding oneself in entrepreneurship. I just brought up my business... on my terms and... also grew into myself. So, at some point I stopped straightening my hair. At some point, I was just like, “These are my clothes, I'm going to wear [them]. This is how I speak. I'm not going to change my accent to sound like the f... queen.” ... And so, as the business grew, so I was growing into my most authentic self as well. – P22, Education.

Anchoring successes. You know when we're happy, let's be happy and milk it. Because all of that excitement you need to tap into it for the next time you are let down and then going up. Until you chase the next big excitement in the next high. - P10, Food and Beverages

5.3.4. Conclusion

This section highlighted the intertwined and overlapping nature of the practices of doing, being and becoming. Firstly, it highlighted that the practices of doing are focused on three key aspects – managing sacrifice, dealing with external hostility and managing internal conflict. This focus on ‘struggle management’ leaves limited capacity for more productive practices of doing that would enable the entrepreneurs to better efficiently

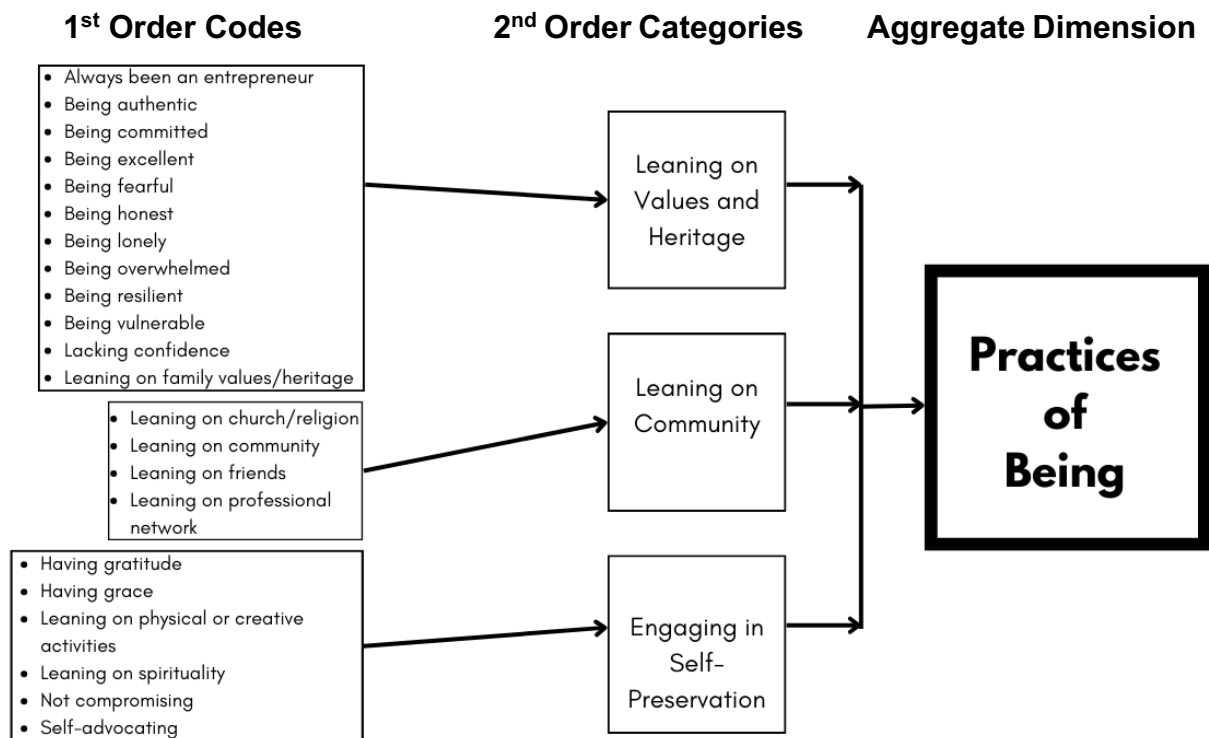


Figure 4. Codes and categories of practices of Being

Finally, the section revealed that the practices of becoming developed by the entrepreneurs also contributed to counteracting the negative effects of the more struggle management focused practices of doing. These practices of becoming were focused on learning and building capacity for both themselves as individuals and their businesses as illustrated in figure 5 below where the codes are grouped into higher order categories.

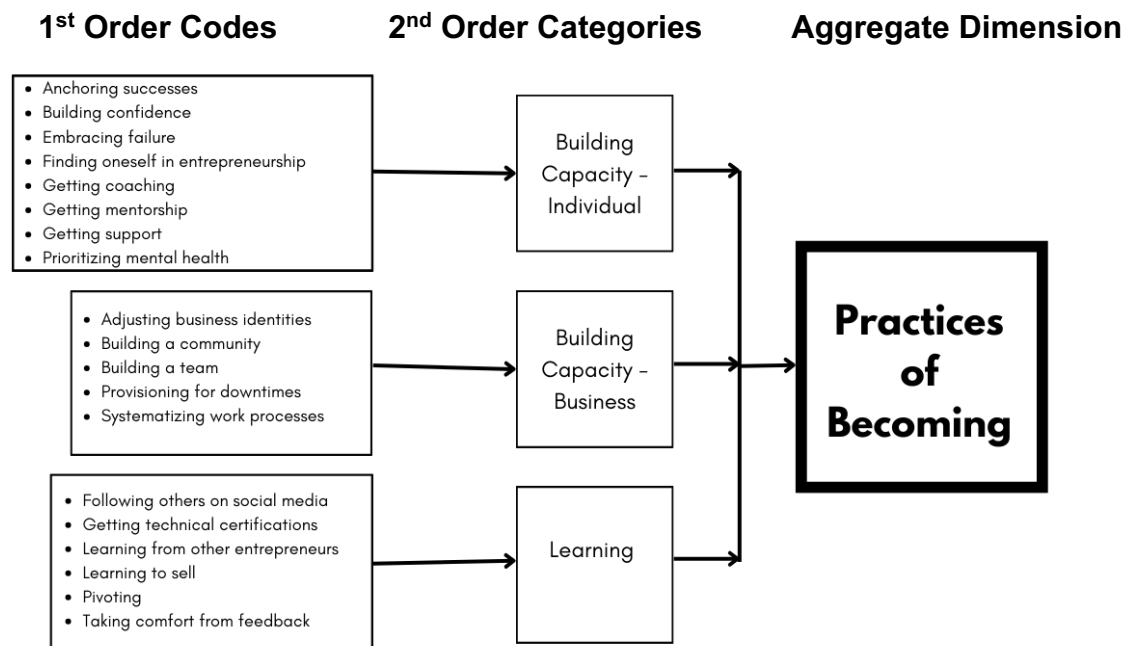


Figure 5. Codes and categories of practices of Becoming

The next section will thus build onto these findings by focusing on the practices of belonging and how they relate to the practices of doing, becoming and belonging.

5.4. Practices of Belonging

This section will examine the findings on the belonging practices of the black women entrepreneurs that emerged through utilising OPH as an analytical framework as described in chapter 3. The section will first address the processual nature of belonging for black women entrepreneurs and how they navigate it in distinct steps. This will be followed by a review of the belonging practices employed by the participants. The section will culminate with a summary of the findings and an overall conclusion to the chapter.

5.4.1. The processual nature of belonging in entrepreneurship

Notably, the data revealed a processual nature to how the participants perceived their belonging with many of them seeing it as achieved over time and through many elements of doing, being and becoming.

Processual nature of belonging. I struggled to find people I belonged with... it's been seven years now [that] I've managed to find like two really, really good friends that I feel like belong. Belonging is an interesting topic because I think... for me, as firstly, a black woman, [secondly] as a foreign

black woman, [thirdly] as a dark skinned, black woman... all these are factors that are not really visible in society... Establishing and strengthening my self-worth has been key ... And finding networks, whether it's my mentor or my peers where I feel I belong, that's so key for me. P12, Coaching

Furthermore, it emerged that there were some clear distinctions between the practices that enabled the business to belong within its environment and the practices that enabled the entrepreneur to belong in their environment. For several of the participants distinguishing between navigating belonging for their business as an entity separate from themselves was both necessary and important and arose from concerns that their identity (being 'black' and 'female') negatively impacted their business' belonging and growth. In some instances, distinguishing the two entities emerged out of resignation or *accepting things as they are* regarding the harsh realities surrounding their non-belonging as *black, women, in entrepreneurship*; and owing to the hostility and biases they felt were held against them. In other cases, it emerged as a deliberate strategy to fast track the business' belonging and giving it a chance of succeeding, based on their understanding of their marginalized positions in entrepreneurship and the negative biases held against them as a grouping.

Need to distinguish business from self. If people immediately... 'don't like you', they will not even give your business an opportunity. - P15, Creative.

Thus, the practices that were centered on enabling the business to belong included practices such as branding; partnering; fronting white people; selling; and niching. In contrast the practices that were centered on enabling the entrepreneur to belong included things like networking; creating allyship; embracing the value in being black and female; and taking pride in one's entrepreneurial identity. Moreover, in some instances, these practices were worked in tandem – the entrepreneur negotiating their own belonging at the same time as that of their business. Whilst in other instances, it occurred in a more step manner - either starting with navigating belonging for the business first or vice versa. This distinction, however, was often harder to create for those in the service industry who had to 'show face', making it challenging to negotiate, let alone 'fast track', the belonging for the business:

Need to distinguish business from self. The first white person I coached ghosted me (disappeared) after... so I'm trying to be very mindful. And I'm still sitting in [reflection]... “How can I handle this?” – P12, Coaching

Subsequently, there were practices of belonging that moved beyond the self and the business to enabling the belonging of ‘others that looked like them’. This appeared to be a very important part of belonging for several of the participants, particularly those that felt that they had accomplished it for themselves and their business. This included practices such as changing the ‘poor black’ narrative; taking advantage of government policies; supporting others; inspiring others; giving back; and anchoring success. With this category of practices, there emerged again, a processual nature that often started with negotiating belonging for the entrepreneur and business first, then extending it to others that looked like them. Table 4 below provides a summary of the main belonging practices employed by the participants by entity.

Table 4. Belonging practices by entity of focus

Belonging Practices - Business	Belonging Practices - Entrepreneur	Belonging Practices – ‘Others like me’
Branding	Networking	Changing the ‘poor black’ narrative
Partnering	Creating allyship	Supporting others
Selling	Embracing the value in being black and female;	Inspiring others
Niching	Taking pride in one’s entrepreneurial identity	Giving back
Fronting white people	Getting specialised learning	Role modeling
Accessing financing	Joining a business	
	Faking it	

	Not committing to entrepreneurship	
	Taking advantage of government policies	

The following sections will thus delve into these practices by entity, starting with the practices that are employed to negotiate belonging for the business, followed by those employed for the individual and will close off with practices focused on enabling others like themselves to belong.

5.4.2. Belonging Practices - Business

Achieving belonging for their businesses was in the majority of cases, seen to be the most critical form of belonging that the participants sought. For several of the participants, having experienced hostility in entrepreneurship, they felt that achieving belonging as black women in entrepreneurship was a tougher process as their blackness, femininity and often motherhood, were often perceived to be at odds with entrepreneurship.

As such, to fast-track belonging, they often prioritised practices that centered on achieving belonging for their businesses over themselves. Taking branding as an example of one of the key practices that emerged regarding the enabling of a business' belonging – for some of the participants that employed this strategy, they felt it was important for them to completely separate themselves as 'black woman' from the business' brand. This is because they felt and had experienced that brands that were seen, known or associated with being 'black' and 'female' were often judged / perceived to be less excellent.

Negative brand perceptions. The thing with saying I'm 'a black business' [is], people expect you to already disappoint them. - P10, Food and Beverages

This occurred even in contexts of BEE initiatives such as supplier development programs - a mechanism meant to encourage large corporations to develop and

include small businesses owned by previously disadvantaged groups within their supply chains.

Negative brand perceptions. I did a supplier development program with a large chain store ... and you won't believe how they positioned our product for the market! It was a sorry state of affairs. They put our product as, in a lump, as if, you know, they are evoking pity in you as the end consumer. Nobody wants to support people just because they, they feel sorry for them, you know? - P14, Wine Industry

To overcome this challenge, some of the entrepreneurs resorted to practices focused on 'reshaping their identity' such as branding, where they could strategically 'neutralise' their brands and/or online presence of race and gender markers. This was done in order to separate their personal identity from that of their businesses, in the hope that their business and products would not be unfairly penalized or put at a disadvantage based on their identity as black and female. Their aspiration was often to be accepted by all and to reach a wider market across race and gender, so much so that they hoped their customers would not get a sense of who owns their business, at least not upfront.

Branding – neutralising race and gender markers. What we said we wanted for the brand is, 'We are black females who are running this business. We are proud of being black females... but we don't want the business to scream out black owned business when you interact with it'... We are aiming to attract anybody and everybody and give them such an amazing experience that they're pleasantly surprised that black females can actually run a business that's run so smoothly... We want it to appeal to the white woman, to the white man too. And I think we achieved that. – P10, Food and Beverage

Moreover, a second category of practices relate to leveraging others to enable the business to belong emerged. This included practices such as *partnering* with other larger businesses that 'already belonged'. An alternative to partnering was 'fronting white people' within the business in order to belong. This was more so important for businesses in sectors that were traditionally seen as white and male and mostly involved leveraging white men through partnering with businesses owned by white men or fronting white men in their businesses.

Partnering. You can't survive.... with...um... without having a solid relationship with those who owned means of production (white men). Very key. So...wine farm owner will be... one of the critical, you know, players in my database. He was very interested in getting into a partnership. - P14, Wine Industry

Fronting white people. We hardly ever get business ourselves if we lead because we are black women... if it's whites (customers), we (black people) won't get trusted... [It's gotten] To a point [where] even when we hire people... for front office, for where people interact with clients, we have to put a white person or else you don't get the business - pure and simple. - P21, Solar industry.

For many of the participants, these practices focused on leveraging others, enable them to access 'white spaces' in industries and markets more notorious for gatekeeping against black people and which they would not have otherwise been able to, with the hope of eventually gaining acceptance and belonging.

Getting repeat sales / partnering. Partnerships have been very vital at this early stage. Because if I tried to go at it on my own and said, I'm going to knock on the bank's doors, I'm going to knock on these doors, I can't do it on my own... So, it (partnership) was huge for us, you know? To get another contract within a few days because of what we were able to do together as a team [was validation]. And then [before you know it] you start saying, "Well, I'm not doing too badly myself"... I knew that from there onwards, I will be able to get more jobs. – P7, Finance

Finally, for a few of the participants that had managed to access external financing outside of family and friends, they felt that accessing funding enabled them to reshape their business identity to that of a 'successful venture' and thus enabled the belonging of their business as it was seen as a 'stamp of approval' of sorts.

Accessing financing. We got funding from... the same gentleman (customer) asked an equity stake in our business. We did work for him and then he was like, "What do you ladies need?" We're like... "A

liquidation machine and which would go for like ZAR 250,000.” And he bought it for us actually... And I suppose where I am in my industry right now (male dominated) and because I came from the backwaters of nowhere and [so this meant] I was now so involved and engrained in my industry... and now bit by bit I suppose I get a bit of recognition for it. – P19, Sanitation

5.4.3. Belonging practices – Entrepreneur

When it came to navigating and negotiating their belonging at an individual level, the participants employed a wider range of practices as it emerged that whilst some practices worked for some, the same practice didn't work for others. Further, some practices could be done simultaneously such as 'networking' and 'creating allyship'; whilst other practices seemed to be at odds with each other such as 'taking pride in one's identity' versus 'not committing to entrepreneurship'.

The first category of practices for enabling the belonging of the entrepreneur as an individual were thus centered around leveraging others. This included practices such as joining an existing business as an equity partner, networking and creating allyship. These practices enabled them to leverage the existing work, networks and belonging of the people they were leveraging to enable and often, fast track, their own belonging.

Joining an existing business. So, when I left formal employment, I had a business partner who already had set up her business. She had a traditional sort of recruitment agency. And the idea [was] that I would be the partner who brings in the specialised talent acquisition. - P26, Recruitment.

Interestingly there appeared to be mixed sentiment over networking, particularly networking with other entrepreneurs. For those that were for it, the practice enabled belonging by helping them find others who were like them and could identify with their 'struggle'. This was not just based on gender and race markers of identity but also personality and approach. Whilst for those against networking, the sentiment was that of perceiving it to be a waste of time or an inauthentic and / or exploitative way to connect and get what you want through 'hobnobbing with the who's and who's'.

Networking - For. [Through networking you get to] Find that sense of belonging with your fellow troublemakers and pioneers and business women because that's where you're going to be like, 'Oh, okay, I'm okay... I'm not weird or strange. There's a different type of women that I can see myself in. And... that is okay.' So yah, in terms of belonging, that's what I would say... I've made amazing friends with the entrepreneurs that I connect with. – P22, Education

Networking – Against. I don't network, I don't waste my time on networking. I just feel that it's not what I want to do, I feel you know... if I want to get to a client, I go on LinkedIn and look, "Who's the buyer for this? What's their email address?" I go and get their email address, show them my product. I'm a really great marketer. And...and that's the bottom line. I don't waste my time networking with the CEO of this or that or the other. I believe in myself. I believe in my case. I don't network. – P2, Crafts

Linked closely to networking and still in the category of leveraging others is the practice of 'creating allyship', particularly with white women. This was based off the understanding that whilst white women were still women with some disadvantage based on their gender, they had the 'privilege' of being white and thus did not suffer a double negative when it came to accessing 'white spaces' and networks. Moreover, for others, these kinds of allyships and partnerships were only made possible due to the enabling government policies that mandated and incentivized larger businesses, predominantly owned by white people to partner with smaller businesses owned by people from previously disadvantaged backgrounds.

Creating allyship. Jackie (white woman) took me and introduced me to all these white males and that way I could work with universities. I understood how the system works, how their funding works, how to access all that. And I think if I didn't go through the trust of someone they trusted, I wouldn't have [been welcome], doors wouldn't have opened like that. - P8, Technology

Partnering / Taking advantage of government policies. When he was looking for a BEE partner, because you know, he's like, "The landscape

is this - If you're not level two or level one (BEE rating), you're screwed"
... So, he then sold me 31% of his business and was a godsend because
it taught me a different side of business and also taught me a different
way of doing things. - P19, Sanitation

The second category of practices for enabling the belonging of the individual were around reshaping their identity. This took the form of getting specialised learning to be seen as an expert; faking it; taking pride in one's entrepreneurial identity; and embracing the value of being black and female.

Getting specialised learning. So, I said to her (mother) "Do you realise we are two black women from the middle of nowhere? Unless we go all the way and we train, then we qualify in a place where we will be recognized [we won't be accepted] ... We found a ... Professional Career Development college... We qualified a month apart... And then by like the third year, they kind of understood that these women aren't going anywhere we might as well support them. – P19, Sanitation.

Faking it. I mean how I got there was a lot of lies. I pretended I was white, [as] my surname passed for being white. [Earlier] I'd found difficulty with my [African] names to get even an interview. So, I just dropped the names and just used JP Williams (father's first name). [That] experience has formed part of what I still do today... [and] in spite of everything, these white people made it their job, to make sure that I succeeded [once I got in]. – P25, Coaching

Taking pride in entrepreneurial identity. I'm unapologetic about it [now]. Because I've also just gotten to the point where I realised that if I minimised what it is (being an entrepreneur), then of course, it's going to perpetuate what others think of it as, you know, how they minimise it. So, of course, I'm not going to minimise it. I'm going to tell you what it is. And sorry, if you don't like it. - P4, Beauty

Connected to taking advantage of government policies, yet in the category of reshaping identity, is the practice of 'embracing the value of being black and female'. This practice often developed with the realization that with certain mandated

government policies, the larger, more white dominated industries had no choice but to include black women into their businesses or their value chains in order to benefit from key BEE incentives. This practice however, seemed mostly to have been adopted by the older, more experienced participants who often already had some professional status.

Embracing the value in being black and female / Taking advantage of government policy. The people that I collaborate with now, when they say “P8 what are you offering?” I say ‘By the way, legally, by being a black woman and female in South Africa, I qualify already, [because] our business qualifies you for 30% points (under the BEE point system). So, I suggest you put that on paper.’ ... Because obviously, when you're associated (with the large corporations)... it also looks like you're a token. So, I had to learn how to balance all of that to walk in my power. - P8, Technology

Finally, there was what appeared to be an outlier practice that, although related to identity was focused on not fully committing to entrepreneurship. Somehow, this lack of commitment to the game, made it easier for the participants employing the practice to not care too much thus freeing themselves of the burden of needing to negotiate belonging according to the ‘rules’. They rather found their belonging through accepting their non-belonging and embracing that they would always have other options to explore if need arose.

Not committing to entrepreneurship. [How I think of it is] It (entrepreneurship) is something that you've been wanting to do. You don't know how it's going to turn out. You just believe some way that ... it will work. And if it doesn't, you know then ... go back to the [job] market. – P24, Education

5.4.4. Belonging Practices – Others like Me

Finally, of high importance to the participants, was the enabling of belonging of others who looked like them into entrepreneurship. In fact, for many it was almost like their belonging could not fully be complete if others like them did not partake in it. Thus, the enabling of belonging of others who looked like them was mostly done after they had

achieved it for themselves and their business but sometimes, alongside it. For a number of the participants, enabling the belonging of others like themselves was about changing the 'poor black woman' narrative and going empowering others like themselves, knowing how hard it had been / is for themselves. This gives them a bigger sense of purpose beyond themselves and their business and is typical of the ubuntu culture of Southern Africa, that carries the deep belief that we are inextricably intertwined; are one; and in helping others, I help myself. It is summed in the statement – “I am because we are” (Jaravaza et al., 2024) - and thus extrapolated in this context to “I can only fully belong if we all belong”.

Changing the poor black woman narrative. I wanted to tell stories of people who are unseen. I wanted to reshape the black narrative. I wanted to tell stories of people who looked different (like me) that I felt like I didn't see often enough, you know? And one of the things that irritated me was commercials. I remember watching adverts on TV and thinking, 'but that's not how black people are'. I just used to find myself annoyed by it so, so much. - P11, Social Enterprise

Changing the poor black woman narrative. What do they call it? [That] concept now? The African Renaissance! We'll only be able to have an African Renaissance when each and every one of us play our role. – P14, Wine Industry

Consequently, the enabling of belonging other took two key forms – altruistic practices and narcissistic practices. The altruistic practices included practices such as giving back and supporting others that created a form of 'pulling them up' mechanism, enabling others like them to belong.

Giving back. I love to... impart my knowledge and contribute to the society as well. So, I do robotics coaching in schools and [with] young people. - P24, Education

Supporting others. I helped grow a lot of people's businesses. I love to help people out... I remember there was this client that actually got me a gift... [saying], "You're such an amazing person. You just don't ask me to

order stuff, you coach them into doing this better” ... And it has made me grow so much. – P9, Logistics.

On the other hand, the more narcissistic practices were about showcasing the self as successful in an attempt to ‘push others like themselves to wake up’ and belong and included practices such as role modelling and inspiring others.

Role modelling. I’ve put another thing on my vision board which is to buy a plot in Posh Area A. [And a] nice house. I mean, like nobody in my community has ever done that. Just the fact that another little girl can look at me and go she's done it, I can do it too. – P22, Education

Inspiring others. It (being an entrepreneur) has people thinking of the means of making a passive income for themselves. Apart from the salaries that they making. And that is rather life changing to ... know that you played a role in impacting people, for them to realize that it's not always just about keeping the job, keeping the nine to five. It's also about creating wealth for themselves. – P15, Creative

5.4.5. Summary of belonging practices

This section revealed that the participants develop and negotiate entrepreneurial belonging in a processual manner and through three key categories of practices as illustrated in figure 6 below where the codes are grouped into higher order categories.

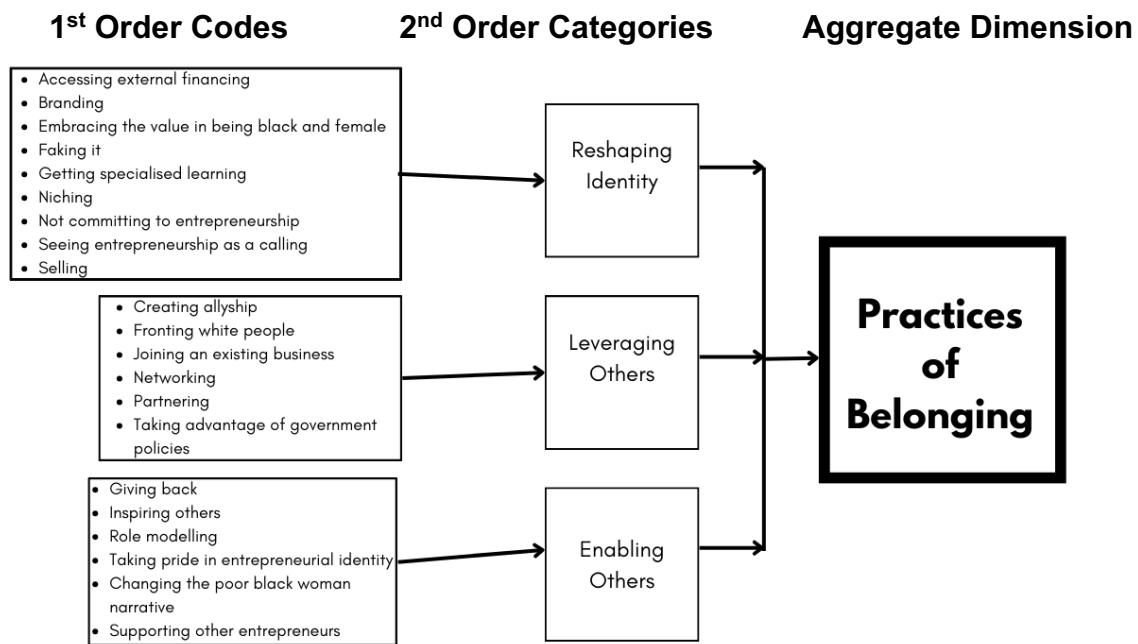


Figure 6. Codes and categories of practices of Belonging

Further still, it was revealed that the practices of belonging are intertwined with the practices of doing, being and becoming in dyadic or bi-directional relationships that creates a form of balancing out of the negative impacts of the some of the practices with those that create positive impacts. For example, the entrepreneurs balance the negative effects of practices in the ‘managing hostility’ category with belonging practices related to ‘leveraging others’.

5.5. Conclusion to the chapter

This chapter deliberated on the key practices that the black women entrepreneurs employ and develop in order it negotiate and navigate belonging in entrepreneurship. It opened with a discussion on the practices related to doing, being and becoming and then explored the nature of belonging, found to be processual and accomplished in distinct steps – for the business and for the entrepreneur. Finally, it explored how for black women entrepreneurs, the enabling of others like them was critical in accomplishing full belonging. Table 5 below provides a summary of the main categories of practices in each dimension of doing, being, becoming and belonging.

Table 5. Summary of categories of practices by dimension

Doing	Being	Becoming	Belonging
Managing Sacrificing	Leaning on values and heritage	Learning	Reshaping Identity
Managing external hostility	Leaning on community	Building capacity – business	Leveraging others
Managing internal conflict	Engaging in self- preservation	Building capacity - individual	Enabling others

In the next chapter, I examine the resourcing practices of entrepreneurs, followed by a chapter that will interrogate the practices that intersect belonging and resourcing.

6. Resourcing

6.1. Introduction

Resourcing as a practice looks at how entrepreneurs work in their unique contexts in order to acquire resources (Feldman & Orlikowski, 2011; Keating et al., 2014). Through the use of Bourdieu's forms of capital theory (Bourdieu, 1986b) as an analytical frame as described in chapter 3, the data revealed several practices regarding how the participants resource for the four forms of capital for their businesses. This chapter will open with a summary glance at the main practices employed by the black women entrepreneurs which will be organised by the form of capital for which the practice is employed. This will be followed by sections that will elaborate on these resourcing practices by form of capital, starting with economic, social, cultural and ending with symbolic capital.

6.2. Resourcing Practices at a Glance

To enable further analysis of the data and insights, I grouped the resourcing practices by the type of capital and Table 6 below summarises the main practices that the participants have utilised to access and maintain the different forms of capital.

Table 6. Summary of resourcing practices by type of capital

Economic	Social	Cultural			Symbolic
		Embodied	Objectified	Institutionalised	
Creating allyship	Leaning on professional networks	Leaning on family values / heritage	Faking it	Getting specialised learning	Winning awards
Partnering	Leaning on friends	Having grace	Branding	Getting formal qualifications	Winning competition
Joining an accelerator / incubator	Leaning on family	Being excellent		Niching	Branding

Accessing financing from family and friends	Leaning on other community	Embracing the value in being black and female			Giving back
Accessing financing from local investors	Networking	Being resilient			Inspiring others
Accessing financing from banks	<i>Partnering</i>	Leaning on physical or creative activities			Faking it
Accessing financing from international investors	<i>Creating allyship</i>	Leaning on spirituality			Role modelling
Accessing financing from suppliers	Joining an existing business	Taking pride in entrepreneurial identity			Supporting other entrepreneurs
Accessing financing from clients	Fronting white people	Branding			
Not needing financing	Leaning on church/religion	Leaning on own experience			
Not wanting financing	Joining an accelerator / incubator				
Taking advantage of government policy	Cold outreach				

Selling assets to access financing	Faking it				
Maintaining a job to finance the business	Branding				
Selling and bootstrapping					
Leaning on professional networks					
Using personal sources of funding					
Faking it					
Researching online					
Winning competitions					
Accessing grant funding					
Branding					
Asking for freebies					
Bartering					
Maintaining a job					
Consulting on the side					

The findings suggest that more practices are commonly put in place to access economic capital than other types of capital. This would not be unusual seeing as

entrepreneurship exists primarily within an economic field and is highly driven by the power dynamics of that field. Interestingly though, there seemed to be some overlap in some of the practices that enabled access to economic capital and those that enabled access to the other capitals in entrepreneurship such as the practices of branding, partnering and creating allyship. The following sections will proceed to examine the practices employed by the participants by type of capital in fuller detail.

6.3. Accessing and managing economic capital

Access to finance emerged as a key challenge that was faced by the majority of the black women entrepreneurs in the study. Whilst many highlighted having used personal sources of funding to start their businesses such as savings, personal credit cards and even selling off of personal assets to fund their businesses, they felt that the inability to access additional external financing had limited their ability to grow their businesses. Of note was the sentiment of always needing to make trade-offs in the business due to limited financial capacity.

Lack of access to finance limiting business growth. I think that if at that time we had been funded in the way that we needed to be... I could have up scaled our business times like three. And we would have been...a bigger force to reckon with. But you know, you're a woman in the middle of nowhere. – P19, Sanitation.

Further, the lack of access to finance appeared to impact two critical areas – the ability to attract and retain good teams and the ability to manage input costs for product development and production as the participants could rarely ever take advantage of economies of scale.

Lack of access to finance limiting business growth – Team. Without a good team, [it got] to a certain point, I started realizing it hindered our... quality of work and ability to deliver on time. – P20, Accounting

Lack of access to finance limiting business growth – Product. Firstly, pricing of our raw material is not cheap at all... And we were unable to purchase enough stock to take advantage of economies of scale. – P10, Food and Beverages

Notably, there was strong sentiment around how access to finance was especially harder for black women entrepreneurs compared to their black male, white female and white male counterparts due to perceived biases against black female entrepreneurs. Furthermore, it was revealed that the government business grant system that is meant to support groups from previously disadvantaged backgrounds to access financing was perceived to be tedious and corrupt and thus not entirely working for all.

Access to finance harder for black women entrepreneurs. I was speaking to someone (black woman) yesterday... she usually calls me for guidance and things like that. And she was telling me, "You know what, I think I'm just going to go back to get a job, because there's no one that wants to fund my business... it's just hard". So, I think when you actually get into the space, then you start to realize that it's not a very inclusive space. – P7, Finance.

Government grants perceived as tedious and corrupt. There is corruption happening. You know, you can't keep on taking from the needy and saying, "You have government development grants." But the minute you apply, you're told there are no funds... how is that possible? – P15, Creative

As a consequence, for the majority of the participants, a first point of call outside of using their own personal sources of finance, was tapping into their family and friend networks for funding. This is in spite of the fact that these networks often consisted of other previously economically disadvantaged groups of people too, who had limitations on the amounts of disposable income they had.

Accessing financing from family and friends. Our friends were the key people that really helped us in this business with everything... Our friends are not rich, don't get me wrong, they're broke! But luckily it was [during] a pandemic... people were not partying, so our friends had [some] money... [they] would lend us money and we would obviously pay it back... Banks did not help us... which is crazy right? – P3, Crafts

Accessing financing from family and friends. We just bought a house, a nice home and I'm blessed that I can pursue my passion without having to worry about household finances. Because at the moment, my husband is in a position to cover that. - P12, Coaching

In order to understand how they went about developing practices for resourcing for economic capital, I sought to look deeper at the challenges they expressed having accessing financing. A deeper review of the stories revealed 5 main hurdles outside of, or further to, the negative biases related to gender and race that plagued the participants when it came to accessing financing for their business. The following sections will look at each of these hurdles and the practices that the black female entrepreneurs have had to put in place to enable the resourcing of economic capital.

6.3.1. Hurdle 1: The perception of lacking business experience

The first hurdle that emerged was the perception of funders that black women entrepreneurs lacked business experience. This was in spite of the fact that for the majority of the participants, their current businesses were not their first ventures. However, for many of them these current ventures were indeed their first 'formalised ventures' and thus they were perceived to be lacking the documented formal business experience that typical investors wanted to see before funding a business. This also tended to discount the black women entrepreneurs' track record and traction and often deemed them as 'riskier' than their counterparts.

The perception of lacking business experience. Getting big investors hasn't been easy, because they expect you to be at a certain capacity for them to want to inject in [capital]... and I'm still growing. - P15, Creative

To overcome this challenge, the entrepreneurs employed three key practices. The first practice was partnering with larger companies to leverage their track record in order to access financing as well as large contracts that would otherwise not be accessible to them. This would then give them the opportunity to prove themselves in the eyes of the funder. The second practice was creating allyship in order to access potential funders. Again here, white women emerged key as whilst they themselves were not necessarily perceived as 'resource holders' – they had trusted relationships with the 'resource holders' (white men) that could be leveraged to access finance. The third

practice involved investing in their branding, particularly their online collateral, in order to 'sell' themselves as bigger and better or give off a more professionalised image to potential investors, resulting in a thin line between branding and faking it.

Partnering. Partnerships have been very vital at this early stage. Because if I tried to go at it on my own and said, 'I'm going to knock on the bank's doors', I can't do it on my own, I need people that can help me. So, this company (partner) is sort of like an agent for the banks... So they get the contracts and ... within a short period of time, I've been able to prove myself. – P7, Finance

Creating allyship. We got approached by a lady (white) who told us that her husband runs an investment company, and they invest in black owned businesses, and she would like us to meet her husband. And that's how we got introduced to the whole, you know, investment thing. So, to cut a long story short... the husband was able to fund our purchase orders... prior to that, there was no one else we were getting money from. – P3, Crafts

Branding / faking it. What we started to do was then invest more into... our [online] profiling. So, if you look it up (the business), you'll see that the pictures are amazing. We thought, if we can sell these products... to buyers at retail stores, we can certainly do the same for investors. – P2, Crafts

6.3.2. Hurdle 2: Limited knowledge about financing

The second hurdle that was highlighted was that the black women entrepreneurs felt they lacked knowledge about financing. This tended to take three key forms - not knowing about the types of financing available other than traditional loans; not knowing where to find financing; and not knowing how to apply for financing.

Not knowing about the types of financing available. We initially thought all that we needed to do was to apply for loans ... I mean, I've got an MBA, my sister also has one but when it [came to] funds for businesses [we were unaware] ... Up until [later when] we realized that there is some venture

capital [out there]... that we could apply for, then we started to look into that. We didn't know these things. P21 – Solar Industry

Not knowing where to find financing. I had no idea that the [investments] industry even existed because I was in the science fraternity... The investment world was far removed from everything that I was exposed to – P5, Wellness

Not knowing how to apply for funding. I don't even know how to write a funding document. – P16, Media

To overcome their gaps in knowledge on financing, the entrepreneurs employed two key practice - utilising their networks to find/access investors; and researching online.

Leaning on professional networks. We were finding [out about] it as you say, “through people.” You hear people say, “if you're looking for funding, here's a link”. – P21, Solar Industry.

Researching online. We didn't have that [financial] mindset, but we looked online- I mean, I was googling online, I was always researching how can I get investors interested? – P2, Crafts

6.3.3. Hurdle 3: Lack of collateral to access traditional loans

The third hurdle that emerged regarding accessing financing was that the black women entrepreneurs lacked the collateral needed to access traditional loans. Because the majority of the participants came from disadvantaged backgrounds, they and their families typically lacked the kinds of assets that a bank could accept as collateral such as land or property. Further, this requirement to provide collateral was a necessity from both commercial banks and the government backed development banks whose mandates included the need to provide development finance that assisted in redressing past inequality. Worth highlighting, was the sentiment that because black male entrepreneurs also came from disadvantaged backgrounds and lacked economic assets too, some participants noted feeling less supported by their black male counterparts who they felt saw them as threats to accessing of the same limited resources.

Lack of collateral. Our white counterparts actually are able to get funding easily. They grew up with collateral, it's well known. I mean of course it's not the full pool that has funding, but you'd find that most of them actually have access to collateral, you know? – P3, Crafts

Lack of collateral. Black males find black women in business as a threat, not white males. White males don't give a damn about us. It's black males who are in the business with us that feel like, "If she's here, I'm not going to get that opportunity" – P8, Technology

To overcome the challenge of a lack of collateral, the entrepreneurs looked to access alternative sources of financing where collateral was not a requirement. A number of practices emerged as key for accessing non-collateral based financing including entering competitions to win funding; joining accelerator and incubator programs that provide access to capital; and using client or supplier credit. In the case of client financing, this involved asking for advance payments in order to supply the service whilst supplier financing, took the form of negotiating credit terms and either paying as and when the consignment got sold or after a number of credit days.

Entering competitions. I was asked... "We are looking for Mavericks, people who can come up with an idea and compete and win". I thought to myself, you know what, I'm very skilled... I know exactly what's needed. I'm going to do it... It's the first time that I've got seed funding from a Corporate to start a business. – P8, Technology

Accessing supplier financing. I've fostered these relationships with these suppliers. I mean, there are some of them now... they'll have new products and they'll say, "You know what, I'll bring them in and you can have them on consignment." ... We grew these relationships and this is where it's brought us to a point where now they actually... they can feel... comfortable in giving us stuff without us paying for it upfront. – P4, Beauty

6.3.4. Hurdle 4: Expensive or complex financing products and processes

Subsequently, the fourth hurdle that emerged around accessing financing was about how the financing products available in the markets were too expensive and/or too complex.

Financing being expensive. We did that (accessed finance) through a company called Lbox. Their rates are really, really bad. Really high! – P13, beauty

Financial products being complex. Oh loans?! I never qualified. Those are very complicated. You bring all the papers they need, it's always some story. – P8, Technology

To circumvent this challenge the participants developed practices that enable them to directly access the resources they need for their business without needing to pay altogether to avoid employing expensive or complex external funding products. These include practices such as Bartering - where they exchange products and services with other service providers and asking for 'freebies' when all else fails in order to resource for their business

Bartering. One of the quickest things you learn is leveraging from people. So, you know, go to somebody who needs branding and go, 'Hey, I can do your branding for free if you can do this for me for free'. – P11, Social Entrepreneur

Asking for freebies. We had no money to buy plants, okay? So, we ended up calling the Botanical Gardens... and then we asked for plants. And they said, 'Come and choose plants.' And we went to choose the plants. We did not spend a dime. – P3, Crafts

6.3.5. Hurdle 5: Not needing or wanting to access external funding

Lastly, some of the entrepreneurs spoke to not trying to pursue external financing yet as they felt they did not need or want external funding. For those that did not need it, this was often related to their businesses being service related and/or not capital intensive. As such they felt their businesses could survive through bootstrapping.

However, for those not wanting to access external funding, three main reasons arose - being afraid to owe money; not wanting to give up equity in their business; and lacking trust in funders.

Not needing to access external financing. So we are lucky, especially like in Area1 store, we had never really needed to get any more funding. The business just, it took off and it took care of its own growth... in that respect. So, we've never really had to go out there and try and source external funding to try and do stuff in the business. – P4, Beauty

Not wanting to access external financing – Not wanting to give up equity. If I'm giving up shareholding now and I'm going to see myself left with something... a minority stake, I wouldn't have built for my family. I'll probably be giving it up to somebody else and what [good] would that be? I actually became very stingy to give up equity. – P5, Wellness

These entrepreneurs have thus found alternative ways of funding their businesses with most of them preferring to fund the business purely through selling and bootstrapping, leaning heavily on their professional networks and the word of mouth emanating from it. Others have either maintained their employment elsewhere to keep funding their business or take other consulting work that may not even be related to the business, in order to fund it.

Selling and bootstrapping / Leaning on professional networks. [I'd find that] I wouldn't market my business for one week, and [yet] somebody will just come and say, "I got your contact from this person. They mentioned that you do this, [or] you do that". And it's because I've created such kind of a network. – P9, Logistics

Consulting on the side. I do a lot of consulting work and I do a lot of speaking work and facilitation stuff, which is nice because it doesn't require all of my time. It'll be an hour here, a full day here, a half day here, sort of thing. So whatever income I've made from doing those kinds of things, I've been able to then redirect that income straight into the business. – P11, Social Entrepreneur.

Despite the hurdles, these entrepreneurs have found ways and means of resourcing for economic capital for their businesses outside of the traditional financing routes. Given all this, some of them have been successful in attracting external financing as detailed in the next section.

6.3.6. Success with accessing external financing.

Conversely, some participants expressed having had success with getting external financing over and above their personal sources of income and their network of family and friends. Varying degrees of experiences about the process of accessing finance were shared from easy to tough to, outright predatory.

Success accessing external financing - Easy experience. To be honest, it was a very rare... a very, very quick journey. It wasn't drawn out... I think from January to now July, six months [in total]. So, it was a very straightforward journey. – P13, Beauty.

Success accessing external financing - Predatory experience. [Funder1] said, "I'm offering you guys ZAR 650,000 for 30% of your business." But now, Funder2 was like, "Okay, we want to give you guys ZAR 3.7 million convertible note for 27% equity"... [Then] Funder1 was like "Okay, I'll give you guys ZAR 4 million for 27% equity"... But we were questioning ourselves quite a lot because two months prior, he offered ZAR 650 000 which was really undermining our business and what we had to offer. – P2, Crafts

In spite of the variation in experiences, a good number of participants had been able to access different types of financing ranging from grants (including governments grants) to bank loans and equity investment too. Of particular note on grant funding was the ability to take advantage of supportive government policies that prioritised black women and black youth for business funding.

Accessing grants. There were grants that were available from the South African Wine Industry [Association]. They also assist with [access to] market. They would take us to countries like Denmark, Finland to explore markets there. – P14, Wine Industry

Taking advantage of government policies. And we've taken advantage of all the funding opportunities that there has been. Whether it's government funding, we got Development Agency¹ funding (for youth from previously disadvantaged groups) from the government. They gave us ZAR 70,000 – P2, Crafts.

In contrast, regarding accessing commercial funders, the general sentiment was that banks were more willing to provide asset loans such as vehicle loans than working capital loans. It emerged that this was because it made it easier for the banks to then be able to repossess the asset if the entrepreneurs defaulted knowing that they lacked other collateral. Further, when it came to accessing equity investors – accelerators and incubators emerged as a key source for meeting equity investors and introductions into their networks. These accelerators also gave the participants the opportunity to access international investors, a key practice they found to be useful for bypassing some of the bias they had experienced within the local context.

Bank loan. Every time we asked for financing at the bank, we always got declined. We don't have a single financing from the bank at all ... and the only thing we got from the bank was a car, an asset. Of course, because they can take that away from you if you don't pay – P3, Crafts

Accessing equity investors / Joining accelerators. We had to go outside South Africa to be able to raise money, even though we were able to...pay back loans. It's because I didn't have any credit record . . . I never took any loans... The company didn't have any credit record or any... facility... When we went to San Francisco, we were part of an accelerator there and yeah... Through our networks... we got an investor. – P23, Technology

6.3.7. Conclusion

In conclusion, when it comes to the resourcing of economic capital, we see three categories emerge for the practices employed by the black women entrepreneurs being – using traditional sources, leveraging others and getting creative. Figure 7 below illustrates these categories.

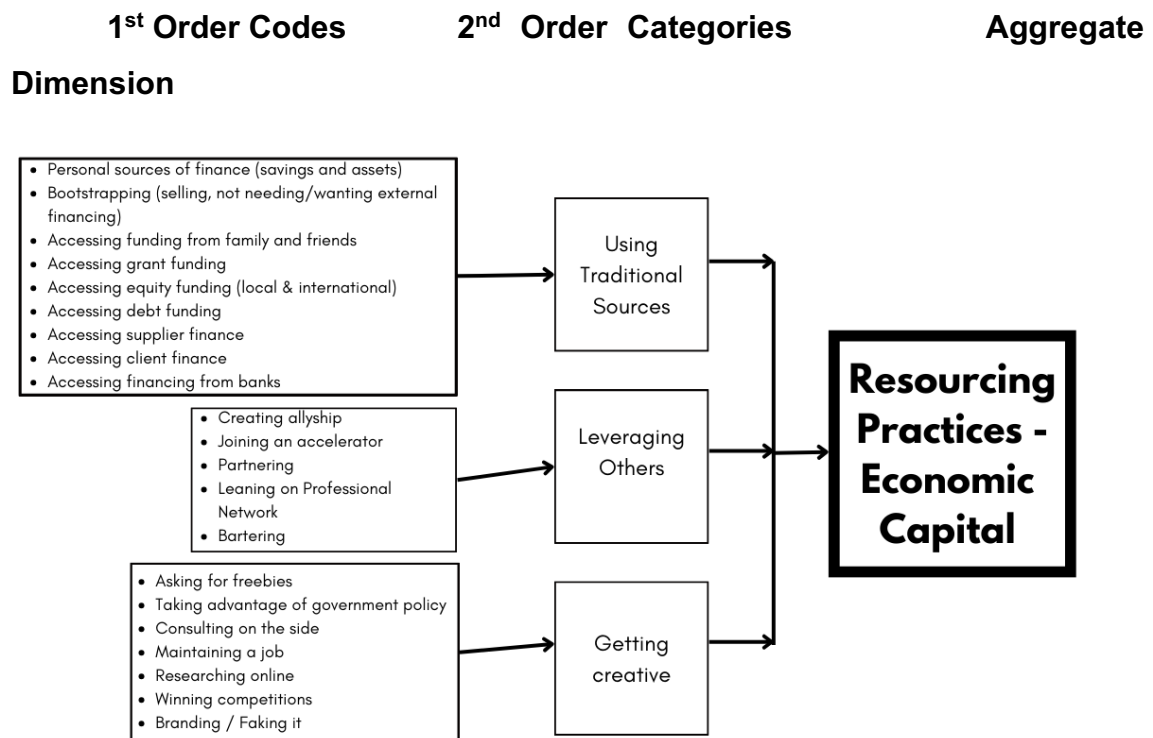


Figure 7. Categories of resourcing practices for economic capital

6.4. Accessing and maintaining social capital

Social capital is about the monetary and other gains that can be obtained from one's relationships within a specific field such as entrepreneurship (Brush et al., 2018; Keating et al., 2014). These relationships can include close family and friends as well as professional and other relationships. For many of the participants, their immediate networks of family and friends consists of other people from disadvantaged backgrounds which tended to limit the amounts of economic gains that could be obtained from these relationships. However, this did not render these networks worthless as other benefits could be sought from them outside of the economics.

Further, for many of the participants, these entrepreneurial ventures were not their first ones, albeit the first formalised ones for some. This meant that many had some existing relationships within the entrepreneurship field that could be leveraged. In addition, many of them also had professional networks stemming from their corporate and other careers before branching into entrepreneurship that they tended to call upon where needed. Notwithstanding this, all of them found themselves needing to develop further social capital outside of their immediate relationships in order to efficiently resource for their businesses. This section will first delve into the practices the participants

employed to leverage their existing relationships to benefit their businesses. This will be followed by an exploration of the practices they put in place to develop social capital beyond their existing networks.

6.4.1. Leveraging social capital from existing relationships

When it came to developing social capital, leveraging existing social circles and relationships as far as possible emerged as critical in enabling the participants and their businesses to thrive. This included nuclear and extended families, friends and professional networks from their past careers. Family members were noted to provide varying support from financing the business, as also noted in the previous section, to providing free or subsidized labour and opening up their own business networks. These relationships included spouses, children, parents, siblings and even extended family members.

Leaning on family – Parents. My dad.... As much as he's my dad, when it came to ClientX, I said to him, "We have our relationship, but I don't want that to be a [special favour]." I wanted him to get me in the door just to speak to somebody who will be able to, you know? ... It ended up that he got me involved with a guy called Greg, who was very instrumental in us working for ClientX. – P19, Sanitation.

Leaning on family – Siblings. Because I started this business from home, my siblings were more of my help in regards to the business. So, they were also always hands on and so were my parents. So, anything that I needed, [whether] transportation, [or] whether I needed to deliver products, they were always very much hands on. – P15, Creative

Furthermore, friends proved to be an important source of social capital from supporting with financing of the participants businesses, to being their first customers. Friends were often also free or subsidized labour and were key in opening up their own networks to the participants.

Leaning on friends – opening up networks. I have got a friend who I'm using as a mentor with guidance from on the marketing side. [They'd say]

“You need somebody who can help you with your legal documents? I've got a friend that I can tap into for that.” - P10, Food and Beverages

Leaning on friends – as free labour. I sent out an email to a bunch of people I know... and asked if they were willing to write (for the business). And I've been fortunate that everybody who I have contacted, has been eager to support. – P11, Social Entrepreneur

Finally in terms of leveraging their existing close social circles, their professional networks from their previous careers and ventures as well as communities such as religious or other close communities were a key source of social capital for the entrepreneurs.

Leaning on professional networks. I leaned heavily on my previous professional network from when I used to work (in corporate). So those relationships are the ones that, if I had a good relationship with someone, I would reach out to them and tell them, “This is what I'm doing,” and I did get a lot of support. My ex-employer did give me a lot of support. If I had an overflow of work, for example, they'd help me find any resources. So that was a very important relationship um in helping me grow. – P20, Accounting

Leaning on religious community. I started off with my church. And... people from church are actually a great network circle. And from there, I was able to get referrals, who then started paying. – P15, Creative

However, only leveraging the social capital stemming from their immediate circles of family, friends and close community proved insufficient for most of them, as these close tie networks consisted mainly on other fellow black people who themselves have limited social capital. Thus, in order to grow their social capital, the participants employed a number of practices to access new communities that are covered in the next section.

6.4.2. Developing new relationships for social capital.

To increase their social capital beyond their close networks, the participants in the study pointed to a number of practices that had been useful for developing new relationships, accessing new communities and consequently, building social capital.

Most of the practices were focused on leveraging others to access new communities, enabling them to build social capital. This included practices such as joining an existing business, partnering, creating allyship and fronting white people.

Joining an existing business. I had a business partner who already had set up the business. She had a traditional sort of recruitment agency. And the idea that I would be the partner who brings in the specialised talent acquisition. – P26, recruitment

Creating allyship. And I got into this network through another white woman. A friend of mine just took me and introduced me to all these people and they welcomed me and they made sure they opened doors for me. – P8, Technology

Fronting white people. So even our sales person that we got is white, because most of the people that make decisions in this country tend to 'speak to white'.... We just put a white guy doing the calling, suddenly they come with business. – P21, Solar Industry

Other practices were about finding ways to access new communities where there was no one to leverage. This included practices such as joining of incubators and accelerators and accessing the networks of entrepreneurs and industry experts associated with their programs; networking (both on and offline); and cold outreach which was mostly done via digital media platforms.

Joining an accelerator / incubator. I joined the Incubator-C program. That was like my first sort of like, "Oh, my goodness, there's so many of us (women entrepreneurs)!" It was wonderful for me because like I said, my immediate circle of friends and family are really just either academics or in corporate or in the sciences... so I haven't really been exposed to entrepreneurs in terms of networking [in the past]. – P13, Beauty

Networking – Online. Having those groups, those WhatsApp groups that you share your opportunities that arise, you know? If you can... you refer somebody. P23 – Technology

Cold outreach. You do not always need to know everything yourself. Get on to LinkedIn, see someone you like who's doing something you like, call them, start a relationship. Ask them “You know I'm doing something similar or I'm thinking of XYZ, do you mind helping me with ABC?” – P10, Food and Beverages

6.4.3. Conclusion

In conclusion, when it comes to accessing and maintaining social capital, we see two categories of practices emerge in the findings. The first being focused on the leveraging of the close existing community and the second category focused on accessing new community as illustrated in Figure 8 below.

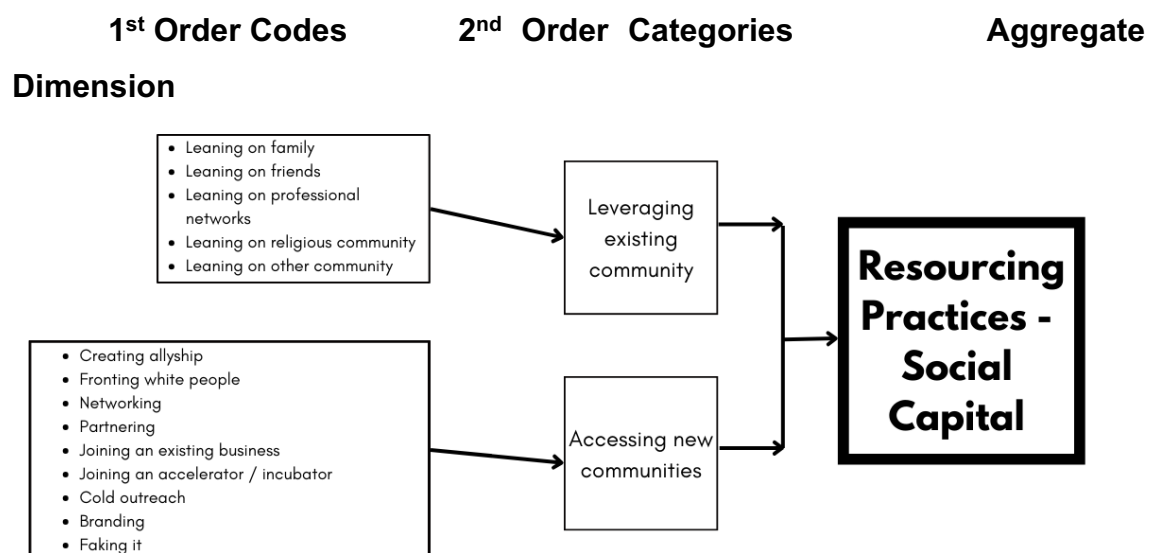


Figure 8. Categories of resourcing practices for social capital

6.5. Developing and maintaining cultural capital

Cultural capital has been noted to be context and grouping specific and is broken down into three – embodied, which has to do with disposition, mental and physical features; objectified, which is related to culturally esteemed possessions; and institutionalised, linked to skills related to formal education and verified credentials (Çakmak et al., 2018; Yeröz, 2019).

6.5.1. Embodied Capital

Regarding embodied capital, it emerged that a number of participants drew on internal resources linked to heritage, upbringing and experiences to leverage. Thus, practices such as leaning on family values/heritage and leaning on the own experience from

previous work, proved to be of particular importance, especially in challenging circumstances. Further, several participants also leaned on creative and physical activity to carry them through challenges and of special mention is spirituality and spiritual related activity.

Leaning on own experience/family values. When I look back... my life has been preparing me for this. The fact that I had a tuck shop, the fact that I did that as a child, the fact that I've made and sold my own jewellery and I did it really well. And all, back then... all of these events, were preparing me for Business-C and this time of my life. So, I'm an entrepreneur! – P22, Education

Leaning on spirituality. My faith. Although I was uncertain, there was nothing that said I was going to lose... my faith really helped me. – P25, Coaching

Interestingly, no one spoke to leaning on their physical appearance or beauty as a resource, not even the participants in the beauty and fashion industries where one might have expected them to lever their own appearance. This is potentially not surprising in the context of black women in entrepreneurship where their physical markers of gender and race were perceived as incongruent to entrepreneurship. Instead, inert characteristics that they have developed over years such as being resilient, being excellent and having grace arose as crucial embodied resources to tap into particularly through hard times.

Having grace. I don't know where on earth I would be without... the spiritual knowledge of my Christianity... that's just how it how it is... living in grace. P3, Crafts

Being excellent. For and to me, that's the epitome of black excellence - You're able to have a brand and then people when they look into it [they] are like, "Two black females own this business and we are surprised by it because their service experience was amazing."

Linked to these practices was the ability to take pride in one's identity, be it their entrepreneurial identity or their being black and female, a characteristic mostly embodied by the older entrepreneurs who were more established and had some status.

Taking pride in entrepreneurial identity. Now I get invited because I'm, you know, the MD of F-Solutions (own business), you know? I get my own ticket, not the Institute Y (former employer) ticket. – P25, Coaching

Embracing the value in being black and female. It's okay to be [named] Xolile. It's okay to be Vuyelwa, without asking me, "Don't you have another name?" No, I don't have another, actually! [My] traditional name also plays the roles of [being] self-affirming, embracing confidence, reinforcement [of who I am] – P14, Food and Beverages.

Conversely, and particularly where the inert characteristics or entrepreneurial experience may have been deficient, practices of reshaping identity such as faking it to give the impression one wanted the public to see, became prominent in building embodied capital.

Faking it. You kind of have to be 'mature', you know? With social media, you kind of have to represent your brand in the way you want people to see it. So, on social media... I stopped sharing... things that are not, you know? That are not in line with [the business], you know? – P23, Technology.

6.5.2. Objectified Capital

When it came to objectified capital, again practices of reshaping identity such as faking it and branding played a big role. These practices were employed to create an image of success, especially in the areas of material possessions that were culturally objectified

Faking it. We're driving our very expensive car *from the bank*. – P2, Crafts

Branding. I was on LinkedIn the other day... a couple of people, not in my circles would say "congratulations, gravitas". But there was one lady who I don't know from anywhere. But she reposted [my post and I thought] "Oh,

my goodness. she says congratulations from China?” And she says, “I love the brand” – P13, Beauty

6.5.3. Institutionalised Capital

Lastly, regarding institutionalised capital, strong sentiment emerged regarding how formal education was highly esteemed and valourised in black culture. This was closely linked to corporate jobs also being seen as superior to entrepreneurship and in particular, black parents not being fully supportive of entrepreneurial pursuits.

Formal education valourised in Black culture. I think the problem with our culture, or you know, our upbringing is that you're told that you have to be somebody through education, you know? You have to either be a lawyer or a doctor, or some kind of qualification or an engineer. P2, Crafts

Formal education valourised in Black culture. Well, to this day, [my parents ask] “When are you getting your MBA?... It doesn't look like you're really working today. You need to be working.” So that's what we're expected to do. - P13, Beauty Industry.

As a result, the less formally educated participants (bachelor's degree and below) seemed to link entrepreneurial skills and success with formal education and this tended to result in a form of counting oneself out unnecessarily. This belief appeared to impact the entrepreneurial confidence for the participants with lower formal education even where there was evidence of their entrepreneurial success.

Formal education valourised in Black culture. During 1997... 1998 I was full time in business. My interior design business just flourished and flourished. And but at the back of my head, I've always wanted to go study. I think it was drilled inside me that education is the key to success. So, though I was doing business and it was doing well... I came back to study. - P8, Technology (bachelor's degree).

Consequently, getting formal qualifications; niching to build expertise or the perception of expertise; and/or getting other specialised learning in the chosen area of entrepreneurship emerged as vital practices for building institutionalised cultural capital

Getting specialised learning. And I also participate in entrepreneurial programs and participate in programs that can assist you as well to get investor ready to get your due diligence in place in order for you to be able to reach the dream, to reach the levels where you have access to certain people and network a lot more a lot, lot, lot more. - Participant 15, Creative.

Niching. A whole lot of people focus on executive coaching, top dogs in industry. But there's a whole middle management level that I've been coaching so far, that also really kind of made it. They're so motivated. I'm good at figuring such things out, like missing links or missing touch points. – P12, Coaching

6.5.4. Conclusion

In summary, looking at the findings on the resourcing practices related to building cultural capital reveals three categories of practices. We see some practices that are focused on leaning on values and heritage; those that are about self-preservation; and those that are centred around reshaping identity as illustrated in figure 9 below

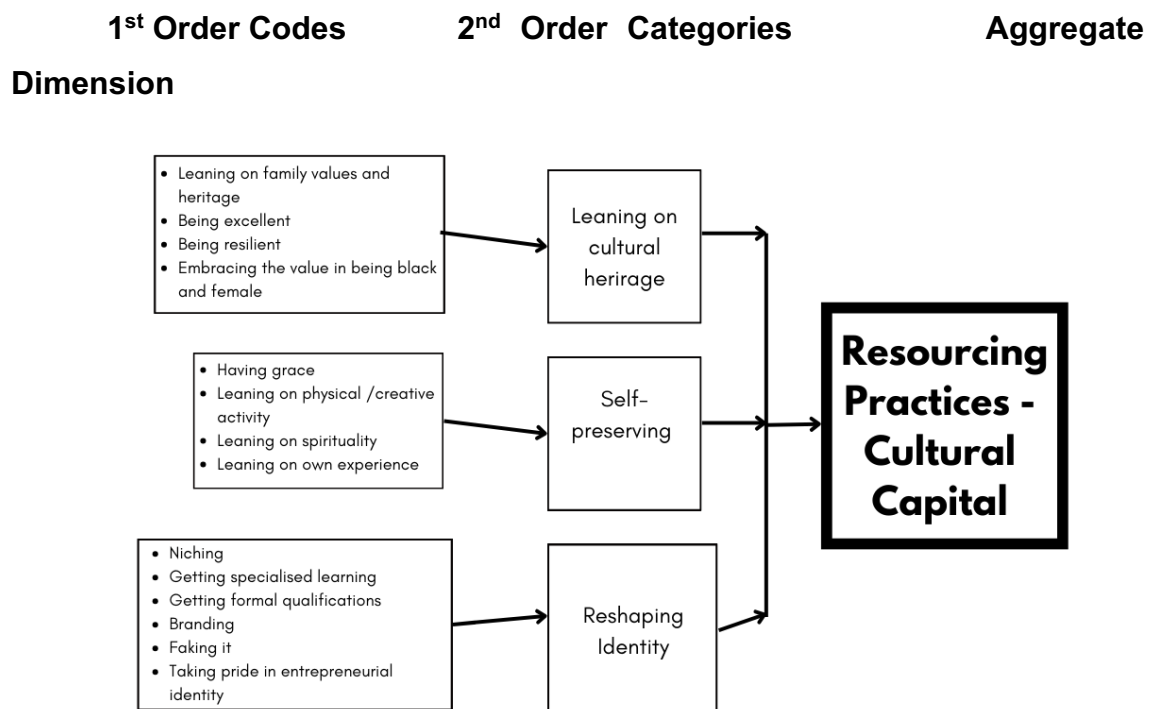


Figure 9. Categories of resourcing practices for cultural capital

6.6. Developing and maintaining symbolic capital

Symbolic capital is related to celebrity, prestige, recognition and honour (Çakmak et al., 2018; Vershinina & Rodgers, 2020). This capital was important to the participants and the practices they put in place to develop and maintain it appeared to take two forms – practices that reshaped their identities to show status and prestige such as winning awards and competitions, branding and faking it; and practices related to giving and supporting others, qualities that are revered and admired.

Winning Awards. I am the recipient of the Goldman Sachs 10 000 Women for female entrepreneurs. – P16, Media

Faking it. We knew we had a good product, now we have to display this product in a really good setting. So, we approached all the five-stars that you can imagine trying to get free photo shoots [at their sites]. One of the biggest lodges in South Africa were like, “Okay cool, come to Kruger National Park, we'll give you guys a room for free.” – P2, Crafts

On the other hand, practices such as giving back, inspiring others, role modelling and supporting other entrepreneurs were also prominent ways of building symbolic capital. These practices were not only culturally valued and admired but also positioned the entrepreneurs as successful.

Giving back/Supporting other entrepreneurs. I love to help people out. I love to coach people. I realized, “You know what, there's more to me just been an entrepreneur. There's the coaching part.” And that's the part of me giving back... I decided to create a ‘foreign entrepreneurs in South Africa [group]’ because I realized to say, “There's going to be another person that's going to do things... the way I did them then, and I wouldn't want them to go through the [hard] path that I went through. – P9, Logistics

Inspiring others. I think I've inspired a lot of people you know? Some people find it just brave and courageous of me to leave teaching (to become an entrepreneur) ...They admire me for that, and I'm glad that there are people who I am showing inspiration... because that is the aim, I'm not in this, you know, [just] commercially. But I'm also hoping that I

can foster, a sense of development and growth [in others], you know? –
P14, Wine Industry

6.6.1. Conclusion

This section examined the practices that the participants have put in place to build and maintain symbolic capital. Two categories emerged - those focusing on reshaping identity and those focused on supporting community as illustrated in figure 10 below

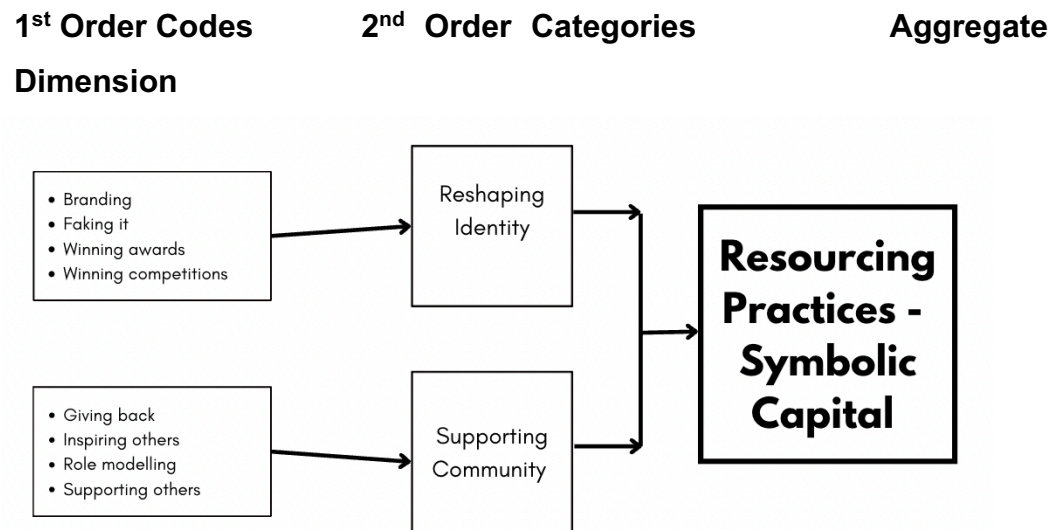


Figure 10. Categories of resourcing practices for symbolic capital

6.7. Conclusion to the chapter

This chapter examined the resourcing practices of black women entrepreneurs. Despite the challenges and hurdles experienced by the participants, they have found resourcing practices that enable them to access and maintain the different forms of capital that allow them to survive and thrive in entrepreneurship. The next chapter will examine the practices of belonging that intersect with or contribute to resourcing practices. Table 7 below provides a summary of the main categories of practices employed for each form of capital.

Table 7. Categories of practices for resourcing for the four forms of capital

Economic	Social	Cultural	Symbolic
Using traditional sources	Leveraging existing community	Leaning on cultural heritage	Reshaping identity

Leveraging others	Accessing new communities	Self-preserving	Supporting community
Getting creative	-	Reshaping identity	-

The next chapter will examine the belonging practices that intersect or contribute to resourcing of all four forms of capital.

7. Intersecting Practices

This chapter seeks to discuss which belonging practices contribute to resourcing in fulfilment of the study's third sub-question and is organized in 3 sections. Firstly, is an introduction that takes a glance at all the practices of doing, being, becoming, and belonging and tries to identify which practices intersect with the resourcing practices. This will be followed by a section that discusses the practices of doing, being and becoming in relation to the resourcing practices more closely and will close with a discussion of the belonging practices that intersect with the resourcing practices.

7.1. Introduction

This section takes a high-level view of the doing, being, becoming and belonging practices to try and identify any intersections there may be with the resourcing practices. To gain a better understanding of the relationships, the practices of doing, being, becoming and belonging that were discussed in Chapter 5 are outlined again in Table 8 below. Within each column, I have highlighted in green the practices that appear to be contribute to the resourcing practices from Chapter 6.

Table 8. The doing, being, becoming and belonging practices that contribute to resourcing

Doing	Being	Becoming	Belonging
Accepting things as they are	Always been an entrepreneur	Adjusting business identities	Accessing external financing
Asking for help	Being authentic	Anchoring successes	Branding
Choosing one's own work hours	Being committed	Building a community	Changing the poor black woman narrative
Dealing with hostility	Being excellent	Building a team	Creating allyship
Dealing with internal conflict	Being fearful	Building confidence	Embracing the value in being black and female
Dealing with imposter syndrome	Being honest	Embracing failure	Faking it

Dealing with shame	Being lonely	Finding oneself in entrepreneurship	Fronting white people
Delaying having a family	Being overwhelmed	Following others on social media	Giving back
Disconnecting from naysayers	Being resilient	Getting coaching	Inspiring others
Fighting for one's place	Being vulnerable	Getting mentorship	Joining an existing business
Joining an incubator/accelerator	Having grace	Getting support	Networking
Leaning on experience	Having gratitude	Getting technical certifications	Niching
Learning from challenges	Lacking confidence	Learning from other entrepreneurs	Not committing to entrepreneurship
Learning from mistakes	Leaning on church/religion,	Learning to sell	Partnering
Not accepting entrepreneur title	Leaning on community	Pivoting	Role modelling
Not taking advantage of government policies	Leaning on family values/heritage	Prioritising mental health	Seeing entrepreneurship as a calling
Sacrificing	Leaning on friends	Provisioning for downtimes	Selling
Starting small	Leaning on physical or creative activities	Systematizing work processes	Getting specialised learning
Taking opportunities as they come	Leaning on professional network	Taking comfort from feedback	Supporting other entrepreneurs
Working hard	Leaning on spirituality		Taking advantage of government policies
	Not compromising		Taking pride in entrepreneurial identity

	Self-advocating		

In the above table, several practices are identified by column and will be discussed in the sections that follow. Firstly, starting with the relationships between the practices of doing, being and becoming with resourcing practices and then followed by a section examining the relationships between the belonging practices and resourcing practices.

7.2. Doing, being and becoming in relation to resourcing

This section examines how the practices of doing, being and becoming contribute to or intersect with resourcing. It is organised by each dimension of doing, being and becoming respectively.

7.2.1. The relationship between doing practices and resourcing

A look at the practices of doing in Table 9 below reveals that very few of the doing practices intersect with or contribute to resourcing as highlighted in green.

Table 9. The relationship between doing practices and resourcing

Doing Practices	Relation to resourcing
Accepting things as they are	-
Asking for help	-
Choosing one's own work hours	-
Dealing with hostility	-
Dealing with internal conflict	-
Dealing with imposter syndrome	-
Dealing with shame	-
Delaying having a family	-
Disconnecting from naysayers	-
Fighting for one's place	-
Joining an incubator/accelerator	Contributes to the resourcing of economic and social capital

Leaning on experience	Contributes to the resourcing of embodied capital
Learning from challenges	-
Learning from mistakes	-
Not accepting entrepreneur title	-
Not taking advantage of government policies	-
Sacrificing	-
Starting small	-
Taking opportunities as they come	-
Working hard	-

The practice of 'Joining an accelerator/incubator' stands out as an intersecting practice for enabling the accessing of economic and social capital, whilst the practice of 'Leaning on experience' is related to the building of embodied capital. Furthermore, the practice of 'Taking opportunities as they come' could also be argued to enable economic capital, albeit in a more passive rather than deliberately (pro-)active manner.

Instead, it appears that the majority of the doing practices are focused on managing internal conflict and external hostility, both of which require time and energy and often leave little room for more productive doing practices that could lead to resourcing especially in the earlier days of entrepreneurship.

Dealing with hostility. The first six months when it was me and my twin who were phoning and doing this and that, we did not get any joy. We just put a white guy doing the calling, [and] suddenly they come with business. To this day, we are still upset about that. Often, we want to be the front for our business, but sometimes cannot be. – P21, Solar Industry

7.2.2. The relationship between being practices and resourcing

Consequently, an examination of the being practices revealed that the several of the practices enable resourcing. Table 10 below highlights how each of the practices of being relate to resourcing.

Table 10. The relationship between doing practices and resourcing

Being Practices	Relation to resourcing
Always been an entrepreneur	-
Being authentic	-
Being committed	-
Being excellent	Contributes to the resourcing of economic and embodied capital
Being fearful	-
Being honest	-
Being lonely	-
Being overwhelmed	-
Being resilient	Contributes to the resourcing of embodied capital
Being vulnerable	-
Having grace	Contributes to the resourcing of embodied capital
Having gratitude	-
Lacking confidence	-
Leaning on church/religion,	Contributes to the resourcing of social and embodied capital
Leaning on community	Contributes to the resourcing of social capital
Leaning on family values/heritage	Contributes to the resourcing of embodied capital
Leaning on friends	Contributes to the resourcing of economic and social capital

Leaning on physical or creative activities	Contributes to the resourcing of embodied capital
Leaning on professional network	Contributes to resourcing of social and economic capital
Leaning on spirituality	Contributes to the resourcing of embodied capital
Not compromising	-
Self-advocating	-

It emerged that the being practices contribute more to the accessing and maintenance of social and embodied capital rather than economic capital. This is with the exception of the practice of 'leaning on professional networks'; 'being excellent'; and 'leaning on friends' which appear to contribute to the resourcing of economic capital in addition to social and embodied capital.

This could have negative implications for the participants who on top of coming from previously disadvantaged backgrounds with family and friend networks with limited economic resources, decided to go straight from tertiary education into entrepreneurship and thus did not necessarily have an expansive professional network nor friends with economic means. It also has implications for those who came from jobs that were based in their black communities and lacked a racially and economically diverse network. It is particularly in these contexts where there is a lack of professional network that doing practices such as "joining an accelerator or incubator program' and other kinds of industry-specific bodies are especially beneficial.

Implications of lacking a professional network. I was frustrated with... my teaching job. We had a high failure rate, comparatively speaking. ... [to] students from the suburbs... There was very little or nothing for our areas (black community), [as] resources were limited... I got into the space (wine industry) ... not having wine-making skills... Capital is key... going in and creating that database (of contacts) ... is very important... And you'll see that even now, we're still finding our way. - P14, Food and Beverages

Implications of lacking a professional network. After university, I started the business. I didn't get employed... When we started, we were in an incubator, where... I received a lot of training there because I didn't really have any work experience... They play a role... we got mentorship from experienced people. P23, Technology.

A further observation on the practices of being is how much the participants lean on their immediate networks of family, friends and communities (such as religious and neighbourhood) for support in their entrepreneurial endeavours. This has two key implications. Firstly, the participants that did not have strong family and friend networks to provide support tended to have a harder time getting their businesses to thrive. This included, for example, single mothers with limited partner support who are still expected to carry the responsibility of raising their children alongside their business. Conversely, this would have less impact on a single black father in entrepreneurship who would culturally not be expected to carry the family responsibility in addition to their entrepreneurial agenda. It also negatively impacts the participants of foreign nationality that did not have family networks around them and had limited friends and community.

Implications of lack of family support. The journey of entrepreneurship has serious challenges, you know? I'm a single parent... so you have to juggle between parenting [and] business which makes you... have sleepless nights. – P14, Food and Beverages

Implications of lack of local community. I have felt that coming to South Africa, one thing that had disadvantaged me was, I did not find myself in the networks where I would actually even grow here... I didn't have belonging. I didn't have people around me... I have a better network in Zambia. – P9, Logistics

The second implication is that, because the black women entrepreneurs depended so much on their immediate family, friends, religious and other close networks, most of whom were also from previously disadvantaged backgrounds, there was limited contribution that these network and communities could make in supporting the entrepreneur in resourcing for economic, social (networks) and symbolic capital. This

again, would not necessarily be the case for their white female counterparts whose networks and communities were more likely to have access to economic resources.

Implications of financially limited communities. Our white counterparts actually are able to get funding easily. They grew up with collateral. It's well known. P3 - Crafts

7.2.3. The relationship between becoming practices and resourcing

Subsequently, a look at the becoming practices revealed that a number of practices contribute to the resourcing of social, embodied and institutionalised capitals. For example, 'getting technical certifications' that could be a type of formalised education and / or specialised learning would contribute to the accumulation of institutionalised cultural capital. Table 11 below summarises the findings

Table 11. The relationship between becoming practices and resourcing

Becoming Practices	Relation to resourcing
Adjusting business identities	-
Anchoring successes	Contributes to the resourcing of embodied capital
Building a community	Contributes to the resourcing of social capital
Building a team	Contributes to the resourcing of social capital
Building confidence	Contributes to the resourcing of embodied capital
Embracing failure	-
Finding oneself in entrepreneurship	-
Following others on social media	-

Getting coaching	-
Getting mentorship	-
Getting support	-
Getting technical certifications	Contributes to resourcing of institutionalised capital
Learning from other entrepreneurs	-
Learning to sell	-
Pivoting	-
Prioritising mental health	-
Provisioning for downtimes	-
Systematizing work processes	-
Taking comfort from feedback	-

It could also be argued that practices such as ‘getting coaching’ and ‘getting mentorship’ could contribute to the accumulation of cultural capital (perhaps embodied or institutionalised), however this type of support whilst appreciated by the individual receiving it and contributes to their becoming, is of less cultural value in a context where formal education is valorised and especially where it has no link to a prestigious professional or educational institution.

Coaching not valued in local context. Right now, specifically in my coaching business, I'm working with women in the US. And the reason being that, that is the market that understands the need for coaching. – P17, Coaching

The remainder of the becoming practices appear to be more related to building of capacity both at individual and business level. At individual level, the becoming practices seem to be focused around the building of confidence in the field which could contribute to increased embodied capital (anchoring successes) albeit not directly.

Whilst at business level the practices are again focused on building internal business capacity through practices such as ‘systematizing processes’ and ‘provisioning for downtimes.’ Whilst critical for business growth, these practices do not appear to directly contribute to resourcing of the four forms of capital but rather creating efficiencies.

7.3. Belonging and resourcing

Building on from the practices of doing, being and becoming are the practices of belonging and how they relate to the practices of resourcing. A glance at the practices of belonging revealed several intersections with the practices of resourcing as highlighted in Table 12 below. The sections that follow will thus discuss these intersecting practices in detail by the type of capital it contributes to resourcing.

Table 12. How the practices of belonging relate to resourcing

Belonging	Relation to resourcing
Accessing external financing	Contributes to resourcing of economic capital
Branding	Contributes to resourcing of economic, social, embodied, objectified and symbolic capital
Changing the poor black woman narrative	-
Creating allyship	Contributes to resourcing of economic and social capital
Embracing the value in being black and female	Contributes to resourcing of embodied capital
Faking it	Contributes to resourcing of economic, social, embodied, objectified and symbolic capital
Fronting white people	Contributes to resourcing of economic and social capital
Giving back	Contributes to resourcing of symbolic capital

Inspiring others	Contributes to resourcing of symbolic capital
Joining an existing business	Contributes to resourcing of social capital
Networking	Contributes to resourcing of social
Niching	Contributes to resourcing of objectified capital
Not committing to entrepreneurship	-
Partnering	Contributes to resourcing of economic and social capital
Role modelling	Contributes to resourcing of symbolic capital
Seeing entrepreneurship as a calling	-
Selling	Contributes to resourcing of economic capital
Getting specialised learning	Contributes to resourcing of institutionalised cultural capital
Supporting other entrepreneurs	Contributes to resourcing of symbolic capital
Taking advantage of government policies	Contributes to resourcing of economic capital
Taking pride in entrepreneurial identity	Contributes to resourcing of embodied capital

7.3.1. Belonging and resourcing: Economic capital

When it comes to the resourcing of economic capital, the majority of the participants first start with their own personal sources of finance and then access financing from close family and friends where need be. However, and as would be expected operating in an economic field such as entrepreneurship, a sure sign for most that they have a

business whose service is needed and accepted is having the ability to sell. So much so that several of the participants have been able to sustain their businesses without needing to raise external capital by simply selling and bootstrapping their businesses as noted in chapters 4 and 6.

Further, although the practice of selling tends to incite some feelings of shame and anxiety in some participants as covered in chapter 6, it is one of the key practices that ignites a sense of belonging within the entrepreneur and enables belonging for them and their business within the field.

Selling – enabling resourcing and belonging. I consider it to be a massive success that there's been repeat business with just about every client that I've worked with. And the scope of the projects that I've worked with have broadened. – P22, Education

Secondly, for those for whom bootstrapping through sales is not enough for their kind of business (capital intensive) or their growth ambitions, the ability to access external capital beyond personal sources and family and friends is a key practice. An interesting finding however is that “accessing external capital” as a practice enables both belonging and resourcing. Whilst the way in which this practice enables resourcing is more obvious as one is able to increase their business' economic capital beyond their limited personal and immediate circle means, it also plays an important role in enabling belonging.

For example, for new entrepreneurs who get access to external financing such as equity, the very act of accessing this capital signals not only their legitimacy but also their belonging in the field of entrepreneurship. More so because accessing external funding often comes with additional perks such as increased access to expertise or heightened public relations visibility. Thus, it often results in increased and/or quicker acceptance into the market and may even result in other investors and stakeholders taking interest in supporting the newly funded entity.

Accessing external investors. They (investor) carried the expenses of legal... [and] of operations in terms of making sure we qualify with government (for permits). They handled all our paperwork that could have

costed... maybe plus minus ZAR 300,000 just to consult on getting the government to approve us. – P8, Technology

Similarly, for those that dare to navigate them, “Taking advantage of government policies” as a practice has the dual effect of enabling both belonging and resourcing. Through the policies, government incentivizes businesses that work with people from previously disadvantaged backgrounds thus fast tracking their belonging in the field and also provides resources to these groups.

Taking advantage of government policy. Government has said “Black women must own 5% of all the solar plants now”. They mentioned black women by name. There’s an opportunity to get into large scale [developments] because government has said so... We are doing a joint venture with one of those white companies and [are] saying, ‘Look, let’s work together if we really want to grow’. – P21, Solar Industry

Thirdly, the ability to work with others ‘of more means’ either through creating allyship, partnerships and/or fronting white people also enables both belonging and resourcing of economic capital in very similar ways.

Creating allyship/Partnering/Fronting White People. These people (white colleagues) are already connected out there. And the more I work on these things (joint projects), the higher the chance of me actually now getting access to the businesses themselves rather than working through people.... It has opened me up to a lot of opportunities. – P7, Finance

Lastly, branding and in a similar manner, faking it, are practices that enable both belonging and resourcing of economic capital. The ability to grow a brand that is visible and sometimes even appear bigger than it actually is, runs the advantage of enabling one to sell thus increasing economic capital but also to appeal to investors. Further, it enables belonging in that the more players in the field see it, the more they believe it and accept it.

Branding / Faking it. One of the main successes ... was to be able to create a brand... When we go to pitch our products to clients... whoever we’re talking to, they really love the brand. – P3, Crafts

7.3.2. *Belonging and resourcing: Social capital*

When it comes to social capital, three strong patterns emerged from the practices that enable both belonging and resourcing. The first was around practices that enabled one to expand their circles beyond the close ties of family, friends, previous professional networks and community in order to access and maintain social capital. This included practices such as networking and creating allyship within the wider entrepreneurship circles and enabled the participants to build new relationships that they could leverage for resourcing whilst gaining belonging in the new field.

Networking. When I first started, I read a lot about being self-made, and you get the wrong perception of what self-made is. You think that you have to go through developing a company by yourself. But in truth, you need to develop your network. When you have a network, you can be omnipresent, which allows for your business to expand, or to reach places where you yourself as an individual probably couldn't have reached – P15, Creative

The second category was related to working with others in order to build social capital. This included practices such as joining an existing business; partnering; and fronting white people. Similar to the networking effect, working with new people allowed the participants to build new relationships and leverage skillsets not only with their 'new partners' but also be able to access the networks of these new partners. This enabled increased belonging in entrepreneurship whilst also enabling the participants to increase their social capital. Whilst the the third category was related to practices of reshaping identities and included branding and faking it in order to access new networks whilst building social capital.

Partnering. It is great knowing that you have partners that can help you execute on those particular things, or people who can connect you to the people that can help you execute on those particular things. – P11, Social Entrepreneur

Branding / Faking it. This particular individual (celebrity) was having a birthday party for his mom. And that well became our first official post on social media because "Hey, look at us we've sold 60 boxes (to a celebrity) ... Two weeks after that, we had Mother's Day - that campaign was

awesome! Everybody just wanted whatever was in “that box”. – P10, Food and Beverages

7.3.3. *Belonging and resourcing: Cultural capital*

Cultural capital is broken into embodied, objectified and institutionalised capital. There were some common practices that enabled belonging and resourcing for embodied and objectified cultural capital and there were also some that enabled belonging and resourcing for objectified and institutionalised capital. Conversely some practices would only enable one type of capital versus the others and this section discusses them in depth.

Two practices stand out as enabling belonging whilst also enabling the resourcing of both embodied and objectified cultural capital being - branding and faking it. Through a company's brand, the participants had the opportunity to develop and present 'themselves' in ways that embodied what they aspired to be whilst also ensuring the brand had objectified cultural appeal for the groups they were targeting. Again here, the line between branding and faking it was often blurred as the branding would mostly be aspirational in nature.

Branding / Faking it. I just managed to, you know? Display the clothes in just a lucrative way.... The minute the ladies came [through the room], they were just rushed to say “I want to try this on.” – P1, Fashion

Further, for embodied capital, a second category of practices related to embracing one's identity seemed to enable both belonging and the building and maintaining of embodied capital. This included practices such as 'embracing the value of being black and female' and 'taking pride in one's entrepreneurial identity'. Of note is that this category was mostly employed by the older women entrepreneurs following 'years of experience' in the field. On the hand, for objectified capital, it was the practice of niching that emerged as enabling the resourcing of objectified capital whilst enabling belonging

Taking pride in entrepreneurial identity. I am comfortable calling myself an entrepreneur... Nobody will make me 'not comfortable'. There was a time, I was... scared because I didn't have the skills... But you know? I was reassured by the fact that “How would I have known about this (doing

business), when I was prevented from knowing it (due to apartheid)?" That gave me some oomph (energy). – P14, Food and Beverages (over 50 years old)

Niching. The uniqueness of what I offer, being able to speak uniquely to the product that the client is left [with a], "Wow"... 90% of the time I leave people with, "Ha! Ok! When can we do this? Like, wow!" I think sometimes it's because they don't expect it of a black person. But a lot of times, it's because they haven't seen things the way that I make them see it. – P25, Coaching.

Finally, the practice of getting specialised learning was important for enabling both the resourcing of institutionalised capital and belonging. This included the gaining of more formal education in the field of expertise and/or technical expertise and/or other forms of specialised learning that enabled the participant to stand out as an expert. Further, in the context where formal education is highly esteemed within black culture it appeared that the more 'the certificates' the better.

Getting specialised learning. It's just been [about] gaining more knowledge about the industry... So, people see what you've done, and then they get interested in working with you... That was huge you know? I at least had started to cement myself within the industry. – P7, Finance

7.3.4. Belonging and resourcing: Symbolic capital

Finally, regarding the practices that enable the building and maintenance of symbolic capital whilst enabling belonging – two categories emerged. The first being branding and faking it, again; and the second being altruistic practices such as giving back; inspiring others; role modelling and supporting others.

For the first category and similar to the role it plays in building or accessing of the other capitals – branding plays a strong role in positioning the participants and their businesses to appear larger than life and accumulate levels of prestige and celebrity whether real or made up. With the aid of social media particularly, participants employ strategic branding to enable their 'curated images' to speak for them and gain them access into the field. Further, winning competitions and awards had the dual effect of

enabling belonging as it legitimized the participants thus enabling their belonging whilst also enabling the development of symbolic capital.

Branding / Faking it. What I've learned as well is social media will hype you up [that] you'll feel like, "Oh, everybody knows about me" ... So, I think the Mother's Day campaign was awesome. Because when you look at when you went in (pre-event) and looked at the people who are following the page on Facebook (post-event) It's everybody! It's people from all walks and I love that. – P10, Food and Beverages

Winning awards. We won an award... that was my biggest highlight of my life... it kind of motivates you to keep on doing... when you look at the award... you say, "Let me push. Let me wake up. Let me, you know... build my business." – P23, Technology

The second category of practices were the altruistic practices which played a dual role in belonging as first they enabled the belonging of the participants and their businesses whilst also allowing them to enable the belonging of 'others like them' in the space. However, these practices also played a role in the resourcing of symbolic capital in that in being a 'role model' for example, one was seen to have built up a certain level of esteem, honour or recognition within their community – business and otherwise. So 'doing good' paid back in symbolic capital even where it may not have been the intention.

Supporting others. I am so grateful, because that gave me an opportunity to be featured in TOP magazine... Because entrepreneurship is really my passion, helping other entrepreneurs to succeed has always been something that I would do 24/7. I've always been coaching people without even giving them an invoice. And I've helped quite a few people move from a low level of income in their businesses to really profitable international businesses. – P17, Coaching

7.4. The reciprocal nature of belonging and resourcing

Through the review of the practices of belonging and resourcing, we see that many of the belonging practices enable resourcing as illustrated in Figure 11 below. Thus,

whilst a practice such as networking might be put in place with the intention of negotiating belonging into certain circles, it often also enables the resourcing of capitals such as social, economic and/or cultural.

Networking. Networking has been very important in terms of gathering resources... where, if I'm stuck and I need to make a phone call. I have people in my network I can call and say, 'Hey, I don't know what to do, this is happening'. And they've been able to give me advice. – P11, Social entrepreneur

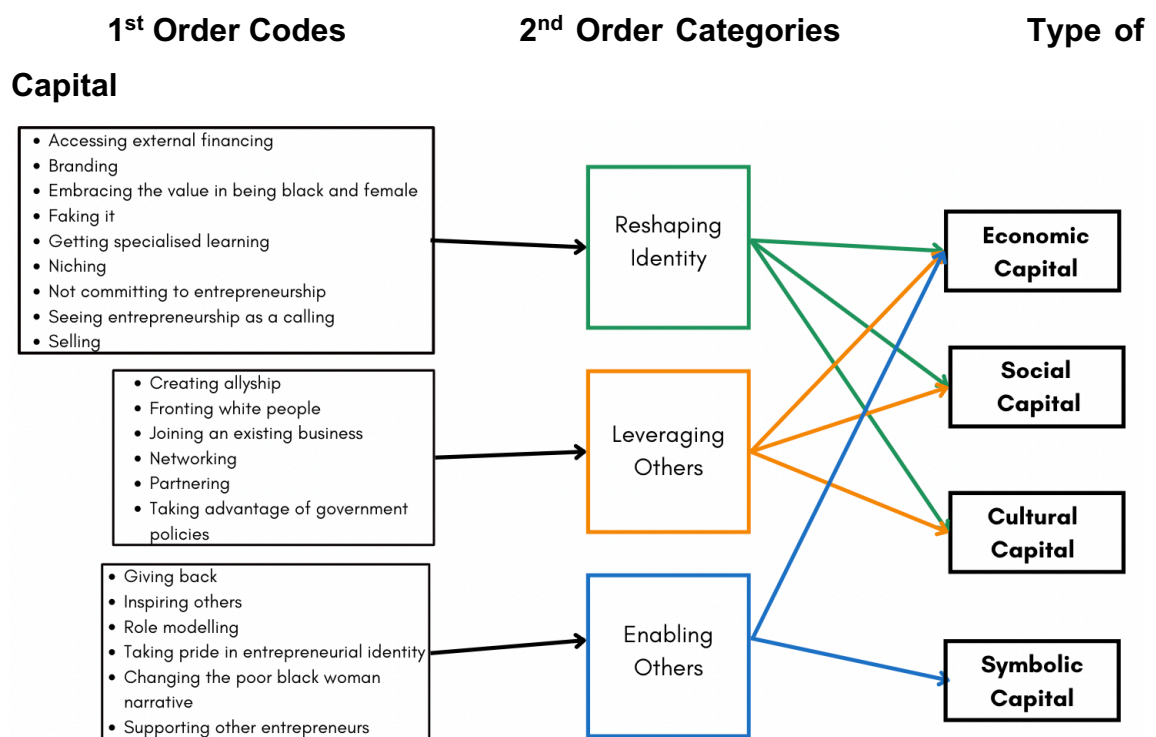


Figure 11. The belonging practices of black women entrepreneurs contributing to resourcing.

Interestingly, it was also revealed that several of the resourcing practices also contribute to belonging thus revealing a reciprocal and symbiotic nature to belonging and resourcing. For example, whilst the intention of a practice such as accessing equity is to increase economic, it often puts an entrepreneur in a new 'success category' that enhances their belonging in the field. Similarly, a practice such as partnering in order to access a new market not only facilitates the resourcing of economic and social capital but can also enable the business and the individual to belong in the field. Thus, often even though the intention of putting in place a certain practice is to resource for

a particular capital, it has been noted these resourcing practices also enable belonging as illustrated in Figure 12 below.

Partnering. So, this company (partner) is sort of like an agent for the banks, the big companies... So, they get the contracts and then they give them to established call centres. But within a short period of time, I've been able to prove myself. And once you prove yourself, there's more work coming in... the higher the chance of me actually now getting access to the businesses (banks/big companies) themselves. - P7, Finance

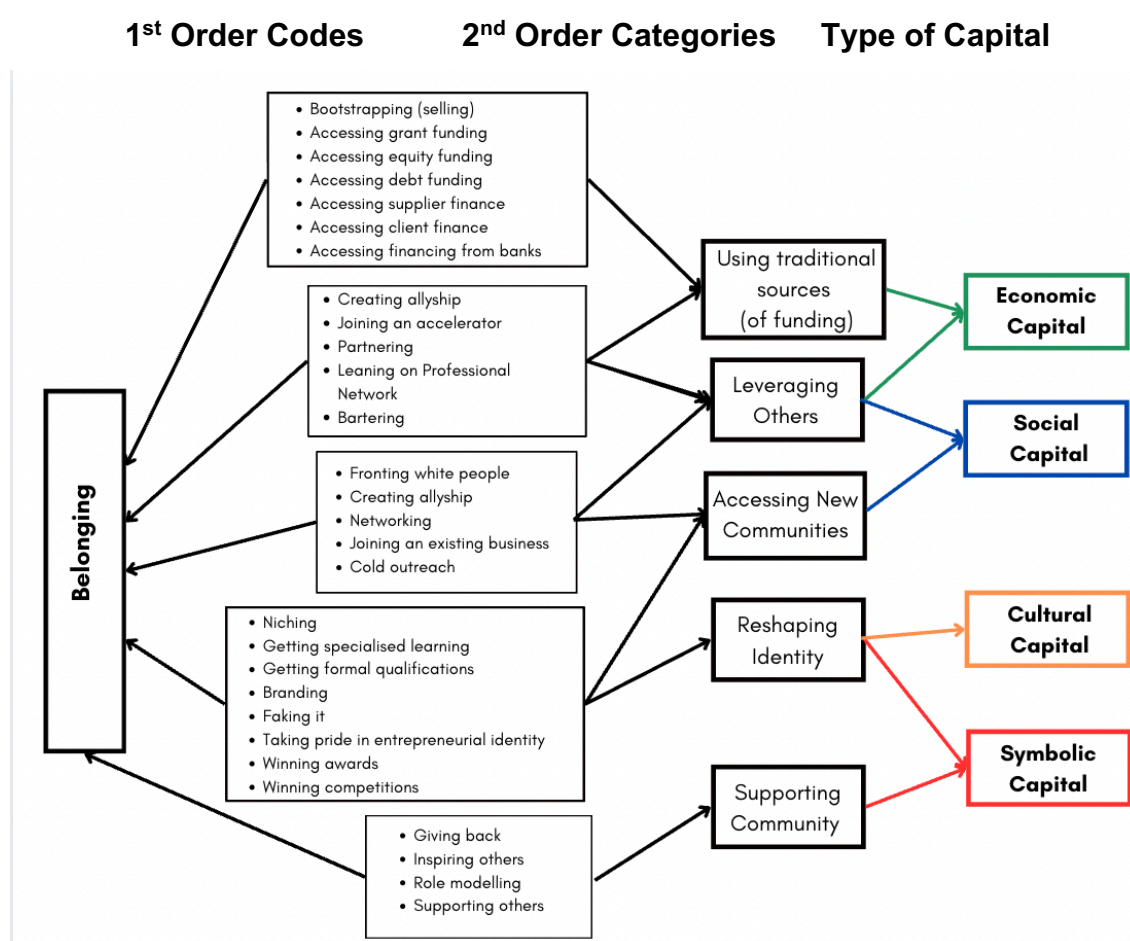


Figure 12. The resourcing practices of black women entrepreneurs contributing to resourcing.

7.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, we examined the practices that are at the intersection of resourcing and belonging and can enable both. It was revealed that the majority of the belonging practices enable resourcing and that also, many of the resourcing practices in turn

enable belonging. This revealed a reciprocal and symbiotic nature to belonging and resourcing. From the analysis, it emerged that the most impactful practices to enable both belonging and resourcing were the ones that focused on reshaping identity, such as branding and those that focused on leveraging others, such as creating allyship. This is because these categories of practices appeared to enable more than one form of capital at the same time whilst also enabling belonging. The next chapter will discuss these findings and compare them to the existing literature

8. Discussion

8.1. Introduction

This chapter will discuss the findings from the previous four chapters, revealing the emerging themes and comparing them to existing literature (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Lyons et al., 2002). The chapter is organised in three parts. The first part will discuss the findings on the belonging practices, comparing and contrasting them with existing literature. This will be followed by a similar process for the resourcing practices and the chapter will close with an examination of the practices that intersect both belonging and resourcing, comparing them to what is known in literature.

8.2. Belonging

Several critical themes on belonging emerged from the findings when I utilised OPH as an analytical frame to look at the belonging practices of black women entrepreneurs as described in chapter 3. The process of starting to build the themes entailed analysing the codes and categories under each aggregate dimension of the analytical frame and synthesising them into themes (Larty & Hamilton, 2011) as illustrated in Figure 13 below. It will be discussed in more detail in the sections that follow.

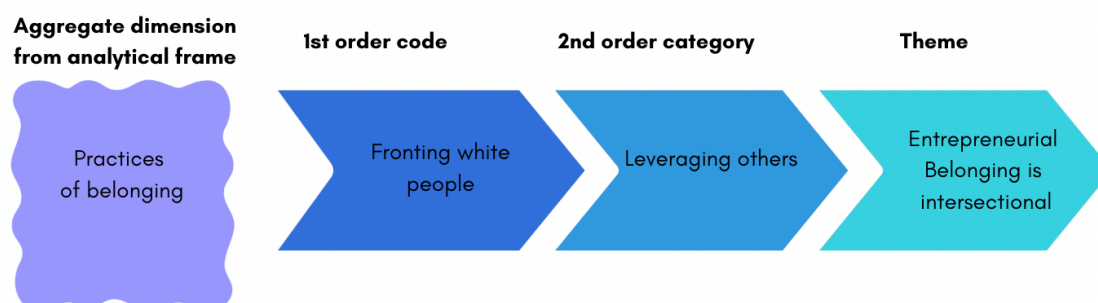


Figure 13. The process of theme building - belonging

8.2.1. Theme 1: Entrepreneurial belonging is intersectional

The first theme that emerged from the findings was that entrepreneurial belonging (EB) is intersectional. It was revealed that Black women entrepreneurs in South Africa suffer compounding penalties of gender role incongruity and historical stereotypes that positioned them in domestic caregiving roles at an individual level. This is further compounded by the race penalty where blackness is associated with poor resourcing and consequently poor quality of products and services at the business level. This experience is different from their white female counterparts who only suffer the gender

role incongruity penalty without accompanying historical stereotypes or race penalty and their black male counterparts who only suffer the race penalty.

The discourse has recognized the masculinity of entrepreneurship and promoted a focus on women as the gendered subject (Birkner, 2020; Marlow & Swail, 2014). It has also noted the role incongruity ascribed to women in entrepreneurship (Johansson et al., 2021). The findings however show that the experiences of black women entrepreneurs are different from their white female peers. Further, whilst studies have evidenced that entrepreneurship is associated with and prioritises whiteness (Martinez Dy, 2020), our findings point to the experiences of the black female entrepreneurs being different from those of their black male peers. This is consistent with existing literature that speaks to entrepreneurial belonging being intersectional (Essers et al., 2020; Stead, 2017). It is also aligned with literature which posits that black women suffer the double negative of both racial and gender stereotypes within entrepreneurship (Jennings & Tonoyan, 2022; Witbooi & Ukpere, 2011); compared to their white female peers who only suffer the gender penalty; and their male counterparts who only suffer the race penalty. It is also aligned with literature that found black women to be more associated with domestic work (Banks, 2020).

Our findings, however, build on the literature by providing deeper context on how this double negative plays out in the field where black women entrepreneurs are perceived as not belonging in entrepreneurship on two levels. Firstly, at the individual level, black women entrepreneurs are seen as not belonging due to their gender incongruity as femininity is associated with domestic and community duties and black women were historically linked to housekeeping work. Whilst gender incongruity is also experienced by their white female counterparts, it is to a lesser extent and results in a belonging continuum at an individual level as illustrated in Figure 14 below.



Figure 14. Continuum of belonging in entrepreneurship - Individual

Secondly, at the business level, businesses owned and run by black women entrepreneurs are perceived as least belonging as their blackness is associated with poor resourcing and thus poor quality of products and services. Whilst this is also experienced by their black male counterparts due to a shared history of economic apartheid, it is to a lesser extent because men are associated with entrepreneurship and thus results in a belonging continuum at a business level as illustrated in Figure 15 below.

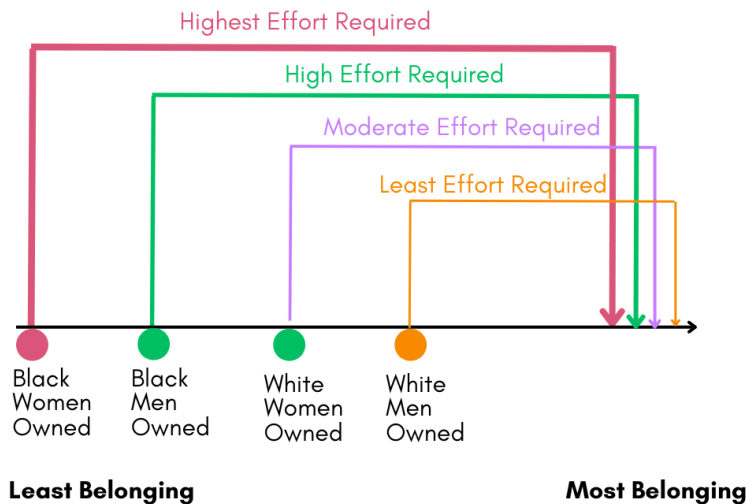


Figure 15. Continuum of belonging in entrepreneurship - Business

In both instances we see that the white male is perceived as most belonging, agreeing with existing literature that points to whiteness and maleness being valorised in entrepreneurship (Martinez Dy & Agwunobi, 2019); whilst the black female is perceived

as least belonging. Interestingly, the black male and white woman positions shift at individual and business levels with the black male being perceived as belonging more at an individual level than the white woman but less at a business level. This double-negative results in the need to negotiate belonging at two levels as discussed in the next section.

8.2.1.1. Theme 1a: Negotiating belonging at two levels

The suffering of a double-negative related to gender and race penalties results in black women entrepreneurs needing to negotiate belonging at two levels – firstly, at an individual level and then at a business level. This is unlike their white female counterparts who only need to negotiate it at individual level and their black male counterparts who only need to negotiate it at business level. Thus, to navigate this, the findings reveal that the black women entrepreneurs employ three categories of practices – those that focus on managing external hostility; practices that focus on leveraging others and; practices that enable self-preservation as illustrated in Figure 16 below.

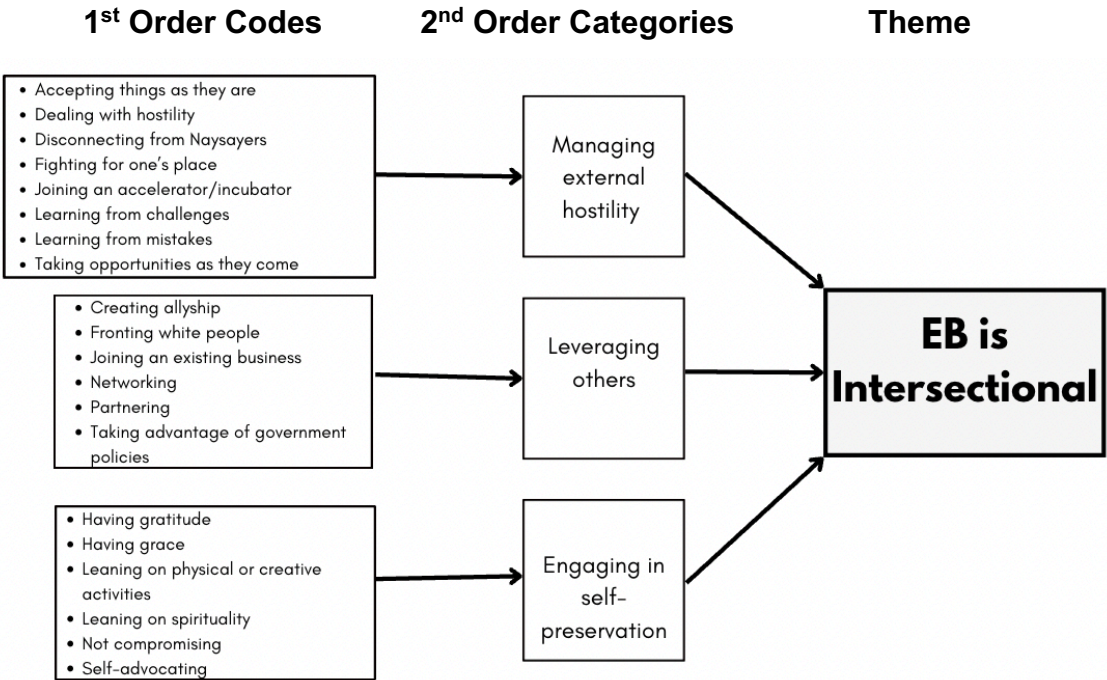


Figure 16. Entrepreneurial belonging is intersectional

The first category that is revealed for negotiating belonging in a field where they are perceived as least belonging is focused on leveraging others. At individual level we

see practices in the form of creating allyship, joining an existing business and networking in order to negotiate belonging as illustrated in Figure 17 below.

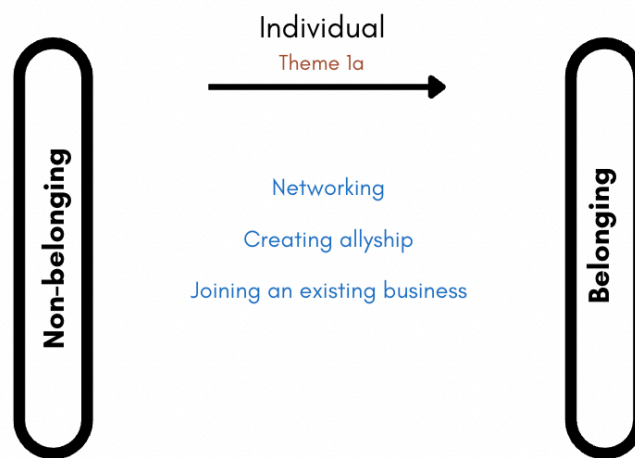


Figure 17. Black women negotiating belonging in entrepreneurship – Individual

Similarly, at business level the black women entrepreneurs have adopted several practices that leverage others in order to negotiate belonging for their business as illustrated in Figure 18 below.

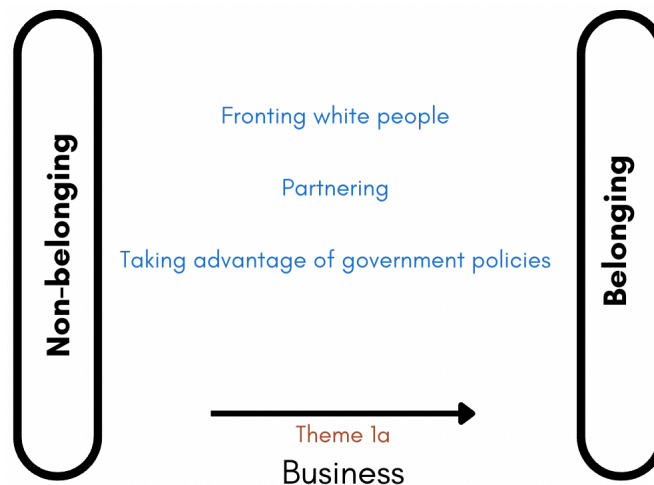


Figure 18. Black women negotiating belonging in entrepreneurship – Business

The choice of which entity to negotiate belonging for first is usually dependent on the type of business. The findings revealed that the preference is usually to negotiate the belonging of the business first, especially for businesses that sell products and where the entrepreneur does not need to be the face of the business. Practices such as ‘fronting white people’ then become possible to quickly gain belonging for the business.

However, this is far more challenging for service businesses where the identity of the entrepreneur and that of the business are often intertwined. In such businesses, practices such as creating allyship become important.

There are some parallels between our findings on practices such as ‘fronting white people’ and previous literature which has seen women entrepreneurs utilising proxies to bypass gender biases and attain some sense of belonging (Radu-Lefebvre et al., 2021; Stead, 2017; Swail & Marlow, 2018). The study reveals, however, that the fronting of white people – especially white men - was both to bypass gender and racial biases. Further, the use of practices such as partnering and joining existing businesses agrees with literature that positions partnerships and other collaborative endeavours as growth strategies that create competitive advantage in the longer term as they promote the pursuit of mutually beneficial goals (Nair, 2020). This study thus contributes new insights on how entrepreneurship the double-negative that black women experience due to their intersectionality (Jennings & Tonoyan, 2022; Witbooi & Ukpere, 2011) plays out in entrepreneurial belonging, requiring them to negotiate belonging at two levels.

8.2.1.2. Theme 1b: Struggle management practices dominate over productivity practices

Secondly, the findings reveal that due to the external hostility that the black women entrepreneurs experience in the field, struggle management practices in the form of practices that enable them to manage the hostility and those that enable them to self-preserve tend to dominate over productivity-focused practices. The findings on managing external hostility are consistent with studies that have posited that entrepreneurial social structures are sites of political struggle for membership (May, 2011; Stead, 2017) and that women entrepreneurs face hostility in certain contexts (Marlow & Swail, 2014) and industries (McAdam et al., 2019). The findings are also consistent with literature that speaks to belonging as both internally (Stringfellow et al., 2014) and externally driven (Hill, 2018). The study adds to this literature by providing insight into the actual practices that the black women entrepreneurs employ to manage the hostility which take the form of both peace-based practices such as ‘accepting things as they are’ and ‘fight-based’ practices such as ‘fighting for one’s place’.

Further, we see that the entrepreneurs engage in self-preservation practices in order to manage the hostility that they encounter in the field. In this category, the practices of leaning on spirituality and those of having grace and gratitude particularly stood out. The phenomena of spirituality (Rashid & Ratten, 2022) and to an extent religiosity in entrepreneurship (Balog et al., 2014) is an emergent research area. Studies have been done on spirituality in international business (Barnard & Mamabolo, 2022) and entrepreneurship in African populations and black female entrepreneurs (Conley & Bilimoria, 2022; Nwankwo et al., 2012) which parallel our findings. For example, the findings revealed spirituality was utilised as a system for meaning-making and dealing with what the participants perceived as systemic dysfunction in many ways similar to the study by Barnard and Mamabolo (2022); overcoming challenges (Conley & Bilimoria, 2022); and a way of affirming and materialising their beliefs like the study by Rashid and Ratten (2022).

However, whilst the construct of grace has been studied in areas such as personal relationships like marriage (Sierra-Swiech et al., 2023) and leadership (Thomas & Rowland, 2014) there was a dearth of literature related to grace in entrepreneurship with one study from Nigeria standing out that notes how women entrepreneurs utilise grace under pressure to navigate the environment that is characterised by underdeveloped institutions and constant shifts (Sarpong et al., 2022). This study thus contributes to this nascent area of entrepreneurship by providing insights into how women entrepreneurs engage grace in the context of a hostile environment. This leads to the next theme on entrepreneurial belonging being processual for black women entrepreneurs.

8.2.2. Theme 2: Entrepreneurial belonging is processual

The second theme that was revealed was a processual nature to how the black women entrepreneurs negotiate belonging where we see that entrepreneurial belonging and practices are intertwined with the practices of doing, being and becoming. This is despite whether their current venture was their first venture or not and whether they had been exposed to entrepreneurship in their upbringing or not. We see this, for example, in how the practices of doing in the category of managing sacrifices, such as 'working hard' (described as twice as hard as their counterparts), are developed and employed in the quest for eventually belonging in entrepreneurship.

Consequently, a journey develops that begins with the entrepreneur employing practices that enable them to manage the sacrifices they perceive or experience needing to make in entrepreneurship such as sacrificing time with family or starting small. This progresses through practices of becoming where they start to learn through practices such as following other entrepreneurs on social media or through feedback, and also build their individual capacity through practices such as anchoring successes. This culminates in belonging practices related to reshaping of their identity where practices like branding and niching get developed and employed in the pursuit of belonging as illustrated in Figure 19 below.

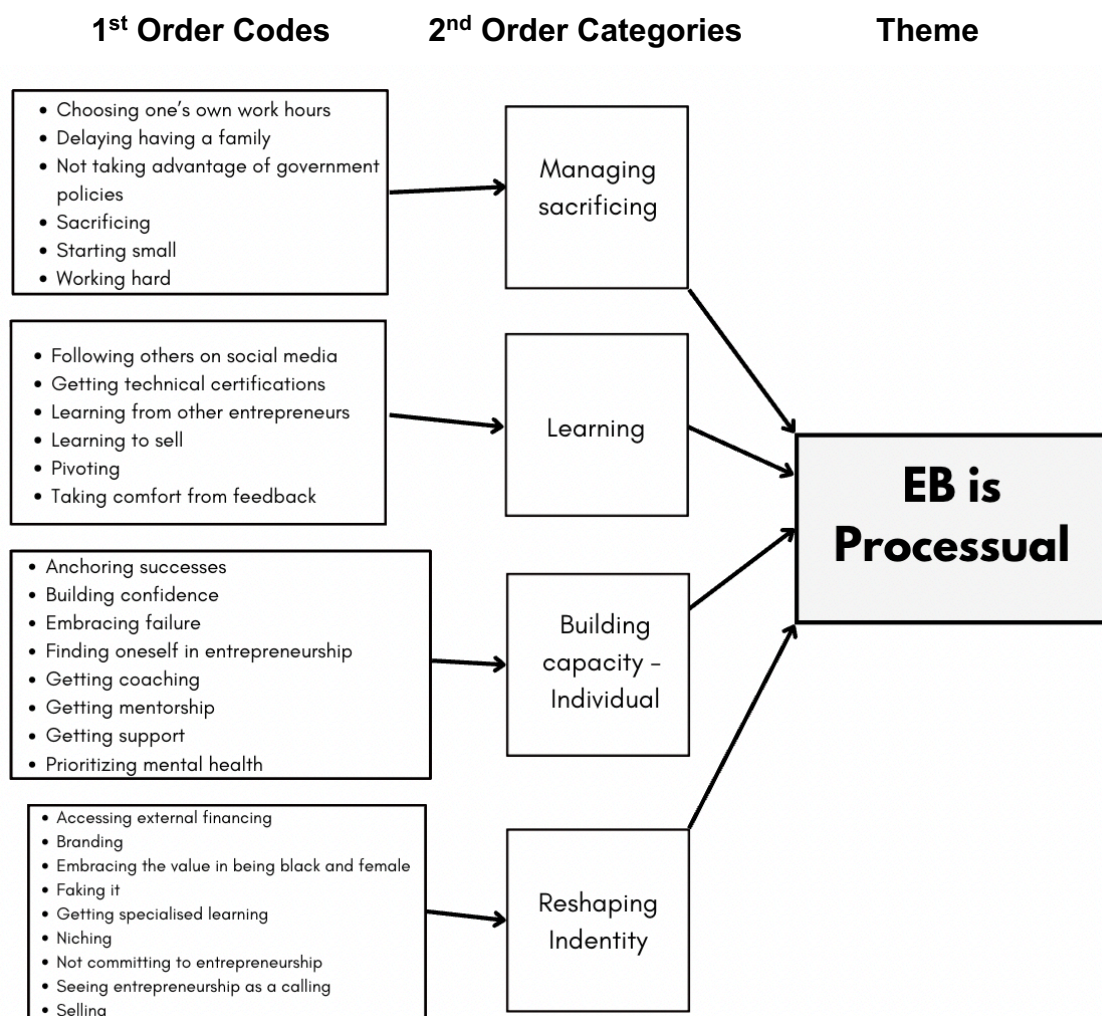


Figure 19. Entrepreneurial belonging is processual

This process, however, is not linear but rather concurrent and continuous, with the entrepreneur needing to manage the balance and tensions of what practice to employ when in response to their environment. This results in a juggling of practices between

those that enable the individual to belong and those that enable the business to belong as noted in theme 1a in the preceding section, with some practices such as partnering being noted to have the ability to enable belonging of both individual and business. Figure 20 below depicts this processual nature and the juggle of practices in entrepreneurial belonging for black women entrepreneurs.

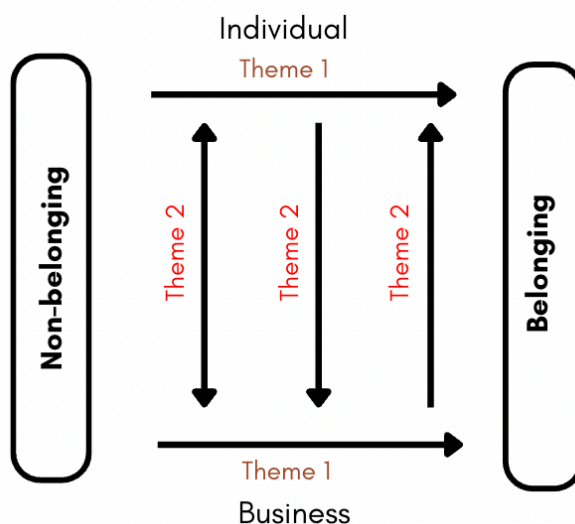


Figure 19. Entrepreneurial belonging is processual – the tension of balancing practices

This theme is aligned with existing literature on belonging in general (Schmitt, 2010); entrepreneurial belonging (Champenois et al., 2020) and belonging in an occupation (Filstad et al., 2019; Hitch et al., 2014a) that speaks to belonging being processual and intertwined with the dimensions of doing, being, becoming and belonging (Hitch et al., 2014b). It is also aligned with literature that speaks to entrepreneurial belonging being in continual accomplishment (Birkner, 2020; Stead, 2017). It, however, adds to the literature by illustrating how for black women entrepreneurs, the processual nature of entrepreneurial belonging is further riddled with a tense juggling act of managing practices for negotiating belonging for the individual and the entity.

8.2.2.1. Theme 2a: Managing sacrifices

Further, this theme revealed that for the black women entrepreneurs, there appeared to be a higher societal and cultural expectation for juggling their entrepreneurial and family roles due to their gender and racial identities being associated with community and domestic work. This leads them to having to make heavier sacrifices than their

counterparts and thus needing to employ many practices to manage these sacrifices such as choosing to keep their businesses small or delaying the starting of a family at an individual level.

The findings are consistent with existing literature that talks about how women entrepreneurs are expected to still take on the bulk of the family responsibility compared to their male counterparts (De Clercq et al., 2021) and thus more impacted by the 'multitasking whirlpool' (Kamberidou, 2020, p.1). It is also aligned with studies that speak to the intertwined process of entrepreneuring and gendering, positing how the work of keeping family and work in balance is assumed to be women's work (Gherardi, 2015) and that black women entrepreneurs in particular, are confronted with the juggle between domesticity and work (Forson, 2013). Such assumptions have led many of the participants to make tough decisions and sacrifice the business' growth by starting and staying small which parallels literature on minority women entrepreneurs (Irwin et al., 2023; Wang, 2019).

8.2.2.2. Theme 2b: Learning and capacity building

Moreover, our findings on how the participants learn and build capacity at individual level revealed that they preferred to map out their own routes to learning. They showed a preference for learning from other entrepreneurs either in person or online experience; and through experience with practices such as 'learning to sell' rather than through structured programs. This enables them to increase their capacity and practices such as 'embracing failure' and 'anchoring successes; begin to emerge.

Studies have shown that the process of entrepreneurial learning is practice-based (Higgins et al., 2019) and that the more capabilities and skills gained by a person, the higher the chance of achieving better business results but many entrepreneurship education programs fall short in their effectiveness for enabling this (Bullough et al., 2015). Thus our findings parallel studies that position entrepreneurial learning as experiential and borne from the process of developing the business (Afshan et al., 2021); and that online media content can help women learn about and develop leadership skills (Stead & Elliott, 2019).

8.2.2.3. Theme 2c: Reshaping identity

Lastly in this theme, practices centred around reshaping identity are employed because the entrepreneur's identity is often seen as the proxy to their business'

identity. With the participant's gender and racial markers as black women being seen as incongruent with entrepreneurship – they strategically engage practices that reshape their identity to prevent their businesses from unnecessarily being penalized by their individual identity.

This is similar to studies on nascent entrepreneurship and how at the earlier stages of business development, the founder's identity stands as a proxy for entrepreneurial legitimacy and belonging (Radu-Lefebvre et al., 2021; Swail & Marlow, 2018). Our findings consequently show that the participants use practices such as branding, and faking it, to negotiate belonging similar to how women composers in a previous study were noted to conceal and to an extent, fabricate their gender to gain belonging (Bennett et al., 2019). In the case of our findings, branding and faking it was used to conceal both gender and race in order to gain belonging in the field of entrepreneurship.

The exception to this was in the case of older, more seasoned entrepreneurs who chose to embrace and take pride in their identity – either as black females or as entrepreneurs as part of their practices for belonging. These practices, however, were mostly only adopted after several years of experience and having gained belonging in some shape or form and similar to previous studies that found that women with status could re-do gender by adding value to their femininity as something that did not need to be fixed in the context of the business environment (Garcia-Lorenzo et al., 2021; García & Welter, 2011).

Conversely, our findings contrast previous literature on women entrepreneurs where participants chose to silence gender matters by concealing experiences of gender-related disadvantage (Bourne & Calás, 2013). The participants in this research are very much aware of their disadvantage and do not conceal it but proactively use identity reshaping alongside other practices, strategically to gain belonging. It is also in contrast to studies that found that some women entrepreneurs chose to embrace masculinity and diminish their femininity to belong (Garcia-Lorenzo et al., 2018; Stringfellow et al., 2014; Swail & Marlow, 2018) or utilise liminal states of gender to belong (Birkner, 2020) as this did not emerge as a practice that was employed. This could be attributed to cultural nuances in that masculinizing the feminine might be

frowned upon in local South African culture. This builds into the next theme on entrepreneurial belonging being highly dependent on community and heritage for black women entrepreneurs.

8.2.3. Theme 3: Entrepreneurial belonging is dependent on community and heritage

The third theme that emerged was that for black women entrepreneurs, entrepreneurial belonging is highly dependent on community and heritage. It emerged that operating within a hostile and uncertain environment often came with a lot of internal conflict with feelings such as shame and imposter syndrome being highlighted. This resulted in the entrepreneurs needing to develop practices for managing this internal conflict such as asking for help. Consequently, practices focused on leaning on values and heritage from their upbringing such as being resilient and being excellent and indeed leaning on their close community emerged as key for navigating entrepreneurial belonging as illustrated in Figure 21 below.

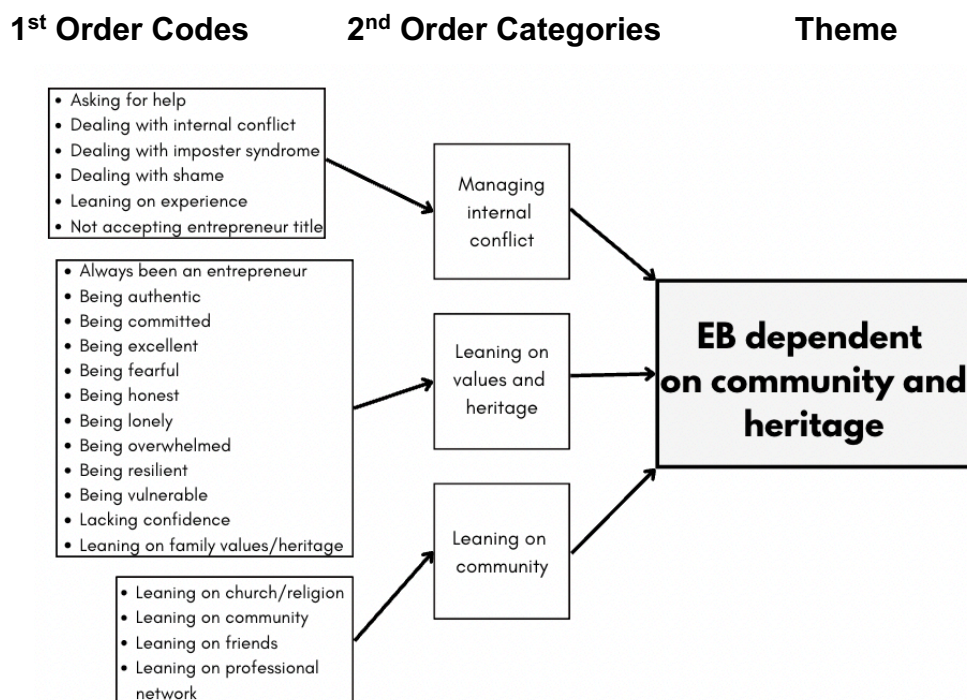


Figure 21. Entrepreneurial belonging for black women entrepreneurs is dependent on community and heritage

8.2.3.1. Theme 3a: Managing internal conflict

It was highlighted that for black women entrepreneurs, operating in a field that deemed them as non-belonging came with a lot of internal conflict with feelings such as shame

and imposter syndrome, leading to many not wanting to accept the title of entrepreneur. This finding parallels studies that have highlighted that women entrepreneurs suffer from identity confusion when in certain environments (Ennals et al., 2016) and are more likely to experience imposter syndrome (Ladge et al., 2019) and shame (Tóth, 2021) than their male counterparts resulting in negative impacts on their business growth (Ladge et al., 2019). The study adds to the literature by highlighting the practices that black women entrepreneurs put in place to manage these feelings in the context of navigating belonging.

8.2.3.2. Theme 3 b: Leaning on heritage and community

The findings further revealed how heavily the participants leaned on their heritage and values and community to navigate entrepreneurial belonging. Coming from historic and cultural contexts where their families had to build high levels of resilience for survival as an example, has served the entrepreneurs in navigating their own identities and being in the field. Thus, leaning on values and heritage takes the form of practices such as being resilient and being authentic to counter negative states of being that they often found themselves in such as lacking confidence. Additionally, with many of the participants having grown up in cultures that incorporate living within large extended family setups and highly communal environments, it is unsurprising that practices focused on leaning on their community as a resource for support, and at times reinforcement, when they were overwhelmed by the entrepreneurial journey, emerged as illustrated in Figure 22 below.

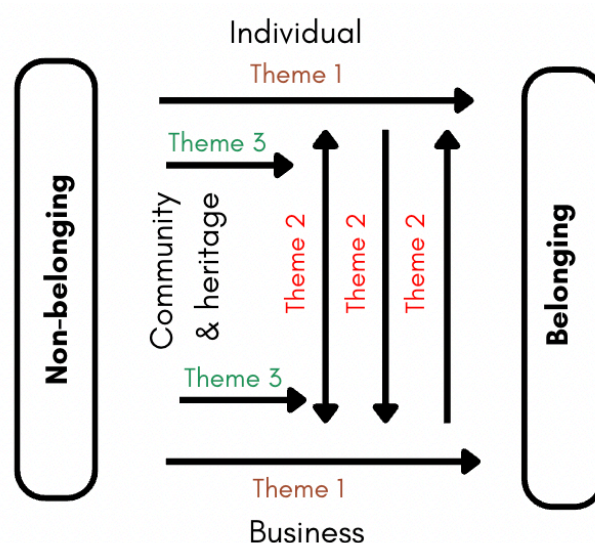


Figure 22. Community and heritage contribute to entrepreneurial belonging for black women entrepreneurs

This is consistent with literature on women entrepreneur role models believing they have to be responsible and values-driven (Byrne et al., 2019) and that there is an increasing push in research and practice for the need for authenticity in leadership (Iszatt-White et al., 2021). Whilst values-led entrepreneurship (Tennant, 2015) and heritage entrepreneurship (Pfeilstetter, 2015) have received some attention in literature, less attention has gone towards the conversation on heritage as a resource to lean on in navigating the entrepreneurial journey.

The role of culture in entrepreneurship is still emerging (Hoyte, 2019). In extant literature, culture has an impact on how women entrepreneurs in developing markets build and resource for their businesses (Ogundana et al., 2021); how women role models have been found to have a higher need to be responsible and values-driven (Byrne et al., 2019); and some attention has gone to values-led entrepreneurship (Tennant, 2015) as well as heritage entrepreneurship (Pfeilstetter, 2015). However, there was a dearth of literature on the employing of heritage as a resource in navigating entrepreneurship.

Additionally, whilst it is noted that women entrepreneurs and their businesses tend to be deeply embedded in their communities (Wang, 2019) and that subsistent (Viswanathan et al., 2014) and rural entrepreneurs (Warnecke, 2014) depend heavily on their communities, there remains room for the examination of community as a resource in mainstream entrepreneurship. Thus, this study contributes to entrepreneurial literature by highlighting the role of heritage and community in navigating entrepreneurial belonging. This leads to the final theme on belonging, where it emerged that for black women entrepreneurs, they only felt they truly belonged when they could bring along others like themselves.

8.2.4. Theme 4: Entrepreneurial belonging is achieved by integrating the community

Finally, practices focused on enabling others like themselves and their wider community to belong were found as key to completing the belonging of the black women entrepreneurs. The community in return, supported the entrepreneur to increase their business capacity as illustrated in Figure 23 below.

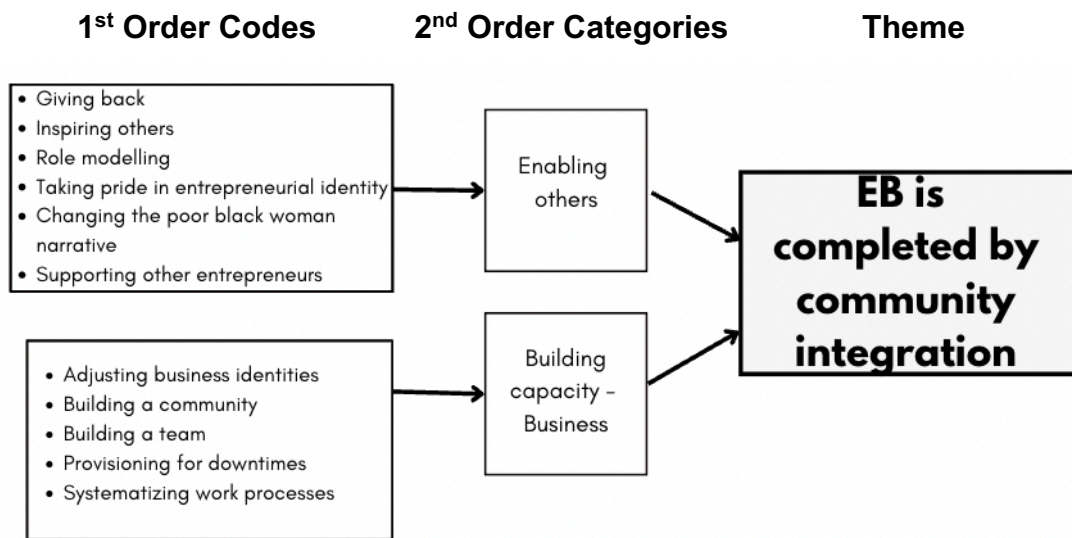


Figure 23. Entrepreneurial belonging for black women entrepreneurs is achieved by integrating the community

Enabling others like themselves in entrepreneurship was done through practices such as ‘giving back’ and ‘role modelling’. Further, it was revealed that the negotiation of community belonging occurred typically after the entrepreneur perceived that they had sufficiently negotiated some levels of belonging for themselves and their business. Bringing the community along, however, was highlighted as fundamental in the completion of their belonging process. This revealed a ‘triple-duty’ that black women entrepreneurs play when negotiating belonging in entrepreneurship – negotiating it at individual, business and community levels. In return, we see that the community plays a key role by supporting the black women entrepreneurs in increasing their business capacity often by being evangelists or subsidised labour. Thus, revealing a reciprocal relationship between the entrepreneur and the community as illustrated in Figure 24 below.

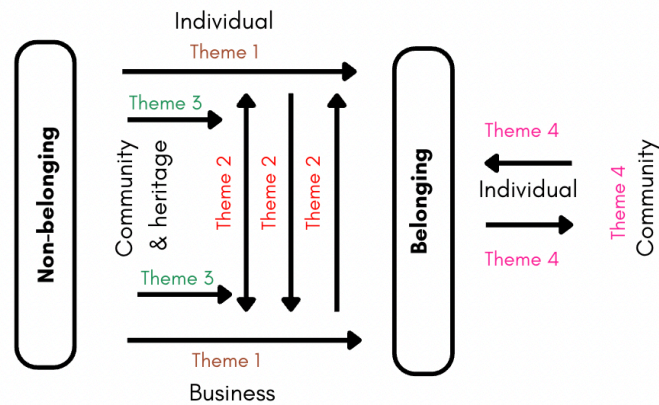


Figure 24. Community integration completes entrepreneurial belonging for black women entrepreneurs

This theme contradicts global north notions of individual-centred entrepreneurship in literature (Larty & Hamilton, 2011; Sarason et al., 2006; Warnecke, 2014). It is rather, more aligned with recent global south research on how cultural artefacts such as Ubuntu are leveraged in digital entrepreneurship and family businesses (Adeola, 2024; Kupangwa, 2024) studies that highlight a significant link between cultural orientations and entrepreneurial intention of marginalized women entrepreneurs (Abuhussein & Koburtay, 2021; Jaravaza et al., 2024). Further, it is consistent with studies that posit entrepreneurship as a community phenomenon (Vershina et al., 2022) and how entrepreneurial belonging over time tends to shift from a need to fit towards a need to stand out and support others (Erogul et al., 2021).

This finding also speaks closely to the notion of “Black Tax” – an informal reference to the expectations of black families for their growing black middle class to make financial contributions to their families and communities (Mangoma & Wilson-Prangle, 2019). Furthermore, it resonates with literature on gendered racism and specifically the - Superwoman Schema - where black women are expected to enable community and family togetherness, whilst being breadwinners and primary caregivers in the homes, often at the expense of their physical and emotional needs (Bey et al., 2019).

However, it emerged that for the participants, their community contributed back by enabling their businesses to increase their capacity through practices such as ‘building a community’ and ‘building a team’. Building business capacity was often something the participants struggled with due to cost restraints and competition with more

established firms. There is increasing evidence from theory and practice that teams are critical for venture success even though extant literature has focused on the capacity of the individual entrepreneur (Bolzani et al., 2019). Further, it has been noted that a business' capacity to evolve its offerings to address changes in the environment is important for long-term profitability (Maziriri et al., 2023).

Furthermore, studies have found that leveraging others through working within a supportive community, can enable and amplify being, becoming and belonging (Ennals et al., 2016). Similarly, there is growing interest in the multidimensional ways that entrepreneurs interact with their communities that either enhance or impede their performance (Fortunato & Alter, 2015) and our findings point to community (including family, friends and professional networks) being an enhancer of business capacity in several ways including playing a role as an extension to the internal team, whether paid or not.

8.2.5. Conclusion

In conclusion, this section discussed the four main things on belonging that emerged from the research. Firstly, it highlighted the intersectional nature of entrepreneurial belonging that results in black women entrepreneurs needing to negotiate belonging at two levels – individual and business. The second theme revealed a processual nature to entrepreneurial belonging, intertwined with practices of doing, being and becoming and rife with tensions for balancing belonging for the individual and business. Thirdly, it emerged that for black women entrepreneurs, community and heritage were a key resource for enabling entrepreneurial belonging. Lastly, it was revealed that for black women entrepreneurs, entrepreneurial belonging is perceived to only be achieved when they bring along others like themselves and their wider community who in turn support them to increase their business capacity.

8.3. Resourcing

This chapter will discuss the findings on the resourcing practices of black women entrepreneurs. Whilst research in the past has posited the importance of economic and social capital as key for supporting small ethnic businesses (Hikido, 2018), other literature adds to these the importance of management and leadership skills and the influence of the marketplace, family and the cultural and institutional environment, as key considerations for women in entrepreneurship (Abuhussein & Koburtay, 2021;

Bullough et al., 2015). The findings of this study on resourcing suggest that the black women understand the importance of developing the different forms of capital in their businesses and yet they face unique challenges. These findings and emerging themes will be addressed in the following sections. Four themes emerged on resourcing when analysing the findings utilising Bourdieu’s forms of capital as an analytical frame as discussed 3. The process included analysing the codes and categories under each form of capital and synthesising them into themes (Larty & Hamilton, 2011) as illustrated in Figure 25 below and discussed in detail in the sections that follow.

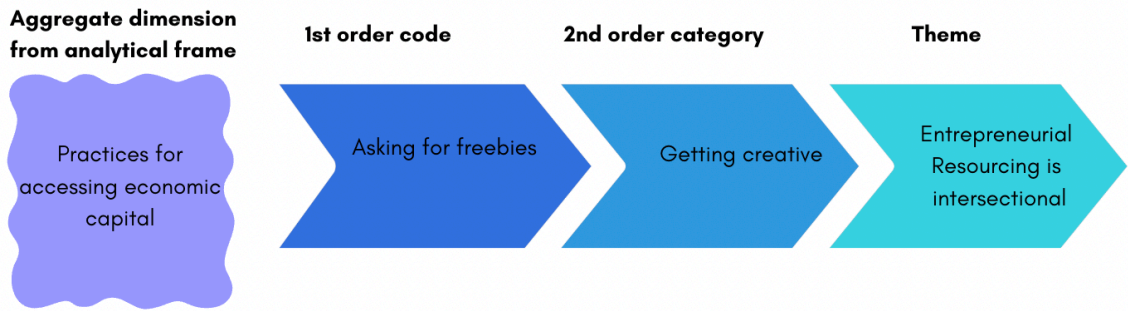


Figure 25. The process of theme building - resourcing

8.3.1. Theme 5: Resourcing is intersectional

The first theme that emerged from the analysis of the entrepreneurial resourcing (ER) practices of black women entrepreneurs is that resourcing is intersectional, with the participants perceiving the resourcing of any capital to be harder for them than their counterparts. This is a result of them being the marginalized gender within a marginalised group that was historically disadvantaged and kept out of key economic fields. Thus, we see their journey unfolding with their beginning with limited capital all around and meeting intersectional barriers which prompt them to develop creative practices for resourcing; reshaping their identity to resource; and engaging in self-preservation as illustrated in Figure 26 below.

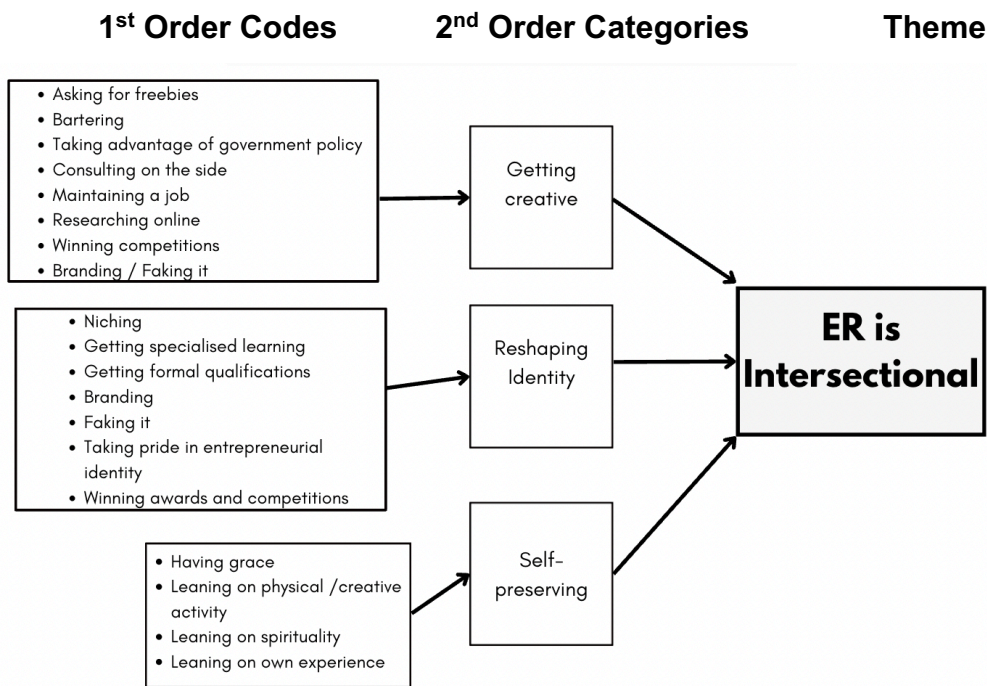


Figure 26. Entrepreneurial resourcing is intersectional

8.3.1.1. Theme 5a. Getting creative

The resourcing journey for black women entrepreneurs often begins with them starting off with limited capital of all forms. From an economic perspective, being the marginalised gender within a previously economically marginalised race sees their entrepreneurial journey starting with limited economic capital and assets; compounded by limited networks for social capital; limited cultural capital in the form of institutionalised capital and; limited symbolic capital. Entering the entrepreneurial field, they are met with a hierarchical nature to resourcing based on gender, race and historical contextual biases. This sees them at the bottom of the hierarchy, revealing again the double-negative of being black and female, working against them in their resourcing journeys and exposing an intersectional nature to entrepreneurial resourcing.

This necessitates mobilising creative practices such as ‘asking for freebies’ to access spaces or skills; ‘winning competitions’ to access prize money; and ‘taking advantage of government policies’ to access platforms such as international tradeshow that would otherwise be unaffordable, come into play. Within this category are also practices that enable the entrepreneur to have an additional source of income that supports their business’ funding needs such as maintaining a job elsewhere or taking

on occasional consulting work, something their counterparts who may come from more wealthier backgrounds with networks with more disposable income may not necessarily have to do. Lastly, it emerged that there was a heavier shift towards using the internet to research where pockets of accessible resources to tap into. This was noted to have been catalysed or fast-tracked by the lockdowns imposed during the COVID-19 pandemic that forced a migration towards online channels for accessing resources.

These practices are mobilised to access and build up all forms of capital for themselves as individuals as well as for their businesses which are often perceived to have inferior quality of products and services based on intersectional assumptions. It thus creates the need for the black women entrepreneurs to juggle the prioritisation of resourcing for themselves and their businesses across all forms of capital as illustrated in Figure 27 below.

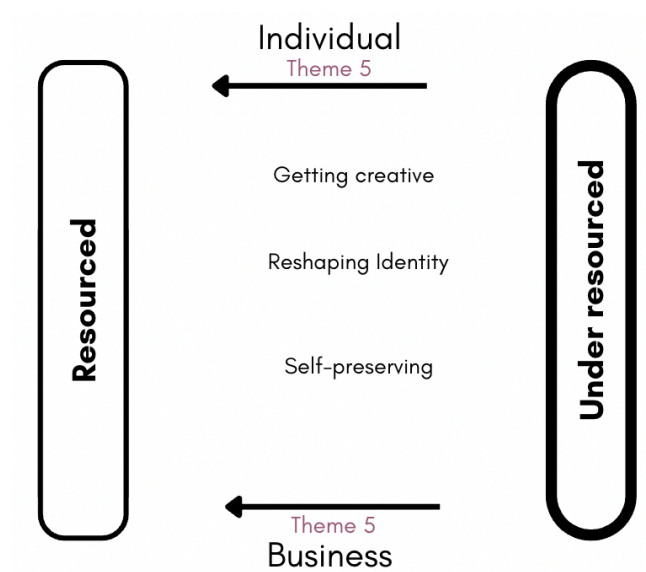


Figure 27. Entrepreneurial resourcing is intersectional

This aligns with existing literature that speaks to resourcing for forms of capital such as economic, being harder for ethnic women entrepreneurs due to biases in traditional funding systems (Irwin et al., 2023) and points to these traditional systems having criteria and better knowledge of traditionally male-founded industries and businesses (Alsos & Ljunggren, 2017; Nelson et al., 2009). Literature also acknowledges that gender is embedded in the investor-entrepreneur relations (Alsos & Ljunggren, 2017).

The findings further parallel studies that have found women entrepreneurs to employ creative approaches such as bartering (Garcia-Lorenzo et al., 2018; García & Welter, 2011; Vershinina et al., 2022) and winning competitions (Alakaleek & Cooper, 2018) which are also employed by black entrepreneurs (Chambers, 2018). Consequently, this study points to resourcing also being racialized in addition to being hierarchical and gendered and answers the call for research centred on the innovative strategies that women entrepreneurs in Africa apply to overcome constraints (Ojong et al., 2021).

8.3.1.2. Theme 5b: Reshaping identity

Within the theme of entrepreneurial resourcing being intersectional, we see that black women entrepreneurs often have to strategically engage in practices that enable them to 'reshape their identity' in order to access resources, particularly cultural and symbolic capital. Practices such as branding and winning awards are thus employed to curate a desired aspirational identity. An interesting finding here is how little focus and value the participants place on building objectified capital which is about collecting physical goods of cultural relevance and value such as machines, books or art (Vincent & Pagan, 2019). This could be because they perceive that their communities value these less and/or frown upon openly 'showing off' of such possessions. Thus the findings reveal a higher weighting placed on utilising and developing the intangible rather than the tangible cultural assets.

This is consistent with studies that claim cultural capital can be distorted and even devalued between different cultural contexts (Nowicka, 2013) and that gendered and ethnocultural orientations can shape the way that cultural capital is acquired for women entrepreneurs (Yeröz, 2019). Regardless, we see two practices emerge that enable the building or perceived building, of objectified capital being, 'branding' and 'faking it'. Through these two practices, the participants are able to curate an image for themselves and their businesses aligned to the objectified standards of their target markets (which may or may not be outside of their communities) and reshape their identity into a 'more acceptable' ideal.

Subsequently, we see practices focused on building institutionalised capital through 'niching' in order to be seen as experts; 'getting specialised learning' focused on gaining skills in their field; 'getting formal qualifications' through furthering their education; and 'taking pride in their entrepreneurial identity' which often came with time

and entrepreneurial experience. This is consistent with studies in India that found that women furthering their education created trust within their markets that enabled their business concepts to be believable (Agarwal et al., 2022) as well as studies that posit that training and development have a positive impact on performance. (Jha & Alam, 2022)

Finally, practices such as ‘winning awards’ and ‘winning competitions’ with their resultant recognition not only enable the participant to build up symbolic capital but often also come with prize money, for example. In a similar way that practices like ‘branding’ and ‘faking it’ could be strategically used to show status and prestige which often translated into sales and/or being perceived as more investable. Whilst relatively under-theorised, studies have found a gendered nature to building symbolic capital in that whilst symbols of status and prestige may well convert to economic capital into businesses of male entrepreneurs, the same did not necessarily occur for women entrepreneurs for whom the same symbols were found to convert rather to being seen as more legitimate and less role incongruent in entrepreneurship (Vershina & Rodgers, 2020). This was, however, not aligned with our findings in this study which rather found that practices that build symbolic capital not only translated to legitimization and belonging in entrepreneurship but also could be converted to economic capital.

8.3.1.3. Theme 5c. Self-preservation

The final category of practice linked to navigating the intersectional nature of resourcing is focused on practices of self-preservation. This includes practices such as ‘leaning on spirituality’, ‘leaning on physical and creative activities’, ‘leaning on one own experience’ and ‘having grace’. These practices build and maintain embodied capital, particularly through periods of facing challenges or external hostility. For example, in moments of challenge, a participant would lean on a spiritual practice and/or their spiritual values to stave off anxiety or lean on a physical activity such as going for a run to ‘cool off’. Thus, we see a juggle between self-preserving practices with identity reshaping practices as the black women entrepreneurs navigate resourcing.

Whilst studies on embodied capital remain few (Ruiner, 2019; Yeröz, 2019), the findings on spirituality for resourcing of embodied capital parallels studies that found it

to be employed for meaning-making (Barnard & Mamabolo, 2022); overcoming challenges (Conley & Bilimoria, 2022); and affirming and materialising their beliefs by Rashid and Ratten (2022). For many, spirituality is a part of their heritage and value systems from their upbringing. The next section discusses the simultaneous impact of resourcing on the individual and business.

8.3.2. Theme 6: Resourcing practices have a simultaneous impact on the Business and the Individual

The findings suggest that as the entrepreneur begins to put practices in place to resource for the different capitals for their business, they also, whether inadvertently or intentionally, increase their own individual capitals. This is unlike the case for negotiating belonging where the findings revealed that negotiating belonging for the business did not automatically result in belonging for the individual but rather had to be done in two separate, albeit often supporting, steps. This is particularly highlighted for practices focused on accessing traditional sources of economic capital and leveraging access to access economic capital as well as those focused on accessing new communities as highlighted in Figure 28 below.

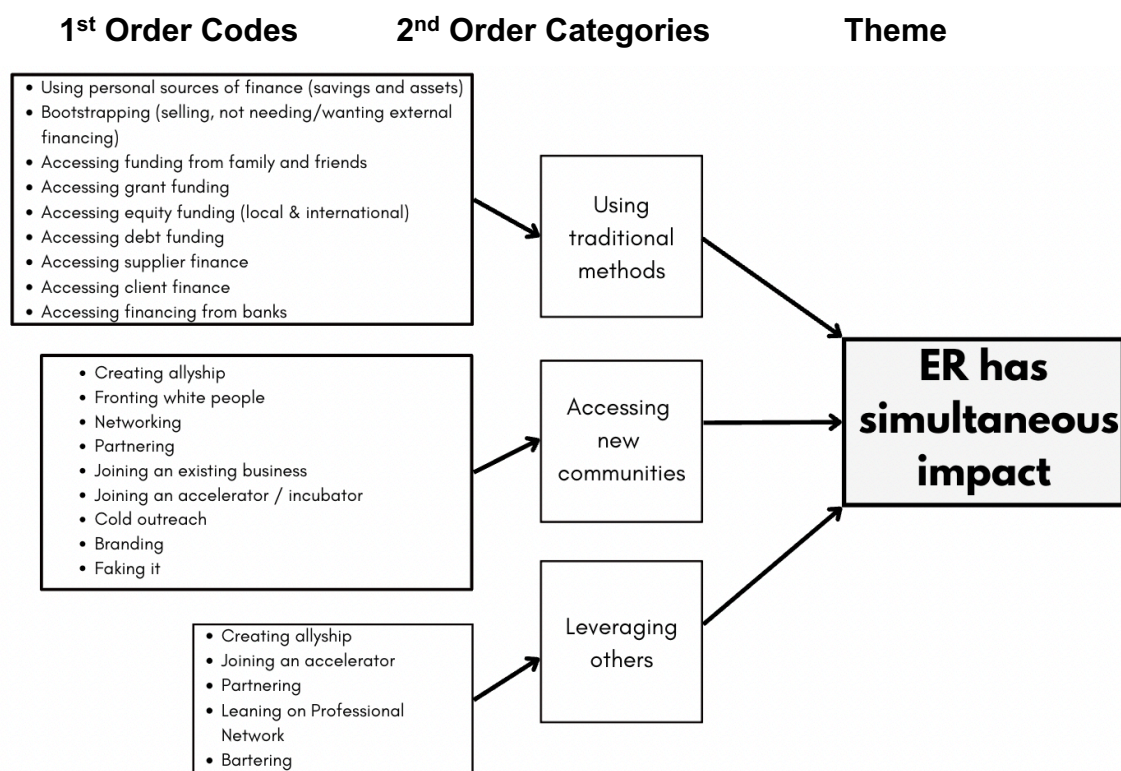


Figure 28. Entrepreneurial resourcing has a simultaneous impact on the business and individual

Further, the findings reveal that certain practices also enable the accessing of multiple forms of capital. For example, practices from the ‘leveraging others’ category such as ‘partnering’ or ‘creating allyship’, although intended at gaining access to a particular market for the business, also have the potential to increase the entrepreneur’s individual social capital - through linking them into new communities; their cultural capital - as they learn new things from their new partner and community; and their symbolic capital - through increasing their esteem within the market.

Similarly, practices that may be focused on building capital for the individual entrepreneurs such as ‘joining an accelerator’, although targeted at increasing the individual’s social cultural capital, also result in positive benefits for the business. This simultaneous impact of resourcing practices is illustrated in Figure 29 below.

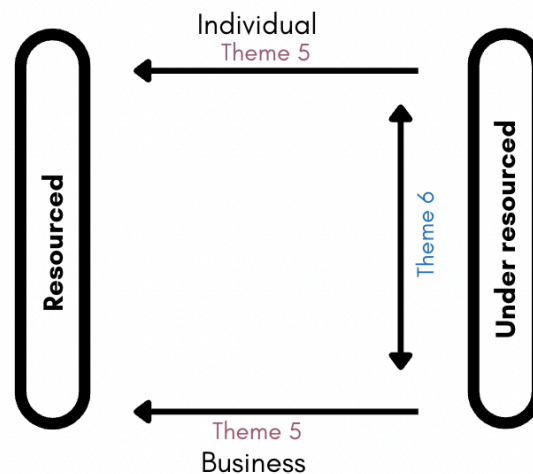


Figure 29. The simultaneous impact of resourcing practices on business and individual

This is consistent with existing literature that has noted the multi-layer benefit for women entrepreneurs of engaging in practices such as business plan competitions which could include accessing start-up capital (economic capital for the business) whilst also providing them with access to mentors (cultural capital for the entrepreneur) and networks (social capital for the entrepreneur) (Bullough et al., 2015).

8.3.2.1. Theme 6a. Using traditional sources of funding

The findings reveal that the entrepreneur’s fundraising journey - begins with utilising their own personal sources of finance such as savings, personal credit cards and/or selling off of assets to start their businesses. They then access financing from family

and friends and use creative practices before trying to access external sources of capital such as grants, equity and debt from banks, suppliers and customers. This process is done with varying levels of success across participants and sectors.

The findings suggest the black women entrepreneurs have a heavier dependence on the inner circle of family friends and professional networks from previous careers for financial backing and support. Through these networks, the participants are able to close deals, get introductions into networks that enable them to access funding and also barter for skills. This has negative implications for the entrepreneurs who went straight from tertiary education into entrepreneurship and lacked a solid professional network or those who did not have a large family base locally, such as foreigners. This is where practices such as 'joining an incubator' to leverage their systems are particularly useful. This is consistent with findings from a study of Ghanaian women entrepreneurs who showed a preference for using personal savings, bootstrapping and only raising from close circles of family, friends and well-wishers – effectively making do with what was at hand (Atarah et al., 2019). The theme however stands in contrast to studies that found that backers of projects were more likely to provide funding to strangers than family and friends (Groza et al., 2020), as this was not the case for this study.

Furthermore, it was revealed that some of the entrepreneurs actively opted out of fundraising beyond their personal sources of funds and their family and friend circles, choosing to bootstrap for various reasons. These range from feeling that they do not need the additional financing; to fear, exasperation and/or frustration about the process; and/or to fears about what taking on external funding would entail for them and their business. This is consistent with studies that suggest that women are less likely to seek external funding than their male counterparts (Kwapisz & Hechavarría, 2018) and are more likely to ask when they perceive that the process would be successful (Naegels et al., 2018).

8.3.2.2. Theme 6b. Leveraging others

Given that many of the participants felt they had a harder time accessing funding particularly due to race and gender-related biases and factors, it emerged that the participants employed practices that leverage others, especially those of more 'acceptable gender and race' in order to access economic capital. This is done

deliberately and strategically through practices such as partnering with established white male entrepreneurs or creating allyship 'with whites' that can get them into networks where they can tap into capital. This strategy has proven to be an effective way for parachuting into entrepreneurship and getting access to economic resources with less resultant hostility.

This finding is similar to another study on black South African Women in the Bed and Breakfast industry that found interracial ties between the Bed and Breakfast entrepreneurs and their white customers to be valuable for enabling the entrepreneurs to acquire both material and discursive resources (Hikido, 2018) and studies that found that start-up helpers such as allies increased the chances of women entrepreneurs seeking external financing (Kwapisz & Hechavarría, 2018).

8.3.2.3. Theme 6c: Accessing new communities

The limitations of their existing communities, both from a skills and finance perspective, given that the majority of their community is made up of others like themselves, also from previously disadvantaged backgrounds, necessitates a need to access new communities for resourcing. Similar practices as those in the previous sections such as partnering and joining an accelerator are employed but with a strategic focus on accessing new circles or communities. This is also where practices such as 'fronting white people', particularly in accessing white communities that would otherwise not be as welcoming, proved to be impactful. Moreover, creating allyship was particularly linked to the key role that white women play as allies in developing social capital.

The findings are consistent with studies that suggest that women entrepreneurs have networks that are less connected to financial systems (Brush et al., 2018) and thus benefit from networking through an enhancement of both career and personal development (De Klerk & Verreynne, 2017). It also agrees with studies noting that white women entrepreneurs tended to have more bridging social capital and network connectivity than their non-white female counterparts (Neumeyer et al., 2019).

Other practices in this category include networking to access new communities, albeit with varying degrees of success and enthusiasm; and joining existing businesses with their own established communities. Furthermore, practices such as branding and/or faking it play a key role as through the use of branding, the entrepreneurs are able to

reshape their business' identity to appeal to desired new communities. Lastly, 'cold outreach' especially through social media platforms also emerged as a key practice for accessing new communities and building both social and economic capital. This finding was especially linked to the migration towards more online and/or hybrid channels for networking that was necessitated by the Covid 19 pandemic. This leads us to the next theme which addresses how black women entrepreneurs rely heavily on their community and heritage for resourcing.

8.3.3. Theme 7: Resourcing for Black women entrepreneurs is highly dependent on their close community and heritage

The third theme that emerged was that black women entrepreneurs rely heavily on their close community and heritage for resourcing. The close community includes family, friends, religious and neighbourhood communities as well as professional networks from past corporate jobs form a deep resourcing pool from which the participants tap. This is done through leveraging the existing community for resources (economic, social and cultural) and leaning on their values and heritage, particularly for embodied capital as illustrated in Figure 30 below.

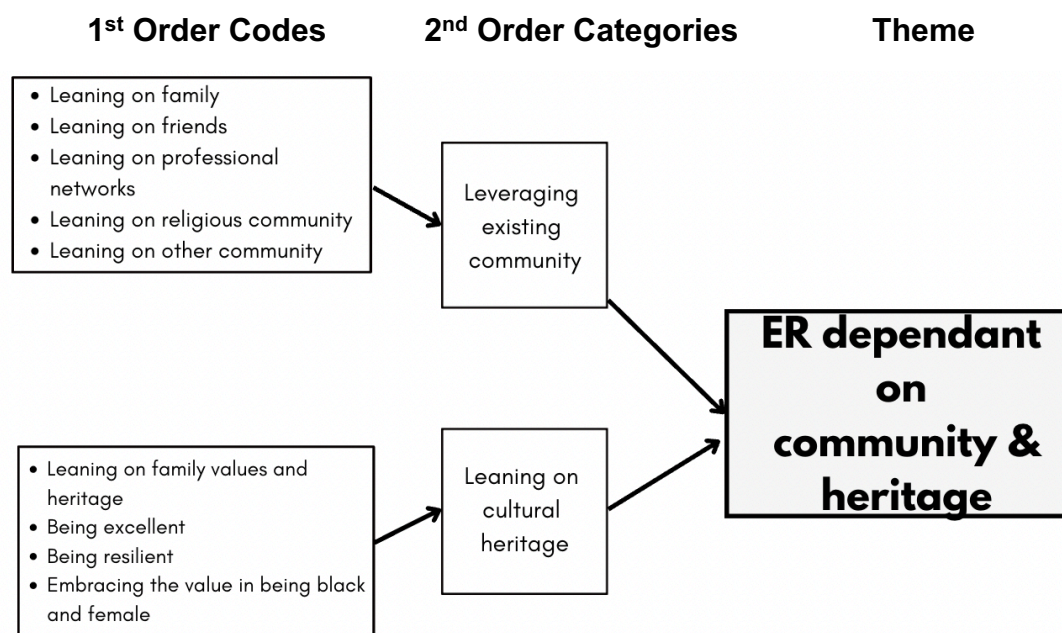


Figure 30. Entrepreneurial resourcing for black women entrepreneurs is dependent on community and heritage.

8.3.3.1. Theme 7a. Leveraging existing community

Despite the limitations in the resource capacity of their close community consisting of other previously economically disadvantaged people, the black women entrepreneurs showed a heavy dependence on their community for resourcing especially for social and similar to how they rely on them for economic capital as addressed in theme 6a. The findings reveal that the participants place a heavy reliance on their existing community of family, friends and past professional networks similar to how they rely on them for financing. This is consistent with literature on that women tended to rely on family and friends in their entrepreneurial journeys wishers (Atarah et al., 2019) and how friends play an important role in shaping their entrepreneurial identities (Agarwal et al., 2022).

Interestingly we also see a reliance on religious and other communities such as their neighbourhoods, a phenomenon less studied in literature on women's entrepreneurship. Whilst these communities were limited in their provision of economic capital directly, they appeared to be valuable in terms of social capital as they provided varying levels of support from subsidized manpower for key functions such as marketing and supporting product distribution. The support is also seen at the various stages of venture development.

This finding builds on past studies that found evidence that women entrepreneurs tend to have different networks from their male counterparts who tend to be less connected to financial networks (Brush et al., 2018). Further, the findings are aligned with studies that have noted the embeddedness of women entrepreneurs and their businesses with their communities. (Wang, 2019)

8.3.3.2. Theme 7b. Heritage as an enabler of embodied capital

Embodied capital is under-theorised (Ruiner, 2019) and speaks to how 'external wealth' becomes a key part of the person, forming their disposition of mind and body (Çakmak et al., 2018; Yeröz, 2019). However, what is considered 'wealth' is often driven by a group's culture and what they value (Yeröz, 2019). In the findings for example, we see that value is placed less on things of a material nature such as real estate, jewellery and other material possessions and more on intangible things such as family, heritage, community, religion and maintaining belonging and 'peaceful membership' within these communities. This then gets translated into the participants longer term disposition and a focus on practices such as 'being excellent' (to not bring

shame to their community); and ‘being resilient’ (as an artefact of their upbringing having observed resilience in their communities during times of extreme scarcity). This results in a high dependence on community and heritage as illustrated in Figure 31 below.

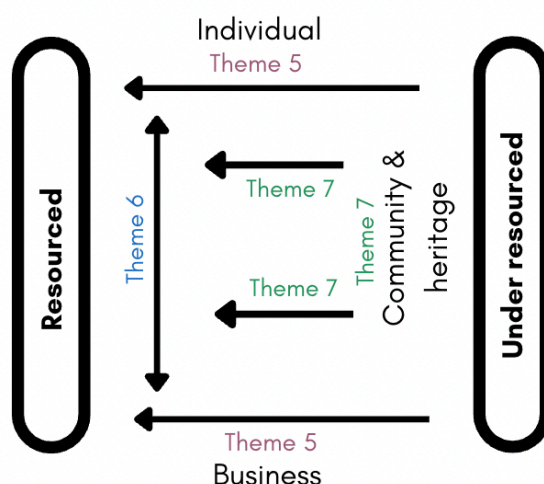


Figure 31. Black women entrepreneurs rely heavily on community and heritage.

Moreover, we see practices such as ‘leaning on family values and heritage’ and ‘embracing the value of being black and female’ emerging in this category of practices that emanate from the cultural heritage of their families and communities. Whilst the role of culture in entrepreneurship is nascent (Hoyte, 2019), literature has linked it to how women entrepreneurs in developing markets build and resource for their businesses (Ogundana et al., 2021). However, there was a dearth of literature on heritage as an enabler of resourcing. This leads us to our final theme on resourcing which suggests that entrepreneurs invest back in their communities.

8.3.4. Theme 8: Black women entrepreneurs invest back into their close community

Lastly, the findings on resourcing suggest that as the entrepreneur and the business become better and better resourced, the black women entrepreneur contributes back to the development of their community through practices focused on supporting the community. This takes the form of altruistic practices such as ‘giving back’; ‘inspiring others’; ‘role modelling’; and ‘supporting others’ such as giving back and role modelling. This is illustrated in Figure 32 below.

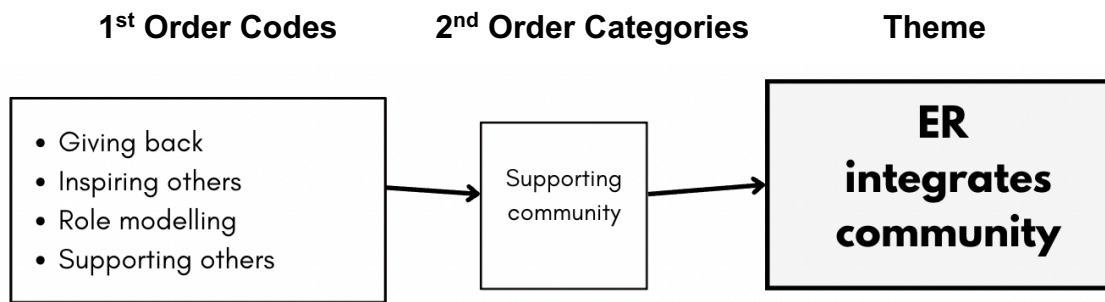


Figure 32. Entrepreneurial resourcing for black women entrepreneurs integrates community

Interestingly, it emerged that these altruistic practices inadvertently or strategically build symbolic capital for the participants. This is because such altruistic practices are valued in their communities and seen as heroic and prestigious. For example, it might be assumed that for one to be able to ‘give back’ – that they themselves have means; or for one to ‘support others’ they themselves must be ‘in the know’. It was further revealed that this symbolic capital can be translated into other forms of capital, for instance, some participants have built their community work into their brand ethos and strategy; others had used it as a marketing tool in their communities; whilst others still have turned it into a side income through initiatives as providing paid coaching to the community. Thus, a symbiotic resourcing relationship between the entrepreneur and community emerges as illustrated in Figure 33 below.

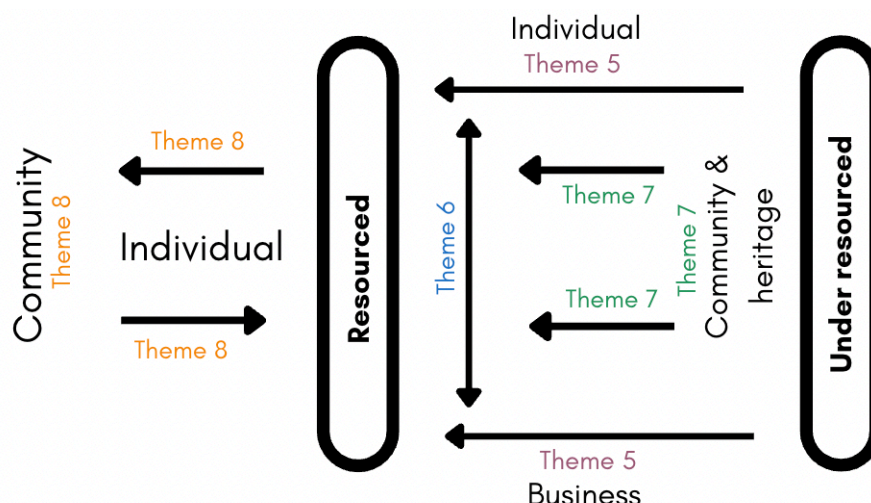


Figure 33. The symbiotic relationship of black women entrepreneurs and their community

This is aligned with findings on the concept of 'Black Tax' - the expectation of black families and communities in South Africa for their emerging black middle class to financially contribute back to theirs (Mangoma & Wilson-Prangley, 2019). It builds on it by highlighting the reciprocal nature of it in the context of entrepreneurship where it occurs in a symbiotic and recurring manner. This contradicts studies that conceptualise Black women's community support as unpaid and nonmarket work (Banks, 2020) as the participants have found ways to strategically integrate their community investment in a way that enables it to pay back through using the community as an enabler of resourcing. The theme is further aligned with studies that have posited entrepreneurship to be a community-level phenomenon (Anderson & Gaddefors, 2016) and how women tend to be explicit about community building through knowledge transfer between established entrepreneurs and others in their marginalised groups (Wang, 2019).

8.4. Intersecting Practices

Regarding the findings that speak to the final question on the belonging practices that contribute to resourcing, it emerged that the majority of the practices enabled resourcing. However, it further emerged that many of the resourcing practices in return also enabled belonging. This section will discuss the reciprocal of belonging and provide insights into contextual mechanisms that enable them for black women entrepreneurs.

8.4.1. Theme 9: The reciprocal relationship of belonging resourcing

Previous studies have ascertained that belonging and fitting in with expected norms can enhance a business and entrepreneur's ability to access resources (Hill, 2018; Stringfellow et al., 2014). Our findings are aligned with these studies as the majority of the practices of belonging contributed to the resourcing of one or more forms of capital. Further, our findings reveal that many of the resourcing practices for the various types of capital also contribute to belonging. This bilateral interaction creates self-reinforcing cycles of advancement. Strategic practices such as those related to accessing external capital, leveraging others, accessing new communities, reshaping identity and supporting community, whilst done with a focus on resourcing, also enable belonging, as depicted in Figure 34 below.

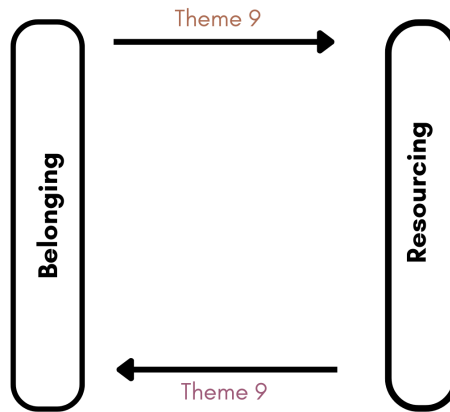


Figure 34. The bilateral nature of belonging and resourcing for black women entrepreneurs.

8.4.2. Theme 10: The role of an enabling environment

Lastly, the findings point to the role of context where we see within the environment that two key features stand out as enabling the acceleration of both the belonging and resourcing of black women entrepreneurs – the role of government policy and; the role of digital technology. Regarding government policies, we see that certain Black economic empowerment policies, particularly those that mandated the inclusion of black women in ventures and supply chains in key sectors, such as the solar and technology industries, were crucial in incentivizing partnerships between the participants and ‘industry gatekeepers’ (mostly white men). Further, without such mandates, these partnerships may have otherwise not been possible.

Thus, although the findings revealed sentiments of mistrust for dealing directly with government agencies owing to feelings and experiences of corruption and inefficiency, the participants had still benefitted from government policies of inclusion in the wider industry. This is consistent with literature that found that although BEE policies have enabled certain corruption and fraud to occur, they have also enabled the growth of a black capitalist class and the economic transformation for many black people in South Africa (Bracking, 2024). Additionally, a number of the participants have benefitted from government grants targeted at previously disadvantaged groups and other support programs such as sponsorships to international tradeshow that have fuelled their access to new markets, enabling both their resourcing and belonging. This agrees with

studies that have found political governance to be key for driving entrepreneurship quality and support in the wider African continent (Atiase et al., 2018).

Secondly, digital technologies and in particular social media platforms have played a key role in fast-tracking the belonging and resourcing of the participants. For many of the participants, COVID-19 had necessitated the modification of their business models to include, and in some cases, altogether shift to online channels. Although forced for some and disruptive for most, this shift enabled easier and faster access to new communities and funding opportunities that they may otherwise have not been able to access in physical spaces that hold a higher barrier.

This aligns with research that points to digitization as a potential avenue for reducing biases in funding faced by marginalised entrepreneurs (Irwin et al., 2023; Wang et al., 2023) and a channel for business growth (Pergelova et al., 2019). It, however, contradicts literature that posits social media spaces as evaluative, competitive and fuelling non-belonging (Saukko et al., 2024) and critiques digital platforms on their promise for driving inclusion (Martinez Dy, 2019). Our findings instead revealed that whilst for some of the participants, elements of disconnecting from online spaces for self-preservation reasons were necessary for moments of challenge, these same platforms provided them with opportunities to join new communities; share in opportunities; collaborate with others and; even build the courage to cold outreach to individuals they would not otherwise have access to. Thus, digital platforms were noted as enablers for fuelling both belonging and resourcing.

9. Study Contributions

9.1. Introduction

This chapter will first present the conceptual framework and resultant propositions. This will be followed by a discussion on the theoretical, methodological, empirical and practical contributions made by this study on the belonging and resourcing practices of black women entrepreneurs.

9.2. The conceptual framework

This study answers the call for integrative conceptual frameworks that highlight how both explicit and symbolic factors influence women's entrepreneurial resourcing to reveal new relationships that may have been previously overlooked in research (Serwaah & Shneor, 2021). The model is theme-based (Larty & Hamilton, 2011) and focuses on belonging and resourcing practices of black women entrepreneurs in a unique context. The model uncovers categories of tangible belonging and resourcing practices alongside other intangible factors such as community as an enabling entity and the role of context for facilitating and accelerating the speed and effectiveness of the practices.

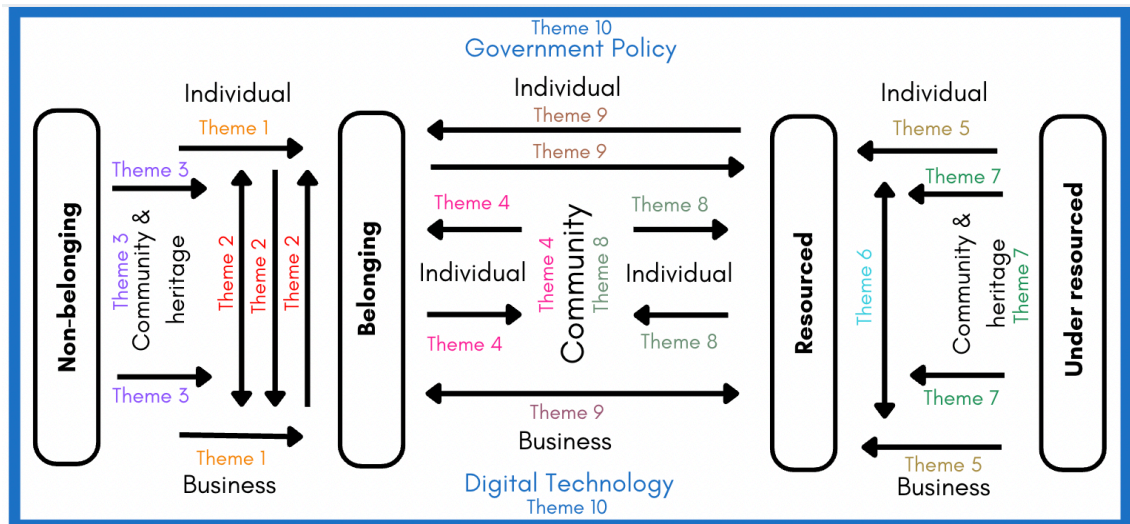


Figure 35. The relationship of belonging and resourcing for black women entrepreneurs.

Illustrated in Figure 35 above, is the conceptual framework that shows how the practices of belonging and resourcing for the black women entrepreneurs interact. On the left-hand side of the model are the process and practices of belonging. Theme 1

arrows speak to the intersectional nature of belonging. The two arrows show how belonging for black women entrepreneurs has to be negotiated in two separate steps – for the individual and the business. This is due to the intersectional nature of entrepreneurial belonging where the black women entrepreneurs find their businesses being penalised and perceived to be of poorer quality based on the entrepreneur's identity as black and female and the related intersectional biases.

Theme 2 speaks to the processual nature of the belonging practices and the tension and juggle that black women entrepreneurs face in navigating which entity (self or business) to prioritise belonging for. It illustrates how some practices only support the belonging of the individual whilst others only support the belonging of the business. Further, it highlights that some practices enable belonging for both simultaneously.

Theme 3 illustrates how black women entrepreneurs are dependent on their heritage and close community for navigating entrepreneurial belonging. The community, despite its limited resources, plays a key in enabling the entrepreneur to belong. Further, the entrepreneur leans on their heritage as a resource for navigating their belonging. Finally, theme 4 completes the process and practices of belonging, where we see that the black women entrepreneurs only feel their belonging is accomplished in entrepreneurship when they can bring others like them and their community along. Here we see altruistic practices that give back to the community and narcissistic practices (such as role modelling) that inspire community members to come along thus playing push and pull mechanism.

On the right-hand side are the process and practices of resourcing where theme 5 speaks to entrepreneurial resourcing being intersectional in nature. It reveals a resourcing journey that sees black women entrepreneurs entering the field with the least resources compared to their counterparts. This requires investment of all forms of capital at both individual and business levels in a field rife with intersectional barriers resulting in the need to employ a combination of practice. Theme 6 speaks to the tension to juggle the prioritisation of resource allocation between individual and business but highlights that any investment in one entity translates into benefits for the other.

Theme 7 speaks to how resourcing for black women entrepreneurs is highly dependent on community and heritage in a very similar way to belonging. The intersectional barriers that the black women entrepreneurs encounter force them to lean heavily on their community despite the limits in its capacity and draw on heritage for embodied capital to navigate the challenges. Theme 8 shows when the entrepreneur and their business are sufficiently resourced, they strategically invest back into their community which reaps back in symbolic and social capital. This creates a reciprocal nature to the relationship between the entrepreneur and the community.

In the centre of the model, illustrated by theme 9 is the reciprocal nature of the relationship between belonging and resourcing practices. The single-direction arrows show that belonging enables resourcing and vice versa. Further, the bi-directional arrow illustrates that certain practices can facilitate both belonging and resourcing at the same time. Lastly, theme 10 speaks to the role of context in the forms of government policy and digital technology in cultivating and fast-tracking both belonging and resourcing for black women entrepreneurs.

9.3. Comparison of the new conceptual model with entrepreneurial belonging and resourcing theories

As established in academic literature, a contribution to theory is made through extending a theoretical perspective to new empirical contexts, modifying or negating existing domains or generating new concepts (Ridder et al., 2014). A contribution must also be valuable through the addition of important insights for academia and/or practice and original (Bergh et al., 2003). This section will thus open with a comparison of the conceptual framework and new insights developed from this study with the growing theories on entrepreneurial belonging. This will be followed by a comparison of the framework with theories in entrepreneurial resourcing.

9.3.1. Comparison with entrepreneurial belonging theories

Whilst increasing research has gone into examining the 'doing of gender' in entrepreneurship and the embeddedness of gender in entrepreneurship (Birkner, 2020; Bruni et al., 2004; García & Welter, 2011; Gherardi, 2015; Swail & Marlow, 2018); this study, firstly answers the recent calls for researchers of inequality in entrepreneurship to attempt to apply intersectionality theory in their design as a threshold concept (Martinez Dy & MacNeil, 2023). Martinez DY and MacNeil (2023)

argue that doing so could create new insights into other theories and create a springboard for advancing theory. By answering this call in examining the belonging practices of black women entrepreneurs, the study makes several novel contributions towards entrepreneurial belonging theories as discussed in the following sections.

9.3.1.1. The dominance of struggle management over productivity

The intersectional nature of belonging for the black women entrepreneurs creates tension that pushes them to focus more on struggle management at the expense of productivity in the pursuit of entrepreneurial belonging. The study is aligned with theories that posit entrepreneurial belonging as processual (Birkner, 2020; Champenois et al., 2020); in continual accomplishment (Birkner, 2020; Stead, 2017) and gendered (Birkner, 2020; Marlow & Swail, 2014; Stead, 2017; Swail & Marlow, 2018). It is also aligned with studies that have found that women struggle to belong in entrepreneurship (McAdam et al., 2019; Orlandi, 2017). The study however adds to the body of knowledge by revealing new insights on how for black women entrepreneurs, struggle management practices significantly overshadow productivity practices, thus impacting business growth and entrepreneurial identity adoption. This leads to the following propositions:

The proportion of entrepreneurial effort allocated to productivity practices decreases as the demands of struggle management practices increase for black women entrepreneurs, with this relationship being strengthened by the interplay of doing, being, becoming, and belonging practices.

The proportion of entrepreneurial effort expended on managing external hostility and internal conflict inversely affects business growth potential and willingness to adopt entrepreneurial identity for black women entrepreneurs.

9.3.1.2. Heritage as a resource for entrepreneurial identity and belonging

The study aligns with theories that conceptualise belonging as intertwined with the dimensions of being, doing, being and becoming (Hitch et al., 2014a, 2014b, 2018) and posit women entrepreneurs as being more values-driven (Byrne et al., 2019). Whilst some attention has gone to the study of heritage entrepreneurship (Pfeilstetter, 2015), there is a dearth of research on heritage as a resource in navigating entrepreneurship. This study contributes new insights into how black women entrepreneurs employ heritage, encompassing passed down values and value

systems from family and community, cultural orientation and spiritual beliefs, as a strategic multidimensional resource in entrepreneurial identity formation that strengthens their entrepreneurial belonging through identity stability. Consequently, this creates a distinct form of entrepreneurial identity and being that gives precedence to the alignment of values, establishes unique metrics for success and challenges mainstream entrepreneurial characterisations and narratives. This leads to the following propositions:

The degree of heritage integration in entrepreneurial practices strengthens entrepreneurial belonging through enhanced identity stability and activated value systems.

The integration of heritage-based value systems into entrepreneurial practice creates a distinct form of entrepreneurial identity that prioritises value alignment and challenges dominant entrepreneurial narratives.

9.3.1.3. Dual-level belonging negotiation

Extant literature has highlighted the double-negative experienced by black women in entrepreneurship based on racial and gender stereotypes (Jennings & Tonoyan, 2022). It has also acknowledged the prioritisation of maleness (Marlow & Swail, 2014; Swail & Marlow, 2018) and whiteness in entrepreneurship (Martinez Dy, 2020) and the consequent positioning of femininity as incongruent with entrepreneurship (Garcia-Lorenzo et al., 2021; Johansson et al., 2021). This study and the resultant conceptual model add to the theories of entrepreneurial belonging by highlighting how this double negative is experienced when black women are negotiating belonging in that they have to negotiate belonging at two levels. At individual level due to the perceived gender incongruency compounded by historical domestic role associations and at business level due to their racial identity and associated assumptions of low resource access. The framework further illustrates the practices employed to achieve belonging at each level and how belonging at one entity can create leverage for the other. This leads to the following propositions:

The level of entrepreneurial belonging for black women entrepreneurs operates through two distinct mechanisms where at individual-level belonging, gender incongruency and historical domestic role associations affect the perception of entrepreneurial fitness; and at business-level

belonging, racial identity and resource access assumptions based on historical exclusion influence perceived business capability.

The negotiation of entrepreneurial belonging by black women entrepreneurs operates through an interconnected dual-level mechanism, where success in navigating either individual-level gender incongruence or business-level racial barriers creates reciprocal leverage for belonging at the other level.

9.3.1.4. Triple duty belonging configuration

Whilst extant entrepreneurial literature has portrayed notions of individual-centred entrepreneurship (Larty & Hamilton, 2011; Sarason et al., 2006; Warnecke, 2014), emerging studies are highlighting how women entrepreneurs build and maintain community (Vershinina et al., 2022) and how entrepreneurial belonging shifts from a focus on fitting in, to supporting others (Erogul et al., 2021). The conceptual framework builds onto this emerging direction in that it reveals that for black women entrepreneurs, a sense of entrepreneurial belonging is only achieved when they feel they can bring their community of others who are like them along into the field. This highlights a triple duty configuration in their process of negotiating belonging that includes individual identity legitimization, business credibility establishment and community enabling. This leads to the following proposition:

The entrepreneurial belonging journey of black women entrepreneurs emerges through a triple-duty configuration of individual identity legitimization; business credibility establishment; and community belonging enablement where cultural orientation acts as both driver and moderator.

9.3.1.5. Community enablement as a belonging practice

Literature on entrepreneurial belonging has highlighted how women entrepreneurs employ various forms of identity management (Birkner, 2020; Garcia-Lorenzo et al., 2018; Stead, 2017; Swail & Marlow, 2018); as well as the leveraging of proxies (Birkner, 2020; Radu-Lefebvre et al., 2021; Stead, 2017). The study revealed similar findings with three key categories of belonging practices emerging including practices of reshaping identity and leveraging others. Further, and parallel to existing literature, entrepreneurial experience (García & Welter, 2011) and professional status (Stringfellow et al., 2014) were found to shape the choice of practice.

Some departures from existing literature however, regarding identity management were highlighted in that concealment of disadvantage (Bourne & Calás, 2013) masculinizing of the feminine (Garcia Lorenzo et al., 2018; Swail & Marlow, 2018) or employing of liminal gender states (Birkner, 2020) were not employed as identity management practices in this study, revealing how historical and cultural context shape the choice of belonging practices. Lastly, the study and conceptual framework add nouveau insights to the theories of entrepreneurial belonging by highlighting a third category of practices focused on enabling community as a belonging practice. In as much as elements of heritage which include community and cultural values enable the belonging of the black women entrepreneurs the identity stability, the entrepreneurs in turn strategically employ community enablement practices to enable the belonging of both themselves and their community in the field of entrepreneurship in a mutually beneficial way. This leads to the following proposition:

Community enablement operates as both an input and output of entrepreneurial belonging, creating a reciprocal relationship where heritage-based community values enable individual belonging and individual success enables community belonging.

9.3.2. Comparison with entrepreneurial resourcing theories

This study revealed a hierarchical nature to resource access based on compounding biases related to the intersections of gender, race and historical context with black women entrepreneurs perceiving their position as most disadvantaged. This is owing to their being the marginalized gender within a previously marginalized race that was historically economically excluded. In the model, we see the tension that arises for black women entrepreneurs in prioritisation of resources between themselves and their businesses. Extant literature on entrepreneurial resourcing has highlighted how the embeddedness of gender (Alsos & Ljunggren, 2017; Nelson et al., 2009) and race in traditional funding systems and that ethnic women entrepreneurs face tougher barriers in accessing capital (Irwin et al., 2023; Marlow & Martinez Dy, 2018). New insights into the resourcing practices that black women entrepreneurs employ to overcome these resourcing barriers are revealed and discussed below.

9.3.2.1. Triple configuration for resourcing economic capital

The study highlighted three categories of practices that were employed by black women entrepreneurs to overcome challenges in the resourcing of economic capital.

It revealed that the intersectional barriers they face push them to mobilise more creative practices such as asking for freebies to enable resourcing. Secondly, regarding more traditional sources of funding, close community was found to be a preferred source of funding. Lastly and strategically, leveraging others, particularly white men, to overcome barriers to accessing economic capital was a key practice. Existing literature parallels these findings showing a preference in African women towards raising from close community (Atarah et al., 2019); a reluctance for women to seek external funding (Kwapisz & Hechavarría, 2018) particularly due to perceived disadvantage in the system (Naegels et al., 2018); and how interracial ties are valuable for enabling marginalized entrepreneurs (Hikido, 2018; Kwapisz & Hechavarría, 2018). The study contradicts literature that shows a preference for financial backers to support strangers over family and friends (Groza et al., 2020) and adds to resourcing literature by highlighting the creative practices that the black women entrepreneurs employ, particularly where there is limitation or failure with practices in the first two categories. This leads to the following proposition:

Intersectional barriers faced by black women entrepreneurs lead to a distinct pattern of resourcing practices for economic capital where: creative practices emerge as a primary response; close community funding is prioritised as a stable source; and traditional funding sources are accessed last through strategic leveraging of interracial ties.

9.3.2.2. Network limitation compensation practices

Extant resourcing literature has highlighted that diverse networks are critical for venture success and noted material differences in the networks and distribution of social capital of male versus female entrepreneurs (Agarwal et al., 2022; Brush et al., 2018; Groza et al., 2020; Neumeyer et al., 2019). Research has further noted the importance of networking for women in enhancing career and personal development (De Klerk & Verreynne, 2017) and that white women entrepreneurs were better connected than their non-white women counterparts in their ability to bridge social capital (Neumeyer et al., 2019). The study parallels these findings and reveals a heavy reliance by the black women entrepreneurs on their close networks and community for bridging social capital. It however adds to entrepreneurial resourcing theories by highlighting how, due to awareness of the limitations within their close networks, the participants have strategically developed successful compensative practices focused on accessing new communities that include strategic identity management and

building of allyship particularly with white women. This leads to the following proposition:

Recognition of close network limitations drives black women entrepreneurs to develop compensatory networking practices that strategically target cross-racial allyship as a means of bridging social capital gaps and identity management.

9.3.2.3. The overlapping and multi-effect of resourcing practices

Entrepreneurial resourcing literature has often focused on examining a single form of capital at a time (Vershina & Rodgers, 2020) and how one form of capital converts to another (Hill, 2018, 2021; Vershinina & Rodgers, 2020; Vincent & Pagan, 2019; Yeröz, 2019). There is also evidence that certain forms of capital can be possessed individually or collective levels (Vincent & Pagan, 2019) and that practices for building capital can have multiple benefits (Bullough et al., 2015). Fewer studies, however, have examined the practices that develop the multiple forms of capital at the same time and the overlapping effects and impacts (Hill, 2021; Yeröz, 2019). This study contributes to this gap by providing insights into how the resourcing practices of black women entrepreneurs have an overlapping nature of producing more than one form of capital and also have a dual impact for building capital for both the entrepreneur as an individual and the businesses as a collective, simultaneously. This leads to the following proposition:

Resourcing practices employed by Black women entrepreneurs simultaneously generate multiple forms of capital while producing dual impacts at both individual and business levels.

9.3.2.4. Heritage as a resource for cultural capital

The resourcing of cultural capital remains less theorized compared to economic and social capital (Ruiner, 2019; Yeröz, 2019). Studies have noted, however, how context-sensitive cultural capital is (Nowicka, 2013; Yeröz, 2019); that for women, developing institutionalised capital through further education supported their legitimization in entrepreneurship (Agarwal et al., 2022); and training positively impacts business performance (Jha & Alam, 2022). This study contributes to the emerging literature on resourcing for cultural capital with two key contributions. It highlights how black women entrepreneurs prioritise the intangible aspects of cultural capital in the form of heritage-based value systems over the tangible aspects and how they strategically work to balance the preservation of these systems with developing new field competency as

expected in the field. It further highlights how heritage is activated as a key source of cultural capital.

Heritage functions as a primary source of cultural capital for black women entrepreneurs, enabling them to develop a strategic balance between preserving inherited value systems and acquiring new field-specific competencies.

9.3.2.5. Strategic integration of community in resourcing

Previous studies have noted how women entrepreneurs are more explicit about contributing to their community (Wang, 2019) yet some studies have conceptualised Black women's support of their communities as unpaid and nonmarket work (Banks, 2020). This study contradicts this view as the participants have found ways to strategically integrate their community investment to build symbolic and other forms of capital in such a way that it pays back. Whilst symbolic capital is relatively under-theorized (Hikido, 2018), studies have noted that developing it creates both legitimacy and increases resource acquisition possibilities (Hikido, 2018; Stringfellow et al., 2014). This view is consistent with this study in that the symbolic capital that the black women entrepreneurs developed from their strategic investment into their community translated into resources back into their businesses, contradicting literature that proposed that symbolic capital was more likely to translate to economic capital for male versus female entrepreneurs (Vershina & Rodgers, 2020). Consequently, the study adds new insight into the symbiotic nature of the relationship between black women entrepreneurs and their community and how they strategically employ the community in resourcing.

Community investment by black women entrepreneurs, functions as a strategic resourcing practice that generates convertible symbolic capital, creating a self-reinforcing cycle of community and business development.

9.3.3. The belonging-resourcing cycle for black women entrepreneurs

Subsequently, the study contributes a novel conceptual model that provides a comprehensive framework for understanding how intersectional barriers manifest across two key entrepreneurial dimensions - belonging and resourcing – simultaneously. Whilst extant literature notes that belonging in entrepreneurship enables resourcing (Hill, 2018; Stringfellow et al., 2014), the model adds to this body

of knowledge by revealing that resourcing also enables entrepreneurial belonging in a bilateral and reciprocal relationship. Moreover, the model highlights how key practices deployed by black women entrepreneurs, strategically work across these dimensions creating self-reinforcing cycles of advancement where, the more the belonging, the more the resourcing and the more the resourcing, the more the belonging. This leads to the following proposition:

Belonging and resourcing practices for Black women entrepreneurs operate in a self-reinforcing cycle, where success in one dimension enhances capabilities in the other, creating compounding advancement in both areas.

Furthermore, the conceptual framework contributes a new understanding of a more heritage-driven and community-centred entrepreneurship that challenges individualistic entrepreneurship theories (Larty & Hamilton, 2011; Sarason et al., 2006; Warnecke, 2014) by highlighting the way that black women entrepreneurs strategically integrate their community and heritage into their entrepreneurial practices. The framework showcases a mutually beneficial relationship between the entrepreneur and their community that enables the increased belonging and resourcing of both entities and leads to the following proposition:

The entrepreneurial success of black women operates through a dual-benefit mechanism where heritage-based community integration strategically advances both entrepreneur and community outcomes.

Lastly, the conceptual model maps out how specific contextual factors can accelerate belonging and resourcing for black women entrepreneurs thus offering a framework for understanding how contextual factors can be leveraged to enable marginalized entrepreneurs to overcome intersectional barriers. In the model, two factors are revealed in the form of policy-driven inclusion mandates that not only provide access to concessionary funding for previously marginalized groups but also incentivize gatekeepers; and digital platforms that reduce barriers by allowing alternative community access paths and enable new connections to resource holders. This aligns with literature that speaks to political governance as key to driving entrepreneurship (Atiase et al., 2018; Bracking, 2024). It also aligns with literature that puts forward digitization as a means for reducing biases faced by marginalized entrepreneurs (Irwin et al., 2023; Wang et al., 2023) and a channel for business growth (Pergelova et al.,

2019). It contrasts literature that characterises digital platforms as judgmental, competitive environments that heighten feelings of exclusion (Saukko et al., 2024) that may not actually level the playing field for marginalised entrepreneurs (Martinez Dy, 2019). Further, the model responds to calls for examining how multi-level contextual factors (Henry et al., 2021) and digitization influence resourcing for women entrepreneurs (Irwin et al., 2023). This then builds into the following proposition:

Contextual factors that combine institutional support (through inclusion mandates) with reduced access barriers (through digital platforms) create accelerated pathways for Black women entrepreneurs to overcome intersectional barriers in both belonging and resourcing.

9.4. Building theory from narrative

Theory extension, theory refinement and theory generation are the three types of theoretic contributions that can be made from a qualitative study (Corley & Gioia, 2011; Edmondson & Mcmanus, 2007; Reay & Whetten, 2011; Ridder et al., 2014). This can include drawing from theoretical perspectives outside the main study area, to theories that focus on different sociocultural spheres (Reay & Whetten, 2011; Ridder et al., 2014). Narrative as a way of theorizing phenomena, focuses on the rich insights of the individuals' lived experience of events across time rather than constructs and abstractions (Carless & Douglas, 2017). Thus due to its nature of embodying time and sequence, it is posited as being suited to the development of process theories and explanations (Pentland, 1999). The main question that this study sought to address was how belonging contributes to resourcing, in the context of EaP, for black women entrepreneurs in South Africa. By examining the belonging and resourcing practices of black women entrepreneurs, the study has made several contributions that will be discussed in the following sections.

9.5. Theoretical contribution

This study makes four key theoretical contributions. Firstly, the study generates a nouveau conceptual framework (Corley & Gioia, 2011; Reay & Whetten, 2011; Ridder et al., 2014) about how black women entrepreneurs navigate and negotiate belonging and resourcing within certain contexts. The model highlights the practices they employ to navigate belonging and resourcing in an environment in which they are marginalised; as well as the processes they follow, thus revealing new insights for entrepreneurial research. The model further includes the role of the context that

enables them to negotiate and fast-track both belonging and resourcing thus responding to calls for examining how multi-level contextual factors within entrepreneurship (Henry et al., 2021).

Secondly, by utilising OPH theory from the field of psychology as an analytical frame (Hitch et al., 2014a, 2018), the study makes a contribution by drawing from a theoretical perspective outside the sphere of entrepreneurship, into the field of entrepreneurship with its unique socio-cultural dimensions (Edmondson & Mcmanus, 2007; Reay & Whetten, 2011; Ridder et al., 2014).

Thirdly, by utilising OPH theory from the field of psychology as an analytical frame (Hitch et al., 2014a, 2018), the study refines the existing theories of entrepreneurial belonging (Birkner, 2020; Espinoza Trujano & Phiri, 2022; Stead, 2017) by revealing the interdependent and intertwined nature of entrepreneurial belonging with doing, being and becoming (Hitch et al., 2014b).

Lastly, through combining the use of OPH (Hitch et al., 2014a, 2018) and Bourdieu's forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986a, 1990) as analytical frames, the study contributes to refining (Corley & Gioia, 2011; Ridder et al., 2014) the theories of entrepreneurial belonging (Birkner, 2020; Eroglu et al., 2021; Stead, 2017); and the field of EaP (Champenois et al., 2020; Hill, 2018) by highlighting new insights on the unique belonging practices of black women entrepreneurs; how these practices contribute to resourcing and; how resourcing, in return, contributes to belonging.

9.6. Methodological contribution

Research must balance theoretical contribution with methodological rigour and relevance in practice (Corley & Gioia, 2011). Whilst entrepreneurship research has explored how marginalized groups access the entrepreneurial field and entrepreneurial resources (Espinoza Trujano & Phiri, 2022; Greenberg & Mollick, 2017; Hill, 2018; Kwapisz & Hechavarría, 2018; Stead, 2017), there have been calls for consensus-changing research of methodological rigour through theory building that creates new perspectives (Leitch et al., 2018) and changes the framing and focus of the field (Martinez Dy & Agwunobi, 2019). Scholars have suggested that in order to advance the quality and relevance of women's entrepreneurship research specifically, must

focus on contextual influences, theoretical building, multidimensional analysis and the recognition of heterogeneity (Henry et al., 2021; Marlow & Martinez Dy, 2018).

This study answered these calls and employed a rigorous methodology that applied triangulation by theory, method and data sources (Carter et al., 2014). The analysis and theory development applied theories of entrepreneurial belonging (Birkner, 2020; Eroglu et al., 2021; Stead, 2017); Bourdieu's forms of capital theory (Bourdieu, 1986b, 1990) and the occupational perspective of health (Hitch et al., 2014b; Wilcock, 2007; Wilcock, 1999). The innovative application of OPH theory as an analytical frame enabled the study to offer more depth and specificity (Martinez Dy & MacNeil, 2023) to the analysis of entrepreneurial belonging for black women entrepreneurs and represents a significant methodological contribution which provides a new method for analysing entrepreneurial belonging through the dimensions of doing, being, becoming and belonging. Further, through the implementation of multidimensional analysis, the study offered a systematic approach (Gioia et al., 2013) for the examination of practice interrelationships and the analysing of complex entrepreneurial experiences.

From a methods perspective, the study utilised a combination of oral history interviews, picture diaries and logs to achieve triangulation. The oral history interviews enabled the marginalised voices and stories that have enjoyed less presence in mainstream research to be brought forward (Dean et al., 2019) and is a methodological contribution to EaP studies have notably underutilised the method (Champenois et al., 2020; Thompson et al., 2020). Combining the life history interviews with the picture diaries and logs enabled a deeper analysis and deconstruction of the overlapping workings of the social dynamics of the black women entrepreneurs (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006). Finally, source triangulation was achieved through the variability of sector, age, nationality and years of entrepreneurial experience of the participants.

9.7. Empirical contribution

A key empirical contribution of this study lies in its rich and unique dataset of life histories of black women entrepreneurs from across the African continent. The research captured detailed narratives spanning multiple years, countries, and historical and cultural contexts thus providing unprecedented insights into how African women navigate entrepreneurship through different historical, social and economic

landscapes. This diverse dataset allowed for a deep exploration of how cultural heritage, historical contexts and current-day challenges shape the entrepreneurial practices of African women. The life history approach revealed nuanced patterns in how these entrepreneurs leverage traditional value systems while adapting to modern business environments, offering rare insights into the evolution of African women's entrepreneurship across time and space. The diversity of the participants, encompassing experiences from various African nationalities and cultures operating within the same context, provides a broader and more nuanced understanding than typically available in studies focused on a single nationality. This comprehensive dataset not only enriches our understanding of black women's entrepreneurship in Africa but also provides a valuable foundation for future comparative studies (Corley & Gioia, 2011) and policy development across the continent.

9.8. Practical Contribution

There have been calls for studies that bring together research, policy and practice to drive increased inclusion of women and other social categories (Patterson, 2020). This study responds to that and makes several practical contributions to different stakeholders in the entrepreneurial ecosystem. Firstly, for black women entrepreneurs and other marginalised entrepreneurs, it offers strategic practice guidelines for navigating, fast tracking and achieving belonging through the application of specific practices. Secondly, it offers a resourcing 'toolkit' which includes creative resourcing practices that help to circumvent intersectional barriers as well as ways for leveraging community for resourcing. Finally, it highlights the practices that can be employed to simultaneously enable both belonging and resourcing and how digital platforms and inclusion-based government policies can be leveraged to fast-track the same.

For entrepreneur support organisations (ESOs) such as incubators, accelerators and entrepreneur trainers, the study offers program design insights that could enable a more holistic approach to support that not only addresses business needs but also individual needs and takes into consideration various intersectional viewpoints. Secondly, the study also highlights the importance of incorporating cultural and heritage elements into their programming as well as how to integrate the role of community within their support frameworks. Lastly, it provides key practice areas to focus on such as enabling partnerships that can enable both belonging and resourcing

for marginalized entrepreneurs and insight into how digital platforms can be used for accessing and enabling more diverse entrepreneurs.

For investors and corporate partners, the study contributes insights into the unique challenges of black women entrepreneurs which can be used to guide the creation of unique inclusion-centred value propositions that are culturally sensitive and supportive. Secondly, it provides insight into key practices, such as partnering and branding that can be leveraged to support marginalised entrepreneurs in their portfolios to overcome industry biases and barriers. Lastly, it suggests approaches for measuring effectiveness and success beyond the economic to include the social, such as community impacts and other relevant contextual matters.

Lastly, for policymakers, this research contributes fresh empirical insights into understanding how inclusion-based policies and inclusive funding mechanisms that redress historical injustices can enable both belonging and resourcing for marginalized populations. It also contributes insights into some of the structural barriers being experienced by marginalised entrepreneurs in accessing inclusive mechanisms and how they might be addressed. Finally, it contributes insights into approaches for incentivizing gatekeeper behaviour change that could fast-track inclusion.

10. Conclusion and recommendations

10.1. Introduction

This final chapter synthesizes the study's key findings by presenting the background to the study, responding to the research questions and providing conclusions. Subsequently, the study's limitations will be addressed and future research directions will be proposed.

10.2. Background of the study

This research investigated the belonging and resourcing practices of black women entrepreneurs in South Africa. The main problem it sought to address was to examine how belonging contributes to resourcing for black women entrepreneurs who have been noted to experience the double negative of gender and racial biases in entrepreneurship, traditionally seen to be a male and white space, and subsequently facing disproportionate barriers to accessing resources. This study sought to fill this gap by examining the practices that black women entrepreneurs in South Africa, with its apartheid history, put in place to navigate and negotiate belonging and resourcing and how these practices intersect and interrelate.

10.2.1. *The literature*

The literature review in chapter 2 revealed a link between belonging and the ability to access resources in entrepreneurship (Hill, 2018). However, entrepreneurship has been associated with maleness and whiteness (Martinez Dy & Agwunobi, 2019) resulting in women entrepreneurs having less access to capital than their male counterparts (Guzman & Kacperczyk, 2019; Irwin et al., 2023) and white entrepreneurs being privileged over non-white entrepreneurs in resource allocation (Knight, 2016; Wang, 2019). This translates into black women entrepreneurs experiencing a 'double-negative' based on race and gender (Jennings & Tonoyan, 2022) with negative consequences on their ventures (Knight, 2016).

Previous studies on women entrepreneurs have been criticised for ignoring the heterogeneity of women entrepreneurs (Henry et al., 2021; Marlow & Martinez Dy, 2018; Poggesi et al., 2019); studying the phenomena in an economic, functionalist and rationalist way (Hill, 2018) which overlooks the processes and practices of entrepreneurship (Garcia-Lorenzo et al., 2018); context (Henry et al., 2021); and how

social hierarchies based on race and gender influence and impact resourcing (Martinez Dy, 2020; Vincent & Pagan, 2019). Whilst the area of entrepreneurial belonging is emerging (Birkner, 2020; Essers et al., 2020; Stead, 2017), there remain gaps in how belonging is negotiated by marginalised entrepreneurs and how it impacts their resourcing (Martinez Dy & MacNeil, 2023). This empirical study sought to contribute to these gaps by bringing to light the belonging and resourcing practices of black women entrepreneurs in the context of post-apartheid South Africa, employing the EaP approach.

10.2.2. *The research questions*

The main question that the research sought to address was: *How does belonging contribute to resourcing, in the context of entrepreneurship as practice, for black women entrepreneurs in South Africa?* The sub-questions it sought to address were:

- Q1. What kind of belonging practices are employed by black women entrepreneurs?*
- Q2. What kind of resourcing practices are employed by black women entrepreneurs?*
- Q3. What kind of belonging practices aid in the resourcing practices of black women entrepreneurs?*

10.2.3. *The research method*

The social ontology of the practice approach views reality as consisting of arrays of practices, including doings and sayings (Higgins et al., 2019), that are interdependent (Champenois et al., 2020). Thus, to address these questions this study employed a qualitative, inductive approach situated in the social constructionist paradigm to explore the constructions and practices of belonging and resourcing of black women entrepreneurs (Pritchard et al., 2019). The social constructionist views knowledge and reality as constructed and contingent on human practices within a social context (Andrews, 2012) and is thus aligned with the practice approach (Champenois et al., 2020).

The study utilised narrative, offered as an ideal site for examining the construction of experiences and creation of reality (Jones & Clifton, 2017) to link stories and life history to greater social phenomena (Hatch & Wisniewski, 2002; Larty & Hamilton, 2011) allowing for an understanding of the linguistic and non-linguistic performances and processes through which 26 black women entrepreneurs, who were purposively

sampled, emically construct belonging. The narrative data was collected through life history interviews, supported by picture and written diaries collected over a 12-month period that enabled several points of engagement for a more collective representation of information as rapport was developed (Malmström et al., 2017).

Analysis was done at the meso-level (Anderson & Ronteau, 2017; Claire et al., 2019), taking the practices as the unit of analysis as per practice tradition (Anderson & Warren, 2011; Claire et al., 2019) and followed a rigorous and iterative process of analysis that entailed coding and analysis using Atlas.ti software, resulting in an initial 1359 codes and 79 categories. The second level of analysis entailed utilising OPH and Bourdieu's forms of capital theories as analytical frames and resulted in 578 codes and 41 categories. Finally, analysis of the most common practices among the participants narrowed the codes down further to 146 and 22 categories from which 10 themes were developed.

10.3. Summary of findings and conclusions

10.3.1. Research question 1: What kind of belonging practices are employed by black women entrepreneurs?

The study revealed three critical findings regarding the belonging practices of Black women entrepreneurs in entrepreneurship. Firstly, it revealed a processual nature to belonging where their entrepreneurial belonging unfolds through distinct but interconnected dimensions of doing, being, becoming, and belonging. The practices within these dimensions are interdependent, with the entrepreneurs developing various practices in each dimension in response to their environment. A notable finding here was that struggle management practices significantly overshadow productivity practices.

Secondly, the research revealed that black women entrepreneurs face a unique "double-negative" in belonging due to intersectional barriers of both gender and race. This manifests differently from both their white female peers, who face primarily gender barriers; and black male peers, who face primarily racial barriers, thus positioning them at the lowest end of both individual-level and business-level belonging continuums. This results in Black women entrepreneurs needing to negotiate belonging at two distinct levels - at individual level, where gender incongruity and historical domestic

role associations affect perceptions of entrepreneurial fitness and at business-level, where racial identity and resource access assumptions influence perceived business capability.

The sequence of negotiating these levels typically depends on business type, with product-based businesses often prioritising business-level belonging and service-based businesses requiring concurrent negotiation of both levels. Consequently, we see two categories of practices emerge – ones that are focused on reshaping their identity in order to belong such as niching or branding; and those that are focused on leveraging others to access new communities such as partnering or creating allyship. A notable finding was the bilateral relationship between individual and business belonging practices, where achieving belonging at either level creates positive leverage for the other. For example, certain practices, such as partnering and niching, were found to simultaneously enhance belonging at both levels.

Thirdly, the research uncovered a distinctive "triple-duty" configuration in how Black women entrepreneurs complete their belonging journey. Beyond individual and business belonging, they perceive true belonging as contingent on enabling community belonging as well. Thus, a third category of belonging practices centred on enabling others emerges, which manifests through both altruistic practices (giving back); and narcissistic practices (role modelling), creating push and pull effects that facilitate broader community inclusion in entrepreneurship.

10.3.1.1. Conclusion

These findings contribute to the existing literature by providing a more nuanced understanding of the complex interplay between individual, business, and community dimensions in entrepreneurial belonging for black women entrepreneurs. They highlight how cultural orientations influence the perception of belonging as a collective rather than purely individual achievement. This research extends current theoretical frameworks by demonstrating how intersectionality shapes not only the barriers to belonging but also the strategies employed to overcome them.

10.3.2. *Research question 2: What kind of resourcing practices are employed by black women entrepreneurs?*

The study revealed four major findings regarding how Black women entrepreneurs approach and manage resourcing. Firstly, it demonstrated that resourcing challenges are intensified by intersectional barriers, with Black women entrepreneurs perceiving resource acquisition as most challenging for them due to both gender and racial barriers. This affects their ability to access all forms of capital - economic, social, cultural, and symbolic.

Secondly, it revealed distinct yet overlapping practices for building different types of capital. When resourcing for economic capital, the black women entrepreneurs used a combination of traditional funding approaches (personal savings, family/friends); strategic leveraging of others (particularly white male partners); and creative resource mobilisation. For social capital, they employed practices focused on leveraging existing communities (family, religious, neighbourhood networks) and accessing new communities through strategic partnerships and alliances. To resource for cultural capital, the emphasis of practices was on intangible elements through activating of heritage-based value systems and community cultural practices. Lastly, for symbolic capital, the practices were focused on strategic status demonstration (awards, competitions) while simultaneously generating community benefits.

Thirdly, a significant finding was the simultaneous impact of resourcing practices on both the business and the entrepreneur. Unlike belonging negotiations, which required separate strategies for individual and business levels, resourcing practices generated concurrent benefits for both entities. This created reinforcing growth cycles where business-focused resource acquisition enhanced the entrepreneur's individual capital and individual capacity building strengthened business resource access. A further notable finding here was also how certain practices simultaneously build multiple forms of capital.

Finally, the research uncovered a distinctive symbiotic relationship between entrepreneurs and their communities where the black women entrepreneurs demonstrated heavy dependence on their close community for multi-capital resource access whilst also strategically investing back into the community thus creating mutual

value. This key integration of community work into business models demonstrated the black women entrepreneurs' ability to transform what would traditionally be seen as "Black Tax" obligations into strategic advantages.

10.3.2.1. Conclusion

These findings contribute to existing literature by demonstrating how Black women entrepreneurs navigate resource constraints through creative and strategic practices that often serve multiple purposes. They highlight how community integration transcends traditional economic limitations, creating alternative pathways for resource acquisition and development. This research extends current theoretical frameworks by showing how intersectionality influences not only resource access barriers but also the innovative strategies developed to overcome them.

10.3.3. *Research question 3: What kind of belonging practices aid in the resourcing practices of black women entrepreneurs?*

The study revealed a strong bilateral relationship between belonging and resourcing practices, where the majority of the belonging practices enhanced access to various forms of capital and; successful resourcing practices strengthened entrepreneurial belonging. This created a reinforcing cycle where improvements in one area positively impacted the other. The implication of this is that the strategic deployment of particular practices such as partnering and branding could strengthen both outcomes simultaneously.

Further, two key contextual factors were found to be accelerants for both belonging and resourcing outcomes being government-mandated inclusion policies and digital technologies. Regarding the former, while direct engagement between the black women entrepreneurs and government showed mixed results, broader policy frameworks that mandated inclusion created opportunities for both belonging and resource access through the facilitation of critical partnerships between black women entrepreneurs and industry gatekeepers and/or their inclusion into critical value chains. Further, targeted support programs such as grants and trade show sponsorships by government departments and agencies enhanced both resource acquisition and market belonging.

Regarding the latter, digital platforms, especially social media, were found to reduce traditional barriers to entry and accelerate access to new communities and resources. For many, the COVID-19 pandemic catalyzed digital adoption, creating unexpected opportunities for broader market access and network building. Online platforms enabled the black women entrepreneurs to join new communities, access funding opportunities, build collaborative networks and engage in direct outreach previously unavailable through traditional channels.

Finally, a nouveau conceptual framework was developed that demonstrates how the belonging and resourcing practices of black women entrepreneurs interact and reinforce each other through a bilateral relationship where belonging enables resourcing and vice versa with certain strategic practices simultaneously enhancing both dimensions and creating self-reinforcing cycles of advancement. Further, the conceptual framework demonstrated how community and heritage are key in enabling both belonging and resourcing for black women entrepreneurs and how they, in return, strategically invest back into their communities thus generating mutual benefit. Lastly, the model noted key context-dependent accelerators (policy and digital technology) for enabling both belonging and resourcing.

10.3.3.1. Conclusion

These findings contribute to existing literature by demonstrating how belonging and resourcing practices are fundamentally interconnected for Black women entrepreneurs, rather than operating as separate domains. The research highlights how community and enabling environmental factors can simultaneously strengthen both belonging and resourcing outcomes, creating accelerated paths to entrepreneurial success.

10.4. Study limitations

This study had three main limitations being the sampling frame, the self-reporting nature of narrative and the context under which the study was done. The main challenge highlighted for purposive sampling is that it inherently involves subjective judgment in the sampling process due to the researcher's active role in selecting participants and makes generalisation of research difficult (Etikan et al., 2016). However, it is recommended for research where participants need to be chosen to match the goals of the research question and rich, detailed and in-depth insights about

a topic, rather than broad representation, are required (Adom et al., 2018). This research, incorporated intersectionality as a starting point (Martinez Dy & MacNeil, 2023) within its objectives and design by focusing on examining the experiences and practices of black women entrepreneurs and thus requiring a pre-defined selection criteria for which purposive sampling is best suited (Gordon et al., 2013). Thus, the purpose of the study was not to generalise the findings to all women entrepreneurs but rather explore the specifics of black women entrepreneurs. Whilst, the study tried to address the limitation of generalisation by ensuring diversity of industry, business type, experience and location of participants, the proposed model and theoretical propositions developed in this study need to be tested through further research on other groupings.

The second challenge is that narrative design and particularly the oral history interview method entails self-reporting of stories from the past that can lack corroboration and are often subject to what participants remember (Fusch & Ness, 2015; Sarkar, 2012). Narrative is also critiqued for the focus on depth at the expense of breadth (Leavy, 2011). By applying triangulation of methods, that included photo diaries and written logs, this study tried to mitigate this limitation (Morse, 2015) and increase data completeness past language limitations (Schultze, 2014). Nonetheless, the study could have benefited from other non-self-reported methods of data collection such as observation.

Finally, generalisation beyond the context is challenging in most qualitative research (Spiers et al., 2002) and this study was no exception. Whilst South Africa with its unique history of apartheid, made for a good context for the study of a marginalized group, this same uniqueness makes generalisation a challenge. By focusing on practices rather than people as the unit of analysis, the study created some level of abstraction and decontextualisation, that could be argued to contribute to a level of generalisability into other similar contexts (Morse, 2015). However, the study findings would be further enhanced by testing them in other, less racially polarized contexts.

10.5. Recommendations for future studies

Given this study's limitations, several recommendations for future research are proposed. Firstly, researchers could validate the developed models by testing them in

different environments to assess their broader applicability. Furthermore, to enhance the models' generalisability, future studies could examine the effectiveness in less polarised settings and potentially across several geographies. Specifically, based on the propositions, future studies could examine the following:

1. Examine the triple-duty configuration in entrepreneurial belonging for black women entrepreneurs and how they navigate the processes of individual legitimization, business credibility, and community enablement and how cultural orientation moderates these.
2. Examine the dual mechanisms of community belonging and understanding push-pull dynamics, how black women entrepreneurs balance these practices and their simultaneous impacts
3. Examine the capital acquisition strategies of black women entrepreneurs including the effectiveness of and long-term sustainability of different resource acquisition approaches.
4. Investigate the multi-capital development strategies of black women entrepreneurs including overlapping effects and multiplier impacts of the strategies.
5. Investigate how strategic community investment and market integration of community work creates reciprocal value for black women entrepreneurs.
6. Evaluate how digital platforms and policy-driven inclusion mechanisms affect belonging and resourcing outcomes and the effectiveness of different policy interventions in supporting black women entrepreneurs specifically.

10.6. Overall conclusion

This research makes significant theoretical and practical contributions to our understanding of how Black women entrepreneurs navigate entrepreneurial belonging and resourcing through strategic practices. It reveals the complex interplay between identity (race, gender, traditional and historic roles); heritage; community; and the business environment in their entrepreneurial journeys.

The study's primary contribution is a novel conceptual framework that demonstrates how belonging and resourcing practices interact in a bilateral, reinforcing relationship. This framework challenges traditional individualistic approaches to entrepreneurship by highlighting the strategic importance of heritage and community in both enabling and sustaining entrepreneurial success for black women entrepreneurs. It reveals how

black women entrepreneurs navigate a unique triple-duty configuration in belonging - managing individual legitimacy, business credibility, and community enablement - while simultaneously developing creative approaches to resource acquisition across multiple forms of capital.

A key finding is the strategic way black women entrepreneurs transform constraints into advantages, particularly in their approach to community engagement. Rather than viewing community obligations as purely extractive, they develop symbiotic relationships where community investment generates returns across multiple dimensions of capital while strengthening belonging. This challenges existing narratives about the burden of community responsibilities and suggests a more nuanced understanding of how marginalized entrepreneurs can leverage community, culture and other social assets.

The research also highlights the crucial role of environmental enablers, particularly policy frameworks and digital platforms, in accelerating both belonging and resourcing outcomes for black women entrepreneurs. This has important implications for policymakers, investors and support organizations seeking to foster more inclusive entrepreneurial ecosystems.

While this study focused on black women entrepreneurs in South Africa, its findings have broader implications for understanding how marginalized entrepreneurs navigate systemic barriers. The conceptual framework provides a foundation for future research exploring how intersectional barriers manifest in entrepreneurship and how entrepreneurs develop strategic practices to overcome them.

In conclusion, this research advances our theoretical understanding of entrepreneurial belonging and resourcing while providing practical insights for entrepreneurs, policymakers, investors and support organizations working to create more inclusive entrepreneurial environments. Future research can build on this framework to explore how these dynamics manifest in different contexts and how support systems can be better designed to address the unique challenges faced by marginalized entrepreneurs.

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Appendix A. Social media call for recruitment of participants



Lelemba Phiri
Gender-lens Angel Investor | VC | PhD Candidate
9mo • 🌐

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Hi team,

I need your help 🙏. I am looking for Black female entrepreneurs in South Africa to participate in my PhD research that is looking at how black female entrepreneurs navigate belonging (in the context of entrepreneurship) and resourcing (for their businesses).

To participate, one has to be:

1. A black female entrepreneur operating in South Africa
2. Actively building and growing a business
3. They don't necessarily need to be CEO but need to be a key part of the core team that's growing the business.

△Please note:

- The research is completely anonymised_
- Participation is unpaid
- Key learnings will be shared beyond academia to hopefully support meaningful dialogue in the ecosystem

If you fit the criteria and would love to participate, please inbox me. I'd love to include your voice and story. OR If you know someone that fits the criteria - please share my details with them:

Name: Lelemba Phiri
Email: 19397110@mygibs.co.za

Thanks 🙏

Appendix B. Interview guide and probes

Construct	Main Question	Sample Probes
1. Background	1.1. Tell me about yourself	<i>1.1.1. How would you describe yourself?</i>
		<i>1.1.2. How would you describe what you do?</i>
		<i>1.1.3. Who or what do you believe have been your biggest career influencers so far and why?</i>
		<i>1.1.4. How about your family life currently?</i>
		<i>1.1.5. How about your social life?</i>
	1.2. Tell me about your upbringing?	<i>1.2.1. Where were you born and raised?</i>
		<i>1.2.2. How was your family life growing up?</i>
		<i>1.2.3. What was life like growing up in your neighbourhood?</i>
		<i>1.2.4. Tell me about your school life?</i>
		<i>1.2.5. How would you describe your career progression?</i>
2. Belonging	2.1. How did you become an entrepreneur?	<i>2.1.1. Tell me about how you made the decision to start a business</i>
		<i>2.1.2. What was happening in your life at the time you started your business?</i>
		<i>2.1.3. What do you think influenced your decision to become an entrepreneur?</i>
		<i>2.1.4. How comfortable were you becoming an entrepreneur?</i>
		<i>2.1.5. How did the decision to become an entrepreneur affect other areas of your life?</i>
	2.2. When and how did you start identifying as an	<i>2.2.1. How did you know you were an entrepreneur?</i>

	entrepreneur?	2.2.2. <i>At what point did you start calling yourself an entrepreneur, if at all?</i>
		2.2.3. <i>Was there any particular moment or event that made realise you are as an entrepreneur?</i>
		2.2.4. <i>How have you dealt with becoming comfortable in the entrepreneurial world?</i>
		2.2.5. <i>How has being an entrepreneur affected other areas of your life?</i>
		2.2.6. <i>What has been the role of networking in your entrepreneurial journey?</i>
		2.2.7. <i>What key relationships have fostered your entrepreneurial journey?</i>
		2.2.8. <i>How would you describe your interactions with other entrepreneurs?</i>
3. Resourcing	3.1. How have you gone about resourcing for your business?	3.1.1. <i>How did you start your business?</i>
		3.1.2. <i>How did you handle your initial funding needs?</i>
		3.1.3. <i>What sources of funding did you use when you started your business if any?</i>
		3.1.4. <i>What other sources of funding have you tried to access as you have grown your business?</i>
		3.1.5. <i>What types of funding have you tried to access for your business?</i>
		3.1.6. <i>How did you get your first employee/customer/supplier?</i>

		<i>3.1.7. How do you keep your entrepreneurial knowledge up to date?</i>
	3.2. What have been your major resourcing highlights and challenges in growing your business?	<i>3.2.1. What have been your main business funding successes?</i>
		<i>3.2.2. What did you learn during these moments of success?</i>
		<i>3.2.3. What have been your main funding challenges?</i>
		<i>3.2.4. What did you learn during these challenging moments?</i>
		<i>3.2.5. Are there any other interesting stories that you can share that could shed more light on your funding journey?</i>
4. Closing	4.1. Is there anything else about your life and journey to entrepreneurship that you would like to share?	N/A
	4.2. Is there anything else about business resourcing that you would like to share?	

Appendix C. Informed consent form

Informed consent form

I am conducting research on 'Women Entrepreneurs and Belonging in Entrepreneurial Resourcing Practice'. The aim of the study will be to help us understand 'How belonging contributes to resourcing, in the context of entrepreneurship as practice, for black women entrepreneurs in South Africa'. Your experience as a black woman entrepreneur in South Africa will be an important contribution to the research. **Your participation is voluntary and you can withdraw at any time without penalty.** If you choose to withdraw from the study during data collection, you can also opt to have all your data destroyed.

If you choose to participate, your involvement in the study will be in four parts as follows, including expected time requirements:

1. I will conduct an initial interview with you which may be one to two hours long via Zoom
2. I will require you to take at least 1 picture of moments related to your entrepreneurial activities and send them via WhatsApp over the next Twelve (12) months. For ethical reasons the moments captured cannot include recognisable faces of people.
3. The pictures can be accompanied by a short message describing the moment. I will be sending you weekly reminders to do so.

Your ongoing participation will be important, so do consider this carefully when joining the study.

By signing this letter, you are indicating that you have given permission for:

- The interviews to be recorded;
- Verbatim quotations from the interviews may be used in the report, provided they are not identified with your name or that of your organisation;
- The data to be used as part of a report that will be publicly available once the examination process has been completed; and
- All data to be reported and stored without identifiers.

If you have any concerns, please contact my supervisor or me. Our details are provided below.

Researcher name: Lelemba C Phiri	Research Supervisor name: Dr Kerrin Myres
Email: 19397110@mygibs.co.za	Email: Myresk@gibs.co.za
Phone: 0832475296	Phone: 0832634175

Signature of participant: _____

Signature of researcher: _____

Date: _____

Date: _____