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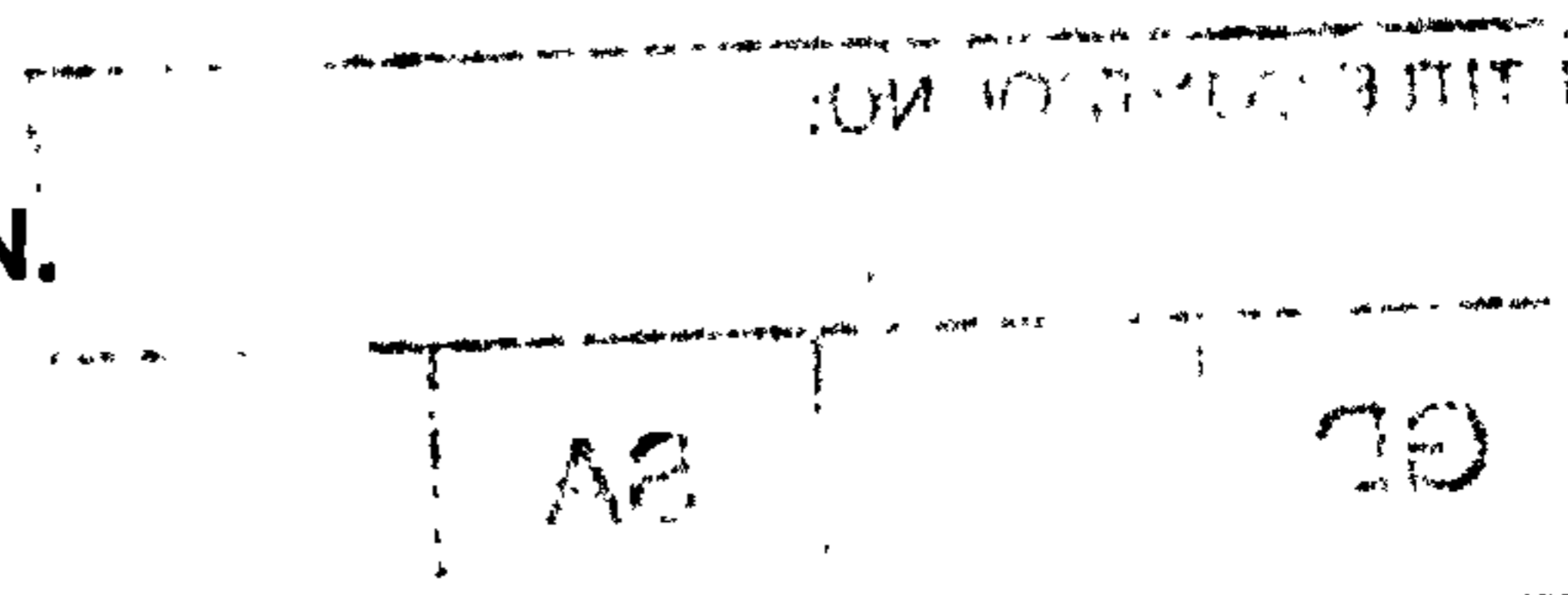
UNDERSTANDING THE ENTREPRENEUR AS SOCIALLY CONSTRUCTED

ROBERT SMITH
M.A (Aberdeen University)

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements of
The Robert Gordon University
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

January, 2006

DECLARATION.



I confirm that this thesis has been composed in its entirety by the candidate.

I confirm that this thesis has not been accepted in any previous application for a degree.

I confirm that all quotations have been distinguished by quotation marks and all sources of information utilised in this thesis have been acknowledged.

ROBERT SMITH

January, 2006.

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2	Ernie the entrepreneur
3	Elise – the invisible entrepreneur
4	Mapping entrepreneurship

“So begins, the story...” (Reich 1987:77).

ABSTRACT

“UNDERSTANDING THE ENTREPRENEUR AS SOCIALLY CONSTRUCTED”

The objective of this thesis, which combines two levels of analysis, is to explore the entrepreneur as a social construct and the socially constructed nature of entrepreneurship. It builds upon a limited number of extant studies considering the socially constructed nature of entrepreneurship by focusing upon achieving a ‘Verstehen’ of these ‘constructions’ as articulated in stories; thereby enhancing conceptual understanding. It achieves this by concentrating upon the key issues of constructionism, namely narrative and identity; and by triangulating these by using a qualitative approach and a variety of methodologies. These include social constructionism, semiotic analysis, biographical analysis, in-depth interviews, content analysis and action research. This approach is justified because, despite an increasing body of research into aspects entrepreneurial, our basic understanding of the many social facets which influence our perception of the entrepreneur remains unclear. Clarity of definition often eludes us, although we can describe and explain it in context. Consequentially, such constructions are subjective, descriptive, often nebulous and heavily reliant upon stereotype. By examining interrelated social constructs such as gender, class and ethnicity, which are embedded in and influenced by other constructs such as childhood, family, society, culture and so on this thesis extends our knowledge of entrepreneurial process. It allows us to understand subjective issues such as ethics, value, morality, legitimacy, traits, character and personality which become visible when articulated via narrative forms and storytelling mechanisms of myth, metaphor and fable.

The findings suggest that our perception of entrepreneurs may owe more to narrative convention than to the lived experience of entrepreneurs. The review of academic literature, novels (fiction), biographies, autobiographies, newspaper articles, and a semiotic analysis of images and photographs associated with the entrepreneur found that although entrepreneurs are eulogised, not all practice moral entrepreneurship - thus signalling the many forms and functions of entrepreneurship, including the immoral, amoral and criminal. In identifying a universal storybook formula the thesis shows how entrepreneurial practice is influenced by heroic stereotyping and how entrepreneurship can be understood as a communicational construct; a living, evolving narrative; and enacted story. This formula spans different media with a consistency of themes and elements which demonstrates its socially constructed nature. The multi-methodology allows one to develop deeper understanding.

The contribution of this thesis is the exploration of the philosophical, ideological and epistemological issues underpinning the ontology of entrepreneurship. This thesis by adapting a process of deconstructionism, analysis and reconstruction contributes by adopting a holistic approach uniting the constructionist and ‘Verstehen’ approaches as a heuristic tool through which to achieve a greater understanding of entrepreneurship as a socio-behavioural process. Moreover it considers entrepreneurial narrative as socially mediated behavioural scripts constructed from a wide range of inter-disciplinary

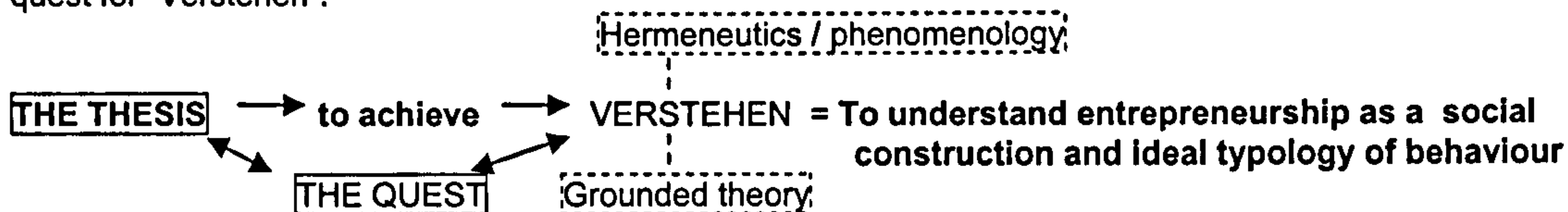
knowledge best understood when assembled and read as a process. In taking cognisance of the individual entrepreneur as a person and in then examining psychological, sociological, demographic and linguistic factors affecting the application of entrepreneurship, the thesis maps entrepreneurial process as socially constructed. Mapping how social constructionism shapes perception necessitates looking at the practices and processes which constitute it as a socially negotiated interaction.

This thesis extends knowledge of how social constructions are formed and perpetuated in society and displays originality by focusing on how social construction impact on the entrepreneurial process. The entrepreneur is often encountered in a literary format as a heroic male personage. Masculine ideology, rhetoric, mythology, and doxa reinforce this message marginalising female entrepreneurs with whom the construction may not resonate. Entrepreneurs are presented as 'likeable rogues' a perception reinforced by a semiotic pictorial format of 'bad boys' embedded in images of masculinity, class and criminality. This thesis bridges many theoretical approaches to entrepreneurship by using narrative and communication techniques to reveal how academic conceptualisations adhere to but differ from more popular concepts. The research develops a practical narrative based theory of entrepreneurship. This study presents the socially constructed nature of entrepreneurial knowledge and process in a way not done before. However, its most substantial contribution is that it takes the notion of entrepreneurial narrative, discourse, and constructions to a new level in taking cognisance of the plethora of plots, sub-plots and storylines which constitute the socially constructed narrative that is entrepreneurship.

1- IN SEARCH OF “VERSTEHEN”.

READERS' GUIDE

This chapter introduces the study, explains, sign-posts and justifies the thesis, providing an overview of the quest for “Verstehen”.



- 1.1 – INTRODUCING THE THESIS.
- 1.2 – EXPLAINING THE ARGUMENTS UNDERPINNING THE THESIS.
- 1.3 – JUSTIFYING THE THESIS
- 1.4 – ISSUES OF ORIGINALITY AND CONTRIBUTION.
- 1.5 – CHAPTER OVERVIEW AND DIAGRAMMATICAL EXPLANATION.
- 1.6 – CONTEXTUALISING VERSTEHEN.
- 1.7 – DEFINING THE QUEST.
- 1.8 - REFLECTIONS.

1.1 - INTRODUCING THE THESIS.

The objective of this thesis is to examine social constructions of entrepreneurship and in particular those found in the public domain in Britain. Social constructions can be coloured by the ideological motivations of those who construct them and reflected in its many manifestations. As scholars of entrepreneurship, we are attuned to its many nuances, yet for many members of the public it is a hidden, mysterious phenomenon. Moreover, entrepreneurship is capable of analysis at the individual and public level. The word construct is defined in the Chambers Everyday Dictionary (1980) as being to “build up” or “put together the parts”. This is crucial given that our knowledge of entrepreneurship is built up from many diverse, constituent parts and anything that can be constructed can be put together in a variety of ways, dependent upon the will, purpose and intention of its creator. The research focus is directed towards the entrepreneur, and representations thereof. It is not an examination of entrepreneurship *per se*, but of its constructions, or how it appears to be presented and understood. This is an important distinction because entrepreneurship is an abstract, mental concept that is difficult to directly observe. Instead, one must deduce and interpret it. As will be demonstrated in this thesis, manifestations (of entrepreneurship) are discernible in the words, actions, behaviour, and appearance of persons who practice it, and in the literature pertaining to it. In examining the entrepreneur, one is one step closer to the actual behavioural phenomena, than when discussing the abstract concept of entrepreneurship. For Gartner (1989:57) the opposite is true. Yet, Gartner’s view of entrepreneurship as the creation of organisations provides too narrow a focus for this study, which adopts a more holistic approach, because these observable manifestations are social constructions and not objective, concrete, scientific data, which can be examined, catalogued and taken for granted.

This study is interesting for several reasons. Firstly, an appreciation of the socially constructed nature of entrepreneurship is in its infancy. There are only two PhD theses directly relating to the social construction of entrepreneurship - Pittaway (2000) and Hytti (2003). Both these studies adopt a narrative based approach, linking entrepreneurship to identity construction. Many entrepreneurship scholars allude to the social construction of entrepreneurship, but proceed to talk around the subject. However, this study differs from the others in that it also takes cognisance of semiotics and explores how entrepreneurial knowledge is constructed and where it comes from. This thesis considers constructions of the entrepreneur not only as

constructed in academic literature, but in biography, autobiography, novels, media, television and the press. Such populist constructions are mutually supportive social scripts, which shape our perceptions and influence how we view lived experience. This thesis also considers the entrepreneur as an individual involved in a social process, using a constructivist mapping process to chart entrepreneurial knowledge as socially constructed. In doing so, the thesis also maps entrepreneurial process, showing where the different elements which make up the entrepreneurial construct fit together. This thesis thus makes a unique contribution to entrepreneurship scholarship (in general terms) by extending extant knowledge of social constructionism (and in specific terms) by its examination of character. The research problem is to explain how such constructions, and in particular entrepreneurial character, are formed, by examining social constructionist theory. The context is predominantly a linguistic one, and the approach is constructionist. The thesis also considers how the social construction of entrepreneurship is embedded, constructed and communicated within a range of media, and is dramatically expressed, most often in narrative where it is frequently presented as a living metaphor, a representational creation of stereotypicality.

The public encounter constructions of the entrepreneur, as accepted re-generative social scripts, in a variety of different literary formats such as novels, biographies, autobiographies and newspapers, as well as in the media, television and films. Yet, it is important to distinguish between genuine entrepreneurial functions and the tales of the "storybook entrepreneur"; otherwise one may just have collected a story that conforms to accepted notions of storytelling. Such stories inhabit the written page and when read, or narrated, or enacted as social scripts, capture our collective imagination. Alternatively, they are re-packaged as equally captivating semiotic images. Entrepreneurial narrative performs a specific educational and ideological shaping role in society but there is a need to separate fact from fiction and myth from lived experience. Such stories are often presented as if they were a true essence and not a social construction. As the study progressed, an appreciation of the fate of the entrepreneur to be lauded as a hero, or castigated as villain, developed. These opposing social constructs stride boldly from the pages of fact and fiction, shaping our perceptions of lived experience. The hero is the dominant construct and the villain an alternative. The picaresque social construction of the entrepreneur supports the heroic image. Both constructs are powerful, operating at the level of doxa and ideology, shaping conceptions about the role, purpose, character, identity, and the acceptance or rejection of the entrepreneur by society. This appreciation of its social construction illustrates and illuminates how even entrepreneurial practices are influenced by heroic stereotyping, cliché, narrative, archetype, storytelling, myth and metaphor. The accepted storybook script can be enacted by entrepreneurs - as evidenced by Waples (2002:5), quoting serial entrepreneur Allan Leighton - "I have been through good times and bad times and have been a hero and a villain". This quote is reminiscent of ancient stories, reliant upon familiar plots of heroes and villains (Darnton, 1975).

This thesis also explores how entrepreneurs construct and communicate their personal life stories and identities. Indeed, an appreciation of entrepreneurship as a communicational construct and method of communication is increasing (Timmons, 1999; Casson, 2000; Aggestam & Keenen, 2002; O'Conner, 2002). As a social construct, entrepreneurship is cherished and usually projected as a morally bounded practice, associated with legitimacy and the creation of value, but it is not a universally understood phenomenon. It requires to be invoked, by recourse to narrative where the doxic, ideological and semiotic underpinnings of the narrative, and narrator, invariably manifest themselves with the entrepreneur cast in the role of hero or villain. Heroes and villains possess different characters which may influence whether they practice

entrepreneurship morally, immorally, amorally or criminally, shaping the diversity of entrepreneurial identity and necessitating alternative entrepreneurial narratives. Narrative is an exceptional vehicle for accommodating the chaos, paradoxes and contradictions that permeate entrepreneurship. It is easy to be swept away in the drama, heroism, tragedy and romance that pervade the rhetoric of enterprise but it is the narrative that is imbued with these qualities, not the individual entrepreneur who has a choice whether to perpetuate, or reject the socially expected mythic constructions.

The dominant narrative is that of the heroic, moral entrepreneur. Notwithstanding this, the very word entrepreneur has accrued a negative, nefarious undertone with an implicit assumption that there is something inherently wicked in its practice. Entrepreneurial success can be turned against its holder as an accusation against them that their wealth and success must somehow be based on dishonesty. The novelist Taylor Caldwell (1972:51) succinctly articulated this duality of character in respect of her fictional hero, evil entrepreneur Joseph Francis Xavier Armagh who prospered because "Men do not get rich by honest labour". The entrepreneur is portrayed as a tragic, mythical figure, eulogised and demonised by society. Yet, there is more substance to the word than is told in stories, for entrepreneurship is a life theme (Bolton & Thomson, 2000) that pervades our societal fabric. The darker sides of the construct - the entrepreneur as a rascal, rogue or villain, and criminal are frequently glossed over. Entrepreneurship encompasses a wide gamut of social behaviour and the entrepreneur enacts a variety of social roles.

1.2 - EXPLAINING THE ARGUMENTS UNDERPINNING THE THESIS.

This section explains the flow of logic underpinning the main arguments behind the study, arguing that:-

- Our present understandings of entrepreneurship are coloured by its socially constructed nature which often hides important ideological, philosophical and epistemological elements such as morality and legitimacy, which underpin the construct.
- The entrepreneurial construct is nebulous and is composed of hidden and subjective elements that do not lend themselves readily to definition or scientific examination. Instead, we are presented with social constructions of the entrepreneur and entrepreneurship (archetypal heroes and villains) expressed in pervasive narrative formats which influence our perceptions of the entrepreneur.
- Such social 'constructions' may merely be heroic stereotypes that perhaps owe their existence to narrative conventions. Yet, they may influence the practice and understanding of entrepreneurship.
- Consequentially, entrepreneurship can be understood as being (1) a communicational construct; (2) a living, evolving narrative; and perhaps (3) as an enacted story.
- Thus we cannot fully understand entrepreneurial functions unless we have deconstructed and made sense of these archetypal heroic stereotypes.

To develop such understanding this thesis adopts a holistic "Verstehen" approach considering the entrepreneurial process in its entirety.

1.3 - JUSTIFYING THE THESIS.

This thesis contributes to the field of entrepreneurship research because social constructions shape, *inter alia*, entrepreneurial motivations, rewards, scholarly perceptions, and so on. The mythology, hero worship and romanticism, which surround the entrepreneur, pervades its doxa and ideology, its narrative forms, such as the success story and the morality tale, and also the discourse and rhetoric through which it is articulated.

Consequentially, this thesis employs deconstructionism to explore the social constructs. Entrepreneurship exists as doxa, ideology, narrative and identity at a collective or personal level. The collective ideology, discourse and rhetoric legitimise the individual at a personal level. Yet, there is a degree of circularity between the two in the entrepreneurial literature. As entrepreneurship researchers seek recognition as a scientific status they must clearly define the axioms upon which it rests and the idioms through which it is articulated. In mapping out the elements from which our knowledge of the entrepreneurial is constructed this thesis, exposes and clarifies important linkages. Examining knowledge and aspects of its formation is not the same as examining the practices, processes or functions, which determine entrepreneurial actions. However, it is linked to it in important ways as appreciated by the imaginative philosopher Paul Feyerabend (1975) who asserted our need to engage with the myth that guides our understanding. Myths affect entrepreneurial motivation, norms, and decisions making the ideology and the processes tightly coupled. There is a danger in that examining the former we merely perpetuate entrepreneurial mythology and rhetoric. An appreciation of the social processes through which our knowledge of entrepreneurship is formed is beneficial because over time such nebulous concepts, become taken for granted. Another justification is that the overall supply of entrepreneurs, and the kinds of people who aspire to become entrepreneurs, is in part affected by the social desirability of entrepreneurship as demonstrated by Ajzen's motivation models (1991, 1995). This thesis extends our knowledge of how such social constructions are formed and perpetuated in society, thereby mapping an (entrepreneurial) reality (King, 1996).

1.4 - ISSUES OF ORIGINALITY AND CONTRIBUTION.

By focusing on how social construction impact on the entrepreneurial process, this study makes a significant and important contribution to entrepreneurship literature. Jack (2002:5) stresses that increasingly the literature adopts the view that to understand the entrepreneur, academic research must focus away from the individual itself. Thus by focusing on constructions of the entrepreneur and upon the wider issues of social construction and narrative construction this thesis follows Jack's advice. Jack (2002:23) lists six main approaches to entrepreneurship, namely - Economic; Social; Population ecology; Trait; Psychodynamic; and Behavioural. This thesis bridges all these approaches using narrative and communication techniques as an analytic tool to reveal the social construction of entrepreneurship, locating it in the social and behavioural approaches. It argues that the dominance of the behaviourist school of entrepreneurship requires to be balanced with empirical research linking macro-social phenomena to a holistic approach. Furthermore, it examines and maps the conceptualisations of the entrepreneur in public discourse.

1.5 – CHAPTER OVERVIEW AND DIAGRAMMATICAL REPRESENTATION.

Chapters 1 to 3 are introductory in nature. Chapter 1 begins the study introducing, explaining and justifying the thesis acting as a sign-posting mechanism. It also introduces and discusses the quest for "Verstehen". Chapter 2 introduces the concept of social constructionism, explaining constructionist building blocks and constructionism's tools. Chapter 3 sets forth the methodological and philosophical orientation and explains the methodology employed. It discusses ethical considerations and provides a methodological overview as well as setting the agenda for the research proper. Chapter 4 introduces and discusses entrepreneurship theory and considers entrepreneurship as a social construction. It argues that because entrepreneurship is a subjective socially constructed phenomena defined by the creation and extraction of value, it is best

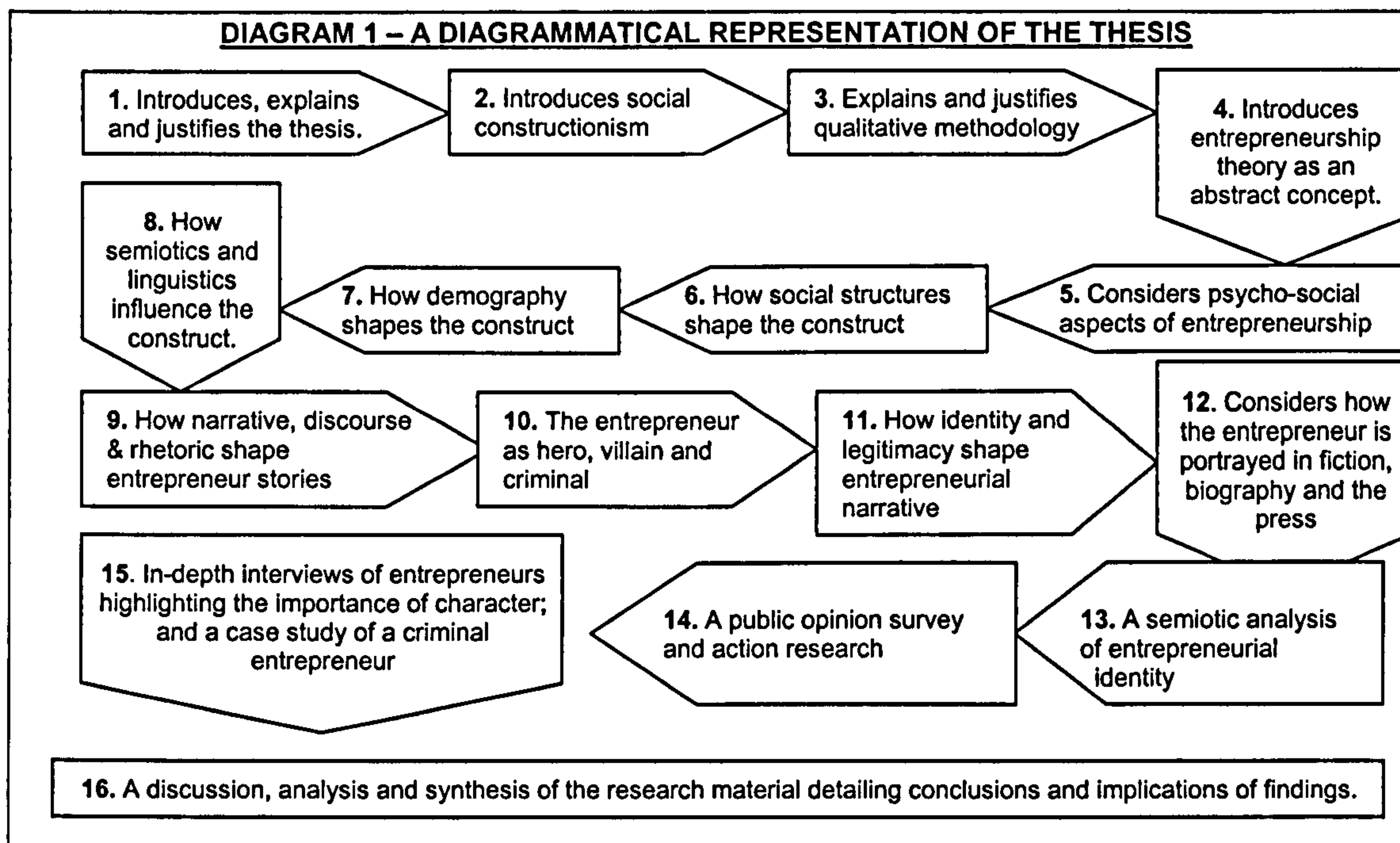
explained as a value system by recourse to communication and linguistic heuristic devices. The main theme identified which links all the chapters is that of the importance of values and character.

Chapters 5, to 11 form an extended literature review. The literature itself becomes the subject of analysis. The analysis concerns the important contribution of how such pre-understanding is formed. Chapter 5 considers the entrepreneur as an individual from a broadly psychological perspective, and examines those facets of the entrepreneurial construct which emanate from the person such as traits, values, behaviours, actions, communications and so forth. The purpose of re-visiting the trait, personality and character approaches is to link them with action and communication. Chapter 6 takes a sociological approach and maps various social structures such as culture, childhood and religion as enablers of value, exploring how they affect the entrepreneurial value system. Chapter 7 considers the roles of demography and destiny on the emerging entrepreneurial narrative and in particular how class, ethnicity, and gender issues, influence the developing story about the creation of value. Chapter 8 introduces semiotics and sees a change of focus expanding the developing analysis to consider the role of specific constructionist building blocks and constructionism's tools such as parable, myth, metaphor and so on, on shaping the heroic entrepreneurial story and on the 'framing' of value creation. Chapter 9 explores the role of narrative, discourse and rhetoric in shaping entrepreneurial ideology examining the entrepreneurial dream in its many formats and also classic entrepreneurial storylines. It illustrates how value creation is woven into the stories and shows how the narratives are employed in social constructionism. Chapter 10, builds upon the bedrock of the previous chapter, and extends the analysis to consider entrepreneurial identity and legitimacy considering how these add value. It is through legitimacy that we validate actions, communications, narratives and identities, which we weave around us. Chapter 11 examines the academic evidence for considering the entrepreneur as hero and villain. Chapter 12 considers constructionism's tools and examines specific channels of communication through which entrepreneurial narratives and identities are broadcast, such as the media, biography, fiction and the press. It also examines constructions of the entrepreneur in these literary media, highlighting the formulaic nature of the construct, irrespective of the genre used to project it. It explores multiple entrepreneurial identities uncovered by an analysis of these media.

Chapters 13 to 15 present the field research carried out to extend, develop, and move beyond the extended literature review. Chapter 13 examines entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial iconology by conducting semiotic analysis. This chapter also mirrors the mapping process conducted in chapters 4 to 12 to demonstrate from where the constructed knowledge is formulated. Chapter 14 sets out research into the public perception of the entrepreneur in the North-East of Scotland and also details the story of action research conducted to propagate the entrepreneurial narrative amongst children using formulaic themes identified in earlier chapters. Chapter 15 details field research conducted by in-depth interviews with local businessmen in the North-East of Scotland to determine whether their stories reflect entrepreneurial mythology. The importance of tales of character emerges from the data as being the most significant finding. It also considers the deviant case study of London gangster-entrepreneur Dodgy Dave Courtney to highlight the importance of character in determining entrepreneurial identity. Chapter 16 concludes the study with an analysis-synthesis of the research raising implications and conclusions. It argues that one must take cognisance of character and look beyond constructions of the entrepreneur as hero or villain. It posits the categories of moral, immoral, amoral and criminal entrepreneur as useful typologies in discriminating between those who create value and those who do not. It further suggests that entrepreneurship is best understood as a *modus operandi* or quality of an action. This research enhances our understanding of the

process of entrepreneurial scholarship because in drawing out the heroic and villainous constructions of the entrepreneur (and in considering what is said of entrepreneurs) it is possible to reveal them as social constructions, albeit well received and practiced fabrications. When as researchers we look beyond such storybook presentation and instead conduct a mapping exercise to draw out entrepreneurial process we return to objective research into entrepreneurship as a behavioural facet.

Each chapter makes an argument, which contributes to developing or answering the master argument of the thesis, relating to social constructionism. This active form of presentation assists in fitting all the elements into the overall mapping process and illustrating where each chapter fits in with the overall arguments of the thesis. For a diagrammatical representation of this thesis, see diagram 1.



1.6 – CONTEXTUALISING VERSTEHEN.

This thesis is undertaken in the spirit of “Verstehen”, an academic research approach, which evolved from the work of J.G. Droyson (1893) who distinguished the act of understanding from the logical mechanisms involved. The approach is primarily associated with the work of Max Weber. “Verstehen” is a German word which literally translated means understanding. Outhwaite (1986:13) argues that actual understanding is a process that occurs between two minds. Moreover, understanding is a subjective, interpretive process, which includes consideration of other subjective processes as intuition, inferences and expressions discernable as signs or expressions of mental life. Outhwaite (1986:20) drawing on the sources of various hermeneutic theorists, including Wach (1926), defines interpretation as “an act involving the construction of something finite and determined from what is infinite and indeterminate”. Thus the very process of “Verstehen” is imbued with inherent constructivist principles. It developed from the hermeneutic approach, which studies people as subjects, rather than objects, with a view to achieving mutual understanding. Early sociologists such as Droyson (1893), Dilthay (1937), Wach (1926), Rickert (1962), Simmel (1892) and Weber (1971) pioneered the hermeneutic approach, the guiding principle of which is that meaning must be

read out of texts, not into them by taking account of the historical traditions and spirit of an age. It was Simmel who posited the notion of the hermeneutic circle where all aspects of interpretation are interconnected and circular in nature, because one's arguments ultimately come back to one's starting point. Hermeneutics (the science of interpretation) was formed by the German School of sociologists as a countervailing viewpoint to the Erklaren methodology, which argues that everything has a causal explanation. For Simmel, hermeneutic approaches allow for a plurality of possible plausible interpretations. Through "Verstehen" one can develop new understandings and strive to understand and grasp the meanings that human beings attribute to their experiences, interactions, and actions. Hermeneutics argues that social knowledge is constituted by "Meanings and representations" (Wetherell, 1991:168). For Outhwaite (1986: 33) a Verstehende approach operates by situating phenomena in a larger whole, giving them meaning. Seeking understanding is a fundamental philosophical aspect of the human condition. It is very much a personal grail like quest for a negotiated understanding employed because of the scientific and philosophical impossibility of defining objective reality and higher truth. Outhwaite (1986:18) considers it as being a practical mode of understanding our world. Normally, "Verstehen" is taken to be literal understanding, or linguistic comprehension. However, I prefer the reading of Habermass (2003) for whom it includes the very processes of reaching understanding and is linked to action. From these readings a personal understanding of understanding emerged as being related to sense-making and sense-giving mechanisms as drawn from images and language expressed as representations.

For Abel (1948) "Verstehen" is an operation, an application of a behavioural maxim derived from an observer's own experience thereby enabling one to make relevant connections. Hjorth (2001:26-27) describes it as a lived experience of affinity and common belonging; and for Pope (1982) and Lincoln & Guba (1985) it is a methodological approach aligned to social constructionist stances, hence its use in this study. It is a relevant methodological approach to adopt for this study because as Outhwaite (1986:16-17) stresses knowledge comes to us in an already partially interpreted format, thus social scientists "must begin with data which is already interpreted in the ordinary language of everyday life" and can only hope to deepen, systematize and often qualify, by means of empirical and conceptual investigations understandings which are already present. This was a view shared by Habermass (1981/2003) and Wellmer (1971) and led Outhwaite (1986:93) to conclude in the tradition of Harre & Secord (1979) that "Verstehen" is best achieved by considering "Pre-scientific ways of interpreting and explaining social actions which are embedded in every day life". Examples include archetype, myth, metaphor and other such narrative forms, considered in this study. Such devices are "common sense constructs" (Outhwaite, 1986:111).

Max Weber developed "Verstehen" into a methodical, systematic, and rigorous interpretive, empathetic method which takes account of relationships between differing fields of contribution and follows a historical approach. Weber contended that such understanding was the proper way of studying social phenomena and explicitly recognised the role of the scholar in creating his version or plane of reality, as there is no one plane of reality. For Weber it was a necessity to enter into the spirit of the period or social phenomenon being examined by constructing an Ideal Type. For Rogers (1969:17) an ideal type is "formed by the one-sided accentuation of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete more or less present and occasionally absent concrete individual phenomenon...arranged according to those one sidedly emphasised viewpoints into a unified analytic construct....In its conceptual purity, this mental construct...cannot be found empirically anywhere in reality". It is a description of a typical (not individual) course of action making it suitable for perpetuation in narrative. It is not an average of characteristics. Its

goal is to make explicit the “unique individual character of a cultural phenomenon” (ibid.28). It can be extracted from personal characteristics and social phenomenon present in the mind of an individual and pertinent to a particular epoch as an “ideal to be striven for in practical life, or as a maxim for the regulating of certain social relationships” (ibid.22). It can be incorporated into individual dreams and possess a transient quality, changing over time. For Rogers it is a symbolic structure and for Parsons (1937) it is a behavioural template for a future state of affairs to which action is orientated as deemed desirable by the actors. Having a normative element, ideal types entail the use of value judgments. It concentrates attention on extreme and polar types, leading to type atomism – comparing pure against impure thereby accentuating both (ibid.69-70). This intensification of significant themes helps build the type, but individual persons themselves can never become an ideal type albeit they can be compared against it. The importance of ideal type to entrepreneurship is that entrepreneurship itself is an ideal typology of action.

Drawing on a “Verstehen” approach entrepreneurship scholars such as Frederick (2002) and Cochran (1969) considered entrepreneurs as a Weberian ideal type. Fournier (1996) refers to as “idealized notions of the entrepreneur” and the entrepreneur is perhaps an ideal against which we seek to measure actions and behaviour. Nevertheless, the “Verstehen” approach proved useful in this study to link the disparate qualitative constructivist methodologies employed, with the grounded theory approach of Glaser & Strauss (1967). The hermeneutic approach of reading meaning out of a text, not into it is exactly what Glaser & Strauss do in practicing grounded theory. Also, the spirit of “Verstehen” extends into the work of many phenomenologist tracts, making it an ideal bridging mechanism. The phenomenological approach argues for the power of the individual to create their own identity (Stevens, 1991:16). Glover (1988:131) views “self-creation” as a constructionist process through which we shape our identities. Weber (1990) argued against abstract theory, favouring an approach to sociological inquiry that generated its theory, and understanding, from rich, systematic, empirical, historical research, from emergent data, drawn from the fields of sociology, history and psychology. Lindgren & Packendorff (2003) suggest that the entrepreneurship theory of Joseph Schumpeter was so powerful because it drew on literature from history, economic history and sociology.

1.7 – DEFINING THE QUEST.

This section documents my personal motivation in conducting this research. The first stage in theory building requires one to set out a logic of discovery. Gartner (2001:27) argues that it is especially important in entrepreneurship that we examine and articulate our logic of discovery, and most especially, the “assumptions we make about this phenomenon”. Gartner has elsewhere (1990) demonstrated that entrepreneurship scholars are indeed diverse in their perceptions of what entrepreneurship is, what it means, and how we should study it. Reflecting upon our ideas and assumptions - “enables us to detect the biases that creep into our research and constitute likely threats to the validity of our knowledge claims” (Tsoukas & Knudsen, 2003:6-7). Furthermore, given the subject matter and methodology of the thesis, it is possible to make an argument for using narrative to allow me to tell my own story in storybox 1

STORYBOX 1 – MY SEARCH FOR VERSTEHEN.

My search for “Verstehen” began quite early on in the PhD process. One evening, at a social event, when I explained to a neighbour (a local businessman) that I was studying entrepreneurs, he immediately remarked, in an uncharacteristically explosive and derogatory manner “*There’s no such thing as an entrepreneur – they are all crooks*”. This powerful display of emotion, rage and passion made a vivid and lasting impression upon me. Several weeks later, whilst also attempting to explain to a friend that I was researching entrepreneurs, she remarked “*Do you mean like Arthur Daley*”. Immediately, realising that this

was evidence of the social construction of entrepreneurship, I was further taken aback when she simultaneously made a semiotic hand gesture associated with dodgy dealings. The questions of "How could such a dubious image of the entrepreneur exist" and more importantly "Where did such images and knowledge come from" became an all consuming passion. Although, I was primarily interested in how this knowledge was constituted in Britain, and in particular the North East of Scotland, I appreciated that the phenomenon of entrepreneurship is a multi cultural and global entity and could not be researched in isolation. I was also aware of the words of Gibb (1987:3) that "The entrepreneur in the UK has become the god (or goddess) of current political ideology and a leading actor in the theatre of the new economics".

The completion of this thesis became a personal quest to be mastered, despite the obstacles life placed in my path. Being a part time student, in full time employment, there were many trials and tribulations to be faced, endured and conquered. The word quest is defined as the act of seeking, implying a pursuit often conflated with the object pursued. As I came to the field of entrepreneurship scholarship without any prior experience of entrepreneurship, I found it helpful to create my own map of the entrepreneurial domain to guide the direction of my studies. As is often the case with quests all was revealed only when the map was deciphered. And so it should be, or there would be no point for such perilous journeys. In my case the map, albeit of a rudimentary nature, turned out to be of tangible value. This should not have surprised me, because, like many before me I was as in search of a mythical creature – the entrepreneur whom we are told is more elusive than the fictional Heffalump (Kilby, 1971).

1.8 - REFLECTIONS.

Having introduced, explained and justified the thesis as a search for "Verstehen", discussed issues of originality and contribution, provided an overview of the research, and having explained my personal motivation for conducting the research it is necessary to consider methodological and philosophical underpinnings of the study. However, it is also necessary to set out the research questions. This thesis seeks answers to the following questions:-

- What are the social constructions of the entrepreneur in British Society?
- Where do they come from and how are they constructed?
- In what ways are these social constructions employed in communicating entrepreneurship?
- How are entrepreneurs portrayed in the different mediums?
- What are the implications of these constructions?
- How do they reflect and affect entrepreneurial behaviours?

In order to achieve "Verstehen" it was necessary to conduct an extensive research programme. Chapter 2 documents the beginning of the quest by introducing the concept of social constructionism.

2 – INTRODUCING SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM.

INTRODUCTION.

READERS' GUIDE.

This chapter introduces the concepts of social constructionism, constructionist building blocks and constructionism's tools.

SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM

DECONSTRUCTED AS IN

LANGUAGE THE MEDIA SOCIETY CULTURE HISTORY IDENTITY

DEFINE **REALITY AND THE SOCIALLY CONSTRUCTED WORLD**

AND THUS **THE SOCIALLY CONSTRUCTED SELF**

↓
These impinge upon presentations and representations of the entrepreneur

2.1 - SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM EXPLAINED.

2.2 - THE SELF AS SOCIALLY CONSTRUCTED.

2.3 - THE SOCIALLY CONSTRUCTED NATURE OF LANGUAGE.

2.4 - CONSTRUCTIONIST BUILDING BLOCKS AND CONSTRUCTIONISM'S TOOLS.

2.5 - CONSIDERING DECONSTRUCTIONISM.

2.6 - REFLECTIONS.

In the search for "Verstehen", social constructionism proved to be a vital conceptual tool. As a methodology, social constructionism is widely used in academic disciplines - for instance, Nicolson (2001:10) writes of a united constructivist voice in social science, biology, geography, identity, and politics. According to Wetherell (1997:186) constructionists concern themselves with issues of identity, discourse, history and culture. These issues became a major focus of research. Seminal constructionist works include those of Berger & Luckman's (1971) "Social Construction of Reality" and Barthes (1993) "Mythologies". In this thesis social constructionism is given a privileged position as a core concept in the study. Moreover, because this thesis explores the entrepreneur as a collective genus it necessitated drawing upon an inductive, social constructionist approach. Instead of presuming that entrepreneurship can be easily defined and its extent statistically validated, it examines the ways in which knowledge about it is produced and becomes taken for granted as part of reality. It does not seek to reduce entrepreneurship to a number of constituent parts, from which others can reconstruct it, but to appreciate the social mechanisms by which this taken for granted-ness is achieved. Social constructionism surrounds us influencing much of what we do and say and take for granted. The following sections explain social constructionism as a concept; consider the self as socially constructed; and the socially constructed nature of language; as well as considering constructionist building blocks and constructionism's tools. These exist as a backcloth of social constructionism against which the entrepreneur operates. As a social construct, entrepreneurship has become embedded within and is constructed, represented and communicated via a range of media such as archetype, myth and metaphor.

2.1 – SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM EXPLAINED

The aim of constructionism is not to establish the truth because there is no one truth. Moreover, the basic argument of social constructionism is that any phenomenon resulting from human agency does not occur

naturally, but is shaped by particular social, historical and cultural contexts (Chandler, 1994). By adopting this position we argue that ultimately what constitutes reality is unknowable except as a mediated phenomenon (plausibility). Indeed, for Burrell & Morgan (1979:253) reality emerges. There is no one reality, because reality despite being different for each individual is composed of experience, socialisation, Media and so on. Berger & Luckmann (1971:106) discuss the concept of reification of social reality – the apprehension of human phenomena “as if” they were facts of nature and not merely products of the collective production of reality. Furthermore, Berger & Luckmann (1971:40) refer to reality enclaves, and entrepreneurship can be viewed as such.

Wetherell (1997:120) argues that people come to understand their social world by way of images or social representations which are shared by members of a social group, acting like a map of the social terrain. These representations underpin our attitudes. For Wetherell (1991:79) representations are the bridge between the individual and the social and play a vital role in the construction of identity. Steven (1991:5) argues that identity is very much about representation and our capacity to make sense of the social world. For Burr (1995:4) our understanding of what is normal is based upon the particular social and economic arrangements prevailing in a culture at a particular time. In researching the social construction of subjectivity, Berger & Luckmann refer to “plausibility structures” and when we consider reality, we are basically evaluating credibility and plausibility. Indeed, Berger & Luckmann (1971:35-37) refer to multiple realities, noting that the reality of everyday life holds sway because it presents itself as already objectified in a world of shared inter-subjectivity (as opposed to dreams). For Cardwell (2000:61) a constructionist view of perception is built from “inferences and guesses based on previous experience and memories” which, in turn actively construct our own reality as stories and discourse. Thus reality (plausibility) is not just the sum of sensory data, but the product of active perceptual constructions. The plausible is viewed as achievable, and thus valid. Gergen (1998:1) urges us to observe “a range of variegated and overlapping conversations and practices that draw from various resources and with varying emphasis and combinations ... Nothing is legislated and nothing is fixed - including the meaning of constructionism itself”. Social constructionism is an elusive, changing, difficult to define social paradigm. Constructionists persistently challenge the empiricist’s desire to close the relationship between language, observation and truth, exposing the power, politics and motives behind claims to scientific neutrality and hard facts. Gergen calls this a “motivational unmasking” of language composed of fact and truth. It affects us in many fundamental ways – for example, the social construction of gender and crime (Lorber & Farrell, 1991; Heidensohn, 1989) can impinge upon entrepreneurship. Constructionist approaches offer distinct possibilities in the search for “Verstehen”, because language is the medium of social action and constructionism.

Yet, it was necessary to heed the advice of Velody (1998) who warned of the politics of social constructionism and argued that filtering one’s work through it may negate its value in the eyes of critics who question its validity. Whilst this is true of any methodology, it is particularly so for social constructionism. Another criticism of constructionists is that they generally talk around a subject. In this study, this makes it a strength because talking around is essential in achieving a state of “Verstehen”. Also, constructionist stances frequently invoke a “so what” response from critics who scoff that most social phenomena are socially constructed. Moreover, social constructions inform expectations of plausibility and can be changed, by altering the narrative mechanisms used to construct them. It is ironic that a notion such as entrepreneurship, notoriously difficult to define, is filtered through and rendered understandable by such a complex and socially embedded mechanism. Moreover, Sanner (1999) and Shane & Venkataraman (2000)

suggest that entrepreneurship is socially embedded. Explaining entrepreneurship to others is difficult enough without trying to explain its socially constructed nature. Nevertheless, social constructionism provides a socially negotiated framework through which we construct the self.

2.2 – THE SELF AS SOCIALLY CONSTRUCTED.

Constructivist arguments revolve around psychological processes such as status of cognition, personal agency, emotion and subjectivity, which for Berger & Mohr (1982) are sites of construction. Thus for Wetherell (1997:300) social constructionism focuses upon the multiple and plural nature of the individual, as there is no one true essence, but a mixture of voices drawn from socio-cultural contexts. Glover (1988:175) discusses the social construction of our inner core. According to Gergen & Davies (1984) the concept of person is socially constructed, and for Mailloux (1998) social constructs are referential logos, dependent upon webs of belief. Chell (2000:65) articulates that social constructionism is concerned with how individuals and groups create their reality and make sense of it, and for Weik (1995:36) it is a process of sense-making concerned with enactment and enthinkment, with meaning as manifested through behaviour. Indeed, Chell (2000:73) refers to “mental representations” which we carry about with us. Schultz (1972:59) refers to these as “Common-sense constructs” and Gergen (2001:5) to “creative constructions”. Gergen (2001:202-3) argues these “representations can mask or pervert what they are supposed to represent”.

As argued in chapter 5, an approach that proved a helpful starting point was the discredited trait approach which generally concentrates upon the individual. An appreciation of social constructionism is important from an individual perspective because it is traits, character, and personality that people believe distinguish us from others. Building upon this approach, Wetherell (1997:5-6) chose to focus not upon the individual and their processes, but on forms of life and activities which make up sociality and on the socially constructed nature of the practices and narratives through which it is constituted and through which identity emerges. For Wetherell such identities are invariably gendered towards masculinity and construct possibilities which men can enact. As Wetherell stresses, “To be a working class man is to live out and inhabit a very different set of practices and narratives about what it means to be a ‘real man’ compared to, say middle-class, professional or academic masculinity”. Wetherell considers masculinity to be framed via the discursive psychological processes of language and discourse. However, social constructionism holds that the self does not reside within the individual but is distributed in patterns of discourse and the collective voice that forms the human psyche (Wetherell & Maybin, 1996).

Another helpful approach was discursive psychology, a social constructionist approach which looks at how events are constructed in the social and cultural arena and draws on discursive analysis (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). The focus is on talk, discourse and activities performed taking consideration of construction, action and rhetoric (Wetherell, 1997:150). In saying and writing, people perform actions which are revealed in discourse and in constructed versions of social reality which when repeated become social practices (Wetherell, 1997:152). Thus, from an early stage it was apparent that achieving “Verstehen” required the adoption of a holistic social constructionist stance. Wetherell (1997:138) also advocates the use of social representations theory, a constructivist approach which views the social world as being constructed via social representations or images through which we make sense of the unfamiliar. If an unfamiliar representation is encountered we anchor it to an existing known category and objectify it as a pictorial image, morphing it into our existing stock of social representations or concepts, ideas and images which circulate in people’s minds and are carried in conversation and media texts. They are built around a core

image and are a building mechanism containing abstract elements such as class imagery. They form a stock of social representations to be drawn on. For Moscovici (1985) they are generated in communication, provide a common code for communication, and provide a way of distinguishing social groups (Wetherell, 1997:140). Thus it can be seen that the media plays a significant role in sustaining, producing and circulating such representations. Entrepreneurship can be viewed as a social representation.

Constructivist arguments can be pushed to a narrow, nihilistic conclusion whereby it is held that objects cannot exist independently of our minds. Empiricists criticise constructionism of being a reductionist methodology that dislocates a concept from reality. This thesis rejects this narrow view regarding it as a tool for appreciating and analysing the related parts of the construct. Gergen (2001:7-9) argues that constructionism places no particular constraints or demands on one in terms of preferred visions of the future, noting the tendency of such theory and practice to favour communalism over individualism. Social constructionism invites one to expand repertoires of expression, explore ways of speaking and writing to a broader audience with multiple voices, and a richer range of rhetoric. Indeed, for Shotter (1993:4) our experience is constructed through community processes of interdependence, negotiation or interacting with another. Consideration of rhetoric entails consideration of language.

2.3 – THE SOCIALLY CONSTRUCTED NATURE OF LANGUAGE.

For Clark & Dear (1984: 84) “language is used to construct or reconstruct social reality”. Indeed, Chandler (1994) stresses language comes to acquire an illusion of transparency, but is not glass despite metaphorical references to clarity and transparency. In constructing our worlds we cannot avoid language. There is a strong link between social construction and semiotics as suggested by Shanks (1995:7) who refers to the “notion of semiotic reality”. To paraphrase Shanks (1995:1) qualitative research regards data not as facts but signs – an important point because signs are social constructs requiring interpretation. Nevertheless, like semiotics and linguistics upon which it draws it is considered an indecisive, less than robust methodological approach being frequently misunderstood, or avoided by researchers. This necessitates exploring the basic building blocks of language to appreciate its socially constructed nature (Chandler, 1994). Language is the means by which we communicate with each other and how we understand our surrounding environment and form our perception of reality. Because language itself is a social construct, all that emanates from, or is described by it is tinged by social construction. It consists of the written and spoken word and contains ideological and culturally specific elements. Linguistic elements can be viewed as constructionist building blocks, whilst media elements can be understood as constructionism’s tools, because they act as a channel, through which socially constructed world views are disseminated as taken-for-granted.

2.4 – CONSTRUCTIONIST BUILDING BLOCKS AND CONSTRUCTIONISM’S TOOLS.

Nicolson (2001) and Anderson & Nicolson (2005) defined the role of newspapers as a communication mode, constructing mythology thereby helping us define the world around us. She chose culture, communications theory, language, myth, metaphor and stereotype as the building blocks of social constructionism, noting that the broad shift from the empirical object of representation (the facts) to the vehicle of representation (language, mental models, communication) defines the constructionist paradigm. Nicolson referred to “Constructionists Building Blocks” (2001:8) and “Constructionism’s Tools” (2001:30) as the very mechanisms through which meaning is constructed. The former include, culture, communications theory, semiotics, language, storytelling narratives, myth, metaphor, archetype, cliché, stereotype and other tropes. The latter

include television programs, newspaper, the media in general, fictional novels, biography and learning through experience using visual skills and listening skills. Indeed Roddick (2000:5) highlights the overwhelming power of “television...in....perpetuating the myth that material wealth defines self-value and self-worth”. Likewise, Bass (1999:98) acknowledges the collective nature of human activity in that “We all read the same newspapers...look at the world in a similar manner...share common emotions”. This leads to common understandings of entrepreneurship. It is apparent that an understanding of these building blocks and tools is vital in the quest for “Verstehen”. Consequentially, this thesis undertakes a more in-depth examination of this phenomenon. These constructionisms tools are also building blocks which can influence how we perceive lived experience. However, as was argued in chapter 1, to reach a state of “Verstehen” it is also necessary to deconstruct the socially constructed nature of entrepreneurship.

2.5 – CONSIDERING DECONSTRUCTIONISM.

Martin (1990:340) defines deconstructionism as an analytic strategy that systematically exposes multiple ways a text can be interpreted to reveal ideological assumptions sensitive to the interests of marginalised groups. For Boje (2001:79) deconstruction is both phenomenon and analysis - a double. To Derrida (1990) deconstruction (or laying out steps) occurs naturally. However, Soros (1998:13-22) warns against trying to deconstruct the uniqueness of reality because all constructs are fallible and that to understand the world we simplify it using “generalisations, metaphors, analogies, comparisons, dichotomies and other mental constructs” enhancing plausibility. Deconstructionism as an analytic tool will be employed later in the thesis.

2.6 – REFLECTIONS.

As was highlighted in this chapter, social constructionism is concerned with presentations and representations of a mediated reality (lived experience). Moreover, social constructionist approaches to understanding entrepreneurship are allied to narrative approaches. In contemporary society narrative is a primary method of mediation. It is thus understandable that this thesis adopts a narrative approach. A consideration of social constructionism revealed that constructionists concern themselves with social issues such as society, culture, history and identity and these became primary areas of study, as did narrative because narrative links them together. A distinction must be made between the world as socially constructed, and the socially constructed self, albeit that language unites both. A further distinction was made between two popular constructionist approaches, namely discursive psychology and social representations theory. The first relates to the individual, and the latter relates to how individuals represent themselves in groups. This distinction is important because the entrepreneur is usually constructed and presented as a lone individual and seldom as a social animal. To study the entrepreneur as a social construct and do justice to the psycho-social, socio-cultural and socio-historical facets of the construct necessitated a different structure from a traditional PhD. This was so because of the volume of material to be reviewed. To take cognisance of the many diverse linguistic and behavioural facets from which social constructionism is built is difficult enough without considering the media (or constructionism’s tools) through which narratives associated with entrepreneurship and the entrepreneur are channelled. Consideration of social constructionism necessitates an understanding of deconstructionism. In chapter 3 we turn to philosophical and methodological issues, and to ensuring that the research strategy is robust enough so that the study captured the socially constructed nature of entrepreneurship.

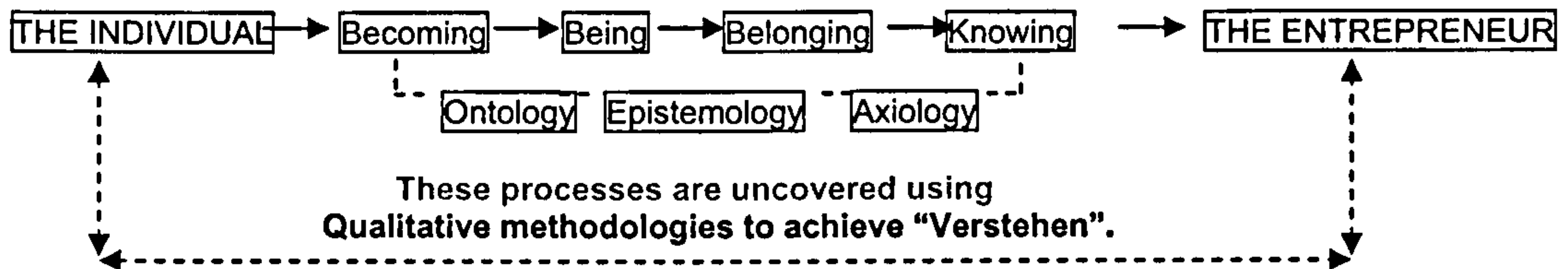
3 - DETERMINING THE METHODOLOGICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL UNDERPINNINGS OF THE STUDY.

INTRODUCTION.

READERS' GUIDE.

This chapter

1. Reflects upon issues of pre-understanding and discusses the ontology, epistemology, axiology and theoretical orientation of the thesis and the qualitative research methodologies chosen.
2. Sets the research context as understanding the entrepreneur as socially constructed in Britain.
3. Highlights ethical problems encountered during the research.



SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM

3.1 - REFLECTION UPON ISSUES OF PRE-UNDERSTANDING.

3.2 - THEORETICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL ORIENTATIONS.

3.2.1: Philosophical processes considered.

3.2.2: Becoming, being, belonging and knowing.

3.3 - METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

3.3.1: Choosing an appropriate research methodology.

3.3.2: Navigating the stages of qualitative research.

3.3.3: Selecting specific research methodologies and formulating the research plan.

3.3.4: Discussing the individual methodologies used in the study.

3.4 - SETTING THE RESEARCH CONTEXT.

3.5 - ETHICAL ISSUES RELATING TO THIS THESIS.

3.6 - REFLECTIONS.

Chapter 1 articulates the research aim as achieving understanding in relation to the socially constructed nature of entrepreneurship. This chapter discusses some philosophical and methodological underpinnings of entrepreneurship and selects an appropriate research methodology. Rae (1999) argues that entrepreneurship researchers are reluctant to use advanced qualitative research methodologies with the potential to yield new perspectives. This thesis takes up this challenge. This chapter outlines the philosophical perspectives behind the research, because the underpinning epistemological and ontological beliefs of a researcher impact upon the actual research conducted and shape the choice of theory and method, as well as determine what matters.

3.1 - REFLECTION UPON ISSUES OF PRE-UNDERSTANDING.

At the beginning of the doctoral process, I did not fully understand the complex social processes, which collectively constitute entrepreneurship. In my quest to understand, I read extensively and collected data, despite being unsure of its relevance. I believed that data I found interesting could perhaps be relevant. Gradually, the themes of communication and action emerged. Nor did I appreciate how I was applying my own constructionist filter of pre-understanding (based on life experience) to make sense of the data. The use of grounded theory ensured that I did not privilege any particular set of data at the expense of the other. Gummesson (1990) espouses research formally acknowledging exposure or pre-understanding. Glaser &

Strauss (1967) regarded the literature as emergent data in its own right. For Glaser (1980), it is necessary to read widely to avoid being constrained by the tenets of one's academic discipline. Thus, albeit instinctively, I adopted sound qualitative research practices for interpreting everyday life. For Berger & Luckmann (1971:33) everyday life presents itself as a reality interpreted by men, and subjectively meaningful to them as a coherent world which originates in their thoughts and actions and is maintained as real by them. Primary knowledge about an institutional order is knowledge on a pre-theoretical level – the sum total of what everybody knows about the social world (ibid.83-84). It is a philosophical body of generally valid truths about reality that can develop into institutional programming with its own legitimising vocabulary passed down to the next generation, having the power to shape the individual.

3.2 - THEORETICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL ORIENTATIONS.

Philosophical issues are of importance to this study because they underpin entrepreneurial actions and communications. Philosophy is the study of the nature of reality. This thesis is of a philosophical nature, because it explores the social construction of reality and issues of morality and legitimacy. Whilst conducting the literature review, I became fascinated by the social construction of entrepreneurship and how all its facets are inter-linked, voraciously devouring books, journal, magazines and newspaper articles. The purpose of the PhD process is to demonstrate that one possesses the ability to master a complex area of research whilst bringing philosophical order and clarity to the findings (Phillips & Pugh, 1994). This entails understanding the philosophical processes of ontology, epistemology, axiology and methodology.

3.2.1 - Philosophical processes considered.

The philosophical processes of hermeneutics, ontology, epistemology, axiology and methodology shape understandings of entrepreneurship. Axiology relates to the branch of philosophy dealing with values. Ontology, epistemology and axiology are embedded in methodological framework. Essentially, ontology is a study of and reflection on the nature of reality, epistemology is the relationship between that reality and the researcher and methodology is a technique used by a researcher to discover that reality. These combine in a hermeneutic circle of knowledge. Hermeneutics is the art or study of interpretation (Handerich, 1995:353 and Gergen, 1986:158). Giddens (1986:158) acknowledges the possibility of a "double hermeneutic" or double interpretation of meaning. Hermeneutics are of interest in relation to social constructionism because of their relationship to epistemology. Hjørth (2001:88) notes the hermeneutic tradition is strong within qualitative studies and Rorty (1980) distinguished between them, with hermeneutics being that which we don't know, and epistemology being that which we know.

Ontology consists of the essential assumptions that we make regarding basic elements of reality (Parkhe 1993) and its configuration and character (Guba & Lincoln 1994). Gergen (2001:8) proposes a dualist ontology of reality of mind and world, whilst Handerich (1995:82&634) considers being to be the subject matter of ontology (the science of being). Interestingly, Fuller & Moran (2001) refer to ontological layers, such as networks; business models, constructs, and values. Ontology changes over time and is linked to ethics because of shared understandings. Social constructionism is an ontological perspective, and research approach, concerned with unravelling and laying bare the ontological, epistemological, axiological and methodological underpinnings of a given construct. The study of ontology can be divided into a number of

smaller undertakings, for instance – object, state of affairs, property, genus and identity. Ontologies can also relate to specific material or regional cultures. In the human becoming school of thought the epistemologies and methodologies congruent to human becoming, evolve from an ontology which focuses upon lived experiences (Parse, 1988).

Epistemology is a philosophical concept (Abercrombie *et al*, 1984) relating to the examination of the character and basis of knowledge or the characteristics of the relationship between reality and the researcher (Parkhe 1993). It is the theory of knowledge relating to concepts such as knowledge and truth. There are four main sources of knowledge, namely sensation, memory, introspection and reason, each of which has its own epistemology. Epistemology has separate levels such as justification, knowledge and scepticism. Gergen (2001:9) considers its purpose to be how we as subjects acquire knowledge of the objective world and for Handerich (1995:245-7) it is the study of our right to the beliefs we have. Epistemology considers beliefs, knowings, and attributes and addresses normative aspects such as whether we have acted well or badly. Czarnaiwska (1999:15) refers to narrative modes of knowing organized around the experience and intentionality of human action using plots to place events into a meaningful whole. Knowing is socially constructed. Yet, epistemology is evolutionary and is regarded as being fairly constant providing the basis for judgment. For Mason (1996:13) it is concerned with ways by which the researcher decides how a social phenomenon can be known and how that knowledge can be demonstrated. An episteme is a logical narrative explaining the existence of the practice normally channelled through more prosaic and understandable mechanisms such as stories which usually have an axiological basis in reality and contain accepted values, which justify the practice. Epistemology is linked to ontology because only that which has being can be known or named whilst axiological viewpoints are concerned with the system of established principles as self-evident truths and take into consideration values and the presupposed norms, morals, ethics and aesthetics in the practice of a discipline (Freire, 1972:20).

Methodology is carried out by a researcher to explore reality (Guba & Lincoln 1994; Parkhe 1993). It also refers to the logical assumptions that underpin research practice and to the philosophical framework that informs a given research practice. It includes research questions; type of research; methods and mode of analysis; and data extrapolated. Achieving a methodological approach consistent with one's own values and concerns typically involves the longest struggle in research work and the deepest kinds of engagement (Salmon, 1992:77). Weber (1971) appreciated the role of values in research but contended that they must be kept out of the collection and interpretation of data. Methodological issues relate to philosophical questions about truth, ethics, value, and justice and around the philosophical cornerstones of epistemology and ontology. However, one must beware of common methodological assumptions, for instance that methodology is determined by the method chosen or that it is something you choose based on your topic or research question. Methodology is not chosen dependent upon the nature of the question or methods. Methodological leaning shapes the questions asked and research undertaken, because methodology is informed and informs ones values and approach to life. The methodology chosen has to take account of key methodological traditions and approaches with their own inherent logic and set of rules. These are often not easy to reconcile. It is difficult to combine approaches because of conceptually incompatible methodological assumptions. One cannot simply stress ones research is grounded in a number of approaches.

The methods ultimately chosen were those, which leaned towards the phenomenological and hermeneutic traditions, being broadly Interpretivist in stance, holding that human behaviour is affected by

knowledge of the social world, which does not exist independently of human knowledge. Thus human life can only be understood from within, not from an observable external reality. Social life is a human product. The structuralist approach that there is no pre-cultural or pre-linguistic knowledge and that all knowledge is historically and socially contingent mediated by power relations was rejected as being too constraining and severe. The guiding questions are - How is an understanding to be gained through its texts and other remains; and how do people interpret and select from among actions and events, and what rules make these choices possible? Actions are discernible in events. Interpretive tracts are reflective and scholarly in style contrasting cultural expectations and norms and are influenced by the literary with an emphasis on self-reflexivity, inter-relationship of researcher and researched in a specific cultural context. They capture subjective human meanings through the eyes of those who live them and naturally gravitate towards the use of in depth-interviews, participant observation, ethnography, action research, narrative inquiry, and autobiography. Table 1 is helpful in consolidating an understanding of the relationship between these philosophical phenomena which presuppose any academic study and notions of reality.

TABLE 1 - CONSOLIDATING THE STUDY'S PHILOSOPHICAL TERMINOLOGY.			
Source – Adapted from Jack (2002)			
ONTOLOGY	EPISTEMOLOGY	AXIOLOGY	METHODOLOGY
A science that treats of the principles of pure being. It is associated with the meta-physical and is concerned with assumptions about the nature of reality and the sources of knowledge.	A theory of knowledge concerned with constraints on the understanding of reality and the validity of the knowledge claims of the discipline. It takes the form of a logical discourse.	A system of established principles as self-evident truth concerned with the presupposed norms, morals, ethics and aesthetics in the practice of a discipline.	An orderly arrangement of ideas / principles designed to facilitate the organisation of the analysis of reality by identifying type of analytical techniques and appropriate instruments to be used.

For an insight into how the above issues relate to entrepreneurship see table 2.

TABLE 2 - A PHILOSOPHICAL ORIENTATION.	
ONTOLOGY	In determining the ontology of entrepreneurship one must consider its basis in reality and the influence of capitalism on its formation. The ontology of entrepreneurship is concerned with determining its sources of knowledge and of the physical and mental processes of becoming, being and belonging. It is what we can know.
EPISTEMOLOGY	In determining the epistemology of entrepreneurship one must consider the methods used to propagate it. Since epistemology is a logical discourse other forms of discourse such as narrative and storytelling lend themselves as alternative avenues through which the discourse can be channeled. It is how we can know it.
AXIOLOGY	In determining the axiological basis of entrepreneurship, one must consider core issues such as values, ethics, morality and legitimacy.
METHODOLOGY	One must also bear in mind that entrepreneurship is a methodological practice in its own right. As such it uses particular principles and techniques to represent reality.

Ontology, epistemology, axiology and methodology help us decipher the facts of a subject matter, but Rockwell (1974:vii) emphasises the impossibility of knowing all the facts about a phenomena. In the philosophical system, ontology, epistemology, axiology and methodology are often silent and taken for granted. However, in the literature we discern particular morphological ways of knowing. According to Czarniawska (1999:15) knowing is a narrative mode, making narrative important to this study.

3.2.2 - Becoming, being, belonging and knowing.

This study is concerned with explaining the philosophical underpinnings of entrepreneurship as a process of becoming and being. Intellectual interest in the philosophical condition of being dates back to classical Greece when the early philosopher Parmenides of Elea first argued that the primary stuff of reality is being (Gilson, 1982:6-7). Since then being has formed one of the main preoccupations with philosophers and scholars. Being is a mental state of mind, but Outhwaite (1986:16) appreciates that “many descriptions of mental states are conceptually or logically related to certain types of action”. Moreover, being is linked to etymology and linguistics, given that understanding relies on the pre-existing appreciation of language. Being incorporates the real and the possible as being is thinkable and separate from existence. Thus a future being can be envisaged via dreams or by creative thinking. Also, being as a verb is linked with action as in to be. In behavioural terms, being, becoming and belonging are all states, which fluctuate over time making them difficult to measure. For Carnegie (1953) the deepest principle in human nature is the craving to be appreciated (belong). Indeed, Harre (1979/1983) differentiates between social and personal being. Lewis (1989) argues that this universal desire for importance is a continuation of the self-help ethos. For Parse (1988) becoming is a human pattern of relating to value priorities and human becoming is achieved by freely choosing personal meaning in situations in an inter-subjective process of living those priorities. Parse argues that becoming is achieved via a process of structuring meaning and multi dimensionally. The person in a state of becoming co-creates their vision of reality through adopting appropriate language, values, images and stories. There is a clash between deviancy and belonging.

There is some basis for this approach in the entrepreneurship literature. For Bygrave (1989:21) entrepreneurship is “a process of becoming rather than a state of being, evolving over time” capable of changing in quantum leaps; and for Chia (1996) the ontology of entrepreneurship is one of ‘becoming’ and ‘being’. For Gartner (1988:12) an entrepreneur is a “state of being” focusing on individual qualities not creation. However, Gartner (1989:62) expresses a dislike for the state of being analogy as it embroils one in trying to pin down inner qualities. Hjorth (2001:83) discusses the processual ontology of becoming and stresses the importance of investigating how a concept becomes and how texts achieve their effects. Hjorth refers to the “having become” of things (ibid.99) and to “becoming other” (ibid.258). Furthermore, Barthes (1988:107) talks of the narrative functionality of doing and being. Hjorth (2001:202) makes reference to the dynamics of becoming. Becoming and being are two separate important social processes and it is incumbent to remember that entrepreneurship changes subtly as it transmutes from one into the other. Steyaert (1997) discusses the growing awareness of the process approach to entrepreneurship, whilst Gartner (1993) emphasises the process language plays in shaping reality stressing that, “words lead to deeds”. Steyaert draws parallels between entrepreneurship and Whithead’s (1978) conception of reality as becoming, noting that the former is embedded within the paradigm of becoming. This approach is consistent with the approach of Chia (1996). Steyaert discusses the entrepreneurial setting as an ongoing process of becoming and considers entrepreneurship to be a creative process enacted through every day practices. To be effective, ontologies of becoming and being must have an epistemological basis in reality - possessing what Bhaskar (1979) refers to as “ontological depth” or hidden layers of meaning. Also, Anderson (2003:9) stresses the need to “build an image beyond becoming”. Kirby (2003:162-3) suggests that “What we become and achieve is what we imagine ourselves becoming and achieving” and for Van de Ven (1992:218) entrepreneurs produce cycles of discontinuity (becoming) and continuity (being). Peltonen (1998) refers to

the self in search of something new. The ontologies of being and becoming have been subsumed within the literature of small business, management, and organisational studies. Indeed, Maslow's (1954) theory of needs can be construed as a theory of becoming and being. For Centure (1991) adopting this approach orientates one towards a Post Modernist viewpoint.

Being is composed of attributional elements and identity. Incisively, Wenger (1998) discusses modes of belonging such as engagement, imagination and alignment; and Lowe (1989) talks of kinds of being. Table 3 examines possible modes of belonging and the mechanisms through which they are achieved.

TABLE 3 - MODES OF BELONGING. Source: Adapted from Wenger (1998) and Warren (2003).		
Mode of belonging	Mechanisms	Nature
Engagement	Shared histories of learning; Relationships; Interaction; Practices	Peripherality; Bounded by physical limits of time and space
Imagination	Images of - possibilities - world - the past and future - ourselves	Unconstrained by time or space
Alignment	discourses; coordinated enterprises; styles; complexity; compliance	Can span vast distances both socially and physically, but more focused than imagination

Also, Jack (2002:266) discusses embedding mechanisms, such as family, mentors, clubs and so on, which assist in the process of becoming-belonging. This is important because these mechanisms are the sites of social constructionism as well as being fonts in which the values associated with entrepreneurship are produced. See table 4 which develops and understanding of these mechanisms.

TABLE 4 - EMBEDDING MECHANISMS. Source: Adapted from Jack (2002).		
Family	Is a physical observable network that incorporates intangible values.	Being and Belonging
Mentors	Is a physical observable presence. Although primarily concerned with becoming it is also a sign that one belongs.	Becoming and belonging
Clubs	Are a physical observable structure and their value lies in allowing one to belong although one also becomes.	Belonging and becoming
Local-ness	Is an intangible quality of community and place. It is very context specific but can be attributed as value.	Belonging
Community	Is a mixture of tangible and intangible structures in which values are in turn embedded. Communities promote belonging	Belonging
Trust	Is an intangible but value-laden phenomenon. It is an essential element of belonging. Trust is promoted by adherence to values.	Belonging

Such socially embedded factors as family, mentors, clubs, localness, community are difficult to research empirically. As well as being embedding mechanisms, they are also enabling mechanisms. Enabling, embedding, engaging and enacting are all important sub-processes, which play their part in the process of becoming, being, belonging and knowing. Sensing, acting and articulating are part of the processes of becoming, being and belonging. For Catano (2001) the social processes of engaging and enacting are part of a wider process of self-making and its maintenance in society, achieved via narratives which engage and enact with traditional psychological (oedipal) dynamics as well as other social and rhetorical dynamics that constitute the ongoing activity of masculine self-making.

The ontological processes of belonging and of knowing are seldom considered in the literature of entrepreneurship, albeit belonging is implicit. Traditionally entrepreneurial researchers concerned themselves with the first stage in the social process of ontogenesis, namely that of becoming and of being. This one sided approach ensured that the prevailing image of the entrepreneur has been accentuated towards acts of becoming. Ultimately, entrepreneurship is an ontological process of becoming, being and belonging (and perhaps knowing) best articulated in narrative. Knowing is absorbed from sources of knowledge include perception, memory, reason, introspection, deduction, induction, intuition and precognition. There are different levels of meaning - literal, allegorical and tropological (moral) and there are kinds and modes of being. The ongoing nature of becoming, being, belonging and knowing cannot be over emphasised. Yet, how does one change from one state to the other? One possibility is the deliberate enactment of socially proscribed scripts, such as entrepreneur stories or dreams. In this way "ways of acting" (Berglund, 2004:4) become ways of being. Another possibility is liminality, a crucial stage of transition. Liminality denotes a state of being where one is held in limbo and is about enacting, becoming and brings about change. Turbshaw (1995) discusses the liminal process in narrative and describes how fairy tales begin with "Once upon a time". Barthes (1988:112) argues it is necessary to root tales in narrative time. Such devices trigger changes and juggle time and space allowing one to cross ontological thresholds. Indeed, Anderson (2003:4) suggests that liminality emphasises the process of becoming and argues "that becoming is not fixed in time or space; the aspiration may have germinated in childhood; the idea resulted from a fleeting thought and gathering the physical, mental resources and courage may have taken half a lifetime". To conclude, the processes of epistemology and ontology as they relate to the philosophical processes of being, becoming and belonging are vital to understanding the entrepreneur and entrepreneurial narrative because many studies of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship concentrate solely on the act of becoming and do not consider the aftermath of being and belonging. A holistic approach requires consideration of all three philosophical states.

3.3 - METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

This section examines the qualitative methodologies chosen, the research plan and individual methodologies.

3.3.1 – Choosing appropriate research methodologies.

Choosing appropriate research methodologies is central to the success of a research project. It is incumbent upon a researcher to consider the effectiveness of chosen methodologies and discuss and justify why other methodologies were disregarded. Selection of the research methodology is ultimately determined by the problem addressed (Eisenhardt 1989; Glaser & Strauss 1967; Yin 1989). The initial choice was between the normally divisive, qualitative and quantitative methodologies. Choices were dictated by the subjectivity of entrepreneurship and social constructionism which necessitated an ideographic approach, taking account of both agent and structure (Gill & Johnson, 1997:3). Gill & Johnson (1997:37) articulate ideographic methods as being inductive and able to explain subjective systems enabling understanding and the generation of qualitative data exploring phenomenon in everyday settings. Entrepreneurship is processual therefore approaches such as those of Whitehead (1978) and Chia (1996) with their focus on ontologies seem appropriate for this study. The ontological–epistemological–axiological–methodological continuum acts as an organizing process. According to Dibben & Panteli (2000) it allows us as researchers to "move towards a

more ontologically and epistemologically aware understanding of the organizing processes". Adopting such an approach informed by multiple qualitative research methodologies allows us to move from the subjective (concerning knowledge of our own mind) to the inter-subjective (concerning knowledge of the minds of others) towards the objective (a collective knowledge of nature).

It was necessary to consider issues surrounding positivism, phenomenology and reality. Positivism views the world and reality as existing externally, requiring the use of objective, deconstructionist methods to understand it by reducing it to understandable elements (Morgan & Smircich, 1980). Positivism relies heavily on quantitative methodologies, but contains inherent elements of constructionism (and vice versa). Phenomenology is in part methodological, and part historical. Phenomenologists' oppose the acceptance of unobservable matters and grand systems erected in speculative thinking as well as naturalism, or objectivism and positivism. Phenomenology focuses on objects as encountered and is a reflective, evidential, and descriptive approach to both encounterings and objects. It concerns itself with ethics and actions and uncovering essences, and the study of the structures of consciousness. The branch known as hermeneutic phenomenology places emphasis on hermeneutics, or the method of interpretation. Husserl (1901) isolated such acts as remembering, desiring, and perceiving and the abstract content of these acts, or meanings. Phenomenology becomes hermeneutical when its method is taken to be interpretive rather than purely descriptive. Ricoeur (1948) argues that meanings are not given directly to us, and that we must therefore make a hermeneutic detour through the symbolic apparatus of culture. For Ricoeur human meanings are deposited and mediated through myth, religion, art, language and narrative functions such as storytelling. Narrativity and temporality interact and ultimately return to the questions of the meaning of being, the self and self-identity. For Heidegger (1962) phenomenology makes manifest what is hidden in ordinary, everyday experience. Phenomenological inquiry probes and draws from different sources of meaning and ultimately cannot be separated from the practice of writing, viewing reality as being socially constructed (Easterby Smith *et al*, 1991:24) permitting one to appreciate different constructions, meanings and experiences, or what Sreberny-Mohammadi (1995:23-38) calls "ways of knowing".

Thus before commencing the actual research it was necessary to consider several inquiry paradigms and their implicit assumptions. A paradigm can be defined as the "basic belief system or world view that guides the investigation" (Guba & Lincoln 1994:105). These were positivism; critical theory; realism and constructivism. Table 5 shows how these paradigms relate to this study.

TABLE 5 - WORLD-VIEWS OF ALTERNATIVE INQUIRY PARADIGMS.	
POSITIVISM.	Relates to the belief that natural and social sciences measure autonomous facts about an individual perception of reality (Gabriel 1990) composed of discrete elements whose character can be recognised and classified (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). It is used to determine causal relationships between variables using a hypothetico-deductive method in which hypotheses are deduced from already accepted parameters before empirical testing. It is concerned with discovering truth and is a tool for theory building relying upon experiments and survey samples, statistical generalisation and quantitative methodologies. By doing so the researcher is remote and thus data collected is 'value free'. The positivist paradigm does not fit well with the research position of this work, which is to uncover diffuse components of the entrepreneurial process such as values or character. It is not a suitable paradigm for exploring a social phenomenon that deals with people and real life experiences.
CRITICAL THEORY.	Makes an assumption that comprehensible social realities shape social structures, over time. Critical theorists critique (and transform) social, political, economic, ethnic, and gender values. Theorists focus upon long-term ethnographic and historical research of organisational processes and structures (Guba & Lincoln 1994). It is of

	importance because there are multiple, constructed social realities whose truth is only known within the constructed reality of a particular social group (Easton 1995). It entails consideration of the transformation of the respondents from their mental, emotional and social structures (Guba & Lincoln 1994). It liberates people from inappropriate mindsets. This approach was considered viable but was rejected because of a growing alignment towards constructivism.
REALISM.	Realism is used to investigate social phenomena and reality (Guba & Lincoln 1994) and permits the examination of imperfect social phenomenon (Merriam 1988). It is determined by a process of triangulation concerned with three domains of reality - real, actual and empirical, which are composed of mechanisms, events and experiences (Bhaskar 1978). The real domain contains all three phenomena and incorporates processes that produce events and contains independent generative mechanisms. The mechanisms, events and experiences produce patterns of observable events. Realist research techniques such as qualitative case studies are useful because they do not deal with cause and effect, but interpretation and the projection of value-laden messages. This approach was rejected because adopting a realist perspective is contradictory to social constructionism.
CONSTRUCTIVISM.	Views reality as consisting of multiple socially constructed realities, based upon the intangible experience of individual persons. It shares an inductive stance with critical theory as it is interested in the values, which lie beneath the findings. Its inductive methods make researchers passionate participants (Guba & Lincoln 1994:112). The data depends on the interaction between the interviewer and respondent and require the researcher to be subjective to develop knowledge permitting the investigation of beliefs of individual respondents, rather than investigating external reality. Therefore perception by itself is not reality, but assists in examining its complexity. Perceptions of multiple realities cannot be the focus of the constructivist's research because this requires a blend of positivism and constructivism and thus critical realism (Hunt 1991). Constructivism was the obvious choice for this study as a flexible methodology for dealing with the contradictions inherent in entrepreneurship.

One must also take account of the basic belief systems of the research paradigm chosen, which necessitated consideration of the positions indicated in table 6.

TABLE 6 - BASIC BELIEF SYSTEMS OF ALTERNATIVE INQUIRY PARADIGMS.

Source: Adapted from Christie (2001).

Philosophical approaches	Paradigms			
	Positivism	Critical theory	Constructivism	Realism
Ontology	Naïve realism: Reality is real and apprehensible	Historical realism: virtual reality shaped by social, economic, ethnic, political, cultural, and gender values, crystallised over time	Critical relativism: multiple local and specific constructed realities	Critical realism: reality is real but only imperfectly and probabilistically apprehensible and so triangulation from many sources is required to try to know it
Epistemology	Objectivist: findings true	Subjective: value mediated findings	Subjectivist: created findings	Modified objectivism: findings probably true, with awareness of values between them
Common methodologies	Experiments / surveys: verification of hypothesis; chiefly quantitative methods	Dialogic / dialectical: researcher is a transformative intellectual who changes the social world within which participants live	Hermeneutical / dialectical: researcher is a passionate participant with the world being investigated	Case studies / convergent interviewing: triangulation, interpretation of research issues by qualitative and/or quantitative methods.

See table 7 for a comparison of positivism and phenomenology.

TABLE 7 - A COMPARISON OF THE POSITIVIST / PHENOMENOLOGICAL RESEARCH PARADIGMS Source: Adapted from Easterby-Smith et al (1991:27) and Jack (2002:110).		
	Positivist paradigm	Phenomenological paradigm
Basic belief	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> World is external objective Observer is independent Science is value free 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> World is socially constructed / objective Observer is part of observed Science is driven by human interest
Research direction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Focus on facts Look for causality / fundamental laws Reduce subject to simple elements Formulate & test hypothesis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Focus on meanings Try to understand what is happening Look at totality of situation Develop ideas via induction / data
Preferred methods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Operationalising concepts / measuring Large sample / statistical reliance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Multiple methods allowing different views Small samples / in depth investigation

The two methodologies have strengths and weaknesses, as shown in table 8.

TABLE 8 - STRENGTHS / WEAKNESSES OF POSITIVIST / PHENOMENOLOGICAL PARADIGMS Source: Adapted from Easterby-Smith et al (1991:27) and Jack (2002:113).		
	Quantitative methods - Positivist paradigm	Qualitative methods - Phenomenological paradigm.
Strength	Provides wide coverage of a range of situations. Is fast and economical and of relevance to policy makers if statistics are aggregated from large samples	Track change processes over time, to understand people's meanings, to adjust emergent new issues and ideas and contribute to the evolution of new theories. A natural method of data gathering
Weakness	Inflexible / artificial. Ineffective for understanding processes or the significance of actions. Not helpful for theory generation. Focuses on the past making it hard to infer future changes and actions.	Data collection is slow and resource reliant. Interpretation and analysis of data is difficult. Has an untidy feel because progress, pace and end points are difficult to control. Policy makers & scientists attribute it low credibility as statistical methods provide a verifiable legitimacy, whereas qualitative produce credible stories.

It became increasingly apparent that the aims of this study called for a subjectivist approach, not an objectivist one. Morgan & Smircich (1980:492) provide an excellent table, to guide one's choice of methodologies. It can be used it as a tick list to guide orientation. It is a mapping exercise and is helpful as a tool to articulate starting points and intended directions in a study. See table 9.

TABLE 9 - BASIC ASSUMPTIONS CHARACTERISING THE SUBJECTIVE-OBJECTIVE DEBATE. Source: Adapted from Morgan & Smircich (1980).						
Subjectivist approaches to social science			Objectivist approaches to social science			
Core ontological assumption	Reality as a projection of human imagination √	Reality as a social construction √	Reality as a realm of symbolic discourse √	Reality as a contextual field of information	Reality as a concrete process	Reality as a concrete structure
Assumptions about human	Man as a pure spirit,	Man as a social	Man as an actor, the	Man as an information	Man as an adaptor	Man as a responder

nature	consciousness, being ✓	constructor, the symbol creator ✓	symbol user ✓	processor ✓	✓	✓
Basic epistemological stance	To obtain phenomenological insight revelation ✓	To understand how social reality is created ✓	To understand patterns of symbolic discourse ✓	To map context ✓	To study systems, process, change ✓	To construct a positivist science
Favoured metaphors	Transcendental ✓	Language, game accomplishment, text ✓	Theatre culture ✓	Cybernetic	Organism ✓	Machine
Research methods	Exploration of pure subjectivity ✓	Hermeneutics ✓	Symbolic analysis ✓	Contextual analysis of Gestaltent	Historical analysis	Lab experiments surveys

This mapping exercise demonstrated that the core ontological assumptions underpinning this study are clearly at the subjectivist end of the scale, making qualitative methodologies most suited. Ontologically and epistemology, the critical theory and constructivism approaches held the most appeal. Positivism and realism run contrary to constructivist approaches making it necessary to reject them. Again, I had a choice between adopting critical theory and constructivism. I chose the latter. Upon reviewing the contents of table 10, it is apparent that constructivist approaches offer a wide variety of flexibility. Social constructivism, social constructionism and sociological constructionism all feature in this study.

TABLE 10 - CONSTRUCTIONIST STANCES. Adopted from Gergen (2001:60)	
Stance	Emphasis upon
Radical Constructivism	How individual minds construct what is taken as reality.
Constructivism	How the mind constructs reality within systematic relationships with the external world.
Social Constructivism	How the mind constructs reality in its relationship to the world, informed by social relationships.
Social Representation	Broad social conventions.
Social Constructionism	Discourse as a vehicle through which self and the world are articulated and the way in which such discourses function within social relationships.
Sociological Constructionism	The way understandings of the self and world are influenced by the power that social structures (schools / churches) exert over people.

The broad spread of constructivist approaches available permit consideration of different constructivist phenomenon encountered in different social settings. Having selected constructivism as the main research approach, I then had to select the most appropriate methodologies to achieve "Verstehen". This entailed a review of interpretative research methods aimed towards understanding how people make sense of their worlds and how they construct them. Qualitative methodologies include – ethnography (Bott, 1955); case studies (Yin 1993; 1994); hermeneutics (Geertz, 1973); and phenomenology (Spielberg, 1982). Having chosen a social constructionist stance, consideration of reality in symbolic discourse was necessary and led naturally to semiotics and narrative. But, in measuring assumptions about human nature constructivists must take cognisance of all aspects along the subjectivity – objectivity continuum. What is of interest is that the mapping of context is also part of the constructionist process and the study of systems, process and change

are central to understanding entrepreneurship. Whilst this study has a strong subjectivist bias, it must of necessity stray into the realm of objectivity. Silverman (2000:5) argues that concentrating upon quantitative techniques neglects the social and cultural construction of the variables. This study collects representations of entrepreneurship, sorting and categorising them, showing patterns and elements and trying to fit these descriptive categories into some sort of explanatory model or map of the entrepreneurial construct. It thus necessitates the use of a qualitative multi-method approach.

In addition, Hammersly (1992) argues that qualitative methodologies assist in searching for meanings that lie behind actions (and therefore social constructions). Providing the research is based on a well-defined methodology, it can provide the means to scientifically answer broader questions and provide new insights. The qualitative methodology and the ethnographic approaches used in this study are ideal for research that encompasses semiotics, narrative and storytelling which are all highly subjective, socially constructed phenomenon. The choices of research methodologies were dictated by the nature of the study and the need to unravel the social construction of the subject. Also, qualitative methodologies permit researchers to allow respondents their own stories (Callahan & Elliott, 1995:92). Therefore, the methodology has been of necessity qualitative and the methods chosen evolved as the work progressed. Wolcott (1990:63) opines that qualitative data weds us to prose. Furthermore, qualitative methodologies facilitate research into a phenomenon composed of traits, values, mores, attitudes, and personal characteristics, is told as stories, manifests itself as a social identity and is judged by issues of morality and legitimacy. This made their use vital in providing meanings and descriptions of personal significance.

To lend credence to the above, Jordan *et al* (1992:67) argue that quantitative research methods are less appropriate for investigating activities that are experiential (as is entrepreneurship). This study uses content analysis in analysing narratives. Thus both qualitative and quantitative methodologies are necessary tools, dependent upon the objective of the researcher or project. Good practice utilises both.

The mapping exercise highlighted the importance of the symbolic element. Consideration of the symbolic entails the use of semiotic analysis, which is applicable to any subject capable of signifying anything providing it has meaning within a culture. It is merely a subjective interpretation and not an objective scientific account. Semiotic analysis can be divided into the textual and the visual. Semiotic textual analysis involves the identification of dominant rhetorical tropes such as myth and metaphor, whereas visual analysis is used to deconstruct visual images. Semiotic analysis involves commonsensical ideological analysis because ideological sign systems are not neutral and because signs persuade and refer, helping to naturalise and reinforce particular frames of reality. Thus those who control the sign systems control the construction of reality. It is worth considering the benefits of semiotic analysis. Firstly, it focuses upon synchronic analysis (the study of a phenomenon frozen at one moment in time) rather than diachronic analysis (changing over time) and underplays the dynamic nature of media conventions (Chandler, 1994). Secondly, it is best carried out using a detailed comparison, contrasting paired texts dealing with a similar topic. Thirdly, it demonstrates that purposes may reflect values and considers type-token distinction (uniqueness) and what transparency obscures. However, purely structuralist semiotics ignores process and historicity. Semiotic analysis has its disadvantages. Firstly, it is still a loosely defined critical practice, not a unified analytical method or theory. Secondly, the resultant analysis is often criticised as a pretentious form of literary criticism based on subjective interpretation and grand assertion. Thirdly, it can be impressionistic and unsystematic, generating elaborate taxonomies with little evident practical application. Chandler (1994) warns of the danger of choosing examples that illustrate the points one wishes to make rather than applying

semiotic analysis to an extensive random sample. Furthermore, Leiss *et al* (1990:214) point out it is heavily reliant upon the skill of the analyst. The empirical testing of semiotic influence is problematic and requires to be used in conjunction with other methods such as ethnographic and phenomenological approaches. It is difficult to offer a critique of a changing phenomenon (entrepreneurship) using a changing unit of analysis (semiotics). Nevertheless, semiotic analysis is of considerable use in the search for “Verstehen” enabling the researcher to identify the important signs, signals, codes, and themes which form the texts and narratives which constitute the socially constructed phenomenon of entrepreneurship. Having considered the above factors, the obvious choice was to adopt a raft of qualitative research methodologies.

3.3.2 – Navigating the stages of qualitative research.

There are various generic stages that a researcher has to consider when conducting rigorous qualitative research. These can be divided into two stages - informal and formal. In all qualitative research, the initial analysis stage is similar regardless of the formal analytic procedure used. Basic analysis occurs throughout the research study and begins from day one by virtue of data collection and ordering of material. The formal analysis stage begins near the end of a qualitative study. Several general approaches to data analysis were considered as possibilities in this thesis. Table 11 provides details of these.

TABLE 11 - METHODS OF QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS CONSIDERED IN THE STUDY.	
METHODS ADOPTED.	
Typology	A classification system based upon patterns, themes, and other groups of data. Categories should be listed exclusively and exhaustively. Examples include acts, activities, meanings, participation, relationships, settings, and descriptions. See Lofland & Lofland (1995). Berger & Luckmann (1971:47) argue that the social reality of everyday life is apprehended in a continuum of typifications.
Taxonomy	An advanced typology with multiple levels of concepts relating to a specific domain often used in conjunction with domain analysis. See Spradley (1979).
Hermeneutical Analysis	The aim of hermeneutics is to make sense of a written text, as opposed to looking for its objective meaning. It is an analysis of what the text means for people in situation, concentrating on the respondent's story. By using the respondent's words, it is less interpretative and more descriptive than other approaches. It allows different layers of interpretation to emerge from the text relating to how knowledge is constructed. We can thus appreciate how we construct meaning from texts, background and current situation. It uncovers social constructions and symbolic interactionism. The researcher must use the context – time and place of writing - to understand the cultural situation. One must also consider historical context and that meaning can reside in the intention or purpose of the author. The researcher uncovers themes and relates these to the dialectical content. It works best when used with a secondary level of analysis (Van Mannen, 1990).
Domain Analysis	Involves analysis of language of people in a cultural context including social situation and cultural patterns. It explores semantic relationships, emphasising the meanings of the social situation to the participant relating it to cultural meaning. There are different domains - folk domains, mixed domains, and analytic domains. One selects a semantic relationship and completes a domain analysis worksheet based on a selected field note or respondents statement. The researcher is looking for descriptive terms from which relationship can be informed. This process is completed for different semantic relationship uncovering related domains.
Semiotics	Relates to the science of signs and symbols and is useful to determine how such meanings are constructed. The researcher must assume that meaning is not inherent but comes from relationships with other things. It is associated with a post modernist stance.

	For Lawes (2002) semiotics is often used in conjunction with qualitative research.
Case study analysis.	Focuses on understanding the dynamics present in a given subject or situation (Eisenhardt 1989). It is respondent focused and attempts to understand the nature of the research problem, reflecting, forming and revising meanings and structures of the phenomena studied thus building a rich, deep understanding of new phenomena inductively. It is relevant for the study of entrepreneurship because the latter is a temporally and spatially bounded system (Hakim 1994; King 1985; Patton 1990) that requires multiple sources of evidence (Yin 1989). It permits subjectivity due to the proximity of the researcher to the interviewees (Patton 1990). See Meriam (1998).
Narrative Analysis	Involves the study of speech at an individual level and overlaps with other approaches. It considers stories shared with others because the stories a person chooses frames how they will be perceived. Most narratives dwell on positive aspects of the self. It is useful for studying literature and autobiographies and entails comparing context-situation; the core plot in the story told about self; and basic actions (Reisman, 1993).
Content Analysis	Although primarily a quantitative methodology it is useful from a qualitative perspective in developing categories. It can be used as a form of typological analysis and entails examining documents, text and speech to analyse emergent themes. For instance, what do people talk about most; and how do these themes relate to each other. It uncovers latent ideology implicitly articulated by the writer, or concentrates on overt influences at surface level. It is theory driven and is governed by specific rules of analysis. For example, the researcher must specify whether they are analysing a line, a sentence, a phrase, a paragraph and stick with this level throughout. The chosen categories of analysis or units of meaning must be defined precisely, be inclusive and be mutually exclusive. After having determined categories the researcher counts how often the categories occur. The methodology originated with the analysis of newspaper articles for bias by counting things in print. It incorporates the visual and verbal. See Weber (1990).
Action research	Action research is a form of inquiry typically designed and conducted by practitioners who analyse the data to improve their own practice. It draws upon the disciplines of philosophy, psychology, sociology, and history. It is about self-discovering and making sense of practice. For McNiff (1988:ix) it bridges the divide between educational theory and practice. It suits researchers who are resourceful, committed, tenacious, and above all, curious. It is a form of critical, self-reflective enquiry orientated towards understanding social practices, as well as being "the systematic collection of information designed to bring about social change" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992:223). Lewin (1947) describes a three-step process of planning which involves reconnaissance; taking actions; and fact-finding about the results of the action. For (Stringer 1999) it entails looking and building a picture; thinking, interpreting and explaining; and acting to resolve issues and problems. For Atweh <i>et al</i> (1998) action research is often presented as stories, and for McNiff (1993) it is about the expression of values. To Wells (1995) it is about the co-construction of meaning and follows the model of observe - interpret - plan - act.
	METHODS REJECTED.
Analytic Induction	Entails looking at an event and formulating a hypothetical statement of what happened. It is then compared against similar events to see if it fits the hypothesis. If not the hypothesis is revised until it fits all examples of observed cases (Katz, 1983).
Event Analysis /Microanalysis	Entails finding the precise beginnings or endings of events, by locating specific boundaries or phenomenon. It is used in the analysis of film and video. Once the boundaries have been established repeated viewing identifies phases (Erikson, 1992).
Phenomenology / Heuristic Analysis	Entails examining how individuals experience the world, emphasising idiosyncratic meaning to individuals, as opposed to shared constructions. The researcher must ensure that their pre-understanding does not corrupt the data by concentrating upon how the respondent perceives and experiences the world. It introduces the idiosyncratic understanding of the researcher. It is similar to hermeneutical analysis but is focused on the researcher's experience. See Moustakas (1990) (1994).

Metaphorical Analysis	Used in later stages of analysis by adopting metaphors and trying them on for fit. These can be solicited from respondents or occur as spontaneous metaphors (Smith, 1981).
Discourse analysis	Relates to the linguistic analysis of ongoing flows of communication and recorded conversations between two or more people, because recordings can be replayed. It establishes themes, patterns of interaction. It permits the exploration of the process of socially constructing entrepreneurship (Ainsworth, 2001). See Spradley (1980).

Selecting appropriate methodologies entailed perusing the generalised approaches and specific techniques listed above and visualising where they would fit in with my fuzzy notion of a research plan. I rejected specific techniques such as analytic induction; event-micro analysis; and phenomenology-heuristic analysis because of their inherent specificity. They leaned too much towards the quantitative. I considered domain analysis, but this did not materialise. I was drawn towards the use of typologies and taxonomies which necessitated the use of content analysis. Each sub-methodology chosen was selected on the pragmatic basis of what it contributed to the research. Metaphorical analysis and hermeneutical analysis, discourse analysis, narrative analysis and semiotic analysis also appealed to me and given the subjective nature of entrepreneurship appeared to be tailor made methods for analysing entrepreneurial phenomenon. Metaphorical analysis is used in chapter 8. The subjective appeal of constructivism and qualitative research methodology was only part of the decision making process, because if one accepts the stance that entrepreneurship is a socially constructed phenomenon it provides an objective case for using these approaches. Having selected a constructivist approach and chosen the most appropriate research methodologies, I considered methods of data analysis available. These differ according to the level of interpretation, abstraction and theory building to be applied (Strauss & Corbin 1990). The integrity of qualitative methodologies can be challenged, particularly in relation to validity, reliability, methodological rigour and bias. Careful design reduces such criticisms by paying attention to construct validity; confirmability; internal validity-credibility; external validity-transferability; and reliability-dependability (Miles & Huberman 1994; Yin 1989). Table 12 reviews the approaches considered.

TABLE 12 - METHODS FOR ENSURING RIGOUR IN QUALITATIVE RESEARCH.	
CONSTRUCT VALIDITY	Relates to how well the results obtained fit the theories around which it was designed. Using multiple sources, establishing a chain of evidence, and having external academics review draft case studies, and the use of multiple sources or triangulation of evidence ensure construct validity (Burgess, 1984). Triangulation permits a stronger substantiation of constructs and hypotheses enabling one to generalise research findings. In this study, subjectivity was reduced through prudent selection of interviewees; a semi-structured interview process; and a structured process for recording, transcribing and interpreting the data (Lincoln & Guba 1985). A chain of evidence was established from the development of the research questions through data collection to the final conclusions (Yin 1993).
CONFIRMABILITY.	Relates to the veracity of the research conclusions. Supervisors, colleagues and researchers must be able to observe an audit trail. This necessitate the development of a database of recorded cassette tapes, transcriptions, interview notes, and any secondary sources kept for posterity to document the authenticity of claims. Chains of evidence, allow others to trace logical progression.
INTERNAL VALIDITY / CREDIBILITY.	Rest upon establishing a phenomenon in a credible manner. In this study the aim was to locate generative mechanisms enabling inferences to be made about real-life experiences (Bhaskar 1978; Merriam 1988). Methods include case analysis, expert peer review, diagrams' and, illustrations'. These enhance integrity. Other techniques include triangulation, peer debriefing, incorporating interviewee quotes and prolonged researcher-respondent contact.

EXTERNAL VALIDITY / TRANSFERABILITY.	Relates to the degree to which research findings can be replicated beyond the study and generalisability. Positivist research permits generalization (Eisenhardt 1989; Miles & Huberman 1984). Thick description; the establishment of a detailed interview protocol, and using coding and analysis procedures permits transferability.
RELIABILITY / DEPENDABILITY.	Relates to the ability of other researchers to carry out the same study and achieve similar results. The diversity of methodologies and techniques open to qualitative researchers work against this because they often produce unique insights. Ensuring a document trail and data base, discussing research findings with supervisors and other researchers, including a peer evaluation are methods qualitative researchers can adopt. Documenting the theoretical and philosophical positions of the researcher reduces research bias and subjectivity (Merriam 1988).

In conducting the research, I took cognisance of construct validity, conformability, credibility and so on by using multiple sources and triangulation methods. I established a chain of evidence; kept a database of recorded material and notes; had drafts of the chapters reviewed by my supervisors; and incorporated material from the thesis into peer reviewed conference papers and book chapters, ensuring that the research developed in a rigorous manner. The final part of the analytical process is the understanding that emerges from the data and the impression (inductive) that is provided through a rich description of the subject matter being researched. The deductive processes used helps to identify causal construction. The diversity of methodologies ensured that I had to learn how to conduct research multiple methodologies.

3.3.3 – Selecting specific research methodologies and formulating the research plan.

This section details the research plan and methodologies used in the individual chapters, enabling us to link the chosen research methodologies to the research questions, demonstrating how each part of the study fits together. Table 13 relates to the research plan and shows the linkages between the chapters demonstrating how the various elements fit together and contribute to understanding; as well as demonstrating the logic of the research elements. This justifies the wide range of methods employed and explains their contributions.

TABLE 13 - THE PHD RESEARCH PLAN.		
CH	PURPOSE / METHODS / PROCESSES / DISCOVERY	CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE
1	<p><u>Purpose:</u> Desk research to introduce the study and highlight the importance of "Verstehen" as a research methodology.</p> <p><u>Methods:</u> Verstehen.</p> <p><u>Phenomena:</u> N/A.</p> <p><u>Processes:</u> Deductive / Interpretative.</p> <p><u>Main Discovery:</u> N/A.</p>	This chapter links the "Verstehen" approach to phenomenological enquiry from where it stems and suggests that it is an approach compatible with grounded theory. Both revolve around the emergence of themes from the data.
2	<p><u>Purpose:</u> Desk research to articulate social constructionist theory.</p> <p><u>Methods:</u> Literature review.</p> <p><u>Phenomena:</u> Social constructionism.</p> <p><u>Processes:</u> The socially constructed nature of reality.</p> <p><u>Main Discovery:</u> The importance of Social Constructionism as a tool for achieving "Verstehen" and of Constructionist Building Blocks and Constructionism's Tools.</p>	This chapter is vital in placing social constructionist theory at the forefront of the study. This is essential given that social constructionism has been given a privileged position in the study.
3	<p><u>Purpose:</u> Desk research to locate and articulate the philosophical and methodological underpinnings of the</p>	This chapter links the "Verstehen" and social constructionist approaches to the other qualitative methodologies to be

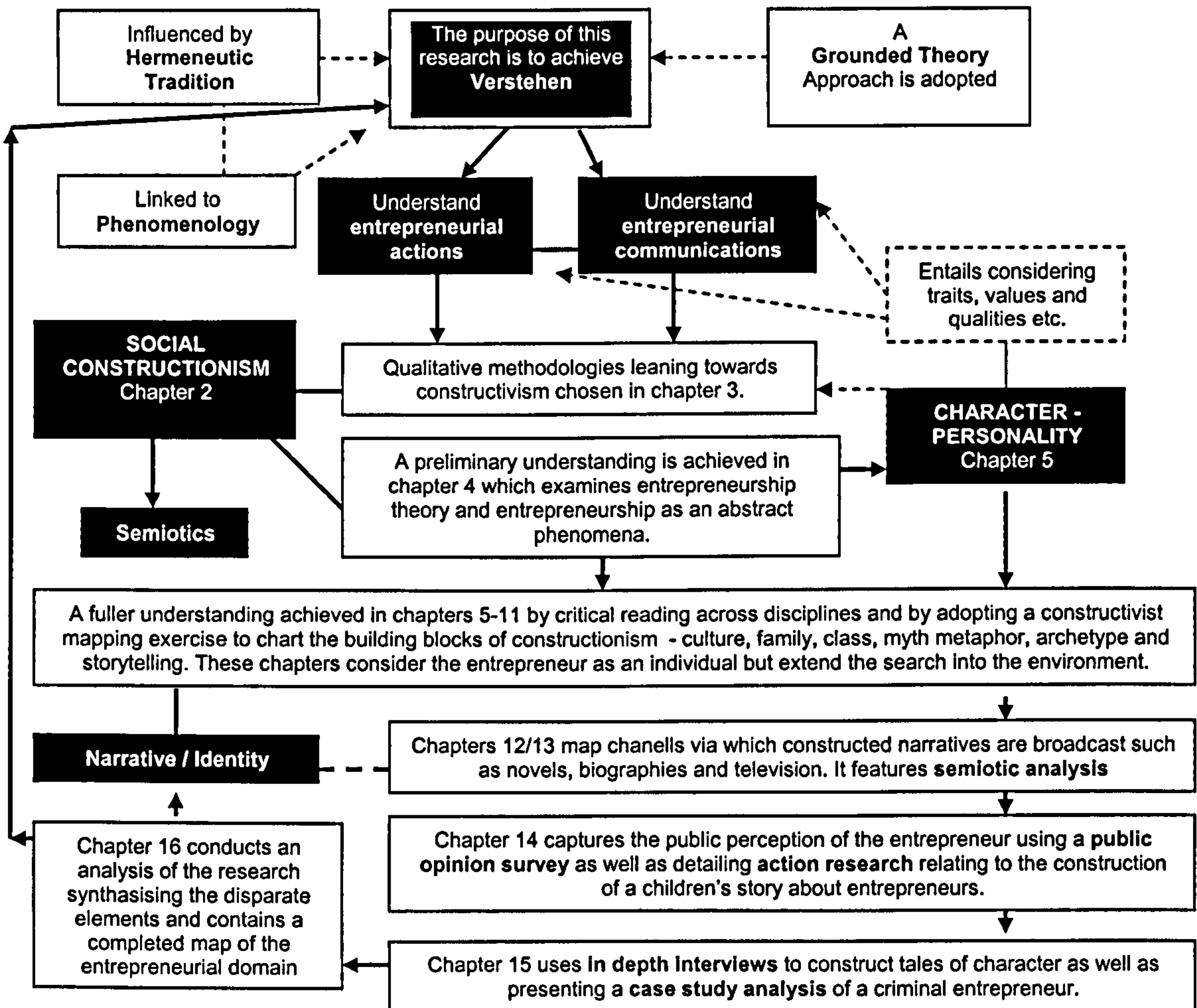
	<p>study.</p> <p>Methods: Qualitative and in particular “Verstehen” and Social Constructionism.</p> <p>Phenomena: Ways of becoming, being, belonging.</p> <p>Processes: Embedding, enabling, enacting and engaging.</p> <p>Main Discovery: The importance of becoming, being, belonging to entrepreneurial behaviour and the role of embedding, enabling, enacting and engaging in constructing socially prescribed traits and states.</p>	<p>used in this study. It adopts a behavioural stance by discussing unstable states of being which will be linked in later chapters to stable traits, and to action and communication. It does so by considering deeply embedded social processes such as embedding, enabling, enacting and engaging. It also begins mapping the entrepreneurial construct.</p>
4	<p>Purpose: Desk research to conduct an initial literature review of entrepreneurship as an abstract concept thereby setting the study in context.</p> <p>Methods: “Verstehen” and Social Constructionism.</p> <p>Phenomena: Highly subjective social paradigms such as Values, Principles, Ideologies and Doxa.</p> <p>Processes: Deductive - spanning various academic literatures. Begins the mapping process proper.</p> <p>Main Discovery: The importance of character to the entrepreneurial construct.</p>	<p>This chapter adopts a “Verstehen” approach by extrapolating data from a multi-disciplinary literature. It begins developing a map of the entrepreneurial construct to try to demonstrate that entrepreneurship is a socially constructed phenomenon. It also sets out the argument that although entrepreneurship is so diverse that it is not possible to achieve an all defining theory it is possible to explain it by recourse to narrative schemas.</p>
5	<p>Purpose: Desk research into psychological aspects of the entrepreneur at an individual level.</p> <p>Methods: interpretive</p> <p>Phenomena: Subjective social paradigms such as Values, Traits, Personality, Character, Practices, and Processes.</p> <p>Processes: This chapter examines social and business networks and demonstrates that they are primarily an embedding mechanism / magnifying loci for social values.</p> <p>Main Discovery: There is no one predominant form of entrepreneurship and the manner in which it is applied will influence the social construction portrayed.</p>	<p>This chapter continues the mapping process at a physical level. It is primarily concerned with action and communication at an individual level Both are action orientated and thus behavioural. Consideration of these also dictates that we take cognisance of the principles which guide them. The process approach is well established in entrepreneurial studies. This chapter extends our knowledge by considering the social processes of embedding, enabling, enacting and engaging which permit us to become, belong and be.</p>
6	<p>Purpose: Desk research to enquire about the importance of social structures / institutions such as culture, family, childhood and religion on the entrepreneurial construct.</p> <p>Methods: Deductive / interpretive</p> <p>Phenomena: Culture / Family / Childhood / Morality / Religion</p> <p>Processes: This chapter examines social institutions and demonstrates that they are primarily an embedding mechanism / magnifying loci for social values.</p> <p>Main Discovery: That culture, family, childhood and religion all subtly influence constructions of entrepreneurship.</p>	<p>This chapter continues the mapping process at a physical level and is still concerned with action / communication. It examines how social structures / institutions influence the creation of value and thus the social construction of entrepreneurship. Culture, family, childhood and religion are all taken for granted. However, this chapter extends our knowledge by mapping how the social processes of embedding, enabling, enacting and engaging which permit us to become, belong and be.</p>
7	<p>Purpose: Desk research to demonstrate the importance of demographic factors such as class, ethnicity and gender on the entrepreneurial construct</p> <p>Methods: Deductive / interpretive</p> <p>Phenomena: Class / Ethnicity / Gender</p> <p>Processes: This chapter examines taken for granted demographic factors such as class, ethnicity and gender</p>	<p>This chapter further advances the mapping process at a physical level. It is still concerned with action and communication, but examines how demographic factors influence the creation of value and thus the social construction of entrepreneurship. Demographic factors are often taken for granted. However, this chapter builds</p>

	<p>and demonstrates that they are primarily an embedding mechanism / magnifying loci for social values.</p> <p><u>Main Discovery:</u> That class, ethnicity and gender influence the expected social constructions of entrepreneurship.</p>	<p>upon chapters 4 and 5 by extending the mapping process to show how the social processes of embedding, enabling, enacting and engaging which permit us to become, belong and be.</p>
8	<p><u>Purpose:</u> Desk research into basic narrative structures such as semiotics, archetype, myth, metaphor.</p> <p><u>Methods:</u> Deductive.</p> <p><u>Phenomena:</u> Constructionist building blocks such as semiotics, archetype, myth, and metaphor.</p> <p><u>Processes:</u> Engaging / enabling / enacting and embedding.</p> <p><u>Main Discovery:</u> That the entrepreneurial construct is pervaded with / shaped by taken for granted narratives.</p>	<p>This chapter continues the mapping process but at a narrative / communicational level by examining the basic constructionist building blocks of narrative showing how they are built into spellbinding stories. It links deeply embedded narrative social processes to those of engaging / enabling / enacting and embedding.</p>
9	<p><u>Purpose:</u> Desk research into the actual entrepreneurial stories encountered in the academic literature.</p> <p><u>Methods:</u> Deductive / Interpretive.</p> <p><u>Phenomena:</u> Narrative / storytelling / rhetoric and dialogue</p> <p><u>Processes:</u> Engaging / enabling / enacting and embedding.</p> <p><u>Main Discovery:</u> That the entrepreneurial construct is a narrated process.</p>	<p>This chapter continues the mapping process at a narrative-communicational level by examining narratives such as the American and entrepreneurial dreams, success stories demonstrating how they are socially constructed scripts It develops the themes of engaging / enabling / enacting and embedding.</p>
10	<p><u>Purpose:</u> Desk research to present the two main representations of the entrepreneur as hero and villain.</p> <p><u>Methods:</u> Deductive / Interpretive.</p> <p><u>Phenomena:</u> Heroism / Villainy / Criminal entrepreneurship.</p> <p><u>Processes:</u> Engaging / enabling / enacting and embedding.</p> <p><u>Main Discovery:</u> That there are two socially prescribed constructions of the entrepreneur discernable from the literature, namely the heroic entrepreneur and the (picaresque) villainous entrepreneur.</p>	<p>This chapter continues the mapping process. It thus provides a useful tool for analysing constructions of the entrepreneur as found in the popular press, media, fiction and biographies of entrepreneurs.</p>
11	<p><u>Purpose:</u> Desk research into the aspects of entrepreneurial identity and legitimacy.</p> <p><u>Methods:</u> Deductive / Interpretive.</p> <p><u>Phenomena:</u> Identity / Legitimacy.</p> <p><u>Processes:</u> Engaging / enabling / enacting and embedding.</p> <p><u>Main Discovery:</u> That particular aspects of identity and legitimacy shape the entrepreneurial construct.</p>	<p>This chapter continues the mapping process at a narrative level showing how physical and narrative elements are woven into the enactment of entrepreneurial identities and legitimacies.</p>
12	<p><u>Purpose:</u> Desk research to demonstrate the pervasiveness of Constructionism's Tools in the form of the Media, Biography, novels in perpetuating socially constructed representations of entrepreneurship.</p> <p><u>Methods:</u> Literature review / biographical & fictional analysis.</p> <p><u>Phenomena:</u> Media representations and the storybook entrepreneur.</p> <p><u>Processes:</u> Engaging / enabling /embedding.</p> <p><u>Main Discovery:</u> That Media and communications theory shape presentations of the entrepreneur in society. That</p>	<p>This chapter aids "Verstehen" by discussing Constructionism's Tools through which the narratives and identities associated with entrepreneurship and the entrepreneur are channelled. This chapter spans the desk research between the academic literature into the popular literature. It demonstrates and illustrates from where such social constructions come from. These inform the academic constructs but are more lurid as in tabloid tales. However, in popular literature the social processes of eulogisation and</p>

	expected social constructions of the entrepreneur are shaped by a storybook entrepreneur script, narrative conventions and social expectations.	demonisation are made more visible.
13	<p>Purpose: Desk research to demonstrate the pervasiveness of Constructionism's Tools in perpetuating socially constructed representations of entrepreneurship.</p> <p>Methods: Deductive / Interpretive / Inductive / Analytic. In particular semiotic analysis.</p> <p>Phenomena: Images associated with entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial iconology.</p> <p>Processes: Engaging / enabling / enacting and embedding.</p> <p>Main Discovery: That images of entrepreneurship lean towards the picaresque.</p>	It demonstrates that at a National level in the U.K the entrepreneur is usually still portrayed as a villain and that on television the entrepreneur is portrayed as a crook and a likeable rogue.
14	<p>Purpose: Field research to capture the public perception of the entrepreneur in the North East Of Scotland.</p> <p>Methods: Deductive / Interpretive / Inductive / Analytic. In particular Public Opinion Surveys and Applied Action Research. Grounded Theory. Applied Semiotics.</p> <p>Phenomena: Communication and Action. Stereotyping.</p> <p>Processes: Engaging / enabling / enacting and embedding.</p> <p>Main Discoveries: That the entrepreneur constructed by the respondents mirrored the academically constructed entrepreneur as hero and villain. The respondents and school children both warmed to the entrepreneur.</p>	This chapter captures data from 100 anonymous but verifiably real respondents that shows that in the North East of Scotland the public perception of the entrepreneur is highly positive despite the derisive treatment of entrepreneurs at a national level in the U.K . Furthermore the action research demonstrates that entrepreneurial ideology can be presented in a fictional format which inspires children.
15	<p>Purpose: Field research to capture the stories and themes from entrepreneurs in the North East of Scotland.</p> <p>Methods: Deductive / Interpretive / Inductive / Analytic. In particular In-depth Interviews and Case Studies.</p> <p>Phenomena: Character. Tales of Character. Familial Fable. Mentorship Tales.</p> <p>Processes: Engaging / enabling / enacting and embedding.</p> <p>Main Discoveries: The entrepreneur respondents presented as principled characters. This was replicated in a deviant case study of a gangster who emphasised character.</p>	This chapter demonstrates that although the respondents chose not to present themselves as entrepreneurs nevertheless particular facets of the entrepreneurial construct (as mapped in previous chapters) could be grafted onto their deprecating narratives to tell a convincing entrepreneur story. Paradoxically, it was the criminal entrepreneur who chose to present himself as an entrepreneur.
16	<p>Purpose: To synthesise the data, answer the research questions and conclude the study. To achieve "Verstehen".</p> <p>Methods: Analysis.</p> <p>Phenomena: The data revealed by the study.</p>	This chapter synthesises the preceding chapters demonstrating that the use of multi method qualitative methodologies can paint a more vivid research picture than mono-methodology.

Diagram 2 represents the research plan.

DIAGRAM 2 – RESEARCH PLAN DETAILING APPROACHES USED IN THIS STUDY.



It is helpful to discuss the individual methodologies chosen in more detail.

3.3.4 – Discussing the individual methodologies used in the study.

This section details the individual methodologies used in this study and explains the empirical research carried out. It relates to chapter 12-15 only. Each chapter is discussed in turn discussing the research questions answered, the specific methodological approaches and data collection techniques employed.

Chapter 12 examines the entrepreneur as a storybook construction. I purposefully collected narratives about entrepreneurs from newspapers, biographies and novels and conducted a comparative analysis of the stories to extrapolate data which emerged into common grounded themes. It thus examines the entrepreneur as constructed in a number of works of fiction, both historical and contemporary and discusses the stories individually, highlighting important entrepreneurial themes to be analysed and developed. This

methodology was chosen because of the difficulty of separating the person from their story. Themes can be identified and separated but not people from actions.

Chapter 13 seeks to answer the research questions “What are the social constructions of the entrepreneur in British society” and “Where do they come from and how are they constructed”. The specific methodologies used are semiotic and comparative analysis. This part deals with issues relating to sample detail and data collection methods. In relation to the semiotic analysis of the narrative elements, the books (novels and biographies) examined were not pre-selected, but were chosen on the basis of their availability from public libraries. This methodology was ensured that it was based upon material specifically available to the public. In the case of the television and media sections the material was chosen at the time of broadcast and assimilated into the study. In relation to the semiotic analysis of the images, Baker (1994:254) argues that visual images present material for descriptive and analytical purposes. More importantly, photographic images allow us to think visually (Curry & Clarke, 1977:20). For Becker (1974) visual images bridge the gap between concepts and behavioural indicators. Visual semiotics, assist in the production of meaning. Baker notes that certain research problems lend themselves more readily to incorporating visual images because pictures are direct referents. Examining the social construction of entrepreneurship is one such problem. I purposefully collected images associated with entrepreneurship from newspapers, magazines, and biographies. The images were collected over an extended period of time as they were encountered and their significance appreciated. Being a semiotic (and thus comparative) study I also simultaneously collected images associated with criminality and corporate identity. This allowed a three-dimensional (and thus richer) analytic triangulation, demonstrating that the constructs of entrepreneurial man, criminal man, and corporate man were all social constructs reliant on similar artefacts, used in different contexts, to project socially recognisable identities. The purpose of the exercise was to conduct a semiotic analysis of cultural myths associated with entrepreneurship which involves an attempt to deconstruct the ways in which codes operate within particular popular texts or genres, to reveal how certain values, attitudes and beliefs are supported whilst others are suppressed. This denaturalizing of cultural assumptions is problematic when one is a product of the same culture making it imperative when analysing our own cultures to try to be explicitly reflexive about our own values. Chandler (1994) notes that in conducting a semiotic analysis, cultural practices, objects and actions that have meaning to the cultural group are treated as signs when seeking to identify the rules or conventions of the codes, which underlie the production of such meanings within that culture. Understanding such codes, their relationships and contextual appropriateness is part of what it means to be a member of a particular culture.

Semiotics also encompasses rhetorical analysis, hermeneutics, literary criticism, discourse analysis structural analysis, textual analysis, and content analysis, all of which are concerned with identifying the constituent units in a paradigmatic semiotic system as found in text, genre or as socio-cultural practice. It is also concerned with the structural relationships between them such as oppositions, correlation and logical relations. A paradigm is determined by how it is distinguished from others, thus paradigmatic analysis seeks to identify various paradigms, or pre-existing sets of signifiers, underlying a genre by considering its positive and negative connotations and the existence of underlying themes. The absence of particular signs can be as equally important as their presence. Paradigmatic analysis involves comparing and contrasting signifiers either present or absent in a unit of analysis. Semioticians use a commutation test to identify distinctive signifiers and define their significance by substituting paradigms to establish if they change the meaning of

the sign. The test identifies generic sets of paradigms and codes and the influences of setting, artefacts and so on. If one removes the cultural artefacts one can then define them in terms of occupation, class, status, and so forth. If not, then the artefact is obviously of essential generic significance. Entrepreneurship is paradigmatic therefore the semiotic analysis conducted entails the use of paradigmatic analysis.

Two other schools of semiotic thought are relevant, namely the structuralist focused on the internal structure of text and language; and social focused on construction and interpretation (Chandler, 1994). Social semiotics is the study of situated semiotic practices, revealed using ethnographic and phenomenological methodologies. Semioticians and constructivists focus on language, whether written or spoken, as it is the most pervasive code in any society. Codes overlap and semiotic analysis involves considering several codes and the relationships between them and semiotic modes - visual, verbal, and gestural (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996:31). Eradicating cultural bias is problematic when one is close to a culture. To overcome this, we must declare our inherent values. I adopted a social constructionist stance.

Chapter 14 deals with the face to face research, to establish public perceptions of the entrepreneur and also details action research carried out. This chapter considers the research question – what are the social constructions of the entrepreneur in British Society? It also informed where do they come from and how are they constructed. The specific methodologies chosen for this research element were those of public opinion survey and content analysis. I initially attempted to stop people in the main shopping streets in the cities of Inverness and Aberdeen, but this was not successful since people were not prepared to spend the time responding. However at the train and bus stations I found a more captive audience! The interviews were short semi structured interviews, with open-ended questions and taking from 15 to 30 minutes. This series of open-ended questions, drawn from the classic entrepreneurial literature, allowed the respondents to explain how they understood, and what they knew about entrepreneurship. By doing so I intended to establish the public perception of the socially constructed nature of the entrepreneur. I then analysed the responses by comparative analysis, looking for themes and patterns in the responses. This research conducted early on in the process ensured that the research that followed it was grounded in public perceptions of reality.

In relation to the sample details, it was decided that 100 members of the public was a suitable number for analysis. I chose these respondents at random from people waiting at bus and train stations and at similar venues. This random methodology ensured that a representative sample of the public was gathered. Whilst the respondents were predominantly Scottish data was also captured from respondents from a wide variety of cultural and national backgrounds, including four Americans, two Brazilians, two Australians, one French national and one German national. The survey pro-forma consisted of 10 questions. With the benefit of hindsight the questionnaire could have been simplified even further, for instance many of the respondents found difficulty in answering one question because they did not understand it. It was explained to the respondents in the following terms - If the word entrepreneur came up during a conversation and the other person did not know what it meant, how would you describe it to them to allow them to recognise an entrepreneur. I had considered conducting research by postal surveys but was put off by the fact that they have a notoriously poor response rate and that many of those who do choose to respond have experience of higher education. Additionally postal surveys allow those who respond time to construct an articulate reply (consisting of an aggregate level of available public knowledge, available from consultation with friends, peers and dictionaries). I wanted to discern the immediate level of knowledge and understanding of the ordinary person in the street – probably the very people who would fail to respond to a postal survey. This

proved to be a very sound research tactic, which worked very well in practice. It allowed me to capture the emotive elements such as facial expressions, semiotic hand gestures, body language, hidden nuances, which are not discernable from the purely written word. Large postal surveys are a safe clinical way of capturing data aggregates they definitely have their place but to establish the public perception of the entrepreneur one must get one's hands dirty.

Chapter 15 collects data from entrepreneurs and maps their narrative against knowledge of the entrepreneurial construct developed in earlier chapters. It seeks to answer the research questions – What are the social constructions of the entrepreneur in British Society? And where do they come from and how are they constructed? The specific methodological approaches adopted were structured in-depth interviews, unstructured interviews, participant observation (Jorgenson, 1993) and case studies. The sample size consisted of five respondents who were local businessmen and entrepreneurs. This small sample size was chosen for convenience purposes as they were known to me for several years. This allowed me to triangulate the data using personal knowledge and observation. The small size of the sample also permitted a greater degree of flexibility in comparing their narratives against knowledge developed in earlier chapters.

In relation to the data collection method for the in depth interviews, the research plan was designed to determine if any of the stories they told were influenced by entrepreneurial narrative / ideology. All interviews were tape recorded and transcribed. This entailed establishing an Interview protocol. At the commencement of each interview, the interviewee was informed about the generic nature of the research, but not the purpose. This was necessary because to highlight that one was interested in their storytelling ability may have prejudiced the collection of the data. Prior to each interview, each interviewee had received a letter and a telephone call requesting an interview. Confidentiality was offered in writing and reiterated verbally. At the commencement of each interview permission was sought for the use of a recording device. This was augmented by note taking, which involved observation, impressions, preliminary insights and reflections of previous experiences. Triangulation was achieved in most instances because the researcher knew the interviewee. It is of note that Vernon & Parry (1949) argue that the interview as a data collection vehicle in behavioural studies should only be used to obtain information for which no test exists. However, Vernon and Parry and Shouksmith (1968) stress that in interviews one can observe actual behaviour, for instance, verbal fluency and that valid personal information can be extracted from interviews, from which measurement can be inferred, providing the interview is properly conducted. Bailey (1987) argues that the interview process requires planning and a sophisticated interviewer. Furthermore Merriam (1988) stipulates that proficient interviewers create an open climate in which respondents divulge information that is useful for the investigation of the facts, permitting what Paget (1983) calls solidarity where researcher and researched are engaged together in trying to understand life events and experiences. However, in this study the structure and planning of the interview were kept to a minimum as it was desired to let the interview develop according to the story-telling propensity of the respondent. A disadvantage of having no formalised interview protocol was that there was no template from which one could begin the analysis and interpretation of the answers. The interviews were therefore semi-structured and the questions asked were open ended and of a conversational nature – a two way dialogue. The first open-ended question was "Please tell me your story". No attempt was made to formulate an interview protocol even despite appreciating that this may be a disadvantage. Hamilton (forthcoming) is concerned with the issue of the phenomenological narrative and noted when interviewing respondents that it became apparent that life events were being ordered into stories, and recounted as such. In addition closed questions were asked to assist in the clarification of

issues raised by the respondent. The use of open-ended questions facilitated the development of theoretical replication across the cases as opposed to literal replication. Multiple sources of data were used, including transcribed interviews of respondents, newspaper clippings, and data from observation, permitting triangulation. The strategy chosen was to concentrate upon small samples using oral histories despite a lack of corroboration as advocated by Gartner *et al* (1992:26-7). In writing up the research I chose to narrate the material as stories because narrative as a mechanism brings clarity and order to a study.

In addition, to conducting five full scale in-depth interviews I also carried out a number of shorter interviews with businessmen acquaintances. These also proved fruitful in developing some of the themes identified in the interviews above. The data was collected by unstructured informal interviews. Again, the data sampling methodology achieved was that of convenience sampling, using respondents already known. This had specific advantages, in that I knew they had stories to tell. It was possible for me to augment and clarify my own knowledge of the respondent's lifestyles and business practices gained over time. I interviewed them in a semi structured manner, asking them what had inspired them to go into business. Their verbal responses were recorded and subjected to a content analysis.

It is helpful to discuss the research technique of participant observation (Zelditch, 1962; Bruyn, 1966; 1972; Spradley, 1997). I used this technique to develop a better understanding of the narratives of respondents, who were all known to me. Participant observation is a qualitative research technique involving the researcher immersing themselves in the subject under study. Participant observation is aligned to grounded theory and the natural emergence of data. Both help uncover taken for grantedness. It is aligned to "Verstehen" approaches allowing one to gain a deeper understanding. Its strengths include - reliance on first-hand information; high face validity of data; it is a relatively simple and inexpensive method. Weaknesses include - an increased threat to the objectivity of the researcher; the unsystematic gathering of data; reliance on subjective measurement; possible observer effects; Participation involves investment of time, energy, and self. These can lead to possible bias. It can be more objective than questionnaires (Bruyn, 1966). Bruyn advocates a phenomenological approach which emphasizes inter-subjective understanding and empathy and allows the development of a personalised rapport allowing one to enter the milieu of the respondent's stories and seek out the meaning of the experiences of the group under study from a plurality of perspectives. Conversely, Zelditch (1962) advocates an empirical approach or in-depth systematic study emphasising systematic observation and recording of the milieu. Both these techniques utilise definitional mapping to capture the labels used. Definitional mapping is the systematic tracing of these terms from different viewpoints within a milieu. Participant observation is appropriate for studying interpersonal group processes. However, the researcher must state upfront their initial expectations and guard against imposing expectations on observations. Typically, clearance to enter the milieu must be secured beforehand. In this study the respondents all knew that I was conducting a research study, so permission was not a key issue. Participant observation entails carrying out a balancing act between participating and observing. However if over used one runs the risk of producing sterile qualitative research devoid of thick description. Thus observations must be evidenced. This normally entails keeping detailed notes, written at the time or shortly thereafter and by allowing the respondents to read the research. In this study in the case of Kirsty and Dan no detailed notes were kept because of the social settings in which the research was conducted. The stories were gathered at social events such as parties or whilst engaged together in a working setting. It is in such settings that tales of character emerge. Most research on entrepreneurs concentrates on the domain of their

work place missing the vitality and diversity of the familial, personal, social and religious influences on identity. In this manner I was able to tap into the respondents personal morality systems. Moreover, I was able to consider aspects of the entrepreneur at rest or play and gauge their mark as a person. In adjudging true character one must often look beyond the façade of workplace personae. Yin (1993) argues that in doing qualitative research, we study the phenomenon and the embedded context. In this study the stories of the respondents were narrated in a social setting in which they were comfortable. It is in such settings that tales of character are embedded. I did not disturb their naturalised behavioural patterns.

Chapter 15 also utilises a case study consisted of an In-Depth Interview with a reputed London Gangster Dave Courtney and shorter interviews with several of his associates. The interviews were all tape recorded. The data constructed was triangulated using biographical data and newspaper clippings. I spent a considerable amount of time in their company during the research period and utilised ethnographic methods. This chapter also utilises the case study methodology, with data being gathered from biographical material, newspaper clippings, in-depth interviews and observations synthesised into a convincing tale of the field. Case studies are criticised for lacking statistical validity and generalisability (Gummesson, 2000). They are useful for testing or developing theory. It adopts a mini ethnographic case study approach (Jack, 2002:130), allowing the qualitative researchers to get inside the minds of those being studied to understand the values, meanings, motivations and logic which govern their actions (Curran & Blackburn, 2001:113). Jack (2002:12) stresses that "ethnography allows the entrepreneur to be studied in his / her natural context". For Hussey & Hussey (1997:76) ethnography uses socially acquired and shared knowledge to understand the observed patterns of human activity. Thus ethnography is based upon social construction. Ethnographies are stories based upon negotiated anecdotes between respondent and researcher. Silverman (2000:110) notes that a criticism of anecdotalism is to question the validity, or truth, of much qualitative research. Jordan *et al* (1992:70) note that in becoming a researcher, we are trained and socialised into membership of a dominant discourse practice. There is no one dominant discursive practice in entrepreneurial studies but qualitative methodologies are in the minority. Stewart (1991:79) proposes the use of ethnography and participant observation (the researchers self and experience), as the method best suited to the study of entrepreneurship, being "an eclectic and trans-disciplinary approach". Van Mannen (1988) structured the writing up of ethnographic research into three categories - realist; confessional; and 'impressionistic' tales. It is interesting that Van Mannen chose the terminology - tale. The entrepreneurial narrative is subjective in nature and according to Jordan *et al* (1992:76) ethno-methodology enables one to construct alternative versions of descriptions, objects and events because description is never complete and demands further clarification. It is a reflective medium where the object is not independent of its description. Perren & Ram (2004) argue that case studies have a long and respected history in mainstream management literature but that the use of case studies has philosophical consequences when applied to entrepreneurship research. Perren & Ram (2004:86) used a constructionist mapping process to trace the paradigmatic stances in case studies, identifying four, namely - Objective Milieu explanations; Objective Entrepreneurial Narrative explanations; Multiple story explanations; and entrepreneurial personal story explorations. They argue that the traditional entrepreneur story is a story of personal self-aggrandising akin to a questing hero (Godel, 2000:89) and advocate using multiple story and objective approaches to avoid the standard conceptual baggage of such stories with their engaging plots conforming to reader's expectations. Catano (2001:96) considers questing to be a masculine trait and (2001:126) talks of "entrepreneurial questing". For Perren &

Ram (2004:93) questing stories may become "a cage into which the entrepreneur's story is force fitted". The research process as conducted followed a "Verstehen" methodology as discussed in table 14.

TABLE 14 – DEVELOPING A VERSTEHEN METHODOLOGY.

Stage	Description of activity
Close reading	To develop an initial understanding and entailed an extended literature review process. This process was a continuous one.
Inputting data	To develop an expanding narrative data base. This entailed continual writing up creating a living document which evolved daily becoming increasingly more detailed.
Ordering of data	To fit the emerging themes. This was an iterative, constructionist process which enabled a vast quantity of material to be assimilated into the document. The process was akin to constructing a massive jig saw.
A writing up period	This separate process was necessary to weave the arguments of the thesis into the document. This iterative process entailed writing, rewriting, editing and deleting.
Preliminary mapping	This entailed constructing preliminary maps of each chapter by plotting emerging themes and motifs visually to determine where each element fitted into the jigsaw.
Re-reading the thesis	To identify linkages between the emerging themes. This assisted in the mapping process.
Completing first draft	This entailed finalising the thesis by having the copy bound. This brought order and clarity to the project
Conducting a critical re-reading of the thesis	This entailed scrutinizing the document for clarity, whilst conducting a critical review of the material to ensure its fit. It was a process of critical analysis which enabled the drafting up of a completed map of the entrepreneurial domain.
Constructivist mapping process	This entailed drawing detailed maps of elements of the entrepreneurial construct identified as being important. This enables the mapping of entrepreneurial process.
Completing final draft	Finalising the completed thesis – entailed a third writing phase but brought the process of "Verstehen" to a close.

Having chosen social constructionism, as a research tool, it is helpful to revisit the research context.

3.4 – THE RESEARCH CONTEXT EXPLAINED.

This thesis examines social constructions of the entrepreneur as encountered in Britain. This entails considering the concepts of Britain and Britishness across space and time. Whilst Britain is a specific geographic location, Britishness is a more diverse concept, a state of being or state of mind, and an adopted identity. Thus Britishness is taken as a given, evolving social construction with no all defining notion. It is influenced by regional variations and divided in historical epochs shaped by specific, cultural value and belief systems. Thus what it is to be British varies across the centuries but retains a constant literal interpretation, despite encompassing differences. The concept is shaped by stable socio-cultural institutions which imbue it with a legitimacy imparted by longevity and tradition. These include the Church, the State, the Education System, the Political System, and the Media. Much of what constitutes Britishness is expressed via the written word and is encountered in literature, in the newspaper columns, magazine articles, and in books. As a social construction it is constructed in the same media as is entrepreneurship.

3.5 - ETHICAL ISSUES RELATING TO THE THESIS.

It is customary in a PhD to consider ethical issues relating to the research conducted. There is an established body of literature relating to the ethics of qualitative research and in particular how to incorporate an ethical framework into a study (Cassell & Symon, 1998; Flinders, 1992; Herndon & Kreps, 1993; Kimmel, 1988; and Patton, 1990). Ethics are important to research because they protect participating individuals and organisations from any harm or adverse consequences of the research. Issues such as confidentiality of

data (Merriam 1988) were of concern because there is a limit to how well the researcher can protect the identity of those being interviewed. Of concern were issues of informed consent, because neither the subjects of the biographies or the authors were consulted. It was presumed that because their work had been introduced into the public domain it was ethical to analyse it. Issues relating to fairness of reporting of findings and the importance of minimizing bias were of concern. To overcome these issues various checks and balances were put in place to deal with the subjectivity in the data analysis and findings. Ongoing work was discussed with supervisors, other researchers to obtain feedback particularly in relation to the consistency of interpretation thereby achieving a more reliable understanding of the research problem and issues (Hirschman 1986). Also respondents were kept abreast of the developing narratives about them.

Research is influenced by authorial ethical mores. Hindle & Rushworth (2001) prefer not to cloak respondents in anonymity. Whilst this is laudable, it was never an option open to me. Ethics are a double edged sword and we have a duty to respondents to cloak them in anonymity and ultimately if our work is criticized we must be prepared to absorb the criticism personally, for access is a privilege that can often come at a price. The researcher on the margins must be prepared to defend their work safe in the knowledge that they behaved ethically. In researching amoral, immoral and criminal forms of entrepreneurship, one often does not have the luxury of respondents, prepared to be named in public. Instead, one must hide behind case studies, pseudonyms, fiction, fable and stories. One is often told things in confidence, in an almost conspiratorial manner. Protecting sources is paramount. In its early stages this research project was dogged by ethical dilemmas, and problems. I have written these up as an impressionistic tale from the field, as per VanMaanen (1988). See storybox 2.

STORYBOX 2

An Impressionistic tale from the field – On the dilemmas of conducting research on the sly.

At the time I wrote and conducted this research, I was a serving police officer. On submitting the research proposal to Aberdeen University (where the early part of the research was conducted) I submitted a report to my then Chief Constable asking for permission to conduct the research, as was accepted procedure. I specifically raised my concerns about issues of ethics and asked if there were Home Office guidelines covering such research. Refusal of permission was a distinct possibility. In the two months it took for the University to process my proposal and accept the application, I did not receive an official acknowledgement of my proposal. On acceptance by the university I was faced with the dilemma of whether to proceed or not. To date I have not had a response. I proceeded on the time honoured basis that if one does not press an issue it will be forgotten. A direct question often receives a negative response. Throughout the time it took to construct this thesis, I led a dual life as a Constable and a part-time doctoral student. Both factors placed restraints on the subject matter that I could study. The former placed ethical restrictions, and both upon the amount of time I could dedicate to the research. I would have preferred to study professional criminals and criminal entrepreneurs but was mindful of the advice of Taylor (1984) who was forced to develop a working relationship with John McVicar who acted as a mentor and broker of introductions on his behalf. As Taylor (1984:133) succinctly wrote, "I could hardly go out and find my own professional criminals". Or could I?

Being a serving officer also precluded the use of other accepted research methods on ethical grounds. For example, I could not go native, as did Bourgois (1995) and Adler (1985:18). Adler was trusted by her criminal respondents (in the terminology of Goffman, 1963 was accepted as wise) being granted the status of peripheral membership role in the "Web of trust" by virtue of her willingness to tolerate drug use. I was mindful of the advice of Adler (1985) that investigative techniques are especially necessary for studying groups such as drug dealers and smugglers because of the highly illegal nature of their occupation makes them secretive, deceitful, mistrustful and paranoid. Adler (1985:9) describes how she had to resist the temptation to make too much rational sense out of this irrational world and that the imposition of rational models can be imposed where they don't exist in reality. Adler (1985:22-23) notes that sociologists such as Becker (1963) and Whyte (1955) remark that field researchers studying deviance must inevitably break the law in order to acquire valid participant observation data. They must have guilty knowledge. This luxury was never open to me. Bourgois (1995:12) notes that the marginalized and alienated who populate inner cities,

and in particular drug dealers distrust people from the mainstream of society and as a consequence will not reveal intimate experiences "of substance abuse or criminal enterprise to a stranger, on a survey instrument". Accordingly, most criminologists and sociologists collect fabrications. Another dilemma is that I appreciated that much of what I intended to research was itself a fabrication, albeit a social one.

During the early stages of this research, I applied for sponsorship through the National Bramshill Police Fellowship Scheme, intended to encourage police officers to conduct research at University level. This would have allowed me to undertake the research on a full time basis with the research fees being paid by the Scottish Office. My employers rejected the application on two grounds namely that in times of financial restraint they could not afford to release me for the envisaged time scale. The second being that the force research officer did not believe I would be able to locate professional criminals willing to participate, in sufficient numbers, to make the comparison a worthwhile feasible study. I was contacted by the research officer who asked if I had sought permission to conduct the research. I referred her to the appropriate report and asked if the position could be clarified. To date I have not received a reply. This had serious ethical effects upon the future direction of my intended research. I was faced with a very real dilemma of whether to ignore their concerns and proceed unabated. I had sufficient confidence in my abilities to locate and interview sufficient professional criminals to validate the study.

In the interim period, I had read enough biographies of villains to appreciate that entrepreneurial life themes ran through their narratives. I chose three of the better ones relating to Dave Courtney, Peter Scott and Bruce Reynolds. I decided to attempt to interview them. I wrote off to their publishers on University notepaper, enclosing a letter, asking if they would participate in my study. I did not expect to hear from them, but worked on the principal of 'nothing ventured, nothing gained'. In the letter for ease of response I had provided my home telephone number as a contact number for the publishers. I anticipated that any response would occur in writing via the publishers. To my surprise a week later I came home from work to be told by my wife Val that Dave Courtney had phoned. In naive excitement, I immediately returned the call and spoke to Dave. He invited me to jump on a plane right there and then and come down to his house in London. He invited me to stay the night and interview his friends too. Bear in mind that at this moment in time I was dressed in police uniform, talking to Britain's public enemy number one. As a professional and dedicated police officer, I realized that his invitation was just not ethically feasible. I also feared his telephone may be tapped and that his house may be under surveillance. I had visions of arriving there and walking into the middle of a surveillance circus. These thoughts were churning through my mind as I feebly replied I had other pressing engagements. Being a career villain and shrewd character, who lives by his wits, Dave challenged me why I could not drop these and even offered to pay for the flights. My mind was racing as I inwardly berated myself for my impulsiveness. I decided that honesty and integrity was the only ethical response and explained that as well as being a doctoral student I was a serving police officer. The silence on the end of the phone was palpable, but Dave recovered quickly and invited me to join him at a future date when he was filming a movie. I thanked him and terminated the phone call.

My first thought was to change my phone number. I then phoned my supervisor Alistair Anderson who implored me to grasp the once in a lifetime research opportunity with both hands. I was again placed in a dilemma, but knew that to progress the research I had to accept the challenge. Alistair and I debated long and hard about the ethics of the issue. To maintain ethical integrity as a serving police officer I knew that I should submit a report to the Chief Constable stating my intentions / asking permission. I knew this would be refused outright. As a researcher, I did not want to compromise a potential respondent. I decided the most ethical course of action was to absorb the stress of the conflict on an individual basis. Ethics start within the individual. It was decided that Alistair would accompany me at all times. Alistair and I embraced the research opportunity and all went according to plan despite my nerves and reservations. I was paranoid about any potential surveillance in case I was compromised, but despite checking shop windows, 360 degree turns, when walking and so on I did not detect any adverse interest. This was a very real ethical dilemma. If a surveillance operation had been in place and I was arrested for questioning along with the targets it could have caused serious repercussions for my career. Being disciplined, fined for bringing the police service into disrepute and dismissal from the service were potential consequences. These were no imaginary ethical dilemmas, but very real ones. Another fear was being photographed in Dave's company.

At one stage, Dave mentioned that he intended visiting a friend and that there would be drugs on display. He asked if that would cause me concern. I replied that I was his guest and if the roles were reversed I would not place him in any obvious ethical dilemmas. He understood and instead we adjourned to a pub for the evening. Dave stated that he was suspicious of the initial letter but when I openly declared that I was a police officer he had instinctively decided that I must be above board. It was that simple act of truthfulness that sealed the research opportunity. The experience did cause me a few palpitations. At one point Dave summoned Alistair and I, from the corner of the pub by a royal wave of the hand. Alistair and I intrepidly approached him, pints in hand. Dave pointed to the door and said in his rich Cockney accent. "We're leaving". Alistair politely replied "we'll catch up with you later". I had to take the pint out of Alistair's hand and

propel him towards the door, as a big-time gangsters word is a command. On entering his Bentley with the mock number plates, BAD BOY 1 the enormity of what we were doing hit home. Being out of one's depth is a humbling feeling. To test me, Dave went nose to nose and in a threatening voice interrogated me to ensure I was not a set up. It was harrowing because I realised that the battery in Alistair's hearing aid had gone again. I heard the penetrating shrill of its alarm as Alistair was temporarily plunged into deafness.

On taking leave of Dave and his firm I got the last laugh. Picture it! Dave standing there in his full gangster regalia (shaven head, big cigar, black suit, black shirt, dripping with gold – earrings, chains, watches, and rings) and me in conventional academic attire. As he shook my hand his eyes focused on my favourite tie, a red one with caricatures of pigs on it. Dave looked closely and a wry smile crossed his face. He retorted "CHEEKY BASTARD!" shook his head and walked away. On returning to reality, I did not report the meeting and no problems materialised. It did, influence my decision to change tack and research less controversial issues of social constructionism. I learned a valuable lesson about research ethics, in that, when one encounters an apparently irreconcilable situation, one must proceed on the basis of integrity.

3.6 - REFLECTIONS.

After consideration and debate on the constructivist paradigm a raft of qualitative research methodologies were chosen as being the most appropriate tools to achieve the state of "Verstehen". We examined a wide range of philosophical and methodological underpinnings beginning with the issue of pre-understandings and the hermeneutic circle linked to the related philosophical concepts of ontology, epistemology, axiology and methodology. These taken for granted deeply philosophical concepts underpin understandings of entrepreneurship, being directed as they are, towards the philosophical states of being, becoming, belonging and knowing. We also considered how these states relate to entrepreneurship *per se* and are a narrated process and influence and are shaped by basic paradigmatic world-views or approaches which shape how we view the world and guide which research methods we choose as researchers. Given that action and communication are also important elements of the ontology and epistemology of being, becoming and belonging then one can appreciate the complexity facing researchers. Most studies of entrepreneurship do not delve too deeply into these concepts. Yet, they are essential in developing an understanding of entrepreneurship. Ontology and epistemology are connected to the state of belonging and modes of belonging, such as alignment, imagination and engagement are located in embedding mechanisms such as family, mentors, clubs, localness, community and trust. These are deeply social and subjective mechanisms involved in the creation of and generation of value. The methodologies chosen are qualitative and lean towards the constructivism. The other world views have been set aside. The study is orientated towards the philosophical states of becoming, being and belonging. Adopting a constructivist stance allows us to view the tangible aspects of these states as manifested in the physical world as modes of belonging. In the coming chapters, we will use the ontological modes of enabling – embedding and engaging – enacting to explore the social construction of entrepreneurship and map the entrepreneurial process as it moves from becoming to being and belonging. Having reflected upon issues of pre-understanding and set out the theoretical and philosophical orientations, chosen mainly qualitative methodologies, and considered ethical issues it is time to conduct the research. Thus chapter 4 considers entrepreneurship theory.

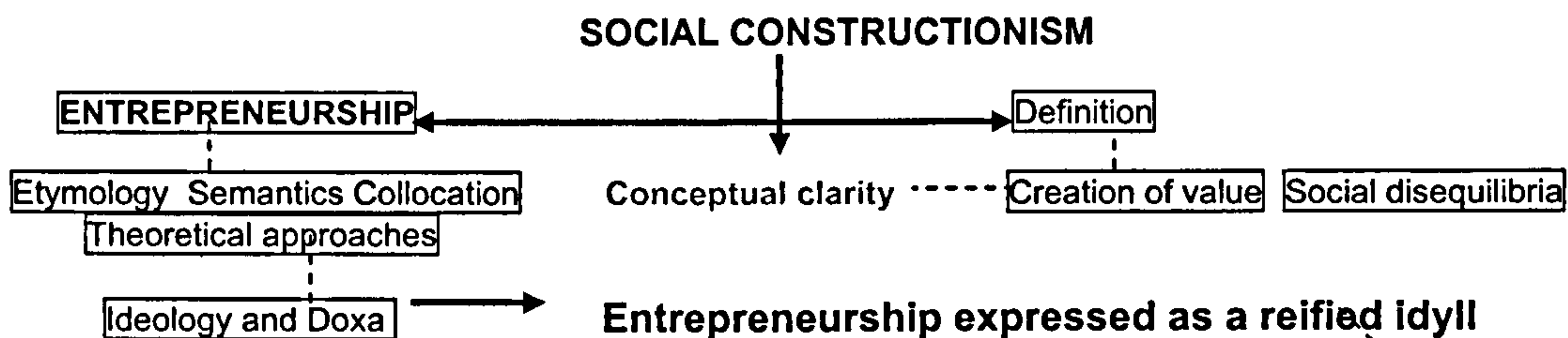
4 - CONSIDERING ENTREPRENEURSHIP THEORY.

INTRODUCTION.

READERS' GUIDE.

This chapter

1. Conducts a preliminary literature review of entrepreneurship theory, introducing and exploring the entrepreneurial construct; highlighting problems associated with definitional and conceptual clarity.
2. Defines the research problem and explains the relevance of the thesis in answering it.



4.1 – UNDERSTANDING AND DEFINING ENTREPRENEURSHIP.

- 4.1.1: The role of etymology.
- 4.1.2: The role of semantics.
- 4.1.3: Considering linguistic collocation.

4.2 - EXPLAINING ENTREPRENEURSHIP.

- 4.2.1: Obtaining conceptual clarity.
- 4.2.2: Considering the main theoretical approaches.
- 4.2.3: Defining entrepreneurship as the creation of value.
- 4.2.4: Defining entrepreneurship as social disequilibria.

4.3 – CONSIDERING ENTREPRENEURSHIP AS AN ABSTRACT CONCEPT.

- 4.3.1: Considering entrepreneurship as an ethical principle.
- 4.3.2: Appreciating ideology and doxa as constructionist building blocks.
- 4.3.3: Re-interpreting entrepreneurship as a reified idyll.

4.4 – REVISITING SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM.

4.5 - REFLECTIONS.

Anderson (1995:1) argues that although the major focus in entrepreneurial research has been the entrepreneur, paradoxically entrepreneurship is a social process. Therefore, this chapter considers entrepreneurship as an abstract concept separable from the entrepreneur, or entrepreneurial action. This is so because the very word entrepreneurship has become a meta-concept, encapsulating all that adheres to it from its practice to its overarching philosophies and explanatory theories. Consequentially, this chapter views entrepreneurship as an abstracted body of knowledge that exists in society, above the level of the individual entrepreneur. Such knowledge can influence entrepreneurial behaviour. This chapter also takes account of the role of entrepreneurship theory in shaping our expectations of entrepreneurial behaviour. In doing so it also begins to examine 'WHY' entrepreneurship is socially constructed, creating the case for viewing it as a social process, or set of social processes. This is necessary because consideration of only the economic or psychological is too narrow an approach. This chapter sets the scene for enquiries in later chapters to consider 'HOW' and in 'WHAT' ways entrepreneurship is socially constructed. Furthermore, this chapter seeks to explain the theoretical basis of entrepreneurship and map its elements or component parts, enabling us to better understand and define it.

The chapter begins with an etymological, semantic and collocational analysis of the word entrepreneur (the e-word) and its many derivatives (e-words) situating the meaning of the word before we examine

definition and the problem of obtaining conceptual clarity, which is a major problem in entrepreneurial research. We then consider the main theoretical approaches to entrepreneurship and also as the creation of value, and as a force of social disequilibria. Both help explain the dynamics of entrepreneurship. This chapter also considers entrepreneurship as an abstract theoretical concept or ethical principle guided by the constructionist building blocks of ideology and doxa. Moreover, entrepreneurship can be reinterpreted as a reified idyll. This chapter considers the relevance of social constructionism to entrepreneurship *per se*.

4.1 - UNDERSTANDING AND DEFINING ENTREPRENEURSHIP.

According to the Whorf-Sapir hypothesis of linguistic determinism and relativism, the world-views of people, who speak languages with different phonological, grammatical and semantic distinctions, are shaped and determined by their language causing them to form different perceptions. Sapir (1929) argued that we are at the mercy of the language of our society, and that the perception that language and reality are incidental is an illusion. The real world is (subconsciously) built upon the language habits of group. However, because no two languages are sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality, the constructed worlds are thus different and distinctive. Perception and interpretation are influenced by a communities language habits. For Suttles (1972) such communities are socially constructed. Whorf (1956) argued that we implicitly dissect nature, using our native languages, organizing the images in our minds, ascribing significances on an embedded culturally accepted basis according to codified linguistic patterns. This necessitates understanding origins and meanings of key words or etymology. This makes the study of semantics essential in achieving 'Verstehen'. For Koiranen & Hyrsky (2001:4) a large number of words are semantically and conceptually related to the word entrepreneur (or e-word, Hornaday, 1990; Smith & Anderson, 2002). For Koiranen & Hyrsky (2001:9) the e-word is an "interesting gesture". We now consider the roles of etymology, semantics and collocation in shaping understandings of entrepreneurship.

4.1.1 - The role of etymology.

An appreciation of the etymology of the word entrepreneur (the e-word) and its many related words and derivatives (e-words) helps us understand their power. The e-word is a denotative word, yet when we invoke it, we are also invoking a complex value system with its own constellation (cosmology) of accrued meaning and connotations. The first reference to the word entrepreneur in relation to the economic occurred in 1755 in the writings of Cantillon to describe "someone who exercises business judgments in the face of uncertainty" (cited in Bull & Willard 1993:185). It has earlier militaristic roots, being borrowed from the French in the 15th century to describe a military commander leading his troops into battle. Only gradually was its meaning extended to the battlefield of business. This heroic "military image is an apt one; for businessmen of any age seek to command forces that are not of their own making, under conditions they cannot choose, with outcomes they cannot foresee" (Hunt & Murray, 1999:132). It is related to the word enterprise, derived from the Old French word *entreprendre* formed from the words *entre* (between) and *prendre* (to seize). Deakins (1996:8) denotes its literal meaning as "one who takes between". The operative word being takes as it does not occur naturally. For Verin (1982) it resonates with a spirit of Medieval action associated with the saying *prendre-entre* (to take between tongs, to besiege a fortress). The e-word is defined in the Chambers dictionary (1980) as "One who undertakes a business enterprise, especially one involving risk". Similarly, enterprise means "That which is attempted: A bold or dangerous undertaking: A willingness to engage in undertakings of risk". This imbues them with a background of heroism, excitement, action and

drama. The word entrepreneur is related to the word "impresario", with which it shares a common etymology. The word impresario denotes the manager of a theatrical [operatic] company and "organizer of public entertainments". It is derived from the Italian word *impresa* = enterprise or undertaking. It is thus associated with energy, flamboyance, enterprise and with the skill of spotting and bringing on talent. E-words as metaphors resonate with action and have developed an increasing social cache. Chell (2000:63) considers them to be an attributional label. Its archaic French origins may make it difficult for many to comprehend or pronounce. It is a curiously outdated word, trapped within a nineteenth century construct (Wallerstein, 1991). It possesses a distinctiveness of origin belonging to a stable of other words, such as tycoon, magnate, baron, and impresario. Yet, it is not static and evolves with technology as evidenced by Weitzen (1988:1x) who coined the word "Infopreneur". According to Chell *et al* (1994:12) in the twentieth century the British contributed little to our knowledge of entrepreneurship, ignoring or confusing it with capitalism. Wansell (1988:98) notes there is no corresponding original English word. Etymological analysis thus aids our search for "Verstehen" because for Barthes (1988:151) etymologies do not trace back to origins, but place words in semantic configurations, or networks of relations and related words.

4.1.2 – The role of semantics.

Consideration of semantics is important because as Leech (1974) argues, it is the study of meaning. Semantics produce psychological, linguistic and philosophical meanings. Berger & Luckmann (1971:102-4) refer to hermetically sealed 'esoteric' enclaves or socially constructed sub-universes of meaning, which are enacted by a collective body producing their own meanings in an ongoing process. These become closed to outsiders. Furthermore, Barthes (1988:158) argues that meaning cannot be analysed in isolation. One must consider semantic and conceptual relatedness. Indeed, for Koironen & Hyrsky (2001:2) the e-word has accumulated various additional primary and secondary meanings, gradually changing to reflect the present, more positive socio-economic climate towards entrepreneurial activity. Also entrepreneurship embraces a wide spectrum of human activity, including all the variants associated with the nuances of person, process and choice. Smith & Anderson (2002) question how one defines a human action, which can be a one off event; a repetitive or serial event; a lifestyle activity; an identity; a process; an ethos; a mental attitude; a life stage in the growth of a business; a career stage. Thus e-words are flexible and extremely malleable, rendering themselves liable to reconstruction and adaptation. Irrespective of how they are reconstructed they are identifiable as a derivative of the original. Most mutations include the term preneur. See table 15.

TABLE 15 - E-WORDS AND DERIVATIVES.

Entrepreneurship (the process conceptualised); Entrepreneurial (the act as a trait); Entrepreneurise (a seldom used gender specific term); Entrepreneuria – a collective term for all things entrepreneurial; Entreprende (the process as an action); Non-entrepreneur (a pejorative prefix); Entrepreneurology (the academic discipline - Scott & Anderson 1994); Entrepreneuring (Aggestam & Keenan, 2002:2); Intrapreneur (Lessem, 1986a); Entrepreneurialism (the ethos); Contrapreneurs (Francis, 1988); Co-preneurs (Marshack 1994); Infopreneur (Weitzen, 1988). Entrepre-cratic (Rehn & Taalas, 2002:11); Entrepogenic (Smith 2002); Metrapreneur (Lessem, 1986b); Intracorporate entrepreneurs (Rothwell, 1975); Manopreneur (Hjorth, 2001); Inn-trapreneur (Kassam, 2002:40 in relation to the Intrapreneur pub company); Europreneurs (Henzler, 1994); Entrepreneur-statesmen (Henzler, 1994:68); Mediapreneurs (Gergen, 2001:200).

The above table demonstrates that the word entrepreneur has many possible collocates.

4.1.3 - Considering linguistic collocation.

Firth (1957:179) stresses "you shall know a word by the company it keeps". For example, consider the increasing usage of the term criminal-entrepreneur. Koiranen & Hyrsky (2001:1-3) considered collected collocated phrases relating to the word entrepreneur, concluding that entrepreneurship is often a term applied to too many things that people want to glorify. They asked respondents to fill in pairs of adjectives and nouns to create a narrative text corresponding to their perception of entrepreneurs. Using quantitative data analysis, they found that among the most frequently adjective-noun collocations describing entrepreneurs were ruthless-speculator; persistent-fighter; responsible-toiler; creative-experimenter; and innovative risk-taker. Thus the term entrepreneur covers a wide variety of different, contradictory meanings. The first two collocates suggest entrepreneurship is not always a socially approved activity. However, Koiranen & Hyrsky argue that in Finland the popular view of the entrepreneur has moved from the pejorative to the complimentary. A similar study by Koiranen & Peltonen (1995) explored the relatedness of entrepreneurial concepts. As a concept, entrepreneurship is thus moulded to fit socio cultural circumstances. Entrepreneurship is clearly a boundary spanning activity that encompasses many milieus, in which cultural and linguistic variations affect its many meanings.

To summarise the argument so far entrepreneurship, as a concept, is difficult to define and its etymological and semantic roots do not always help the public understand it¹. Nevertheless, it can be explained.

4.2 - EXPLAINING ENTREPRENEURSHIP.

Entrepreneurship is a socio-economic activity, which has pragmatic, philosophical and academic connotations, albeit that it may lack canonical definition. Entrepreneurship is anchored in the disciplines of anthropology (Stewart, 1991), economics, (Kirchoff, 1991), psychology (Kets De Vries, 1967), sociology (Reynolds, 1991) and history (Wilken, 1979). These distinctive academic domains influence how entrepreneurship is constructed. For example, Casson (2000) argues that anthropology and entrepreneurship are imbued with the spirit of romanticism with anthropologists collecting and presenting facts about social groupings as opposed to individuals, albeit that traditionally, the entrepreneur is an individualistic construct. Entrepreneurship was initially shaped by economic theory. Early twentieth century approaches combined sociology and economics, but inter-disciplinary divides played a major role for 50 years. These are blurring, but perceptions of a socio-economic divide still exist. Indeed, Petterson (2002:23) criticises this division but acknowledges a rapid change. Obtaining conceptual clarity is thus problematic. Gartner (1989:57) argues that this results from the inherent complexity of entrepreneurship.

A major theme to emerge from the entrepreneurship literature is the inability of academics to succinctly define the entrepreneur and entrepreneurship. Both are "contested term", with no universally accepted definition (Barry, 1999). Bygrave & Hofer (1991:13/21) discuss the impossibility of operationalising something that cannot be defined, but echoing Glaser & Strauss (1967) note "in certain circumstances a lack of theory is helpful when attempting to understand a phenomenon". Similarly, MacDonald & Coffield (1991) in referring to the word enterprise appreciate that it has developed into a "linguistic and epistemological muddle". Although we cannot define it, it can be explained by recourse to linguistic devices and narrative

¹ Nonetheless, it is capable of articulation and explanation via narrative. For Jump (1969) some terms cannot be made familiar via compact definitions, because discussion is needed and observations required.

forms such as rhetoric, discourse and storytelling devices containing "thick description" (Geertz, 1973). Hytti *et al* (2004) argue that entrepreneurship is a concept constructed via writing practices. It is worth considering the words of Tolkien (1982:122) in his essay "On Fairy-Stories" that "Faerie cannot be caught in a net of words, for it is one of its qualities to be indescribable, though not imperceptible: It has many ingredients, but analysis will not necessarily discover the secret of the whole". Tolkien uses the term Faerie to describe the essence of fairy stories, but if one substitutes the word faerie for entrepreneurship it succinctly explains the dilemma facing entrepreneurship researchers. Yet, like anthropologists, we persevere with our net of words to capture the whole, to discover its secrets, to analyse the ingredients and obtain conceptual clarity.

4.2.1 - Obtaining conceptual clarity.

Gearty (1991) warned against attempts to produce all embracing definitions, preferring a spectrum of behaviour within a recognised core. Entrepreneurship is limited by our inability to successfully define it and is indefinable for the reasons articulated in table 16:-

TABLE 16 – PROBLEMS IN OBTAINING DEFINITIONAL AND CONCEPTUAL CLARITY	
A lack of a generic definition.	Chell <i>et al</i> (1994:4) argue that this absence of an agreed and universally accepted definition, combined with its conceptual obfuscation impedes entrepreneurial research. Gartner (1988) argues that despite a considerable research effort no generic definition of an entrepreneur exists, because a search for traits and virtues common to entrepreneurs assumes an essentialism that is suspicious both analytically and philosophically.
A lack of a theoretical foundation.	Bygrave & Hofer (1996:13-22) blame this inability of academia to agree on its definition because unlike science, "it lacks a substantial theoretical foundation". As an academic discipline, it is characterised by diversity of interest and contrasting theories.
Is it an Art or a Science?	Chell <i>et al</i> (1991) equate its successful practice to an art form. Drucker (1985:10) considered it to be "neither a science nor an art. It is a practice" whilst Casson (1990:xv) likened belief in entrepreneurial theory as "an act of faith". Incisively, Steyaert (1997) likens it to the art of being different. Aldrich & Zimmer (1986) turn the argument full circle referring to it both an "Art" and "Science". For Livesay (1982:13) being an art form it is thus difficult to explain in terms of origin, method or environment.
Its flexibility, subjectivity, elusiveness, and vagueness of definition.	All enhance its aura of mystique. Entrepreneurship is a boundary spanning activity associated with activity occurring at the frontiers and margins of society. For Douglas (1966:114) boundaries are dangerous places because of the energy in societal margins and unstructured areas. Entrepreneurship has porous boundaries (Sandberg, 1992:78) thus what constitutes entrepreneurship can change rapidly. Entrepreneurship is characterised by change, which makes it too dynamic for permanent capture. Reich (1987:79) discusses its footloose nature. Chell <i>et al</i> (1994:8) regards the entrepreneur as an agent of change. For this reason, Anderson (1995 & 2000) argues, the entrepreneur is protean, taking shape from the environment. Anderson (1995:3) associates entrepreneurship with transformation. For Anderson (1995:10) it is about elemental creation, production, and reproduction. Bygrave & Hofer (1991:17) argue that entrepreneurship is characterised by human volition, emergence, change of state, discontinuity, holism, dynamism, uniqueness and is sensitive to a myriad of antecedent variables. To this Kirby (2003) adds fanaticism, intensity and obsession. Steyaert (1995) articulates entrepreneurship as a process concerned with dealing with contradiction, dilemmas, paradoxes, and dualities, whilst Johannison (2002) associates it with anomalies and irrationality. Howorth <i>et al</i> (2003:1) regard entrepreneurship as being characterised by dynamism, ambiguity, discontinuity, uniqueness and innovation. Low (2001) argues that in adolescent disciplines we must specify the purpose of our research. This is important because entrepreneurship is infinitely variable.
The loose usage of the term.	Furthermore, Chell <i>et al</i> (1994:4) stipulate that the problem is exacerbated by two extreme polarities, namely the everyday loose usage of the term and its narrow usage as a sub-set of business owners. All businessmen are not entrepreneurs and all entrepreneurs are not businessmen. Indeed, Chell <i>et al</i> (1994:4) warn of the danger of ascribing business as a defining character.
Inconsistency	The plethora of different ways in which entrepreneurship can be articulated, analysed and

<p>and versatility of application.</p>	<p>expressed is problematic because expression stops short of definition. Thus Chell <i>et al</i> (1994:145) refer to "entrepreneurial adroitness"; Covin & Slevin (1988) to "entrepreneurial style"; Chell <i>et al</i> (1994:59) to the "entrepreneurial domain"; and Chia (1996) to the "entrepreneurial imagination". Harwood (1982:92) advocated identifying entrepreneurs from the environmental variables that mould their behaviour; whereas Haworth (1988) views it as a latent variable manifested as an observable behaviour. Stevenson (1983) considers it to be a situational phenomenon - the essence of which is matching individuals, opportunities and required resources. Drucker (1985:283) discusses entrepreneurial values and vigour". For Spinosa <i>et al</i> (1997) entrepreneurship emerges out of everyday life. McGrath & MacMillan (2000:301&19) consider it to be a 'mindset' directed towards disrupting the rules of the game, whilst overcoming obstacles and barriers and for Velamuri <i>et al</i> (2000:5) it is individualism in the exercise of freedom. The concept is transferable between the individual person, a collective group, a business entity, and even their actions, traits and thoughts. This suggests that entrepreneurship is a fluid evolving phenomenon. Drucker (1985:283) expands this likening it to a "life sustaining activity". Stewart (1991) and Hart (1975:6) note that analysts use the e-word to mean what they want. Granted, so do scientists but this exacerbates and frustrates attempts to define it under one rubric - hence the importance of narrative and other heuristic devices as a sense-making and sense-giving tool to aid our understanding. Only by using such devices can the paradoxes and contradictions, which characterise entrepreneurship, be accommodated because it is not one story, but many.</p>
<p>Its intangibility-invisibility.</p>	<p>Defining entrepreneurship is problematic because it is composed of descriptive, elusive, nebulous, intangible and symbolic elements. Thus it is easier to describe it by means of archetype, myth, metaphor, narrative and other forms of microstoria. Therefore, no single definition can possibly cover every type of entrepreneur, nor entrepreneurial situation. Yet, despite differences, there must always be an overlapping point of convergence. Also, entrepreneurship can be practiced in silence and invoked without reference to the word itself by referring to triggering mechanisms such as 'humble origins' or by use of the 'self-made man' analogy. Indeed, Millhauser (1998), in his novel, "Martin Dressler; The Tale of an American Dreamer", encapsulated the essences of the entrepreneurial ideal without once using the word, as does the British comedian Harry Enfield, in his portrayal of a self-made man. One must use tacit knowledge to fully appreciate his humour. Refreshingly, Anita Roddick (2000:38) remarks that she never set out to be an entrepreneur nor had she heard of the word. Casson (1982:329) notes that people who consider themselves entrepreneurs will not be recognised as such by others.</p>
<p>Its misapplication to success.</p>	<p>The e-word is often used to eulogise those who are successful or conduct their activities in an outstanding manner. The psychologist Schiffman (1992:96) unwittingly articulated what makes entrepreneurs, as individuals special - they possess the courage to fail in a success ridden society. One wonders whether it is the entrepreneur, or their success that society appreciates. Entrepreneurial narrative (and research effort) appears to be biased towards first generation (parvenu) entrepreneurs as individuals, at the expense of other entrepreneurial types such as second, third or fourth generation entrepreneurs, or indeed its collective varieties. This skews the construct towards the former, influencing expected social constructs of the entrepreneur.</p>

These factors can obscure and confuse rather than clarify and illuminate. Another method of reaching understanding is to construct typologies. However, the apparent diversity of entrepreneurial types (and the cavalier way in which the label is often dispensed) also makes explaining and defining entrepreneurship problematic. Singer (1994:351) stresses that the danger of typologies is that we focus on fragments and thus lose sight of the whole. In entrepreneurial studies there is a propensity for academics to posit new typologies to explain why their understanding differs from others. Indeed, Brazeal & Herbert (1999:30) criticise entrepreneurship researchers for idiosyncratic definition based on pet theories and personal interpretations. Brazeal & Herbert (1999:42) call for consistency of labelling, and for the "unique mentality and accompanying philosophy of the entrepreneur to be explored in a practical context". This is compounded by a fetish for labelling which is perhaps a legacy of the quest for scientific validation. Entrepreneurs are often defined by occupational type such as agricultural, industrial or portfolio entrepreneurs and so on. However,

being an entrepreneur is not considered as an occupation. Nevertheless, Potter & Wetherell (1987:149) refer to linguistic repertoires or credible narratives of occupation which people use to justify their choice of occupation; and to interpretive repertoires or systems used to characterise and evaluative actions. During the study, the author encountered the following examples as set out in table 17.

TABLE 17 - A TAXONOMY OF ENTREPRENEURIAL TYPLOGIES.

Task and people orientated entrepreneurs (Chell *et al* 1994:151); Settler entrepreneurs (Casson, 2000:101); Passive entrepreneurs (Casson, 2000:79); Quasi entrepreneur (Chell *et al*, 1994:11); Academic entrepreneurs (Johannisson, 2002:8); Establishment (pyramid climber), salaried manager, financial speculator, political, revolutionary and criminal entrepreneurs (Casson, 1982:349); Craftsman, opportunistic and inventor entrepreneurs (Smith, 1967) Craftsman and professional entrepreneurs (Filley & Aldag, 1978); Genuine, administrator and caretaker entrepreneurs (Chell *et al*, 1994:70); Gifted, talented, average and ne'er do well entrepreneurs (F.W Walker, 1840-97); Team entrepreneurs (Stewart, 1989) (Reich, 1987); Corporate entrepreneurs (Ginsberg & Bucholtz, 1989); Entrepreneurial salesmen (Davis, 1987:28); Aspiring, wannabe, lifestyle, mom and pop, part-time and growth entrepreneurs (Smilor 1996:2-3); Peasant entrepreneurs (Long & Roberts, 1984); Big-time and small-time entrepreneurs (Kampfner, 1994:xviii); Non entrepreneur (Hyrsky, 1988); Free-wheeling entrepreneur (Wansell, 1988:281); Habitual entrepreneurs (McGrath & MacMillan, 2000:2); Co-entrepreneurial couples or Co-preneurs (Marshack,1994:50) (Barnett & Barnett, 1988); and small entrepreneurs (Hobsbawm, 2000:266); serial entrepreneurs (Wright *et al*, 1995); Culture entrepreneur (Palmer, 1984).

To summarise the material so far, the problem of obtaining conceptual clarity is exacerbated by a myriad of factors. As a consequence, some entrepreneurship scholars tend to concentrate on behaviours, instead of description, because science leans towards observing behaviour, whilst concentrating on rhetoric leans towards narrative themes. Themes are broader and vaguer than theories and definitions, making it easier to explain entrepreneurship by recourse to themes. On a philosophical level, Bridgeman (1927) noted that the best way to define a term is by "Observing what a man does with it, not by what he says about it". It is helpful to consider the main theoretical approaches because theory informs practice and underpins knowledge.

4.2.2 - Considering the main theoretical approaches.

Theory guides and influences understandings and theories are propositions which have yet to be disproved, and are formed from the exposition of abstract principles of a science or art. Nevertheless, Bygrave & Hofer (1991) argued that entrepreneurship lacks a substantial theoretical foundation. As Bygrave (1989:13) puts it, "entrepreneurship has no great theories". However, it is possible to classify the existing research effort into useful categories as posited by Brush (1992) who identified four categories of studies focusing upon – individual characteristics; the environment; the organisation; and the entrepreneurial process. Cunningham & Lischeron (1991) list six schools for understanding entrepreneurship - Classical Economic; Management - Intrapreneurship; Leadership; Great Man; and Trait (Psychological characteristics). Hjorth (2001:173) condenses these to Corporate, Organisational and Psychological Schools. These roughly correlate to Jack's (2002:23) six main schools of thought, namely - economic; social; population ecology; trait; psychodynamic; and behavioural. There is also the born versus made argument, but for Gray (1998) and Gartner (1988) as an argument it is impossible to maintain. It is significant that the behavioural, trait and psychological schools are unified via action and communication. Contingency theories are also pertinent (Bygrave & Hofer, 1991:16), as is the population ecology approach (Hanan & Freeman, 1977) because values, actions and behaviours are embedded in the populations in which entrepreneurship occurs. The life themes of birth, survival and death are central to entrepreneurial events. For example, the Protestant work ethic is an

embedded social value often described as a cultural trait and embedded in stories because it is a useful behaviour to encourage. Cunningham & Lischeron's (1991) first three schools are discussed below.

Economic and classical theories: Bruyat & Julien (2000:166) note early economists such as Cantillon, Turgot, Say and Schumpeter laid the foundations of entrepreneurial theory invariably defining the entrepreneur by virtue of their actions. This links into the spirit of action, central to this thesis as discussed in chapter 4. However, Bruyat & Julien (2000:172) remark that as a rule, economists generally ignored the role of entrepreneurs in the economy. Nevertheless, early entrepreneurial theory evolved from the work of economists. It was with the work of Weber that entrepreneurial theory building began to be influenced by the socio rather than the economic. Table 18, compiled from readings of Deakins (1996), Chell *et al* (1994), and Casson (1982) details the contribution of the main classical theorists.

TABLE 18 - THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE CLASSICAL THEORISTS TO ENTREPRENEURIAL KNOWLEDGE.		
School of thought	Theorist	The Entrepreneur as
French School (Physiocrats).	Cantillon J.B Say Baudeau Turgot	A central economic actor in face of uncertainty. An economic catalyst and risk taker – possessing the art of superintendence. An innovator and controller of economic events. An active manager and developer distinguished by his labour from the capitalist who risks only the investment.
Austrian-German School	Krizner Schumpeter Knight Shailer Shackle Thunen Mangoldt Menger Von Mises	Creative and alert to profitable opportunities for exchange. Ownership is not essential. A 'creative destructor' and an innovator and person of special skill. A calculated risk taker bearing the uncertain and uninsurable. A process or stage in the growth of business. A creative imaginer of opportunity. An ingenious innovative problem solver and risk taker. A risk taker and opportunistic speculator, as opposed to the capitalist producing goods to order. An active economic intelligence gatherer putting to use their awareness as opposed to a risk taker. An action orientated decision taker.
American School	Amasa Walker F.A. Walker J.B Clark F.B. Hawley	A creator of wealth distinguishable from the capitalist. A possessor of foresight, accompanied by organisational and administrative ability and unusual energy. A leader. Being active in the profitless static state. A risk taker responding to societal influences and earning distributive rewards.
British School	Adam Smith Ricardo Bentham J.S Mill Marshall	A self-interested capitalist. A moneyed man affected by market forces of capitalism. An agent of the free market process of 'laissez-faire'. Possessed of agency, skill and affected by external environment. A passive capitalist. A survivor, an alert and innovative risk taker. Exercising mental strain, coping with anxiety and commanding capital.
Contemporary School	Schumpeter Krizner Casson Schultz	A disturbing, endogenous, dynamic, proactive force. A creative destructor. As an opportunist alert to profit and possessing a creative imagination. Spotting what others have missed. A speculative coordinator and synthesiser of resources and the skills of others. A behaviour of the function of demand, supply and value of their services. Human Capital Theory

These early entrepreneurship theories took no cognisance of social phenomenon such as value. Notwithstanding this, the importance of values and of the behavioural school emerged from the literature.

Entrepreneurship as management / intrapreneurship: Although entrepreneurship is not a management technique, paradoxically it is a management style. To succeed, an entrepreneur must possess a modicum of managerial skills and the art of superintendence. Johannisson (2000:368) argues management thrives on structure, whilst entrepreneurship thrives on process, ambiguity and action. Its deliberate introduction unleashes forces of instability / disorder, detrimental to managerial ethos, dictating that some practitioners of management may develop an in-built mistrust of entrepreneurs, or *vice versa*. According to Hjorth (2001:202) managers represent order, whereas entrepreneurs represent disorder and the peripheral. For Hjorth (2001:59) managerial entrepreneurs are enterprisers. Casson (1982:355/374) advocates "managerial entrepreneurship" and stipulates that the typical entrepreneur is the founder of a new firm rather than the manager of an established one. Entrepreneurial management views entrepreneurship as a set of recognisable behaviours, approaches and processes that can be defined, analysed, nurtured and developed. Drucker (1985:24-6) defines it as "systematic, purposeful, managed entrepreneurship" but accepts that "entrepreneurs are a minority among new businesses" (ibid.36). McGrath & MacMillan (2000:24) identified common features of entrepreneurship adopted by managers as entrepreneurial practices and suggest that skills, at which many entrepreneurs excel, can be learned as management practices. Casson (2000:79) notes many entrepreneurs act as mercenaries practicing entrepreneurship in a big business setting as entrepreneurial managers. Minkes (1987:25) argues that because management is concerned with change, it possesses entrepreneurial aspects. Baumol (1991) in referring to the limits on observing mega-entrepreneurial events of the kind that create new industries remarked, "Each one is unique. If you could describe it completely you could replicate it, and it would become management instead of entrepreneurship". From a pedagogical perspective it is easier to teach as a functional managerial process concentrating on the physical processes.

Corporations are often viewed as the antithesis of all things entrepreneurial. However corporate entrepreneurship is its practice within and between corporations and entrepreneurial companies at a higher level and different dynamic, occurring in a matured business environment. It is often associated with the lifecycle or growth stage of a company, or the stage of an individual entrepreneurial career. Entrepreneurs can become tycoons and in later life corporate executives, facilitating a considerable degree of exchange between the two business groupings, leading to an exchange of ideology between spheres (Olsson, 2002:145). Indeed, Wetherell (1997:331) refers to corporate masculine identity. Hisrich & Peters (1992:534) sum up the guiding principle of corporate culture as "follow instructions given, do not make any mistakes, do not fail, do not take the initiative, but wait for instructions, stay within your turf, and protect your backside. This restrictive environment is of course not conducive to creativity, flexibility, independence, and risk taking - the jargon of intrapreneurs". Kirby (2002:302) argues that large organisations often see enterprising individuals as loners (not team players), eccentrics, interested in pet projects, cynics, rebels, free spirits, responsible for sloppy work. Donald & Goldsby (2004) question the academic view of corporate entrepreneurs as visionaries who do not follow the status quo, suggesting that they are often forced to walk a fine line between clever resourcefulness and rule breaking in the pursuit of entrepreneurial activity.

Corporations may still continue to be dynamic as entrepreneurial leadership is transferred to a management structure. Alternatively, teams of entrepreneurs may manage individual projects. There is an entrepreneurial niche in the upper echelon of the business world where the entrepreneur performs exceedingly well in a directorial role where entrepreneurial skills are at a premium. The notion of dual personality that has attached itself to the entrepreneurial construct also afflicts the corporate construct. Indeed, Milton (2001:1-2) alludes to a Jekyll and Hyde image of many corporations, stressing that companies are like people – they can enter into contracts, buy and sell property, make charitable donations, award prizes and even erect memorials in their own honour. It follows that companies may be motivated by the entire range of human feelings and foibles that afflict people. According to Milton (2001:44-46) companies tell little white lies when seeking to portray themselves, or to obtain legitimacy. Milton suggests companies have a personality. For Milton the story of a company is a complex, dynamic, organic creation that is part-myth, part wishful thinking, part hard fact, part history and part future plan. Corporations utilise the vocabulary of medieval princes – principalities, dynasties, fiefdoms, and majestic standards (ibid.132). One must remember that despite the difference in ethos between the entrepreneurial and corporate narratives, both are social constructs capable of being built from similar storylines. Thus the same formulaic narrative that is used to build up the entrepreneur as an individual is used to build up or vilify a company, which can also be described as being of humble beginnings.

Intrapreneurship is the practice of entrepreneurship within organizations (Pinochet, 1985). An intrapreneur is an enterprising person, working in a company, public body, or organization utilising entrepreneurial practices or management techniques to succeed. Its practice can be difficult in corporations whose structures stifle and prevent innovation and change. Intrapreneurs' energise these groups, transforming entrepreneurial ideas into reality. To achieve this, they often create what Bennis (1966) called adhocracies - setting up of small groups within a large organization on an adhoc basis and to deal with specific problems. By using the entrepreneurial spirit latent in its members of staff, bureaucracies benefit. Stephenson (1995:35-52) carried out research into the formation of "Virtual Entrepreneurial Groups", which harness the synergy between entrepreneurial collective action and bureaucracy and concluded these groups work because they push against accepted practices and struggle for legitimacy.

Leadership theories and entrepreneurship: Leadership is a process (function) often associated with entrepreneurship (McGrath & MacMillan, 2000:301). According to Casson (2000:10) we are socially programmed to exalt leaders and entrepreneurs gain power and legitimacy from twin levels of social approval – from being a leader and an entrepreneur. For Casson (2000:8) the supply of potential leaders is a function of demography dictated by the number of people of a suitable age, experience, education and stature. This mirrors Baumol's (1990) argument for the supply of entrepreneurs. However, entrepreneurs as leaders emerge, whereas the bureaucratic leader is appointed. Entrepreneurial leadership is frequently associated with charisma which illustrates the importance of communication.

It is significant that entrepreneurship must be applied in context. Yet, even theory may confuse and obfuscate, because theory is developed after the act from observations and arguments constructed to prove or disprove a thesis. It became apparent that much of the research would have to concentrate on a psycho-social behaviourist stance given that the first three research questions relate to uncovering the pertinent

social constructions of the entrepreneur in British society. Also, when one considers that the fourth and fifth expressly refer to entrepreneurial behaviours – the importance of the behavioural school becomes self-evident and justifies a closer examination of traits, values and character. According to Kline (1983:28) traits are defined in terms of behaviours or behavioural abstractions. The significance of the trait approach is developed in chapter 5. To answer the remaining research questions clearly required a more holistic, constructivist mapping process. The focus of chapter 5 is upon action and communication, which both span these theoretical areas of entrepreneurial research. There are two main schools of thought in categorising entrepreneurial status, namely minimalist (start businesses) and moralist (create value). Another two schools of thought are worthy of consideration - entrepreneurship as the creation of value and as social disequilibria. The first arises from social processes, whereas the second is an outcome of entrepreneurial behaviour. Indeed, the entrepreneurial process is directed towards the creation of value. Disequilibria, is not intentional but is part and parcel of the process of value creation.

4.2.3 – Defining entrepreneurship as the creation of value.

For Handerich (1995:895) value is a difficult to measure philosophical state. It is important to distinguish between value (as an outcome) and values (as guiding principles) because to succeed as an entrepreneur and create value necessitates taking cognisance of values. Values are important because they guide actions which are attributable to people. Indeed, values appear to be to actions, what morals are to stories. Thus, in a chapter ostensibly dealing with theory we must begin constructing theory by considering the individual. Values are emotive ideals, towards which an individual has an affective regard, but values are not always universal, thus Bridge, O'Neill & Cromie (1988) refer to the "plurality of values". Nor do values belong only to the individual, but to society. Indeed, Roddick (2000:38) talks of "common values". For Casson (2000:80) traditional values such as honesty and hard work are particularly important for entrepreneurs who share a moral consensus, because morality is the foundation upon which they must build their reputation. Casson (2000:10) discusses such values as honesty, loyalty, persistence, solidarity, self-sacrifice as being pre-eminent entrepreneurial values. According to Jack (2002:268) value is facilitated through embeddedness in societal institutions. This is important because values are consumed and require to be replenished, necessitating the perpetuation of a body of entrepreneurial ideology and doxa.

One classic (albeit hagiographic) study into values associated with sustaining entrepreneurship was undertaken by Stanley (2000) in the "The Millionaire Mind". Although this is an American study, it is nevertheless still relevant in a British context. Stanley researched and profiled successful American self-made millionaires', a considerable proportion of whom he classed as first generation wealthy entrepreneurs therefore his study is of significance to entrepreneurship scholars. Stanley (2000:2-3) differentiates them from other categories controlled by greed. Thirty two per cent of his respondents were entrepreneurs, being predominantly male. Interestingly, 7% of the wives of millionaires were successful entrepreneurs in their own right. Stanley's typology of differentiation between types of millionaires is based upon morality. Issues of morality and value exude from this text. The foundation values of financial success are Integrity; discipline, self-control: social skills; a supportive spouse; hard work; and honesty to all people (ibid.10). Personal religious faith is a moral compass, fostering the link between courage and wealth creation (ibid.25). Stanley's respondents displayed noble, philanthropic tendencies, donating generously and anonymously and abhorred

gambling (2000:145/377). Probity is a cherished characteristic associated with uprightness and honesty and moral entrepreneurship. These facets are indicative of character.

A closer examination of the personal characteristics eulogised by Stanley and in particular their relationship to each other and success reveals that integrity, discipline and courage are high on the list. For Stanley (2000:51-54) "integrity is a pass/fail" issue and unlike intelligence, scores cannot be averaged. Stanley defines integrity as "firm adherence to a code, especially moral values – incorruptibility". People with integrity appreciate the difference between right and wrong and truth and fabrication. Integrity, like charity, begins at home and requires to be challenged on a daily basis. Stanley is a firm believer in the value of 'discipline', as opposed to luck. Discipline is "training that corrects, molds, or perfects the mental faculties or moral character" shaping productive moral ways that lead to economic success (ibid.82). Courage is defined as "Mental or Moral strength to venture, persevere, and withstand danger, fear or difficulty" and is taking positive moral action to combat fear and take risks – to be entrepreneurial (ibid.140-141). For Handerich (1995:169) courage is a virtue indispensable to good life, a readiness to persist in a valued project. Stanley's respondents were self-deprecating people.

Smilor (2002a) in discussing the values that sustain entrepreneurs, highlights the stereotypical image of the entrepreneur as a selfish conniving, step-on-anyone-to-get-ahead, wheeler-dealer, but argues that applying entrepreneurial status to criminals wrongly implies that the term has no basis in values and morals. As a consequence, Smilor contends that entrepreneurship is not a value-free, amoral process and highlights the practical reasons for the existence of values based, rigorous, moral entrepreneurship, emphasising that successful business is based upon a set of guiding values. To reiterate his point Smilor cites the values based work of Lansdowne & Bryan (2002) amongst Native Red-Indians which emphasises values such as bravery; vision; respect for self and others; pride; trust; honesty; generosity; and fortitude. According to Smilor an entrepreneur's most valuable possession in business is reputation, thus lying cheating or stealing detract - whereas values enhance credibility. Values inspire, inform and result from character and build true success. In contemplating the traits and values discussed above, one is struck by the fact that many of them are also personal qualities or qualities of actions, or communications, as interpreted by others.

From the literature, an appreciation of the association between entrepreneurship, values, morality, character, actions and behaviours emerged, whereby moral entrepreneurship is espoused as a valued social more. Thus value, so central to entrepreneurship as a practice is often taken for granted. However, for Karlsson & Koirenan (2003) little distinction is made between personal, humanistic values or ethics and economic, business values. It is merely assumed that both are connected and that the former leads to the latter. However, Soros (1998:72-5) argues that values are not constrained by reality and cannot be taken as given because people absorb social values as they grow up. Lewis (1961:148) stresses values do not attach themselves to objects but are relational to people's desires. Thus values are shared and taken between, providing standards and issuing challenges. Adherence to enlightened values thus builds true success, directs behaviour and builds character. Table 19 lists common values associated with entrepreneurship.

TABLE 19 - ENTREPRENEURIAL VALUES.	
Source: adapted from Smilor (2002a).	
VALUES	DESCRIPTION
Bravery.	To recognize and pursue an opportunity. Linked to creativity and determination of spirit to

	overcome discouragement and defeat. To act decisively and boldly.
Vision.	To guide and allow the entrepreneur to see past their current position and beyond limited resources to more fully appreciate the potential of the venture.
Respect.	For self and others is essential to enable one to appreciate their efforts, relate effectively to family and community and motivate others. It stems from pride, hope and enthusiasm and combats low self-esteem, hopelessness and anger.
Trust.	Is an indispensable value combined with reliability, compassion and gentleness to permit the overcoming of mistrust, selfishness and ruthlessness.
Honesty.	Stems from decisiveness in taking risk and making choices. Deters a sense of false security.
Generosity	Is indispensable and develops from supporting and leading others.
Fortitude.	To keep a business strong and achieve results. It stems from persistence, realism and consistency preventing scattered thinking and giving up.

It is noticeable that values, however, easily drift into the territory of traits, because many treasured social values can also be expressed as traits and qualities. Value despite its subjectivity is essential to the practice of entrepreneurship. It could be proposed that morality and values build character and persistent good behaviour builds reputation, which in turn fosters a reciprocal climate of trust with one's community, social environment and customer base which allows one to trade on a very specific form of social capital. The two are not identical, but both are reliant upon the other. For Hills (1990) entrepreneurs create value for themselves and society. Hindle & Lansdowne (2002) advocate the necessity to develop a theory of entrepreneurial values, noting that entrepreneurship research has shown scant interest in values. Moreover, social values, like morality and legitimacy, are subjective notions and thus open to interpretation. However, values shape who we are and how we express and present ourselves at an individual level.

Machan (1999:596) talks of the moral legitimacy of entrepreneurship and stresses the importance of the entrepreneur being seen to be morally worthwhile and ethically praiseworthy – indicating that entrepreneurs have a moral identity. Incisively, Gergen (2001:2&11) in discussing the creation of moral identity refers to the “creation and sustenance of value” and is concerned with establishing a “valued end point”. Indeed, in many societies becoming an entrepreneur is a legitimate and valued end point. For Erikson (1969:254) social values also guide identity. This is apt because entrepreneurship manifests itself in a variety of constructions and practices, which are immoral, amoral or even criminal, a fact appreciated by Baumol (1990) who discussed the ethical dimension of value inherent in the entrepreneurial process via the notion of the entrepreneur as productive, unproductive and destructive. Nevertheless, morality is a choice and is a flexible concept. Rehn & Taalas (2002:1) assert that for moralists, entrepreneurs create value. Morality is a choice to which one subscribes. The moralist school of entrepreneurship has a long history from moral sentiments of Adam Smith, the writings of Benjamin Franklin, the evangelism of Samuel Smiles, the protestations of Ruschel (1895), and the influence of Josephson (1934). A moral stance can be read out of the works of entrepreneurial scholars such as Hornaday & Aboud (1971), Komives (1972), De Carlo & Lyons (1979), Hull *et al* (1980), Baumol (1990), Machan (1999), Stanley (2000), and Smilor (2002a). Consideration of values in entrepreneurship research is a recurring theme and in particular the creation and extraction of value (Scott & Anderson, 1994; Anderson, 1995; Scott, Fadahunsi & Kodithuwakku, 1997 and Jack, 2000).

In considering the creation of value, we enter the realms of psychology, defined by Pennington (1988:1) as the scientific study of social behaviour, thought, attitudes, values, beliefs, belief systems (all of which affect entrepreneurial behaviour). Attitudes are important because they make a person who they are

(Wetherell, 1997:120) and for Glover (1988:162) a set of beliefs coming from varied sources inevitably contain inconsistencies and contradictions. The creation of value is a process begun in childhood socialisation (Pennington, 1988:19) acting as a blueprint or model of how to live ones life. For example, Macoby (1980) attributed many child-rearing practices to the Puritan influence whereby the will of the child must be broken to eradicate sin. Also, Bronfenbrenner (1970) explored the American socialisation process orientated towards the individual, whereas in Russia it possesses a collective orientation. So far we have only discussed personal values. Timmons (1988) considers the possession of economic and professional values essential for entrepreneurial success. However, values as constructs can be articulated as social, economic, and negative values. These build into value profiles as detailed in table 20.

TABLE 20 – THE CONSTRUCTIONIST NATURE OF VALUES.	
Social Values	Including family values such as thrift and self-help (Smiles, 1875 & 1908). For Hood (1996) family values are important in creating ethical work climates.
Economic Values	Soros (1998:43) appreciates that personal values may differ from economic values and that economic theories often do not consider the non-negotiable nature of personal values. Values such as honesty, courage, bravery and integrity foster a morally positive business climate. Hood (1996:153) discusses the social benefits of trade. There is a moral legitimacy associated with being in work, which is magnified when one works for ones self and controls ones own destiny. In portraying the entrepreneur as moral and heroic it is a normal practice to emphasise values, character, reputation, honour and integrity. Values can be transferred from the person to property, thus we refer to modest profits and humble homes. Our values are reflected in the stories we tell and the value of heroic entrepreneurial narrative is that it reflects the story of the entrepreneur as an honest broker with a reputation for probity. Smilor (2002a) argues that it easy to forget the fundamental basis of values that sustain business reputations and enterprises. Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner (1997:27) suggest that cultures, which have a natural tendency to reconcile opposing values, have a better chance of being economically successful than those that lack such an inclination. For Casson (2000:239) cultures are built upon shared beliefs and understandings. Values are enduring and build upon one another, crossing over from the social to the economic sphere.
Negative Values.	Rehn & Taalas (2002:4) note a deliberate bias towards studying “nice entrepreneurs”. Scant attention has been paid to negative entrepreneurial values such as Machiavellianism (Welsch & Young (1982). Yet, paradoxically, persons engaged in risky ventures must build them on a solid foundation of values. Even the entrepreneur who appears to conform to moral precepts often has experience of other socially negotiated less respectable practices such as tax avoidance. Machan (1999) in discussing the moral status of entrepreneurship stated “If the entrepreneur is a rascal, or a rogue, the system that gives such a person a home is highly tainted”. Entrepreneurs are regarded as a positive social influence, despite the existence of notions of the entrepreneur, as a parasite. However, Baumol (1990) accepts that even moral entrepreneurs may lead a parasitical existence that damages the economy. His taxonomy of productive, unproductive and destructive entrepreneurial types appears to bear this out. Archetypal values vary hugely from culture to culture and across subcultures. See De Koning & Drakapoulou-Dodd (2002) who researched the cross-national difference in conceptualisations of the entrepreneur concluding that the differences were value based.

To fully appreciate the importance of values, it may be necessary to build “Value Profiles” which may differentiate between male and female entrepreneurs (Solomen & Fernald, 1988). However, values particularly those associated with entrepreneurship are gendered as appreciated by Catano (2001:236) who talks of a hierarchy of masculine values. Aidis (2002:2) emphasises the importance of informal institutions such as attitudes, values, practices and norms on the development of entrepreneurship. Furthermore, Welter (2002) argues that informal institutions such as behaviours and values are particularly resistant to change. Notwithstanding this, entrepreneur stories celebrate and perpetuate shared societal values which guide us through times of change and societal disequilibria.

4.2.4 – Defining entrepreneurship as social disequilibria.

Consideration of the macro-level theory of entrepreneurship as force of social disequilibria is not a novel idea. It is central to entrepreneurship which involves a change of state from one entity to another as imagined new realities are transformed into actual realities. The most famous proponent of this view was Schumpeter (1934) with his notion of the mysterious entrepreneur as a creative destructor, unleashing gales of creative destruction on the environment. Bryman (2001:18) notes that social phenomenon are in a constant state of flux and Levi (1986:156) argues that social history is one of change and although conventions may alter an irreversible skeleton of social expectation remains. Brazeal & Herbert (1999) refer to the genesis of entrepreneurship and present a rudimentary model of entrepreneurial process based on innovation, change and creativity, shaping entrepreneurial events (Shapiro, 1984). Consideration of events obviously entails consideration of actions and behaviour. Also, chaos and change are mediums through which entrepreneurship is channelled and are integral to it. Indeed, Kanter (1983) refers to entrepreneurs as "change-masters". Change alters the paradigmatic basis of a construct, necessitating a re-negotiated reality.

Entrepreneurship is associated with emergence and transition and entrepreneurs emerge from all social strata's. Arlacchi (1983:5) refers to states of "permanent transition" in which entrepreneurship thrives. Hjorth & Johannisson (2002:5) argue that entrepreneurship flows through channels, dependent upon initiative and resources. Such channels are notoriously difficult to control. Entrepreneurial theory cannot fully explain its many nuances, nor predict its transitory nature. Thus a different mechanism for carrying and expressing important values is necessary. As will be argued in later chapters, storytelling provides such a mechanism, but before being able to tell credible stories one must first understand a construct. This entails mapping the entrepreneurial construct and specifically how other academics have sought to explain it.

4.3 – CONSIDERING ENTREPRENEURSHIP AS AN ABSTRACT CONCEPT.

This section considers entrepreneurship as an abstract philosophical and intellectual concept, which can be generalised as a body of knowledge and as being an ethical, ideological and doxical construction. As such, entrepreneurship can be considered an idealised, guiding principle. A principle is a deep fundamental belief that when internalised become a habit, empowering people to perpetuate a practice. Principles are settled rules or actions which guide behaviour. Principles are territories, whilst values are maps. For Covey (1989) principles are enduring guidelines for human conduct. The entrepreneurial practices and processes, discussed in chapter 5, are guided by fundamental principles, embedded within an entrepreneurial value system. These principles guide the ethical actions, ideals, character facets, personality traits, morality of the individual entrepreneurs. Principles are thus an important element in the entrepreneurial construct, guiding behaviour and actions and are reflected in communication. Of importance are entrepreneurial ethics, ideals, and ideology. This section considers how principles influence the social constructions of the entrepreneur in British Society, examine where they come from and how are they constructed.

4.3.1 – Considering entrepreneurship as an ethical principle.

Ethics relates to the study of judgements. Ethics play a dual role in stimulating social approval and building reputations. Character is the principle ethic of interest, in this study. Character is built upon a composite of habits and principles and is often confused with values. Casson (2000:1) argues that the terms values, ethics and morals are often used interchangeably, albeit they signify a form of "moral imperative" requiring a

person to act (or refrain) in a certain manner. For Lewis (1961:146) ethics is a system of reciprocity. Casson (2000:12) considers ethics, and law, as legitimate classes of actions for all individuals - law dispenses material penalties, whereas ethics dispenses emotional ones. Ethics and law are but two extreme ends of the spectrum, with the former being achieved by inducing guilt via peer-group pressure. Legality and ethics can thus be at variance with each other, making character important to the entrepreneurial personality.

Entrepreneurship researchers such as Knight (1935), Dees & Starr (1992), Machan (1999), and Casson (2000) have all considered how ethics affect the entrepreneurial construct. Knight discussed the ethics of competition, and Dees & Starr (1992) looked at entrepreneurship through an ethical lens. Casson (2000:78) discusses pride and stewardship as being entrepreneurial ethics, because they drive the entrepreneur to succeed for themselves and for others. Furthermore, Casson (2000:15) discusses the entrepreneurial ethic of self-control. For Casson (2000:1), entrepreneurship is associated with ethical leadership and the promotion of a system of values. Casson is at pains to stress the relationship between ethics and economic performance, because it pays to be ethical in business. Encouraging commitment constrains the pursuit of narrow self-interest, by creating emotional obligations to wider social interests. Ethical systems incorporate instrumental values, which are moral values that engender the ethic of honesty which in turn increases trust. Indeed, Casson (1995:3) differentiates between ethical, economic and social man in an entrepreneurial context. Ethical man is motivated by value judgments, whereas to economic man the end justifies the means (Casson, 1991). In a similar vein, Berger (1963:174) refers to ethical edification, and to the negative ethical energy of men without scruples or compassion. Bucar & Hisrich (2001) researched the business ethics of small-business owners and entrepreneurs, concerning themselves with "entrepreneurial integrity" arguing that many entrepreneurs employ personal values within their businesses to a greater extent than do managers, and that entrepreneurs appear to be more sensitive to societal expectations. Entrepreneurs are more critical of their own performance than the general public. Hisrich identified a need for a prescribed code of ethics as a reputation-endorsing mechanism, distinguishing ethical entrepreneurs from unethical ones. Similarly, Roddick (2000:9) advocates ethical socially responsible entrepreneurship, stressing that greed without legal or moral restraint destroys everything worthwhile in life. Again we see the emergence of the strong themes of character, value and qualities. It is towards the articulation of such a typology of ethical entrepreneurial behaviours that this thesis is orientated. Notwithstanding this, ethics vary across cultures therefore British entrepreneurs may have differing ethics than those from other cultures. Furthermore, an appreciation of ethical behaviour shapes perceptions of the entrepreneur. This section is important because it suggests that ethics play an important part in the formation of entrepreneurial character, and that unwritten ethical codes may influence entrepreneurial actions and behaviours, and what is socially constructed and accepted as entrepreneurial behaviour. Furthermore, Carr (2003) argues that entrepreneurial ethics should not be understood as a rules-based phenomenon, but as a way of life, an enactment of the ethical principles of the entrepreneur. This provides a useful conceptual link between action and values. Ethics is related to and influenced by the legitimating mechanisms of ideology and doxa (Catano, 2001:3).

4.3.2 – Appreciating Ideology and doxa as constructionist building blocks.

This section considers the role of ideology and doxa, as constructionist building blocks because both play a part in generating the guiding principles of entrepreneurial behaviour.

Ideology and entrepreneurship: Eagleton (1991:5-6) describes ideology as the system by which a dominant power legitimates itself by promoting its cherished beliefs and values, thus rendering them self-evident by the processes of naturalisation and universalism making them appear inevitable. Ideology thus works by denigrating ideas, which challenge it, by excluding any rival forms of thought, utilising an unspoken but systematic logic. Likewise, for Berger & Luckmann (1971:141) ideologies develop when particular realities are attached to a concrete power interest. Ideology is notoriously difficult to define, but generally refers to the body of beliefs and representations that sustain and legitimate current power relationships, promoting the values and interests of dominant groups within society. Gramsci (1971) refers to this process as hegemony, and Abercrombie *et al* (1980) to "Dominant Ideology Thesis" which is perpetuated in narrative by myth, metaphor and other linguistic devices. Myth and ideology are interrelated. It can be argued that ideology obscures social reality by a process of mystification, which both masks and suppresses social conflict, which may arise in competition with the dominant ideology. Althusser (1971:155) viewed the ideological chain as a system of representations of reality, offering individuals certain subject positions they can occupy. Wetherell (1991:82-92) suggests that ideologies are representations - "sets of ideas, assumptions and images which help us make sense of society" by constructing identities. Gergen (2001:202) argues such "representations can mask or pervert what they are supposed to represent". Ideology operates by a system of interpellation (or hailing), in that it convinces subjects to buy into a concept. Ideology can also be viewed as an illusion, a distortion and a process of mystification.

For Eagleton (1991:222) ideology is an organizing social force, equipping one with values and belief systems relevant to social roles and actions. Ideology thus allows people to cope with contradiction and is a set of philosophical shared ideas, values and sentiments (Gergen, 2001:204). Ideologies are guiding frameworks which legitimise past and future actions. Golding & Middleton (1982:205) refer to the triangular relationship between the state, the mass media and popular ideologies, and the ideology of the elite. The latter is broadcast via societal media, and in time becomes part of the popular ideology of an era. Berger (1963:130-131) notes that ideologies frequently distort social reality and legitimate the activities of certain groups, whilst marginalizing others. For Berger (1963) it is pervaded by lying, deception, propaganda and legerdemain and that whilst liars know they are lying, ideologists may not. This latter perspective is a very negative view of ideology because ideologies also help us make sense of everyday life. Ideology clarifies and makes simple, complex social phenomenon. Alternatively, Wetherell (1997:312), viewing it from a social constructionist perspective, considers ideologies to be networks of discourses and practices which justify the actions of the powerful, making them appear reasonable, appropriate, natural and unquestionable. For Wetherell (1997:314) power is revealed in narratives, storylines and discourses. Ideological influence works by using a form of textual determinism and can help explain (or obscure) entrepreneurship.

Entrepreneurship and doxa: It is also necessary to consider the concept of doxa which are "re-enactments or re-experiencing of a set of meanings already socially established" (Catano, 2001:2). Doxa relates to a body of naturalised and internalised knowledge related to our desires, needs, rituals and beliefs presented as self-evident givens. Basically it relates to all that is accepted as taken for granted by members of a society. Doxa is enacted as a performative behaviour and relates to being (for example being a man, or being an entrepreneur). Catano (2001:32) describes doxa as being a cultural belief relating to opinion and appearance as opposed to episteme which is knowledge as certainty. To Catano (2001:2) doxa is a "quasi perfect correspondence between assumed objectives in the natural world and a subjective experience of the

social and cultural". For example, masculine self-making is an enacted doxa. What is of significance about doxa is that it pervades entrepreneurial narratives via pre-existing mechanisms of social maintenance, embedded and performed in pre-entrepreneurial narrative. Doxic scripts, such as what is acceptable behaviour for a man, or scripts pertaining to ethnicity remain deeply hidden. Thus when an ethnic man enacts culturally prescribed doxa, in an entrepreneurial setting the actions are imbued with doxical values which may become associated entrepreneurial action. Also the doxic rhetorics of masculinity and femininity are poles apart, yet it is the masculine version of entrepreneurial rhetoric which holds sway.

4.3.3 - The guiding principles of entrepreneurial behaviour.

The practice of entrepreneurship has a distinctive moral basis, stemming from values inherent in the entrepreneurial ideal. However, entrepreneurship has contradictory ideologies and principles of its own, akin to a philosophy of economic Darwinism, which encourages the survival of the fittest and strongest. It is a composite ideology, which despite a reputation for individuality and producing mavericks is an ideologically loaded cultural concept. For instance, Kao *et al* (2003) regard entrepreneurship as being a way of life and a guiding philosophy. For Handerich (1995:703) popular philosophy consists of general guidance about the conduct of life—self-help and personal philosophies. An example of an entrepreneurial philosophy is that of Quaker philosophy which sanctified the message contained (Walvin, 1997:26). Principles can manifest themselves as spirits, philosophies, doctrines, dogmas, ideology and ethos. Many guiding principles shape and influence the construct and legitimise certain actions and excuse other basically immoral behaviours which would otherwise bring censure. See table 21.

TABLE 21 - ENTREPRENEURIAL GUIDING PRINCIPLES.	
The Self-help ethos.	Epitomises the entrepreneurial ethos of Samuel Smiles in that "what some men are all, without difficulty might be". Curran (1977:223) notes that as working class collectivity waned, this doctrine of individual self-improvement with its myth that anyone through his own efforts could be successful became popular. It remains important as an entrepreneurial ethos.
The Spirit of Free Enterprise.	Is associated with the doctrine of 'laissez faire' and is regarded as a fundamental liberty in the Western world. Yet for Berger (1963:130) it is a negative force hiding the monopolistic practices of large American corporations who resemble the old-style entrepreneur in a "steadfast readiness to defraud the public". It also remains important as an entrepreneurial attitude.
The doctrine of Laissez-faire.	Can be summarized as the non-intervention of the state in the workings of the economy (Golding & Middleton, 1982:20) and is central to the entrepreneurial ethos. Soros (1998:82) argues that it elevated the deficiency of social values into a moral principle by making self-interest a moral principle. It is an attitude which can still guide entrepreneurial actions.
The Philosophy of the Market Place.	Is a philosophy whereby one does not to ask questions (Kochan & Whittington, 1991:122). Clarke (1990:239) cites the rule of the market place as "caveat emptor" or "buyer beware". This absolves individual actors from personal blame.
The Bourgeois mentality.	Consists of petit-bourgeois norms forming a residue of bourgeois culture. In many respects it is an outdated ideology based upon acceptance of Capitalist mores. Nevertheless, its vestiges remain.
The doctrine of greed is good.	Is an alternative entrepreneurial doctrine conflated with the 'entrepreneurial ideal'. Quinney (1975:131) argues that Capitalist culture provides a rationale for business crimes committed by entrepreneurs on a daily basis and that the free market validates the rightness of any action pursued in the interest of business. Again it is a mechanism for salving one's conscience.
The entrepreneurial Ideal.	Is part of a wider capitalist ideology incorporating the notion of responsibility. It is a legitimising ideology and a strategy for class closure. It must be pertinent to those to whom it is directed. There are two class theories of entrepreneurship (working and middle) each with its own set of values allowing everyone to

	participate in entrepreneurship. It is associated with individual agency, the practice of individuality and fluidity of action. Despite changing over time it nevertheless remains a powerful social script. The entrepreneurial ideal is inextricably associated with the twin social ideals of self-education and self-help.
The Capitalist Ideal	This ideal evolved in the 1860's when Capitalism entered the economic and political vocabulary. Capitalist success rests upon buying cheap and selling dear (Hobsbawm, 2000:13). It is a dynamic ideology born of inequality. Hobsbawm refers to the capitalist imperative of accumulation. Its ascendancy acted to accelerate the entrepreneurial ideal leading to what Weber (1990:67) refers to as the destruction of the leisurely ethos in business. As an ideology it is amoral although it is often associated with immorality – booty capitalism (Crompton, 1993:156). Clarke (1981) refers to the unacceptable face of capitalism. Notwithstanding this it has moral elements and remains important because it influences the actions of entrepreneurs.
The Corporate Ideal.	For Winkles (1976) the corporate ideal is the entrepreneurial ideal collectivised and absolved from individualised blame. Corporatism is the practice of conformity and a withering of individualism. Thus successful corporate members shed the “rough edges of individualism” (Packard, 1961:123). Its ethos is directed towards status and power. Studies highlight the importance of religion, ethnic background, and politics in influencing career progression up the corporate ladder. Also, Packard (1961:115-116) stresses that corporate executives occupy large high status offices whereas lone-wolf multi millionaire entrepreneurs often occupy modest offices yet both project a relaxed manner. The corporate ideal influences the behaviours of corporate entrepreneurs.

Positive and negative values resonate in the above table. However, what unites them is their value in absolving the protean entrepreneurial character from stain or blemish, because they are systemic rules and rationales. The guiding message of “all is fair in love and war” is carried into the entrepreneurial domain. Thus these principles are of a higher order, which remain relevant over an extended period of time and can be discerned in historical accounts. For example, Parkin (1969: 302) stresses that the “key to the triumph of the entrepreneurial ideal in formal education was its victory at the informal level of social education through the press”. The self-made man was thus an ideal entrepreneur, a man without any initial property or patronage, self-educated, and without any advantage other than native talent who by self-help and force of character took wealth, power and status. Also, Gergen (2001:118) refers to the ideology of the self-contained individual. Parkin, considers it is a renewal myth with basis in fact, making it an eminently plausible yet, utterly fictitious sociological explanation of the entrepreneurs as a class. Thompson (1983:177) thus writes of self-made industrialists “who began without capital or connections of any kind was a minute fraction of the whole” but stresses that ideology has overwhelmed statistics. Thompson likens the myth to the apotheosis of the entrepreneurial ideal. Issues of morality dog the entrepreneurial ideal as noted by Hirsch (1977:117) who remarked that, “by the late twentieth century capitalism was facing a depleting moral legacy”. Nonetheless, it provides the recipient with a form of transferable status. Thompson (1983:198-9) narrates a search for status and symbols and honourifics to express it by “creating Knights and Barons, setting up industrial peerages”. In this hierarchy of status, being self-made is cherished. Competition was rife. Thompson (1983:169-177) notes that the competition of early capitalism was not the “bloodless competition” of contemporary business, but was an individual competition for wealth, power and status with the entrepreneur being an impresario of acquisition. In the free market, competition ensured that success was dispensed impartially according to market forces. Nevertheless, patronage played a part in propagating the entrepreneurial ideal as did selection by merit.

The entrepreneurial ideal encouraged a system of moral symmetry, whereby individual self-interest served the good of the community with the most meritorious being guaranteed success. This ideal is eulogised by Thompson (1983:169-177) who remarks that "By individual competition anyone with energy and ability, however humble his birth, could climb the ladder of entrepreneurial society. From this belief logically stemmed one of the most powerful instruments of propaganda ever developed by any class to justify itself and seduce others to its own ideal: the myth of the self-made man". It is of significance that storytelling is the principle method used to extol its virtues. This section demonstrates the importance of ethics as a guiding principle for actions and behaviours. Indeed, principles combine with individual and collective actions, communications, practices and processes to produce entrepreneurship. It should be borne in mind that entrepreneurship can be reified as an idyll.

4.3.4 – Reinterpreting entrepreneurship as a reified idyll.

One can distinguish between entrepreneurial ideology (a control mechanism), the entrepreneurial ideal (one to aspire to) and the entrepreneurial idyll (the idea eulogised). The eulogisation of the entrepreneur and their subsequent elevation as a societal hero has resulted in myth-making with the ideal written up as an idyll. For example, Thomas (1995:450-451) discusses eight Western myths, which impinge upon the entrepreneurial idyll. 1) The excessive accumulation of wealth as deviance. The poor are eulogised and the wealthy are vilified (Midas / Scrooge); 2) Cheap is vulgar; 3) The doctrine of less is more – good rich people are frugal and not ostentatious; 4) Satisfaction must be earned – idle wealth breeds evil and hard work is the key to success; 5) Difficulties are preferred to plain sailing; 6) Work is inherently satisfying; 7) There is room at the top for everyone. 8) Anyone can achieve but the ending is not always a happy one – rise and fall. These myths pervade much of the literature and the ideology of the narrative shapes the expected social construction of the entrepreneur and how they enact their adopted role. For Goffe & Scase (1987) historically, entrepreneurship in Western Countries has enabled those disadvantaged to achieve material or personal success, because it transcends the socially constructed discriminating barriers of class, race and gender. The entrepreneurial narrative can be reified as a personal idyll. This section introduces further elements of the entrepreneurial construct, which shape and influence expected social construction of the entrepreneur, making it necessary to consider the relevance of social constructionism to entrepreneurship.

4.4 – REVISITING SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM.

Consideration of entrepreneurship as a social construct is not a novel idea, albeit few studies directly address it. At the inception of this study, the author was only able to locate the following three studies, namely Chell & Pittaway (1998), Chell (2000) and Pittaway (2000). The first two are discursive papers on the social constructionism of entrepreneurship, whilst the PhD thesis of Pittaway examined the social constructionism of entrepreneurial behaviour. However, as the study progressed, the author located a rich lode of work undertaken by other entrepreneurship scholars such as Bouwen & Steyaert (1992), Bouchikhi (1993), Casson (2000), Nicholson (2001), Aggestam & Keenan (2002), Ofverstrom *et al* (2002), Hjorth & Johannisson (2002), Hytti (2003), Nicholson & Anderson (2005) and Downing (2005) all of whom use the approach. Bouchikhi (1993) advocates using a constructivist framework for understanding entrepreneurship performance. Nicholson (2001) examined the psychological processes of mental modelling and mythmaking in relation to the cultural, political and economic influences affecting journalist and newspaper readers, adopting a community social constructionist stance. For Downing (2005:196) the social construction of

entrepreneurship arises from universal processes of social construction—the narrative dramatic means by which actors coordinate actions and identities and for Anderson (2003:11) entrepreneurship as a social construct encompasses fact and fiction, whilst Hjorth & Koironen (1994) stipulate that an entrepreneur makes (constructs) realities out of opportunities. Likewise, Aggestam & Keenan (2002:1) view the entrepreneurial act as socially constructed, arguing that it is relationally responsive, emerging in discourse and talk being embedded in the linguistic process and grounded in the experience of the entrepreneur. Also, for Aggestam & Keenan (2002:8) entrepreneurial outcome has no intrinsic meaning separate from the meaning entrepreneurs create through their situationally specific lived experiences. Casson (2000:20-1) regards entrepreneurship as an integrated social science, incorporating anthropology in which the social construction of reality plays a central role. Cope (2001) argues that entrepreneurial skills, abilities, behaviours, and perceptions are dynamic constructs, changing over time via experience and learning. According to Ofverstrom *et al* (2002:13) people construct and act on the world with others, utilizing linguistic, material and social resources available and a lack of any one of which may lead to exclusion. For Chell *et al* (1994:153-4) entrepreneurship is a multi faceted construct despite its taken-for-grantedness and for Jack (2002:27) the entrepreneur is a “composite construct”. Notwithstanding this, it is necessary to heed the advice of Casson (2000:22) that often the study of discourse has completely supplanted that of reality with many academics now merely deconstructing “each others texts rather than re-examine reality”.

Examining the reality of entrepreneurship is problematic because the meanings of the word entrepreneur cannot be taken for granted and depend upon socio-cultural contexts. It is loaded with meaning and can be used as a term of respect, or as a mild form of abuse (Hobbs, 1990). It an emotive word, and invokes positive or negative feelings in people. It is transferable across cultures albeit changed by subtle (and not so subtle) differences. Like the language it is embedded in, it is situation specific and is not static, changing through time and space. Linguistic constructs, such as mythology, fictional and non-fictional stories, stereotypes and metaphors influence and shape our perceptions. Words are the medium through which entrepreneurs take between. In discussing the value-laden power of words, Clark (1997:69) stresses the importance of criticising actions and not people because we cannot hide our values which are revealed and communicated in stories. Thus when entrepreneurs communicate using words they communicate values. Separating the written word from the deed itself can prove problematic because words are carriers of values and can possess an inspirational quality. Words describe, objects, subjects, processes and shape actions.

Hjorth (2001:179) argues that entrepreneurship is refusing to take the socially taken for granted as such and Chell (2000) demonstrates how social constructionism allows us to understand the ways and mechanisms which individuals use to interpret their social environment, showing how language guides our sense of social reality, by framing, filtering and creation to transform the subjective into a more tangible reality. Yet, reality is idiosyncratic and is not an external phenomenon, despite appearing to surround us. It is contained within our unique mental maps (Gould & White, 1974). However, as a social construct, entrepreneurship has developed a taken for granted-ness that belies its inherent complexity and circularity. Yet, one must heed the advice of Koryzybski (1933) that the map is not the territory and the word is not the thing. Appearances can be deceptive. In real life, entrepreneurs construct and enact their own creative texts, influencing reality through their actions and by their success stories which they use as a social currency.

Aldrich & Foil (1994:649) argue that social construction is the process whereby entrepreneurs develop new meaning. This perspective moves social construction away from being a unit of analysis to the subject

of analysis, suggesting that social construction is a vibrant social process through which entrepreneurship is achieved. Gregory (1981:940) lends credence to this arguing that in the reproduction of social life we routinely draw upon interpretative schemes, resources and norms through existing structures of signification, domination and legitimation, which of necessity reconstitute their structures. For Gregory the structural properties of social systems are both the medium and outcome of the practices of the system. Incisively, Nicol (2003:29) noted that the literature itself may form part of a social construct. According to Aldrich & Zimmer (1986:11) social constructions inform and misinform expectation. We are bounded by social (re)constructions of lived experience or multiple, socially constructed realities (Yin, 1993:60).

To summarise the material presented so far, constructionism is embedded in and explained via a language loaded with meaning. Thus evidence of social constructionism can be deciphered in the narratives and constructions of the entrepreneur portrayed in a particular culture and rendered visible by virtue of the technique of deconstructionism. Despite the advice of Casson (2000:22) against deconstructing academic texts instead of examining reality, deconstruction is necessary. This thesis examines reality in the form of lived experiences of the entrepreneur by deconstructing texts and narratives using constructionist building blocks and constructionism's tools. This is crucial because social constructs by implication are built up from various linguistic, narrative, semiotic and communicational genres which in turn are broadcast via various media channels – for example newspapers. Each genre and media introduced has their own conventions and thus influences what is socially constructed as entrepreneurial knowledge.

4.5 - REFLECTIONS.

This analysis of the entrepreneurial literature sets the scene for the remainder of the research. Furthermore, this chapter is important because it considers entrepreneurship theory and entrepreneurship as an abstract entity separate from the entrepreneur as a person. The semantic, etymological and collocational analysis demonstrated both the diversity and complexity of the entrepreneurial construct. The main gist of the argument is that entrepreneurship is difficult to define, but can nevertheless be explained, despite the problem of obtaining conceptual clarity. This pointed to the need to consider the main theoretical approaches to entrepreneurship. From an examination of these theories an appreciation emerged in respect of the importance of values and character. This invoked a dilemma because in a chapter dealing with theory, it forced us to consider the individual and their role in shaping collective values. This allows entrepreneurship to be viewed as the creation of value leading to social disequilibria. Building upon this appreciation of values and character it was possible to construct an argument for entrepreneurship as an abstract concept governed by ideological and doxical principles. This in turn, led to an appreciation that entrepreneurship is often perpetuated (in narrative) as a reified idyll. In addition, consideration was given to the expanding number of works into the social construction of entrepreneurship.

This chapter is important in considering the main theoretical approaches used by researchers in seeking to understand entrepreneurship. However, according to Kirby (2003:210) the "entrepreneurial venture will portray the characteristics of the founding entrepreneur". Thus, in chapter 5, it is necessary to consider the psychological and psycho-social aspects of entrepreneurship and the entrepreneur - embarking upon the quest of locating values, qualities, traits and character, as located in words as carriers of values discernable as actions, expressed as stories and embedded in narrative, discourse, rhetoric and ideology grounded in everyday experiences and enactments. Having considered the case as to WHY entrepreneurship is a socially constructed, it can thus be viewed as a social process.

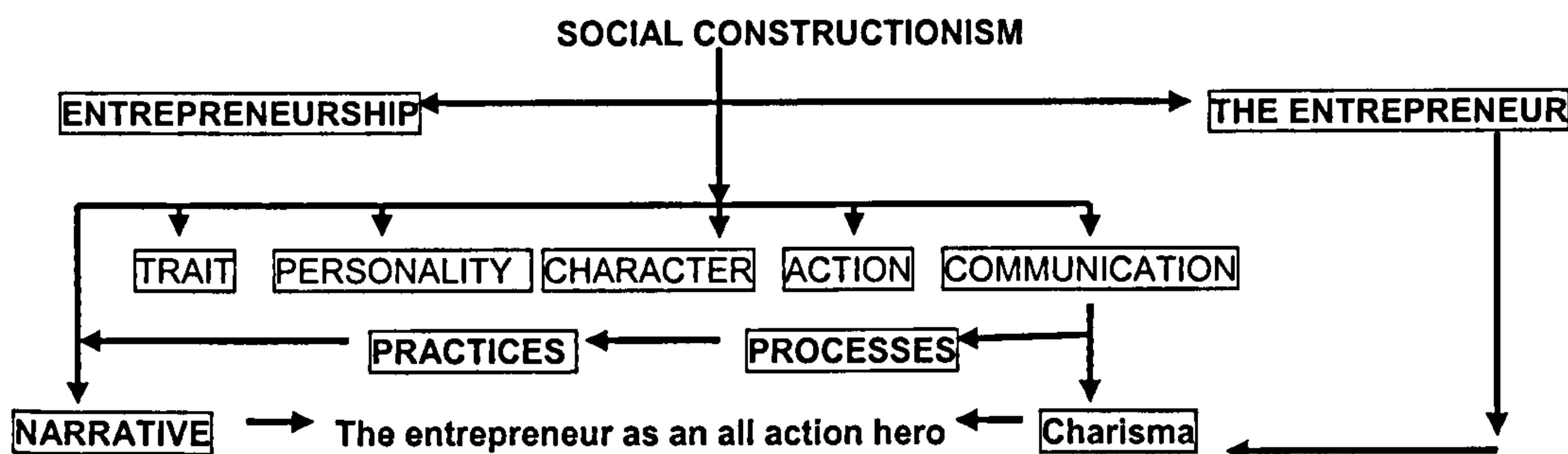
5 - PSYCHOLOGICAL BUILDING BLOCKS.

INTRODUCTION.

READERS' GUIDE.

This chapter

1. Extends the literature review into aspects of individuality.
2. It considers the entrepreneur as an individual and examines facets of the entrepreneurial construct which emanate from the person, such as traits, values, behaviours, actions and communications.



5.1 - MAPPING THE ENTREPRENEURIAL CONSTRUCT.

- 5.1.1: The Trait, personality and character approach revisited.
- 5.1.2: Acknowledging the existence of negative characteristics.
- 5.1.3: Linking traits, personality and character to narrative.

5.2 - EMPHASISING THE ROLE OF ACTION.

- 5.2.1: Reading the entrepreneur as an all action hero.
- 5.2.2: Considering the role of actions in the generation of value.
- 5.2.3: Appreciating the importance of creativity as an entrepreneurial act.
- 5.2.4: Viewing eclecticism as an entrepreneurial act.
- 5.2.5: Networking as an entrepreneurial behaviour.

5.3 - CONSIDERING ENTREPRENEURIAL PRACTICES AND PROCESSES.

- 5.3.1: Reading entrepreneurship as a practice.
- 5.3.2: Reading entrepreneurship as a process.

5.4 - EMPHASISING THE ROLE OF COMMUNICATION.

- 5.4.1: Revealing the communicational basis of entrepreneurship.
- 5.4.2: Establishing the link between entrepreneurship and charisma.
- 5.4.3: Deciding upon a communication based narrative approach.

5.5 - REFLECTIONS.

This chapter deals with the trait and psychological aspects of entrepreneurship theory and takes account of aspects relating to the person. This is apt, because for Mitton (1979:175) the "essence of entrepreneurship is the entrepreneur". However, as stated in chapter 3, Anderson (1995:1) argues that although the major focus in entrepreneurial research has been the entrepreneur, paradoxically entrepreneurship is a social process. Therefore, this thesis considers entrepreneurship from a constructivist perspective as an abstract socio-behavioural process. According to Soros (1998:103) we reify and personify abstract concepts. Indeed, Rockwell (1974:22) suggests it is a human trait to require the personification, or at least figuration, of abstracts to make them more understandable or literally visualised, by likening them to something else which we already know. This stance leans towards social constructionism. This thesis concentrates on the influence of social and secular aspects on the entrepreneurial construct, viewing entrepreneurship as a social construct characterised by themes of communication and action. This grounded view (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) emerged from the research. For Lavington (1922) the entrepreneur assumes many forms.

In chapter 3, it was suggested that philosophically, entrepreneurship can be understood as a behavioural state or process of becoming, being and belonging. Consequentially, in this chapter we examine the trait, character and personality approaches from a fresh perspective, considering how action, communication, practices, and processes are formed by traits and qualities. This requires discussion to justify it because of the lack of credibility of the trait approach in the scientific community. We then examine action and communication as central precepts of the entrepreneurial construct. In this chapter, the importance of action is developed, because actions that are repeated become processes (or procedures) and those with utility in achieving success often become enacted as practices. As was demonstrated in chapter 4, processes and practices are guided by principles. Indeed, processes, practices and principles are all behavioural building blocks in which we can encounter action sets. Entrepreneurship is nebulous and can be encountered in a bewildering array of traits, actions, behaviours, practices and processes. It can be practised as management, leadership, corporate entrepreneurship and intrapreneurship. Practices and processes can be united under the rubric of applications, because they have to be applied. In this chapter, we chart how value pervades its practices and processes and how these subtly alter our perception. The chapter extends the relationship between trait, character and communication towards narrative.

5.1 – MAPPING THE ENTREPRENEURIAL CONSTRUCT.

To understand and map the entrepreneurial construct required an extensive reading of the various approaches adopted by other scholars, because (like reality) there is not one entrepreneurial construct, but many possible constructions. From a review of the expanding literature on entrepreneurship, it is possible to summarise broad themes associated with entrepreneurship such as

- Individuality – but can accommodate collective social activity;
- Difference – particularly the accentuation of it;
- Movement – particularly sudden changes of direction;
- Freedom of choice and self-efficacy – to act and communicate as one sees fit;
- Heroic Action – linked to manhood;
- Changes in stature – morphing from small to large;
- The process of rise and fall – particularly in relation to rapid variants.

Thus entrepreneurship is about movement, being first, being faster, and about moving upwards. It is characterised by speed of thought and action, making it advantageous for individuals to practice. Many of these themes are also traits – for example, the traits of motion and restlessness animate the entrepreneur. Also, Wansell (1988:266) notes that enterprise is the creature of individuals not councils or committees. Yet, paradoxically, entrepreneurial teams are more successful than solo artists. The entrepreneur can be contrary without the necessity to justify it. There are sound structural reasons for this, as doing the opposite of what others do often leads to success. For McGrath & Macmillan (2000:7) speed is essential because opportunities are fleeting. With speed of action comes a time-quality trade off and entrepreneurs are often prone to making mistakes. Alternatively, perfectionism is viewed as anti-entrepreneurial. Thus at a behavioural level entrepreneurship can be viewed as a quality of an action.

It was also interesting to review how others have attempted to construct entrepreneurship at a behavioural level. The quest begins with an examination of the trait, personality; and character approaches,

before moving on to consider practices and processes associated with entrepreneurship. All of these facets are but different dimensions of the same phenomena. This decision was made in the knowledge that psychologists and academics view trait approaches with considerable suspicion because of its inherent assumptions regarding the innate nature of character, and that it would be difficult to defend emphasising traits in what is after all a research thesis on socio-cultural readings of enterprise. Although much of the work of the trait theorists in entrepreneurship was conducted in an American context it is still important in relation to the social construction of British entrepreneurship, because it guides and informs what we as academics constitute as entrepreneurial behaviour.

5.1.1 - The trait, personality and character approaches revisited.

Stewart (1991:73) refers to the trait approach as being the "entrepreneurial man school". Early research in entrepreneurship focused on trait theory and the personality of the individual (Chell, 1985). There was an assumption that individuals have certain inherent traits or attributes that predispose them to entrepreneurial activity and therefore that it should be possible to construct a personality profile by which one could identify the average entrepreneur. Attributes include the totality of all external qualities of characters such as age, sex, status, and external appearance. The word is used interchangeably to refer to traits. Grant (1996) developed a proactive personality scale to predict entrepreneurial intentions. However, entrepreneurs are not average people and psychological constructions, like traits do not deal with averages but merely amplify essential qualities. Thus in entrepreneurial theory, the trait approach is universally regarded as being an empirical dead end (Vis a vis Gartner, 1988; Gartner, *et al* 1992; Aldrich 1999; Van de Ven, 1980). Having said this, the remark of Gartner (1988:21) about the startling number of traits and characteristics attributed to the entrepreneur justified revisiting the literature. Gartner wrote that considering the assembled physical profile of the entrepreneur "from these structures would portray some one larger than life, full of contradictions and, conversely so full of traits that (s/he) would have to be a sort of generic every man" - an apt descriptor of the heroic entrepreneur! The following sections focus upon trait, personality and character.

The Trait Approach: A trait is a distinguishing feature of character or mind, constructed from inferences drawn from observed behaviour. Trait theories which stem from psychological research focus on the individual. Indeed, individuality is a cherished value in Western society, as evidenced by the quote of Gergen (2001:220) that "We prize the individual who does not follow the crowd". Moreover, Capitalism is permeated with the traditions of individualism and competition. Kline (1983:25) specifies that traits are divisible into ability traits, temperamental traits, drives, states, moods, feelings, but must also take cognisance of situation. Traits encompass propensities and sentiments (McDougall, 1932). Sentiments are culturally acquired drives. McDougall envisaged drives being made up of emotions; favoured stimuli; and impulsiveness of action. Cattell (1977) also highlights the category of erg akin to a consummatory drive, for example acquisitiveness. According to Kline (1983:79) states and moods fluctuate over time, whereas traits are considered more stable. Kline (1983:79) highlights that the temporal instability of drives (as in deprivation and satiation) makes them difficult to research, thus driving us towards the measurement of moods and states. Furthermore, Kline points out that ability traits cluster together. Temperament traits explain our ways of doing things. It is tempting to believe that if we observe similar traits in other entrepreneurs then it must be of importance *per se*. We often tend to forget that these characteristics may

be present in many social groupings at a National, Regional and Cultural level, and are not exclusive to entrepreneurs. Also, traits are present in all persons to a greater-lesser degree.

Traits manifest themselves as personal characteristics which are of interest to entrepreneurship scholars because they are observable behavioural facets. Also, many traits such as self-confidence and optimism are regarded as entrepreneurial qualities. However, Chell *et al* (1994:37) reminds us that traits are at best modalities, not universals, whilst Timmons *et al* (1985:158) correctly assert that there is no single set of characteristics that every entrepreneur must have. Be that as it may, McClelland's (1961) articulation of the trait of "the need to achieve" (N-ach) remains the most widely known trait associated with entrepreneurs. The trait approach was formerly a popular research field, with entrepreneurs being frequently characterised as possessing common traits such as risk taking, restlessness, and even furious energy. Another early study by Cromie & Johns (1983) examined the personal characteristics of Irish entrepreneurs. Casson (2000:48) stresses that entrepreneurs are possessed of a distinctive psychology but are all motivated differently. Krizner (1974) argues that they are motivated by a magnetic attraction to money, whilst Schumpeter (1934) discusses dynastic motivation, and Casson (1995) suggests emotional rewards as a motivational factor. Motivation and motive (to move) are central to entrepreneurial action because they direct actions. For Barthes (1988:140) motives are driven by morality and passion. However, McGrath (1964) argued that the trait approach is fundamentally flawed and doomed because there is a lack of agreement on personality traits, but also because leadership is not defined, and the relationships between leader and follower are ignored. In addition, situation is ignored as it assumes a single type. Yet, Timmons *et al* (1977) and Timmons (1985/1989) argue that entrepreneurs are influenced by external factors; possess salient characteristics primarily interactive social and skills which can be learned and as a type can be distinguished from the unsuccessful. Timmons differentiates between innate and acquired trait characteristics (born versus made argument). Many early trait writers argued that traits are innate, a belief which lay at the heart of the original psychological theory, and the subsequent attacks on it.

Notwithstanding this, many individual traits have become fabled as what Howorth *et al* (2003:6) refer to as "enterprising qualities". This emphasises the link between traits and qualities, because traits can be expressed as qualities or described as characteristics. One such fabled trait is risk taking. The level of risk that an individual is prepared to shoulder may be indicative of such psycho-sociological factors as character and upbringing. For instance, Meridith *et al* (1982), Brockhaus (1980) and Gasse (1982) argue that entrepreneurs are moderate risk takers, whilst Timmons *et al*, (1985) and McClelland (1961) consider them to be calculated risk takers. Carland *et al* (1984) consider risk taking to be a characteristic of business ownership, not entrepreneurship *per se* and for Schultz (1980) it is not an attribute unique to the entrepreneur. The concept of risk is a subjective one. The trait approach is characterised by complexity, with traits being connected to bundles of activities associated with action. For example, proactivity is linked to initiative and assertiveness and results from a high level of achievement orientation. When practised consistently over time, traits, such as hard working, energetic, and so on, become viewed as indicators of personal commitment and thus qualities. Indeed, these individual traits may be meaningless to the lay-person until formed into collective portraits and stories collected about them or constructed into biographies.

The trait approach examines the attributes in isolation, whereas many academics prefer to adopt the personality approach, which takes cognisance of the attributes in relation to both the person and the action. Regressionist, constructionist stances seeking to reduce everything to its basic components have fallen from

favour. Thus psychologists have all but abandoned trait theory as being too simplistic. Moreover, Mischel (1977) stresses that traits must be interpreted in situation. Furthermore, Mischel (1973) considers trait approaches to be scientifically naïve, in that if we see a person acting honestly, we attribute them as being high on honesty and explain the behaviour by a concept derived only from that observation. It is thus a self-reinforcing and circular argument. Also, trait research appeared to be directed towards isolating specific traits with a view to encouraging their replication and enhancing entrepreneurial propensity. In examining the trait-personality approach, one encounters a considerable amount of overlap between trait, personality and character. Indeed, trait and character approaches are often associated with the search for an entrepreneurial personality. Hampson (1982) suggests that personality traits do not reside within individual, but between people. This is important because if entrepreneurship is taking between, then personality traits are tools of communication, which enable this to occur. Researching traits is problematic because traits flow into personality attributes and build into character types. Furthermore, personality traits are often articulated by others in the form of stories, or examples to render them visible. Kodithuwakku (1977) argues that the trait approach differentiates entrepreneurs by looking at what they do, and at outcomes expressed in stories.

Personality Approach: Personality is defined by Kline (1983:25) as “the sum total of the characteristics (traits) of an individual which contribute to his behaviour, to being himself, different to others”. Even Covey (1989:18-19) an adherent of the personality ethic appreciates that parts of it can be regarded as being manipulative, even deceptive and thus vulnerable to faking. Cattell *et al* (1970a) argues that a large variety of occupational groups can be discriminated by personality traits. Chell *et al* (1994:11) highlight three, fabled personality characteristics associated with the entrepreneur - A need to achieve; Internal locus of control; A propensity to take risks. Note that in discussing entrepreneurial personality Chell *et al* and Deakins (1996) resort to discussing traits *per se* because traits are the manifestations of personality. In addition, Deakins (1996:16-17) describes the trait approach as seeking to identify the characteristics of successful entrepreneurs and the elements of an entrepreneurial personality, questioning if such a personality actually exists despite a growing list of prototypical traits. Moreover, traits, like the entrepreneurial action they help build are not static. Cope (2001) asserts that entrepreneurial skills, abilities, behaviours and perceptions are dynamic, and can change over time and through experience and learning. Cope argues that traits are not always necessarily stable or static characteristics (despite being regarded so). Chell *et al* (1994:73) appreciate the changing nature of behavioural characteristics of business owners over their life course and that entrepreneurial energy may wane with years. Delmar (1998:141) argues that perceived situational characteristics such as knowledge are more important than personality characteristics or types. Personality facets can be viewed as qualities, such as charisma and charm both of which are entrepreneurial qualities.

Personality types are related to character types and indeed, both are closely related to success, making the concept of an entrepreneurial personality profile interesting. Hamilton (2001) deems it possible to build such a profile, which identifies the entrepreneur and Hampson (1982) proposed a theory of the construction of personality, taking cognisance of the domains of personality theory, lay and self. Personality theory revolves around the explicit inference from observations of behaviour, whilst lay theory revolves around implicit inference from descriptive-intuitive beliefs resident in mind whereby the self assumes the existence of self-constructs. Chell *et al* (1994:33) also suggest the possibility that personality may be a construct imposed upon an individual as opposed to be a concept genuinely residing within them. Alternatively it may be located metaphorically between them. Thus personality may, like entrepreneurship, be a construct that

has to be taken between by virtue of communication. Furthermore, Gartner (1988:21) suggests that personality is ancillary to entrepreneurial behaviour. Drucker (1985:40-2) argues that entrepreneurship is a behavioural rather than a personality trait; and that entrepreneurs search for change, respond to it and exploit it as an opportunity. It is necessary to consider entrepreneurship as a behavioural practice because that is all we can observe, mediated by social situation, and to a lesser extent, personality. It would appear that there is a trait-personality-character continuum along which attributes can be channelled and reconstituted as values. Hakim (1988:433) links entrepreneurial activity and self employment to a distinctive set of attitudes, values, motivations and ambitions which make up the ideology of the enterprise culture. Traits, character and personality are useful in constructing an entrepreneurial profile. Although Chell *et al* (1994:37/133) note that there appears to be little agreement regarding an entrepreneurial profile they nevertheless advocate building them. Moreover, Chell *et al* acknowledge that personality can only be inferred, as there is no objective measure. Indeed, Kline (1983) stresses that most personality tests are poor, unreliable and of unknown validity. This makes studying entrepreneurial character problematic, because character is an element of personality. However, Wetherell (1979:305) and Connell (1987:220) offer a viable alternative by considering personality as a social practice, as opposed to an entity separate from society. For them personality is what people do. Wetherell argues that people construct themselves as characters and personalities and by this process make and reproduce society. For Connell, personality is a stream of activity which results in us coming to know a person as having a certain kind of character.

The Character Approach: Although character is seldom researched by entrepreneurship researchers, it is nevertheless a useful (but neglected) element of the entrepreneurial construct. The academic literature of entrepreneurship skirts around the subject. It is in the stories of entrepreneurs themselves that an appreciation of character as a unifying paradigm becomes visible. The classic text in relation to entrepreneurial character is the book "Character", by Smiles (1871). For Smiles, character is an inner force displayed in actions and is defined by him as "manly action". Character can be defined as the aggregate of peculiar qualities, which constitutes personal individuality; or a formal statement of those qualities. However, it has many nuances. It can refer to a distinctive mark; a person of remarkable individuality or a personality created for a play or novel. Character is concerned with describing and distinguishing as well as conduct. Character (whether good or bad) is observable in one's conduct (Walberg & Wynne, 1989). Thus, character is an observable behaviour, which differs from values, which are orientations or dispositions, whereas character involves action or activation of knowledge and values. Indeed, values are one of the foundations for character. In addition, values are affective components (Huitt, 1996), whereas character includes, affective, connotative and behavioural components. Character relates to an appreciation of right and wrong, combined with the rational and creative processes necessary to work with that knowledge base to make sound moral decisions. Character also includes an emotional dimension. Character values are accompanied by appropriate actions. According to Solomon (1999) a person of integrity must act. Also, character can be defined normatively, for example, "a complex set of relatively persistent qualities of the individual person" (Pritchard, 1988). Yet, Hartshorne & May (1928) in studying the nature of character linked it to deceit. According to Harman (2003) a common accusation against business leaders is that of having no character or personality. Thus moral and character development is integral to the development of self (Ashton & Huitt, 1980). Character is defined in terms of one's actions and consists of moral habits for the mind, heart, and of

action, acquired through practice. Habits form character and action is linked to character. Catano (2001:132) talks of the male propensity towards "acting in character".

Common themes in the literature include those of "Character Corrosion" or collapse (Sennett, 1998); the development of character (Walsh, 1990; Yin & Walberg 1984); as well as standing in opposition, overcoming obstacles and depth of character. According to Gavin (2002) character is the degree to which an individual acts on personal values. It is shaped from related value systems that define both what the individual holds in high esteem and that which they are attached to. Indeed, Gavin talks of "virtues based character" laying out the link between virtue and character. Moreover, building character is linked to hard work and education (Miller & Kim, 1988) and is developed in schools, families, communities, and society (Huitt, 1999).

The measurement of character is deeply problematic as it involves behaviour and is often defined in terms of traits (honesty, integrity, and so on). Character is also related to subjective traits like integrity, humility, fidelity, temperance, courage, justice, patience, industry, simplicity and modesty discussed above as well as success. Two of the most important aspects of character are volition and action, which both feature in the literature of entrepreneurship. Volition and action are observable as overt behaviour made up from personal virtues (such as being courageous and self-disciplined) and social virtues (such as being compassionate, courteous, and trustworthy). Fukuyama (1995) considers trust as a social virtue directly linked to the creation of prosperity. For Cottom (1996) universal values and excellence are building blocks or pillars, which act as guiding principles for educating the whole child. Huitt (2003) refers to developing desired values, virtues and attributes. Thus character formation is a process. For example, children develop character by observing, listening and repeating behaviours. Character is thus a developmental and constructive entity and we can talk of character building experiences.

One of the most common manifestations of character is observable in the quality of work we do. Work can be construed as being socially constructed. For Wetherell (1997:246) work plays a significant role in the construction of the self and identity and how we are perceived by others. Work is an institutional set of behaviours and patterns enshrined in capitalism. It encompasses roles, which are regular established patterns of behaviours (Wetherell, 1997:244). Work related character qualities include - persistence in the face of discouragement or failure; dependability; and diligence. However, one of the major difficulties facing entrepreneurship scholars is our inability to define exactly what constitutes entrepreneurial work. Advocates of the character approach recommend that students study heroes and courageous persons in history to develop character, linking this to storytelling because character is best located in the narrative accounts of others. Moreover, typical entrepreneur stories deal with an assessment of character.

The dearth of interest in character, from an entrepreneurial perspective, may well result from the socially constructed nature of storytelling, because according to Barthes (1988:117), since the time of Aristotle, in storytelling terms, character has been secondary to action. It is also exacerbated because character has to be read out of actions and outcomes. Early trait research tended to ignore the important aspects of character, because it is a vague colloquial term and not part of the psychological theories of trait and personality. Yet, character is crucial in determining entrepreneurial style.

An extensive reading unearthed other academic articles which hinted at the importance of character. These included the works of Beattie (1999), Kisfalvi (2002), Tjeder (2002), Spicer & Jones (2003), and Kratt (2003). Beattie (1999) appreciated the significance of personal character amongst his entrepreneur respondents and for Kisfalvi (2002), the character of an entrepreneur influences their life issues, and the business strategies they choose. Indeed, Tjeder (2002) in a historical study of Swedish entrepreneurs

between 1850 and 1900 examined the characters of self-made-men for whom striving for riches became a mark of their masculinity. For Tjeder, their character became their capital. Catano (2001:36) talks of character and keeping one's word as being central facets of masculinity. Spicer & Jones (2003) cast doubt on the universal veracity of the notion of the entrepreneur as a new hero, by highlighting the entrepreneurial character traits of excess and passion. Kratt (2003) undertook a study of how female entrepreneurs communicate and found that credibility and character, along with charisma were high on the list of priorities which female entrepreneurs sought to project. Kratt advises prospective female entrepreneurs to wear appropriate dress thereby projecting a good personality and entrepreneurial character. For Reinard (1991) credibility is composed of character, competence and charisma with credibility being enhanced by character.

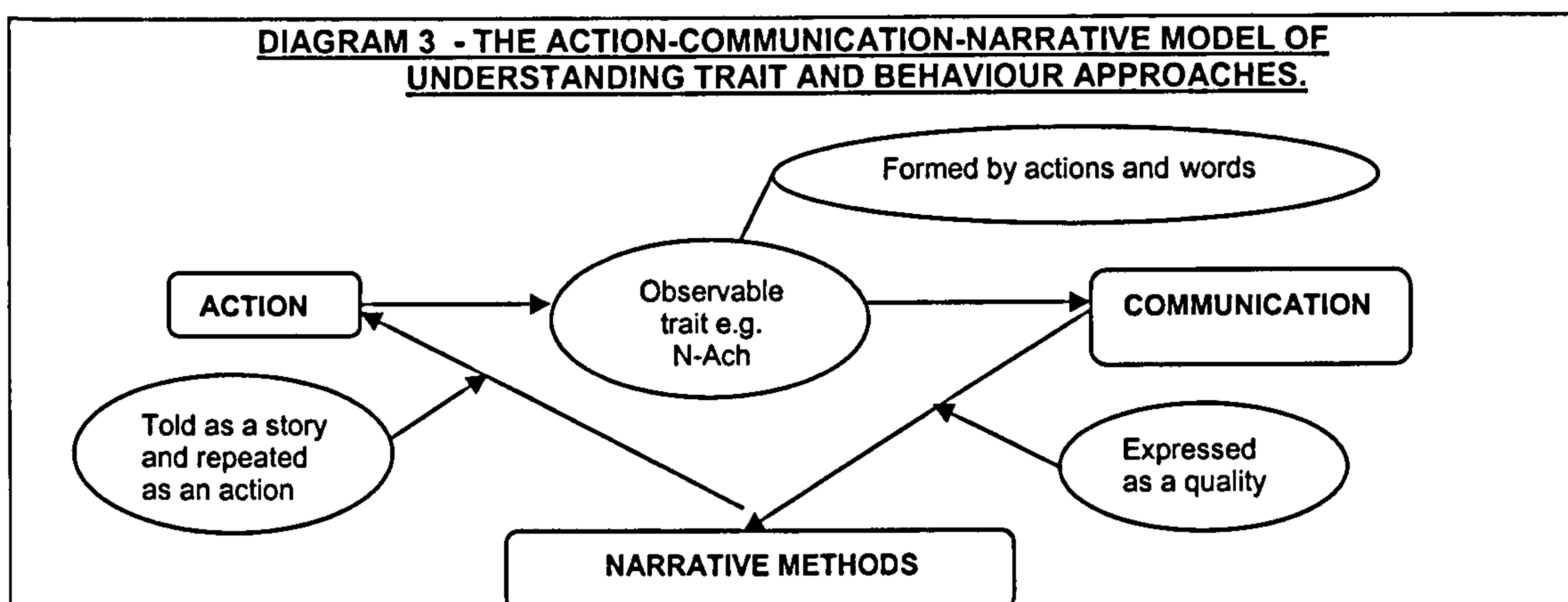
In relation to entrepreneurial character, Stanley (2000:14/48) notes that "successful entrepreneurs tend to have extraordinary drive and resolve" and places particular emphasis upon the building of moral character and fibre. Stanley narrates that most had at one time in their life been subject to a put down by an authority figure who told them they would not succeed, yet despite this they fought and succeeded. This drove them to discredit the authority figure that publicly degraded them (ibid.101). Stanley (2000:46-47) is disparaging about the motivation of much criticism, but believes that critics may serve a useful role in screening those who "lack the courage and resolve to take criticisms and triumph in spite of them". Stanley is particularly interested in criticism as an inspiration to succeed and considers it a necessary form of "hazing, the tempering of steel" for those who succeed (ibid.48). Accordingly, Stanley (2000:50) encourages aspiring millionaires never to take rejection personally, arguing that success often comes from being different from the "good old boys". Thus critical mentoring obviously has its place in developing entrepreneurial success stories. These are examples of entrepreneurial character in action. Another fault with trait-personality-character research is its concentration upon the positive aspects of entrepreneurial behaviour.

5.1.2 – Acknowledging the existence of negative characteristics.

Traits, like the character and personalities they build are often only observable in actions, or as communications and combine with and flow into behavioural patterns. Indeed, for Fallon & Srodes (1983:15) patterns emerge in the persona. Negative character aspects such as self-indulgence, self-obsession, selfishness, hedonism and emotional instability have practically been ignored. Emotions are potentially destructive behavioural traits communicated by entrepreneurs (Johannisson, 1987). Entrepreneurial personality traits can be negative, for example ruthlessness, speculative and acquisitiveness. Timmons (1989) presented eight characteristics, attributable to a non-entrepreneurial mind, namely – (1) Invulnerability - leading to unnecessary risk taking - hubris; 2) Machismo - exceeding over confidence; 3) Anti-Authority - rejection of outside help; 4) Impulsiveness - absence of considered decision making / failure to accept implications; 5) Outer control - Control freak; 6) Perfectionism; 7) Know it all - a failure to recognise knowledge gaps; and 8) Counter-dependency - attempting to accomplish everything one's-self. This litany of negative behaviour also fits with stereotypical representations of entrepreneurial personality. Perfectionism is anti entrepreneurial, because it negates the speed which classifies an action as an entrepreneurial activity; a failure to recognise gaps slows down speed of action; and doing every thing one's self saps entrepreneurial energy. Yet many entrepreneurs, particularly males, appear to display a degree of invulnerability (arrogance in their ability born of success), machismo (dependent upon upbringing), anti-authority attitude, impulsiveness (speed of decision), and outer control (born of the need to superintend their business). Traits also merge with and influence personal characteristics as told in stories.

5.1.3 – Linking traits, personality and character to narrative.

The orientation of much of the trait research was directed towards isolating specific traits from observable or tacit behaviours and actions. These were then analysed by often inappropriate quantitative methodologies and subjected to such statistical based practices as regression analysis in an attempt to discern their importance. Individually, these studies although interesting are not particularly helpful in achieving “Verstehen” However, in re-examining the considerable collective research effort it is apparent that the trait theorists were engaged in their own search for “Verstehen”, but did not as a general rule use a Verstande approach. Nevertheless, the latter is noticeable in the seminal works of two of the works of McClelland (1961) and Kets De Vries (1967). What separates McClelland’s study from the remainder of the trait theorists is that his work was deeply grounded in the remainder of his research stream. It had many strands and in particular his often forgotten contribution of tales of achievement. This was the genesis of an implicit action-communication-narrative model that is particularly useful in explaining the significance of individual traits. This model is also discernable in the work of Kets De Vries (1967) who linked entrepreneurship to deviant processes albeit expressed via the stories of his respondents. This action-communication-narrative model is useful, as is the notion of mapping entrepreneurial process. The work of the trait theorists is an ideal place to begin mapping the complex paradigm of entrepreneurial process. As noted above, lists of traits in themselves are practically meaningless. However, by plotting them on a diagram and grouping them according to action sets one begins to map entrepreneurial process, as in diagram 3.



Moreover, mapping is not a simple process, for example how does one place - risk-taking, self-confidence, and flexibility, independence of mind, locus of control or the need to achieve on a conceptual mental map? Are they behaviourally, orientated actions or traits, or are they communicational facets? Yet, in taking each trait or behavioural set individually it is possible to propose that traits are observable in actions, but are invariably communicated via narrative methods such as stories. This simple model demonstrates a process whereby traits become observable in actions, but are communicated via narrative methods expressed as a behavioural quality enshrined in stories. These inspire repeated actions, initiating a cyclic self-reinforcing cycle. Over time the clusters of traits, behaviours and attitudes associated with the cycle forms a habitualised pattern of norms. These repeated patterns become observable as personality and character traits associated with character. In entrepreneurship research circles action, trait, personality and behaviour

are accepted paradigms. However, communication, narrative, and character have yet to be fully explored. Notwithstanding this, certain behaviours, traits and propensities have become elevated to the status of collective cultural signifiers. In discussing entrepreneurial personality it is all too easy to mix up social constructs, stereotypes, fables, with discussion of psychological theories of the entrepreneurs.

It is not so much an individual trait that is important – at a social level, it is the transmission of them into action, repeated as behaviours, expressed as qualities and told in stories. An example of this is to hear ordinary men and women trotting out a litany of trait descriptors and metaphors in story format, to display their understanding of the entrepreneur. Pile (1993) refers to externalising structures which make entrepreneurship “taken-for-granted”, and “impersonal”, hence the necessity to personalise it via the individuality of action and narrative. This is appreciated by Hytti (2003:36) who stressed that traits are useful for profiling the entrepreneur because traits are cognitive heuristics. Therefore, the trait approach, although much maligned is still perhaps useful because traits are descriptors, without which it would be difficult to construct entrepreneurial narrative. Descriptors act as reference points. Granted, the trait approach has been often derided but nevertheless, it can still be a useful explanatory tool, both as a powerful linguistic descriptor, and because there is some evidence that there is a popular, socially constructed belief that people are born entrepreneurs, equipped with certain characteristics. In later sections it will be demonstrated that stories are still constructed “as if” the trait approach was true. Gartner *et al* (1992:17) discuss the importance of talking and acting “as if” for entrepreneurs. Appearances play a major part in reality and plausibility. Gartner *et al* (1992:26) are correct to criticise the thoughtless and shallow use of such sophisticated theories. Indeed, Gartner (1989:61) warns against trying to measure imponderables but argues that traits and qualities are important mediums of understanding and expression. Characterisation, assumes traits (even if they are empirically vague). Yet, if we assume that trait, personality and character are but readings (and interpretations) of behaviour then a sense of clarity returns. Barthes (1988:156) refers to “readings of images, gestures and behaviours”. Thus the aim is not to distinguish entrepreneurs from non-entrepreneurs, but to achieve “Verstehen”. From the literature, and from the grounded nature of this research, action and communication emerged as principle components of entrepreneurship.

5.2 – EMPHASISING THE ROLE OF ACTION.

An appreciation of the importance of action is a longstanding theme in entrepreneurial studies. Action is the dominant school in entrepreneurial studies (Gartner, 1989; Bygrave & Hofer, 1991). Action is a central theme in the heroic construction of the entrepreneur and is one method by which we take between. Indeed, praxis (the Greek word for action / doing) lies at the heart of entrepreneurial action and behaviour. Cope & Watts (2000) argue that entrepreneurs learn by doing. Moreover, Barthes (1988:139) talks of establishing a science of actions or praxis. Barthes (1988:162) argues that there is no praxis which humans do not seize upon, dissect and reconstruct as a system of practices. Steyaert & Bouwen (1997) remark that the overriding ambition of entrepreneurial research is to explain or predict entrepreneurial action. Thus, Shane & Venkatamaran (2000) advocate studying entrepreneurship as an action, not individuals and individual characteristics. In a similar vein, Deakins (1996:14-5) advises us that it is more useful to look at entrepreneurial form and function than traits and characteristics of entrepreneurs.

Actions are often guided by motive or purpose. Berger & Luckmann (1971:70-72) argue that human action is subject to habitualisation and repeated actions form patterns of behaviour – operating procedures

which become embedded in routines as part of a general stock of knowledge. Such actions become institutionalised, typifying actor and actions. This is the case with entrepreneur – entrepreneurship. Stewart (1991:74) refers to the “person acting entrepreneurially”. Dallos (1996) links patterns of action to beliefs. This is important because entrepreneurship is formed of patterns of action combined with beliefs. Also, Barthes (1988:138) talks of actions being articulated as indices of character (or traits, qualities) for example “he has a habit of “. For Berger & Luckmann (1971:78) the institutionalised world is objectified human activity in which forms of action require to be typified to provide them with an objective sense. In the course of action identification with the self occurs and thus action is linked to objective and to the socially ascribed nature of the action (ibid.90). Thus the acting self inter-relates to other actors as actions are performed as roles. The actor acts out a common stock of knowledge and via compliance or non-compliance the roles reflect the institutional order (ibid.92). In discursive psychology representations are constructions produced in discourse, and performed as actions. Thus entrepreneurship can be viewed as a series of actions performed and recounted in stories. Berglund (1994) typifies the entrepreneur as a practical man of action. Weber (1990:15) echoing Goethe reminds us that, “the man of action is always ruthless”. Masculinity pervades entrepreneurial action, as in - “Doing the business” (Hobbs, 1988).

5.2.1 – Reading the entrepreneur as an all action hero.

Early attempts to define the entrepreneur were based on the premise that he could be explained, by virtue of being a rational economic man (Casson, 1990). Although Weber appreciated the existence of capitalist adventurers he did not concentrate upon them. Yet, economics and rationality can only explain so much, because it cannot explain the ‘irrationality’ of much entrepreneurial action. Weber (1990) understood the importance of understanding human action and the irrationality of Western capitalism, viewing the archetypal Calvinistic industrialist, whose only gain was the sense of having done a job well as being irrational. Therein lies the dynamics of entrepreneurship – it can and does surpass rationality. Developing holistic explanations of entrepreneurship entail one considering irrational as well as rational actions.

These spirits of action and heroism were major themes that emerged from the literature review. Bailey (1969:18) felt uneasy with any analysis that does not allow man a central role as an entrepreneur. Likewise, Barth (1967) alludes to action when he proposed that entrepreneurs “convert between spheres of exchange”. Incisively, Barth (1963) argued that the concept of the entrepreneur related not to the person, or the role, but aspects of role such as actions and activities.

The action element is highlighted by contemporary entrepreneurs such as Anderson (1995) and by McGrath & MacMillan (2000:1) who stress that successful entrepreneurs are action oriented. Jack (2002:13) argues that, “essentially entrepreneurship is a theory of action”. Indeed, tales of action abound in entrepreneurial narrative with the entrepreneur being portrayed as the all action hero, laying the foundations of the heroic entrepreneurial narrative. For Barthes (1988:142) the rational conduct of actions is best explained in narrative. A vivid picture emerged of a narrative steeped in the language of action. For instance, Langlois (1987:1) acknowledges Schumpeter’s belief in the importance of the entrepreneur portrayed as a heroic figure, imbued with boldness and taking success. Boldness and taking are actions. Similarly, Leland (1998:178) in relation to deeds refers to the famous quote of Benjamin Franklin “well done, is better than well said”. Individual entrepreneurial actions bonded together form enterprise and the writings of Cannon (1991:224) resonate with action and heroism. Cannon considers that a common feature of all forms of enterprise is the “willingness to storm established positions”, asserting that enterprise is a human quality and

process in which "people provide the edge". This edge is of critical importance to the success of the entrepreneur. Kets de Vries (1977) ironically, described an entrepreneur as an action orientated perfectionist with superior analytical and intuitive abilities.

If action is the first component in the thesis of the heroic entrepreneur, individualism is the second. Context provides the storylines and outcomes expressed as a storybook ending. As argued in later chapters, heroism is a type of action and heroics a style of acting. We draw strength and action from stories and a sense of unity from belonging. Entrepreneurial actions are judged and validated, by others and thus action is linked to value with what Ross (2001) refers to as "The Value Structure of Action". Ross sets out the distinctions between means and ends, and between being and doing that result in a legitimate structure of action upon which much ethical terminology, and the basic forms of ethical theory i.e. ethics of virtues, action, and consequences are based. However, what is most important is that Catano (2001:180) talks of the dominant rhetoric of masculine action. Thus the hallowed trait of entrepreneurial action may well stem from the social construction of masculinity. Moreover, Catano (2001:72) talks of the narratives of the self-made entrepreneur as being "dramas of masculine action".

5.2.2 – Considering the role of actions in the generation of value.

Actions are imbued with values thus for Rockwell (1974:138-40) "honourable actions" result in "honourable reputations". For Rockwell reputation and honour are personal achievements. Traits appear to have an accumulative effect upon entrepreneurial action. Indeed, action can be deemed a collective entrepreneurial trait. Despite the importance of the much vaunted, entrepreneurial trait of individuality, entrepreneurship is not a solitary activity. It is an imitative process that requires to be transformed into physical activity by effective communication and interactions with others. It can manifest itself as a collective team activity. Cannon (1991:179) appreciated that the, "relationship between the individual and the group lies at the core of enterprise...providing the challenge and an opportunity ... to realize themselves". For Cannon (1991) the essence of the entrepreneurial spirit is of individuals working through others to channel their energy, resources and enterprise as a catalyst to release group potential but Davis (1978:21) warns us not to "confuse activity with accomplishment".

In judging entrepreneurial propensity, one judges actions. Thus entrepreneurial action transcends ordinary action. It requires to be imbued with a special quality to be defined as entrepreneurial. This special quality is associated with such valued traits as innovation, inspiration, excitement, dynamism and speed of movement. It may also lie in the eclectic nature of the qualities that the entrepreneur as an individual brings to the act. It is not the act *per se* that imbues entrepreneuriality, but the manner in which it is carried out. Indeed, Davis (1987:17) attributes entrepreneurial success to possessing "Positive Mental Attitude". Thus entrepreneurial action is precipitated by a frame of mind that unlocks the imagination, turning dreams into plausible reality. Imagination and dreams are important facets of entrepreneurial action, and creativity. Chell *et al* (1994:8) suggest that a proximity to intense activity leaves the entrepreneur with a legacy of restlessness and low boredom threshold. Gergen (2001:64/115) notes that patterns of action are embedded in social institutions which are "typically intertwined with modes of discourse".

Entrepreneurial action is also associated with the spirit of independence and is inexorably tied to the individual person. Psychology relates to the behaviour of the individual, which for Shaver & Scott (1991:23) is "influenced by the way in which the external world is represented in the mind, and by the individual's exercise of free choice". Shaver & Scott explored the influence of the exercise of free choice on the

personality of the entrepreneur as an individual endeavour seeking to establish how a person's cultural heritage and social networks become represented in mind. They identified structuralism and free will as being important self-determinants of entrepreneurial action. Interestingly, Shaver *et al* (1990) used a bogus test of entrepreneurial abilities demonstrating that persons attributed a higher level of entrepreneurial ability expressed greater creativity and achievement motivation than those who did not regard themselves as entrepreneurial. The entrepreneurial spirit may be influenced by manipulating a person's level of self-belief (an entrepreneurial placebo effect). Entrepreneurial action is also linked to creativity.

5.2.3 – Appreciating the importance of creativity as an entrepreneurial act.

Entrepreneurial action occurs from the fusion of action, creativity and enterprise. Bass (1999:77) talks of "entrepreneurial flashes, when a bright idea meets a commercial opportunity and a business is born". Indeed, enterprise is a sequence of accumulated actions directed towards a specific purpose. Cannon (1991:2) defined enterprise as the "characteristic of people, groups and organizations which produces a disposition to self realization through achievement". For Cannon (1991:223) the enterprising require to "work with and through others to achieve goals". Cannon's enterprise is akin to a life force feeding on energy, drive and creativity. For Koestler (1964:708) the problem of creativity was fundamental to the assessment of mans condition, eloquently likening human mental mobility to quicksilver enabling the genius to walk through life as if "Charged with static electricity". For genius, substitute entrepreneur. This conjures up a vision of dynamic activity mirroring the electro-neural activity occurring in the human brain at speed as advocated by Chell *et al* (1994) who likened entrepreneurship to a neural network. Timmons (1989) and McGrath & MacMillan (2000) refer to the creative "entrepreneurial mind". De Bono's (1992:3) definition of creativity "Bringing into being something which was not there before", describes the entrepreneurial act.

Bernstein *et al* (1991:421) accept that creativity is dependent upon "Divergent Thinking", the ability to think along many paths; as opposed to traditional "Convergent Thinking". This distinction is important because both are necessary entrepreneurial abilities. De Bono (1992) challenges the commonly held misperceptions that creativity is an entirely inherent trait, belonging to the art world, arguing that it can be stimulated, by learning. However, learning cannot replace creativity, nor can it be instilled where the spark does not exist. De Bono (1992:viii) contrasts the concepts of competition (accepting one is running in the same race as one's competitors) versus surpetition (creating one's own race). In explaining the rational scientific basis of the human mind, De Bono stipulates that it is a self-organising information system, which demands creativity and provocation. Amabile (1989:421-3) lists three components necessary for creativity, namely – 1) Expertise - A set of skills such as ability to persist at problem solving, the use of divergent thinking, the ability to break mental sets and a propensity to take calculated risks; 2) Motivation - to pursue creative production for intrinsic rather than extrinsic rewards; and 3) Propensity towards creativity - appears to a predisposing factor in determining entrepreneurial success. Also, Eysenck (1995:38) argues that creativity achieved in any sphere depends upon different factors such as - 1) abilities such as intelligence, acquired knowledge, technical skills, special talent; 2) Environmental variables such as politico-religious, socio-economic, educational; and 3) Personality traits such as internal motivation, confidence, non-conformity, persistence and originality. Thus creativity is linked to the other social elements from which we construct entrepreneurial propensity. According to Espejo (1999:642/644) we amplify action capacity in order to create, manage and produce tasks. Espejo defines communication as the co-ordination of actions. Entrepreneurs are possessed of spontaneity and phenomenal, nervous energy, which Beaumont (2002:225)

likens to a hurricane. There is a creative godlike quality in entrepreneurial action. Hjorth (2001:298) refers to "Manopreneurship" to emphasise this. Hjorth derives this from manos – the hand that touches - controls and refers to manopreneurial processes of realisation and actualisation. For Hjorth (2001:251) entrepreneurship is a "tactic of actualisation", as is communication which will be discussed in section 5.4.

5.2.4 – Eclecticism as an entrepreneurial action.

Eclecticism draws on a plurality of opinions upon which it thrives (Casson, 2000:80). It is selecting or borrowing freely from different sources and is about choosing the best of everything. Entrepreneurship is eclectic because it draws its elements from a wide variety of disciplines and practices. Bygrave & Hofer (1996:13-32) stress the uniqueness of individual entrepreneurial acts. Each individual produces what Blok (1974:109) refers to as "unique action sets" and entrepreneurship is composed of such sets. Individual actions result from human agency, and are influenced by motivation, intention and fuelled by inspiration and dreams, drawing on the eclecticism of experience unique to that individual. Ucbasaran *et al* (2002) appreciate that the differences between novice and habitual entrepreneurs may result from their differing mindsets. Interestingly, Eysenck (1995:7) argues that psychologists such as Wallace & Gruber (1989), who favour the ideographic approach, stress that each person creates a hermeneutical bond with their environment, fostering unique configurations and characteristics that results in their creative impulses. Eclecticism helps explain entrepreneurial processes and narrative process accommodates an eclectic spirit.

5.2.5 - Networking as an entrepreneurial behaviour.

Networking² typifies the complexity of mapping entrepreneurial behaviour, because it can be construed as being associated with the person and loci where it occurs. According to Jack (2002:99) a network is the sum of invisible links. Indeed, for Gray (1998:169) networks are value chains. Furthermore, Jack (2002:288) describes networks as being abstract, invisible, intangible, loosely coupled relationships. It is within networks that much entrepreneurial behaviour is practiced. Networking as a behavioural practice has its own set of protocols and etiquettes, reflecting norms, rules and accepted practices (Jack, 2002:286). It is in networks that such intangible entities are converted into entrepreneurial capital. Casson (2000:94) describes networks as sources of directed information gathering where one is privy to gossip, information and invitations to social events. Casson argues that networking mythology is at variance with the mythology of the lone-wolf entrepreneur as a maverick individualist, suggesting that the latter are socially constructed myths. As a behaviour networking results from experiential knowledge and sedimented actions (Berger & Luckmann, 1971). Johannisson *et al* (2000:369) argue that personal networks enable entrepreneurs to conceptualise and operationalise a context in its own unique logic, by taking cognisance of values, attitudes, and action rationales. These are normally taken for granted as vehicles to success. Indeed, accounts of networking behaviour feature heavily in success stories. As enabling frameworks, such stories they reinforce the importance of values. Some networks of people spread across different countries are referred to as Diaspora (Walvin, 1997). These act as an enabling framework nourishing the entrepreneurial spirit for many ethnic communities being composed of an extended community where ethnic or religious origin enables members of a culture to re-belong. They replicate old socially constructed worlds in new locations.

² Research into entrepreneurial networks include - Birley (1985); Aldrich & Zimmer (1986); Aldrich, Rosen & Woodward (1987); Bruderl & Priesendorfer (1988); Johannisson (1988); and Larson (1992).

5.3 – CONSIDERING ENTREPRENEURIAL PRACTICES AND PROCESSES.

Entrepreneurship is a socio-economic practice and process. Indeed, Schumpeter (1942:132) regarded it as social function. A practice is defined as an actual doing, and is related to habitualised, repeated performances. Practices are situationally specific and are associated with the acquisition of skill. Processes are defined as a state of being in progress, or a series of actions and events. They are related in that practices can contain processes, as well as being part of a wider social process. It is in enacting specific social processes that a person becomes recognised as being an entrepreneur. This section expands the themes of action (practice and process), and value (a principle).

5.3.1 – Reading entrepreneurship as a practice.

For Bourdieu (1977) the day-to-day activities that people take part in are produced by an interaction of agency and social structure. It is through participation in these social practices that culture is embodied and reproduced. Entrepreneurship can be read as a practice (Meridith *et al*, 1982). Indeed, Hjorth (2001:252) describes it as a "lived practice". Pinochet (1994:2) defined entrepreneurial practice as a "combination of stubborn persistence and flexible responsiveness". Entrepreneurship may be a profusion of practices, which vary dependent upon social, situational and cultural contexts. It can relate to the actions of individual entrepreneurs, or collective forms, as there is no one method of practising it. Incisively, Smilor (1996) in seeking to answer what makes an entrepreneur entrepreneurial suggests it is a "doing", a practice requiring one to act. It is associated with strong individuals who innovate and bypass convention (Weitzen, 1988:216). For Johannisson (2002:1) it is associated with anomalies, irrationalities and guided by passion. As a practice it can be referred to as entrepreneuring, entreprendering and entrepreneurialism. When Steyaert & Bouwen (1997) refer to "entrepreneuring" they allude to its practice. Also Aggestam & Keenan (2002:2-5) note that it "varies from moment to moment" and "occurs at the edge of what the entrepreneur knows". Thus for Johannisson (2002:11) entrepreneurs reside at the edge of chaos. Its practice is associated with newness, movement, speed of movement, pioneering and being at the frontiers and can be readily adapted to suit changing environments. Entrepreneurship is channelled through, and influenced by, other social processes such as mentoring (Fagenson, 1989; Warren & Headlem-Wells, 2002). Indeed, classic entrepreneur stories act a surrogate mentor, simultaneously telling, motivating and legitimising. Entrepreneurship is practised in a variety of apparently contradictory formats such as individual versus collective, moral versus immoral and despite being associated with individual action, can occur collectively as team entrepreneurship (Stewart, 1989). Notwithstanding this, Chell *et al* (1994:3) assert that the typical notion of the entrepreneur is a business founder. However, for Hull *et al* (1980:11) it encompasses individuals who purchase or inherit and expand an existing business. It can be practised in any social environment and put to use in various applications. Each form is subtly different but importantly all protagonists extract value from its application. Moreover, practice knowledge relates to issues of identity embedded within narrative. Practice, as described in stories centres around questions of who we are, and what we do?

5.3.2 – Reading entrepreneurship as a process.

Interest in the process approach to entrepreneurship is expanding. For example, Barth, (1963), Kilby (1971), Shapiro (1984), Gartner (1985) (1988), Low & Macmillan (1988), Binks & Vale (1990), Chell *et al* (1991), and

Jack (2002) are all advocates of the process approach to understanding entrepreneurship. Low & Macmillan (1988) argue that entrepreneurship is a process enacted over time. Articulated simply, process relates to the performance of a sequence of steps or actions, which add value by producing outputs from a variety of inputs. Process informs procedures, which set out how things are done, and a process can also be a set of procedures. For Barth (1963), Mitton (1989), and Anderson (1995) the social force of change is the essence of the entrepreneurial process and for Bygrave & Hofer (1991:17) entrepreneurship is characterised by a change of state and discontinuity. Process models of entrepreneurship, such as those of Gibb & Ritchie (1982), Fuller & Moran (2001), Eckhardt & Shane (2003) and Anderson *et al* (2004) are helpful in understanding entrepreneurial behaviour. Gibb & Ritchie's model of the entrepreneurial process provides a link to social process and context to social psychology, networks, and population ecology. Gibb & Ritchie stressed situational elements and concentrated upon interactionism arguing that different types of influences impact upon entrepreneurs at divergent points in their life-paths. Furthermore, complexity approaches, such as those advocated by Fuller & Moran (2001) help us make sense of entrepreneurial processes. Fuller & Moran (2001) argue that complexity approaches provide a metaphoric language base which is useful in describing the entrepreneurial behaviour of entrepreneurs and small business owners, as well as allowing for nested hierarchical ontological layers. Fuller (1997) argues for the small firm (and thus entrepreneur), being part of a wider "ecology" or nexus of stakeholder relationships and actions. Eckhardt & Shane (2003) discuss the movement of entrepreneurship researchers away from trying to identify entrepreneurs and entrepreneurial attributes, towards understanding the nexus between enterprising individuals and the context in which they operate. Instead of trying to label entrepreneurship as a function of the types of people engaged in entrepreneurial activity, they advocate trying to understand the processes which create entrepreneurship. Eckhardt & Shane (2003) also point out that entrepreneurial activity is episodic and thus difficult to extrapolate. Berglund (2005) argues that positivist investigations of entrepreneurship run the risk of missing "the very grail we seek" (Phan 2004) because entrepreneurs, and entrepreneurial attributes, are re lifted out of the contexts and life worlds in which they receive their meaning. Berglund argues that in phenomenological narrative such entrepreneurs and their attributes retain an essence of lived experience.

It is helpful to look at other social processes, because processes involve change. Jack (2002:283) discusses the social processes of enabling, enacting and embedding which influence entrepreneurship arguing that the entrepreneurial process has four components – individual, action, context, and outcomes. Indeed, the entrepreneurial process, "takes place between individuals" (ibid.96). Also, for Jack (2002:303) the same process is a value gathering exercise. Herron *et al* (1991) argue that the entrepreneurial process contains important characteristics, namely it is initiated by human volition; is a holistic process; is a dynamic process; involves numerous antecedent variables; has a variety of possible outcomes; and involves a change of state. Transformation is an emerging theme. Rae (1999) considers that people become entrepreneurial in the way they work and as entrepreneurs have developed their attitudes, behaviours and ways of working. It is a way of working, a set of values, beliefs, attitudes, habits and behaviours which individuals may consciously or subconsciously adopt to become recognisably enterprising.

As articulated in chapter 2, entrepreneurship can be described as a process of becoming, and being. But it is not a linear process (Berger, 1991) albeit it possesses processual elements. At a philosophical level Handerich (1995:721) considers a process to be a series of changes with some form of unity. It can be an event driven process, as appreciated by Bygrave & Hofer (1989) who refer to both entrepreneurial events

and processes. Replicating it is inherently difficult. Notwithstanding this, Deakins (1996:22) remarks that entrepreneurs who are process driven are more likely to succeed. Entrepreneurial process is linked to motivation (intrinsic or extrinsic). Deakins (1996:58-9) discusses entrepreneurial motivations such as status; job satisfaction; independence; fiscal rewards; and enterprise building. Smilor (2002) adds love (instils warmth) and fear (instils the chill of reality) as principle entrepreneurial motivators and contrasting sides of the process that is entrepreneurial drive. Smilor attributes the success of many entrepreneurs to the fact that they love what they do and create meaning and value. Smilor stresses that fear of failure and particularly bankruptcy is a powerful entrepreneurial motivator. For entrepreneurs failure (as an outcome) is a personal process, because their company is an extension of their own ego. For Casson (1982) the three main Schumpetrian (1934:93-4) entrepreneurial motivating factors are 1) The dream or will to found a private kingdom-dynasty via success in business which fascinates people who have no other chance of achieving social distinction; 2) the will to conquer, fight and succeed thus proving oneself; and 3) The joy of creating, getting things done or exercising one's energy and ingenuity. These are heroic elements of adventure stories, and heroic values are eulogised in narrative formats.

Smilor (1996:11) suggests we know a great deal about the entrepreneurial process, and about techniques, attitudes and skills that can help entrepreneurs succeed. For Smilor (1996:9) pursuing opportunities, the ability to deal with the unexpected and handling the unknown-to tolerate ambiguity are part and parcel of the entrepreneurial process, characterised by passion and proactivity. Smilor (2002b) notes that chaos, unpredictability, and setbacks are also part of the same process. Also, Callahan & Elliott (1995:79) argue that academics primarily focus on process and outcomes rather than origins or contents, yet the concept of the entrepreneur is an outcome of origin, content and process, and is composed of various conflicting symbiotic social processes. Aggestam & Keenan (2002:4) associate entrepreneurs with newness and Timmons (1989:1) associates entrepreneurship with the ability to create and build something from nothing (by initiating, doing, achieving and building). Entrepreneurship is associated with the process of growth, but for Lopes (2002) growth is an entrepreneurial choice. Bendix (1956) in discussing Capitalism in nineteenth century Britain stipulated that the functions and controls were vested in the hands of entrepreneur-managers who personally directed the day-to-day activities of their enterprise. To understand entrepreneurial process requires a mapping process to unravel process from the socially constructed.

Trait, personality and character, do not subtly alter our perception of what constitutes entrepreneurship, rather, it is reified social constructions of the entrepreneurial personality, composed of a set of hypothesized and eulogised traits, combined in the lay-concept of entrepreneurial character, which act as a largely tacit, cultural influence to shape our own perceptions. When considering entrepreneurship as a process it is easy to focus on the subject matter and not the environment in which it occurs or the social processes by which it is achieved. Lowe (1995) argues that researchers often overlook basic social processes such as ambiguity, transformation, and reflexivity. For Soros (1998:10) reflexivity is a two way process. Time defines process and entrepreneurship occurs over time, being composed of overlapping processes of discovery and exploitation possessing a degree of circularity with process flowing from action and communication.

5.4 – ARTICULATING THE ROLE OF COMMUNICATION.

In this section we introduce the linked, recursive themes of action, communication, charisma and narrative. Communication is a complex paradigm influenced by ability, intelligence, literature, environmental and social

structures, the visual, the sensory, ritual, myth, pedagogy and gesture. Communication is an inherent facet because it is a principle method by which we take between. To be entrepreneurial requires one to communicate ones ideas to others. Yet, consideration of entrepreneurship from a communicational perspective is in its infancy despite being an experience that can be communicated and shared vicariously via narrative even if one does not have first hand experience of it. Communication is linked to social constructionism as appreciated by Berger & Luckmann (1971:36) for whom reality is ordered by vocabulary.

5.4.1 – Revealing the communicational basis of entrepreneurship.

It is surprising that there are few communication-based theories of entrepreneurship because communication is implicit in much of the literature. An exception to this is Wickham (1998) who defines entrepreneurship as “Creating and managing vision and communicating that vision to other people”. Aggestam & Keenan (2002:2) suggest that communication is implicit in academic entrepreneurial circles, albeit masked and taken for granted. Chell (2000:75) advocates a “lexical approach” to understanding the entrepreneur, whilst McKenzie (2002) researched entrepreneurial rhetoric and the lexicon of entrepreneurship. This thesis develops the communicational nature of entrepreneurship.

Communication entails processing information. According to Austin (1960) we “do things with words” and Timmons (1999:222) remarks that the entrepreneur succeeds when acting as a mediator and negotiator as opposed to a dictator. Aggestam & Keenan (2002:2) consider communication axiomatic to entrepreneuring stressing that this is accomplished “through talk that involves stories, narratives, conversations, dialogues, arguments, negotiations, behaviours and symbols that both unite and differentiate relating actors”. Symbols are used to represent abstract ideas or concepts. For Aggestam & Keenan (2002:7-11) “Talking is necessary to the performance of entrepreneurship”. They refer to entrepreneurial utterances and entrepreneurial communication and in arguing that entrepreneurs sell the future in words suggest that the language they use is distinctive in its “colourfulness, flamboyance and friskiness” (ibid.4). Flamboyance is a set of attitudes or postures as well as being a behavioural descriptor. Furthermore, for O’Connor (2002:6-7) the entrepreneur operates via speech, conversation, and interaction because a “significant part of this entrepreneurial work is verbal”. Timmons (1994:34) highlights the entrepreneur has a communicational ability to spot an opportunity buried in contradictory data, signals, and the chaos of the market place.

Stanley (2000:41) alludes to the communicational element of success noting the self-made have the ability to “sell their ideas” to others. Entrepreneurship is often associated with the ability to sell, or salesmanship. Davis (1987:25) discusses the entrepreneurial salesman. For Davis (1987:109) the secret to success in sales is mastering the art of communication, because “busy people have short attention spans”. Davis professes that a “popular image of the salesman is that of the glib talker with the gift of the gab”. O’Connor (2002) argues that linguistic skills in business are important. The advice of Davis (1987:21) to concentrate on communication is sound entrepreneurial advice. For Davis (1987:113-115) “words create mental images, arouse emotions and cause things to happen”, whilst a “lack of adequate communication breeds suspicion”. Entrepreneurs who fail to communicate their intentions correctly may breed suspicion. For Lavoie (1991:49-50) entrepreneurs are skilled at reading and influencing the “conversations of mankind” and that “Entrepreneurial acts” are “readings of, and contributions, to different conversations, and successful entrepreneurs can join these conversational processes and move them in particular directions.”

Casson (2000:80) stresses that the entrepreneur must be persuasive in raising finance and that entrepreneur's act by negotiating change (ibid.47). Casson highlights the importance of arbitrage and intermediation as an entrepreneurial role, noting that the latter depends upon communication and language (ibid.13-14). For Casson (2000:134) inter-mediation is an entrepreneurial trait. O'Connor (1996:46) suggests that entrepreneurs and non-entrepreneurs communicate differently. The entrepreneur communicates using personal knowledge gained via experience, whereas the manager utilizes language acquired in management literature. McKenzie (2002) sought to uncover the communicative and organisational development practices of successful entrepreneurs conducting fieldwork by collecting oral histories of entrepreneurs to construct a grounded theory of entrepreneurship. Mitchell (1996) used the oral history method to illuminate the insider meanings of entrepreneur stories as expert scripts. Mitchell argued that entrepreneur stories are prone to sensationalisation and idealisation, as the entrepreneur is presented as a near mythical character. By presenting oral histories of entrepreneurs, Mitchell demystified their expert status by uncovering common themes to such stories that could be understood by outsiders - who knew nothing about being an entrepreneur. This links entrepreneurship with articulation and communicational ability. Articulation makes the implicit explicit and assists in retrieving what has been forgotten. Articulate persons are considered charismatic. Indeed, Alessandra (1988) links skilled persuasion to charisma

5.4.2 – Establishing the link between entrepreneurship and charisma.

It is difficult to connect charisma directly to entrepreneurship, other than note points of convergence. Bryman (1992:24) traces the term charisma to the New Testament, where it was articulated as the "gift of grace". Charisma is an important heroic building block in the meta-narrative of the rise and fall from grace. For Wallis & Bruce (1986a) it is a social construction. For Etzioni (1971:305) it is the ability to exercise diffuse and intense influence over the normative orientations of others. Weber (1968) appreciated that charisma is related to legitimacy and authority. Weber posited three types of authority, based on - rational-legal grounds, traditional grounds and charismatic grounds. Charismatic legitimacy relates to that born of exceptional heroism and exemplary character (Weber, 1968:215). Weber (1968:241-242) saw charisma as an individual quality resident in extraordinary people involving a change in stature and appreciated that charismatic leaders attract a charismatic community of followers to which they communicate, act or perform. Bryman (1992:49) argues that charisma is accrued by virtue of the person's unique attributes and abilities, but its existence requires to be validated by others. Charisma is an attribute of power and success and can be exhibited by persons, roles, institutions and objects, but is usually conceptualised as a personal trait. Shils (1965:200) argues that specific revered cultural objects can possess charismatic qualities and also that inanimate objects can dispense charisma. However, Oberg (1972:28) warns against deliberate myth making via the employment of symbols denoting prestige and dramaturgy.

Bensman & Givant (1975) use the term "pseudo-charisma" to refer to the manufacture of charisma. This is of importance because certain semiotic attributes associated with charisma can be fabricated. Also, Shils (1965:200-3) refers to "charismatic propensity" as being a social disrupter; and Alessandra (1988) links charisma to personal magnetism and success. Conger (1989) appreciates the link between charisma and leadership because charismatic people energise and inspire others to emulate them. Indeed, Bass (1985:62) regards inspiration as a charismatic sub-factor. Soros (1998:26) refers to a "charismatic personality" and Conger & Kaguno (1987) note that charismatic people engage in entrepreneurial risk taking activities, using unconventional methods of achieving their vision. For Biggart (1989) the entrepreneur is "Charismatic

Capitalism" personified. Bryman (1992) discusses many facets of charisma applicable as entrepreneurial traits and behaviours - flamboyance and powerful speakers; spellbinding oratory; presence; the generation of stories myth and legend; energy, confidence and endurance. Bryman stipulates that charismatic traits and attributes are often exaggerated in the hagiography that succeeds the charismatic. Moreover, for Wetherell (1991:122) charisma is a rhetorical power of persuasion. Charisma certainly pervades entrepreneurial narrative and entrepreneurs are said to operate in the charismatic vein, being granted the gift of verbal fluency, and the ability to lead and inspire people. Bryman's research (1992:173) parallels tragic entrepreneur stories, in considering the possibility of charisma being an obsessive and destructive force leading to a fall from grace and self-destruction. Charisma is an unstable force too easily extinguished, as in burning too bright (ibid.25). According to Bryman (1992:32) charismatic characters, of necessity, continually validate themselves through deeds and words thus renewing their charisma levels. Moreover, charisma provides a talking point in entrepreneur stories.

The sections discussed thus far all point to the usefulness of narrative approaches.

5.4.3 – Deciding upon a communication based narrative approach.

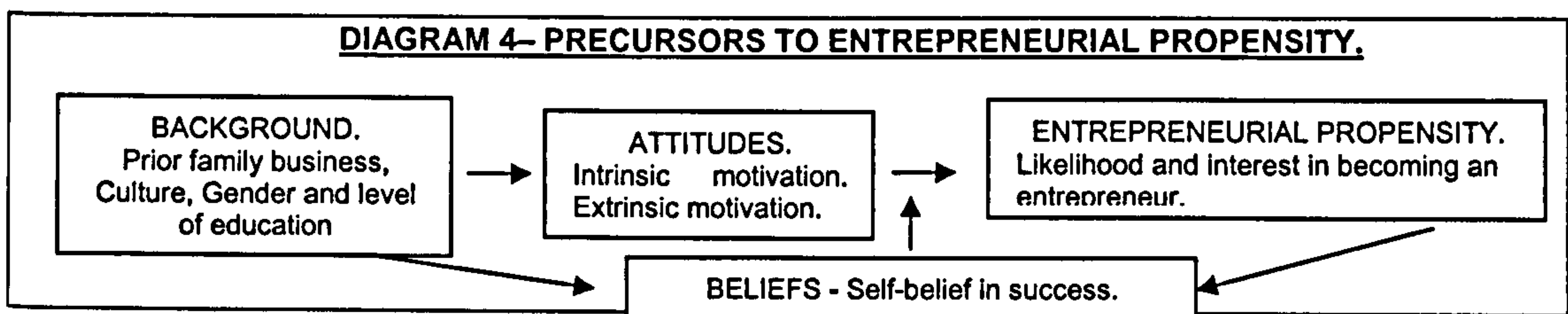
It is difficult to separate the communicational and narrative approaches because of their embeddedness. However, the use of the narrative to communicate entrepreneurial experience and values has a long history, as in the classic *Self Help* (Smiles, 1958). This present study was influenced by the work of Rae (2000) who advocated the use of narrative methodology as a constructive means of inquiry in developing the understanding and the practice of entrepreneurship. Rae argued that narrative interpretation was a valid method for researching the human learning and cultural development of entrepreneurship, suggesting that rich insights could be gained from discursive life story research. Indeed, Rae proposes a "living theory" of entrepreneurship as a cultural, discursive resource which may be discovered and interpreted through the narrative medium. An appreciation of the influence of communication in entrepreneurship studies developed upon the compilation of a list of entrepreneurial scholars who have adopted this perspective. See table 22.

TABLE 22 - LIST OF AUTHORS USING NARRATIVE / COMMUNICATIONAL APPROACHES.

<p>Smiles (1958) - An anthology of inspirational stories of men of enterprise through the ages. McClelland (1961) – Seminal tales of achievement. The need to achieve as expressed in narrative. Brockhaus (1987) – Introduced the concept of entrepreneurial folklore. Casson (1982) – His fictional character Jack Brash illustrated negative characteristics in story form. Hyrsky (1998a,b) – A seminal exploration of entrepreneurial metaphor highlighting negativity. Hill & Levenhaugh (1995) – A study of entrepreneurial metaphor and mental modelling. Cosgel (1996) – Metaphor and story and the exclusion of the entrepreneur from economic rhetoric. Koironen (1995) – Entrepreneurial metaphors, demonstrating it's socially constructed nature. Czarniawska (1997) – Consideration of organizational identity as narrative and drama. Perren & Atkin (1997) – An exploration of the masculine nature of entrepreneurial metaphors. Steyaert (1995) - Perpetuating entrepreneurship through dialogue. Steyaert & Bouwen (1997) – Demonstrating the importance of storytelling and narrative. Steyaert (1998) – Entrepreneurship, narrating and narratives of an entrepreneurial history. Pitt (1998) – Advocated reading entrepreneurs as texts and the use of metaphor by entrepreneurs. Busenitz <i>et al</i> (2000) – Examined the cultural differences across entrepreneurial metaphors. O'Connor (2000a,b) - Explorations of talking and bedded narrative within organizations O'Conner, (2002a & b) – Explorations of storied business and of legitimacy as storytelling. Rae & Carswell (2000) – The life story approach to researching entrepreneurial learning. Ogbor (2000) – explored the links between entrepreneurship and mythology. Ljunggren & Alsos (2001) – An exploration of media presentation of the entrepreneur in Swedish media. Nicolson (2001) – An exploration of social construction and metaphor usage in British media. Akerberg (2001) – Examined the gender bias of entrepreneurial narrative.</p>
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De Koning & Drakopolou-Dodd (2002) – A study of entrepreneurial metaphors highlighting negativity.
 Hamilton (2002) – Storytelling within family business.
 Aggestam. & Keenan (2002) – An exploration of entrepreneurship from a linguistic perspective.
 McKenzie (2002) - Entrepreneurship as a Picaresque narrative.

This appreciation³ developed into an understanding that narrative approaches pervade the literature and incline one towards the dramatic and heroic as discussed in later chapters. The expanding interest in narrative approaches was confirmed by secondary research which located the PhD thesis of Hytti (2003)- "Stories of entrepreneurs: Narrative Construction of Identities" and the work of Luoto (2004). Hytti (2003:18) sought to identify how individuals "construct being an entrepreneur" exploring the convergence of works located within the triangle of entrepreneurship theory – identity theory and narrative methods. Social constructionist thesis naturally gravitate towards the use of narrative approaches, for example, Paavola (2004) on the social construction of customer loyalty concentrated on "stories of loyalty". Johansson (2004) argues that within the social sciences narrative approaches have become more popular and that entrepreneurship research would benefit from narrative approaches. Johansson illustrates and reflects upon how narrative approaches can contribute to entrepreneurship research, namely by the construction of entrepreneurial identities, (2) Entrepreneurial learning, and (3) (Re)conceptualising entrepreneurship. For Johansson (2004) a narrative approach contributes to the literature by enriching the understanding of what motivates individual entrepreneurs and the way they run their businesses with storytelling being closely related to entrepreneurial learning. Narrative approaches complement other approaches and storytelling and story-making serve as potential metaphors for conceptualising and reconceptualizing entrepreneurship. It could be argued that entrepreneurship is perhaps best understood as being a narrated process. It is easier to articulate as a story or stories that accommodate the many paradoxes and inconsistencies that characterise it. Narrative and storytelling are (re)generative social mechanisms and rely on sequential processes. These are manifested as the Macro Story (ideology & entrepreneurial dream), and a Micro Story (personal narratives). These narrative processes capture the nuances of the entrepreneurial process and when repeated and acted upon can assist in driving the physical processes forward. Granted narratives do not make the process but they embody it. This aspect of the entrepreneurial process will be developed in chapters 8 and 9 where the emphasis of the study turns to what narratives actually do. However, in researching pre-entrepreneurial states of being, it is helpful to look at the backgrounds, attitudes, motivations and beliefs of potential entrepreneurs. Diagram 4 (adopted from Phan *et al*, 2002) illustrates the influence of these factors on entrepreneurial propensity.



³ This appreciation influenced the direction and style of my academic output which became narrative based. See appendix one – a list the papers and book chapters written or co-authored by me.

Prior family experience in business, culture, gender, level of education; whether one is extrinsically or intrinsically motivated; and their level of belief are all important precursors which impact upon entrepreneurial propensity. In chapter 6, we consider culture, familial background, level of education, religious beliefs and gender.

5.5 – REFLECTIONS.

This chapter dealt with aspects of entrepreneurship theory, relating to the individual entrepreneur at a broadly psychological level. Discussion centered upon the discredited trait theory by trying to separate trait, personality and character aspects from the literature. The main thrust of the argument was that traits are still useful descriptors for describing aspects of personality and character in entrepreneurial narrative. This was of crucial importance to our understanding, because it focused the direction of the study away from the individual level towards narrative, storytelling and enactment. These are the very mechanisms through which we can monopolize people for the period of time necessary to explain concepts to them in understandable terms. Thus traits still retain an explanatory, predictive power as useful descriptions which can be mapped against lived experience. From immersion in the literature of trait theory it was seen that the social construct of entrepreneurship was a values based phenomena and that values are transformed into and projected as qualities. The importance of action and communication to the practice of entrepreneurship was highlighted. The notion of the entrepreneur as an all action hero was introduced to bridge the gap between the individual and their environment. Creativity, networking and eclecticism were presented as specific entrepreneurial activities worthy of note. The chapter highlights the importance of the communicational basis of entrepreneurship and in particular the relationship between communication and narrative. Charisma was discussed as another example of an entrepreneurial behaviour in action. Two further themes were developed, namely the importance of values and character. In the second part of the chapter, the emphasis moved away from the individual towards considering practices and processes associated with entrepreneurship extending the argument from person to environment.

In particular, the chapter highlights the relationship between economic and ethical value, trait, character, action, communication, charisma as linked to narrative. It is with this quest that the remainder of this thesis is concerned. There is a hermeneutic circularity to the entrepreneurial construct whereby even such apparently insignificant facets of behaviour such as traits are both capable of articulation as pre-cursors and outcomes. Furthermore, they are linked to action and communication as expressed via narratives. This chapter considers trait, personality and character as narrative elements which reinforce the heroic individualistic ideal. A vivid picture begins to emerge of the entrepreneur as a lone heroic figure. Additionally, this chapter highlighted the importance of values, qualities, traits and character, as located in words as carriers of values discernable as actions. As shall be demonstrated in later chapters, character is expressed as stories and embedded in narrative, discourse, rhetoric and ideology grounded in everyday experiences and enactments. This chapter introduces possible elements of the entrepreneurial construct and also ways of seeing and ways of reading such elements, as well as beginning to develop a wider understanding.

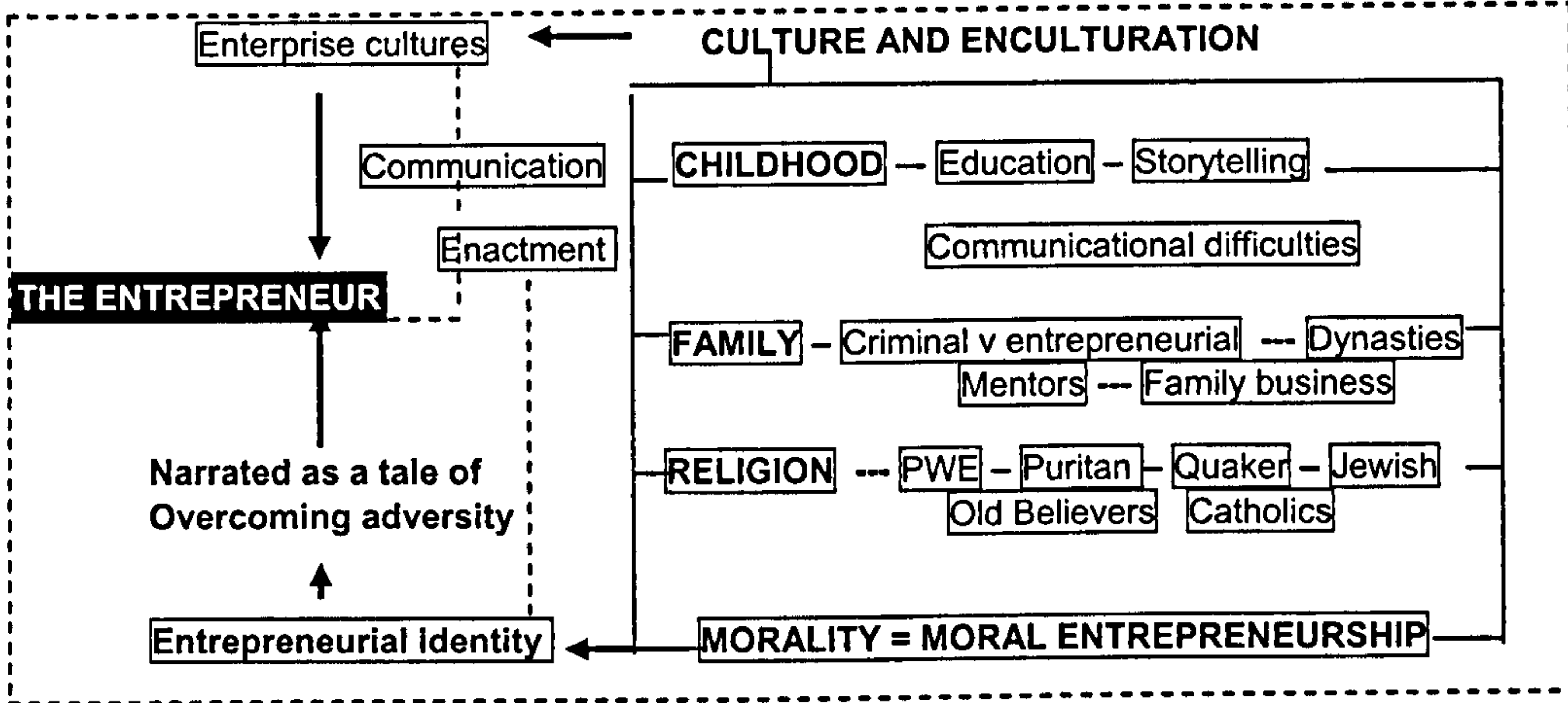
6 – SOCIOLOGICAL BUILDING BLOCKS.

INTRODUCTION.

READERS' GUIDE.

This chapter

1. Examines the role of social structures (institutions) in shaping entrepreneurship.
2. Investigates how these influence our perceptions of the construct and their manner of presentation.



6.1 – UNDERSTANDING THE ROLE OF SOCIETY AND CULTURE.

- 6.1.1: Enacting culture.
- 6.1.2: Expressing culture as a communicational activity.
- 6.1.3: Picturing culture, identity and identification.
- 6.1.4: Enterprise cultures and the creation of value.
- 6.1.5: Considering habitus.

6.2 – CONSIDERING THE ROLE OF CHILDHOOD.

- 6.2.1: Establishing the influence of storytelling and childhood upon value creation.
- 6.2.2: How the age ideal / ideal paradox affects the uptake of entrepreneurial motivation.

6.3 – EXPLORING THE ROLE OF FAMILY.

- 6.3.1: Appreciating the significance of entrepreneurial families in the recreation of value.
- 6.3.2: Recognising entrepreneurial dynasties as an alternative entrepreneurial narrative.
- 6.3.3: Acknowledging the role of familial mentor figures in instilling values.
- 6.3.4: Learning positive lessons from the existence of criminal families.
- 6.3.5: Recognising family business as an institution for generating entrepreneurial proclivity.

6.4 – APPRECIATING THE ROLE OF EDUCATION.

- 6.4.1: Examining how educational profile influences entrepreneurial propensity.
- 6.4.2: Narrating a character building story about overcoming communicational barriers.

6.5 – DECIPHERING THE ROLE OF RELIGION.

- 6.5.1: The Protestant Work Ethic.
- 6.5.2: The Puritan Ethic.
- 6.5.3: The Quaker Ethic.
- 6.5.4: The Russian Old Believers.
- 6.5.5: The Jewish Faith.
- 6.5.6: Catholicism.

6.6 – THE ROLE OF MORALITY.

- 6.6.1: Reading entrepreneurship as a moral construct.
- 6.6.2: Cultivating positive moral climates.

6.7: REFLECTIONS.

In chapter 5, we discussed the entrepreneur as an individual, developing the themes of heroism, character, value and the influence of other subjective elements on the construct. In this chapter, we continue to develop

these emerging themes whilst concentrating on the role of institutionalized social structures, which enable the creation and re-creation of value. These include culture, childhood, family, religion and morality. The first four incubate, propagate and perpetuate values, providing a nurturing environment in which the culture of enterprise can grow. The creation of such cultures and the effect they have upon the generation of entrepreneurial families and family business is often underestimated. Culture, like entrepreneurship is also characterized by vagueness and subjectivity but acts as "magnifying loci", instilling specific socially desirable values. Cultures and families can be considered as social institutions, but childhood is more like a specific environment. For Wetherell (1997:242) human beings shape the institutions in which they live and at the same time are shaped by them. Institutions are organized elements of society formed from repeated patterns of activity or social practice (Wetherell, 1997:244) and are supported by social norms (Abercrombie *et al* 1994). Social institutions act as a link or bridge between the individual and the social levels of activity (Wetherell, 1997:245). This chapter, maps patterns of action embedded in social institutions (Gergen, 2001:64) and continues to examine social constructions of the entrepreneur in British Society. The chapter considers social constructionist origins and how they are constructed.

6.1 – UNDERSTANDING THE ROLE OF SOCIETY AND CULTURE.

Berger (1963: 109) argues that society antedates us and will survive us, but the concept of society is so broad that in this study we can only touch upon some of its facets. Berger & Luckmann (1971:121) argue that societies are constructions in the face of chaos, and for McQuail (1994:64) society and culture are inseparable and that broadcasted media information, images and ideas being their main source of awareness of shared social history. The media is a product of and reflects culture (*ibid.*122). Culture is an integral part of societal constructs. Fiske (1989:1) defines culture as a "constant process of producing meanings of and from our social experience" and O'Connor & Downing (1995:16) consider everyday culture as a process of persuasion. Danesi (1994A:18) defines a culture as a macro-code, consisting of codes necessary to habitually interpret reality and Lévi-Strauss (1974) notes that cultural classification systems are codes or interpretative grids of 'differentiating features' that signify social differences, convey codified messages and assimilate content permitting one to convert ideas between different levels of social reality. They transform perceived natural categories into cultural categories thus naturalising cultural practices.

According to Catano (20018) societies have a vested interest in continually maintaining certain forms of behaviour, values, attitudes and beliefs. Culture guides actions. Accordingly, Mailloux (1998) defines culture as being a network of rhetorical practices that are extensions and manipulations of other socio-economic practices. Reid (1989:75) defines it as all that is learned by an individual as a member of a societal group, including values, beliefs and perceptions. For Freire (1972: 92) culture clarifies the role of men in a transforming world and for Lewis (1961:234) it includes social organisation, macro-religious ceremony, kinship, behavioural patterns, institutions, belief, mythology and feelings and attitudes. For Hjorth (2001:66) it is central to being able to relate to contemporary values. Smircich (1982) considers it a way of relating to the world. It is an integrated system of learned behaviour and characteristics. Hofstede (1980) defines it as a coactive programming of the mind and O'Connor & Downing (1995:8) an interactive changing process by which we interpret and understand the world in certain ways and not others. Definitions of culture, like cultures themselves change over time being both product and social process (*ibid.*3). We engage in it (*ibid.*10). For Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner (1997:20-1) cultures constitute a connected system of

meanings, a shared definition by situation within which symbols trigger certain expectations. Agrawal & Chavan (2004) include individual and collective attributes such as social and traditional values within culture.

There are explicit and hidden layers of culture. Explicit layers explicate culture and are observable features, whilst hidden layers include the norms and values of an individual group. Norms are deemed to be what is right and wrong and are defined by values which are connected to desires and aspirations. Culture is man made and articulates an organised meaning. We have a variety of choice of artefacts, norms and values. Stereotyping exaggerates and caricatures the culture and the observer. For Geertz (1973) culture is the means by which people communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge about attitudes towards life. De Certeau (1998) considers culture as a model through which behavioural norms are introduced and cultivated via institutions, ideologies, and myths. Culture includes images and perceptions which help us organise experience. Culture is acquired and can be preserved. These definitions link norms, behaviours, ideologies and myths to institutions and to a broader semiotic system, which must be acquired and preserved because of their intrinsic value to society. Also culture exerts a powerful influence upon the social construction of entrepreneurship. Cultural institutions shape our lives and influence and affect how we perceive the entrepreneurial construct by providing channels through which accepted behavioural scripts can be enacted. They may also influence the writing of the scripts. Indeed, Berger (1963:48) refers to "definite channels of class, income, education, racial and religious background".

Culture is an intangible social construct, but in childhood, family and religion we can discern some tangible manifestations such as artefacts and belongings. These institutions are more than mere constructionist building blocks or constructionism's tools, being mechanisms for channelling taken for granted personal and societal values. As such, we rarely question them. However, they are a manifestation of social constructionism. This culturalist approach infers the construction and taking of meaning from texts and also in the broadest semiotic sense and views notions such as entrepreneurship as being socially and culturally embedded, albeit, prone to change. For Barthes (1988:170-171) culture determines the rationales of mass society by analysing its narratives of socio-logic, isolating the rational from the mask of narrative. Cultures create character types as appreciated by Erikson (1969:180). For Erikson (1969:286) Americans venerate the ideal type of character embodied within the social constructs of the "Mom" and the "Self-made man". Both exert a particularly strong psycho-social influence, crowding out and suppressing competition, shaping American culture as role models. Erikson suggests that daughters adopt the personality of the self-made Mom. As strong personalities, Mom and her self-made man shaped familial ideals.

6.1.1 – Enacting culture.

Actions are enacted in cultural settings, indeed, Swidler (1986) argued that "strategies of action" are cultural products shaped by symbolic experiences (myth, lore, ritual) which create moods, motivations, ways of organising experience, evaluating the nature of reality, linked to culturally specific strategies that affect the way people go about their business. This emphasises the role of communal action in culture. Lewis (1961:75-77) refers to cultural patterns of thought and action and webs of custom and discusses how they shape attitudes and behaviour, identifying three facets of culture, namely technological (tools), sociological (relationships) and ideological (beliefs, rituals, ethics, religious practices, and myths). Webs of custom are perpetuated because of their survival value (ibid. 143). Webs form inner drives constructed from the pressure to conform to accepted practices. Actions combine with cultural facets to create a socially constructed form of social capital or cultural entrepreneurship. Belshaw (1995a) refers to the cultural milieu

of the entrepreneur. Lounsbury & Glynn (2001) define cultural entrepreneurship as a process of storytelling for the purpose of mediating between extant stocks of entrepreneurial resources, subsequent capital acquisition and wealth creation. For them entrepreneurial stories facilitate the crafting of a new venture identity leading to the conferral of legitimacy by investors, competitors, and consumers, opening up access to new capital and market opportunities. Stories help create competitive advantage for entrepreneurs through focal content or entrepreneurial capital. Indeed, Catano (2001:33) links cultural rhetoric to visible embodiments of doxic action which help produce masculine identities. This is relevant because entrepreneurial character requires to be enacted in appropriate cultural settings or milieu

6.1.2 – Expressing culture as communicational activity.

Cultures shape meanings making it essential to understand human communication. Carey (1975:23) viewed communication as a ritual symbolic process of transmission, which produces, repairs, transforms and maintains reality. Culture has certain attributes such as a collective shared experience, requiring symbolic expressionism; a pattern, setting and order from which deviance to the norm can be measured. It possesses a dynamic continuity. All these attributes are expressed via communication. O'Connor & Downing (1995:4-5) stress that we communicate with each other inside cultural codes. Indeed, our very self-understandings are tenuous outside the societies and cultures in which they are embedded. Ideology, as a systematic set of ideas, overlaps culture (ibid.18). Culture is determined by prescribed values and goals that manifest themselves in materialistic and non-materialistic forms – for example, mode of address, and modes of dress. Modes of address are affected by culture and involve inbuilt assumptions about the audience, such as that the ideal viewer is male. Other cultural categories include class, gender and ethnicity. Thus we communicate our social identities through our employment; our accent and levels of articulation, our clothing, our hairstyles, our possessions, and so forth.

6.1.3 – Picturing culture, Identity and Identification.

For Schere (1990) we picture cultures, making it essential to pay particular attention to belongings, artefacts and to clothing because they convey a message – conformity, rebelliousness, gender differences and moral judgement. However, the practice of visual semiotics transcends the descriptive. Words describe, whilst pictures illustrate and illuminate. Pictorial significations permeate many qualitative works but are often not chosen for presentation. Culture is a condition which contributes towards a state of being, an ongoing process which requires to be reproduced. Culture is part of a wider ideological discourse, a set of often contrasting and competing values shared by a collective group which encourages the growth of familiarity and homophily (the tendency of people to associate with others similar to themselves) which assists in the social construction of being and belonging, because we prefer what is familiar to us. For McPherson *et al* (2001) homophily as an organizing principle of social interaction of childhood friendships is a well-established principle, and for Aldrich *et al* (2002:4) homophilic characteristics include social identities, ascribed characteristics like gender, ethnic background, race, or age and internal states such as values, beliefs, or norms.

Cultural practices produce cultural artefacts engendering a sense of belonging. Indeed, culture is also the method by which particular cultural identification groups encode and impose meaning upon cultural artefacts. Of importance to culture are archetypal binary oppositions or dichotomous constructs such as

good versus evil, white versus black. This links culture with identity and semiotics. For Barthes (1983:29) decoding depends closely upon one's culture, knowledge of the world, and ethical and ideological stances. Barthes (1983:36) argues that our perceptual and cultural messages are transmitted simultaneously via institutionally accepted codes. Erikson (1969:184) argues that specific cultures affect collective behaviour, historical memory and mythology which all impinge upon collective identity. To locate culture one must study people, things (texts and artefacts), and human practices. The ability to recognize peer group membership, by visual probing, is essential to avoid frustrated communication. Dominant cultural values shape the creation of identity. Porterfield and Tarbert (1954) refer to cultural material traits consisting of modified objects in common use and Burns (2000) refers to 'culturally ingrained artefacts'. Cultural artefacts are important because they are socially constructed and enable identification between the individuals and a wider society. Certain artefacts become embedded in particular enterprise cultures. Culture thus provides the backcloth against which entrepreneurs perform and enact the socially recognised regenerative script that is entrepreneurship. Indeed, culture allows us to make sense of particular actions, performed in a particular sequence or setting and enables us to attribute them entrepreneurial status.

6.1.4 – Enterprise cultures and the creation of value.

Culturally, entrepreneurship is characterised by informality and chaos. For Mintzberg (1979) enterprising cultures are identifiable by their simplicity which facilitates ease of communication. Enterprise cultures are biased towards action, initiative and risk taking, and focus upon core activities, allowing employees a considerable degree latitude. They are non-linear, non-hierarchical allowing the entrepreneur to interject directly at any level of the enterprise. They are anti bureaucratic with chains of command being rarely encouraged. It is within enterprise culture that entrepreneurial actions and behaviours are often enacted. Dodd & Anderson (2001) refer to a broad bundle of ideas and ideologies known as the enterprise culture. Enterprise cultures are important social constructions. Hjorth (2001:201) argues that North-American culture focuses upon heroism and the individual as a hero. Another vibrant example was the British Enterprise Culture, of the 1980's which led to a warming of perception to the value of the entrepreneur in society per-se and the elevation of the image of the entrepreneur. This was not always the case as noted by Marwick (1996:107) who stresses that traditionally the "Conservatives ... showed little interest in the small businessman, offering little encouragement to true private enterprise". Paradoxically the enterprise culture emerged in an era of Conservative ascendancy. This changed before the 1982 election when Margaret Thatcher pledged a restoration of Victorian values and thereafter, "each successive Conservative Victory brought into Parliament more successful entrepreneurs" (ibid.326). Yet, the establishment regarded these entrepreneurs as being "flash, lower class manipulators of money" (ibid.456). Golding & Middleton (1982:109) note that in 1977 the shopkeeper-entrepreneur re-emerged as a new cultural hero. Hjorth (2001:68) discusses this credo-enterprise culture as a mix of Thatcherism, small business values, class consciousness and a desire for upward social mobility. Roddick (2000:40) discusses how entrepreneurship reached cult status in the 1980's and became absolutely de rigour in the 1990's. Hendry (2004) interpreted the rise of enterprise culture as part of a more general historical shift in the balance between dominant cultural elements in society, namely the market and the hierarchy. Freire (1970:73-75) argues that cultures are also associated with particular epochs characterized by a complex of ideas, concepts, hopes, doubts and values presented as concrete representations encouraging the development of generative themes, which compete with dialectically antithetical themes to form a thematic universe or cosmology. These

themes unfold in narrative formats, which invoke actions. This is important because enterprise cultures are generative mechanisms, which inform and influence the social expected constructions and induce a positive climate / state of mind. This reiterates the importance of values.

Particular forms of enterprise cultures can induce negative values. For example, enterprise cultures can also blur the relationship between entrepreneurship and crime as asserted by Marwick (1996:141) who argues that from the 1960's onwards "much of the villainy of the time was cold and calculated, and carried out with the ruthlessness of a business operation". But for Marwick the increase in crime was a return to Victorianism rather than a move away from it. Villainy became fashionable. Burns (2000: 348) discusses the occurrence of entrepreneurial crime in the culture of immigrant ethnic communities and argues that it is influenced by historical experiences that alter their perceptions and expectations. They recognize that they differ from the norm, possessing traits and ethnic markers that differentiate them. Being subjected to stereotyping, they learn to emphasize these differences, often adopting a "less energetic, less materialistic" outlook than the dominant national culture. Numerous criminological theories, which address culture, namely cultural conflict; cultural deviance; strain and sub-cultural theories also impinge upon entrepreneurship. Bourgois (1995:11) for example, argues that Puerto Ricans are culturally predisposed towards the entrepreneurial ideal attributing this to their natural "opportunist mentality". Bourgois (1995:16) illustrates this by discussing the novel "La Vida" by Oscar Lewis, which he argues resonates with "Protestant Work Ethic notions of rugged individualism and personal responsibility". Thus the power of the enterprise culture pervades other areas of social life fostering a climate conducive to the realisation of the entrepreneurial dream at an individual and collective level. Also, enterprise cultures provide a collective focus by enabling the perpetuation of valued personal traits and social attributes. This necessitates consideration of habitus.

6.1.5 - Considering habitus.

Bourdieu's (1977) concept of habitus offers a means of understanding how communal engagement in day to day practices and other institutionalised activities operate to embody the interacting dynamics of class, gender and culture. Humans acquire a mastery of their social world through their immersion in it (Bourdieu, 1977). Habitus refers to the embodied sensibility that makes possible structured action and improvisation. Furthermore, it relates to internalized dispositions, inclinations and perceptual schemes which an individual learns from their environment and upbringing. Habitus thus structures social action through the embodied dispositions and inclinations embedded within it. The concept of habitus is important because it relates to where one would expect to encounter the entrepreneur. This entails researching the links between the social location and geography. Although individualism is the dominant entrepreneurial orientation, associated with selfishness, collective forms of entrepreneurship exist (Lounsbury, 1998). Schumpeter (1949) appreciated the existence of such forms. Johannisson & Nilsson (1989) refer to community entrepreneurship and Mourdoukoutas (1999a) researched collective entrepreneurship, defining entrepreneurial collectives as communities sharing a common fate. Entrepreneurial status can also be applied to specific geographic areas, and to companies, as well as to people. For example, Gummesson (1997) considers Gnosjo (an area) as being an expression "of successful and competitive entrepreneurship". Entrepreneurial companies can be a tangible manifestation of an entrepreneurial ego, memorials to the founder - a shrine to their enterprising nature. Wansell (1988:163) notes that these are fashioned in the image of their founders. Also, the same formulaic narrative that is used to build up the persona of the entrepreneur as an individual, can be

used to build up, or vilify the company. Kirby (2003:259) notes that to achieve credibility heirs to an entrepreneurial company must possess the legitimacy of having gained experience through external employment plus enter the company at a low level thus providing evidence of the socially constructed nature of public attitude in that such heirs must conform to expected narrative conventions about entrepreneur stories. Consideration of entrepreneurship as a community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991:98) is worthwhile as it embeds it within a set of relations among persons, activity and the world, over time. Both Wenger (1998) and Warren (2003) make the point that developing a practice requires the formation of a community (however loosely defined) whose members can engage with one another, acknowledging and legitimising each other as participants. Wenger (1998:149) discusses the importance of identity in this process, and the negotiation (and re-negotiation) of identities within a community of practice. In seeking to locate the entrepreneur it is helpful to consider entrepreneurial communities and milieus.

Entrepreneurial Communities and milieus: Diamond (1970) and Robertson (1980) both articulate the role of entrepreneurial communities, which emerged in the late 1800s early 1900s in small town America. Within such 'small towns' small businesses formed mutual networks of assistance. The concepts of entrepreneurial community and milieu are important because these magnifying entrepreneurial values and are places where entrepreneurial activity occurs and networking takes place. Class can be considered from a geographic perspective, particularly place for example, Wilson (1991:12) refers to the "ghetto poor", whilst Thompson (1983) discusses the notions of community and moral economies, considering community to be a sociological variable and morally valued way of life. Indeed, Bulmar (1975:20) suggests working class communities, bred their own "codes, myths, heroes and social standards". These areas can magnifying ideals embedded within them thereby perpetuating a sense of belonging.

Such communities are specific milieus. The community is the structure, whereas the milieu is the environment (but also part social system) in which the entrepreneurial operate and compete in. Entrepreneurs exist in a particular milieu, part social, part business, part criminal populated by competing clientele. For example, Yates (1991) describes one such milieu as being inhabited by owners, small manufactures, traders, hustlers, dealmakers, hangers on, pretenders, dreamers, part-timers, has-beens, dilettantes, dealers, hustlers, promoters, charlatans, phonies and romantics. All are important social actors who like the entrepreneur may have bought into the ideologies of capitalism and success. Interestingly, Velamuri *et al* (2000) in considering population ecology suggested that entrepreneurs are clever manipulators of their environments but are also at their mercy as both product and creator of environment. Also, Shaver & Scott (1990) discuss the concept of Entrepreneurial Climates, which form in particular geographic milieus and social strata. They foster a climate more conducive to practicing entrepreneurship than other areas. These areas can become synonymous with entrepreneurship (for example Silicon Valley). Casson's Demand and Supply Theory of entrepreneurs, mirrors that of Baumol (1990) articulating that in any given environment there are a finite number of entrepreneurs who can emerge from the social structure. Heidensohn (1989:35) remarks that "cities are not merely places, they are symbols and metaphors, states of mind and styles of life" raising the possibility of entrepreneurial cities. Also, Deakins (1996:15) discusses dependency culture as a restrictor of the supply of entrepreneurs in any given community, stressing that a counter balance to this is "latent entrepreneurial propensity". Thus entrepreneurial values and qualities can attach to place. This section is important because communities and milieus are enabling - embedding mechanisms for actions and values.

6.2 – CONSIDERING THE ROLE OF CHILDHOOD.

It is in childhood we begin to learn our culture and take the nature of reality for granted. Huizinga (1950) studied the play element of culture, arguing that the essence of life is Homo Ludens the playing man / boy. Johannison (1985) also discusses the child-like aspects of the entrepreneur emphasizing the importance of play. Thus the essence of entrepreneurship may be youthfulness of spirit. Soros (1998:78) notes that one generation's success in achieving material wealth imbues its children with the luxury of rejecting the work ethic. This is significant because it emphasises the importance of values both to childhood socialisation and the entrepreneurial construct in that the achievement of wealth appears to reduce the necessity to ascribe to certain social values. Values are produced and consumed and require to be replenished. Chell (1985:44) appreciates the influence of formative years on the entrepreneurial construct. It is in childhood we absorb cultural values and where our narrative understanding begins. For example, nursery rhymes and fairy tales are universally understandable building blocks (Opie & Opie, 1992). They invoke imagination, and are therefore well suited to convey the power of entrepreneurship, which is often criticised as being simply too good to be true. Yet, fairytale is a medium through which to explain entrepreneurship, presenting material in a taken for granted manner. Subconsciously, we extract more from a story than may be intended being socially programmed to look for the moral of a story (Smith & Anderson, 2002). It is essential to develop an understanding of the influence of storytelling and childhood upon value creation.

6.2.1 – Establishing the influence of storytelling and childhood upon value creation.

This section looks at the link between childhood and storytelling, which is important because storytelling is a mechanism for sharing cultural values, and it is in childhood that we begin to learn the life long process of storytelling. Children are thus socialised into storytelling, listening and absorbing lessons. Indeed, Erikson (1969:143) talks of homogenous cultures into which children are socialised. This socialisation has a moral purpose because it trains us how to become good, productive citizens. Erikson (1969:13) argued that social research pays scant attention to the influence of childhood socialisation on morality. Also, in a constructionist vein Erikson (1969:155-61) refers to composite personality pictures formed in childhood and accentuated and shaped by restricted geographic radius. These establish individualised "world image" and milieus with each homogenous culture having their own world image or folkways and mental maps (ibid.103). Mental maps (Gould & White, 1974) are useful conceptual tool which help us understand the entrepreneurial construct. These concepts are important because children are seldom socialised into entrepreneurship and therefore their mental map of what constitutes entrepreneurship may be undeveloped. Mental mapping also fits in with the exploratory, constructivist nature of this thesis.

It is in childhood that we first learn about heroes and villains via stories. Culture and childhood both play a significant part in the influence of storytelling ability. In childhood (if one is lucky) one serves an apprenticeship as a reader of books and a teller of stories, becoming proficient with a genre of storytelling mechanisms, such as nursery rhymes, fairy tales, picture books, and adventure stories. Childhood is one of society's most hallowed institutions, a magical time of stories when we begin to invent our futures, a time of comic book heroes and Boys Own adventure stories. It is the beginning of the constructivist process that is life, when we learn to fashion our own stories. We metaphorically try these stories on for size and learn to craft and construct them to conform to reality (truth) or fantasy (lies) dependent upon the moral climate of

childhood socialisation. Notwithstanding this, many childhood stories are populated with enterprising characters often portrayed as animals in the best traditions of fable and folklore. These include - Peter Rabbit who goes out to get food from Mr. McGregor's garden, Dorothy who has to recover the broomstick of the wicked witch of the west, even the brute resolve of "The Little Engine that Could" just trying to get over the hill, chanting his mantra--"I think I can, I think I can"--over and over. For instance, Dick Whittington the poor boy who went to London and made good, or Humpty Dumpty who had a great fall (a portentous story warning of the dangers of hubris) and so on. Rockwell (1974:23) confirms the didactic nature of literature in childhood socialization and in particular the story of the Little Red Hen which is a prototype of the character traits and activities associated with the Protestant Work Ethic as in issues of self-reliance, hard work, the maintenance of good humour through all rebuffs, practicality, and self-interest (a model of individualistic bourgeois behaviour). Rockwell considers these to be exemplary tales, songs and proverbs in which the actors teach us a lesson through a statement / enactment of desirable / undesirable conduct impressing whole codes of conduct us. The stories work at an implicit taken for granted level.

The work of Piaget (1953) shaped our understanding of the thought processes of children by highlighting that in their search for reason children frequently ask questions related to causality and justification. This is important in relation to the entrepreneurial ideal, because children, as a matter of course may not encounter it during their formative years - important "why" questions may never be asked. The influence of storytelling upon future entrepreneurial propensity is difficult to measure. Yet traditionally the gender bias in storytelling was palpable with boys being raised on a diet of action and adventure stories emphasising stoicism, masculine virtues and heroism. Indeed, Kindlon & Thompson (1999:239) note the male trait to fabricate wild stories, warning of the need to read between the lines of boy's stories for hidden meanings (ibid:92). Piaget (1954) also researched the construction of reality in children, noting the importance of storytelling.

Nutbrown (1994:99) quoting Bahti (1988) narrates that - "Story telling is an important part of many cultures and a way of passing on the history of the people". Storytelling tradition is important to Native Americans, and is used to pass down tribal tales to future generations to propagate patterns, repetition and information intended to equip the listener with guidance for life. It is also symbolic for example the Pueblo Indians have clay models of the "Story-tellers" who are depicted with their mouths open and with children on their knees, at their feet, looking over their shoulder. According to Nutbrown, storytellers are revered in society. Nutbrown (1994:11-22) discusses the role of schema's -"repeatable patterns of behaviour, speech, representation and thought", in the education and socialization of children. Stories are an important means of expanding the intellect of children and emphasises the quality of the message (ibid:92-94). Such traditional stories arose from real-life experiences that the listener could relate to bringing their own experiences to the story and those of the storytellers (ibid:98-99).

Certain storytelling conventions are shaped from childhood. Clark (1997:64-6) notes a prevailing ethos in children's books of over protectiveness. We develop - a liking for clichéd happy-endings (ibid.:67); a dislike of being patronised (Eyre, 1991:39); a love of the literary genre of fantasy, and the different, simpler kind of truth that fantasy offers (Eyre, 1991:11-12) but we also learn to associate the best plots in stories with risk and danger (ibid.65). We gravitate towards different genres of children's stories including fairy tales, picture books and imaginative adventure stories. These are important because folk-tales, fairy stories, fantasies, allegories, myths and legends combine to produce escapism and foster a sense reassurance in children, forming a chain of continuity amongst and across generations which influences perceptions beginning the lifelong process of social constructionism.

Over time, storytelling has become associated with literacy and books, but as Clark (1997:55) notes, it predates books. Eyre (1991:63-79) argues that books succeed via a combination of verisimilitude, readability, particularly if written with integrity and combined with a message of social and educational significance. Leland (1998:47) attributes a dual rationality behind our compulsion to read. 1) The influence of dominant ideology upon social construction; 2) they feed an innate artistic desire within us. For Leland literatures sanctify dominant cultures, speak some truths, and exemplify profound realities. Storytelling and books develop acquisitiveness and a questioning attitude central to an entrepreneurial spirit. Storytelling emanates from the oral tradition. Barthes (1988:74) talks of the attribute of an orator or airs, expressive qualities, and also of the concept *arête*. Thus storytelling is a valued commodity in societies and the possession of the ability to tell stories can be a useful social capital. Stories are a two way process and mental nourishment (Nutbrown, 1994:111). Stories help children's minds to grow and develop and as such are part of the process of social construction. Leland (1998:8-12) highlights the repetitive patterned nature of human storytelling with many stories being variations on a recurring pattern or theme. Indeed, we prefer familiar stories born of countless childhood renditions. Story patterns are often socially proscribed and constructed from specific literatures (ibid.45). We turn to consider the age-ideal paradox.

6.2.2 – How the age-ideal paradox effects the uptake of entrepreneurial motive.

Kirby (2003:38-39) argues that traditionally males make up significantly greater proportion of the self-employed. Kirby, citing an Ernst & Young survey noted that the average age of entrepreneurs in Britain is 45. A research document entitled 'fear of flying' commissioned by The Abbey National Bank suggested that the average new entrepreneur is statistically likely to be a 39 year old male from a professional or managerial background. According to Kirby (2003:390) self-employment becomes increasingly attractive nearer middle age. Other studies by Welter (2002); Aidis (2002) corroborate this. Also, Deakins (1996:53) remarks that the 30-45 year old age group appears to be the optimum launch window for the entrepreneur. This is at variance with the hype of the 'twenty something entrepreneur'. Exposure to the entrepreneurial paradigm usually occurs in early to mid adulthood. In the intervening period, between teenage years to mid adulthood, career choices and lifestyles are formed and patterns of behaviour and thought materialise that are hard to break. This may be natural as certain types of entrepreneurship may be an artefact of wisdom and experience and accumulated social capital. Indeed, Leland (1998:40) attributes the elderly as having "accumulated a wealth of tales and wisdom". Nevertheless, the myth of the entrepreneurial childhood prodigy figure remains powerful. It may be a cultural phenomenon because Ballard & Kalra (1994) demonstrate that a significant demographic feature of ethnic minority entrepreneurship is the considerably younger age profile. Barkham *et al* (1994) identified the age at which an entrepreneur starts a business as being important and that the younger this occurs then the more likely a company will develop into a growth firm. Yet the romanticism and mythology lingers in the form of the child prodigy. Research into youth entrepreneurship is expanding (Manusco, 1977; Stevens, 1997; Roberts & Tholen, 1998; Gutner, 1994; and Uslay *et al* 2002. Yet the 'age-ideal paradox' remains a recurring entrepreneurial dilemma. Entrepreneurship may be associated with the spirit of youthfulness but it is often not practiced until the onset of maturity.

Uslay *et al* (2002:2) researched the influence of having a childhood business upon future entrepreneurial behaviour, noting childhood behaviours are linked to future life activities. Stevens (1997) regards children to be "natural born entrepreneurs" and Mansuco (1977) observes that the stereotype of the child entrepreneur has historical veracity. Law (1994:75) refers to the "mini-entrepreneur" and Gutner (1994) to "Junior

Entrepreneurs'. Gutner found that 25% of kindergarten children displayed entrepreneurial propensity, but by the time they reached High School only 3% possessed these qualities. This is indicative of entrepreneurship being socialised out of children. Uslay *et al* (2002:9) conclude that nearly 60% of the entrepreneurs in their sample had a childhood business and that firstborn are unlikely to become entrepreneurs. Thus birth ordering may affect one's future entrepreneurial propensity. Weckwerth (1978) researched the link between birth order and children's abilities, concluding firstborn were often authoritarian, whereas second born were more informal. Traditionally, firstborn sons were the legal inheritor and other siblings had to be adventurous by making-good but there is evidence that first born do pursue an entrepreneurial path. These examples illustrate how social practices condition expected social constructions, as does the role of education.

6.3 – EXPLORING THE ROLE OF FAMILY.

This section highlights the importance of families to entrepreneurship and to the ongoing process of social constructionism. Family units are important constructionist building blocks and breeding ground for entrepreneurial proclivity. Bourdieu (1996:19) regards families as sets of "related individuals linked either by alliance (marriage) or filiation, or, less commonly, by adoption (legal relationship), and living under the same roof (cohabitation)". To Bourdieu, definitions and words associated with it, such as house, home, household, while seeming to describe social reality construct it. Families are a realised category, a collective principle of construction of collective reality. These socially constructed fictions are collectively recognised at a hidden, more or less universally accepted level (Bourdieu, 1996:21). Families exist in our heads through a process of socialisation in a world itself organised according to family structures. For Bourdieu, family is a social structuring device rooted in the objectivity of such structures and the subjectivity of objectively orchestrated mental constructions, a matrix of countless representations and actions. This near perfect match between the subjective and objective provides the foundation for an experience of the world as self-evident thus Bourdieu noted intergenerational aspects of family as a site of social as well as biological reproduction. Families are also a supportive institution in which values are embedded. Families are significant in an entrepreneurial context, because they permit the accumulation and transmission of capital (in all its senses social, financial and cultural) across generations. Bourdieu argued that families generate economic, symbolic and social capital. In family businesses the symbolic capital (the name) and social capital (the collective familial business experience) are of vital importance to members of the domestic unit. Bourdieu (1996:24) discusses the transmission and management of economic heritage warning that simple positivistic recording contributes to the construction of the social reality implied in the word family and whilst pretending to describe, it prescribes a mode of existence – family life. For Wetherell (1997:309) families create a web of meaning. Marwick (1996:61) argues that, "social assumptions, moral attitudes, and everyday behaviour are first learned at home". For Claster (1992:131) family units offer youths "encouragement to follow the straight and narrow path...of moral rectitude and obedience to the law" and for Kirby (2003:55) entrepreneurship "tends to pervade family life". Families are a repository of individual enterprise, a mechanism for propagating and perpetuating the values upon which enterprise thrives.

6.3.1 – Appreciating the significance of the entrepreneurial family In the recreation of value.

The entrepreneurial family plays a significant part in the genesis of the entrepreneurial spirit but the concept of the entrepreneurial family is not synonymous with the concept of the entrepreneur's family *per se*. It relates to productive, enterprising families, irrespective of the status of the parents. Cooper & Dunkleburg

(1987), Duchesneau & Gartner (1988), Scherer *et al* (1991), Aldrich *et al* (1997), Delmar & Gunnarsson (2000) and Aldrich & Cliff (2003) have all examined the link between family background and entrepreneurial propensity and the affect of having a self employed parent on starting a business. Children raised in an entrepreneurial family are more prone to display entrepreneurial propensity than those who are not. This is in keeping with the notion of the family influence repertoire advocated by Wetherell (1997:259) which relates to the familial influence upon career choice. It holds that if one's parents or close relatives are engaged in a particular occupation then a sibling may well follow suite. Anderson & Miller (2003:17-8) explore how entrepreneurial family background impacts on the development of social and human capital resources, finding that entrepreneurs from humble socio-economic family origins appeared to have limited human and social capital assets. Much of the material in relation to entrepreneurial families is found in the small business literature under business families (Leach, 1991). Research by Scherer *et al* (1989) demonstrated that the presence of an entrepreneurial parent resulted in an increased expectancy of a child pursuing an entrepreneurial career. The parent provides a positive role model, which influences the child via social learning theory and by providing an insight into networking mechanism, which turn perception into reality. Further research by Schindehutte *et al* (2001) into female entrepreneurs and their children in entrepreneurial families looked at implications for family life, career aspirations and entrepreneurial perceptions. Aldrich, *et al* (1997) documented the effects of passing on privilege that self employed parents imbue their children with, whilst Delmar & Gunnarsson (2000) found that self-employed parents of nascent entrepreneurs contribute to the entrepreneurial proclivity of their children. Aldrich & Cliff (2003) argue that families play a pervasive part in the formation of entrepreneurial propensity and that entrepreneurship is embedded within business families at a tacit level where children learn from the experience of other family members. Also, Katz (2004:233) remarks that he "grew up around parents who were business and civic entrepreneurs, which is to say that I grew up in a world of stories". Indeed, Katz likens life amongst entrepreneurs as being a storybook sort of life in which compelling narratives resonate with one's emotions. For Katz, being weaned on such entrepreneurial narrative both inspired and enlightened him and he talks of enabling one to move from telling a story to living it.

Stanley (2000: 172) emphasises the influence of a stable family upbringing in the future success of the self-made. The majority of his self-made millionaire respondents were long-term happily married - for their personal qualities, not their net worth. The self-made are frugal and run productive households, shopping at Wall Mart; have their shoes repaired rather than buy new; place a high degree of value on attending their children's school events and extra curricular sporting activities; attend church together and generally make time for their family issues (*ibid.*266). Again, the theme of value is predominant in this section demonstrating the importance of families in the social constructionist process. However, the literature on entrepreneurial success skims the surface with little being written about entrepreneurial families or the emergence of second and third generation entrepreneurs and dynasties. This may result from the hero-mongering associated with the heroic first generation entrepreneur and the association of entrepreneurship with nascence and individuality. Notwithstanding this, Osborne (1991) and Venkatapathy (1996) talk of second generation entrepreneurs, and Bourdieu of "cultural capital" being socialised within families. Bourdieu discusses how these influence the development of particular styles, modes of representation, use of language, social etiquette, confidence, self-assurance. Accumulation is a social process of becoming. The dynastic model of entrepreneurship considers inter-generational aspects. Anderson & Miller (2003:32) found that an examination of relevant sociological literature indicated persons from lower socio economic family

backgrounds and their subsequent poor educational development hindered their development of human and social capitals, contrary to entrepreneurial myth that poor boys make good. This argument is similar to the habitus argument expounded by Bourdieu. For Anderson & Miller (2003:34) the "social position one is born into strongly influences the opportunities they have to develop human and social capital in the family, school, and later on in the workplace". They concluded that class matters in entrepreneurial endeavours.

The question of whether entrepreneurial propensity is transmittable across generations as a social capital is an interesting one. Sarachek (In Casson 1990:442-446) categorised entrepreneurs by the nature of their childhood father-son relationship. His categories were - Father Dead; Father-Separation; Father Inadequate; Father Rejecting; Supportive Fathers; Special Cases – ambivalent or neutral fathers or mentorial brothers or mothers. Sarachek found that approximately 50% of entrepreneurs experienced a disadvantaged childhood, whereas an equal amount had supportive fathers. In examining the latter category, the fathers were invariably self-employed or businessmen themselves. The fathers of disadvantaged entrepreneurs were primarily economically marginalised manual labourers. Forty two percent of the entrepreneurs had experienced poverty in childhood. Sarachek discusses the influence of supportive fathers on the emerging entrepreneurial son. The fathers supported their sons emotionally, fostering an interest in the development of their character and business abilities, allowing them room for failure whilst striving for excellence. They were strong authority figures projecting images of competence and strength.

Evidence of the power of entrepreneurial families can be found in writings on the Quakers. Walvin (1997:39) argues that women formed part of the Quaker active community and were encouraged (in a patriarchal – parochial manner) to become educated. Many became schoolteachers. Quaker women had few outlets for their energies, although a few pioneering Quaker women like Hetty Green became entrepreneurs (ibid.100). The Quakers established their own system of schooling which fostered / perpetuated this love of learning. The lessons taught included book keeping. As a result Quaker children were encouraged to read from an early age. This system did not end with schooling. Quakers adopted a mentoring / apprenticeship system (cordon sanitaire) or industrial paternalism whereby the sons and daughters of less successful friends were educated into the practice of business in loco parentis by a family who had achieved success (ibid.49-50). Quakers placed value on the family and the establishment of Quaker dynastic lines (ibid:72). This demonstrates the importance of families in reproducing social values.

Notwithstanding this, Kets de Vries (1977:35) notes a darker side to childhood – for example, that many of the stories told to him, relating to the rise and fall of the entrepreneurs have familiar heroic themes concerning childhood experiences - "We are usually introduced to a person with an unhappy family background, an individual who feels displaced and seems a misfit in his particular environment. We are also faced with a loner, isolated and rather remote from even his closet relatives. This type of person gives the impression of a reject, a marginal man, a perception certainly not lessened by his often conflicting relationships with family members. The environment is perceived as hostile and turbulent, populated by individuals yearning for control, with the need to structure his activities. Failure is expected and success is often perceived as a prelude for failure". He continues, "The childhood of many of them (entrepreneurs) is portrayed as a very disturbing experience. Discussions with entrepreneurs are often filled with images of endured hardships. Desertions, death, neglect and poverty are themes, which continue to be brought up in conversations with entrepreneurs. And in these conversations facts and fantasies about hardship intertwine and become indistinguishable"(ibid.45). The inference drawn is that such experiences build character and

make the adherence to values important. The importance of storytelling to entrepreneurship is developed in later chapters. Stories are an important building block in the social construction of entrepreneurship.

6.3.2 – Recognising entrepreneurial dynasties as an alternative entrepreneurial narrative.

Acknowledging the existence of entrepreneurial dynasties runs contrary to accepted entrepreneurial mythology. This broadly holds that the entrepreneur is a first generation person who makes good by their own efforts. Thus we are unable to produce much empirical evidence of the importance of the influence of the entrepreneurial family in propagating and perpetuating entrepreneurial narrative. Hoy & Verser (1994:19) discuss the concept of "Interpreneurship" or the intergenerational entrepreneurship leading to transformation. Hamilton (forthcoming) refers to the complex, dynamic interplay between the different generations in a family, and between the individuals and the businesses they are running. Ram & Holiday (1993) in "keeping it in the family" discuss the influence of familial culture on the perpetuation of business. The founding story of the Guinness family illustrates familial entrepreneurialism in action. It is a legendary entrepreneurial dynasty, producing first, second, third, and fourth generation entrepreneurs. Wilson (1998:301) highlights their entrepreneurial flair as people who grasp their opportunities. See storybox 3.

STORYBOX 3 – THE GUINNESS ENTREPRENEURIAL DYNASTY.

Source – Wilson (1998).

The founder of the Guinness entrepreneurial dynasty, Richard Guinness fits the classic profile of the first generation entrepreneur, being of modest beginnings - homeless 'Protestant Anglo-Irish' underclass descent. Yet the industrious Richard was of privileged status in comparison to Catholic counterparts. He gained employment with the Rev' Arthur Price and rose to become a land agent at the sharp end of English v Catholic oppression. Price moved amongst the privileged circles in Irish Society and Richard rose with his patron fathering six children of whom Arthur was born in 1725. Richard acquired a modest parcel of land and legend has it he brewed the dark distinctive beer. Despite his social mobility Richard was no entrepreneur – it was his sons Arthur, Benjamin and Samuel whose sound business instincts were entrepreneurial. It was Richard's life work, which set sons on an entrepreneurial trajectory in the new entrepreneurial age. On Price's death in 1752 Richard and Arthur both received stipends of £100 (the proverbial Millionaires dime). Richard bought an Inn but the enterprising Arthur consolidated his existing businesses. Arthur the opportunist acquired more land and a lease on a brewery, a flourmill and Hibernian Insurance company. Beer made the family fortunes / empire. The Guinness family joined the mercantile community on the back of Arthur's mercantile athleticism. The Guinness family, have produced several generations of entrepreneurs who unlike many other entrepreneurial Irish did not have to seek their fortunes overseas.

Of interest are family histories, family trees, family genealogies and dynastic tales as forms of dynastic capital upon which family's trade. These narratives form a significant part of our personal constructs. Who we are and where we came from is important to us. They expand the life story of the individual as embedded in a wider context of the family unit and its socio-economic relations to society, communities and posterity. They are part of our heritage and form a mental legacy recounted as anecdotes. Sarachek (In Casson, 1990:439) considers "family aggrandisement" as a motivator for businessmen aspiring to belong to the business elite. Entrepreneurs are shaped by their heritage, upbringing, and attitudes and family names and ambitions are part of this process. Casson (2000) argues that entrepreneurship is only one form of social advancement and that inter-marriage into entrepreneurial families is another option. Beaumont (2002) refers to the judicious marriage as an entrepreneurial strategy and Walvin, (1997) the inter-marriage. Levin (1993:82) argues that within family structures each person experiences a unique experience which can be mapped. Mapping entrepreneurial propensity across generations is appealing. Life stories, family histories, and dynastic tales are frequently encountered in biography, autobiography, family journals, chronicles, and in history books. Steyaert & Bouwen (1997) refer to "great family stories" as a distinct category of

entrepreneurial stories. It is helpful to map familial influence in producing cross generational entrepreneurship to demonstrate the role families play in the re-production of social values.

6.3.3 – Acknowledging the role of familial mentor figures in instilling values.

Entrepreneurial influences within individual families can be passed down to future generations from grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, and even from extended family members via the mechanisms of emotional kinship and mentoring. Anecdotal evidence suggests that such figures may not be the heroic entrepreneurial figurehead but a background figure such as a mother or grandmother who perpetuates familial ideology via stories with a purpose. Hamilton (2001) argues that support networks, family and domestic partners impact significantly upon both the development of the entrepreneur and small firms. Sarachek (in Casson 1990:453) examined the sponsor-protégé relationship citing the works of Warner & Abegglen (1955) and Collins & Moore (1964) stressing that successful businessmen often encounter an influential mentor – non father figure who shaped their careers. The sponsors provided advice, personal influence, business contacts, material, loans, jobs, apprenticeships, partnerships, provision of formal education and so forth. In contrasting this section with the next, one begins to appreciate the power of entrepreneurship as a social force for the greater good.

6.3.4 – Learning positive lessons from the existence of criminal families.

Crime is viewed as being anti-entrepreneurial, there being a perception that it flourishes in dysfunctional family units, particularly in working class families. Chapman (1968:93) refers to this as the “thesis of proletarian criminality”. Crime plays an important part in the creation and perpetuation of such dysfunctional families. Yet, criminal families breed an alternative form of entrepreneurial behaviour. Links between entrepreneurship and criminality are formed in childhood. In relation to criminogenic families, Harrison (1983:330) stresses that criminal records are often hereditary to the third or fourth generation. Yet, entrepreneurship is an integral part of criminal culture. Entrepreneurs can and do emerge from criminal families. Chapman (1968:167-9) considered the nature of crime and its relation to morals, the moral order, and viewed criminal behaviour as a failure of socialisation. Nevertheless, Geis in Wells (1992) remarks that people are intrigued and respectful of wealth and often harbour a secret admiration for the successful middle class offender (such as entrepreneurs) who beat the system.

6.3.5 – Recognising family business as an institution for generating entrepreneurial proclivity.

This section explores the literature of family business as a channel for entrepreneurial activity. Entrepreneurial narrative can be invoked at the margins. Family business is located at the margins of entrepreneurship. Parallels exist between both literatures, in that family business like the entrepreneur is eulogised. They share a similar mythology, yet family business has developed a distinctive literature of its own. One thus may have to distinguish between myth and reality. In the family business literature misconceptions and myth-conceptions abound. The most serious being that family businesses are non-entrepreneurial, yet, both relate to the creation of value. These common links exist because many small business researchers are also entrepreneurship researchers. From a review of the literature on family business, namely - Ben-Porath (1980), Becker (1991), Kets de Vries (1992), Levin (1993), Rose (1993), Church (1993), Chami (1998), Storey (1994), Hamilton (2001), and Casson (1991) (1995) (2000) an interesting picture emerges. Both literatures form part of a wider management literature with the family

business narrative being a continuation of entrepreneurial narrative. They are overlapping literatures (Hoy & Verser, 1994; Brockhaus, 1994; and Baines & Wheelock, 1999). Hamilton (Forthcoming) argues that the evolution of family business research has much in common with early research in entrepreneurship arguing that it suffers the same problem of definition and shares the same foundations. For Brockhaus (1994) the history of entrepreneurship research offers lessons for family business researchers including a lack of common definition and the difficulties of locating participants for field studies. Johannisson & Huse (2000) summarise family business literature suggesting there is little concern for differentiating between entrepreneurship and management or for the constructive tensions between business and family perspectives. They question the Schumpeterian image of the entrepreneur as a builder of an empire for future generations arguing that an entrepreneur over their lifetime may run several firms in parallel and/or sequentially (ibid:354). Family businesses permit the practice of inter / intra-generational entrepreneurship.

Family business is a medium through which much entrepreneurial activity is channelled and from which future corporations are spawned. Over time, the family firm became associated with inefficient forms of industrial development. In the literature, its demise has been commonly predicted and many are what Fournier (1996:22) describes as "scathing about the entrepreneurial and managerial skill of the owners of family firms". Baines & Wheelock (1997:1) consider families important but under researched in the small business sector acknowledging powerful relationships between the family and the business. Gibb & Handler (1994:80) discuss various nexus points between entrepreneurship and family business, including - early experiences in the entrepreneur's family of origin; family involvement and support in early start-up; employment of family members in the new venture and the involvement of family members in ownership and management and entrepreneurial succession. Goffee (1996) argues that ownership and control in family business is an under researched area positing three main typologies of business owners – entrepreneurial (market orientated); paternal (socially responsible); and family-custodial (manage an inheritance). Carsrud (1994:40) introduced the notion of the family business as an "emotional kinship group"- focusing upon on emotional connections not merely genetic ones. For Gartner (1990) one of the most important common themes between entrepreneurship and family business is the creation of value. Indeed, values are important in relation to entrepreneurial character and personal and business values can be fostered in a familial environment. Familial experience predates entrepreneurial ideology and narratives generated from "idealised notions of the entrepreneur and the professional manager" (Fournier, 1996:23).

Perhaps the value of family business to entrepreneurship is that it engenders the spirit of contradiction, opposition and tension prevalent in entrepreneurship. Moreover, familial narrative portrays familial heroism and family business is a breeding ground for future entrepreneurs providing them with the necessary experience and social capital to succeed, encouraging the spirit of insubordination necessary for the production of entrepreneurial flair. Fournier (1996) refers to the domestic imperative inherent in family business as inferior to scientific management. Thus entrepreneurship and family business accommodate flexibility and diversity, but family business blurs the separation of market and home (Fletcher, 2000). Family business often shapes individual entrepreneurs (Ram, 1994). Ram identified that both he and his family were products of their history in the clothing trade. This section continues our appreciation of the social reproduction of entrepreneurial values and how they are embedded in familial structures. In families entrepreneurial values are propagated and enterprise cultures are created. Also, families and family business provide a natural setting for the propagation of entrepreneur stories. We now consider education.

6.4 – APPRECIATING THE ROLE OF EDUCATION.

The education system is an important social institution. Beaumont (2002) highlights the myth that most great men in business are men of limited education - so much so, that the story of the entrepreneur has become associated with the notion of overcoming difficulties, including educational and communicational deficits. Over time, a myth has developed that the prototypical entrepreneur is of poor, humble extraction and is either uneducated or self-educated. It is a powerful story, which in contemporary Britain is now only partially true. Historically, in biographies and novels it has some veracity. For those who are denied a decent education it can become a passion later in life. The relationship between entrepreneurial ability and educational ability remains contradictory, despite the myth of the self-educated entrepreneur. The modern entrepreneur is often both credentialised and may be a trained professional prior to embarking upon an entrepreneurial career path. Welter (2002) argues that in Germany, the educational profile of the entrepreneur is now that of one possessing a University Degree and/or doctorate. Reid (1989:294) noted the relationship between social class and credentialism - the higher the class the higher the percentage of persons with a qualification. Conversely, Casson (1982:356) recognises the role of education in entrepreneurial advancement, but argues that it can be a disadvantage, destroying individuality. Educational profiles influence entrepreneurial proclivity as does the phenomenon of overcoming educational difficulties.

6.4.1 – Examining how educational profiles influence entrepreneurial proclivity.

Kindlon & Thompson (1999:51) argue that there is a history of great men who were notable misfits at school. Nevertheless, boys are subjected to a litany of harsh judgmental descriptors, including wilful, misbehaved and morally deficient (ibid:45). Attitudes to life are formed in childhood. A common feature of entrepreneurial success stories is the Put Down storyline. For instance, Clark (1977:9) notes that the entrepreneur Thomas Edison suffered from this and was told that he "would never make a success of anything". Likewise, Sir Richard Branson tells a similar tale that spurred him to future success (Branson, 2000).

Stanley (2000:59) researched education and intelligence in relation to the creation of entrepreneurial propensity stating that the "halo that surrounds smart people often blinds us". For Stanley many entrepreneurs flout the cherished myth of High IQ = Success. Indeed, Stanley (2000:74) describes his self-made millionaires as "street smart" and refers to these self-made millionaire entrepreneurs as his 900 Club (equating to a low intelligence score). Stanley notes that many had to overcome childhood adversity related to the work ethic thus building character, such as starting work early in life; carrying out many different jobs studying in between jobs. Collectively this forms the Hard Luck Story. Stanley argues a self-deprecating streak ensures that they remain aware of their imperfections. Nevertheless, many entrepreneurs of apparently lower intelligence employ considerable numbers of high IQ people and those who struggle in life have to accentuate the qualities and characteristics they possess by hiring themselves. There is a difference between entrepreneurial origin and the legitimised millionaire entrepreneur because, as a class, millionaires value education, with 90% being college graduates and 52% possessing advanced degrees (ibid.:9). Although Stanley's research was conducted in the U.S it is applicable in a British context. Another common theme in entrepreneur stories linked to education is overcoming communicational barriers.

6.4.2 – Narrating a character building story of overcoming communicational barriers.

As will be argued in chapter eight, struggling and overcoming communicational barriers are common themes found in entrepreneurial narratives. Consequentially, this section examines the under researched link

between entrepreneurship and communicational difficulties. These are important elements in the social construction of the entrepreneur. Consideration of this phenomenon is not new. For example, the PhD study of Logan (2001) examined the incidence of dyslexia in the entrepreneurial population and the influence of dyslexia on success. There are several barriers to effective communication, which contribute towards our understanding of this storyline. These include dyslexia⁴, ADD, ADHD and other learning difficulties entailing rectification by means of speech therapy. ADD (Ability to focus) v ADHD (inability to focus). They are barriers to effective communication commonly erected in childhood. One such barrier that features predominantly in the entrepreneurial narrative is that of dyslexia which plays an important part in the formation of entrepreneurial folklore and mythology. Examples of famous entrepreneurs with dyslexia are Sir Richard Branson, Alan Sugar and Kjell Inge Rokke.

Dyslexia can be an advantage because dyslexics often have exceptional skills and insights denied to others having excellent spatial ability (Hornsby, 1984:122). This heightened level of spatial advantage can manifest itself as a skill or gift at recognizing patterns a factor in creative ability and entrepreneurial propensity. Dyslexics possess the traits of "persistence, accuracy and speed at visual tasks" (ibid.119). Pollock & Walter (1994:1/158) dispel the myth that dyslexia is associated with laziness and (1994:22) also articulate a belief that street-wise dyslexic children, in later life gravitate towards business acumen. Rawson (1968) researched the careers of dyslexic boys of middle class professional backgrounds in Maryland and found that 13% became business executives and 7% eventually owned or managed their own business. The link between learning difficulties, literacy and reading is a fruitful one. Hornsby (1984:14) stresses that poor urban communities have a number of connected factors that make learning difficult and in particular the lack in interest in literacy and books, their unavailability and the inability of parents to read - compounding dyslexia problems. Pollock & Walter (1994:107) note dyslexics may have difficulty in following written stories and also that reading and spelling utilize different neural pathways, as does the recognition of symbols (ibid:39/44). Dyslexics therefore develop a propensity towards pictographic as opposed to ideographic intelligence. Dyslexia specialists advocate the use of storytelling as a confidence building method, because oral repetition improves general communicational and social skills. Dyslexia affects self-confidence and dyslexics are often characterized (like entrepreneurs) as loners. Thus we can see a convergence between entrepreneurial narrative and the dyslexia discourse.

6.5 – DECIPHERING THE ROLE OF RELIGION.

Religion has played a major role in shaping of the entrepreneurial construct. The history of enterprise was born of the spirit of protest and non-conformism, whether secular or religious, against discrimination and marginality. Indeed. DiMaggio (1998:455) refers to a culture of enterprise defined by the pulpit and the lectern and for Rockwell (1974:26) religion embodies transcendental values. Lewis (1961:148) highlights the complex interaction between religion and morality with the former adding sanction to the latter. For Bricklin (2001) his entrepreneurial propensity stemmed from his religious beliefs. Jeremy (1990) explored the link

⁴ The word Dyslexia is derived from Greek and means difficulty (dys) with words (lexis). It entails difficulty in learning to read, write, spelling, expressing thoughts on paper, and difficulty with word association. An appreciation of overcoming communicational difficulties resulted in the submission of a book chapter (Smith (2005) detailing research locating over sixty examples of dyslexic entrepreneurs, C.E.O's and Inventors, suggesting there may be socio-biological credence to prodigy stories.

between Christianity and Capitalism and the religious affiliations of business leaders; whilst Bradley (1987) examined evangelical entrepreneurs. Fanfani (1935) researched the link between Catholicism, Protestantism and Capitalism, and Green (1959) further researched the issue of Protestantism and Capitalism thereby providing a solid foundation for accepting the link between religion and entrepreneurial propensity. Entrepreneurship is steeped in the rhetoric of religion with Feagin (1972b) remarking that God helps those who help themselves. Hood (1996:153-4) discusses prevalence of persons from religious minorities amongst the ranks of the entrepreneurial, recognising that "Past immigrants, recent immigrants, racial minorities, religious minorities, and many others have sought and obtained in the market place what they did not have and could not achieve through other types of activity such as politics or social activism".

Research into this linkage continues with the works of Dodd & Scott (1994) Drakopoulou (1995); Drakopoulou-Dodd & Seaman (1995); Drakopoulou-Dodd & Dibben (1996); Drakopoulou-Dodd, & Seaman (1998); and Anderson, Drakopoulou-Dodd & Scott (1998). The main thrust of these articles is to explore the significance of religion on the formation of the entrepreneurial ethos. Religion appears to be of significance in instilling a work ethic and elevating the importance of values. Religion plays a significant part in the development of values, the benefits of which can accrue and influence business behaviours. Being religious does not make one entrepreneurial but for Drakopoulou-Dodd & Seaman (1998:73) it "provides its adherents with a set of principles by which to live". Mountjoy (1978:277) narrates that popular journals conveyed a simple message "The road to riches of fictional and biographical heroes begin when they break their pipes, renounce the cup, wash or read the bible. Hard and humble work – not politics and jealousy are the key". Mumby-Croft & Hackley (1997:90-3) point out the significance of religion in shaping the entrepreneurial ethos in referring to the notion of the hard workingman achieving reward in heaven. It is the guiding principle of non-conformist churches. Indeed, religious non-conformism is linked to entrepreneurial activity. Religion encourages conformity of behaviour and actions. Indeed, Erikson (1969:244-5) refers to the social process of shaming. Thus religion has its own mechanisms of behavioural enforcement. This is important because many religious movements begin life as outcast groups who flaunt an accentuated defiant shamelessness. In direct opposition to this, dominant ideology dictates that in-groups retort with the social process of self-righteousness feeling justified in engaging in persistent moralistic surveillance. Religion shapes and influences the social construction of those who adhere to its tenets thereby influencing accepted behavioural patterns and accepted world-views. Thus religion permits the social processes of engaging, enabling, enacting and embedding, which are central to the constructivist process. Notwithstanding this, Gregg & Preece (1999:vii) argue that many religious people view entrepreneurship with suspicion as being inherently unethical. To explore these issues we consider the influence of religious sects in shaping the entrepreneurial construct. The most widely known of these is Weber's Protestant Work Ethic. Although the examples of Puritans and Mennonites are examples of taken from an American context they are helpful examples of how religion impacts on enterprise, which are well enough known to still be a potential component of modern UK perceptions. The same applies to the Old Believer example.

6.5.1 - The Protestant Work Ethic.

In early Christian societies work was seen in a negative light as something best avoided (Grint, 1991:117). However, in time it has become associated with the Protestant Work Ethic. Casson (1990:xxxii) argues that the genesis of entrepreneurship as a driving force in modern industrialisation can be traced back to the appearance of individualism in Western Europe with secular individualism being perceived as liberating

acquisitiveness and greed thus removing traditional taboos associated with indulgence. It also motivated effort by permitting gratification through consumption as a reward as a form of crude hedonism. As a result of Weberian influence this driving force is strongly associated with those of the Protestant faith with its many sects which evolved from a spirit of protest against establishment, and the accepted order, which at that time was synonymous with Catholicism. Giddens (1990:xiii) refers to such ascetic sects as Lutherans, Puritans, Calvinists, Methodists, Pietists, and Baptists and Weber (1990) to Mennonites and Quakers. Weber (1990:93) highlights the practical ethics of ascetic branches of Protestantism and regarded Calvinism as a moral energy which drove their entrepreneurs (Giddens, 1990:xiv). Weber (1990:43 quoting Gothein) referred to the Calvinistic Diaspora as being a seedbed of the capitalist economy. Redekop *et al* (1996) conducted research into a Mennonite entrepreneurial community examining how "Mennonite entrepreneurs" come to reconcile their religious beliefs with the economic opportunities of the modern era. They argue that Mennonite successes in the business world are the result of skilful adaptation of the sect's "communal ethic". Instead of abandoning their faith, entrepreneurial Mennonites formed an individualistic work ethic allowing them to remain committed to their orthodox faith. The research was based on 100 interviews with Mennonite entrepreneurs and demonstrates that for them, their life is characterised by conflicts and tensions. They present a picture of a successful entrepreneurial society. Mennonites have adopted the iconology of the BMW and not of austerity as one would associate with popular notions of stereo typicality.

The most influential theory relating to the influence of religion on the entrepreneurial spirit was Weber's seminal work on the Protestant Work Ethic (PWE). Weber's notion has become embedded in culture and has inspired numerous studies, for example Hudson (1960), Mirels & Garnett (1971), Furnham (1990) and Giorgi & Marsh (1990). Hudson concurred with Weber that it was Calvinist teachings on individualism and this-worldliness which were crucial for the development of the modern Capitalist spirit. Mirels & Garnett researched the PWE as a personality variable, Furnham as a psychological belief and Giorgi & Marsh as a cultural phenomenon. Indeed, the PWE is a collectivised behavioural trait. According to Parsons (1968:511), Weber saw the spirit of capitalism as a "state of mind", a set of mental attitudes directed towards economic activities. This is important because being, becoming and belonging are all mental states shaped by the antecedent relationship between religious affiliation and occupational groupings. In Germany, Weber identified a tendency for those of the Protestant faith to outnumber the Catholics in business ownership, and achievement in higher education. Parsons (1968:513-4) stresses that Weber's spirit of capitalism strongly endorses (moral) acquisitive activities as being both a necessary evil and an ethically enjoyable activity in its own right. Erikson (1969:351) refers to "Protestant Morality". In contrast, Parsons (1968:574) discusses Weber's conception of Asiatic acquisitive impulse whereby wealth is achieved by means of deception.

Weber rested his theory primarily upon Calvinism and its general ascetic suspicion of the rich and mighty, and a collective fear of self-indulgence (Parsons, 1968:519-526). The enterprising Calvinist turned towards solid, honest business practices. Weber believed that interests, not ideas determined the conduct of men. This development of a spirit of conspicuous self-righteousness, led to the lawful attainment of success (ibid.527-9). Parsons argues that the ethical element, as distinct to hedonistic want satisfaction, is essential to the spirit of free enterprise. For Parsons, good works began to be interpreted as a sign of grace with the righteous being identified as the elect and the sinners as the damned. Parsons (1968:550) outlines the universality of the Western capitalist ethic whereby one has a duty of honesty, trust and fair treatment towards all others. In a similar vein, Rockwell (1974:111) discusses Protestant ethic virtues and vices suggesting that virtues practiced become social graces. Rockwell (1974:124) lists anti-Protestant ethic

norms as being disinclination to work; particularly manual labour; disinclination towards business; and an obligation towards hospitality. Weber (1990:148) refers to the "Gift of Gods Grace". This is consistent with the classic storyline of the "fall from grace" (a combination of religious ideology and the classic myth of the Icarian tale). For Weber (1990:80/96) this entailed the fulfilment of obligations and the practice of moral conduct. It was the duty of every person to nurture their own charismatic state of grace. Thus the religious drive is self-directed and work is not the cause of the state of grace, but the means by which one attains it (ibid.153). Weber recognised that the predeterminism of Lutheran and Calvinist theology, where the elect were pre-ordained to salvation and their outward behaviour (including work) was a sign of that election, not a cause of it. Indeed, wasting time was a deadly sin (ibid.157) but philanthropy was regarded as a necessary prerequisite to the attainment of grace. Weber (1990:79) appreciated the importance of the Lutheran concept of the calling – a task set by God to be central to the gift of grace. Nevertheless, Weber (1990:111) accepted the notion of imperfect grace. The PWE is a model for moral bookkeeping.

Parsons (1968:528-529) discusses the influence of Carver's "Workbench philosophy" and Veblen's "Spirit of Workmanship" that is work conducted with pride for its own sake. Parsons documents Veblen's deprecation of hedonism, his elevation of the spirit of workmanship, along with the doctrine of predetermination, which effectively absolved successful businessman from the necessity of guilt because the poor were so because of their idleness. Associated notions include parsimony, thrift and a compulsion to save stemming from the Calvinist ascetic (Parsons, 1968:527). These characteristics are habitualised behaviours regarded as stable traits and notions of hard work pervade entrepreneurship, at an ideological and personal level. Indeed, Weber wrote of the morality and honesty of work (Parsons, 1968:515). Work ethics can be personified thus Wilson (1998:10) labels Arthur Guinness as a "living advertisement for the Protestant work ethic". Parsons (1968:505-6) stresses that Weber was careful to distinguish capitalist acquisitiveness from greed and the psychological instinct of acquisition, regarding capitalist acquisition to be a rational, disciplined pursuit of gain in a continuous enterprise. Weber (1990:51-57) refers to philosophy of avarice and the *auri sacra fames* (the greed for gold). However, Giddens (1990:xiii) stresses that the accumulation of wealth was morally sanctioned if combined with a sober industrious career. Wealth was only condemned if employed to support a life of idle luxury or self-indulgence. Indeed Weber (1990:57) refers to "ruthless acquisition, bound to no ethical norms whatsoever. Like war and piracy, trade has often been unrestrained in its relations with foreigners and those outside the group" and refers to this as a double ethic.

Entrepreneurship is also influenced by the doctrine of sin (Giddens, 1990:xiii) and in particular the Calvinistic notion of the elect and the damned as enshrined in the sanctity between church and state. This is discernable in the construction of the poor as rooted in sin. Golding & Middleton (1982:6) note that behind the public perception of the poor lies centuries of experience and imagery associated with "Gods Poor and the Devils". Thus Puritan influence posited idleness with the mark of the sinner with lack of work being equated with lack of effort and poverty was seen as morally culpable with the lack of a job being associated with a slackness of moral fibre (ibid:11-&15). It is a moral and psychological exhortation to work. It is surprising that the entrepreneur has become eulogised, because Golding & Middleton (1982:189) point out that the average person consider riches to accrue by luck and good fortune, not by dint of personal initiative. Entrepreneurial success highlights the scroungers immorality and also highlights the relatedness of social constructs. Weber (1990:52) echoed the morality of Franklin, quoting the value of virtues such as "Honesty is useful, because it assures credit, so are punctuality, industry, and frugality". For medieval society, religion was the seedbed of morality and a template for instilling values and attitudes necessary for survival.

Morality, values and ethics are often equated with legality. Indeed, Weber (1990:53) emphasized the necessity of legality inherent within the Calvinistic ethic, whilst Giddens (1990:xvi) considers the Calvinistic ethic as a drive to mastery. Thus, it is everyone's duty to master their environment. The PWE resonates with the terminology moral entrepreneurship. Weber (1990:165-75) discusses Old Testament Morality and the ethical foundation of the new entrepreneurs. Giddens (1990:xiii) notes that rational capitalist entrepreneurs combine the impulse to accumulate capital with a positively frugal lifestyle, whilst Golding & Middleton (1982:28) argue the pathology of the poor is a secularized version of the Calvinistic work ethic. This section demonstrates that there are historical, moral and ethical underpinnings deeply embedded within particular cultures whose actions and values became directed towards the practice of entrepreneurship. The fruits of success in turn provided them with the means to greater independence and thus supported their core beliefs. Entrepreneurship became a core element of their belief system as the spirit of enterprise fused with religious doctrine to influence the social construct of the entrepreneur. It is well nigh impossible to determine one from the other in the form of traits, values, qualities and behaviours. However, it is helpful to regard the PWE as a collective system of behaviours, beliefs and values consistent with moral entrepreneurship. Paradoxically, Furnham *et al* (1993) argue that the PWE is stronger, in parts of the non-Christian developing world than in its traditional locus. Other religious groupings, such as the Puritans and Quakers also practiced this collective, systematic, socially approved method of operating.

6.5.2 - The Puritan Ethic.

Hudson (1949) conducted a comparative study of "Puritanism and the Spirit of Capitalism" based on Webers thesis and concluded that the Puritan ethic mirrored that of the Weberian PWE. Indeed, the Puritan ethic pervades the entrepreneurial ethos and has influenced and shaped the very character of many who became regarded as entrepreneurs in their communities. Indeed, Weber (1990:166) articulated its role in shaping the formalistic hard character peculiar to the men of the heroic age of capitalism. Erikson (1969:205) illustrates this point when he wrote that in "Puritan times and places" the notion of fun was always connoted with that of sin and the man of business developed a stereotype of severity. Morality, and values are inherent in the Puritan way of life, for example, Parsons (1968:526-7) discusses its advocacy of "doing a good job". Like those of the Calvinist faith many Puritans became businessmen famed for their "Puritan commercial morality" (Rockwell, 1974:99). For Kellner (1995:331) the Puritan savings ethic promoted a system of delayed gratification. Thus we can see that the Puritans (like the Calvinists) operated a methodological system of value creation. Indeed their social categories of the chosen versus the unchosen mirrors those of the Calvinistic elect and damned. This developing pattern is visible in the Quaker ethic lending credence to the notion of entrepreneurship as being a behavioural system which benefits from moral practices.

6.5.3 - The Quaker Ethic.

The Quaker ethic and their rise to prosperity have become conflated with the entrepreneurial ideal. Kirby (1984), Weber (1990), Ekelund & Herbert (1992), Rose (1993), Casson (2000) and Walvin (1997) all emphasise value as being a common theme in Quaker entrepreneurship which offers a powerful model of enterprise as a communal practice which benefits society as opposed to the selfish individualism usually associated with entrepreneurship. Walvin, (1997:106) describes the Quakers as entrepreneurial. For Walvin (1997:120) Quaker culture emerges from a nexus of personal and social circumstances creating an enterprise culture as an alternative model of socio-economic order. Quaker success is attributable to the

self-policing nature of their society. Casson (2000:99) argues that Calvinist and Quakers rejected traditional authority adopting a questioning mentality.

The Quaker religion became part of a cosmogenic success story shaped by values and traits which influenced how they practiced entrepreneurship *per se*. Quakers were possessed of attributes such as affinity, frugality, self-help, hard work and financial prudence (Walvin, 1997:208) and diligence, enterprise, vigour, exertion, vigilance, and perseverance cultivated as facets of ingrained character as if absorbed into the bloodstream of the children (Clarke, 1979:35). Casson (2000:97) suggests it is no coincidence that Quaker dynasties were successful in bringing the Industrial revolution to Britain because their attitudes were conducive to business and their self-exclusion from society magnified those attitudes. Their driving force can be attributed to a strong collective spirit of individualism. Frugal and industrious they operated as a closed society or sect imbued with a missionary zeal organised on solid bedrocks of intellectual and organisational foundation that shaped their distinctive culture, tactics, and ideology. Like other outsider groups they were initially mocked until society learned to harness their dissident abilities, talents, initiative and strength (Walvin, 1997:23). They flourished because of their single mindedness and the replication of a values system, which bred personal values and forbade immodesty, cozening, cheating, lying, dishonesty, idleness, and puffery, idolatry of rank, bad company and other personal weaknesses and foibles. Quakers repeatedly warned their brethren against the love of fame thus Quaker entrepreneurs were socialised against the entrepreneurial sin of hubris (ibid:148). A high value was placed on reading, writing, education and a system of apprenticeship and Quaker upbringings involved frugality combined with business activity (ibid:114-5). The maxim to which they aspired was to be simple, austere, above reproach and to project a reputation for "honesty and plain dealing" (ibid:31-4). They were schooled into a system of Quaker ethics and values.

At the height of their industrial power in the 18th century the religious elements, practiced on a daily basis provided a moral underpinning to their business activities. An individual religious doctrine combined with a consistency of the behaviours, actions and values made them entrepreneurial. Quaker society operated on a system of patronage and Walvin (1997:16) documents the role of local patronage with regular meetings to coordinate business at local, regional and national level. These established patterns of mutual self-help evolved into a Quaker business theology (ibid.3-4). The phenomenal success of Quaker dynasties resulted from their extensive use of their Diasporic networks of likeminded associates held together by family ties, faith and mutual trust where a welcome and hospitality were extended. In these vital support mechanisms wives, sisters, and daughters constituted an available workforce adding their individual contributions and personal values to the collective social system of values which promoted the Quaker Way (ibid:79-102). The Quaker Diaspora replicated a system of values and encouraged the expansion of Quakerism.

This regenerated a proven *modus operandi*, which encouraged and enabled Quakers to engage and enact others in a manner conducive to prosperity. The systemic personal and business orientated values became embedded in the social fabric of becoming, being and belonging. Yet, the ideal type of Quaker entrepreneur was not the proverbial poor-boy-made-good because Quaker business magnates were generally shopkeepers, craftsman-gentlemen of middle class, bourgeoisie extraction (Walvin, 1997:30-32). Being of the middle ranks they possessed the necessary social capital (time, opportunity and social skills) that poorer friends lacked. Although such entrepreneurs could not claim to the poor-boy myth of rising from the bowels of society they invoked the humbleness storyline. Walvin (1997:109) stresses that some Quaker

entrepreneurs rose up through the system from humble stock and rural margins. This demonstrates that even within a system that sustains entrepreneurial values and propensity, familiar social patterns persist.

The self-perpetuating Quaker value system nurtured robust and honest men of business but no social system can be hermetically sealed. Insiders and outsiders require each other to survive and Walvin argues that many Quaker businessmen faced difficulties dealing with outsiders of a less scrupulous morality. Thus Walvin (1997:76) makes reference to avoidance, fraud, smuggling and deception as being a way of life in 17th century Britain. To combat this, the Quakers established a disciplinary system with the ultimate punishment of expulsion and banishment. However the prevailing ethos was to help transgressors back to the path of righteousness. Quaker sins included, gambling, neglecting one's affairs, drinking and keeping ill company. A key theme was that of indebtedness – the Quaker nightmare of commercial failure and public shaming (ibid.55-6). This fear of bankruptcy was also the nightmare of the bourgeoisie classes threatening unlimited personal liability and imprisonment (ibid.74). The presence of a moral framework encourages the effective practice of entrepreneurship and shows that what constitutes entrepreneurship in a given community is influenced by social constructionism.

The Quaker spirit was fed by the availability of books and their active encouragement of biographies and missives such as "Good Works", "Epistles, Queries and Advices" which acted as guiding rules. Their biographies were censored to comply with the tenets of their ideology-propaganda (ibid.207-11). The Quakers wrote their own version of social reality. Indeed, Walvin (1997:45) stresses they were avid record keepers, keeping family histories, genealogies, statistics on birth deaths and marriages, private letters, diaries, as well as minutes of local, regional and national business meetings. They cherished the written word and encouraged children to become avid readers nurturing a love of the printed word – a useful tool in business in an age of mass illiteracy (ibid:46-8). They wrote their own books, espousing their own values. Quakers formed an attachment to the Quaker story (ibid.50). Quaker books instilled discipline, conduct and morality providing an ideal method of engagement with the embedded moral messages, enabling those who bought into its ideology to re-enact traditional behavioural patterns and accepted social scripts (ibid:74). Yet, Quakers were disliked for truth telling, plain speaking and ethical exhortations (ibid.124).

Quaker millionaires often emerged from the margins of British life but were different from other tycoons being individualists edged towards success by personal, religious and secular factors and because they saw their businesses transferred in their own lifetime (ibid.117/176/180). Quakers were often cast in the role of the selfless saintly character anxious to do his best for fellow men as men of imagination and unimpeachable business ethics. Nevertheless, Quaker commercial success contained the seeds of its own destruction (ibid.116-119). A Quaker truism argued that the third generation of wealth swept the grandchildren away from the society (ibid.193). Nonetheless, the religious elements embedded in their everyday practices lent a framework of moral support to their entrepreneurial activities, a template of habituated actions guiding their practices, ensuring that when the initial phase of religious fervor waned their basic *modus operandi* remained intact. Similar combinations of embedded socio-religious interactions are discernable in the story of the Russian Old Believers.

6.5.4 - The Russian Old Believers.

The influence of religion upon the formation of the ascetic character and entrepreneurial propensity is not solely a Weberian construct. Pipes (1974:221-245) discusses the influence of the Russian Orthodox Church

in shaping entrepreneurial propensity. The basic doctrinal element of Orthodoxy is the creed of "resignation" or a retreat from secular life whereby earthly life is an abomination which encourages "humility and a dread of hubris" (ibid.222). Like Catholicism, it is a religion of extreme other worldliness, with fewer guiding principles. This fear of hubris is a major reason why Russia did not develop in a similar manner to other capitalist countries that had a healthier attitude (ibid.266). Protest against the Orthodox religion led to the formation of fanatical sects such as The Old Believers who spurned Orthodox theological doctrine turning to "commerce and industry of which they became extremely adept", enjoying a "reputation as the most honest businessmen in Russia" (ibid.236-8). Old-Believers considered themselves to be the chosen people but because they have no priests cannot be legally married and live in a continual state of penance. Their prevailing ethos is that one cannot block change, but must manage it gracefully. West & Petrov (2004) include Old Believers in the "Vanished Bourgeoisie" of Merchant Moscow. Rakov (2004:12) suggests that the number of Old-Believer Merchant Families in Moscow in the 1850's was over 1,000. In Moscow, these families became successful entrepreneurs. To succeed they were forced to adopt the bourgeoisie semiotic code of business suits instead of traditional garments and by the third generation they had accepted the social norms of their peer group and adopted the tuxedo. Secular culture squeezed out religious culture and the coming of the Russian revolution and the Communist epoch caused the Russian bourgeoisie to vanish from popular perception. This demonstrates that social constructions can be altered by socio-historical happenings. These prototypical bourgeoisie merchant entrepreneurs were perhaps arguably not typical of the orthodox Old Believers as a genre because the latter clung to their traditional values and semiotic system of meanings, wearing their distinctive clothing and gathering in remote isolated areas.

According to Rakov (2004) and Gerschenkron (1970:18) the significance of the phenomenon has yet to make a serious impact due to a lack of academic research. Gerschenkron (1970) devoted forty pages to their contribution to emerging Russian capitalism but concluded that it was marginality that was the driving force, not their peculiar form of faith. Despite the contribution of Blackwell (1965), Crummey (1970), Gershenkron (1970), and Pipes (1974) in detailing their contribution no one had attempted to conduct empirical research. Rakov (2004) used confession data from archives in the Merchant Guild to analyse the dynamics of Russian Old-Believer entrepreneurship in the textile trade between 1843 and 1890. Rakov's data revealed that 14.8% of Russian Merchants in Moscow in 1857 were of the Old-Believer faith thus substantiating their role in industry. Rakov (2004:4-15) argues that their comparative advantage was caused by their rootedness in cultural and social norms, or eschatological beliefs, or a Christian teaching relating to special attitudes, stateless cultures, worldly asceticism, hard work, thriftiness, trust, literacy, charitable works and strong community ties. Such beliefs require a particular set of historical conditions in which to thrive (ibid.5). Hayami (1998) argues that the evolution of economic systems is influenced by socio-cultural norms (as standards of conduct and belief) and in particular by small innovative homogenous sub-groups. Families were an integral part of the belief system and were organised into recognised clans where faith, trust and loyalty were encouraged. Indeed, heterogeneity was strength, keeping the faithful within the fold (ibid.24). Many successful Old-believer entrepreneurs considered themselves peasants. Rakov (2004:25) illustrates this with a cameo study of Petr Egrovich Bugrov who became a millionaire, but "never changed his character", wore old clothes, and ate frugally and always travelled third class. This is evidence of the importance of character. The roots of their faith emerged in the period of persecution in the 16th century when thousands burned themselves alive rather than submit to Orthodoxy. Many fled persecution to Alaska, Brazil, Siberia and Lithuania where they were practiced their non-conformist beliefs. Their insistence on

about forty religious public holidays a year brought them into conflict with industrial employers making self-employment a practical solution. They dominated occupations such as farming, fishing and spinning where they could dictate their own work terms and soon developed a reputation for being entrepreneurial. It is significant that they wrote and codified their own books of religious instructions or sacred texts - beautifully illuminated texts that their ancestors took into the wilderness. These codified texts acted as a repository for their beliefs and as a mechanism for regenerating them across the generations. This section demonstrates a link between religion and marginality thesis because it is often in areas of high poverty and marginality that unorthodox religious sects flourish. It is difficult to separate aspects of religion or philosophical doctrine from other elements of the social fabric and from marginality.

6.5.5 - The Jewish Faith.

This section illustrates the point made in section 6.5.4 above that religious affiliation can lead to persecution and dispersal to the margins of society, making it extremely difficult to disentangle religious doctrine from social inequalities and discrimination and the marginalisation process. The Jews are a fabled, persecuted entrepreneurial people / outsider group who prosper wherever they settle. Interestingly, Berger (1963:153) attributes this to their rebellious constructions of the mind. Yet, like Quakers and Russian Old Believers, the Jews are a cohesive, yet also nomadic social group who prefer to operate within their own value system and gather together in ghettos or enclaves wherever they are dispersed. In these socio-economic enclaves families and family businesses take pride of place. Indeed, the power of the Jewish Business Diaspora is a well-established social phenomenon and the body of literature that accrues to it has yet to be incorporated into entrepreneurial studies. It relates to merchant and entrepreneurial dynasties. Those of the Jewish faith do not as a rule fully assimilate into their host cultures maintaining their own distinctive culture, traditions and cherished cultural values. Jewishness pervades their social identities. As a rule they do not seek secondary identities (such as the entrepreneur). Orthodox Jews appear to orientate themselves towards an almost ideal typical imagery concentrating embedded values and imagery. Indeed, Berger (1963:120) notes that the Jew in an anti Semitic milieu must struggle hard not to become more and more like the anti Semitic stereotype. For Weber (1990:166) the Jews operated in a system of "pariah capitalism" becoming an essential but often despised facet of their economic system. Jewish entrepreneurs share with other ethnic entrepreneurial cultures a concentration of faith and values situated within family units and supported by an enabling religious-moral structure. It may be this concentration of values, which influences entrepreneurial propensity and not religion *per se*. The vast majority of Jews despite their entrepreneurial propensity did not escape the social scourge of discrimination embedded in the social consciousness of their host countries.

6.5.6 - Catholicism.

Weber viewed Catholicism as being a retarding, anti-entrepreneurial practice (Giddens, 1990:xx). There is little evidence in the literature that Catholic countries have a tradition of producing entrepreneurs. Exceptions to this are France and Italy who have strong traditions of anti-clericalism (Ray, 2004). In addition, the Industrial North of Italy has a strong Protestant element. In Catholic countries, the entrepreneur is not projected as a socially revered role model. Yet, Giddens (1990:xxiii) postulates that pre Medieval Catholicism had elements favourable to the capitalistic spirit. An underlying element is that in Catholic countries the entrepreneurial spirit appears to be directed towards adventurism and the entrepreneur treated

with suspicion (Parsons, 1968:517). Indeed, Weber (1990:43) argues that the Spaniards knew that heresy promoted trade. The guiding ethos of Catholicism is that the spiritual guidance directs one to become other worldly and not overly concerned about daily matters such as business.

Nevertheless, in France and Italy there is a strong tradition of adherence to family values and an open admiration for the cultural phenomenon of the Peasant made-good. This emphasis is also discernable in the work of Martinez & Dorfman (2004) who examined Mexican empresario's using ethnographic methods. The concept of the empresario covers both entrepreneurs and managers. According to Martinez & Dorfman (2004:3-7) Catholic Mexicans value their families highly and place value on characteristics such as trust, imagination, enthusiasm, quality of production, tolerance, flexibility, harmony and solidarity, which also spans personal relationships. Their study evidenced the importance of behaviours, values and attitudes to empresarios. In conjunction with family values the "artesanal" tradition is very strong. Amongst their findings was an appreciation that the Empresario creates a system of values supported by rhetoric and symbols. Indeed, Martinez & Dorfman (2004:10) describe the formation of a new model, a "la cultura empresarial" in which Mexican values are infused into management practices. Thus it appears that the socially constructed nature of what constitutes entrepreneurship is culturally defined and open to change.

Religion acts as a method of instruction, a methodology for living, espousing and magnifying the basic human values. Indeed, Wilson (1984) links religion to the spirit of rebellion and outsider groups in particular. For Wilson (1984:31) the outsider is a passionate, obsessive individual. Religious undertones pervade entrepreneurial narrative which possesses a religious foundation evident in the construct and its iconography. Indeed, for Smith and Anderson (2001) the entrepreneur is a halo word; and for Steayart & Bouwen (1997) entrepreneurial narratives can be hagiographic. Barthes (1988:56) refers to the *imago virtutis* or heroic portrait, which accompanies hagiographic narrative. Fontana (1993:130) discusses the concept of the Mandorla, (a halo or nimbus that surrounds the whole body). Weber (1990) argued that many great capitalistic entrepreneurs such as Cecil Rhodes were the product of the families of clergymen. This has been used as a storyline in novels such as "Born with the Century" by Kinsolving (1979). What is of great significance is that the Puritans, the Quakers, The Old Believers all lived by strict, codified beliefs and they placed great emphasis upon propagating and perpetuating this ethos through books and learning. Sreberny-Mohammadi (1995:33) argues that literacy rates were high amongst Puritan settlers in America. The Puritan Goodly books were an alternative form of media, linked to the marginal voice. Such books acted as magnifying loci for cherished values encouraging their reproduction, whilst embedding the religious spirit and core values in their societies. In time, these concentrated values became infused into entrepreneurial ethos. In such tight knit communities values are fostered and magnified creating the correct ethical climate in which genuine business thrives. Lewis (1961:208) discusses the magical quality of books, and the notion that they possess a potency of their own, particularly if very old / authoritative. Lewis cites the Islamic Koran and the Bible as classical examples. Religious influences have thus shaped the construct and its vocabulary has become steeped in religious reverence making it a revered sacred script. According to Cornwall & Naughton (nd:6) religious entrepreneurs have "a unique opportunity to...build their own morals and values into their businesses." This is evidence of the socially constructed nature of entrepreneurship.

In addition, entrepreneurship is channelled through many loose societal mechanisms, which influence the construct. These include family, community, social Institutions, fraternal orders (such as Free Masonry)

and business-men's clubs. Casson (2000:85) emphasizes that traditionally, local entrepreneurs met at church, on town councils, boards of local charities, and through various other channels, which facilitate business communication. These structures have a cumulative influence because they engender conformity and permit the channelling of entrepreneurial ideology. It is also within such structures that local or geographic entrepreneurial elite's develop, shaping communal entrepreneurial activities and actions. Also, Packard (1961:179) studied the importance of businessmen's and private clubs and lodges on the success of the individual, noting that a blackball system was often operated to exclude the unwanted. This led to the creation of other segregated clubs to accommodate the blackballed. Thus again we encounter marginality. One is minded of the tradition of the Amish Mennonites noted by Berger (1963:88), who practiced the social process of shunning. When one considers that often the same individuals who dominated the religious community, also dominated the lodge and patronised other exclusive business networks such as the Rotary, The Round Table and private clubs (Golf Clubs) then one can appreciate the accumulative power of Protestant hegemony in a locale. Vold (1958:253-4) highlighted the propensity for business leaders and corporate executives to hold positions of civic power and be active in community affairs. In these spheres their personal and private values obviously held credence. Morality unites all the sections in this chapter.

6.6 – THE ROLE OF MORALITY.

So far we have discussed the role of cultural institutions such as childhood, family, and religion upon the creation of value. What these institutions have in common is that they guide our actions in a particular direction by perpetuating morality. Actions can be considered moral, regular, appropriate, legal, and thus legitimate, or alternatively immoral, irregular, inappropriate or illegal. In the preceding chapters the influence of morality has gradually emerged as being of importance. Morality is the doctrine or practice of moral duties and incorporates codes, conduct and customs. The prevailing morals, mores and customs of a particular societal value system will influence the constructions of the entrepreneur which emerge from it. Machan (1999:603) regards morality as a template against which we measure conduct and for Griffin (1986:95) it is often associated with religious belief as works of moral instruction, having a narrative framework. For Lewis (1961:142) morals are a reflection of culture whereby value judgements are not innate but are acquired. Moral codes change with circumstance and are perpetuated for their survival value. Indeed, for Soros (1998:71-91) ethical and moral values provide an anchor based upon a sense of belonging to a community. Soros (1998:75-6) highlights the difference between fundamental principles and expediency. Morality (like entrepreneurship) is difficult to define and can be manifested as personal or collective morality. The former is an individual driving force whereas the latter is a collective template. Morality is a continuum along which people are variously located dependent upon their socialisation, upbringing, life experiences and environment. It is linked to reward and meaning systems expressed using the basic constructs of language and semiotic communication. Fallon & Srodes (1983:3) warn that in business there is a world standard of morality that places the highest value on immediate reward and not the true worth or actual success of an enterprise. Morality is a sentiment, open to individual and collective interpretation. Baggini (2002:48) links morality with character. The morality tale is one of the basic stories told by men (Harre, 1998:10).

6.6.1 – Reading entrepreneurship as a moral construct.

Morality is part of the socio-economic fabric of society and pervades and is embedded in entrepreneurial narrative, albeit as taken-for-granted and rendered invisible. Narrative is the primary method of propagating

important values and moral messages enable us to create (and recreate) the moral fabric of our societies. Bochner (2001) argues that what gives narratives their importance is their practical, ethical and moral focus and for De Montoya (2002:28-29) narratives are designed within the bounds of embedded societal "moral praxis". De Montoya argues that narratives capture the emotional element of entrepreneurship. Morality is a human quality projected by individuals and groups and interpreted by others, in the manner of an ongoing play. Law (1994:75) considers entrepreneurship a "moral tale" in which issues such as ethics, character and morality are tested. Golding & Middleton (1982:238-9) note that the media directs a continuing morality play, acting as a moral rearmament, instilling moral fibre. Indeed, Yates (1991:194) stresses that moral obligations are highlighted in business parlance; and Diamond (1970) that morality is associated with business reputation. Also, Weber (1990:75) referred to the ethical foundation of new entrepreneurs. Rehn & Taalas (2002:3-4) highlight the inherent bias towards a morally delimited field of entrepreneurship accentuating legality and note the unwillingness of entrepreneurship researchers to study anything outside the bounds of morally acceptable forms of business conducted by "nice entrepreneurs". Such moralists reify the "doctrines of market ideology where entrepreneurs always have to be true, good and just" making it essential to consider the issue of moral entrepreneurship (ibid:13).

Moral entrepreneurship is not defined despite being a valued code of practice, template for success in life or business, and an ideal to live up to. The notion of a moral nature of enterprise has considerable longevity since Adam Smith (1759iii) highlighted the importance of moral sentiment, arguing that to approve of a man's opinions is to adopt them, forming a bond of mutual acceptance. Approval and acceptance are central to morality (and legitimacy). Moralism themes are discernible in the writings of Benjamin Franklin, Max Weber and Samuel Smiles. This embeddedness may stem from the influence of religion and the evolution of literary genres such as Puritanical Goodly Books. The writings of Weber emphasise the morality of entrepreneurial action and Machan (1999:606) traces the assumption of wickedness to the ethical writings of Immanuel Kant and denigration of the pursuit of earthy enrichment. During the Victorian era a proliferation of amoral business activities caused moralists such as Rueschel (1895) to argue for a moral crusade against the prevailing business practices of the day. Josephson (1937) echoed this theme adopting a moralistic stance, vilifying many of early pioneering American entrepreneurs as "Robber Barons". Josephson's work is frequently cited and few question the legitimacy of the label. One critic is Klein (1995) who argues that the best of them exemplified virtues long treasured by Americans such as vision, energy, perseverance, hard work, and character. It was Becker (1963) who coined the term "moral entrepreneurs".

There is an inbuilt assumption that classical entrepreneurship is morally beneficial and Bass (1999:119) asserts that the spirit of moral entrepreneurship is to create jobs, not play games with other peoples money – making money is not their first priority. Baumol (1990), Freeman (2000), Venkataraman (1999), Machan (1999) and Brenner (1999) are part of a growing movement amongst entrepreneurship scholars in studying morality and ethics. Machan (1999:596-7) discusses the moral legitimacy of entrepreneurship stressing the importance of the entrepreneur as being morally worthwhile and ethically praiseworthy but acknowledges that the entrepreneur "has a genuine choice whether to be productive or not". Society must provide a consistent and constant hospitality towards the productive entrepreneur because property rights engender economic inequalities between those who use their wealth prudently and those who do not (ibid:607-8). Krizner (1974:3) notes that entrepreneurial ability "cannot be purchased or hired by the entrepreneur" but comes from within. Yet, as Machan (1999:604) stresses human lawfulness, ethics and legality are voluntary. Machan links morality, entrepreneurship and prudent conduct. Prudence is a virtue that guides one towards

a good life but like all virtues can be overdone. For Machan (1999:605) the moral, productive entrepreneur is the "authentic entrepreneur". Hall (2001) refers to the "responsible entrepreneur" and Smilor (1996:9) the "effective entrepreneur". In a similar vein Catano (2001:132/175) refers to the "pure entrepreneur" and "entrepreneurial authenticity". Importantly, for Machan an entrepreneur can be "morally flawed" but still be a productive, authentic entrepreneur. Smilor (1996:9-10) suggests that effective entrepreneurs create value and that entrepreneurship offers tangible and intrinsic opportunities to do so. Morality is observable in values and behaviours. For Giddens (1990:xiii) rational capitalist entrepreneurs combine the impulse to accumulate capital with a positively frugal lifestyle. Frugality (and a resultant guilt of wasting) is a value espoused in Christian doctrine and pervades working class upbringings. Trust is another important social construct engendered through moral values (Casson, 2000:80). Yet, morality is an old fashioned virtue born of the dominant ideology of the Victorian era with the virtuous rich and the depraved poor (Chapman, 1968:343). Although moral entrepreneurship is a worthy ideology it must be positively cultivated.

6.6.2 - Cultivating positive moral climates.

Casson (2000:6) stipulates that for a moral message to work it must be directed towards a receptive, reflective audience. Morality economises on communication with much morality communicated via symbolism (ibid.13). Morality is a complex system that spreads through everyday institutions from, the family, school, university, the work place, and church. Casson (2000:9-11) highlights moral autonomy stressing that entrepreneurship has sprung from many morally autonomous religious groups, which thrive in times of climates of moral despair. Nevertheless, Golding & Middleton (1982:15) and Casson (2000:9-14) warn of the dangers of a hidden moral agenda and of moral rhetoric. For Casson, moral rhetoric requires a language capable of describing emotions such as guilt, shame and a loss of face. Autonomous groups have social systems of shaming-shunning those judged to fail their high moral standards.

Two important inter-related societal mechanisms for dealing with moral issues are polarisation and stereotyping. Claster (1992:11) argues that moral judgement is based upon stereotyping and revolves around moral polarization (good guy v bad guy). This allows us to deal with contradictory moral codes demonstrating that morality is part of a complex social system that shapes individual and collective behaviour (MacIntyre, 1997:xii). Over time, morality becomes embedded in individual and collective patterns of actions, behaviours and beliefs which continue to perpetuate morality even when one is removed from the direct influence of the secular or religious tenets, which forged them. The further away one moves in time and space from the original influence, the weaker the belief system becomes making it necessary to propagate and perpetuate such embedded values and beliefs to future generations (and the prodigal). Golding & Middleton (1982:199) highlight this need for re-moralisation. Narrative is a popular method for perpetuating and propagating such moral messages. Entrepreneurial narrative is a cohesive secular mechanism for spreading moral messages. MacIntyre (1997:14) discusses how moral duality shadowed and echoed each other and so obsessed the Victorians. MacIntyre in making a comparison between an American criminal Adam Worth and robber barons noted that both "represented typical American Stories of self-created men from immigrant stock, rugged in their opportunism, sturdy in their beliefs, but at opposite poles of conventional morality". MacIntyre (1997:xiv) notes that appearances could be deceptive. MacIntyre (1997:196) talks of the "Victorian fraud of morality and appearance". Morality is thus elastic and values helped construct the heroic image of the entrepreneur.

6.7 - REFLECTIONS.

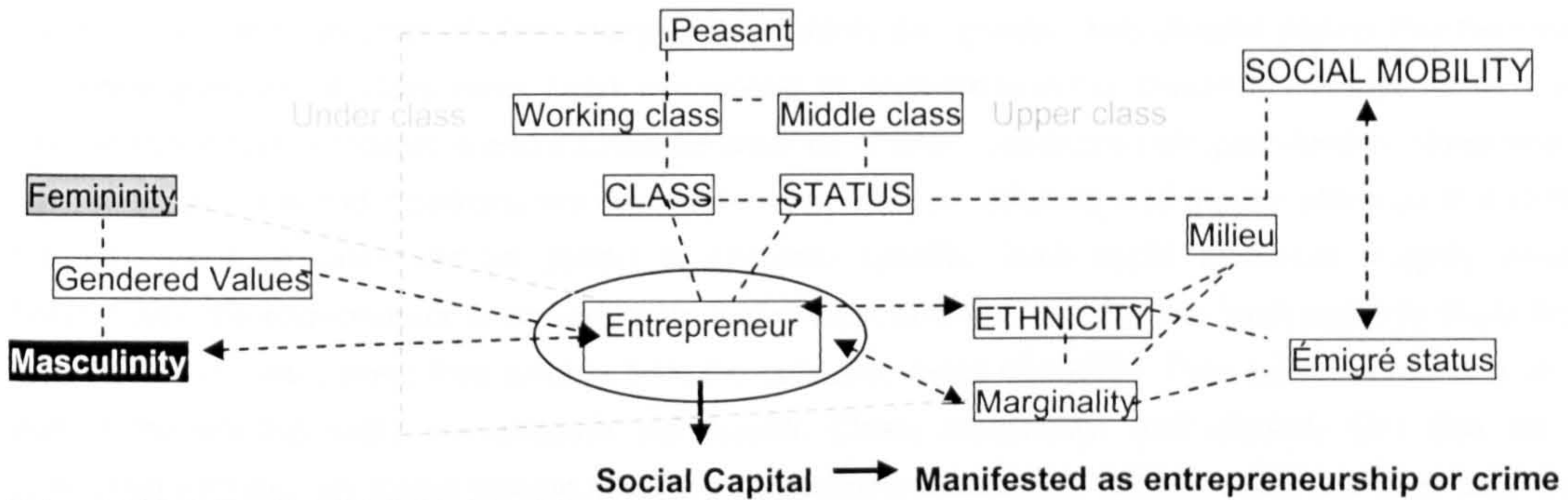
The objectives of this chapter were to examine the role of social structures (institutions) in shaping entrepreneurship and to investigate how these influence perceptions of reality. This was achieved by examining culture and in particular enterprise culture; examining childhood and the age-ideal paradox, the educational profile, overcoming communicational barriers and the importance of storytelling to children. This chapter concentrates upon enabling-embedding mechanisms and is a story of transition or transitions, of the role of culture as a shaper of social value and social institutions as enablers of value creation. Culture is an important social construct in which values become embedded. In childhood, we learn these value scripts. Family is both a social structure and an institution in which values are embedded. Religion is a social institution which perhaps magnifies, concentrates or instils the significance of values. All of these structures influence the entrepreneur in particular ways. A common unifying theme in the chapter is that - culture, childhood, family, and religion all enable value creation and act as magnifying loci for the cultivation of morals and moral behaviour. Indeed, culture, childhood, family, and religion all contribute to the cultivation of positive moral climates, which when these coincide with positive enterprise cultures, help in creating the climate where entrepreneurs are productive in the creation and extraction of value from the environment. The moral codes of the society, the customs, mores and social values inherent in the society become infused into the prevailing entrepreneurial ethic. Morality and success are influenced by a moral triad of religious faith, education and family. In this chapter, we continued our examination of the socially constructed nature of entrepreneurship expanding knowledge from earlier chapters. This chapter drew out the importance of values upon the construct as well as the themes of enabling, engaging, enacting and embedding. We turn to an examination of how other demographic factors such as class, ethnicity and gender shape particular constructions of the entrepreneur.

7 – DEMOGRAPHIC BUILDING BLOCKS.

INTRODUCTION.

READERS' GUIDE.

This chapter examines the role of demographic attributes in shaping destiny, highlighting how class, ethnicity and gender influence entrepreneurship.



7.1 – CONSIDERING SOCIAL CLASS.

- 7.1.1: Class defined and explained.
- 7.1.2: Explaining the significance of class to entrepreneurship.
- 7.1.3: The establishment and the establishment entrepreneur.
- 7.1.4: The entrepreneurial middle class explained.
- 7.1.5: The myth of the working class entrepreneur.
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7.2 – CONSIDERING ETHNICITY.

- 7.2.1: The part played by marginality thesis.
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7.3 – CONSIDERING GENDER.

- 7.3.1: Seeing through the invisibility of the female entrepreneur.
- 7.3.2: Learning to differentiate between masculine and feminine value systems.
- 7.3.3: Understanding why masculine values cannot be imposed on female entrepreneurs.

7.4 - REFLECTIONS.

This chapter continues the mapping process by examining the significance of embedded demographic structures in enabling the social reproduction of entrepreneurship. Of these, the social constructs of gender and ethnicity feature heavily in the literature. Indeed, Wetherell (1997:302) argues that it is difficult to construct a narrative without making reference to gender, race, social class, social position or religion. Notwithstanding this, research into the influence of class is conspicuous by its absence, although it features in the literature at an implicit level. Class, ethnicity and gender are "social constructs" as well as being "demographic variables". Both elements are important facets. This chapter focuses upon class, ethnicity and gender, building up our understanding of the phenomenon to enable us to consider the first and second research questions, namely – 1) What are the social constructions of the entrepreneur in British Society; and 2) Where do they come from and how are they constructed. We are still concerned with the social mechanisms and processes of enabling and embedding. In previous chapters, we saw how values permeate the entrepreneurial construct. Gender and ethnicity differ from class in that they are bio-genetic thus we

have little control over these elements of our social identities. We are born into them. Conversely, social class is a deep, socially proscribed facet whose traditions influence behaviour. Social class spans generations and provides a particular socially constructed worldview. Moreover, social class can channel bundles of behaviour and thought into a pre-ordained value system and mind set. Such features influence our destinies, but being social constructs they operate silently at a taken for granted level.

Demography as a study of people, relates to the scientific analysis of collective societal data, thus demographic facets are extrapolated from statistics. Our perceptions of entrepreneurship are influenced and shaped by the demographics of class, marginality, ethnicity and gender. This chapter argues that the power and consequences of class have been overlooked in entrepreneurship research because one's class location can influence individual and societal perceptions of what constitutes entrepreneurship. Nonetheless, class has pejorative and discriminatory connotations. In addition, ethnicity and gender affect us in a similar manner - because value can be gender or culturally specific. Such social structures magnify values. Traditionally, the entrepreneur is viewed as an individualist and little attempt has been made to study them as a distinctive class, albeit they emerge from the collective mass of society. Thus powerful myths such as that of the working class entrepreneur still prevail. Class, marginality, and ethnicity can also act as cumulative exclusionary forces making society a constraining mechanism against which entrepreneurs must struggle. Indeed, demography and destiny provide backdrops against which the entrepreneur acts providing the basis of socially accepted storylines and plots.

As articulated in chapter 5, a common theme in the literature of entrepreneurship is of action and individual agency. Another common theme in entrepreneur stories is overcoming demographic constraints to create one's own destiny. In considering demographic facets it is helpful to consider destiny which is often viewed as an unavoidable, pre-ordained fate associated with journeying or a state of mind. However, McGrath & Macmillan (2000:80) remind us "demography is not destiny" and Kindlon & Thompson (1999:13) that "heredity is not destiny". Moreover, Grimes (1991:174) argued that "In the early heroic phase of capitalism, an individual was the owner, employer or manager of an enterprise. The bold entrepreneur was a significant presence in the life of ordinary workers and the long term destiny of a firm was tied to that individuals family". In such stories, the hero is presented as if defying preordained destiny. We marvel at their cleverness and audacity at making-good and succeeding against-the-odds, of rising from humble origins, of struggling to be accepted by a cautious and often vindictive establishment. They are stories of self-making. Catano (2001:175) stresses the motifs of self-making include those of separation; immigration; craftsman status and the achievement of mobility – all of which are considered in this chapter. Issues of demography and destiny are also important because to achieve legitimacy the entrepreneur must often transcend their original class location, defying fate and via dint of hard work, perseverance or serendipity, struggle to make their own destiny. The entrepreneur is a person suspended between two realities, but accepted by none. Entrepreneurs must negotiate pervasive class based rhetoric's of failure. For Kirby (2003:34) "entrepreneurs take ownership of their destinies". This necessitates consideration of social class.

7.1 – CONSIDERING SOCIAL CLASS.

Social class has a long history, since 1802 when Hall first posited class theory. Szreter (1984) argues that occupational class structure in Britain is obsolete and simplistic, but still has power as a motivator of

behaviours, actions and values. Thus although social class, as a tool in sociology, may have lost much of its earlier appeal, it is still a powerful explanatory variable. Therefore, class arguments still have power in Britain and influence public perceptions of the entrepreneur. Neale (1983) stresses that Americans have a cultural esteem for labour, hence their eulogisation of the entrepreneur as a folk hero. Conversely in Britain, the entrepreneur has developed a more negative connotation. However, class is an emotive cultural phenomenon that does not readily cross regional or national boundaries. Class promotes belongingness and a sense of being; but for Abbot & Wallace (1990) class is a product of "malestream society". This makes class of interest to us as an aspect of identity. Also, class dovetails with the constructivist argument of this thesis because Crompton (1994:50) considers class schemes to be social constructs, producing different class maps and narratives. Thus class is a social construct with its own defining narratives. Wetherell (1997:304) argues that narratives of social class are learned in childhood. Narratives of social class may therefore influence public perceptions of what expect an entrepreneur to look and sound like. For instance, Edgell (1993:54) refers to an inbuilt bias in the language of class making it important to differentiate between economic class and status class. We begin by considering definition.

7.1.1 - Class defined and explained.

Basic definitions of class relate to the rank or order of persons by social standing; or a group of things alike. Pictorially, class is represented by a triangular pyramid, accommodating three social classes. The working classes make up the base of the triangle, the middle classes the mid section and the upper classes the pinnacle. Of necessity, this is a simplified heuristic structure, because no social phenomenon is that simple. Moreover, class is not a universal constant unit of analysis, as it changes over time and space. However, it could be argued that one is born into the particular social class to which one's parents are at the time of one's birth. Reid (1989) argues that identification with social class begins at an early age but invokes different reactions in different people, ranging from passion to indifference because it is an ideology one has to buy into. Giddens (1979) argues that there are three main sources of class allocation, namely property, qualifications and physical labour. Social classes are thus both inclusionary and exclusionary and are infused with notions of discrimination because the discourse of class is a discourse of power.

Social classes stratify groups of people into likeminded, manageable groups by virtue of stereotyping. Reid (1989:2-3) notes that stratification refers to one's relationship to social wealth, encompassing - wealth, income, ownership and property, power, prestige, life-style, education, values beliefs and attitudes as well as patterns of behaviour. Thus social classes may arguably be regarded as a repository of values. However, class ideas and values are deeply entrenched and embedded resulting of deep rooted cultural assumptions that stem from the Victorian era with its notions of natural class order and the elect and the damned (ibid.15). Social stratification impinges upon social class, sex, age, and ethnicity, or allusions to such manifested as discernible and observable in conversation and attitude. These can be used to discriminate and stereotype and undoubtedly influence accepted constructions of the entrepreneur making it necessary to consider how class can add to our developing understanding of entrepreneurship.

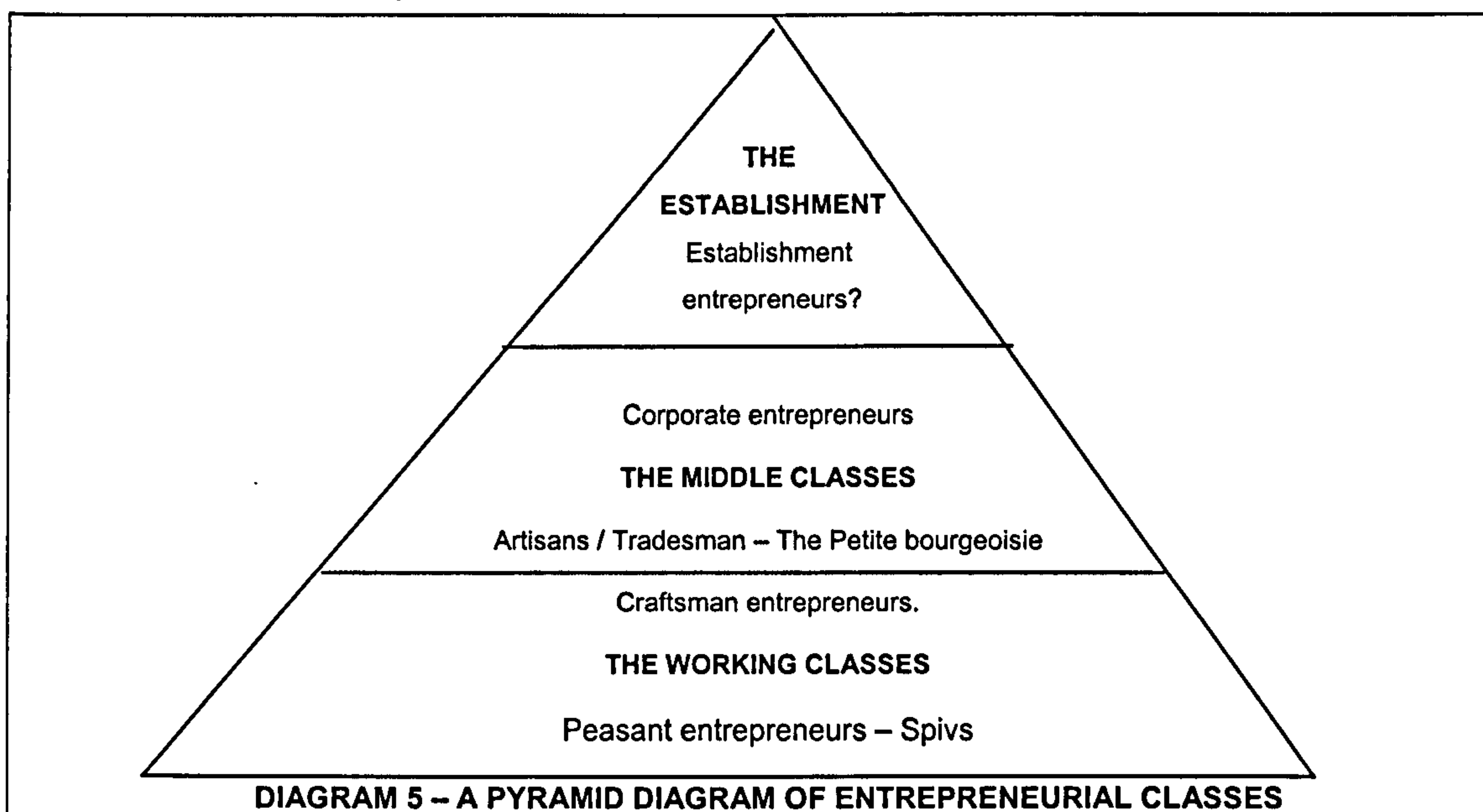
This necessitates consideration of class theories. For Edgell (1993) class analysis is concerned with analysis of formal economic activity, making it useful in developing an understanding of entrepreneurial activity, values and beliefs. Cooper (1979:2) views class as a "group of people with certain common traits,

descent, education, accent, similarity of education, wealth, moral attitude, friends, accommodation, and with generally similar ideas, who meet each other on equal terms, and regard themselves as belonging to one group". However, collectively entrepreneurs do not meet most of Cooper's criteria. For example, they do not share the same starting points in life, the same educational experiences, descent and so on. The only point of commonality they share is the collective attribution of being an entrepreneur. The Societal Class Map proposed by Wright (1976:33) based upon the notions of power and control is more appealing from a constructionist perspective because it takes cognisance of the eclecticism of human behaviour, action, beliefs, attitudes and values. Indeed Platt (1971) considers class to revolve around issues of power, prestige and money. Thompson (1983:115-6) considers class to be a relationship based on the differences in legitimate power associated with certain positions, defined by men as they live their own history. However, it is difficult to envisage the existence of an entrepreneurial class, when it is apparent that there are entrepreneurial ideal types in most classes! Nevertheless, social commentators persist in referring to the entrepreneurial classes. For example, Poulantzas (1975:243) suggests that entrepreneurs are a supporting class. Nevertheless, class position influences issues of character, personality and identity because as Smith (1992:5) argues social classes are defined by reference to their economic power, and cultural differences. Moreover, Burawoy (1992) considers class as a state of mind translated into action, existing only in the consciousness of individuals. Thus class influences entrepreneurial states of being and thus entrepreneurial identity and narrative understandings. According to Marwick (1980) class affects identity and associated images. Having defined and explained class it is important to explain its significance to entrepreneurship.

7.1.2 – Explaining the significance of class to entrepreneurship.

The myth that entrepreneurship is a classless concept, based on the principles of meritocracy and success, achievable by those with the necessary abilities pervades the literature. Yet, it is perhaps an illusory myth because by its very nature entrepreneurial success entails a change of stature, or slipping "through the barriers of class" (MacIntyre, 1997:147). Packard (1961:5) refers to this epic life struggle as "status straining" with the objective being to achieve a higher status in society. One of the difficulties of articulating entrepreneurship, in relation to class, is the diversity of class positions from which entrepreneurs emerge. Wright (1985) even argues for the notion of dual and mixed classes. Furthermore, Edgell (1993:53) appreciates that within each class location, there is a graduation of income, status, and educational ability. This is important and helps us appreciate the relationship between class and entrepreneurship because notions of class lie at the heart of the entrepreneurial dream. The notion of class hegemony is inherent within the Western capitalist system, but one must also consider Wright's notion of contradictory class location – because the entrepreneur (from humble origins) located in an urban predominantly working class area epitomises this. Wright further argues that many people in middle class jobs are primarily of working class origin. Packard (1961:107) argued that in America, many entrepreneurs are considered by professional people to be of lower status, particularly if they are of working class extraction. This may hold true for Britain. Scase & Goffee (1982:123) make a powerful argument for the emotional conflict within their entrepreneur respondents caused by the pull of working class roots and the process of being drawn into the middle class. Thus social forces may act as push and pull mechanisms drawing one into entrepreneurship. These antagonistic social forces play an important part in the construction of entrepreneurial identity.

There are two main entrepreneurial class based theories discernible in the literature - the mythic working class entrepreneur and the entrepreneurial middle classes. These equate to Casson's (1982:356) categories of the "economically disadvantaged entrepreneur" and the "positively advantaged entrepreneur". Yet, reading deeper into the literature other class-based constructions of the entrepreneur became visible. This is important because there are significant differences between the *modus operandi* and *modus vivendi* of both classes. For Anderson & Miller (2003) "class matters" because entrepreneurs who start small usually end up thinking small. This chapter thus develops a greater understanding of how class influences and shapes the entrepreneurial construct. These alternative constructions of the entrepreneur are obscured by the pervasiveness of the working class and middle class narratives in society. As will be argued in chapter 9 we have perhaps become blinded by the heroism attached to the narrative of the poor-boy-making-good. The literature is silent on the notions of the upper class entrepreneur, leading one to presume that they either do not exist, or have no need as such for the entrepreneurial ideal. A more plausible explanation is proffered by Reid (1989:399) who argues that this is an artefact of our lack of knowledge about the rich and powerful. Reid suggests that this is because they are secretive and therefore difficult to research empirically⁵. Diagram 5 is a pictorial representation plotting the ideal types of entrepreneur encountered in contemporary Britain.



We begin by considering the notion of the establishment and the establishment entrepreneur.

7.1.3 - The establishment and the establishment entrepreneur.

If entrepreneurship is a life theme as suggested by Bolton & Thompson (2000) then it should obviously pertain to all people, irrespective of their origins or social class. Nevertheless, in Britain there is a perception

⁵ For Reid accumulated wealth is a private affair which has an economic basis legitimised by durability and longevity of class iniquity. Reid documents that 1% of adult population own 20% of the moveable wealth; 10% owned over half and the most wealthy half owned 96% leaving just 4% to the remaining half of society. These are sobering statistics for aspirants of the entrepreneurial dream.

that the entrepreneur is either of humble, working class origins, or emerges from the bourgeoisie middle classes. Little consideration has been given to the notion of a member of the aristocracy, or establishment practicing entrepreneurship. It is hard to believe that some members of the upper classes do not possess entrepreneurial propensities, traits and qualities. Nevertheless, the notion of the establishment entrepreneur is silent in the literature of entrepreneurship. In the sociological literature, however, Giddens (1979) makes reference to the entrepreneurial rich, whom have made their fortunes in business, industry, enterprise, or by holding directorships in corporations. Giddens classes Richard Branson and Anita Roddick amongst this growing social class. Giddens talks of the entrepreneurial rich, and the jet set, slowly merging into the old landowning aristocracy. Nevertheless, the vestiges of the class based ideology of the ruling elite, which discriminates between old and new money still lingers on. Another possible explanation of this may be the socially constructed nature of entrepreneurial knowledge.

Neale (1983:67-69) documents the disdain shown by elite groups towards physical labour expended in the vulgar pursuit of rational economic gain. This is particularly true of entrepreneurial activity and leads to a disqualification of status. Neale documents a process whereby the positively privileged status groups dislike and shun those with pretensions gained from economic acquisition. The elite never accept them personally no matter how assimilated their lifestyles become. It is only the descendents educated in the conventions of their status group who become accepted. Packard (1961) argues that entrepreneurial success is seen as a short cut despised by the established elite. Furthermore, Packard (1961:38) notes that the upper class view the newly rich parvenu as uncouth unless they are so rich and powerful that they must be consulted.

The works of Scott (1982 / 1985) offer an insight into the thorny relationship between the ruling elite, the establishment, and the entrepreneur. The ruling elite are disproportionately represented in the establishment (and State Apparatus) allowing them a monopolisation on wealth (Clark & Dear, 1984). In the past acceptance into the ruling elite was akin to a courtship whereby the new rich had to demonstrate that they were made of the right stuff by cultivating a disdain for money whilst being benevolent and philanthropic. Nowadays, possession of wealth allows one to live the lifestyle. Contrast Heiesler's (1991) exceptionally poor under classes to the exceptionally wealthy leisure classes as discussed by Veblen (1970) and Sorokin's (1968) hereditary and degenerated aristocracy. Veblen (1970:39) identified the role of pecuniary conspicuous consumption in creating an impression of upper class belonging. Scott (1985) in theorising on the impersonal nature of modern Capitalism discusses the effect of indirect social mechanisms involving purchasing privileged education enabling the capitalist class to pass on their accrued cultural capital to their offspring. Scott regarded this as a principal factor in the growth of impersonal capitalism and corporatism. Scott developed a typology of upper echelon, economically dominant modern capitalist business classes, consisting of the Entrepreneurial Capitalist; the Rentier Capitalist; the Capitalist Executive; the Capitalist Financiers. Of these, only the entrepreneur is regarded as a visible example of success personified.

Entrepreneurial elites: To counter the discrimination of the established order, successful entrepreneurs may form their own elite peer group becoming insiders. It is necessary to differentiate between the establishment proper (the aristocracy), and the established order in business. Sarachek (1990:439) counsils against treating members of a business elite as a "collective portrait" and argues that it is necessary to differentiate between established businessmen and entrepreneurs. When the entrepreneur becomes successful and accrues wealth this may distort their original class position. Thus paradoxically, successful entrepreneurs may be working towards their own eventual self-destruction. In any case, the formation of mafias, restrictive

networks, cartels and monopolies limit the potential success of competing entrepreneurs. Indeed, Casson (1990:xxiv) describes the formation of "self-perpetuating oligarchies" as the establishment maintains its power by gradually assimilating the most successful entrepreneurs that arise to challenge it. This is pertinent because Hobsbawm (2000:1285) stresses that Britain has a modest tradition of absorbing entrepreneurs into the aristocracy. This section is important because entrepreneurial elites and establishments are both an enabling and embedding mechanism.

Generational conflict also fuels the entrepreneurial dream and leads to the perpetuation of new elites, which challenge the established elite. Historically such elites result from a concentration of those entrepreneurs willing to gravitate towards a higher level of risk taking namely, those with amoral inclinations (Arlacchi, 1993). For example, in the era immediately after WWII the Spiv, the black marketer and the racketeer predominated and challenged the old elites. In turn they became alternative elites. Granted, they would never be permitted access the establishment proper. It is difficult to obtain empirical evidence of this but one only has to read the case story of Jack Brash by Casson (1980) to appreciate that there may be a darker undercurrent in the life stories of successful entrepreneurs. Entrepreneurial elites are formed on a cyclical, generational basis, with different elites competing against each other. Indeed, Arlacchi (1983:97-8) refers to the "see-saw of rags to riches" and to the "circulation of elites". Entrepreneurial elites can become established and legitimised as entrepreneurial establishments, or what Weber (1990:65) refers to as a commercial aristocracy. Likewise, Hobsbawm (2000:178) discusses the networks of merchant entrepreneurs in Europe. This notion of the entrepreneurial elite runs contrary to the idealised notion of the entrepreneur as an individual hero. Entrepreneurial elites are an uneasy alliance between the rich, the powerful and often the disreputable being a confluence of power, privilege and status as well as being a site of friction.

Two practices which ensure the dominance of the propertied classes are the accrual of wealth and credentialism. The most significant difference between those with established money and the parvenu is that the former has a near strangle hold on the ownership of vast tracts of land and property. Scott (1985) showed that 25% of people owned 76% of all personal wealth and argued that class legitimises and perpetuates capitalist ideology, projecting ideas that serve its interests as being widely shared with other classes. Gramsci (1971) referred to this type of class domination as hegemony. Bottomore (1989) documents the hegemony of the capitalist classes whilst Scott (1985) and Pond (1989) researched upper class hegemony in Britain in relation to privileged patterns consumptions and their ability to control the accumulation process, passing down wealth from generation to generation. Pond (1989) demonstrated that the ownership of wealth in Britain is notoriously resistant to social, economic and political change. Also, corporate ownership conceals the accrual of wealth from popular scrutiny by the anonymity of corporate ownership shielding the visibility of ownership. Conversely, entrepreneurs are highly visible in their milieu as their successes and failures occur in the public domain. Scase (1992:33) considers such relationships between ownership and control to be mutually reinforcing. This brings us to consider the influence of the middle classes in shaping our perceptions of entrepreneurship.

7.1.4 - The entrepreneurial middle classes explained.

The theory of the Entrepreneurial Middle classes is an established paradigm, and is an important construction of the entrepreneur. Scase & Goffee (1982:14) regard the middle class as a "niche for entrepreneurs". Abercrombie & Urry (1983:1) note the phrase "Middle Class was coined in 1785 to refer to

the propertied and largely entrepreneurial class located between landowners...and urban industrial workers". Edgell (1993:63) discusses the "old entrepreneurial middle classes" who owned and worked in their own businesses whilst Thompson (1983:169-77) highlights the affinity between the middle class and capitalist ideals. For Erikson (1969:141), there is a link between middle class values and free enterprise. The slow but steady progress of the entrepreneurial middle classes is an inspiring tale of achievement. Berger (1963:134) notes that religion is part of middle class status, whilst abstinence is synonymous with working class values. Indeed, Berger & Luckmann (1971:141) refer to Christianity as a bourgeois ideology, because the "bourgeoisie used the Christian tradition in its struggle against the new industrial working classes". Weber (1990:167-179) refers to the rising middle class morality and describes it as a middle class business morality of superiority. The entrepreneurial middle class is composed of petit bourgeois, the managerial, and those in the professions. Indeed, Gouldner (1970:79-80) refers to "the non commercial middle classes". For Scase & Goffee (1982:10-11) the entrepreneurial middle class consists of several diverse groupings sharing a common feature – the ownership of capital assets. Scase & Goffee (1982:23) categorise them as those who own property which, together with their own and others labour, they use for productive purposes. Scase & Goffee suggest three distinct distinctions – 1) Separate and removed from the two major classes of capitalist society; 2) Part and parcel of an emerging post industrial or service society; and 3) The legacy of an earlier pre-capitalist stage of production. For Scase & Goffee (1982:185) the distinction between the use of capital and labour as resources for determining life chances enables the separation of entrepreneurial and salaried components. However, the power of middle class ideology transcends the entrepreneurial ideal, and is deeply embedded in the notion of the establishment. Indeed, Chapman (1968:64) accepts that predominantly middle class institutions, such as the church, and the university influence the moral order.

Scase & Goffee (1982:190) describe the major functions of the entrepreneurial middle class within the modern economy as being 1) the legitimisation of private property ownership; 2) as an accumulation process for legitimation; 3) upholding the capitalist economy because proprietors use their assets for the purposes of producing commodities which are sold in the market, and because small scale proprietorship sustains society by providing a potential channel of upward mobility for deprived groups within the occupational structure. Thus the entrepreneurial middle class functions to legitimate capitalism providing a material basis for certain system-maintaining values. According to Wright (1985); the capitalist bourgeoisie enjoy three types of power - 1) over their means of production; 2) their labour process; and 3) their accumulation process. Savage *et al* (1992) document the power of property in the ascription of class status because property can be accumulated, stored and transmitted easily whereas cultural and organizational assets can only be realised in situ. Vanneman & Cannon (1987) argue that affluence confuses issues of status and power because a change in lifestyle may not alter class location. Nevertheless, there is a darker side to the entrepreneurial middle classes as evidenced by Scase & Goffee (1982:70) who exposed the link between the self-employed and the black economy. This is corroborated by studies by Mucafee (1980) and Dilnot & Morris (1981) into a link between entrepreneurial activity and black markets. Scase & Goffee (1982:53) also discuss the thriving small firm and the informal economy arguing that they are inextricably linked. For Scase & Goffee the informal economy is often the first milieu within which individuals test the market, acquire basic business expertise and accumulate funds prior to establishing a legitimate business. Notwithstanding this, the notion of the entrepreneurial middle class has long been associated with familial capitalism and small businesses sector (Chandler, 1984:92-152).

The small business sector: Over time, the small business sector has become associated with middle class stewardship. Indeed, Scase & Goffee (1982:127) envisage a wider entrepreneurial entry path than the traditional self-made founder owner model. They highlight two other distinct routes to entrepreneurship. Firstly, inherited businesses; and secondly a business acquired from previous employers. These are avenues of entrepreneurial opportunity. Scase & Goffee (1982:53) stipulate that experience is the key, and that the tradition of small businesses and self-made proprietors itself creates an industrial subculture that serves to encourage the further formation and growth of small-scale enterprises. Scase & Goffee (1982:186) remark that among company directors, and owner-controllers, the likelihood of children experiencing downward mobility is less because they typically inherit capital that can be used for the purposes of entrepreneurial, professional and other forms of self-advancement. Thus, capital is the crucial resource of the established entrepreneurial middle class. It is also within this class that resistance to state legislation affecting property ownership and transmission, such as capital transfer, wealth and inheritance tax is most vehement. Furthermore, Scase & Goffee (1982:23-26) appreciate that the term businessman is a generic one and propose an entrepreneurial middle class typology encompassing the self-employed; the small employer; the owner-controller; and the owner director. This spans a career trajectory that many entrepreneurs tread as explained in table 23.

Self-employed	A large segment committed to good workmanship. As tradesmen, they trade on their skill as a capital asset. Motivated by personal work satisfaction and funded by personal saving they operate on the margins of the entrepreneurial middle class.
Small Employer	Small employers hold a tenuous position within the entrepreneurial middle class with a considerable degree of mobility in both directions between the self-employed and the small employer. By hiring labour they are drawn into a web of social and economic obligations and into administration and supervision duties becoming fraternal.
Owner Controller	The owner-controller does not work alongside their employees and administrate and manage their businesses. They approximate the classical entrepreneur, operating predominantly in family firms allowing capital assets to be transmitted between generations. They act as a buffer against downward mobility and are firmly rooted within the entrepreneurial middle class. Committed to notions of individualism and stress the value of self-help, hard work and personal success.
Owner Director	Paradoxically they are predominantly self-made men and are associated with Family Owned Firms characterised by paternalism and normative support albeit within an organic bureaucratic structure which allows flexibility and adaptability and the retention of direct control. It is a move towards entrepreneurial managerialism and the corporate ideal. Prone to nepotism.

Over time, the nature of the middle class began to change as they established a tradition of credentialism and the transmission of accrued wealth inter-generationally. Scase & Goffee (1982) identify three factors that explain middle class success. The first is the terminal decline (demise theory) whereby new aspirants emerge from the ruins of an old system. The second is marginalisation thesis – they prospered because they had to. Thirdly, there is the thesis of “small is beautiful”. These facets pervade the spirit of middle class entrepreneurship, which also includes the craftsman ethos, and the petite bourgeois mentality.

The Craftsman Ethos: The work ethic and ethos of craftsmanship pervade entrepreneurship, spanning working and middle class ideologies. Kimmel’s (1995) heroic artisan equates to the values of the working class masculinity. Indeed, Mills (1956) described the decline of the old middle classes and their replacement

by working class aspirants or "lumpen bourgeoisie". Thus an increase in self-employment sucked working class aspirants into middle class locations. According to Gerry (1985) numerous social forces led redundant workers into self-employment. Parkin (1979) describes how the social forces of professionalism, and credentialism, swelled the ranks of the new middle classes. Goldthorpe (1972:351) referred to this social process as "embourgeoisment thesis". Another social mechanism was craftsmanship.

Smith (1967) described the craftsman and opportunistic entrepreneur as ideal types. For Smith, the craftsman entrepreneur was originally of working class extraction and the opportunistic entrepreneur of middle class extraction. Chell (1985:56) criticises Smith for the dichotomy of the class background and its lack of predictive value. Similarly Filley & Aldag (1978) posited the typologies of craftsman, entrepreneur and professional. Mills (1951) and Lockwood & Goldthorpe (1962) discuss the craftsman ideal as a work ethic and as a "values" based behavioural practice which extends from the private to the work domain. Indeed, Scase & Goffee (1982:71-5) highlight the congruence between the craftsman and entrepreneurial ethos attributing craftsmen with the notions of self-reliance, personal responsibility and success through their own efforts. This is important because the craftsman ethos is a value system, which must be instilled, maintained and recreated. It feeds into a wider entrepreneurial value system, as does the Petite Bourgeoisie mentality.

The Petite Bourgeois Mentality: Certain occupations and their cultures operate at the margins of entrepreneurial identity, sharing certain partial or limited traits with full-blown entrepreneurs, despite not being regarded as entrepreneurs. One such culture is that of the small shopkeeper and businessmen (The Petits Bourgeois) who have long been regarded as one of the traditional breeding grounds of entrepreneurial talent. Bechhofer *et al* (1974:105) note that the Petite Bourgeois were considered in Victorian times as a "Shopocracy" attributed high social status as bourgeoisie gentilhomme [would be gentlemen] (Clarke, 1979:230). Barber (1974:16) describes this as a period of "vivant bourgeoisement" and Roberts (1971:5) describes the social prestige and position of the shopkeepers in Edwardian Salford as being "aristocrats". Indeed, Britain was once a fabled nation of shopkeepers. Consider the ex-Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, the architect of the enterprise culture, whose father was a Greengrocer. Bechhofer *et al* (1974:103-104), in a study of Edinburgh Shopkeepers noted that many are drawn into the occupation from the working class, but are considered to be middle class, but not of the middle class. Indeed, 10% of their sample were from "manual backgrounds and operated in working class backgrounds" (ibid.120-121). Bechhofer *et al* discuss this apparent status incongruence, noting they are often represented as being little more than a caricature. The shopkeeper, like the entrepreneur, promotes the myth of the self-made by acting as a realisable conduit for socially capable aspirants. Thus the values of the shopkeeper enmesh with those of the entrepreneur. The petit bourgeois absorbed working class talent acting as a stepping stone towards legitimacy.

Bechhofer *et al* (1974:105-115) were interested in the "general constellation of beliefs and attitudes which we might call economic traditionalism", and also the methods the shopkeepers used to transmit privilege to future generations, to circumvent our inegalitarian society. Bechhofer *et al* attribute them as displaying the partial entrepreneurial traits of Independence, autonomy, self-sufficiency, despite generally having no desire to build up their business. Bechhofer *et al* suggest that the petites bourgeois dislike change and are ultimately unlike "the determined entrepreneur" in this respect. For Bechhofer *et al*, this desire to succeed through their own efforts is a reflection of moral rather than economic assessment suggesting that the petit bourgeois possess parochial and traditional values. Bechhofer *et al* argue that being a shop keeper is an entrepreneurial occupation "accessible to people with little education and no skill or specific expertise"

and stipulate shop keeping offers "occupational mobility without social mobility" (ibid.:120-4). Bechhofer *et al* argue that the notion that by hard work and wit you can succeed is crucial to the conception of an open society. Furthermore, Bechhofer *et al* stipulate that the methods of privilege transmission used by the petites bourgeois are hard work, self-sacrifice and the eulogisation of education and that they were working towards the realisation of symbolic value. This again highlights the importance of value to constructing entrepreneurial identities. Indeed, Berger (1963:74-76) highlights a tendency towards the development of a false consciousness in the bourgeois mentality. The enabling mechanism through which this is achieved is discernable in the biographical format which facilitates the transmission of middle class entrepreneurial values. For example, Berger argues that in American middle class circles there were a glut of biographies in which the authors appear to find it necessary to reinterpret who they were and what they became, retelling and refining their story to achieve a state of alteration. Berger likens this to social parricide (killing one's parents albeit symbolically) involving rewriting biographies as a social necessity to legitimize hard-won status. Given the socially constructed nature of narrative and the limitations of the human mind, it is inevitable that many resorted to adopting an already constructed entrepreneurial narrative. Although class is predominantly associated as a specifically British preoccupation, Berger (1963:58) refers to the "American haute bourgeoisie" as an upper echelon of successful middle class capitalist (entrepreneur made-good). Catano (200:111) talks of the difference between the working class notion of self-making and the middle class notion of the self-made. In the latter case there is a distinction between being self made and self educated. Catano (2001:59) discusses rhetorical power, and monetary strength as being dominant Middle class values. There is also a link between literacy rates and middle class extraction. Nackenoff (1994:221) argues that Horatio Alger's working class heroes lost their masculine identity in becoming educated. For Catano (2001:111) individualism lay at the heart of middle class-self, making achieved through the dominance of language. Such rhetorical exercising is evident in the biographies of many successful entrepreneurs irrespective of class origins.

7.1.5 - The myth of the working class entrepreneur explained.

The myth of the entrepreneurial working classes, particularly in Britain, is a wonderful story of epic proportions. As articulated in chapter 9, it resonates with the notion of the poor-boy-made-good. Golding & Middleton (1982) argue that the entrepreneur has entered working class lore via this formula and Scase & Goffee (1982:9) highlight the considerable focus on this myth. Class literature has a tendency to focus upon the working class, thus the working class man (like the entrepreneur) has been subject to the distorting social processes of eulogy and romanticism. Emy (1973) refers to the image of the decent workingman, and Marwick (1996) warns against the romantic idealisation of the working class, stressing the physical reality and geography of class and the traditional geographical immobility of the workingman. Goldthorpe (1987) found little resentment towards the entrepreneurial amongst the contented working classes.

In addition, working class identity is not homogenous, for instance Golding & Middleton (1982:45) discuss the new prosperous working class; and Finch (1983) the rough and the respectable working class which Marwick (1996: 43) labels as products of their time. For Edgell (1993:29) the "working class is the only pure class, consisting of only propertyless manual workers". This suggests that the acquisition of property disqualifies one from working class status a view shared by Edgell (1993:37) for whom entrepreneurs must rank above employees. Bourke (1984:5) suggests that for many working class individuals retaining their working class identity is paramount. Therefore, the maintenance of working class identity must ultimately be

a matter of being and belonging. Packard (1961:255) narrates that many working class men who set up their own small business and prospered still continue to live a workingman lifestyle, remaining in their working class environment. According to Packard, many entrepreneurs identify with working class culture, with its emphasis upon hubris and other base working class values and characteristics such as arrogance, independence and pride. Another hallowed working class trait also associated with entrepreneurship is that of rebelliousness (Humphreys 1981). This suggests that traits and characteristics, which have been identified as being entrepreneurial traits, may equally be classified class based traits thus pointing to their socially constructed nature. Working class entrepreneurial ideology is based upon notions of individual agency. Yet paradoxically, the pride is expressed as a communal quality. The tone of the rhetoric is one of a condescending, dominant ideology. It is not of their making, and may be imposed upon them from above.

In discerning where this pervasive ideology comes from it is helpful to consider the research of Thompson (1983:117) who discusses three class based historic orthodoxies that impinge upon the mythology of working class entrepreneurship. The first is the Fabian, casting the majority of working people as passive victims of *laissez faire*. The second is the Empirical-economic, casting, working people as labour and migrants. The third is the Pilgrims Progress discourse that cherishes forerunners and pioneers. Thompson complains that the first two ignore individual agency whilst the latter distorts it. Another dominant theme in working class ideology is hard work - a theme it shares with the literature of entrepreneurship which is saturated with references to action and hard work. Thompson (1983:151) discusses the Culture of the Craftsman and reminds us that the opportunities for advancement in Victorian Society were few and far between, with nepotism, influence and graft being exercised frequently. This made the myth of the self-made important to working men. Thompson (1983:165-168) discusses working class insubordination and considers the ideal type of entrepreneur as a living example of this spirit. For Thompson, class ideal sublimated crude material self-interest and competition for income – it became a struggle sanctified by class membership, of being and belonging! Yet, Marwick (1996:450) describes being “working class being equivalent to serving a life sentence from which there is little hope of escape”. Entrepreneurship offered a viable escape mechanism for some working men.

It is evident from the literature that working class ethos is values based. Such values have been argued to be synonymous with abstinence from religion (Berger, 1963:134). Bourke (1994:10) talks of the working class aversion to “churchy bourgeois attitudes”. Golding & Middleton (1982:220) note that the dominant working class ideology is hedonistic, materialist, and impatient of bureaucrats and busybodies, hard working, decent, ambitious, modest, individualistic, blunt, pugnacious and intolerant. These are also trait descriptors associated with entrepreneurial propensity. Cronin (1970:82) argues that for the working man prestige is tied to an ability to support a family. On the surface, enterprise appears to provide an excellent method of doing so. However, there is little evidence in the literature that entrepreneurship really provides a mechanism for people to support a family better than employment, for most working class people. One only needs to consider start-up failure rates, and the links between education, class, previous management experience and success to come to the conclusion that entrepreneurship may actually offer most working men a dismal opportunity to support their family, drawing them into what has been called self-serfdom. There is a tendency for some writers on class to glorify and romanticise entrepreneurship in a rather unquestioning way. For Clarke (1950:34-5) to accept unemployment, or dependency upon state benefits, is to face a loss of initiative and self-respect. Working class morality is flexible, pragmatic and perhaps dictated by necessity. It is of note that again we return to subjective issues such as values and character and to trait descriptors to explain

social processes. Solidarity is another working class theme to emerge from the literature and may be connected to the social processes of being and belonging. This entails buying into an ideology, an identity and by accentuating certain key aspects. Golding & Middleton (1982:220) refer to this as the celebration of one-sided working class materialism. The prejudice inherent in working class ideology against the rich amplified the appeal of the entrepreneur as a self-made man, making the successful parvenu a cherished storyline worth telling, an epic tale of the underdog, of David versus Goliath proportions. Entrepreneurs were heroic and noble, succeeding by their own endeavours - a nobility of aspiration, not birth.

The issue of resources is an important one. The fact that the self-made entrepreneur lacks resources heightens their sense of values, and builds character. Prestige, status, and location are important in the manufacture of importance and identity. Thus for Casson (2000) the Horatio Alger myth that under capitalism everyone of similar ability has the same chance of getting rich is more than a myth because it exercises a powerful influence on behaviour, becoming a self-fulfilling prophecy because immigrants and the marginalised who truly believe, acquire a confidence to succeed.

Developing this class-based mentality of success entails making use of the social processes of amplification and exaggeration. The working class entrepreneur thus amplifies and exaggerates cherished working class traits and values, turning himself into a parody of the ideal type working class man. Language plays a significant part in this constructionist process and it is evident that there is a distinctive pejorative class bias in the language of class as noted by Neale (1983)⁶. The myth of the working class entrepreneur is a social isolating mechanism, separating them from serious middle class entrepreneurs. For Marwick (1996:37) xenophobia plays a part in the formation of the pejorative view, stemming from the British distaste for the "wretched foreign word bourgeois ... the urban elite whose wealth was based on commerce and trade". Yet, the myth of the working class entrepreneur is a selective narrative. In their epic work "the common people" Cole & Postgate (1963) fail to mention him. Another variant of the working class entrepreneur practicing at the margins of society is the Peasant entrepreneur.

7.1.6 - Peasant Entrepreneurship explained.

The Peasant Entrepreneur is an accepted construction of the entrepreneur, primarily located in the literature of socially and criminology. Studies include those of Thomas & Znaniecki (1958), Pipes (1974), Arlacchi (1983), Gill (1987) and Long & Roberts (1984). The criminologist Arlacchi (1983:10&24) refers to "peasant enterprises" and "peasant entrepreneurial families". For Arlacchi (1983:16) the Southern Italian peasant wore "the mask of the entrepreneur, constantly on the look out for a way to turn the odd penny, but it was a grotesque mockery of the genuine entrepreneur.....an entrepreneur without an enterprise". Arlacchi (1983:189) classifies the Crotonese braccianti as being the "poor entrepreneur". Peasant entrepreneurship tells a story of familial enterprise. Arlacchi (1983:24) argues that the basis of family enterprise lay in its integration of economic production within family relationship whereby non-economic influences provided the essence of economic activity. Thomas & Znaniecki (1958) refer to this as "familial solidarity". Arlacchi (1983:42-6) describes how the system gained a velocity due to the frictional products of the social order that

⁶ Neale (1983) explored class dialogue noting the pejorative language and vocabulary of class influenced by derogatory remarks and xenophobia. One method is to denigrate the size of a family. In rich families large numbers of siblings was seen as a sign of stability and fecundity, whilst Golding & Middleton (1982:92) stress that the media vilify a scrounger by the size of their family as a drain on resources. Scase & Goffee (1982:127) note that capitalist ideology stigmatises lower classes as being criminal, poor and idle.

develop within it as a result of deviancies from the norm. One of the frictions is the link between deviancy and marital status. In peasant societies marriage and self-employment were canonized and there is a wide economic distinction between self-employment and wage labour in peasant society. Arlacchi (1983:44) discusses the plight of marginalised, unmarried workers regarded as "vagabonds, drunks, paupers" trapped in a vicious circle where propertyless status reinforced low and un-married status. Kautsky (1899:158-9) also highlighted this link between deviancy, sexual drives, and outlets for the urges to avoid children, noting that a considerable proportion of the marginalised, unmarried population end up in jail.

As well as influencing and shaping the construct the peasant environment also influences and shapes the operational ethos of its subjects. For, example, Sahlins (1974:195) refers to the existence of entrepreneurial guile whereby peasants evolve an "eye singular to the man chance"... with ..."cunning, guile, stealth violence", being the guiding methodologies of achieving wealth. A dual deviancy develops whereby personal deviancies cross over into economic deviancy. Arlacchi (1983:55) discusses this phenomenon as selfish "double morality" which is primarily directed against outsiders. Arlacchi describes the growth of this ethos of "quick gain without communal advantage". Also, Arlacchi (1983:48) discusses this negative manifestation of the entrepreneurial spirit within the context of positive and negative "channels of reciprocity" such as "haggling, or barter, gambling, chicanery, theft and other forms of seizure". The latter negative channels of reciprocity influence entrepreneurial propensity because the arrogance of the outsider towards their host society amounts to a "raiding mentality" (ibid.59-60). Yet, Arlacchi (1983:62-63) acknowledges that many émigrés were ultimately "single salaried workers, illegitimate sons and daughters, deviants, criminals, peasant families" and that such fierce and unscrupulous deviants appear to have been the first to seek entrepreneurial activities, to have entered politics, founded businesses and organized crime.

Arlacchi (1983:130) discusses a peculiar "peasant pole of social order" with social mobility being dependent upon subservience to the aristocracy. Peasant entrepreneurship is about societal regeneration and the plight of the peasant is a universally understood story and escaping from a peasant lifestyle motivates one towards action. For Rockwell (1974:24) in peasant societies, pride (hubris) is high on the list of social virtues. Alongi (1894:230) makes reference to small landowners being "perverted by smug pride at having risen from the mass of the peasantry". These factors illustrate marginality and overcoming social impediments which are also central themes in entrepreneurial narrative and are class based in origin. Pipes (1974:87) found evidence of this when he examined the Russian peasant class or "Muzhik" (little man). As far back as 1790, Russian writers, such as Pushkin, stressed the entrepreneurial nature of the Russian peasantry. Sixteenth century travellers such as Johan de Rodes and Johan Kilburger were struck by the business enterprise of its citizenry, remarking that "they sell and barter without hypocrisy and concealment" (ibid.192). In discussing peasant entrepreneurship issues of value and morality pervade the literature demonstrating that constructions of the entrepreneur which emerge from a particular society are influenced and shaped by a raft of socio-cultural phenomenon. Peasant society provides those with an enterprising nature with the stimuli to trigger entrepreneurial behaviours and actions in its entrepreneurial underclasses.

7.1.7 – Considering the entrepreneur as a class, status group or party.

Cantillon, one of the forefathers of entrepreneurship theory, considered the entrepreneur an important class of person. Also, the criminologist Anton Blok (1974) considers the Sicilian Gabelotti to be an entrepreneurial class. Notwithstanding this, the question of whether collectively, the entrepreneur forms a generic class is a perplexing one. Some writers refer to the entrepreneurial classes, communities, and dynasties. However,

consideration of the entrepreneur as a social class is problematic but in concentrating upon the entrepreneur as a genre, one must take cognisance of the specific business and social communities the entrepreneur inhabits. In describing these entrepreneurial constructions, one is moving from the specific to the general, making stereotyping an essential analytic tool. Yet, entrepreneurs also belong to a particular chosen or ascribed social class thus they may face inner conflicts and dilemmas. Consideration of the entrepreneur as a genre encompasses their family, their network of associates, their class, their location; their peer group; their ethos; their ideology; and cherished iconology. Being an entrepreneur locates them in a particular class of enterprising person, necessitating consideration of class, party and status group.

Parties and Status Groups: It is possible to belong to a class and at the same time to a status group or party. For Neale (1983) the place of class is within the economic order, whilst status groups are located within the social order. Indeed, for Grimes (1991:174) the title entrepreneur is a status claim. Breen & Rottman (1995:28-29) argue that status groups exist by virtue of the positive or negative subject evaluations of others. Thus members take on a group prestige, or status claim based upon their relations to consumption as opposed to classes, which are based on relationships to production. Also, Neale (1983:67) notes that status groups are very effective in producing ideal types by self-selection of qualified individuals. The masculine entrepreneur as portrayed in the Western media is such an ideal type. Class and status groups are but two sides or manifestations of the same phenomenon. Neale (1983:59) in discussing the (entrepreneurial) propertied class of rentiers argued that class situation is ultimately market situation and is dominated by functional interests - whereas status orders are dominated by hierarchical interests. Breen & Rottman (1995) also refer to dominant entrepreneurial and propertied groups. The notion of including rentiers as an entrepreneurial class is problematic, given that obtaining revenue by virtue of charging a rent necessitates having established ownership of land or property. It is thus a practice which is more likely to be carried out by those with established money. Interestingly, Neale (1983:71) in discussing methods used by such parties to attain power cites naked violence, canvassing, money (bribes), social influence, the force of speech and obstruction, all of which mirror blatant gangster tactics.

Status groups exert an influence on the beliefs, attitudes, behaviours and actions of those who belong to them. Edgell (1993) argues that status lives in the shadow of class and Weber (1961:190) was careful to differentiate between class and status situation. Neale (1983:67) echoing Weber, highlights one such social influence namely, "status honour" (resting upon distance and exclusiveness and status privileges) arguing that "stratification by status goes hand in hand with the monopolization of ideal and material goods, or opportunities we have come to know as typical". Packard (1961:50) researched the issues of status, position, rank and standing concluded that people are differentiated by the recency of their arrival in a locality, by national background, by religion, or pigmentation. Although Packard researched this in relation to a U.S context, his findings nevertheless retain veracity in a U.K context. Packard (1961:93-110) studied prestige structures, hierarchy and ranking noting that because entrepreneurs have the potential to earn high incomes they rate in terms of position and status, stressing that although we value intellect we reserve our highest envy and respect for successful businessmen. Indeed, Packard (1961:96) stresses that high IQ is often regarded as a handicap for a businessman. Packard (1961:116) in searching for high-income earners found that almost all of them had earned their fortunes by starting and running their own businesses.

Consideration of the entrepreneur as a status situation is helpful in explaining the relationship between entrepreneurship and class. This can be argued by reference to the notion of Wright's (1976) "Contradictory Class Location" because rapid social advancement can leave a legacy that includes the inability to fit into a new socio-economic milieu. The entrepreneur may thus begin the epic journey of social advancement with a character and values formed during childhood. In succeeding and accruing wealth and status they clearly cannot remain static in terms of either status or class. They may therefore not belong to either class, hence the necessity to belong to a status group. This section is important because class, status groups and parties are all enabling and embedding mechanisms. The difference between class and status group is an important distinction because entrepreneurs as a general rule do not form into homogenous groupings as do classes.

7.1.8– Appreciating the importance of social mobility and social capital.

Social mobility and Social Capital are both important issues in determining class position inherent in the entrepreneurial processes and narrative. Social capital is an important part of the entrepreneurial construct because it relates to enacted ways of doing and can be viewed as bundles of practices. Social capital can be used to achieve social mobility. Indeed, Casson (1990) acknowledges the link between entrepreneurship, culture, immigration, and social mobility, viewing the entrepreneur as a non-conformist, an outcast, hence the search for respectability and social position. Catano (2001:122) talks of the middle class rhetoric of upward mobility as part of the entrepreneurial myth.

Social mobility: Entrepreneurship is a legitimate method of achieving social mobility, albeit that social mobility is a consequence of entrepreneurial success. Casson (1990:xxiii) acknowledges that whilst entrepreneurs may be excluded from high status groups, at the outset, they often belong to alternative status groups such as religious or ethnic minorities. Traditionally, legitimate avenues of social advancement through the establishment, the church, the armed forces, the civil service, and large hierarchical enterprises were often denied to them. Whilst this may no longer be the case, it is worth noting that there are few black land owning farmers in Britain. Thus outsiders are often pushed, rather than pulled, into self-employment. Regardless of where the individual starts upon the entrepreneurial ladder the process inevitably involves a status change. As working class entrepreneurs accumulate wealth and power their position in society changes, as does their expectations and life chances. As they progress through the class structure, a status change may be necessary to bridge the class divide. Packard (1961:7) warns that for those who aspire to rise in the world it is fatal to fail to discard old status symbols, friends, clubs, values and behaviour patterns and that it is advisable to take on the colouration of the group they aspire to. In doing so it is necessary to overcome the hidden barriers of social closure. Parkin (1971) identified two methods of social closure, namely, usurpation and exclusion. Entrepreneurship is a primary method of usurpation, whereas property and credentialism are primary methods of achieving social exclusion. Smith (1992) differentiates between the processes of social exclusion and self-exclusion. This is important because it presents the protean entrepreneur with a difficult balancing act to pull off in terms of positioning themselves rhetorically.

Goffee & Scase (1987) argue that mobility rates sustain the legitimacy of the Western capitalist system by legitimising entrepreneurship as an ideology far beyond its significance as an economic process. Scase (1992) appreciates the link between class, self-help and the market place, which offers real opportunities to those who want to succeed irrespective of class, social standing qualification or ability. Goss (1991) identified that an increasing number of individuals enjoyed upward mobility and personal success via the

openness of entrepreneurial trading with the entrepreneur being the Cinderella of capitalism. The entrepreneurial dream preserves the myth of openness and equal opportunity and entrepreneurship is a regenerative mechanism for the Capitalist Dream. Hertz (1986) argues that although such personal experiences are very rare they are sufficiently frequent to sustain the dominant ideology. Ward (1991) appreciated the power of entrepreneurship as a societal levelling mechanism enabling the un-credentialised, the marginalised, ethnic and the female to succeed. Scase (1992:48) appreciates that it encompasses a wider set of beliefs and aspirational values associated with personal achievement, credentialism and personal success. Scase (1992:500) argues that notions of personal success are only significant within the context of particular values, and goals, located within individuals and groups. Thus we return to the significance of values. This Weberian model implies that class is linked to status, party and the economic thereby inducing tensions with marginality theory.

Scase & Goffee (1982:188-9) discuss paths of entrepreneurial mobility indicating that proprietorship offers opportunities for upward mobility and avenues of self-advancement for deprived and disadvantaged groups, although it does not constitute an open avenue for upward mobility. Social mobility increases ones life chances. Breen & Rottman (1995:2) define life-chances as "the ability to share in the good things in life, both economic and social" and stipulate that the only relevant choices are those available. Breen & Rottman (1995) differentiate between objective commonality (that which is recognised by analysts) and subjective commonality (that which is recognised by subjects). Scase & Goffee (1982:20) argue that few sociological studies analyse the achievement of upward mobility through the small-scale capital accumulation.

Entrepreneurship is imbued with the notion of meritocracy which amplifies the relationship of merit to success by implying that the able will be allowed to succeed. Thus, failure is attributed to lack of merit. Scase (1992:42) differentiates between inter and intra generational social mobility and considers elite mobility, the influence of familial networks on the generational transmission of privilege or deprivation. Social mobility is a two way process. Social drift (a fall from grace) can result from such factors as misfortune, poor mental health, and an addictive personality and returns the non-competitive back to a lower economic class. Bourke (1994:38) reminds us that many working class women "sought social mobility through prostitution, using the job to save money to buy a tobacconist shop or simply to live at a higher standard of luxury". Furthermore, Bourke (1994:116) stresses that whilst working class children were encouraged climb the social ladder by acquiring secondary education only four or five per thousand won such scholarships. Thus entrepreneurship whilst clearly providing better odds, still remained a lofty ideal. One senses a pejorative attitude towards the entrepreneur articulated succinctly by Baker (in Chapman, 1968:9) who describes "the petty entrepreneurs and the slick smart Alecs of Grab Street who thrive on the society who spawns them". Social mobility is achieved by trading on social capital.

Social Capital: Social capital is a powerful explanatory variable in understanding entrepreneurship. Class position (and socio-economic positioning) can be used as a form of social capital as envisaged by Bourdieu (1986) who demonstrated that different conceptions of cultural merit are strongly connected to social class differences. The possession of economic capital goes hand in hand with possession of cultural capital, which can be en-cashed for material advantage. Bourdieu considered conversions of human activity into economic payoff positing the notion of Social Capital, identifying four complimentary types of capital - economic, cultural, social and symbolic. In determining entrepreneurial capacity one must take cognisance of

ambitions; motivations; desire and potential. For this reason, entrepreneurs are dependent upon non-economic human, social and cultural capital in creating their businesses - both their own and at employee level. Putnam (1993) stressed that social capital creates value and differentiated between physical capital (objects), human capital (the properties of individuals) and social capital (the connections among individuals). Putnam highlights the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise in situations of "civic virtue" embedded in a sense network of reciprocal social relations. Anderson & Jack (2000) developed this theme in relation to a search for status and prestige, gained by inclusion in the social context in which entrepreneurial activity occurs. Anderson & Jack refer to the production of prestige and for the manufacture of importance. Indeed, there is a certain status associated with an entrepreneurial career that is transferable from the state of being to the individual in the form of prestige derived from achievements, associations and power (Anderson & Jack, 2000:45). It is a form of social cachet. Anderson & Jack (2000:49-50) demonstrate the importance of local position, status and being a local face, pointing out that although being in business is itself status generative - this perception applies only to outsiders - non business people. This often manifests itself as "One-upmanship", because income or wealth alone is not sufficient to produce status, which requires augmented (ibid.50). Anderson & Jack concluded that status change and enhancement through business ownership and control was a universal feature of their respondents. Burt (1992) considered social capital as an embedded resource at individual (formal and informal), organizational, and societal level. Florin & Schultze (2000) define human capital as being specific to the individual; the firm; and the industry. Ucbasaran (2002:2-3) appreciates that social capital can have negative consequences or liabilities for entrepreneurs who may be engaged in hubris or denial.

Social capital is also important in relation to criminal entrepreneurship. Bourgois (1995) highlights the importance of social and cultural capital and strong entrepreneurial life themes on the development of entrepreneurial propensity. Bourgois studied the alternative income generating strategies and illegal enterprises of a Puerto-Rican Street crack gang. Interestingly, Bourgois (1995:19) attributes entrepreneurial success, failure to an individual's level of socio-cultural capital acting as a barrier or a key to success. Bourgois (1995:20) describes the gang leader Ray as an astute businessman who enhanced this image by driving a gold Mercedes increasing his street credibility and entrepreneurial image. Ray was an older father figure who mentored or exploited employees to extract wealth from the environment. Ray dreamt of operating as a legal entrepreneur and buying an abandoned building to establish a legal business (ibid.28). He failed because he lacked the necessary level of cultural capital to negotiate with officialdom or emulate "Anglo middle class cultural capital (1995:145)". As a criminal entrepreneur he succeeded because of his unique level of socio-cultural capital, which allowed him to manipulate kinship and affiliate networks inducing loyalty towards his evident business acumen. Bourgois (1995:135) marvels at this stark contrast and inability to establish viable ventures - a deli, a social club and Laundromat and his running of an illegal franchise. It highlights the different cultural capitals required to operate as a private entrepreneur as opposed to an underground entrepreneur. This failure to span the boundaries of legal-illegal entrepreneurship is mirrored in the story of one of Ray's employees who failed to establish a legitimate enterprise repairing electrical items, despite "his obvious entrepreneurial skills" (1995:135-6).

Furthermore, Bourgois (1995:114) explored the inability of gang members to participate in conventional work activities as a structural social problem. Despite a desire to work legally, they were unable to hold down office jobs because they dressed inappropriately and were unable to communicate or socialise with the

middle class staff at their level. The latter resisted their attempts at integration which was misconstrued by the gang as disrespect. Yet the gang members did not consider themselves victims, as their niche in the underground economy shielded them from having to accept they were socially and economically superfluous to mainstream society. They were conscious of their limited options, their addiction to drugs and their dependence on the crack economy for economic survival - personal dignity (ibid.98). Bourgois (1995:77) articulates that in their search for dignity and respect they were committed to a "Horatio Algers version of the American Dream" (ibid.324-326). In pursuing legitimacy they aggressively pursued careers as private entrepreneurs, taking risks, working hard as the ultimate rugged individualists (Bourgois, 1995:326). Searching for respect is a social process applicable to all entrepreneurs.

This section does not seek to suggest that there is a class based natural path of business development, linked to social advancement as there is no one "normal" entrepreneurial path. There is a danger in allowing one's reading of narrative texts and other ideologies to colour one's perception. However, what scholarship shows is that very few people become entrepreneurs. Most self-employed – usually of working class or lower middle class origin - stay that way, and very few manage to move beyond small employer. Conversely, owner-directors are very often middle class, educated, with inherited social assets, as suggested by Anderson & Cooper (2004). We now consider the influence of ethnicity.

7.2 – CONSIDERING ETHNICITY.

Ethnicity, as a form of exploitable social capital, is a cultural issue, integral to the construct and entrepreneurial narrative. Indeed, Agrawal & Chavan (2004) refer to ethnic cultural values. Two themes emerge namely ethnic advantage versus ethnic disadvantage. In this section we examine marginality thesis, ethnic-émigré entrepreneurship and the crooked ladder of crime.

7.2.1 – The part played by marginality thesis.

Vogel (1990) linked marginality to class. Marginality refers to the social process of isolation at the margins of society. Many fabled entrepreneurial groups such as Jews and Gypsies are treated as outsiders by their host society. Packard (1961:258) argues rootlessness is a big advantage in climbing the social ladder. However, forces of displacement are not enough in themselves to trigger entrepreneurship, which must be fostered by role models and influenced by membership of an entrepreneurial culture. It could be argued that the entrepreneur is Berger's (1963:57) "marginal man" because, of necessity, at particular stages in their life, they often have to operate on the margins of society. Chapman (1968:174) lends credence to marginality thesis as an explanation of the success of individual ethnic groupings in many avenues of social life by quoting from the autobiography of the boxer Jack Dempsey (Dempsey, 1960) Chapman narrates "You get your good fighters mainly out of families and racial groups that are poor, underprivileged and without much schooling...When the Irish were poor in the country...the rings were full of good Irish fighters...The Jews were replaced by the Negro fighters and now the Puerto Ricans" are the new underprivileged class who have to struggle to prove themselves. And so it is with entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship.

Waldinger (1986:32) documents the prevalence of entrepreneurial ethnic enclaves stating that immigrants naturally gather in ghettos (acting as a magnifying loci) where they share a commonality of experience and repertoire of symbols and customs with their peer group. Taylor *et al* (1975:24) argue that

the ghetto culture is a problem of uncontrolled free capitalism and not of individual mobility. However, such enclaves are often situated in marginal under privileged areas (Jarman, 1984). The poor are legitimated in a community web (ibid.60) where traditional informal practices of street corner economies thrive (ibid.271-2). Ghetto areas have long been revered in entrepreneurial mythology for example, Catano (2001:252) talks of "Ghetto entrepreneurship". Such areas expand and contract with prevailing economic cycles and turnover of members and many were formerly prosperous. In such areas social forces such as such as community, kinship, housing and discrimination by loci exert an influence (ibid.255-7) through adherence to common values and interests as opposed to the self-interest of entrepreneurship. Jordan *et al* argue that a respectable majority adhere to common values but distinguish between their actions and the fraudulent or criminal actions of the minority. Jordan *et al* puzzle how humans have a propensity to construct and follow norms of moral and social behaviour, and how these norms come into being and change over time. In marginal areas entrepreneurial drama is enacted through decline and renewal as a living parody of the entrepreneurial process. These themes of enclave and community are forms of ethnic advantages.

For Harrison (1983:30) such disadvantaged areas are the sump of society from which those with a choice seek to escape. Escape is linked to entrepreneurial mythology and marginal areas provide the spark from which entrepreneurial growth kindles. They are areas in which values like hope are important motivators against despair and where the generation of small businesses can result from the savings and ambitions of many disadvantaged people (ibid.43). Harrison (1983:316-326) argues that lack of legitimate entrepreneurial opportunity in marginal areas generates crime in the "search for alternative roads to status". The thin line between legal and illegal activity is easily crossed and entrepreneurial activity is conducted in a "cut throat environment" where the unscrupulous thrive (ibid.48). Harrison (1983:180) acknowledges the obvious "manipulative ability" of many inhabitants of the inner cities and likens the underworld to a sub-culture of conspicuous consumption – a caricature of conformity to capitalist values where one can achieve a lifestyle one would never hope to achieve legitimately (ibid.335). The data relating to ethnic entrepreneurship and criminality indicates that there is a wide gap between specific minorities in their propensity to commit crime. Harrison (1983:50) highlights the mismatch between the kind of jobs available and the skills of the residents, making entrepreneurship a viable, albeit difficult alternative. Notwithstanding this, the themes of poverty, unemployment, inadequate provision of opportunity and criminality are all ethnic disadvantages to be overcome. We now consider the value added by ethnicity.

7.2.2 – Valuing ethnic entrepreneurship.

Reid (1989) links ethnicity to social class and identity. Hanks (1979) defined ethnicity as relating to the characteristics of a human group having common racial, religious, linguistic, and other traits. Ethnicity and culture shape the entrepreneurial construct, because each country, region and ethnic groupings possess differing, constantly evolving notions of what constitutes an entrepreneur / entrepreneurship. Yet, the label ethnic entrepreneurship is a misnomer, there being no single ethnic cultural reality. Instead, there is a negotiated, co-ethnic population making ethno-entrepreneurial identity difficult to define, albeit that, writers, such as Ram (1993) take ethnic membership as an observable given. Casson (1982:12) stresses that many successful entrepreneurs emerge from minority groups where being an outsider can be a positive advantage, particularly if it leads one to question existing values and structures in society. From such introspection, entrepreneurial opportunities flow. Indeed, Packard (1961:54) argues that entrepreneurship

offered a route to success for many Negro businessmen, providing they followed the model set by the white entrepreneurs. Table 24 lays out several theories which explain the prevalence of ethnic entrepreneurship.

TABLE 24 – THEORIES OF ETHNIC ENTREPRENEURSHIP.	
Cultural Theory.	Places an emphasis upon cultural resources. Light (1984:191) proposed a cultural theory of immigrant entrepreneurship arguing that certain ethnic groups encourage private initiative by interjecting entrepreneurial values in the course of primary socialisation.
Interactive Theories.	These theories emphasise the congruence between demand and the ability of ethnic groups to meet the demand using informal resources at their command (Waldinger, 1986).
Ethnic Enclave Theory.	Emphasises the competitive advantages gained by ethnic entrepreneurs where there is a convergence of capital and entrepreneurial skill within an ethnic cultural grouping (Martin & Portes, 1980; Wilson & Martin, 1982).
Middleman Minority Theory.	Seeks to explain the prevalence of such successful groups as the Jews who act as middlemen in host countries but who do not assimilate into the host culture. The middleman has a sojourners mentality (Bonachich, 1973).
Opportunity Structure Theory	Seeks to explain success by opportunity structure and the fact that ethnic business opportunities change with the influx of new ethnic groups into a neighbourhood (Aldrich & Reiss, 1989). Also known as Ecological Succession Theory.

The common denominator is that they all emphasise the importance of ethnic cultural values and strong family ties. Ram (1993) highlighted the high participation of the Asian community in small business ownership-entrepreneurship. Harrison (1983:60-64) in discussing the informal rag trade describes the informal economy as being similar to a single celled amoeba that regenerates itself even after being disturbed, whereas a formal enterprise dies if disturbed. For Harrison, informal sectors are free to exploit the "black economy" by using home workers, an ideal labour force of "primordial free market capitalism". Much ethnic entrepreneurial activity occurs informally. Harrison (1983:430) remarks "self-help has a crucial role to play in improving the environment and role of inner-city communities". Given that self-help is a basic tenet of the entrepreneurial ethos the mechanism through which regeneration can be achieved is entrepreneurship.

Ward & Jenkins (1984) highlight the importance of the extended family as a resource in ethnic businesses and proposed three models of ethnic minority development – namely, the accumulation of ethnic assets (ethnic solidarity); the Cultural Approach (strengths and weaknesses); the Reaction based (as an escape from racism and xenophobia). Successful ethnic entrepreneurs succeed by using a particular set of entrepreneurial strategies. According to Waldinger (1986:31) they often succeed because they "are predisposed towards business and ... draw on informal ethnic resources that give them a competitive edge". Another successful strategy is operating via a familial pot of money.

7.2.3 – Émigré entrepreneurship.

Arlacchi (1983:35-9) discussed the role, function and value of emigration to economic systems, describing it as a "cycle of ascent and descent". Arlacchi argued that it is an economic necessity to allow excess labour to migrate to areas of higher opportunity allowing society to regenerate wealth from the margins. Neale (1983: 65-66) discusses the phenomenon of pariah peoples such as Jews, who live in segregated diasporas, noting that their situation is legally precarious, although by virtue of their economic indispensability, they are often tolerated and frequently privileged. The successful evolve from these (negatively) privileged enclaves that

serve as a seedbed from which shared cultural similarities, traits, life experiences, mores and values are perpetuated. Waldinger (1986:32) argues that emigration is usually a self-elective process and those who display initiative and enterprise are more likely to emigrate.

Evans & Leighton (1989) describe immigrant entrepreneurs as misfits pushed into entrepreneurship unable to gain legitimate access to the opportunity structure of the host state. Waldinger (1986:33&38) stresses that such "Blocked mobility is a powerful spur to business activity". Waldinger's (1986:30) theory of immigrant enterprise holds that they begin their careers by selling "cultural products" in niche markets, gradually expanding their business, by purchasing additional properties in transitional areas, challenging the domination of older entrepreneurial groups in the supply chain. This immigrant-ethnicity formula is a culturally marketable commodity. Waldinger (1986:43) citing Bonacich (1973) discusses the immigrant practice of sojourners who fully intend to return to their homeland and prefer self-employment over employment as it enables them to rapidly accumulate "portable investment capital". Ianni & Ianni (1972:144) discusses the southern Italian émigré who travelled abroad, alone and saved enough money to return home where they bought a small farm or shop and pursued their own version of the entrepreneurial dream. Waldinger (1986:41) also discusses pre-migration characteristics and predisposition to business, citing as an example how 19th century Russian Jews with a "high level of literacy ... a historical orientation towards trading, moved rapidly into entrepreneurial positions". Host societies benefit because of post migration characteristics whereby other immigrants imitate their enterprising peers (Waldinger, 1986:45). Waldinger *et al* (1990:127) argue entrepreneurship is embedded in networks of continuing social relations with immigrant entrepreneurs placing a higher emphasis on education. They tend to be better educated than the indigenous population but remain outsiders. Thus we return to the importance of values because the storied examples of ethnic entrepreneurship, cited above, resonate with the spirits of questing, hard work, action and action based stratagems. They are stories of doing and of succeeding against the odds by dint of hard work. A central theme is of movement which makes studying émigré entrepreneurship essential.

Arlacchi (1983:39) remarks that the mass migration of tens of thousands of young peasants, in the early 19th century, from the Mezzogiorno to America stabilized the system of family enterprise in Italy. The process of emigration often creates reciprocal chains with new marriages being formed strengthening bonds of family, kinship and friendship all of which strengthen the family enterprise. Indeed, Arlacchi (1983:189) refers to emigration as a "manifestation of the spirit of enterprise". The entrepreneurial urge is often present in an individual before they emigrate therefore the first generation businessman in America may have been a second generation entrepreneur in their homeland. Ianni & Ianni (1972:156) stresses that success in business whether legal or illegal allowed the realisation of the peasant dream by recreating family businesses. Indeed, the émigré dream is a particular form of the entrepreneurial dream. Bourgois (1995:137&170) notes that in pursuing the immigrant dream, ethnic entrepreneurs face a bicultural dilemma, which forces them to make a trade off between adopting the route of upward mobility or whether to passively accept the structural victimisation that limits one's life chances. In perpetuating ethnic succession they are often accused of ethnic betrayal. Interestingly, Arlacchi (1983:58) stresses that the most ardent societal deviants are usually amongst the first to emigrate, including the criminally inclined. This section illustrates the importance of movement to the entrepreneurial construct because émigrés possess a different value set from those who choose to remain. Such value sets can include negative as well as positive features making it necessary to consider the link between ethnicity, the crooked ladder of social mobility and crime.

7.2.4 – Acknowledging the crooked ladder of social mobility.

Ethnicity plays an important part in the formation of crimino-entrepreneurial culture because entrepreneurship is often practised at the margins of society where those considered as ethnics are often located. Indeed, Bell (1960) and (1953:133) viewed ethnic involvement in organized criminality as reaffirming the value of the entrepreneurial endeavour by achieving independence, a business of their own and social advancement. Ianni & Ianni (1972:61) consider organized crime as a predatory philosophy of success and part of the “business system operative in the illicit segment of American life”. Bell (1963) appreciated that illegal enterprises offered the most available opportunities for achieving financial success and even a degree of social acceptance. Bell (1953:152) suggested that their tactics were not subtly different from many pioneers of American Capitalism in their bid for legitimacy. Bell describes the successive transfer of wave after wave of European immigrants out of the slums and into mainstream society via the “Queer ladder of social mobility”, the first rung of which is organized crime. This process saw the rise of Italian, Irish, and Jewish gangsters to positions of power and respectability in society, finally coming to rest as successful businessmen an acculturation process which took four generations.

Ianni & Ianni (1972:55) argue that crime offered an accelerated route to riches for the immigrant and their second-generation offspring suggesting that the underworld is an integral part of the socio-economic system. Furthermore, Taylor *et al* (1975:34) argue that property crime is best understood as a normal and conscious attempt to amass property. Ianni & Ianni (1972:61) argue that many organized crimes exist on the margins of “legitimate business practice” citing the high visibility and public tolerance of illegal gambling. Ianni & Ianni (1972:77) discuss the entrepreneurial propensity of many immigrants who turned a profit in anything they turned their hand to. Hess (1988:161-167) discusses the role of the early Italian émigré to America in creating the myth of the Mafiosi as an entrepreneur, stating - “The Sicilian who emigrated to America at the turn of the Century found himself in a country where the pioneering spirit, the myth of the robust self-made man, was very much alive. He came to a world where it was up to the individual to seize his chance and make his fortune, even though by not altogether legal means by bending the law or, if necessary by using force”. Hess (1998:163-167) argues that the average Italian-American gangster rose from the lower stratum of society and benefited from association with the American Dream, being regarded by the Sicilian émigré community as their manifestation of the “poor boy made good”. Hess argues that ethnic cohesion created a hiding place for the émigré Mafiosi in the new-world. Hess (1998:171) describes the process of morphology, which saw immigrant ruffians evolve into “conservatively dressed businessmen with smooth manners”. Thus crime may offer an alternative route through entrepreneurship and should be recognised as such because crime and entrepreneurship share common arguments and theories in relation to push versus pull in relation to issues of ethnicity and social capital. We now consider gender.

7.3 – CONSIDERING GENDER.

According to Bem (1993) gender is a social construct, and for Catano (2001:8) it is a socially constructed rhetorical construct. Theoretically, entrepreneurship is asexual in construction. We use it as a non-gender specific term to refer to entrepreneurs regardless of their sex although in practice it has developed strong masculine connotations. The visibility of the heroic male entrepreneur is enhanced by the silence and invisibility of much female entrepreneurial narrative and by an assumption of the entrepreneurial

incompetence of women (Watson, 2003). Stubbe *et al* (2000:250) suggest that discourse strategies are crucial in filtering social constructivist perceptions through a gendered lens. Connell (1995:82) highlight that in 1992, of the 55 US fortunes above \$1 billion only 5 were women and of those four inherited their fortunes from men. This illustrates the gap between genders. Until the last decade it was a silent, forgotten narrative in comparison to the highly visible, dominant image of the male entrepreneur. Invisibility and silence are common themes which perhaps accounts for the contemporary skewed masculinity of the "malestream" entrepreneur (O'Brien, 1976). The invisibility metaphor is widely used to describe women in family business and entrepreneurship research (Ogbor, 2000; Poza & Messer, 2001; Mulholland, 1996a, 1996b; Marshack, 1994; Baines & Wheelock, 1999). There is a growing body of research into feminine aspects of entrepreneurship - Bandura (1977), Scherar, Adams, Carley & Wicke (1989) and Brush (1992). In comparison research into the influence of masculinity on entrepreneurship is almost negligible. Thus as a general rule when gender is introduced into the discourse of entrepreneurship it is often read as appertaining to female entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship is clearly socially constructed as being masculine, so that if gender is discussed it is as a sub-set. Indeed, Catano (2001:2) defines gender as a set of internalized rules, attitudes, and performative behaviours, a body of mythico-ritual representations whose existence produces doxa". Catano views entrepreneurship to be a masculine doxa enacted as masculine self-making.

The socially constructed nature of knowledge is at its most discernable in gender studies. Indeed, Ljunggren & Alsos (2001:10) describe the societal construction of the entrepreneur as being "gendered" towards masculine values. Ahl (2002) deconstructed the discourse of female entrepreneurship from 81 Academic articles and concluded that entrepreneurship is male gendered, but thought of as neutral although male and female entrepreneurs are assumed to be different. Female entrepreneurs are presented as differing from the norm. Achtenhagen & Welter (2002) conducted an analysis of two leading German newspapers and found that women entrepreneurs are marginalised by the following techniques (1) the sex appeal of women entrepreneurs; (2) the behaviour of the female entrepreneurs is described in comparative terms to that of male entrepreneurs; (3) the female entrepreneur is presented as a super women figure; (4) frequent reference is made to their appearance and clothes for example - Chanel suits; (5) self-fulfilment is emphasised; (6) the articles stress that female entrepreneurs have had to behave like men in order to succeed and have had to subdue themselves to male characteristics. German women appear to reject the masculine Get Rich Quick model of entrepreneurship. Additionally, Shane *et al* found that achieving a higher position in society together with more status and prestige for the family were more important for men than women. We now examine the invisibility of female entrepreneurship.

7.3.1 – Seeing through the invisibility of the female entrepreneur.

Ljunggren & Alsos (2001:2-3) complain that until the 1980's entrepreneurial research was "gender blind" with women entrepreneurs being rarely "exposed" in the media. Ljunggren & Alsos further assert that the media has an important impact on shaping attitude creation as well as making potential role models visible. They acknowledge that perceived differences between the genders result from their social constructs. Until recently society was arranged along predominantly hegemonic Patriarchal lines. Ljunggren & Alsos (2001:6-8) sought to establish to what extent male and female entrepreneurs were presented in the newspapers; what subjects are discussed; and how are they presented and what characteristics were emphasised. Using content analysis they found that of the 276 articles analysed, only 25 related to females. Ljunggren & Alsos argue that the male and female entrepreneurs were presented differently by the media and that the subjects

discussed were dependent upon the role presented. Male entrepreneurs were more frequently criticized for possible violations of business ethics and law whereas journalists were prone to spicing up stories about female entrepreneurs mentioning whom they were married to or the number of children a feature uncommon in articles about males. This seems to be trivialising, by drawing on the gender specific. Images of the male entrepreneur are therefore projected differently from the female. A parallel point uncovered by Ljunggren & Alsos (2001:10) suggests that the lack of exposure that small and new entrepreneurs receive in the newspapers is exacerbated by a concentration upon a small group of four to five men who have made it big in business. The media accentuates these chosen few. It is not necessarily a male versus female issue, but possibly a dominant versus alternative paradigm. In a parody of the treatment of female entrepreneurs, small and new entrepreneurs are seldom referred to or offered up as realistic role models. Mallon & Cohen (2001) examined the discourses and stories of women becoming self-employed and in particular, the extent to which, in telling their stories, respondents engaged with emerging career discourses. The themes of entrepreneurial orientation, dissatisfaction with the organisation and balance of personal and professional life emerged and combined to create a situation whereby at certain stages in their career were more likely to consider going it alone as an entrepreneur.

Petterson (2002:2-7) questioned why entrepreneurs in Gnosjo, Sweden are typically constructed as masculine when 33% of them are female, concluding that it is a process of social construction enshrined in tradition that the entrepreneur is presented as a man. According to Sundin (1988), Wendeberg (1982), and Holmquist (1996) this is because of the masculine connotations of the e-word and the female rejection of the ethos. Petterson notes that the French version has a masculine ending with the feminine ending 'euse' being seldom, if ever used. Thus the symbolic construction of the entrepreneur is the man. Petterson emphasises this gender blindness as no one refers to male entrepreneurs. Gunnerud Berg (1997) reiterates the focus on male owned enterprises and male entrepreneurs. Petterson (2002:8) argues that female entrepreneurs are portrayed as the wives of male entrepreneurs, help mates or self-employed. Holmquist (2000) discusses this obsession with the sole male entrepreneur whose business and family are appendages. Petterson (2002:9) argues that this leads to female entrepreneurs being treated in a less important, cavalier and dismissive manner. Thus the socially constructed nature of the gendering process renders female entrepreneurs invisible, reinforcing the ideology of the male dominated world of the normal male entrepreneur projected via male dominated, ideological imagery, supported and enhanced by the media. McDowell (2000:499) criticises this valorisation of the masculine and the devaluation of the feminine in the social construction of economics.

7.3.2 – Learning to differentiate between masculine and feminine value systems.

An alternative heroic narrative also emerges from the literature with female entrepreneurs succeeding "against all odds" (Stevenson, 1986). Fagenson (1993) researched the personal value systems of male and female entrepreneurs concluding that they have different value systems. The entrepreneur is portrayed as an outsider, an underdog unchampioned by entrepreneurial mythology. Women are the ultimate outsiders (Fast, 1981:7). Women appear to have different work goals than men who are more achievement orientated. Women aspire to succeed in an honest way, not because of who they know, but because of their skills. Women adopt a higher ethical stance and network differently than men, networking with other women in the company (secretaries, cleaners) in a non-competitive manner, whereas men network with power-status figures. Women seek out a professional identity (being taken seriously). Cromie (1988) examined the motivations of aspiring male and female entrepreneurs concluding that they may be different to those which

drive the masculine entrepreneur. Ljunggren (forthcoming) describes a process of societal alienation towards entrepreneurs presented as embodying the "hegemonic masculinity of entrepreneurship". Holmquist & Lindgren (2002:1-2) advocate emancipation from such institutionalised images, arguing entrepreneurship is usually embodied within a "single person, the entrepreneur" enhancing its image of individual, not collective action. Notwithstanding this, entrepreneurial women are presented as examples of success stories (Wilkins, 1987). However, such portrayals tend to be written patronisingly, as if the fact that she has a business of her own is unusual. Holmquist (2002b) stresses that the entrepreneur is the medium, not the message, whilst Sundin & Holmquist (1989) argue that women do things together and are thus unable to identify with a single hero, disqualifying them from traditional entrepreneurial status. They simply do not conform to traditional images of entrepreneurship, making the perpetuation of certain storylines problematic, illustrating that masculine values cannot be imposed on female entrepreneurs, or their stories.

7.3.3 – Understanding why masculine values cannot be imposed on female entrepreneurs

It is difficult to refer to the self-made female entrepreneur without sounding patronising because masculine legitimising storylines do not transfer well across gender boundaries – for example "the-poor-girl-made-good" or "self-made-women". These phrases do not trip naturally from the tongue. In referring to one such fictional heroine the novelist, Clarke (1979) utilised the unconvincing phraseology "The Robber Baroness". Similarly, MacIntyre (1997:196) profiles one Victorian adventuress Kitty Flynn (of humble origins who married into a great fortune) as being a "self-made Grand Dame". Marrying into wealth was, and is, a legitimate entrepreneurial life strategy. It is evident that different narratives are required when writing about female entrepreneurs. Campbell (2002:23) discusses oral histories, and in particular the methodology of feminist oral histories, arguing that women employ stories and anecdotes to make sense of their experiences and to help or council other women, whereas men use stories as vehicles through which to eulogise themselves and dominate others. Campbell argues that autobiographies are critical in rebuilding the historical record of women's place in history but there are few biographies of female entrepreneurs. Gergen (1992) suggests this domination may run deeper than being a mere artefact of patriarchal society, or unchivalrous behaviour as men accommodate themselves more easily to the prevailing criteria for proper storytelling than do women and that autobiographical accounts of women's lives are structured around multiple end points. Entrepreneur stories may therefore be a narrative socially constructed by men, for men.

7.4 - REFLECTIONS.

The chapter objectives were to examine the role of demographic attributes in shaping destiny and highlight how class, ethnicity and gender shape the construct. This chapter shows that these inter related demographic attributes play a significant part in shaping socially constructed expectations of what constitutes entrepreneurship and thus the entrepreneur. Central to this are the notions of social class and economic status. In entrepreneurship theory there are two main class based theories which ascribe entrepreneurial status as being a facet of either working class upbringings or socialisation into middle class values. The former influences the construction of the mythical working class entrepreneur. A less discernable sub theory is that of the Peasant entrepreneur. The orthodox social script of entrepreneurship portrays the entrepreneur as a lone hero thus the literature seldom considers the entrepreneur as a class, party or status group situated in entrepreneurial communities, milieu, elites and establishments all of which

in turn influence the construct. The driving force of entrepreneurship is generally narrated as an aspiration to achieve social mobility, either within or between social classes. The chapter demonstrated that there is a tension between social class and economic status and the achievement of social mobility. When ethnicity is brought into play it generally locates the entrepreneur in a particular social milieu where issues of marginality are brought into play. As a general rule it is within these same socially disadvantaged milieus that social forces generate crime. Thus crime and entrepreneurship are often collocated to such an extent that crime is an alternative avenue into entrepreneurship and the achievement of social mobility. When one takes cognisance of gender issues, social constructionism dictates that the entrepreneur is generally portrayed as a heroic male person and the dominant gender which influences the construct is that of masculinity. Indeed, entrepreneurship is written as a reinforcing masculine doxa. The influence of femininity on the construct is less discernable. These demographic attributes influence how individual entrepreneurs act and are portrayed and shape their individual levels of social capital.

This chapter continues mapping entrepreneurial process and develops the importance of value concentrating upon enabling-embedding mechanisms. The main thrust of the chapter was to demonstrate how demographic attributes shape entrepreneurial propensity and constructs. This chapter has also demonstrated that notions of the entrepreneur are socially constructed to the exclusion of social groupings such as the under and middle classes and in this manner moves our understanding along, causing us to question the accepted explanations of who is, or is not an entrepreneur? Furthermore, this chapter added to our knowledge of the inter dependence of entrepreneurial themes and highlights the importance of narrative formats in explaining this complex social phenomenon. Previous chapters have all been concerned with developing an appreciation of (and mapping) social mechanisms of enabling and embedding. From chapters 8, onwards the focus moves to examining the communicational elements of entrepreneurship including narrative formats and mechanisms of engaging and enacting.

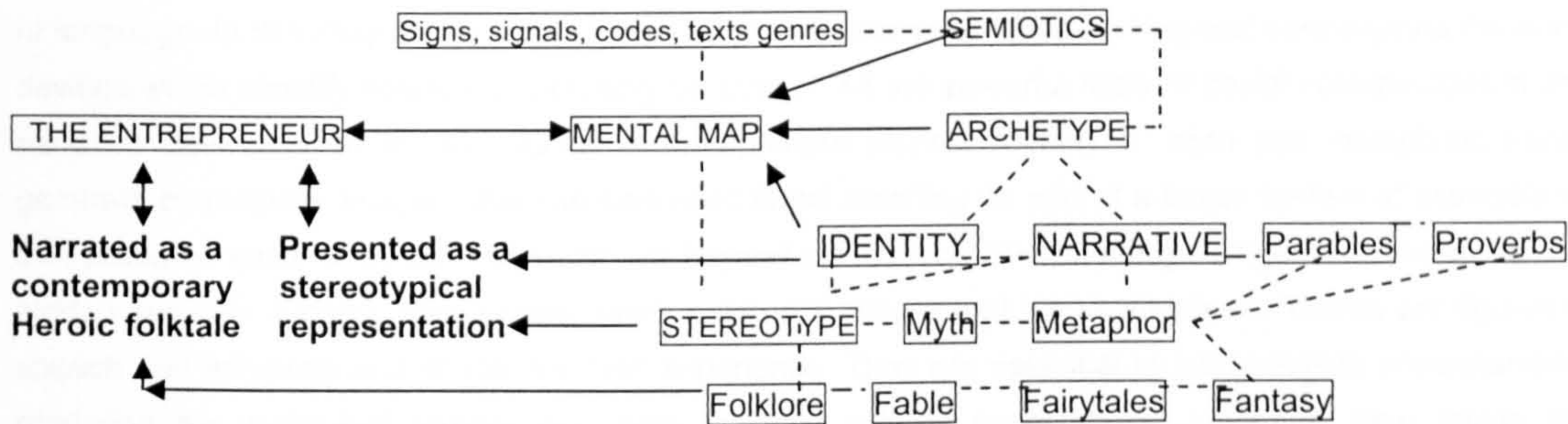
8 – NARRATIVE BUILDING BLOCKS.

INTRODUCTION.

READERS' GUIDE.

This chapter

1. Demonstrates how basic building blocks of narrative construct proto-entrepreneurial narratives.
2. Illustrates how they are used together and in combinations, producing layered meanings.



8.1 – SEMIOTIC BUILDING BLOCKS.

8.1.1: Semiotics briefly explained.

8.1.2: How signs, signals, codes, texts and genres form mental maps.

8.2 – ARCHETYPAL BUILDING BLOCKS.

8.2.1: Archetype and symbols in narrative.

8.2.2: Archetype and Identity.

8.3 – MYTHOLOGICAL BUILDING BLOCKS.

8.3.1: Mythology explained.

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8.4 – METAPHORICAL BUILDING BLOCKS.

8.4.1: Metaphor further explained.

8.4.2: Metaphor and entrepreneurship.

8.4.3: Visual metaphors as an aid to understanding.

8.5 – PROTO-ENTREPRENEURIAL NARRATIVES.

8.5.1: The contribution of parable and proverbs as proto-entrepreneurial narratives

8.5.2: The contribution of fable, fantasy, fairytale and folklore to entrepreneurial narrative.

8.6 – CONSTRUCTING THE STEREOTYPICAL ENTREPRENEUR.

8.7 - REFLECTIONS.

This chapter turns to mapping the linguistic and communicational elements of knowledge used to construct entrepreneurial narrative. In previous chapters, we developed an understanding of complex social enabling and embedding processes and in this we begin to develop a similar understanding in relation to linguistic engaging and enacting mechanisms from which entrepreneur stories are constructed. Constructivist theorists argue that linguistic codes construct and maintain social realities. Linguistics, semiotics and narrative convention shape our observations of lived experience making the complex understandable. Linguistics is the study of language, which is the font of constructionism. Berger & Luckmann (1971:49-61) argue that through language we objectify and understand knowledge in everyday life. Language is thus a basic building block of understanding. For Berger & Luckmann objectification is achieved via the process of signification – turning things into signs, serving as an index of subjective meaning. We construct signs into symbols and symbolic meaning systems. We construct words into sentences and paragraphs and narrative typologies such as archetype, myth, parable and proverbs. Language marks social identity with words acting as a label for pre-existing ideas and concepts allowing us to understand things, like entrepreneurship, which we have never experienced and also to express our state of being, bridging different spatial, temporal and

social knowledge zones. For Berger & Luckmann, this creates an available stock of social knowledge, or lore that guides our actions as participative socially constructed relevance structures. Indeed, entrepreneurship is a specific stock of social knowledge and relevance structure in its own right.

From the literature, an understanding of the importance of semiotics, archetype, myth and metaphor as powerful rhetorical devices for explaining entrepreneurship to those who have not encountered, nor experienced it first hand emerged. Indeed, for Ofverstrom *et al* (2002:13) "one cannot know or understand something that one does not recognize". Recognition is a form of understanding built upon an understanding of language. In this chapter, we explore the role of such complex sense-making and sense-giving rhetorical devices which simplify otherwise confusing constructs. All are powerful tools of social constructionism and narrative devices used in the creation of entrepreneur stories. Archetype, myth and metaphoric tropes generate connotative imagery that can transcend literal meaning as part of a larger system of associations that predates each of us and moreover are beyond our control. Such underlying figurative tropes contain hidden semiotic thematic frameworks, which guide our actions and communications. Tropes are figures of speech that influence and shape our lived experience. They are essential to interpretative understanding, rendering the unfamiliar familiar and help maintain cultural expectations, governing how things are represented. This chapter demonstrates how contemporary entrepreneurial narratives are constructed from a variety of proto-entrepreneurial narratives including archetype, myth, metaphor, parable, proverbs, fable, fantasy, fairytales and folklore which are all ways of understanding and organising action.

8.1 - SEMIOTIC BUILDING BLOCKS.

Semiotics is an aid to "Verstehen" albeit that its relevance to our understanding of entrepreneurship is not always clear. This section explains semiotics prior to examining how its constructionist building blocks of signs, texts, codes and genres combine to form mental maps which influence representations of the entrepreneur. Chandler (1994) distinguishes between lingual and visual semiotics and this chapter is concerned with the semiotics of narrative, and not of images as a reflection of perceived reality. Knowledge of semiotics, or the science of signs, is vital to understanding constructions of the entrepreneur which are influenced by archetype, myth and metaphor. Semiotics is an essential tool for understanding social constructionism because of the complexity of the hidden structures of meaning. For Chandler (1994) semiotics is about the philosophical theorising on the role of signs in the construction of reality. It is of interest to "Verstehen" because Wimsatt & Beardsley (1954:21) argue that meaning lies within the text; whilst Culler (2001:76) views semiotics as a method or theory of reading, requiring us to grasp, formulate and define thereby allowing us to make imaginative transformations. Culler (2001:104) appreciates this shift from mimesis to semiosis, which occurs when we shift from the mimetic to hermeneutic reading entailing shifting up a semiotic (Barthes, 1988:127). Semiotics "make-sense" of phenomena but can lead to oversimplification because the epistemological system can never be fully described (ibid.70-1). Barthes (1988:141) argues that in semiological work, one must find the passage, which joins anterior and present stories and accordingly, this chapter joins proto-entrepreneurial stories to entrepreneur stories.

8.1.1 - Semiotics briefly explained.

Semiotics is a form of communication germane to all academic disciplines and operates via a complex system of signs, signals, codes, texts and genres which combine to form semiotic sign systems and mental

maps. Guiraud (1975:24) argues that sign systems are hermeneutic interpretations. A hermeneutic is a philosophical, aesthetic, or cultural grid supplied by the receiver who applies it to the text (ibid.65). Knowledge, meaning, intention and action are fundamental to semiotics which deals with negotiated meaning, not unmediated objective realities. Chandler (1994) describes it as a conceptual crowbar, allowing us to deconstruct the codes of particular texts and practices. It is a unifying conceptual framework, a set of methods and terms encompassing the full range of signifying practices, including gesture, posture, dress, writing, speech, photography, film and television. For Chandler, its power lies in the visual availability of seeing a genre in movement and action, and not merely expressed via the frozen modality of the printed word. According to Kress & van Leeuwen (1996:40-41) semiotic systems have three essential meta-functions, ideational, interpersonal and textual. Furthermore, it enables us to cross academic boundaries, making connections between apparently disparate phenomena. It is a focus of enquiry concerned with meaning-making practices that conventional academic disciplines treat as peripheral. It uncovers hidden meaning beneath the obvious, providing fruitful insights. It explores connotative meanings and interpretation, challenging the reductive transmission model that equates meaning with message (or content) demonstrating that meaning is not passively absorbed but results from the active process of interpretation. It assists in the search for "Verstehen" because for O'Connor & Downing (1995:19) it unmask underlying patterns in culture and communication.

Semiotics has a long, if not entirely respectable history (Smith & Anderson, 2005). Barthes (1988:61) makes reference to Aristotle's consideration of *semia* or signs by which we make ourselves understood. Two semiotic schools of thought are of interest to this study - Saussurian Semiology and Peircian Semiotics. Saussure was interested in codes and the dyadic relationship of the sign (physical) to the signified (triggered concept). Pierce perceived reality as built using the analytic framework of deduction (logic truth), induction (drawing conclusions) and abduction (plausible conclusions). For Saussure, language systems precede our use, making us subject to structural determinism and autonomy constructed by the semiotic system of language, ideology, myth, images, objects, and acts which become signs only when we attribute meaning to them. The word entrepreneur is a sign, the actual entrepreneur is a signifier; and the signified what we interpret thus signifier and signified are inseparable. For Chandler (1994) the Saussurean tradition, looks beyond specific texts or practices to the systems of functional distinctions operating within them to establish underlying conventions, significant differences and oppositions. Semiotics thus makes explicit the implicit. Semiotics can be likened to a chain because with each level of understanding that one adds – the length and strength of the chain extends. Noth (1990:89) refers to the semiotic triangle, composed of sense, sign-vehicle and referent. Semiotics has a social aspect as image and text invokes different meanings in different subjects. Thus what is regarded as obvious, natural, universal, given, permanent and incontrovertible is the result of socially constructed discourses and sign systems or sets of associated signifiers belonging to the same membership group. Barthes (1988:145-153) refers to semiotic value, viewing Saussure's work as being a theory of value. For Culler (2001:xv) semiotics brings methodological clarity. Epistemologically, it aims to identify the codes and recurring patterns of a particular sign system and to understand how these communicate meaning along the semiotic chain, beginning with basic units of communication, built into words and sentences and formed into texts and stories. Lawes (2002) stresses that semiotics takes an "outside in" approach and is concerned with establishing how reality is formed inside our heads necessitating studying culture. For Lawes it is a visionary methodology, helping one look to the future whilst

understanding the past. This makes it of immense interest to entrepreneurship – because if entrepreneurship is the creation and extraction of value from an environment, then semiotics permits the creation and extraction of meaning from that environment.

8.1.2 – How signs, signals, codes, texts and genres form mental maps.

Signs, signals, codes, texts and genres combine to form mental maps. For Hall (1977:328) we speak in and through signs which for Saussure (1974:6) were an inescapable part of social life. Ryder (1995:7) understands that we “extract meaning from signs” and that signs are not data that can be neatly dismissed as true or false but provide hints that illuminate circumstances. Indeed, the meaning of a sign is not contained within it, but arises from interpretation of modes of relationship (Hawkes, 1977:129). Signs represent other things and operate at different levels – symbolic, iconic and indexical. Symbolic signs do not resemble the signified and must be learned, whereas iconic signs physically or perceptually resemble or imitate the signified. Indexical signs are directly connected to the signified as in smoke-fire. Such linkages are observed or inferred and signs simultaneously convey and construct meaning. The interpretation of signs occurs at different level – syntactic recognition; semantic comprehension; and pragmatic interpretation. The basic task of interpretation is to identify what a sign represents requiring a degree of familiarity with the medium and the representational codes involved. For Hartley (1982:26) signs often express messages beyond that intended, thus a photograph of the actor George Cole in his role as Arthur Daley is indexical (resembling George Cole) and we learn to signify the appearance as Arthur Daley with being an entrepreneur (iconic signification). Indeed, for Eco (1976:267) such signs are charged with cultural signification. Two types of signifieds concern us - denotative (literal) and connotative (imbued with socio-cultural and personal associations, ideology and emotions). Connotation is influenced by factors such as class, age, gender and ethnicity. Denotation forms a chain leading to connotation, via the use of metaphor, myth and so on. Semiotic systems thus contain ideological elements which for Burgin (1982:46) are the sum of taken-for-granted-ness. For Culler (2001:viii/xvii) sign sequences require to be interpreted, necessitating identifying plots and satisfactory endings. It is to this end we turn in chapter 9.

Semiotic codes are sets of familiar implicit or explicit practices, or interpretive frameworks, of variable socio-cultural dynamics. These have a basis in history but change over time. Codes arrange signs into meaningful systems - helping us to simplify phenomena and communicate experiences. Codes (like morality) are a system of guidance towards a preferred reading (Hall, 1980:131-134) facilitating understanding, and for Guiraud (1975:24) they are systems of explicit social convention. Codification establishes conventions and traditions generally adhered to by specific communities. For Jakobson (1971) the production and interpretation of texts depends upon the existence of communicational codes or conventions, triggered by relevant codes and cues. Guiraud (1975) proposed three basic kinds of codes, namely - logical, aesthetic and social. Understanding how these operate helps us to denaturalise them, making their implicit conventions explicit and amenable to analysis. Semiotic codes operate at an invisible taken for granted level and must be learned in a process of profound naturalisation (Hall, 1980:132). This naturalisation entails adopting the inherent values, assumptions and world-views built into them. Successful codes project images related to espoused rhetoric, but require a level of pre-learned knowledge. See table 25 for an overview of semiotic codes.

TABLE 25 - SEMIOTIC CODES. Source Chandler (1994)	
Social	Verbal language (phonological, lexical, paralinguistic sub codes); Bodily codes (proxemics, appearance, facial expression, gestures and posture); Commodity codes (fashions, clothing, and cars); Behavioural codes (protocols, rituals, role-playing, and games); Visual codes (Cultural role models); Aural codes (accent, mode of speech).
Visio-textual	Are representational - Aesthetic codes (such as drama, romanticism, and realism); Genre, rhetorical and stylistic codes ; Narrative (plot, character, action, dialogue, and setting); Exposition, argument and so on ; Mass media codes including photographic, televisual, filmic, newspaper and magazine codes.
Interpretative	Are perceptual, knowledge based ideological codes (isms) - individualism and capitalism.

Semiotic codes are important because roles, conventions, attitudes, and language are all produced by internalised, repetitive codes, which accrue meaning and when repeated within a consistent loci produce the self. For Nichols (1981:30) such internalisations do not fully determine the self, but position us, blinding us to self as socially constructed because we consider ourselves autonomous individuals with unique personalities. According to Fiske (1992:288) individuals are produced by nature and subjects by culture. For Fiske (1989a:313) culture is created, understood and communicated via codification. Nichols argues that society depends upon its members granting its founding fictions, myths or codes a taken-for-granted status. Cultural values are thus codes consisting of a tissue of convention passed down to us through generations. As a code, values are not natural, but are social constructs, that evolve in time and space and differ radically between cultures. Codes are of importance in the quest for "Verstehen" because to fully understand entrepreneurship, one must be able to identify and deconstruct the codes which represent it. However, according to Barthes (1988) decoding depends closely on one's culture, knowledge of the world, and ethical and ideological stances because perceptual and cultural messages are transmitted simultaneously.

Signs, signals and codes become embedded in texts and narratives which embody actions and experiences. According to Culler (2001:43) we take up, parody or refute them. Generic conventions are at their purest and most idealised when parodied. Chandler (1994) argues that we derive knowledge from books, newspapers, magazines, cinema and television and frame and live our life through texts (intertextuality blurs the boundaries). Texts are polysemic (having plurality of meanings) and are open to interpretation. It is thus essential to distinguish message from code in what Barthes (1988:139) terms the braid of narrative meaning. Meaning is the first step towards the assignation of value. However, texts can have latent, hidden meanings. Eco (1965) discusses closed texts (that encourage a particular interpretation) and open texts (that do not). For Hall (1980) social positioning plays a role in the interpretation of texts by different social groups. Hall suggested three interpretative codes relating to the position of the reader of the text – 1) Dominant-hegemonic - where the reader fully shares the code accepting and reproducing the preferred reading as natural; 2) Negotiated - where the reader partly adopts the code but modifies it; and 3) Oppositional-counter hegemonic - rejecting the preferred reading for an alternative frame of reference. Harre & Davies (1990) argue that positioning is achieved via the discursive production of selves.

Texts in turn, influence genres which enable us to identify, select and interpret related phenomena. Genres can be dominant or subordinate and are divisible into sub-genres. Texts embody certain values and ideological assumptions establishing a particular worldview but change over time to reflect and shape dominant ideologies. Genre directly addresses an ideal reader aware of its nuances - communicating by

genre presupposes an assumption of level of understanding. Chandler (1994) finds defining genre deeply problematic, because different texts share conflicting conventions of content, themes or settings and form, structure and style. Genres overlap and texts can exhibit multiple conventions. For Chandler generic frameworks can contain conflicting theories and practices and encompass different ideologies. Genres can share linked permeable boundaries, topics and formal frames and can contain dichotomous images. Table 26 sets out the distinctive features of a genre.

TABLE 26 - DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF A GENRE. Source – Leland 1998.	
Narrative	Consisting of similar, sometimes formulaic plots and structures, interspersed with predictable situations, sequences, episodes, obstacles, conflicts and resolutions.
Characterisation	The congruence between similar types of characters (sometimes stereotypical), roles, personal qualities, motivations, goals and behaviour.
Themes	Recurring as topics, subject matter, such as social, cultural, psychological, professional, political, or moral. Value is a primary theme broadcast by genres.
Setting	Whether contemporary, geographical or historical dictate tone and imagery invoked.
Iconography	Is echoed in narrative, characterisation, themes and setting and involves invoking a familiar stock of images or motifs of fixed connotation. Iconic images are primarily but not exclusively visual and include décor, costume, artefacts and objects, and certain typecast performers (representing a symbolic iconic value). Familiar patterns of dialogue, characteristics, sounds and appropriate physical topography act ironically.

One must also consider the dominant mimetic prevalent in popular culture when analysing genres, which in entrepreneurship literature, is heroic masculinity. The entrepreneur and entrepreneurship can be regarded as genres presented via other forms of literary genre such as fiction, non-fiction, biography, and in the press. Signs, signals, codes, texts and genres combine to create chronotopes (mental maps) which Bakhtin (1973) regards as the backbone of narrativity. Such maps organise fundamental narrative events of presentational significance. Different maps can exist side by side and can be axiological or geographic anchored in time, space and reality. For Gentner (1982:109) all narratives are "analogical mappings" of one semantic domain upon another. Each level or layer of understanding adds to the constructed map.

Nevertheless, persons who share a particular code or mental map are members of an interpretative community, related to social position by such factors as class, ethnicity, education, occupation, age and gender. For Chandler (1994) this need not reflect social determinism, as there is still scope to express individuality. The ability to recognize peer group membership, by visual probing, is essential to avoid frustrated communication. It is therefore helpful to fully understand the signs, signals, codes, texts and genres which construct entrepreneurship. For example, non-verbal codes (social conventions that govern what is appropriate) such as dress codes influence our perceptions. Dress codes are explicit set of rules involving strong expectations on both sides and flouting such conventions is seen as a subversive challenge therefore, clothes can express identity, acting as a marker of social background and sub-cultural allegiance. One might thus expect working class entrepreneurs to conform to a stereotypical visual expectancy of the successful businessman, replete with the semiotic imagery of success, the cigar, the ostentatious display of portable wealth - rings, expensive watches, gold neck chains, and obligatory Mercedes or BMW. The production of signs in language, body and dress produces a code of understanding that can often only be fully appreciated by an insider group familiar with decoding these symbols. However, Leland (1998:81) warns against projecting mixed codes and Lawes (2002) considers the possibility of a person communicating against themselves semiotically. Semiotic criteria can fabricate reality by presenting values as self-evident. According to Culler (2001:48/55) semiotics works for, and against itself and can produce

distortions in meaning. It is fitting to note that Eco (1976:7) mischievously defined semiotics as a discipline "studying everything used in order to lie". Consideration of semiotics draws us inexorably towards identity. Also, semioticians unmask ideology, showing that reality can be challenged, and reconstructed by denaturalizing theoretical academic assumptions and raising new theoretical issues (Culler, 1985:102). Other naturalised narrative formats such as archetype, myth and metaphor are also constructionist building blocks used to construct stereotypical representations or constructions of the entrepreneur.

8.2 – ARCHETYPAL BUILDING BLOCKS.

Archetypes are well established models or prototypes which enable the reproduction of pre-understandings. Indeed, archetype forms part of a wider socio-cultural framework of meaning, composed of past understandings legitimised through time. Jung (1964) articulated archetype as deeply symbolic, primordial images from our collective unconsciousness based upon an amplification of themes. Archetype exerts a profound influence upon action by achieving a universal expression of behaviour and imagery that self-evidently characterises human communities everywhere. Stevens considers archetype as a system of readiness for action. Jung attributed their occurrence to the universality of homologous symbols or mythologems within the human mind, expressed in dreams. Universal archetypes exist because of the creative limitation of the human mind and are inherited modes which emerge from lived experience. For Singer (1994:108) archetype exists at a level beyond personal experience, and for Stevens (1982:52-59) they function below the level of consciousness, masking its *modus operandi*. Archetype links mythology to social and ethical codes, reaffirming collective moral beliefs which influence understandings and brings the symbolic vocabularies of different cultures into play (Fontana, 1993:18). Fontana (1993:36) discusses the cross cultural nature of much of human symbolism which occurs as a result of "cross currents" created by trading, conflicts and the migration of peoples. Thus cultural signifiers merge and influence each other enriching, modifying and supplanting original symbols in a process of absorption. Archetypes are cultural perspectives, drawing power from symbols and connectedness to myths, dreams, religion and ritual (Fontana, 1993:6-8). For Jung (1964) archetype gives rise to images, ideas, feelings and behaviours. This is important because entrepreneurship scholars do not always distinguish between entrepreneurship and the images, ideas, feelings and behaviours it invokes. Moreover, archetype is located in narrated stories and in the images invoked by them. Singer (1994:104) argues that one can only "talk around them".

Archetype is important because of the collaborative social constructionist dimension to stories. Indeed, Sinclair (1998:30-1) notes the prevalence of Jungian archetype in contemporary narrative. However, it is heroic archetype (Real, 1995:467) which is of most relevance as an idealised role model bringing oppositional characters into play, such as good .v. evil or hero .v. villain (Fontana, 1993:14). Claster (1992:201) acknowledges our tendency for polarizing and the use of dichotomous constructs; and Stevens (1982:22) reminds us of the value of antinomies in arriving at equally valid interpretations. Moreover, Stevens (1982:217) considers us to be socially programmed to adhere to a moral tropism, espousing good values and eschewing bad ones. There may therefore be an archetypal basis to entrepreneurial morality.

8.2.1 - Archetype and symbols in narrative.

Abrams (1998:201) classifies archetypes as "narrative designs, character types, or images" and for Leland (1998:43-4) "archetypal tales...have moved men since time immemorial". Archetype draws on drama and

Stevens (1982:17) argues that there exists an archetypal "repertoire of behaviours". Fontana (1993:7) talks of archetypal haloes, masks and shadows. However, symbols are more than cultural artefacts, because they simultaneously address intellect, emotions and spirit. There is an obvious semiotic element to archetype manifested as images and symbols (Stevens, 1982:262). For Fontana (1993:10) these symbols act as emblems assimilating into signs or badges of identification. In time, certain symbols form a universal language whose images and meanings occur in similar forms across generations and cultures. Thus Fontana (1993:21-23) suggests archetypal symbols have power and form recurring motifs embodying "energies projected onto the outside world" and are imbued with enigmatic, metaphoric qualities (ibid.12). Barthes (1988:121) talks of archetypes possessing a duality of character thus the heroic-villainous template exists primarily as archetypal characters to be invoked when considered appropriate. An early, important insight was an appreciation that much of the content of entrepreneurial stories is descriptive in nature, concerned with formulating typologies, or introducing archetypal descriptors to bridge gaps in knowledge. It is not the person that is archetypal, but our narrative understandings. Thus archetypes influence the way we construct stories and is of interest in the social construction of the entrepreneur, because according to Thomas & Mueller (2004) psychological traits, attributes and values represent an entrepreneurial archetype of an individual predisposed towards entrepreneurial actions and behaviour. Gartner (1982) considered entrepreneurial archetypes, but Kirby (2003:107) stresses that attempts to define the archetypal entrepreneur have met with limited success. Catano (2001:193) refers to the entrepreneurial archetypes of rogue, maverick, renegades, outlaws, cowboys and rebels as being ready made legitimised characterisations into which one can step. These archetypes are descriptors of entrepreneurs, as are Bakhtin's (1973) archetypal villains - the rogue, the clown, and the fool. Archetype links into identity.

8.2.2 - Archetype and Identity building.

Archetypes promote belongingness and assist in the processes of becoming. Indeed, we engage and enact them. According to Singer (1994:133) archetype assists in the individuation process of becoming whole. Stevens (1982:29) refers to archetypal symbols mediating this process as behavioural manifestations or a blueprint affecting our ontogenetic development. Individuation is a path of self-knowledge. Singer (1994:134) argues that although few people achieve it is better to engage in it than lust after the end result. Singer (1994:128-9) acknowledges that archetype is not static but evolves over time despite retaining a basic construct although the construct dialogue, image and shape may change, repetitive themes recur.

It is apparent from readings of entrepreneur stories that other archetypes impinge upon the entrepreneurial construct, for example the hero-villain and the morality archetypes. The Jungian archetypes of the persona and the shadow are important in constructing the archetypes of hero and villain. In adopting a personae one assumes a role, such as entrepreneur, assuming a mode of dress, mannerisms and behaviours. Symbols such as style of dress, choice of car, occupational characteristics and tools become status symbols and which construct a persona (not the true self). Thus a constructed entrepreneurial persona may be a façade. The shadow is projected as a shady character of dubious integrity (Stevens, 1982:215-6) and is a disruptive energy or character aspect, present in us all as an inherent self-destructive trait. The trickster is an archetypal shadow characterised in narrative by changes of shape and appearance, and as having no morals. The Bandit is another anti-heroic shadow construct. The shadow is both a societal scapegoat and method of victimisation often projected on outsiders. The persona and shadow help maintain idealised images and the shadow figure is necessary for the maintenance of halo figuration. Stevens

(1982:241) regards the morality archetype as being an indelible characteristic of human condition. For Stevens (1982:212) we are socially programmed to fear the fall from grace into iniquity and that shadow phenomenology can be traced back in history and literature. Thus there may be a plausible archetypal reason for the presence of the models of the heroic and villainous entrepreneur.

For Steyrer (1998) such archetypal images are gendered towards heroic masculinity. For example, consider the patriarch. Clark (1977:72) argues that the entrepreneur Thomas Edison ruled like a patriarch. According to Czarniawska (1998:20) gendered archetypes act as inscriptions of past performance and scripts, or staging instructions for future behaviour. For Kaye (1995) they act as exemplars or models. Thus Sinclair (1998:50-1) refers to a "heroic masculinism" embedded in narrative and classic literature. Indeed, Olsson (2002:144-150) points to traditional archetypal master narratives, citing Homers Odyssey or quest as an example. Olsson suggests that such quests leave scars which are viewed as heroic insignia. For Olsson such myths and legends constitute powerful persuasive forces constructing leadership as archetype, by situating stories within a wider heroic social narrative. This active celebration of heroic narrative is a gendered process, reinforcing masculinity. For example, Moore & Gillette (1991) argued that narratives validate accepted characteristics of the mature male psyche presenting their ideal and shadow types.

The influence of feminine archetype on the entrepreneurial construct is less visible. Feminine archetypes mirror a complex and progressive path of roles women are expected to perform in their lifetime including daughter, mother, matriarch and Amazon. The matriarch label signifies directive female strength exercised by a mature head of the family possessing supreme confidence in herself and her social position. The Amazon label personifies women as warriors, equal to the heroic male and self-directed towards pursuing new modes of self-discovery. Successful women are vilified by use of such mythico-linguistic labels. Another feminine archetype is the ruthless, calculating adventuress. Olsson (2000a) suggests that women entrepreneurs do not lack leadership, nor charisma but an archetypal profile. To remedy this Olsson (2002a, b & c) suggests the use of the fictional Xena warrior princess character as a contemporary (albeit manufactured) female archetype and calls for a celebration of female archetype. In comparison, male archetypes are uncomplicated for example, boy-man-warrior-hero. Invoking such mythic archetypal stories celebrates and legitimises the entrepreneur as a hero figure. Clark & Salaman (1998) suggest that such stories also define identities, and over time take on the countenance of myth and legend. A legend is a myth in the making, not legitimated by the passage of time.

8.3 – MYTHOLOGICAL BUILDING BLOCKS.

Myths are ancient narratives fixed by tradition, which transcend cultural boundaries. Myths relate to mythical-ideological elements underpinning an accepted worldview of a subject. For Lévi-Strauss (1974:93) myth is a codified mode of representation, making it possible to equate significant contrasts found in different planes such as the geographical, economic, social, ritual, religious and philosophical. Myth can thus encompass contradictions because codes must make sense (ibid.228). Thus for Barthes (1984:1) myth is a type of speech, a form, a genre, a system of communication. It cannot be an object (although objects can achieve mythical status by transference). Morgan (1980) argues that myths provide a structure to our world, and for Singer (1994:128-9) they are core beliefs now accepted as a classical authority. Furthermore, Lewis (1961:186) argues that mythologies transport one into other worlds. For Berger & Luckmann (1971:128) myths are a conception of reality. Lévi-Strauss (1971) argues that myth provides logical models capable of explaining apparent contradictions and for McQuail (1994:247) it as pre-existing, value-laden sets of ideas

derived from culture and transmitted by communicational devices. Mythology represents ingrained, cultural, taken-for-granted beliefs (Lévi-Strauss (1970:12). For Catano (2001:34) myths are active engagements and visible enactments of cultural doxa. Furthermore, Catano (2001:4) suggests that myth and doxa are reinforcing, maintenance structures. Morgan (1980), Linstead *et al* (1996) and Barthes (1993) all document its role the construction of social reality. According to McAdams (1993:13) "we make ourselves through myth". Hess (1988:172/192) suggests myths illuminate and gild and that there is a circular reciprocity between myth and reality accentuated by portrayal in the media, novels, films, television and discourse. In invoking myth we open an entire value system; a history, geography, a morality, a literature. Myth works within micro-climates and individual myths have social, historic and geographic boundaries (isoglasses) or limiting lines (Barthes, 1983:149). Dorson (1968:166) suggests it is a vital link in the ontological chain of being. Mythology is an important building block of entrepreneurial narrative.

8.3.1 - Mythology explained.

Barthes (1993:150) explains that myth is perpetuated in waves of implantation, and Rockwell (1974:140) that myths transmit reputation and norms. Myth thus provides a pattern for imitation and in myth one presents ones credentials. Indeed, for Stevens (1982:37) myth provides a cosmology compatible (a cultures capacity to understand and validate its values). Myths justify by precedent, legitimise and have elemental appeal. Griffin (1986:80-82) argues that because history and philosophy emerge from mythical thought, myths possess an ideologically loaded political function malleable to prevailing beliefs and prone to reinterpretation. However, according to Albin (1997:66) "the image of the portrait implanted by mythological belief is far more important than reality". Erikson (1969) argues that people do not question its truth or logic. Conversely, Griffin (1986:83-4) believes that myths transform, transfigure and distort facts, turning the ordinary into the fabulous. Barthes (1984) also appreciates the darker side of mythology as a double system of distortion, a duplicitous stolen language, which can corrupt everything. At one level, Barthes regards it as a fictitious, unproven or illusory thing that circulates in everyday life, constructing a world for us, and our place in it. Nonetheless, Erikson (1969:315) claims that myth is not a lie, and that it is useless to show it has no basis in fact or claim it is fiction, fake or nonsense, because it blends history and fiction, making it ring true for an era. The notion that a myth is a demonstrably false belief is not directly transferable to semiotics, where culturally defined signs and codes create myths perpetuated as truths. To Barthes (1984:1) myth is conveyed by discourse, passing from a closed state into an oral or written expression that is becoming or being.

Barthes (1967) further explains that myth is formed of denotation and connotation and forms ideology. According to Barthes, myths are received in three ways, as literal acceptance; acceptance of distortion; and reading or buying into the myth. We can receive myth literally, whilst appreciating that it is a distortion of the truth, or without buying into ideological underpinnings. Barthes (1993) argues that myths possesses classical qualities, creating immediate impressions; purifying and simplifying; abolish the complexity of human acts; and play on the analogy between meaning and form. They also buttonhole character and morality. Morality is learned and "myths narrating the deeds of heroes" generally encompass a moralistic and mentorial element (Fontana, 1993:29). Myths play an important part in social constructionism as a carrier of values, as a medium through which we can present and represent values and beliefs. According to Wright (1998:119-121) myth possess structure and reinforce rather than challenge social understandings and that the Western hero possesses exceptional ability being elevated in status but never fully accepted (mirroring entrepreneur

stories). Sahlins (1976:166-204) observed that the Western mindset constructs intricate mythologies, akin to those of primitive societies, whose stories of living gods and transmogrifications we find amusing and non-rational. In western society the entrepreneur is such a mythological creature (Rehn & Taalas, 2002:1).

Heroic masculinity and heroism pervades mythology and heroes are embedded in stories. Moreover, Singer (1994:120) argues that mythology provides us with classic solutions to problems, a store of cherished cultural values and traditions embedded in stories. Kaye (1986) also links myth to storytelling. According to Gergen (2001:4) the end point of mythic stories must be weighted with value, and both Barthes (1984) and Fontana (1993:28) appreciate that myth possess moral implications by (re)presenting value. Thus for Rockwell (1974:5) in stories we compare the actions and values of classical myths with contemporary figures, using myth to gauge morality. Mythology helps construct entrepreneurship and Catano (2001:76) stresses that the whole purpose of entrepreneurial myth is to present an "engaging portrait" of oneself.

8.3.2 - Mythology and entrepreneurship.

According to Barthes (1984) mythology reinforces capitalist ideology by fabricating reality in accordance with the bourgeois view of the world, covertly propagating bourgeois values as self-evident. Indeed, Barthes (1993:141) makes reference to the norm as dreamed, whereby the display and consumption of wealth is idealised in the press, media and in literature. Entrepreneurial mythology draws on traditional mythology for inspiration. Entrepreneurial myth acts as a visual and symbolic allegorical tale as envisaged by Fontana (1993:26) enabling it to be used as an identity and stylised model for human behaviour. Myths evolve and are constantly generated in contemporary society. Wade & Jones (2003:2) argue that entrepreneurship scholars have metaphorically created a monstrous creature - the heroic, charismatic entrepreneur. Also, established myths and legends can be transferred from one person to another, by virtue of shared names or word association. Golding & Middleton (1982:136) refer to mythologies sharpened by authority or popular credibility. Thus if an entrepreneur is named Arthur the legendary King Arthur epithet inevitably follows as will Arthurian metaphor. For example, Wilson (1998) referring to the legendary Arthur Guinness alludes to such Arthurian Legends. Another example relates to the legendary Scottish agricultural entrepreneur Arthur Simmers (King Arthur) who inspired many stories of his own exploits, laced with Arthurian references. McAdams (1993) refers to these as personalised myths.

Lewis (1961) articulates myth as enacted drama affirming social sanctions, playing an explanatory role; and for Fontana (1993:26) it is a symbolic narrative, an allegorical tale enabling society to establish and explore its identity via a stylised model for human behaviour. Mythology thus brings drama and tragedy to entrepreneurial narrative and a number of important lingo-mythological mechanisms shape it, including apocryphal stories⁷ and mythic metaphors (established storylines inserted into contemporary entrepreneur stories) imbuing them with the legitimacy of mythic status. Entrepreneur stories are primarily based on actions—exploits, resulting in success or failure documenting the traits (often exaggerated) of the hero of the story, turning them into stories with a purpose. Heroic narrative links such traits to the individual. Consideration of the entrepreneur as a mythic character (Mitchell, 1997) and mythic hero grows

⁷ Apocryphal stories play an important part in the creation of myth, and the manufacture of identity. The stories told of one epitomise and reflect one's standing within one's community shaping future legends. Such stories are discernable in the biographies of many entrepreneurs.

(Drakapoulou-Dodd & de Koning, 2003). Table 27 lists several mythic metaphors encountered in entrepreneurial narrative as drawn from classical mythology.

The Icarian Tale	Based on the classical Grecian story of Icarus who ignoring advice flew too close to the sun, melted his wings and plunged to the ground. In entrepreneurial mythology it symbolises the fall from grace of those driven too hard by ambition signifying the expected meteoric descent (Beaumont, 2000, Fontana, 1993:86).
The Midas Touch	King Midas turned all that he touched into gold. Kets de Vries (1985:166) narrates the story of an entrepreneur who likened himself to Midas.
The Promethean myth	Anderson (1995:10) citing Landes (1969) likens the entrepreneur to "Prometheus unbound". Drakapoulou-Dodd & De Koning (2003) in "The Entrepreneur as a Mythic Hero: A Prometheus of our time" make the same analogy. Prometheus, the wisest Titan in Greek Mythology gave fire to man and could predict the future. For Leech (1969:13) he was a great rebel. Promethean means "pertaining to or resembling Prometheus who made a man of clay and put life into him by fire stolen from heaven" (Chambers dictionary). For Nicolson (2001) entrepreneurs have feet of clay.
The myth of Croesus	The myth of Croesus (King of Lydia c 563-546) is a frequently invoked (as in as rich as Croesus). A biblical myth used as a prophetic warning against hubris.
The Pandorian myth	Robinson (2002) invokes this using the descriptor "Pandora's Daughters" for achieving, enterprising women. In the original Greek myth Pandora was endowed with a box by the God Zeus and in opening it, against his express instructions unleashed evil upon the world. In remodeling the myth, Hesiod reshaped the tale to describe it as the lovely curse of the wicked women. Once again mythology is used to demonise and influence our perception of entrepreneurs.

What is ironic about the myths discussed above is that they are invariably invoked in entrepreneurial narrative as tragic tales, which could be construed as evidence of the socially constructed nature of entrepreneur stories, in that they perhaps owe more to storytelling conventions and mythic expectations than to the lived experience of individual entrepreneurs. Notwithstanding this mythic descriptors allow us to compare accounts of exploits without worrying too much about truth claims. These mythic metaphors legitimise individual action and act as heroic templates, providing mythic role models for entrepreneurs to follow in the construction of their personal stories. Mythical heroes embody destructive human traits thus Icarus is invoked to remind us of hubris; Midas and Croesus of greed; Pandora of over inquisitiveness and meddling; Prometheus of overstretching. They are perhaps traits personified and clothed in narrative.

An appreciation of the power of myth as an explanatory tool in entrepreneurial studies is growing for example, Robertson (1980) in "American Myth, American Reality" discusses mythology and the entrepreneurial dream, whilst Ogbor (2000) researched the process of Mythicising and Reification in entrepreneurial discourse. Drakapoulou-Dodd & De Koning (2003) discuss myth, metaphor, and meaning in media depictions of the entrepreneur. All these studies point to the socially constructed nature of entrepreneurship. Myth is an important constructionist building block in the construction of entrepreneurial knowledge both as an engaging mechanism and as an enacting mechanism because myth provides a heroic template upon which the individual entrepreneur can base their own stories on, safe in the knowledge that they will be legitimised by society as valid narratives. Yet, it is more than this because it plays a mediating role in reinforcing entrepreneurial knowledge. It is also helpful in beginning to answer where the social constructions of the entrepreneur come from – the very narrative mechanisms of archetype and myth. However, Tolkien (1982:142) warns that myth leans towards the unanalysable. According to Edelman, (1977:16/17) mythology is linked to metaphors, which evoke "mythic structures".

8.4 – METAPHORICAL BUILDING BLOCKS.

A metaphor is a figure of speech used to compare something that it resembles, not fundamentally, but in certain marked characteristics. According to Bellert (1980:25) metaphorical text is not supposed to be interpreted literally. For Lakoff & Johnson (1980:5) "the essence of metaphor is understanding, and experiencing, one kind of thing in terms of another". Metaphors thus express a concept in more familiar terms, allowing us to make imaginative leaps of recognition, acting as conduits into different worlds (Reddy, 1979); or a window into a different universe or paradigm, inducing images of other possible worlds (Suvin, 2002). Metaphors induce variation and encompass other transformative figures of speech - rhetorical tropes, such as analogy, simile, euphemism, cliché, irony and humour. In relation to analogies of entrepreneurship, Carcaterra (2002:52) likens gangsters to "Robber barons" and "violent visionaries" invoking the "gold rush" analogy as does O'Connor (2002). Wansell (1988) invokes the "financial commando raid" analogy. Beaumont (2002:125) refers to George Hudson as "the man who was everything". The following metaphoric analogies recur in the entrepreneurial narrative - Sailing close to the wind; A finger in every pie; A nice little earner; Nobodies fool; mould breaking (Beaumont, 2002:1). Other analogies are being out of step; a rebel; a maverick; a conjurer; a magician; an alchemist; a financial wizard; Treading One's own path; Striking out on one's own. Specific clichéd words or phrases are regularly invoked in telling entrepreneur stories. Beaumont (2002:2), discussing the entrepreneur George Hudson invoked cliché - hard-working, poorly educated, self-indulgent, roughly spoken, visionary, quick witted, unbearably arrogant, strangely humble. Culler (2001:201) refers to tropes of fantasy as a cultural reality maintenance system governing how things are represented. Repeated exposure develops and sustains tacit agreement with others of shared societal assumptions.

Lakoff & Johnson (1980) discuss the constructionist element of metaphoric types, namely - orientational metaphors; ontological metaphors associating activities, emotions and ideas with entities and substances (metaphors involving personification); structural metaphors; overarching metaphors (building on the other two types) which allow us to structure one concept in terms of another. Such metaphors are culturally specific, derived from our physical, social and cultural experience forming metaphorical clusters of meaning which extend into myths. Hyrsky (1988:1x) describes the functions of entrepreneurial metaphor as being 1) Compacting and representing a subject including salient and perceptual features; 2) Enabling us to talk about experiences, which cannot literally be described; 3) Portraying complex concepts more concisely than literal descriptors; 4) Enhancing understanding by rendering abstract ideas and concepts more concrete and more easily remembered; 5) Portraying imagery providing a vivid, memorable emotive representation of perceived experience; and 6) Exploring stereotypical images. Leland (1998:76) argues that metaphor can be explained as a form of socio-typing providing guidance in understanding cultural mindsets.

8.4.1 – Metaphor further explained.

Thus metaphors are heuristic action orientated labels, which aid our understanding and assembling of complex constructs. For Culler (2001:43) their value lies in innovating and inaugurating, and for Barthes (1988:138) it is the language of invention. Metaphors enrich language and are units of analysis in larger meaning systems (Suvin, 2002). Indeed, meaning systems, ideology and morality are all expressed using language and semiotic communication. Suvin (2002) argues that metaphors are imbued with the sum of our cultural topoi, including presupposed values attributable to a text, and Leland (1998:69) highlights the "dense, highly metaphoric" nature of language. For Suvin (2002) metaphor provides unitary meaning between "disparate conceptual units from different universes of discourse". Metaphor thus presents a

complex cognition by sudden confrontation, resulting in the perception of a possible relationship establishing a new norm of its own. In metaphor we draw our own conclusions. There is a negative side of metaphor. Kirby (2003:149) argues metaphors and analogies "construct falsification to liberate the imagination", whilst for McQuail (1994:222) irony, fantasy and allegory are devices for evading direct responsibility and accountability for a story. For Lakoff and Johnson (1980) they highlight part of the concept and hide others and Gergen (2001:73) argues it can be associated with "pretty talk" and deception.

Metaphor, as imaginative micro-storia, allow action to become embedded within it, leading to a sequential change of state, overcoming impossibilities using flashes of insight, subjecting complex phenomena to a detailed scrutiny that can only be satisfied in a story. Dibben (2000:6) argues that, "Literal metaphors, do not describe our experiences...they merely allude to them". As society becomes increasingly more complex new ways of describing change have to be developed because metaphors become tired and oxidized (Dibben, 2000:10). Metaphors are essential to social constructionism because Gergen (2001:64-5) argues that metaphor and narrative influence our definitions of ourselves assisting in the processes of renewal and reconstitution. For Lakoff & Johnson (1980:4-5) dominant metaphors reflect and influence cultural values and language reflects the conceptual system of its speaker providing - "the foundation not only for our language but for our entire conceptual system. Since the latter plays an important role in determining our thought and deeds, metaphors have a fundamental influence on our thoughts and actions". Metaphor plays a role in entrepreneurship as a legitimiser and signifiers into accepted worlds.

8.4.2 - Metaphor and entrepreneurship.

Using metaphors as a way of understanding entrepreneurship is increasing as evidenced by the list of entrepreneurship and management scholars whose work considers metaphor⁸. Drakopoulou-Dodd (2002:521-524) appreciates that metaphor can be invoked innocently or deliberately and that it allows one to research the life-stories of entrepreneurs in their "own words" but stresses the importance of differentiating between the vehicle and object in metaphor delivery. Ljunggren & Alsos (2001:9) found evidence of the heavy usage of metaphorical phraseology in relation to male entrepreneurs with such words as "attacked" and references to "bringing home victories in all battles" being accentuated. Indeed, Masculine Imagery pervades the construct but this may be a manifestation of masculine self-making as exemplified by Sinclair (1994) who makes reference to heroic, militaristic images pervading the masculine construct. The heroic content of entrepreneurial narrative perhaps has more to do with the social construction of metaphoric language, laden with mythological masculine imagery than the entrepreneurial act. Indeed, Chinen (1996) in "Beyond the hero" identified a need to develop a more mature masculine imagery. On a similar note, Golding & Middleton (1982:66) in analysing images of social welfare noted that a prominent and recurrent theme is the coverage of armies, fighting and battles. It is important rhetoric in establishing the image of the outsider or enemy and whipping up hysteria. The striking rhetoric and vocabulary of warfare undermine those who flout the ethics and values of the hard-working for instance, invasion, clamp-downs, crack-downs, swoops, ferreting out, battles, and the vocabulary of dramatic conflict (Golding & Middleton, 1982:83-4). This is powerful evidence of social constructionism and constructed masculine identity.

⁸ Easton & Aroujo (1981); Greenfield & Strickon (1981); Student (1989); Johannisson (1990); Hill & Levenhagen (1995); Cosgel (1996); Pitt (1998); de Koning & Drakopoulou Dodd (2002).

Metaphor is powerful because it contains elements of romanticism, emotion, and visual imagery and can embody value judgments. The entrepreneur is a romantic figure, invoking an emotive response projected in semiotic format as visual imagery. Appropriate metaphors are important as entrepreneurship covers such a wide gamut of socio-economic behaviour. Related to this is the argument of Hyrsky (1998:408) that metaphors highlight "various priceless qualities associated with entrepreneurs". The use of metaphor to explain entrepreneurship was pioneered by the work of Kiorenan (1995) and Hyrsky (1995) (1988). Both examined the explanatory role of metaphor. Central to their work is the utility of metaphors as descriptors of sets of behaviours and traits through which lived experience is constructed (Koiranen, 1995:2). Both uncovered examples of action orientated metaphors, such as sportsmen, game player, adventurer, warrior, battler, all of which help construct mythical heroic status. Koiranen explored metaphorical analysis of figurative language uncovering the usage of the metaphors such as "self-made man"; "Jack of all trades"; "Outlaw"; "Gambler" and "cheating". Hyrsky conducted research, using a sample of men and women from three different countries whom were asked to describe entrepreneurs using metaphors of their own choice. A selection of these as listed by Hyrsky (1998:406), are given in table 28:-

TABLE 28 - COMMONLY FOUND WESTERN METAPHORS FOR ENTREPRENEURS.

<p><u>Mechanistic metaphors</u>: Jack of all trades; a supporting pillar of society; a melting pot; a tabula rasa.</p> <p><u>Concerning adventurers, warriors, battlers</u>: The captain of a ship; outlaw, maverick.</p> <p><u>Concerning games players</u>: A rip off merchant; gambler; bookie.</p> <p><u>Concerning Innovative and industrious actors</u>: A self made man/woman; an artist; an innovator; a mover and shaker; wheeler/dealer; a go getter.</p> <p><u>Concerning nature</u>: God; chameleon; sly fox; lone wolf; snake in the grass; ugly duckling; black sheep; slippery eel; rough diamond.</p> <p><u>Concerning disease</u>: Ego maniac; sociopath; misfit; an eyesore to a Tax Inspector; parasite.</p> <p><u>Concerning special characteristics and failures</u>: Priest; Icarus; trusty as a two bob watch; a prisoner of society; mainstay of society; a village idiot; crook; scavenger; unemployed in disguise; capitalist; risk seeker; a dream accomplisher; maker of the future; blowing your own trumpet; a Holy Grail; a monopoly game with real money; putting ones self about; blazing new trails; breaking the mould; free spiritedness; criminality within the law.</p>

Many of the metaphors listed above are pejorative, portraying a dichotomous perception of the entrepreneur. Hyrsky (1988:407) found that male respondents viewed entrepreneurship in a more favourable light and that male imagery glorified entrepreneurs "holding that every man had to fend for himself and make due sacrifices in order to succeed surface time and time again". Heroic metaphors feed masculine imagery associated with the entrepreneur perpetuating ideal type myth. Hyrsky suggests that metaphors used by female respondents contained more controversial and negative imagery than men's; and most metaphors referring to food items and diseases were female in origin. Warren (2003:15) argues that for women organic metaphors of entrepreneurship emphasising family and community are preferable to masculine warlike-economic metaphors. Hyrsky (1988) concluded that people perceive entrepreneurs in two opposite ways. The majority being positive and idealistic, conjuring up a modern hero whilst more cynical, disparaging metaphorical statements convey an alternative image.

The metaphor "Self-made-man" is a common euphemism in entrepreneurial narrative. Wyllie (1966) discussed the self-made-man in America in relation to the myth of rags-to-riches; McCabe (1970) explored the struggles and triumphs of the self-made in relation to their great fortunes; Cowelti (1988) researched a new generation of self-made in America likening them to apostles; whilst Cleveland (1997) examined the self-made-man in American life. Catano (2000) examined the rhetoric of self-made-men in America and the prevalence of it as theme in literature. It is not confined solely to the entrepreneur for Palsey (2004) uses it as a descriptor for the infamous American gangster Al-Capone. The game-player metaphor is regularly

invoked in relation to entrepreneurs and business angels (Jansson, 1994). Barthes (1988:140) introduces the heroic journey metaphor encompassing travelling, arriving remaining. Stewart (1990) posited the big man metaphor for entrepreneurship, as a "library tale replete with morals". Other recurring methods of invoking metaphor in entrepreneurial narrative are set out in table 29.

Historical	Invoking comparison with famous historical figures legitimises the status of the individual entrepreneur e.g. MacIntyre (1997) contrasts the Victorian 'Master Criminal' Adam Worth to the tycoon J.P Morgan referring to Worth as the Napoleon of Crime and Morgan as the Napoleon of Wall Street. Similarly, Beaumont (2002:125) makes reference to an article in the Times newspaper referring to George Hudson as "the William the conqueror of railways". Entrepreneurs are seldom accorded with the status of king.
Biblical	MacIntyre (1997:246) refers to J.P Morgan as the "Goliath of American finance". David and Goliath comparisons are common. Also Haines (1998:158) refers to the Solomon complex or need to be seen as a problem solver in relation to Robert Maxwell.
Mythic	These are common, for example Fallon & Srodes (1983:198) make reference to entrepreneur John DeLoreans "Olympian attitude" and Beaumont (2002:135) invoked Herculean mythology stressing that George Hudson must have had the constitution and nervous system of Hercules to withstand the stress of his downfall. Beaumont (2002:69) narrates that Hudson was blessed with a Midas touch and (2002:x) and refers to the "Icarian Tale". Wansell (1988:358) invokes the myth of Croesus, likening James Goldsmith to being as rich as Croesus and Kochan & Whittington (1991:24) refer to an Arab entrepreneur Shiek Zahid as a "Croesus" (wealthy person). Another mythical creature associated with the entrepreneurial narrative is the phoenix rising out of the ashes.
Heroic	These are common in entrepreneur stories. Beaumont (2002:77) refers to an image of the entrepreneur George Hudson as "The conquering hero" returning to his roots, whilst Ross (1989:253) describes Rockefeller as a "genius entrepreneur". Aidis (2002:6) likens independent thinking entrepreneurs to "Warriors of Justice" against a corrupt legal system. Fallon & Srodes (1983:35) refer to an entrepreneur as a "Wall Street Gunfighter", whilst Wansell (1988:308) refers to the 'Bloody battle' metaphor. Wansell (1988:245) invokes the "fighting alone" metaphor when referring to Goldsmith's struggle against the establishment.
Power / success	Entrepreneurs are on occasion described as being Kings, Emperors or historical figures / status types such as Mongol chieftain, Attila the Hun are also invoked.
Disparage	MacIntyre (1997:259) refers to the popular Victorian perception of J.P Morgan as a barbarian, whilst Beaumont (2002:x) uses the "destroyer" descriptor in relation to George Hudson and Fallon & Srodes (1983:1) invoke the Maverick label for John DeLorean.

It is common to elevate individual entrepreneurs to a god-like status by personalising their traits to create new words. For example, Beaumont (2002:63) invokes the epitaph of Hudsonian in respect of George Hudson (also consider Maxwellian, Bransonian). Entrepreneurial metaphors can be used to designate place as well as person as in Puritan rhetoric saturated with biblical and life metaphors. Thus the Milk and Honey metaphor describes New England. Indeed, Puritan rhetoric is rich in entrepreneurial ideology. Morgan (1980) identified the relationship between metaphor and milieu, thus we draw our metaphors from our own eclectic experience. An entrepreneur from a building background may invoke occupation specific metaphors, whereas a criminal would invoke a different lexicon. Both examples are aides to understanding.

8.4.3 – Using visual metaphors as an aid to understanding.

Metaphors can involve symbolism and possessiconic modality. In semiotic terms, a metaphor involves using one signified as a signifier referring to a different signified. Visual metaphor is at its most potent when created by comparing two separate generic images, but works as a single image. Metaphorical images are powerful tools allowing the transference of qualities between signs. They enlighten and illuminate. Hess (1988:80) refers to visual similes, and Kress & van Leeuwen (1996:168) to our cultural affinity with the visual

preference. What we see becomes the measure for what is real and true. Images can broadcast powerful, iconic symbolism that can metaphorically represent entrepreneurship and relate to possessions and artefacts associated with power and wealth. Thus a single photograph of the iconic Sir Richard Branson signifies the personification of entrepreneurship as an image of an expensive car can signify wealth and success. An example of visual metaphor can be found on the cover of the book "Entrepreneurship" by Kirby (2003) portraying a picture of an acorn because entrepreneurship is about new creation and growth.

The discussion of myth and metaphor illustrates the socially constructed nature of entrepreneur stories, which are constructed as serious semi-tragic narratives, or explained by virtue of culturally accepted myth, metaphor. This dictates that proto-entrepreneurial narrative will inevitably lean towards heroic narrative. Metaphor builds upon myth and merges and can be used to form proto-entrepreneurial microstories such as parables, proverbs, fable, fairy tales and fantasy which help construct entrepreneur stories.

8.5 – PROTO-ENTREPRENEURIAL NARRATIVES.

This section considers the role played by narrative genres such as parables, proverbs, fable, fairytales and fantasy in shaping entrepreneur stories. These literary genres are imbued with a moral, normative purpose and mediating role. For Hartland (1893, in Dorson, 1968:282) oral literature such as myth and proverbs express ancient moral philosophy, sugar coated as fantastic tales. Folklore and fantasy lean towards the archetypal and fictive. Fables are simpler than, and precede, and outlive myths (Dorson, 1968:351). We have affection for folktales or popular stories of a people containing didactic elements recounted as sagacious prose narrated as a lesson. Although outdated, parable and fable are good academic tools which reveal profound truths about change and are simple, effective mechanisms for narrating stories of transition containing episodic motif groups. They are collective storied experiences situated in a time, space and location understandable to members of an interpretative community. They are moralistic, personalised tales perpetuated across the generations. An example from Quaker folklore is "Faith makes thin soup".

8.5.1 – The contribution of parable and proverb as proto-entrepreneurial narratives.

Suvin (2002) describes parable as a fictional form between metaphor and story associated with religious texts and particularly the bible. Suvin articulates the major difference between metaphor and parable is that the relationship between them is actualised through a narrative action, leading to a change of state in a determinate space-time. It is thus not action (by narrative agent) that differentiates story from metaphor; it is the development of space and time that add story to metaphor to form the parable. Suvin considers parables to be much richer and more persuasive than unsupported metaphors because the story or plot supports the whole message. Deacy (2002:66) describes biblical parables as "short fictional narratives to reveal religious symbolic and transcendental truths and values about the human condition, its aspirations and potentiality...to provoke us, challenge us, and transform us, reminding us of our limits and limitations, and laying the groundwork for the possibility of transcendence". Ricoeur (1948:30-31) describes parable as "the conjunction of a narrative form and a metaphorical process" with a mediation role between the two. Metaphor operates at the level of a sentence, whilst parable operates at the level of text composition (1948:92-93). Parables have metaphoric power and function as models or plots – being "heuristic fictions" and redescriptions of reality (Ricoeur, 1948:95/125). Parable, like metaphor, often occurs silently so we do not appreciate that we have heard one, because the message is hidden within the story. Parables are

moralistic punch lines which engage, entertain and enlighten us whilst masking the didactic message. Parables enable the propagation of values and beliefs and being short, like proverbs are easily repeated and over time exert a direct influence on behaviour.

Smith & Anderson (2002) propose that entrepreneurial narratives can be understood as modern parables because they are associated with quasi-religious stories, containing a moralistic element or message and the style, which naturally gravitates towards fairy tale style or the tragic ending. Riddle (2005) argues that cultural norms and the character of the people influence the economic system of capitalism and that scripture lends support to entrepreneurial activity. Riddle uses the parable of talents in Matthew 25:14-30 as an exemplar of how to use "God's gift of grace". Its essential moral lesson is not to squander what you are given and that it is good to profit from our resources, wit and labor. Furthermore, Ehrenfeld (2001) likens the portrayal of businessmen in Hollywood films to being akin to as contemporary parables of entrepreneurship which demonstrate entrepreneurial character to the public.

As with parables, proverbs are excellent vehicles for propagating values and beliefs. For Barthes (1974) proverbs lean towards myth and are active speech, gradually solidified into reflexive speech, reduced to a prudent statement of fact. They were essential when literacy levels were low. Indeed, Simpson (1982:Preface) appreciates their value for "expressing unquestioned moral truth" presenting advice in a short pithy manner. Proverbs reached their zenith in the 17-18th century when entrepreneurship was emerging and literacy levels were low. They were influenced by prevailing Puritanical and Calvinistic religious morality. Indeed, Benjamin Franklin (1890) perpetuated proverbial sayings in his book "Poor Richards Almanac". The popularity of the proverb allowed valuable generic advice to be passed on to the illiterate, passed down from generations and modified to suit personal circumstance. The basic message of the proverb can be expanded into a parable, a short story or novel. It is wisdom condensed. Yet proverbs are unfashionable and clichéd and have lost some of their earlier power of expression. Simpson describes three types of proverb - abstract statements expressing general truths; specific observations from everyday experience to make a general point; and traditional folkloric sayings. Many emanate from biblical works. Proverbs are often culturally specific for instance in Britain the proverb "Cheats never prosper" has a counter part in American Culture - "With honest trading you cannot succeed". In proverb morality is portrayed in juxtaposition with deviance accentuating the power of the message to perpetuate or propagate morals and values. Nevertheless, it is possible to detect the message of enterprise embedded in the content of traditional proverbs by subjecting them to content analysis. An analysis of the proverbs listed by Simpson (1982) shows that many follow the themes of success, morality, action as laid out in table 30.

TABLE30 - THE ENTREPRENEURIAL CONTENT OF TRADITIONAL PROVERBS. (Adapted From Simpson, 1982)	
Success	Its better to be lucky than rich; Business before pleasure; Buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest [Bunyan considered it knavery]; From clogs to clogs in three generations; The customer is always right; Cheats never prosper; A man is known by the company he keeps; Corporations have neither bodies to be punished nor souls to be damned; if at first you don't succeed try, try again; Every man is the architect of his own fortune; God helps those that help themselves; Where there's muck there's brass; Nothing succeeds like success; From shirt sleeves to shirt sleeves in three generations; It takes three generations to make a gentleman; Money has no smell; Money makes a man; Money makes money; Money talks; The shoe makers sons always go barefoot; Shrouds have no pockets; Two of a trade never agree; Many go out for wool and come home shorn; Work expands to fill the time available [Parkinson's Law].
Morality	Bad money drives out good [Gresham's Law]; Its better to travel hopefully than to arrive; You buy land you buy stones – You buy meat you buy bones; Let the buyer beware [Caveat Emptor];

	The buyer has need of a hundred eyes the seller but one; Do right and fear no man; Money is the root of all evil; A fool and his money are easily parted; A golden key can open any door; A good beginning makes a good ending; What is got over the devils back is spent under his belly; Money is power; Once a thief always a thief; A fair exchange is no robbery; There is no such thing as a free lunch; You cannot serve god and mammon [Wealth is regarded as an evil influence]; Little thieves are hanged but great one's escape; Set a thief to catch a thief;
Action	Actions speak louder than words; He who can does, he who cannot teaches; They that dance must pay the fiddler; Diligence is the mother of good luck; The eye of a master does more work than his hands; Punctuality is the soul of business; Trade follows the flag.

These socially constructed, popular proverbial sayings embody proto-entrepreneurial advice directing the actions of those who ascribe to them and are associated with ontological action and therefore with becoming and being. They re-present moral didacticism as unquestioned truth. The message is simple - follow this example and you will succeed. Thus proverbs are carriers of value.

8.5.2 - The contribution of fable, fantasy, fairytale and folklore to entrepreneurial narrative.

From an extensive reading of the entrepreneurship literature, it was evident that like parables and proverbs, fables, fantasy, fairytale and folklore as proto-entrepreneurial narratives contribute to contemporary entrepreneurial narrative. Fables are short stories intended to teach a moral lesson, instruct or amuse. Being a tale type, fable is also associated with fiction, falsehood and invention. Tales, by their very nature are constructed to be fabulous, stories that make demands on credibility and are not intended to be read as the truth. There are no entrepreneurial fables as such, but elements of the fabulous adhere to entrepreneur stories which can be read as fable. So much so that Anderson (1995:119) describes entrepreneurial fable as the friendly face of capitalism and refers to fabled entrepreneurs. Acceptance of entrepreneur stories as fable is of immense significance because it acknowledges the possibility that they may deviate from truth and objectivity. Thus Culler (2001:199) refers to the "fabula" or reconstructed plot; and Glover (1998:14) refers to the process of confabulation whereby we simplify our inner stories by abridging, editing, and self-selection (ibid.139-152). Elements of fable are introduced into entrepreneurial narrative by virtue of the biographical process. Thus when people write autobiographies the broader or narrow boundaries of their self-conception are on display. This inner story is a necessity, for stability, hence the need to confabulate (ibid.151). Moreover, Barthes (1994:56) notes that fables are connected to groups of actions. Thus identifying fable in the actions of entrepreneurs demonstrates their social constructedness.

Entrepreneur stories contain elements of fantasy which bring creativity, imagination, enchantment, marvel and dreaming into play. Fantasy creates parallels between such worlds. For Tolkien (1982:150-155) fantasy is "the making or glimpsing of other worlds". Swinfen (1984:5-7) argues that the writer of fantasy creates secondary worlds, other worlds and visions into which minds must enter. Todorov (1977) argues that fantasy holds its readers in a constant state of hesitation. For Swinfen (1984:1-2) fantasy possesses a profound moral purpose drawn from structures, motifs and marvellous elements derived from myth, legend, fable, folktale and romance. Fantasy inflates the virtue of individual heroism, borrowing themes from Christian theology and martial virtues such as courage, obedience, fellowship exercised as a stern and unrelenting moral code (ibid.153-4). Fantasy brings questing into play situating the hero as an individualist in search of his own morality, defying fate or stratagems devised to destroy his individual integrity (Swinfen, 1984:100). Entrepreneur stories can be written as heroic fantasies and are pervaded by fairytale elements.

Many fairytales relate to heroic adventures. Indeed, Tolkien (1982:188) argues that one can scarcely improve on the opening formula of a fairy tale – “Once upon a time” because it turns mythology into fairy story. However, Cook (1969) criticised folktales, myths, legends and fairytales as being unrealistic and un-localised in time and space. All are brought to life through storytelling and are associated with dreams and visions, and what Erikson (1969:336) refers to as “mythological space time”. Our first encounters with them are in childhood via fairytales populated with heroes and villains. Indeed, Sproule (1980) articulates that people have always liked stories of larger than life mythical villains; and for Von Franz (1974) there is “Shadow and Evil in Fairytales”. Sproule emphasises the pictorial element because people imagine and visualise stories. Tolkien (1982:17) lists elements and linkages between fairytale and legend including heightened senses; unreal or incredible stories; and falsehood. Fairytales engage with popular beliefs and the forces of good and evil. For Tolkien (1982:121-125) fairy stories are about the adventures of men in the “Perilous Realm or upon its shadowy marches”. Fairytales are primordial. Tolkien describes faeries as “workers of illusion...cheaters of men by fantasy”. One has to enter into the spirit of a fairytale and Tolkien warns against analysing fairy tales to quarry for information, because separating components from the story distorts them. For Tolkien faerie (as a state of being) is linked to fantasy, fable and mythology via creativity and imagination. In particular, Dorson (1968:260) discusses the tale of Dick Whittington and his fortune-bringing cat. For Swinfen (1984:15) such folklore contains the morality of practical peasant life⁹.

The work of Propp (1968) is of interest because he examined the syntagmatic structure of folktales and the affinities that appear to exist between fairytale, religion, myth and ritual. Propp visualised fairy tales as schemes handed down by generations as ready-made formulae capable of becoming animated with a new mood (ibid.116). Propp analysed the stability of construction of fairytales teasing out elements (ibid.99). According to Dundes (in Propp 1968:xv) fairytale structure may be related to the structure of the cultural ideal success stories (In Western society the entrepreneur is such a story). In fairytales, luck always favours the deserving. Many critics consider entrepreneurial narrative to be simply too good to be true and thus liken them to fairytales. In entrepreneurial narrative, fairytales are invoked by the usage of particular phrases, such as “Once upon a time”, or “Rich beyond their wildest dreams”. These are invoked with regularity in the narratives of successful entrepreneurs and in fictional accounts. Anderson (1995:117) in discussing entrepreneurial myth asks do fairytales matter? Indeed, they do because the Fairytale element is an important imaginative part of entrepreneurial narrative and enterprise discourse.

For Hoffman (2003) enterprise and myth are linked by dreams and fairytales. Hoffman discusses the Grimm brothers as enterprising individuals, who were part of Bildungsbürgertum or the rising class of financial and industrial entrepreneurs and educated professionals. Hoffman, echoing Zipes (1979/1988) argues that the fairytales of the brothers Grimm “stress fundamental bourgeois values of behavior and moral principles of Christianity that served the hegemonic aspirations of the rising middle classes in Germany and elsewhere. These values and principles were oriented toward “male hegemony and patriarchy.” The works of Zipes (1979/1988) link the concept of fairytales to contemporary entrepreneurial narrative. For example, in his 1988 work, Zipes presents two chapters which allude to this link - “Dreams of a Better Bourgeois Life: The Psycho-Social Origins of the Tales” and “From Odysseus to Tom Thumb and Other Cunning Heroes: Speculations about the Entrepreneurial Spirit”. Zipes articulates that male cunning is key,

⁹ However, Clouston (1889, quoted in Dorson, 1968:263) noted that fairytales have no particular moral, for the hero achieves all his wonderful enterprises with the aid of superhuman beings and by magical device.

as is the hero's knowledge of the world and how to use "wit and words", to conquer the unknown. Tom Thumb is the model and Odysseus the inspiration. For Zipes, the entrepreneurial spirit articulated by Weber's Protestant ethic exudes from the fairytale genre, constructed by the Brothers Grimm. Zipes argues that fairytale conveys utopian knowledge and becomes societal myth to accomplish certain concealed ends preserving an outward appearance of neutrality, and innocence. Thus it could be argued that these fairy tales are proto-entrepreneurial narrative because the genre was imbued with the ethos of the time in which it was written. Similarly, Bottigheimer (1987) studied the motif, plot, and images of the fairytales, told by the Grimm brothers, and argued that they were basically morality tales which presented stories of bad girls and bold boys. Over time, these fairytales become absorbed into the folklore as stories of the people.

Folklore is the science of tradition (Dorson, 1968:243) and is composed of myth, tales, legends, proverbs presenting a penetrating picture of a given way of life, revealing group aspirations, values and goals (Lewis, 1961:148-9). Folktales are embellished and romanticised stories which preserve mythological conceptions (Dorson, 1968:221). Rockwell (1974:24) discusses folk-wisdom as practical knowledge of desirable (useful) behaviour and attitudes narrating how to beat the system and manifested as tales, proverbs, sayings, and homespun stories with a distinct preference for human rogues. Folk values and morality unknown to outsiders are often contained within their folklore (Dorson, 1968:319). Folklore anchors ideas in time and place (Dorson, 1968:379). Dorson (1968:12) notes that folklore and wonder tales counterbalance the "cautious, sober and pious ways of learned men" with their good works and books of scriptures". However, many folklorists took liberties with narratives, inserting phrases and in developing character portraits or introducing apocryphal stories to exemplify and embellish the record (ibid.92). Integrity was often sacrificed for artistry. Notwithstanding this, the entrepreneurial themes of value and virtue are embedded in folklore. Folktales, like entrepreneur stories, are episodic in nature and permit the transmission of virtues from one person to another. Indeed, Swinfen (1984:39) notes that the moral emphasis in folktales is on "survival, living by one's wits". Furthermore, Dorson (1968:231) stresses the moral basis of romance and folktale with its emphasis on wealth, learning, power, or salvation. In folktales, the hero is a popular champion, whether of humble or noble birth. As with fable, and fairytale, it is difficult to locate exemplars of entrepreneurial folklore, albeit that Brockhous (1987) used the term to accommodate a body of contemporary myths surrounding entrepreneurship research. Importantly, entrepreneur stories can be narrated as contemporary heroic folktales. This is significant as lore is a body of traditional learned knowledge not always based on fact.

To summarise, Semiotics plays a significant role in constructions of the entrepreneur as portrayed in Britain at a visual and linguistic level because of the constructivist nature of semio-lingual devices. When combined with archetype, mythology and metaphor and proto-entrepreneurial narrative these influence the construction of stereotypical representations. Archetype, myth, and metaphor are action based narratives which contribute to stereotype and thus to constructed representations of the entrepreneur.

8.6 – CONSTRUCTING THE STEREOTYPICAL ENTREPRENEUR.

Stereotyping plays a part in the construction of entrepreneurial knowledge. Indeed, stereotypicality pervades the construct. Pennington (1988:90) defines stereotypes as greatly oversimplified, over generalised abstractions based on highly visible characteristics such as race, sex, nationality, and appearance. These stereotypical characteristics are attributed to all members of a group. As a process, it relies upon extending judgment from act to the actor (Claster, 1992:11). It is an interpretive framework of pre-packaged appraisals

that reduce enormously complex entities into more manageable categories (Claster, 1992:198). For Barthes (1988:146) stereotypes are the already read and are based upon pre-understandings. Stereotyping is thus a ubiquitous social construct, influenced by culture and historical memory and by other pejorative social constructs such as racism, bigotry and prejudice. Stereotypes compact social life into a typical subject reflecting common experiences and identities. However, crude, inaccurate simplifications can occur, involving discrimination or hostility. Social prejudice make it dangerous to use because it is constructed prior to and independent of our experience of individuals and when invoked by dominant groups it becomes discriminatory. Stereotypical assumptions can become outdated, inappropriate and struggle to contain the identities from which they were constructed. Stereotypes can be used positively. Semio-linguill devices such as archetype, myth, mythic metaphor, parables, proverbs and fables all inform stereotypicality and thus what constitutes a typical entrepreneur. From analysis of entrepreneur stories the stereotypical entrepreneur is male, most likely middle-aged, is working or middle class, has been raised in marginality and has had to overcome obstacles. Indeed, the stereotype of the entrepreneur is of a heroic masculine achiever and possibly a bit of a rogue. Thus the entrepreneur is presented as a stereotypical pictorial representation mirroring that portrayed in narrative. Golding & Middleton (1982: 62) stress that cartoons are an especially effective and economical way of capturing stereotypes and injecting them into popular demonology. Humour and parody are important elements of the entrepreneurial construct. Indeed, entrepreneurship can be parodied. Treble & Vallins (1936:136) discuss parody as a consciously exaggerated imitation. Smith & Anderson (2001) regard entrepreneurship to be a serious construct as there are few entrepreneur jokes¹⁰.

8.7 - REFLECTIONS.

The objectives of this chapter were to demonstrate how basic building blocks of narrative construct proto-entrepreneurial narratives and illustrate how they are used together and in combinations to produce layered meanings. This was achieved by examining the related sense-making constructionism's tools of archetype, mythology, and metaphoric tropes; and the role played by other narratives such as parable, proverbs, fable, fairytales, folklore and fantasy. These are all creative, generative, devices which form a social cache of stock of knowledge, or proto-entrepreneurial tales, through which we can take between. They are also devices through which we can engage in a complex web of social processes and perform and enact them as social scripts. They are also sense-making and giving devices which enable us to make sense of a cacophony of competing messages. This chapter continued to develop an appreciation of the communicational aspects of entrepreneurship and also of where social constructs come from, and how they are constructed. It is via such linguistic mechanisms that we engage and enact in the socially constructed script that informs social expectations of what constitutes entrepreneurship. Chapter 9 continues to build upon this narrative understanding and the role of narrative and storytelling. Stereotyping is obviously linked to clichéd Identity therefore chapter 10 considers the role of stereotype in shaping entrepreneurial identities and legitimacies.

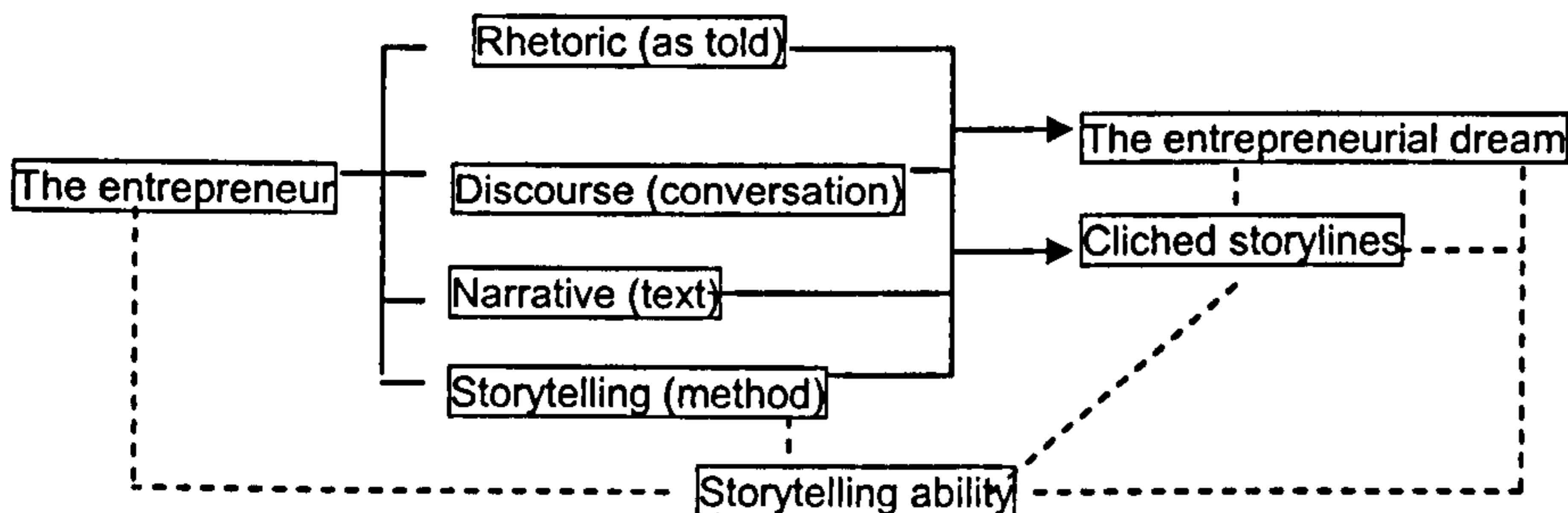
¹⁰ Examples of entrepreneurial humour do exist. A brother in law of Brian Souter, who left Stagecoach just prior to its success, now owns a bus company ironically named Highwayman. Also, Beaumont (2002:90) notes that George Hudson was regularly mocked in cartoons. Smilor (2002c) appreciates the significance of the entrepreneur as a comic figure.

9 - CONSTRUCTING ENTREPRENEUR STORIES.

INTRODUCTION.

READERS' GUIDE.

This chapter examines how individuals and society make sense of complex social constructs and what they do with such collective knowledge. It became apparent that they construct and reconstruct knowledge into narrative as written and spoken stories, and identities which in turn influence stereotypical representations of the entrepreneur. Identity will be discussed in chapter 11. This chapter examines how the building blocks discussed in chapter 8 are constructed into narratives, stories, discourse and rhetoric and particularly into entrepreneurial dreams and clichéd storylines which form a heroic folklore of entrepreneurship.



9.1 – THE ROLE OF DISCOURSE IN SHAPING ENTREPRENEUR STORIES

9.1.1: Discursive practice.

9.1.2: Entrepreneurship and related discourses.

9.2 – THE ROLE OF RHETORIC IN SHAPING ENTREPRENEUR STORIES.

9.2.1: Rhetorical practices.

9.2.2: Entrepreneurship and rhetoric.

9.3 – HOW NARRATIVE CONSTRUCTION SHAPES ENTREPRENEUR STORIES.

9.3.1: Developing narrative understandings.

9.3.2: Constructing the narrative.

9.3.3: Appreciating the biographical basis of entrepreneur stories.

9.3.4: Deciphering human actions from biographical material.

9.3.5: Enactment and drama as a fusion of action and communication.

9.3.6: Using narrative analysis to identify common themes in entrepreneur stories.

9.4 – STORYTELLING, AND TELLING STORIES OF ENTREPRENEURS.

9.4.1: Storytelling, values and authentic entrepreneurship.

9.4.2: Entrepreneurs and storytelling ability.

9.5 – ARTICULATING ENTREPRENEURIAL DREAMS.

9.5.1: The entrepreneurial dream.

9.5.2: The American Dream.

9.5.3: The émigré dream.

9.5.4: The Gangster Dream.

9.6 – CLICHÉD STORYLINES - BUILDING BLOCKS OF ENTREPRENEUR STORIES.

9.6.1: Humble-beginnings and overcoming adversity stories.

9.6.2: Hard-work-tales and the joy of work.

9.6.3: The poor-boy-made-good and rags-to-riches.

9.6.4: The prodigy figure.

9.6.5: Horatio Alger stories.

9.7 - REFLECTIONS.

In chapter 8 we saw how the constructionist building blocks of language help make sense of social structure, as a cacophony of competing messages. In this chapter, we take the research forward and examine structures which people construct from such building blocks shaping the knowledge they glean to construct stories and personal identity. Both are facilitated and reinforced via the use of narrative - and semiotics. Ideals, values, and identity are all expressed in narrative. This chapter concerns itself with what is written

and spoken about entrepreneurs. We begin by examining the linguistic mechanisms of discourse, rhetoric, narrative and storytelling which produce dreams and clichéd storylines. Narratives are important because the entrepreneur is frequently portrayed as a hero and heroes must be seen and heard to be heroic. Storytelling accommodates both factors. Although individual entrepreneurs are unique, entrepreneur stories are often universal. There are two main story types, the heroic (a one-sided rendition) and the picaresque (an inversion of the heroic). This chapter is concerned with the entrepreneurial story and its role in constructing our knowledge. Thus we examine how people construct their realities using stories. We begin by examining the role of discourse in shaping entrepreneur stories.

9.1 – THE ROLE OF DISCOURSE IN SHAPING ENTREPRENEUR STORIES.

Fiske (1987:14) defines discourse as a language or system of representation developed socially to circulate a coherent set of values and meaning. It is a system in which social values are embedded. Narratives are contained within a meaningful discourse or meaning structure (Hall, 1980). Indeed, Culler (2001:xii) appreciates the dependency of any discourse on innumerable other discourses. We engage in and with discourse. Basically discourse relates to a continuing conversation. However, discourse is considerably more complex than that. There are different (inter-related) forms of discourse but this chapter concentrates on narrative forms which Barthes (1988:100) refers to as being a major discourse. It is helpful to consider discourse as a creative, changing, dialogue between person (creator) and subject (knowledge). According to Berglund (2004:4-5) discourse can be mapped and Laclau & Mouffe (1985) advocate mapping discursive fields by tracing characters that have a privileged status in relation to other characters in a discourse. For Berglund, the discourse approach is allied to an inter-disciplinary social constructionist approach drawing on the theories of Foucault (1974), Laclau & Mouffe (1985) and Wetherall & Potter (1992) which hold that people construct their understanding of realities in conversation and discursive practice. This is important because for Gergen (2001:115) “patterns of action are typically intertwined with modes of discourse”.

9.1.1 - Discursive practice.

For Fairclough (1992: 65) such discursive practice contributes to reproducing and transforming society (social identities, social relationships, systems of knowledge and belief). Gergen (2001:6) suggests that given language is a fundamental derivative of social interchange, it must be viewed as a discourse in terms of its social functions. For Gergen (2001:131) discourse is also performative constructed in such a manner that it seeks to engage us and for Fiske (1987:53) discourse “hails” the addressee and addresses issues of ontology, becoming, being and belonging. For example, Foucault (1974) focused on specific discourses and discursive practices within historical periods noting that each has its own *épistème* or set of relations uniting various discursive practices that shape its epistemologies. Foucault considered specific discourses as systems of representational codes for constructing and maintaining particular forms of reality within an ontological domain or topic. Capitalism and entrepreneurship are thus discourses, discursive practices and ontological domains. The dominant discourse in a specific historical and socio-cultural context maintains its own regime of truth. Thus discursive positions reflect social, economic and political determinants. Foucault focused on power relations, noting that the discourses and signifiers of some interpretative communities are either, privileged and dominant or marginalised. For Plumb (1977) the entrepreneur is a necessary outsider in industrial societies refusing to adopt or employ the dominant code, and often over emphasise their rejection of it. The social category of outsiders includes foreigners, those of other cultures and those

marginalised within a culture. The marginalised are often well attuned to nuances within dominant social codes and parody them successfully as a form of learned social acculturation, thus visually shaping adopted identity. The most important constancy in our understanding of lived experience is our sense of who we are as an individual. Berger & Luckman (1966) noted that our sense of self as constant is a social construction over-determined by a host of interacting cultural codes. Gergen (2001:95) differentiates between sacred discourse and profane language and for Hjorth (2001:97) discourse holds-embeds stories. For Ogbor (2000:630) discourse binds us to historical, political, social and ideological systems and norms which shape accepted social practices. For Burr (1995) we are producers of discourse but for Berglund (2004:7) we are captured by it. Discourse, narrative and dialogic life-stories can challenge ideological assumptions.

9.1.2 - Entrepreneurship and related discourses.

Entrepreneurship is a productive discourse and a discourse on productivity. According to Hjorth (2001:47) enterprise discourse is a dominant management discourse and for Law (1994:75) it “celebrates opportunism, pragmatism, performance”. For Burrows (1991:17) it is “one of the major articulating principles of the age”. It is a paraenetic discourse exhorting virtue (Barthes, 1988:34). Indeed, Mumby-Croft & Hackley (1997:92) refer to a discourse of moral justice (aligned to working class identity) whilst Hjorth (2001) refers to the wider discourse of enterprise, within other ongoing discourses. Howorth *et al* (2003:6-12) adopt a dialogic approach regarding narratives of the individualistic operator as a dominant discourse in entrepreneurial studies referring to “entrepreneur talk” because entrepreneurship discourse includes the views of entrepreneurs themselves. Haines (1998:19) notes that men are measured by the anecdotes they generate.

Mumby-Croft & Hackley (1997:92) talk of drawing on different discourses of entrepreneurship, because there is no one entrepreneurial discourse, but a plurality. Browne (1992) relates how the discourse of arrival is embedded in narratives of American culture since the time of the Pilgrims. Consideration of such related discourses is a worthwhile exercise. Hjorth, Johannisson & Steyaert (2002:6) researched entrepreneurship as discourse, and as a style of living, arguing that the dominant discourse of regional development is one of benevolent guardianship and patronizing discourse engaged in by government agencies. For Berglund (2004:4) entrepreneurship discourse can be oppressive. Berglund lists allied discourses such as the economic and equality discourse, whilst Dey (2004) lists them as being Social entrepreneurship; Dependency; Business; Moral; Individualist; and Maleness. In relation to the discourse of becoming, Peltonen (1998) identified three separate discourses used by expatriate Finns – Bureaucratic, Occupational and Enterprising. Peltonen (1998:875) notes that expatriate Finns utilise the entrepreneurship discourse as a form of social capital. Occupational discourse embodies an idea of what things look like and how they are made (ibid.882). In bureaucratic discourse, stories revolve around images of hierarchical levels, whereas in the enterprise discourse, images revolve around the individual. In enterprising discourse, coherence lies within the self and stories emphasise boredom, stagnation and the dramatic (ibid.884-5). Indeed, Hjorth (2001:40) envisages the possibility of performative discourse.

The discourse and ideologies of entrepreneurship have become conflated with that of capitalism. For Agevall (1999:236) capitalism is a methodological calculating behaviour. But entrepreneurship as a life theme predates capitalism. Hjorth (2001:176) emphasises that overlapping discourses on entrepreneurship exist outwith enterprise discourse. Change as a discourse crosses the enterprise discourse (ibid.90) and enterprise discourse is passed through effective channels of distribution such as business schools, management books, media and cultural heroes of movies for example, Wall Street (ibid.30). Hjorth (2001:7)

questions the necessity of the current dominating stance of telling stories of entrepreneurship, suggesting instead that we need to rewrite the discourse.

The power of discourse has lived in the shadows of other narrative typologies and in particular storytelling and academic monologues. Indeed, Ogbor (2000:610) stresses that the ideology-critique of the discourse on entrepreneurship has remained one of the last taboos in management and organisation discourses, waiting to be de-mystified. For Ogbor “the discourse on entrepreneurship and its praxis in its present form reinforces an expression of patriarchy, producing and reproducing entrepreneurial ideas that give dominance to traditional male values” (ibid.626). Ogbor proposes that by exposing gaps or silences in the discursive text, it is possible to examine what is said and what is not said. In particular, Ogbor identified masculine ideology in the silences within text and discourse (ibid.607). The implications of this are immense, because if masculine doxa and ideology have been privileged at the expense of female ideology and doxa then much of what we regard as being entrepreneurship discourse may be a discourse skewed by masculine values which women may instinctively reject as alien to their world views. This masculine ideology is an excellent exemplar of the silences and gaps identified by Ogbor. To expose the gaps, Ogbor (2000:609), echoing Alvesson (1991), used critical inquiry to explore the relationship between illusion and reality, as it stimulates self-reflection in order to free individuals from the restrictions and repression of the established social order and its ideologies. Ogbor argues that entrepreneurship research is criticised for silencing feminist perspective by ignoring the ideological basis upon which the dominant perspective is perpetuated, produced and reproduced. Furthermore, Ogbor argues that the gendered nature of entrepreneurial ideas reflects and maintains the system of social relations that privileges masculine gender. These ideas become instruments of control over resources and people, and over the drawing of boundaries between different sexes, as the discourse takes the male as a “self evident unit” with which to produce knowledge about entrepreneurship (ibid.621-622). The discourse maintains the existing dichotomy between maleness and femaleness, and inequalities between the two. Thus the ideological gap, and the prevalence of masculine ideology constructs the masculinity of entrepreneurship discourse. For Ogbor (2000:624) entrepreneurship is “caught within a network of social, historical and economic factors” socially constructed as a male phenomenon (Warren, 2003:10-11). Warren’s female respondents drew upon four alternative discursive themes, namely – self-reliance; personal development; business; and technical proficiency. The respondents were disparaging of the entrepreneurial discourse, avoiding it because of its association with a “barrow-boy” culture, management speak and anti-familial discourse. For Warren, women are constituted as entrepreneurs by discourse. This confirms the findings of Gergen (1988) who studied gendered narratives, suggesting there are differences in the way men and women tell stories. Men appropriate directive narratives of success. Their stories are devoid of emotive feelings possessing an inhumane coldness.

The masculinity of the enterprise discourse does not relate solely to people, but is transferable to place. For example, Petterson (2002:1-2) considers the Swedish town of Gnosjö as being represented and constructed in “discourse” with its own “stories narratives, picture representations and myths”. A semantic alternative is proposed by Bruyat & Julien (2000:165) who refer to entrepreneurship as the dialogic between individual and new value creation. They adopt a constructivist stance, stressing that there are four basic types of entrepreneurial situations, namely reproduction, imitation, valorisation and the entrepreneurial venture. They warn that adopting a generalised discourse produces only truisms or artefacts concluding that the classic positivist paradigm and constructivism can exist side by side by viewing entrepreneurship as an

evolving, changing narrative (ibid.175-177). This helps explain the difficulties in defining it as the narrative changes with each new experience and research paper. Entrepreneurship discourse relies upon rhetoric.

9.2 – THE ROLE OF RHETORIC IN SHAPING ENTREPRENEUR STORIES.

Rhetoric is the theory and practice of eloquence, whether spoken or written and is related to and formed by discourse. According to Culler (2001:210) rhetoric is grandiloquent language, and for Barthes (1988:12-13) it is a technique or art, a teaching, an ethic and social practice. It is a negotiated narrative which can be construed as false or showy. Sreberny-Mohammadi (1995:26-27) discusses rhetoric as the study of oral communications referring to the use of repetitive, oral mnemonic devices. It is a powerful technique of persuasion relying on logic, ethos (the use of personal characteristics to claim credibility) and pathos (the use of emotion). Rhetoric thus forms part of the semiotic chain by which we communicate values. It is arguably via discourse that an entrepreneur takes between, but it is via rhetoric that they shape the arguments which they use to convince their audience of their personal value. Therefore, in this section, we consider rhetoric and discuss its relationship with entrepreneurship. Sreberny-Mohammadi (1995:28) discusses how the oral tradition bound communities together and legitimised the authority of those who perpetuated it by virtue of collective wisdom in the form of myth, legend, theatrics and overblown rhetoric.

9.2.1 - Rhetorical practice.

The rhetoric of entrepreneurship (like the discourse) is pervaded by masculine doxa. Indeed, Catano (2001:6) links rhetorical practice to social constructionism, with narrative emerging in personal dialogues and rhetorics (crafted, one-sided arguments used in the articulation of ideology). Rhetorical texts utilise combinations of discourse, modes and genres. Catano (2001:3/4) refers to doxic rhetoric because rhetoric reinforces doxa. Seldon (1991) refers to the rhetoric of enterprise; and Catano (2001:4/6) talks of rhetoricized masculinity and of masculine values, arguing that “mythic” rhetoric functions by enacting sophisticated socio-cultural and psychological dynamics. For Catano, the rhetorical performance of masculinity is enacted in the myth of the self-made entrepreneur. Entrepreneurship can be constructed rhetorically, and rhetoric influences the entrepreneurial construct in many subtle ways, flowing into ideology and narrative. Many individual rhetorical discourses form the entrepreneurial construct, such as, the Puritan discourse. Clark (1986) examined the rhetoric of Puritan public discourse and concluded that it poses a celebratory and negotiative function. Other studies of Puritan rhetoric (White, 1972; and Dean, 1989) demonstrate personal, emotive content, revolving around a value enhancing triage of the biblical, the familial and of life metaphors. Early Puritan discourse was one of arrival, and thus is about becoming and being.

9.2.2 - Entrepreneurship and rhetoric.

Smith & Anderson (2002) echoing and expanding the work of Diamond (1970) argue that such narrated rhetoric helped to create entrepreneurial communities peopled by small businessmen, storekeepers, lawyers, doctors, teachers and other articulate, professionals. To be accepted by, and to contribute to the community, an entrepreneur was required to be articulate. The patriarchal nature of such communities led to the creation of spheres of influence such as civic associations and business clubs where stories of success were promulgated and opportunities for self-improvement offered. A premium was placed upon knowledge, good decision-making, education, credentialism and training with demand for these services being met by

the endowment of educational institutions provided by successful philanthropic entrepreneurs. Success became the key ideograph in the rhetoric, a measure of individual quality and initiative granting one authority, testifying to their character and initiative. Entrepreneurial communities espoused two discourses. The first was the Moral lesson. It was their duty to teach morality tales, build personal characteristics and challenge others to strive towards those qualities with moral character equating to success. The story acted became a template. The second was the success story - a biographic narrative, weaving together morality and success tales eulogising the successful individual, highlighting elements of character and initiative leading to success. A darker side to these tales espoused loyalty and commitment pertaining only to insiders. Outsiders were demonised and the perpetuation of such tales legitimised the entrepreneurial by propagating the formula - work hard, take risks and succeed. Wealth became a measure of success, the pragmatic result of hard work. In contrast, the poverty of others resulted from their lack of character and initiative a natural balance in the world. The key role of morality was to provide an apparent moral structure for social advancement. Poverty and wealth were viewed as an individual outcome, a moral reward rather than a product of economic systems. Wealth resulted from personal moral character thus creating an entrepreneurial value system, using linguistic and semiotic mechanisms embedded in narrative and the entrepreneurial dream. This illustrates the power of narrative to shape the actions, beliefs and values of a community, demonstrating the power of entrepreneurial narrative to shape entrepreneur stories.

9.3 – HOW NARRATIVE CONSTRUCTION SHAPES ENTREPRENEUR STORIES.

Narrative is associated with literacy, but is derived from orality, which precedes action. It is both a written and spoken phenomenon (Ryder, 1995:2). Narratives, whether written, spoken, or visual are all laden with metaphoric content. Nevertheless, entrepreneurship as a creative process reflects the writing process. Thus, Hjorth (2001:214) discusses creative “entrospective” forms of writing as methods of taking between; whilst Steyaert (1997) argues that entrepreneurship research revolves around developing knowledge through “Writing narratives”. Developing an understanding of narrative is crucial to achieving “Verstehen”, necessitating the examination of narrative understanding and functions.

9.3.1 – Developing narrative understandings.

Narrative, as constructed communication, unites the central themes of this thesis, namely action and communication. Narrative is an ontological process, and entrepreneurial narrative and storytelling are related to the ontology of being and becoming - because stories embody who we are, and what we want to become. Furthermore, for Gergen (2001:2) narrative demands have ontological consequences. Narrated stories are participative, allowing us to belong to cultures. According to Boje (2001:202) narrative claims are formulated, legitimated and performed, thus to participate in the stories, by inclusion, or by repetition is to belong. Gergen (2001:228) argues that stories offer a process of relating bringing a synchronistic, overarching framework to many diverse elements or storylines and order to a vast archive of material. For Handrich (1995:853) narrative understanding is our most primitive form of explanation – we make sense of things by fitting them into stories. Barthes (1984) argues that the world comes to us in narratives. Indeed, for Gergen (2001:170) “narrative or story telling is a major means by which we make ourselves intelligible to each other”. Narrative is a mechanism for the conveyance of truth, yet there is the possibility that objectivity in narration can be obscured because a well-formed narrative places requirements over what events may be included in a proper story thereby suppressing description (Gergen, 2001:5). Narrative ability is strongly

dependent on the affirmation of others for its legitimacy, therefore Gergen (2001:6/68-69) advocates subjecting individual narratives to tests of veracity; arguing that narrative construction dictates that certain conventions must be present within a story. For instance, it must convey a valued end point and events relevant thereto; there must be a logical order to the events; and the events must display causal linkage. However, narratives also have a down side because stories - need not be true and may have a casual relationship with the truth; can be didactic, chauvinistic, patronising and dominating; can be used as false ideology or indoctrination; can be invoked as eulogy or for disparaging purposes. There is a difference between narrative and historical truth (ibid.72). Moreover, for Mumby-Croft & Hackley (1997:93) a strong subtext of injustice pervades entrepreneurial narrative.

Narratives also set a tone or mood (Frye, 1957) thereby influencing actions, and are composed of many "Acts of Meaning" (Bruner, 1990). Thus actions embedded in stories have symbolic as well as linguistic content. Rockwell (1974:56) argues that all classical genres of literature possess an aesthetic and moral importance to their host societies. It is through one's narratives that moral status is negotiated and by which we are judged. Gergen (2001:10) stresses that in attempting to justify our actions in narrative, we have the privilege of self-definition and of tailoring stories to cast our-self in our best light. Indeed, Polkinghorne (1988) stresses we are immersed in narrative and use cultures, myths, fairy tales, parables, novels to describe and explain actions. Gergen (2001:6) considers narration as a property of relationships which provides a form of closure and outcome. We tell stories to establish a valued end point or explain a goal, or as a state to be reached or avoided. These are crucial to an acceptable story (ibid.2-3). Stories must possess an outcome of significance, and with successful conclusion we participate in tradition. Gergen discusses causal linkages and stresses that contemporary ideal narratives always provide a purposeful explanation.

Gergen (2001:4-8) sets out basic narrative types of stability, progression and regression. Stability narratives maintain a status quo, being by definition non-entrepreneurial. Progressive narratives relate to life in the ascendancy, whilst regressive one's to a downwards spiral. Stories can encompass all three. Evidence of the socially constructed nature of entrepreneurial narrative is discernable in the works of Gergen who describes progressive narrative as the overcoming of hardship, followed by continual striving and eventual success. Gergen writes of the popular storyline of how the "impoverished young man struggled to financial success". The masculine form is privileged in traditional narrative. We portray ourselves in relation to a particular identity, moving through time in a particular direction towards an end point or remembered sequence, generating a story replete with all the hallmarks of well-formed narrative. Indeed, a function of Western narrative is portraying oneself as a stable, coherent individual attempting to achieve standards of excellence, whilst fighting against earlier set backs, to achieve a state of moral identity acceptable in a communal basis (ibid.10). According to MacIntyre (1984:202) we are accountable for our narrative portrayals (narratable life) and portray ourselves as striving towards a noble end, thus generating expectations. However, we leave ourselves open to reproach if the narrative does not match our actions.

Progressive narratives are used to convey a positive outcome and emphasises storylines such as victory and success. Regressive narratives convey negative outcomes such as failure and loss. Gergen (2001:71) describes Heroic Saga, Tragedy, Romance and Comedy as sub themes of progressive narrative. Heroic Saga formulas are favoured by males who may tailor their stories accordingly; and are formed by storylines relating to ups and downs, struggles and misfortunes. Similarly, tragic narrative relates to the rapid achievement of high position followed by an equally rapid descent into failure and despair. Gergen (1991)

lists three basic forms of narrative - Success (often channelled via the comedic); Failure (portrayed as tragic); and Cyclical (giving rise to the epic). For Gergen, comedic-romantic storylines relate to a calamity followed quickly by a heroic restoration of order. Gergen (2001:105) also discusses the biblical saga of creation, fall and redemption. It is apparent that certain styles of entrepreneur stories incorporate these storylines. Entrepreneurship is therefore by nature a heroic, progressive narrative.

Downing (2005) identified narrative and dramatic processes that describe how notions of individual and collective identity are co produced over time by selective and emotional processes producing storylines, emplotment, and narrative structure which support sense making and action making. For Downing narrative contributes to social construction by fitting storylines into tacit plots, by means of emplotment and that these have an expected pattern and conclusion governed by narrative structuring. Storylines are emotionally resonant stories that are remembered and repeated. Emplotment is a largely unconscious process of iteratively fitting aspects of storylines into understandable plots; whereas narrative structuring is the process by which plots that have been tacitly selected are developed by elaborating and contextualising the structure. Downing (2005:195) discusses various widely accepted plots found in entrepreneur stories – “In the romantic plot labelled a quest...a hero challenges the status quo, engages in various adventures, has setbacks, but ultimately succeeds in re-establishing harmonious relationships. In the tragic plot labelled a downfall...the hero is overwhelmed largely by fate or external events. In a melodramatic plot labelled a contest, the hero is engaged in a struggle personifying right and wrong or them and us, which culminates in a battle where good triumphs over evil. In an ironic plot labelled a scam, the hero is revealed to be less than he claimed, and is found to be incompetent, perhaps a con-man. These plots are very fundamental sense-making devices, which most people readily recognize”. Therefore, narrated stories construct perceptions of reality, because according to Fisher (1987) they are not judged on purely logical terms but are tested against probability (convincability and conformation to expected reality) and fidelity (the veracity of a story to convince listeners to believe and act upon it). Narratives therefore are patterns which inform and guide social behaviours.

9.3.2 – Constructing the narrative.

Narratives are social constructs which construct a point of view and answer questions posed by the context in which it is embedded. For Plummer (1995) social processes of producing and consuming stories are not unproblematic. Thus for Leland (1998:1) the socially constructed nature of literature is “an act of collusion as reader and writer engage in a conspiracy, and through the imperfect system of language, the two co-operate to make a world”. Stories are told, and retold, to others as shared experience. Such telling and retellings are a powerful method of retaining or recreating experience in a memorable and satisfying form. Narratives thus enable an entrepreneur to construct and recreate experience to be shared in a social setting. Such narratives are designed to effect closure and suppress contradictions, thereby encouraging readers to adopt a position from which everything seems obvious. However, because individuals and genres are not one dimensional or homogeneous, alternative and contradictory subject-positions arise. For Gergen (2001) social constructionists accounts of narratives pay particular attention to moral identity and societal historical consciousness. The process and character of narrative formation, is influenced by long standing traditions of storytelling, oral history, personal memories, and a variety of literary genres, including novels.

Gergen (2001:11) argues that we live within a cultural, historically constructed narrative, which we share with other people of the same nation, region and family thus creating multiple stories enabling us to select

the facts necessary to sustain our legitimacy and tell intelligible stories. Gergen refers to unified cultures within which a historical truth bearing capacity as being culturally circumscribed. Thus a reader approaches a text with a pre-learned structure of understanding, which constitutes a range of interpretive tendencies (ibid.4). Fish (1980) argued that readers attempt to understand texts as members of interpretive community's. Gergen & Gergen (1988) argue that narrative conventions (traditional ways of telling stories) provide the fore-structure through which people make themselves intelligible to others. In short, the self is viewed as if achieved through dialogic processes continuously in motion. Thus we inherit a range of literary and rhetorical devices for generating a sense of reality and objectivity and a tradition favouring different deployments of these devices. We negotiate reality and the creation and sustenance of value (Gergen, 2001:11). Historically, narration is linked to cultural values and morality. To subscribe to a tradition is to lend silent affirmation to the sense of the good that it embodies. To tell the tale is to participate and sustain its tradition and through narrative determine a collective future (ibid.12).

Czarniawska (1999) argues that narrative is central to an understanding of social construction and furthermore Vaara (2002) stresses, both success and failure are social constructions. Callahan & Elliott (1995:86) argue that each person has a unique history constructed of differing experiences and frames of reference, creating their own unique constructs that may differ from objective notions of reality. There is therefore no reason why the narratives of separate entrepreneurs should coincide or conform, apart from aspects of social construction. As Johnson (1996:101) noted, narratives (and images) always imply or construct a position or positions from which they are to be read or viewed. Gergen (2001:1) remarks that social constructionism "brackets the problem of individual minds – as the locus of origin, comprehension, or storage of narrative." Individuals thus share common sources of information gathering and social experience but they may well have interpreted it differently. Entrepreneurial narrative may thus possess a socially constructed and over-arching form and structure which influences how they narrate lived experiences.

9.3.3 – Appreciating the biographical basis of entrepreneurial narrative.

The spirit of enterprise has a long history of connectedness to narrative. For example, Samuel Smiles (1958) fostered the spirits of enterprise and self-help framing these qualities within individual biographies of people he believed worthy of emulation. Smiles captured its essence by using individual biographies to collectively tell a convincing tale. In this section we discuss the functions of narrative moving from the general, as in narrative *per se*, to the specific, as in entrepreneurial narrative. Thereafter we explore biographical elements and linkages with actions before considering drama as the fusion of action and communication. It is helpful to understand the functions of narrative and appreciate how these influence the construction of entrepreneurial narrative and entrepreneur stories. Referring to the entrepreneurial narrative is a misnomer, because (like its definition) there is no one "all encompassing master narrative" as envisaged by Fine (1994:73). It is more appropriate to talk of entrepreneurial narratives as it embodies master and personal narrative, as well as a discourse of existing and possible narratives, discourses, rhetorics and ideologies. There are sound structural reasons for this, because entrepreneurship is not a finished story – it is a living, evolving narrative, which accommodates variety, diversity and paradox. Yet, Fournier (1998) considers entrepreneurial narrative to be a tale of development and exploitation. Notwithstanding this it can be regarded as what Gergen (2001:154) calls a "transformative dialogue" because even in its most didactic one-sided rendition, it is an ideologically laden dialogue between the story and the individual. It may even be what Gergen (2001:195) refers to as a "Grand Narrative" and Creed (1998:358) a "grands recits", as it acts

as a vessel that holds the accumulated knowledge and wisdom of past (and future) generations as a culturally shared story (Gergen, 2001:203). It is an enduring story associated with deftness. It is about doing and achieving legitimacy and obtaining satisfaction, struggling and of becoming established. A major end point is the achievement of legitimacy.

Entrepreneurial narratives are participative, generative social script, or text, embodying multiple voices and narrative multiplicity accommodating an extremely flexible and selective format, which can be invoked in full, partially or alluded to by judicious use of metaphor. One can select various accepted entrepreneurial storylines, myths or metaphors and by dint of creative writing craft them into a convincing tale of enterprise. Moreover, it comes in a bewildering array of packages such as success stories, morality tales and "tales of achievement" (McClelland, 1961). In its classical hagiographic format it is a fusion of three powerful complimentary narrative components, the Morality Tale, the Success Story and the Entrepreneurial Dream (Smith & Anderson, 2002). Entrepreneurial narratives are invoked to achieve a change in stature; induce memorability; to make an impression; to legitimise; and invoke a sense of belonging to the elite. Fallon & Srodes (1983:195) incisively note that entrepreneurs beginning a new venture have no constraining history and are thus one is free of the historical constraints of tradition and stifling procedure. Entrepreneurial narrative works best when invoked sparingly, leaving much to mystery and imagination. Indeed, the ethic of romanticism pervades entrepreneur stories (Casson, 2000). It is a story of reflection upon life's achievements, a mantric repetition of struggle, empowerment and resistance, a poesis, a creation, an invention expressed as fantasy. Entrepreneur stories relate to social displacement.

Entrepreneurial narrative is also about stature building and reputation enhancement, but not all narratives share the same stature or status (O'Conner, 2002). For example, there are dominant and alternative narratives (Abercrombie *et al* 1984). The former is the preferred narrative espoused as ideology by the ruling elite, whereas the latter is the shadow, counter-cultural argument which negates the false ideology of the elite. There are definite issues of legitimacy and social capital that one can benefit from by fitting ones self and circumstances to either narrative. Both build reputations that can be useful in particular areas of business. For instance, one can trade on the emotive narratives of the entrepreneur as hero and the entrepreneur as villain. Narrative is a wonderful mechanism for conveying emotions and entrepreneurial narratives are emotive stories that inspire success. For Gergen (2001:8) passion and inspiration are embedded within broader narratives, making a word more than a label necessitating extensive narration.

Hjorth (2001:82/97) discusses the significance of the cycle of genesis, repetition and participation as stories re-present people and realities and add a sense of timing and intensity urging us to listen creating a temporality not available in academic discourse. They are "stories of creations, sweat, passion, playfulness, blood, and tears" but academic discourse allows no place for the playfulness of homo-ludens (ibid.104). Hjorth (2001:289) emphasises the "immediacy", "creativity" and "spontaneity" of entrepreneurship as a "story of bright future and anxious present" (ibid.178). O'Connor (2002) refers to the sense-making capability of narrative and stories and classifies entrepreneurial narrative into three types, namely Personal; Generic; and Situational. Personal narratives, or life histories, are important because they build credibility and qualify a person to be classed as an entrepreneur. O'Connor provides examples of these narratives as in Founding and Vision stories. Founding Stories relate to pride of ownership and creation storylines. Situational narratives are the broader temporal and spatial storylines (Boom and bust and Get rich quick stories) which span history and convention. Therefore, entrepreneurial narrative is unitary made up of many other established narratives of success, ethnicity, and morality, and the contrasting narratives of hero and villain.

In achieving their potential, entrepreneurs must overcome problems and perils - the very storylines that are the mainstay of storytelling. Vaara (2002) refers to these as success rhetoric and concentrates on the discursive construction of success and failure in narrative, arguing that success stories are overly optimistic. For Vaara, these conventions of narration generate a sense of coherence and direction necessary in life events. By understanding the functions of narrative we can better understand how entrepreneurial narrative and entrepreneur stories are constructed from the elements of biography. It is worth considering what Barthes (1977) refers to as biographemes or scraps of biographical debris formulated from social knowledge, images and observations and how these are constructed into narrated identities.

For Gergen (2001:70) "we identify ourselves through narration" and Boje (1991) suggests storytelling is a primary form of enacting professional identity. Thus identity is linked inexorably to narrative via "Texts of Identity" (Shotter & Gergen, 1989). Also, for Gergen (2001:3) identity is stabilised in a well-formed narrative whose characters typically possess a continuous or coherent sense of identity across time. Thus protagonists cannot serve as a villain one moment and a hero the next. Similarly, storied identity is retained for its duration. Davies & Harre (1990) refer to this as positioning, or the discursive production of selves. Gergen stresses that such well-formed stories scarcely tolerate protean personalities making positioning vital to the success of the story. During her research Hamilton (2002) came to the realisation that the life events of her respondents were being ordered into stories and recounted as such. Gergen's (1992) wonderful phrase "Life Stories: Pieces of a Dream" encapsulates the fragmented nature of such narratives, composed of shards of an individual's life story, woven together with their dreams and aspirations. Much content in entrepreneurial narrative is composed of "collective rememberings" (Middleton & Edwards, 1991), or what Bruner (1993/1994) refers to as "constructions of self-representation", and "the remembered self". Many entrepreneurs possess a similar stock of remembered stories which define their early years and can be repeated as storytelling rights (Shuman, 1986).

We began by discussing narrative in a general context, as a sense-making device which brings order to a narrative through which self-identity is brought into being. The generalised narrative becomes a personalised narrative via the process of narrating the self. Now we turn to consider the influence of the biographical process on entrepreneurial narrative as a sense-giving narrative. For example, it is evident that the biographical process shapes identity, making narrative theory worthy of consideration. Indeed, the biographical process is one of social constructionism (Cushman, 1995; Fivush, 1991; Tonkin, 1992). Cushman (1995) considered the construction of self in relation to constructing America, whilst Fivush studied the construction of personal narratives. Hevern (2001) focused on psychological narrative perspectives, particularly the storied nature of human conduct, and the notions of self and the nature of identity considering whether individuals comprise one or more selves; and we come to self-knowledge. Hevern believes that we adapt our personal stories to conform to culturally-derived types of personality thus integrating culture into the individual's self; For Hevern, in constructing autobiography, we conceal more than we reveal. We clearly can encompass negotiated multiple and possible selves (Markus & Nurius, 1986). We thus adapt our selves to narrative and *vice versa*, wrapping it around us dependent upon motive and circumstances. This adaptation is culturally prescribed and is integrated into the self through narrative processes such as storytelling, personal myth-making, media and biographical writings. In biography we need not necessarily encounter the truth, but a socially negotiated version of it. Many narrative rememberings are tinged with hagiography, nostalgia and romanticism (Neisser, 1994; and Neisser &

Fivush, 1994). It is via the process of self-narration that entrepreneurial narrative changes from being a self-making to a self-giving mechanism, moving from being a narrative in the making, to a narrative of making.

Barclay & Smith (1993) and Barclay (1994) highlight this compositional element of biography and the processes of composition and improvisation. Berger & Luckmann (1971:76-86) talk of people consciously shaping their world, in the course of a shared biography, remembered in a biographical framework shared with others and argue that individuals perform discrete institutionalised actions within the context of their biography. For Berger & Luckmann only a small part of human experience is retained in consciousness but that those, which are retained, become sedimented and via a process of inter-subjective sedimentation several individuals can share a common biography, experiences and stock of knowledge. Thus biographies enable the transmission of sedimented experience to all, so that they may share in the future as an objective possibility. This also forms part of the oral tradition of a society and language acts as a depository for collective sedimentations. Tradition is kept alive and can be changed by invention and fabrication as legitimations succeed each other. These are incorporated into the larger body of tradition by moral instruction and religious allegory. Thus knowledge is acquired monothetically, as a cohesive whole without the requirement to reconstruct the original.

For Freeman (1993) the process of rewriting the self can distort the relationship between memory and history in biographical writing. McAdams (1993) portrays human identity development as personal mythmaking, sharing common narrative themes across the life cycle. Discrepancies can occur between contemporaneous note taking and memory, as evidenced by Smith (1994) who demonstrated the significance of reconstructive narrative to accommodating change and techniques of self-enhancement. Moreover, Cushman (1990) posited a theory of contemporary selves in Western culture, whereby we fill our empty selves with cultural minutia. Also, Bruner (1993/1994) argues for a more active, constructive understanding of self-narrative, emphasising the notion of agency on the autobiographical processes which is open to misuse and potential inaccuracy. For Markus & Nurius (1986) we weigh up alternative ideals of what we might become or would like or are afraid to become. This shapes future behaviour, providing contexts to evaluate and interpret the self as currently viewed. Persistent problems in any theory of self are stability of self, unity, and self-distortion. It should be stressed that biographical processes also relates to the person as an individual, and not only to the person as an entrepreneur.

Identity can be reconstructed as discussed by Smith (1994) via reconstructive narrative changes and self-enhancing consistencies. For Baggini (2002:80) such continuity of memory is essential in building personal identity. For Erikson (1969:229-30) forces of cultural coherence are at work. Entrepreneurial narrative, particularly as it emerges from biographical accounts is extremely I-centric and may be archetypal. According to Monsted (1995) I-centricity and egocentricity plagues entrepreneurship. Also, O'Connor (2002) refers to these personal narratives as "His-stories" and "Her-stories". We love the mental voyeurism of reading the biographies of others and fitting self to shared circumstances. For McAdams (2000:65) there are seven related features central to life stories – 1) Narrative Tone – emotional tone or attitude; 2) Imagery – determined by metaphors; 3) Theme; 4) Ideological Setting; 5) Nuclear episodes – particular scenes that stand out; 6) Imagoes – An idealized personification of the self as a character or multiple selves; and 7) Endings – the generative script of a positive legacy left for future generations. This useful framework for analysing entrepreneur biographies will be utilised in the empirical section. For Reich (1987:77) entrepreneur stories do more than merely entertain or divert us, they shape how we see and understand our lives and make sense of our experience, mobilising us towards action.

9.3.4 – Deciphering human actions in narrative.

Narrated stories are composed of a series of structured actions (Lacey, 2000) which impact upon the creation of socially acceptable narratives (Gergen, 2001:9). If performed out of sequence the end result may be less intelligible. Thus actions arise as a result of proceedings and / or anticipated events. For Gergen (2001:9-10) in narrative we participate in a form of socio-cultural ritual or lived narrative as a form of relationship or social exchange (debates, careers, transactions) through which we understand or index our actions in narrative terms. Lived narrative, with its passion and emotion shapes identity. Gergen argues that certain actions are indexed as being emotional expressions, or social performances, as envisaged by Averill (1982). Socio-psychological knowledge has a historical perishability making culture a perishable commodity that must be continually renewed to accommodate new narratives and experiences (Gergen, 2001:2). These stories help us renew stocks of socio-psychological knowledge. Indeed, for Hjorth (2001:255) entrepreneur stories are "stories of renewal". For Hjorth (2001:233) there is a recycling process embedded in entrepreneur stories, in which traditional myths and images are re-cycled, including cowboyism; heroism; the loneliness of the entrepreneur and the entrepreneur as a hunter. Like ancient myths, they capture and contain an essential truth. Repeated (re)tellings of them combats perishability allowing us to replay and reimagine experience (Goffman, 1947). Nevertheless, Gergen (2001:6) stresses that descriptive language does not reflect or mirror what is the case; rather, it functions to index a state of affairs for practical purposes within given communities. For Hjorth (2001:48) reality and action are linguistically constituted within historical and contextual antecedents. Every action has a story and lived experience is represented through language via manufactured meaning (Gergen, 2001:196). Entrepreneur stories are commonly narrated as socially acceptable stories that people warm to (stories of villainy induce the opposite effect).

According to Ochberg (1994) narrative has a formative aspect in generating the scripts we live our storied lives by. Furthermore, Turner (1996) argues that there is a relationship between the story, metaphor and conceptual projection, stressing that storytelling is a fundamental instrument of thought, our principal method of envisaging our future, of predicting, of planning, and of explaining. Thus experience, knowledge and thinking are organised as stories, according to narrative styles into stories, or parcels of time. Thus we think of different life stages as being stories or chapters in our life. We arrange stories as work or family stories and magnify their mental scope by virtue of metaphoric projection as one story helps us make sense of another via prototypical projections which are like stories, a fundamental instrument of thought. These combine to form basic templates. Casson (2000) argues that we synthesize and interpret stories differently and have a choice whether to subscribe to a story or not. Furthermore, Steyaert & Bouwen (1997) refer to the canonical (expected and habitual) and dramatic nature of stories, which when narrated gives meaning to our actions and existence, legitimising our perception of ourselves and confirms our identity.

9.3.5 – Enactment and drama as a fusion of action and communication.

There are two facets of theatricality, the world as a stage and the world as staged (Burns, 1972). This "dramaturgical approach" holds that we constantly give off signals that define who we are to others and that life can be likened to performing on a stage (Goffman, 1959). Mangham (2001:295) argues that theatre and performance genres enable us to examine our "values, principles and modes of conduct". Gergen (2001:124) refers to "playing out a pre-determined script". According to Levi (1986:170) drama imitates dialogue and rhetoric, and for Soros (1998:55) economic activity is played out like a Greek drama. Within the

literature of entrepreneurship, drama is an identified theme (Anderson, 2004). For Aggestam & Keenan (2002:5/9) entrepreneuring is performing and view entrepreneurial performance, as being theatrical and dramaturgical (Goffman, 1959:xi). It is a rhetorical performance. Indeed, entrepreneurship can be regarded as a living drama, enacted upon a stage on which the entrepreneur exercises dramaturgical foresight. Being an entrepreneur can be likened to being centre stage with the entrepreneur portrayed as a leading man. The entrepreneurial act can thus be considered as a repertoire of possible behaviours. Indeed, Minniti & Bygrave (2001) appreciate that the previous investments and repertoires of routines in which an entrepreneur engages can constrain their future behaviour. Hjorth & Johannisson (2002:12) talk of entrepreneurs "enacting the image" and Weber (1990:67) of the spirit, which "animated the entrepreneur". Perhaps entrepreneurship is a method of acting, or putting on the "mask of the entrepreneur" (Arlacchi, 1983:16).

Entrepreneurship is imbued with the themes of imitation and mimicry. Casson (2000:96) argues that successful behaviour is quickly imitated by others, and for Johansson (2002:2) and Stewart (1991:75-6) much entrepreneurial actions are repetitive and capable of being imitated. Stewart discusses the importance of imitative business activity. Casson (2000:97) discusses the generation of a spirit of competitive imitation whereby the immigrant entrepreneurs stimulate the indigenous entrepreneur revitalising the economy. For Rehn & Taalas (2002:2) entrepreneurship works through the "mimetic replication of archetypal descriptions of entrepreneuring individuals". In a similar vein, Berger (1963:112) and Chell *et al* (1994) refer to the entrepreneur as a dramatis persona. Being dramatic may be part and parcel of entrepreneurial character.

9.3.6 – Using narrative analysis to identify common themes in entrepreneur stories.

Mishler (1986:249) appreciated our tendency to narrate stories and advocated treating respondent's answers to questions as stories, or narratives, by applying methods of narrative analysis. Shankar *et al* (2000) argue that the meaning of a story can be interpreted only in relation to socio-cultural narrative into which the individual is socialised, because stories are both illustrative and symbolic, revealing underlying themes and messages, which are difficult to articulate. Such frameworks for analyzing stories must be reconceptualised into cultural context. This advice is in keeping with the spirit of "Verstehen" because stories require to be interpreted in the spirit of their culture. Furthermore, culture is often inspired by geographical location and "geographical imaginations" (Gregory, 1994). Thus what is an acceptable entrepreneurial narrative may change over time and across cultures. For example, in the late nineteenth century the entrepreneur as portrayed in the American novel was a rugged self-making individual from humble origins, whereas as the twentieth century wore on, entrepreneurs began to be portrayed as ruthless corporate figures, embodying the values necessary to achieve success in a rapidly changing business environment (Catano, 2001). Both are valid constructions of the entrepreneur. Nevertheless, there are basic structural similarities between tales across the world as appreciated by Clouston (1887) and Propp (1968:16). Clouston remarked upon the transformative and migratory nature of tales which imaginatively transform, accommodating heroism, villainy, tragedy and comedy. The entrepreneurial tale appears to fall within the classification of moral fable. Propp (1968:7) understood the significance of tales in that one component of a tale can be, without alteration, transferred to another. Yet, storytellers are constrained by the over-all sequence of functions, and themes, and an inability to change accepted stories (*ibid.*112-113). Indeed, Propp refers to the formation of storytelling canons. Propp examined fairytales to identify functions and themes including elements (character and actions) and relations (concentration of actions) to abstract the

progress of actions from the stories. This suggests that if entrepreneurial narratives are socially constructed there must be an identifiable sequence of functions, themes and motifs common to them all.

The works of Barthes (1988), Levi-Strauss (1963), Bermond (1964) and Greimas (1976) also examined narrative structure. According to Barthes (1988:102) stories possess logic of action, as well as a choice of modes of narrative, and characters with narrative being merely a hierarchy of instances. Barthes (1988:136) viewed a tale as being a systematic concatenation of actions, distributed among a small number of characters who often enact identical functions. Indeed, it is in narrative we account for actions (ibid.118-19). Accordingly, Barthes tried to locate a unity of actions by virtue of the functions of characters, dramatis personae, actants and agents. In carrying out narrative analysis, Barthes tried to identify a code of actions, or *modus operandi* (ibid.238). Propp (1968) and Bermond (1964) identified struggle, betrayal, seduction and overcoming difficulties as themes common to all folktales (ibid.114). Struggle, betrayal and overcoming difficulties are common motifs in entrepreneur stories.

Barthes (1988:103) was interested in the descriptive level of stories, in which one can identify functions or actions of characters in relation to plots. Barthes uncovered a semiotic axis of communication, quest-desire, and ordeal discernable in all plots, and identified primordial articulations within stories such as ordeals and adventures undertaken; actions and narration (ibid.119/137). For Barthes, heroes communicate their desire to achieve via narratives where they portray themselves as being engaged in a heroic quest to overcome obstacles, via the use of purposeful action. Such actions are frequently articulated as indices of character as habits, traits or qualities such as hard work (ibid.138). Barthes (1988:147) concluded that there are two levels of story meaning, namely, actantial and symbolic - thus stories can be read to decipher actions or they can be construed as possessing symbolic value to the individual. It is to these units of analysis that we will return in later chapters. Greimas (1976) also developed an actantial model, which was extended by Levi-Strauss (1971) who took into consideration the coupling of actions and not just actions, functions and themes. Bermond visualised a logical relation between the narrative actions and deceit. Greimas contends that all narratives are constructed around a sequence of actions-interactions forming a narrative structure of actions. The existence of these narrated categories of action (for example engaging in ordeals and overcoming difficulties) within entrepreneur stories suggest that entrepreneurial narrative is influenced by narrative conventions of how a plausible story is expected to be constructed, rather than be a true indication of action which reflects the lived experience of entrepreneurs. Thus what we consider to be an entrepreneurial trait may well be an artefact of both masculinity and narrative codes. These categories are also useful because they form action sets which have become associated with entrepreneurial action. Therefore, if one locates evidence of questing behaviour, linked to adventuring and overcoming difficulties, in the biography of an individual, then there is a strong likelihood that the individual will be described as being an enterprising individual, or entrepreneur.

Certain canonical aspects are discernable in all stories. Firstly, one has to consider liminality, whereby time is suspended and induced at will. This is usually introduced at the beginning of a story, for instance Propp (1968:119) makes reference to introducing a temporal-spatial determination such as "in a certain kingdom" or "Once upon a time". This lets readers know that they are entering a storyworld. There are other linguistic mechanisms used in storytelling. Of these, the chronicle (Leland, 1998:108/112) is the most commonly used in entrepreneur stories because it relates to a comprehensive consecutive rendition. Leland (1998:126) discusses the linguistic technique of allegory, whereby characters overtly represent opposites – the hero wears white, whilst the villain wears dark. Also, Leland indicates that there are various climactic

mechanisms available, to authors to control the plot, namely the pivotal, double and simultaneous climax and a mixture of catastrophe and pivotal climaxes. The finale of the story is achieved when it reaches its nadir. However, the scripts and plots of entrepreneur stories are not static and new ones evolve over time. For example, Pratley (2002:11) discusses the now familiar script of the dot.com entrepreneurs where soaring share prices lead to the accumulation of a paper fortune followed by a collapse of epic proportions propelling one back to obscurity. The dot.com plot of the “comeback kid”, as in Martha Lane Fox and Brent Hoberman of lastminute.com exemplify this genre. Accordingly, entrepreneur stories enable morphology to occur. From this section it is apparent that entrepreneurial narrative possesses many familiar formulaic plots and scripts (Smith & Anderson, 2003). It is to these that we return in the empirical research.

9.4 – STORYTELLING, AND TELLING ENTREPRENEUR STORIES.

In this section we discuss storytelling and its significance to entrepreneurs considering what stories do. Stories have beginnings (orientation) middles (complicating action) and ends (resolution). Beginnings and endings provide a framework, but in stories it is the middle part where actions and values are embedded that counts. For Culler (2001:126) a story must relate itself to a series of other stories that imbue a point or moral. Every story must have a moral or a gist (Callahan & Elliott, 1995:95). Stories are sequences of actions and events bound together by words, whilst narratives report sequences of events that occurred prior to the rendition. Stories link origins, cause and identity and are the principle method of looking into the future, of predicting, of planning, and of explaining experience, knowledge, and thought. Stories inform, educate, entertain, amuse, resonate and are metaphoric because one story can be used to help make sense of another. Even stories of individuality ratify communal bonds, being mimetic representations of reality, illuminating traits. Storybook illustrations illuminate reality. Moreover, stories contain antecedents and outcomes, reconstructing knowledge about reality. Hansen (2004) articulates that stories aim to resolve a central problem and contain four main storytelling components, namely – the main character; they are populated by heroes and villains; there must be a moral or a lesson; and there is a turning point. According to Hansen, stories consist of an event causing a person(s) to strive towards a goal to resolve problems. For Vaara (2002) ideas are coined in stories, which are edited and adopted as narratives interpretations of sequential events, which assume the intentionality of human action and legitimise those actions. Stories unfold as “flights of imagination” (Leland, 1998:44). Noth (1990:308) argues that we must distinguish semantically between the plot and the story. A plot is the narrative as read, seen or heard, whereas a story is the narrative in chronological order. Stories types include fiction, non-fiction, fable, myth. We cherish stories and use them to escape from the distractions of every day life, concentrating upon the story as told. Also, we set aside time for reading and persevere with stories which reinforce cherished values.

9.4.1 – Storytelling, values and authentic entrepreneurship.

Indeed, Sarbin (1986) appreciates the moral content of narrative. We embed our values in stories - people “willingly tell stories ...that reflect their basic values, norms, emotions” (Callahan & Elliott, 1995:95). Gergen (2001:2) views this demand for a valued end point as a strong cultural component of the story, arguing that it is only within a cultural tradition that valued events can be made intelligible. For Gergen (2001:7) stories function both to reflect and create cultural values, possessing value sustaining and generating functions, whilst affirming cultural ontology. MacIntyre (1981:456) proposed that a story requires an evaluative framework in which good or bad characters help to produce unfortunate or happy outcomes thus stories

generate what Tolkien (1982:182) referred to as “Story values”. Johansson (2002:3) suggests we tell stories to say something about who we are, making them exaggerated, or distorted, versions of experience. Yet stories are performances (not original utterances) and should be treated as such. For Leland (1998:49) certain stories have the power to captivate us and weave a spell, and that some stories, images and archetypes resonate with us making forgotten tales sound new. Greimas (1991) refers to the transformational nature of stories from an existing to a new reality. Indeed, stories enable the process of transmutation – an integral facet of the entrepreneurial process. For Crites (1986) storytime recollects the past and projects the future and voice of the past (Thompson, 1988). Leland (1998:3) notes as a “culture’s values and ideals change, so its stories may be transmuted to serve new ends”. Smith & Anderson (2002) argue that there are moral values inherent in entrepreneur stories which narrate the practice of “authentic entrepreneurship”. Also, there is an emerging appreciation of the link between entrepreneurial ability and storytelling. Interestingly, Gibb & Wilkens (1991) call for better stories, not better constructs. However, Wetherell (1991:80) succinctly sums up the value of stories by saying that “we fit ourselves as characters, into stories, we understand and other people understand”. Stevens (1991:14) further articulates that we tell stories about ourselves to ourselves and others “about how we came to be the kind of person we are”.

9.4.2 – Highlighting the link between entrepreneurs and storytelling ability.

Roddick (2000) considers entrepreneurs to be “storytellers” and O’Connor (2002) refers to the “entrepreneur-storyteller” as an ‘epic hero’, possessing storytelling sensibilities without which their storied businesses would become pure fiction and fantasy. According to O’Connor entrepreneurs must be ready to tell, and live by their stories thus establishing common ground to be shared and reciprocated. Storytelling is of immense importance to entrepreneurship – linking reading ability, story telling ability with future entrepreneurial success. The entrepreneur Thomas Edison was a prodigious storyteller (Clark, 1977). Arnot (2000:203) advocates that successful people have an affinity with storytelling noting “Most Americans don’t talk about a great success but a great success story. Most successes don’t appear just suddenly ...they bloom over years, even decades. The most essential part of our American culture is reflected in the expression Success Story - We prize the story of the men or women who arrived on our shores with nothing and rose to great riches and fame. However, the joy of their success isn’t in hauling out a title, or prize or bank account total, but in revelling in the journey”. For Hjorth (2001:30) success stories imbue an aura of tradition and convention. Entrepreneurship academics are increasingly using storytelling techniques, for example (Krizner, 1973; Casson, 1980; La de la Ville, 1996; Steyaert & Bouwen, 1997).

O’Connor (2002:2) suggests that entrepreneurs use storytelling to get people to “buy into” their future, and for Pitt (1998:387) they “tell their stories”. Entrepreneur Anita Roddick (2000:37) confides that she wanted to “be able to tell stories”. Fletcher (2002) suggests that respondents “tell their entrepreneurial stories according to what feels right for the situation or audience”. Entrepreneurs use stories as vehicles to affect change, responding to change by changing their stories, adding to them or toning them down. According to O’Connor (2002) entrepreneurs “plot” themselves in companies and because of the fragmentary nature of plots they require to be re-assembled. Entrepreneurial narrative is a life story (birth, growth, decline & death), a recycling process of altering old stories and events. Entrepreneur stories are about a genesis - the becomings of creation. Richard Harrison (2003:in conversation) likened entrepreneurship to telling happy stories but warns against focusing upon the lead entrepreneur. Most

entrepreneur stories have this inherent fault. Stories project the purposefulness of the entrepreneur versus luck or serendipity (although both have their place).

Lewis & Carley (2004) suggest entrepreneurs use a finite set of distinct stories to talk about themselves and their lives and how they led their companies to success and invoke different themes when discussing personal stories than they do when recounting company stories. They suggest that familial imagery is important to entrepreneurs. Lewis & Carley (2004:2) refer to the stories entrepreneurs tell, and argue that the stories contain sequential accounts of events, behaviours and traits which combine to form success stories. According to Lewis & Carley (2004:2-9) entrepreneurs narrate their stories using combinations of universal and specific themes. The former include familial and family values, creation, good deeds, and being a good person. There is much talk of fathers, mothers or grandfathers teaching personal values and business skills. The stories resonate with instances of individual family members taught them values and lessons when growing up. Specific themes include overcoming adversity and compulsion. Such stories embody what it means to be an entrepreneur.

Stanley (2000:2/16) argues that the self-made enjoy "telling their own stories" particularly the poor-boy-made-good narrative, and also love reading about courageous people. It is perhaps this modesty that makes them likeable and their stories palatable. According to Stanley, the self-made propagate morality by telling stories relating to the "American Success Stories" or "External fables" of significant others. Self-made millionaires attempt to instil character and value in their children, and inspire them, by discussing stories of the economically successful whilst they sit at the dinner table. They glean the material for these stories from books, newspapers and magazines. Their stories reinforce morals, values and entrepreneurial ideology. Stanley stresses that another of their endearing qualities is their ability to be self-deprecating. They almost have an inferiority complex born of early life experiences of the degradation of being a 'C' Grade student or of overcoming learning and reading disabilities.

Arnot (2000:202-5) advises people who want to succeed to "Find the story within yourself" and "live your story" because people identify with stories, the messages they communicate and traits they embody. Arnot considers stories as blueprints for manufacturing an illusion of success. Arnot (2000:206-212) advocates following the ten stages of success - build motivation, create a vision, create confidence, be bold, explain your mistakes, fight for integrity, simplify your story, embody your story, be eloquent, and finally be a hero or heroine. Arnot (2000:208) remarks that, a "word story of your life as you would like to have it unfold is not enough to succeed. The story must be transformed into a vision that inspires you to see the future the way it could be and should be...great vision projects boldly into the future". Arnot (2000:211) advocates keeping it simple and stipulates that heroes and heroines project storied qualities of honour and altruism.

Entrepreneurial stories and entrepreneurs make compelling stories and characters. Smilor (2002c) suggests we find entrepreneur stories compelling because they are comedies (amusing, enjoyable stories), tragedies (stories of struggle, disaster and defeat) or histories (stories recounting the interplay of people, events and issues over time). Smilor emphasises a theatrical, tragic-comedic equation covering all the emotions from happiness, achievement and a feeling of success at one end of the spectrum to the tragic elements such as disappointment, failure and a fall from grace. Smilor stipulates that comedies contain the unexpected thus comic plots turn and twist their ways to the inevitable resolution of issues. Stories emphasise the possibilities of things, the ascendancy of the underdog working towards a happy culmination of vision and work. For Smilor, its elements of conflict, disaster, and misfortune make it compelling, as does the dark side of the entrepreneurial process, where loneliness, defeat and dejection form part of an

entrepreneurial endeavor. For Smilor these cautionary tales teach us what problems to look out for and how to be more aware of and deal with shortcomings in ourselves revealing the impact of people, the effect of events and the influence of issues in the shaping process and help us understand outcomes. Entrepreneur stories simultaneously inform, inspire, challenge, entertain and establish a valued end point.

9.5 – ARTICULATING ENTREPRENEURIAL DREAMS.

Dreams are related to the social construction of reality. Fontana (1993) refers to dream as highly condensed narrative, or symbolic shorthand “spanning an awesome amount of material” whose meanings are mutable. Dreams are important personalised forms of narrative, linking storytelling, fantasy and the sub-conscious. Dreams are transformative, internalised stories, providing the start and the finish, sustaining one on the journey. Erikson (1969:144) refers to the human tendency to “Dream for the guidance” and Leland (1998:54) exhorts “Know thy dreams”. Koestler (1964) argues that even scientific rationalists and mathematicians dream their discoveries. Reality is often dreamed before it is enacted and can be likened to a dream played back. Dreams link semiotics and archetype thus Fontana (1993:46/51) discusses dream symbols, manifested in the form of visual metaphors which appear in every conceivable form – in pictures, metaphors, sounds, gestures, myths and personification. For Barthes (1988:176) it is necessary to reintroduce dreams.

For Jung (1963) dreams are the stuff of life, fostering creativity. De Bono (1992:ix) discusses lateral thinking and (1991:x) talks of old-fashioned, controlled daydreaming. For Leland (1969:183) we are in “pursuit of our daydreams”. De Bono asserts that creativity comes from rebels, not conformists. Rebelliousness and non-conformism are recognised facets of entrepreneuriality. Rebels have courage, energy and different points of view. This links into Kets De Vries (2000) idea of the entrepreneur as a rebel with a cause, and Wilson’s (1984) notion of the outsider as a rebel. Dreaming and craziness are associated with the entrepreneur (Roddick, 2000). De Bono (1991) also documents this ever-present “notion of craziness”. Personal dreams bring our unconsciousness into play. Entrepreneurs share their inner dreams with others whom may deride them and in revealing ones dreams, one risks revealing too much too soon or a dream too far. We now consider the entrepreneurial, American, émigré and gangster dreams.

9.5.1 - The entrepreneurial dream.

The Entrepreneurial Dream is a form of social narrative, a noble dream as envisaged by Novick (1968). Indeed, entrepreneurs have been described as dream makers (Fallon & Srodes, 1983). The entrepreneurial dream is linked to the spirit of action which links “dreams and deeds” (Anderson, 1995:158). The entrepreneurial Dream is important because it allows us to envisage a state of being before it comes into reality. Marx (1974:600-1) perpetuated the myth of the entrepreneurial dream when he wrote, “a man without fortune but possessing energy, solidity, ability and business acumen may become a capitalist”. Entrepreneurial dreams come in many variations, but all act as an initiating, motivational drama or enabling mechanism, allowing one to live the dream that may be our future. Chinoy (1955) researched the entrepreneurial dream, as did Jerry & Birbeck. The former researched it in relation to the U.S. automobile workers, whilst the latter in relation to the Columbian poor. Packard (1961:27) documented shrinkage in the dream noting that in Jefferson’s day 3/5’s of all Americans were self-employed enterprisers, whereas by 1960 this figure had shrunk to 1/5th. This accentuates its importance as a social regenerative script. Each specific culture appears to have their own versions of the entrepreneurial dreams thus Fallon (1994) talks of

the Irish dream of owning a race horse and a large mansion in the country, and Davis (1987:186) discusses a variation, the salesman's dream of earning the first million. The entrepreneurial dream is the end point of the entrepreneurial narrative – the outcome, as well as being the purpose of entrepreneurial rhetoric. Entrepreneurial dreams invigorate and are often conflated with the American Dream.

9.5.2 - The American Dream.

The American Dream idyllically encapsulates, but transcends the entrepreneurial dream being a powerful amalgamation of ethnic entrepreneurial dreams. Its central theme is that a man of little education could reasonably hope to rise to the heights. Carland & Carland (1984) consider entrepreneurship as an American Dream, with stories of lowly persons taking the initiative, working hard and succeeding forming its basis. It perpetuates social and familial values. De Pillis (1998:6) argues that Americans have admired the entrepreneur, as an individual expression of freedom and choice embedded in narrative, from the time of the Pilgrims. It pervades American ideology to such an extent that Griffin (1986) talks of the superlative "log-cabin to White House" story. This is important because Hobsbawm (2000:177) notes that in America there was no distraction of old nobility or title, dictating that entrepreneurs must create their own legend. For Hobsbawm (2000:166) the prevailing image is of a penniless immigrant remaking himself. It is a dream born of insecurity. MacIntyre (1997:8) notes that America promised all things to all men, even if it did not always deliver. The American dream extended the hope of success to those who followed their dreams. It is a utopian, classless dream. Packard (1961:5) stresses that social class boundaries are contrary to the American Dream. It was a necessity of its time, which, according to Packard (1961:10) has lost its lustre. For Bormann (1985) it is a fantasy to be restored, a powerful societal force for good. Yates (1991:151) describes the miracle that was America, aggressiveness, with a child like acquisitiveness and bourgeois crudities. For Fallon & Srodes (1983:16) the automobile industry was a key expression of the personal yearning that became a cliché of the American dream revolving around the themes of personal mobility, individual independence and enterprise. Cars became an engine of social change allowing people mobility - a rite of passage for generations of American boys woven into the fabric of the dream.

Erikson (1969) researched the social effects of didactic formula upon childhood experiences. The American Dream is such a formula. Indeed, Erikson (1969:38) discussed various aspects of childhood, intrinsically interwoven into American life, whereby young men keep their life plans and identities tentative. Erikson attributes this to the historical artefact of men having, preserving and defending freedom, and the right to make choices and grasp opportunities and social mobility. Being an American male is ingrained with an image of standing alone with connotations of isolation, pride and of wishing to be admired (ibid.399-400). Consequentially, these "American Adolescents believe deeply in truly free enterprise: they prefer one big chance in a hundred little ones to an average certainty" (ibid.311). The image is that of the "free man ...going places and doing things (ibid.296)". American identity is orientated towards the preservation of the illusion of choice. Americans', as a race, venerate the entrepreneur as epitomising the illusion of choice (ibid.278). The American Dream predominates in a land of opportunity as a dream spread by the media and the Americanisation of the film industry (Tunstall, 1997). Robb (1996:37) discusses the iconic status of the American dollar to many immigrant families where framed Dollars were a culturally cherished artefact in such homes. This is an example of imagery constructing and perpetuating myth and personal dreams. The entrepreneurial dream is often not referred to as such in ethno-immigrant communities, but forms an integral part of ethnic symbolism. The American dream feeds the Irish entrepreneurial dream of success.

9.5.3 - The émigré dream.

The entrepreneurial dream is prevalent in the literature of other fabled entrepreneurial races, such as the Jews. Erikson (1969:346) writes that "Jews were confined to what they did best, while they, of course learned to perfect what they were permitted to do." – Wealth creation. For Erikson (1969:286) the émigré in American and cultural narratives is associated with the twin stigmas of escape and failure. Bourgois (1995) discusses two competing Puerto Rican versions of the "Immigrant Dream". One based on symbolic power and emphasised by wearing "fly clothes (ibid.57)", the other upon the traditional Spanish Ideal and on "working class ideologies, about the dignity of hard work versus education (ibid.137-139)". Bourgois stresses that this Immigrant Working Class Dream has its own cultural imagery of hard work and respectability. Bourgois (1995:199) blames the predominance of the dysfunctional Immigrant Dream upon Cultural Production Theory (the complex interfaces among family, school and peer group crucial to the construction and enforcement of social marginalisation). The émigré dream is classic perpetual narrative of outsider groups (Jews, Irish, Italians) woven into narrative fabric of their cultures as repeated historical pattern.

9.5.4 - The gangster dream.

Catano (2001:5) talks of variant forms of masculine myth and entrepreneurial dream providing alternative masculinities. The gangster dream is related to the entrepreneurial and American dream. The gangsters of the Prohibition era epitomised an extreme type of the American Dream as men who came to a New World succeeding by illegal means. Their derring-do, individualism, and hedonistic lifestyle made them heroes and celebrities. Bourgois (1995:75) writes of Columbian drug dealers tapping "directly into the entrepreneurial urge that is such an integral facet of the American Dream". Bourgois (1995:131-133) discusses "Crossover Dreams", as fantasies of becoming a legitimate entrepreneur. Like its legitimate counterpart, the gangster dream is heavily influenced by socially produced images and are built upon notions of social mobility (rising from humble beginnings), achieving legitimacy (going straight) and grasping the Big One (to finance ones own business) before settling down. It is about attaining money and power and relates to personal wants, ambitions, fears, and dreams. It is culturally specific. In the book "Tough Jews: Fathers, Sons and Gangster Dreams", Cohen (1998) compares the Jewish and Italian gangster dreams with the American Dream. For Cohen (1998:152) the allure of the latter offered one a life with "nothing to go to jail for, legitimate power ". See Storybox 4.

STORYBOX 4 - JEWISH & ITALIAN GANGSTER DREAMS.

Cohen narrates a story of three American-Jewish gangster generations pushed and pulled into crime by ethnic discrimination and marginality, simultaneously pursuing professionalism and the gangster dream. On achieving legitimacy they returned to the capitalist fold as the allure of the gangster dream faded into mythic stories confusing gangsterism with Americanism. Mirroring the poor-boy-made-good narrative the Jewish kids rose from the slums to the heights of the underworld. It was not all rags-to-riches and remaking themselves. Necessity dictated that many Jewish émigrés resorted to crime to survive privation engaging in a primitive society of deals in dark cellars. Initially, they preyed upon their own enclaves and terrorized shopkeepers and merchants. Cohen describes an enclave at Brownsville with everyone hustling and trying to get out, move on, get going, get settled, get rich, get home or become a local hero. The irony of the gangster dream is that heroes never really leave, but set out to conquer the new world. They took the dream of America and turned it into their own personal dream – making fortunes. Later, all that was left were bits of stories and colorful names, amusing anecdotes used to adorn the conversation. For slum children, the gangster dream was eminently achievable. The adulation of the kids permitted the gangsters to feel liked and respected and in turn the kids adopted them as available role models. The successful Jewish gangster dreamed of moving away to a new hometown and returning periodically to the old neighbourhood. They moved uptown and lived modestly as businessmen. For them crime was not a way out of the system but a way in. To be successful they had to enter business. As outsiders they were not wanted on Wall Street or in

Ivy League Schools, so they created their own dream, using guns as a short cut to the American Dream. They did not revel in it like the Italians. Their ultimate dream was for their children to be a successful, law-abiding Americans and enter medicine, law and business electing to fade into America. Cohen marvels at this parody of Weber's spirit of capitalism whereby Jews chose asceticism leaving the worlds of their heads to thrive in a physical world, a world of sense, of smell, of guts, of strength, of courage, of pain. For the Jewish gangster generation crime merely left a legacy of old neighborhood stories.

Cohen describes a different Italian gangster ethos. Upon making a criminal score they kept their money in the neighbourhood preferring to invest in property, cars and women buying new suits and shiny shoes. The lower echelons rarely left the block they grew up in, leading a flash life on the street as part of a criminal hierarchy whilst maintaining a high level of street visibility. This perpetuated the genre by living the dream, adoring idolation and the bravura. The Italians were slower to appreciate the power of the American Dream and took several generations to follow the path to legitimacy by sending their children into mainstream society. Prison plays an important part in the formation of a criminal's philosophy of life. The Jewish gangster did not evolve into career criminals because they broke the cycle of repetitive jail sentences, choosing not to go back but Italian gangster accepted jail as an occupational danger.

The entrepreneurial, American and gangster dreams have also become clichéd storylines.

9.6 – CLICHED STORYLINES - BUILDING BLOCKS OF ENTREPRENEUR STORIES.

Clichéd storylines are frequently encountered in heroic entrepreneurial narrative commonly invoked by introducing valued, hagiographic, sequentially accumulative, hallowed vignettes. For instance, Chell *et al* (1994:124) discuss the predominance of certain themes and fabled entrepreneurial storylines such as - having something to prove; dissatisfaction with present employer; enjoyment of a challenge; social marginality; and a desire for change. We also examine Horatio Alger entrepreneur myths as Catano (2001:36/37) refers to Algeresque storylines such as the poor-boy-made-good and humble beginnings as being pre-fabricated life stories or "hyperbolized tales of the self-made". These triggering mechanisms signify that one is being told an entrepreneur story. They have a peculiar, heroic, masculine slant to them and are what Barthes (1988:144) refers to as logical, already read narratives. Yet, many cherished storylines are common to other successful groups of individuals, such as celebrities, actors, or even gangsters.

9.6.1 - Humble beginnings and overcoming adversity stories.

Most entrepreneur stories begin with this storyline, anchoring the entrepreneur to reality by virtue of lowly origins - rooted in the ordinariness of the individual. This is important as meteoric success can induce hubristic pride, resulting in an over inflated sense of importance. It is a mythic narrative, but like most myths has basis in reality. Casson (2000:80/93) challenges this myth asserting that most entrepreneurs are not spawned from humble origins, but are the children of businessmen or skilled workers. Yet, we cling to this layman's stereotype of the entrepreneur which romanticizes humble people. It is a formalized social storyline in which everybody knows their place and how to act and behave. Overcoming adversity storylines pervade many entrepreneur stories or biographies as tales of poverty, penury and privation or tales of marginality. These are necessary for scene setting and establishing character. Steiner (2002:14) describes how the female tycoon Jan Fletcher was motivated by a "put down" from her father, as a verbal admonishment for poor performance at school. Branson (1998) tells of a similar put down by a teacher.

9.6.2 – Hard-work- tales and the joy of work.

Such tales are legendary and pervade entrepreneur stories as many entrepreneurs are credited with working phenomenal hours or working past the official retirement age (Koiranen & Karlsson, 2002:1). The tycoon Sir

James Goldsmith is credited as working 18 hour per days (Wansell, 1988:84). Similarly, Fallon & Srodes (1983:249) discuss DeLorean's legendary capacity for heroically working long hours. Also, Yates (1991:141) marvels at Enzo Ferrari for continuing to expand his business when others of his age were fading into the "grey obscurity of the Modenese Gentry". Hamilton (2002) evidences the culture of "long-working-days" in the early stages of the entrepreneurial venture when the business can be all consuming and fun. Nor is it exclusive to entrepreneur stories being part of corporate culture and a masculine trait. Similarly, Casson (1982:354) discusses the ethos of hard work (enterprise) and thrift and stipulates that in isolation they are non-entrepreneurial, but are key elements in entrepreneurial advancement allowing the self-employed entrepreneur to accumulate start up capital. Walvin, (1997:180-2) discusses the Quaker culture of long hours for low pay, arguing that success does not come easy for many self-made men who expect (often unreasonably) others to work as hard as they do. Olsson (2002:146) argues that for men success is linked to hard work, risk taking, and learning through mistakes, tests, trials and tribulations and heroic questing. Bechofer & Elliotts (1974) notion of "self-exploitation" is applicable. Sinclair (1998) argue that heroism demands such long hours, tests and drains on family time - the man alone/wife at home syndrome. Koiranen & Karlsson (2002) claim entrepreneurs are easily bored and compensate by working harder; and Goleman (1995) that the positive mental attitude of parents influence children's emotional well being. Varila & Lehtosaari (2001) researched the "Joy of Work" in Lutheran Finland as a cultural emotion, anchored in the tradition of the Protestant ethics where the message of work as fun is common in entrepreneur stories.

9.6.3 - The poor-boy-made-good and rags-to-riches stories.

The poor-boy-made-good storyline is a staple part of entrepreneur stories. For Catano (2001:58) making good is all about "beating one's father". Variants include local-boy-success-stories, boy-done-well and boy-done-good stories. Yet, it is not exclusive to entrepreneurial narrative, because MacIntyre (1997:37) writes of a Victorian criminal who upon returning to his hometown a rich man was received as a local-boy-made-good. Smilor (1996:4) provides evidence of its veracity arguing that roughly 80% of the current Forbes 400 list of wealthy Americans are first-generation entrepreneurs who started with little or nothing and built major enterprises creating enormous wealth. It is a common storyline in working class biography irrespective of occupation. For MacIntyre (1997:200) it is a form of "Pygmalion Tale" accentuating the smallness and humbleness of an individual by locating them in poverty, marginality or of lowly status. Leland (1998:42) traces this storyline back to biblical origins where King David triumphed from humble beginnings. Also, consider the tale of Dick Whittington. Smith (2004) traces its linear origins from the dark ages where it started as the magic-boy storyline before morphing into the lucky-boy and clever-boy storylines of the medieval era. It rarely surfaces as a poor-girl-made-good story. However, Rockwell (1974:64-65) considers the Cinderella storyline its feminine version arguing that wealth and power are attractive as In rich = sexy and money is the measure of all things. Also in warrior societies the most reckless are always reserved a place in the social hierarchy because in transitory societies aggression is a cherished social value.

It is often expressed as rags to riches tale, encapsulating the entrepreneurial odyssey in its entirety. It forms the basis of a genre of fictional novels populated with intrepid heroes and heroines - a spectacle of epic proportions, of which we never appear to tire. It is vivid when woven together with the humble beginnings narrative, the poor-boy-narrative and the hard-work tale. It possesses a fairytale format. It is a necessary reminder of ones roots and serves to remind us that failure returns the hero to the rags from whence s/he came. It is not a storyline specific to entrepreneurs because of its class based origins invoked

by many celebrities. For example, the actor Shane Richie in his biography writes of being proud to be the son of a dustman. Nor is it a gender specific tale; however in females it is invoked as the Cinderella storyline. Casson (2000:100) discusses the Buddenbrooks Syndrome theory of Rose (1993) - a particular variation of the rags-to-riches story extended over time. In Lancashire there is a saying from clogs-to-clogs in three generations. Thus the first generation makes the money and the second generation lose the vitality which made the first successful. By the third generation the rot has set in and the children become wasters. Walvin (1997:193-4) argues that many non-Quaker entrepreneurial rags-to-riches success stories sprang from non-conformism. Walvin also notes the Quaker truism that the third generation of a successful Quaker family swept the children away from the Society of Friends. This storyline is a societal prophecy. Boje (2001:202) in researching the striptease business tells of the "rags to riches story told by big business to attract labor" and of the lure of easy money, citing the movies *Showgirls* and *Gypsy* as examples. Boje (2001:205) narrates the stories of showgirls sell us the "spectacle of rags to riches, the American Dream realized in the career move from Strip Club to Showgirl, from strip tease to Big Bucks Casino Shows". Individual entrepreneurs can embody this storied genre for example Catano (2001:59) refers to Andrew Carnegie as being the "poster boy of prototypical rags to riches stories".

The celebrity success story is a similar formula which often emphasises their humble origins, their meteoric rise to fame, often after many years of struggling to succeed. Such stories often cast the celebrity in the role of the likable rogue, narrating a descent into a hedonistic, champagne lifestyle, culminating in a rapid fall from grace and a public airing of their foibles. Examples include Shane Richie (Richie, 2003).

9.6.4 - The prodigy figure.

Historically, the entrepreneur is portrayed as a prodigious hero, embodying all that is perceived as good in society – enterprise, personal initiative and so on. Yates (1991:279) describes the legendary Enzo Ferrari as a prodigy figure. It is common for entrepreneurs to be ascribed prodigy status (particularly if a child prodigy). The child prodigy tale is an epic, heroic story. Ljunggren & Alsos (2001:9) refer to one of their respondents as such a prodigy who began a business when aged ten. In fiction, Millhouser's (1997) heroic entrepreneur Martin Dressler is another example. Yet, it is a myth maintained by a few charismatic examples. Steiner (2002:14) describes the childhood career path of Jan Fletcher portrayed as a child prodigy having started investing in shares at 11 whilst, modelling and performing a paper round. At 20 she bought her first firm. The prodigy encapsulates that which is marvellous and surprising and therefore lends itself to storytelling. According to Golding & Middleton (1982:8) these stories combat the reviled societal constructs of poverty and destitution counteracting the concept of the prodigal as the reverse of the vaunted PWE.

9.6.5 - Horatio Alger Stories.

The Horatio Alger books demonstrate how one man can construct a fictional genre, which influences a nation's entrepreneurial propensity. Novelist, Horatio Alger, Jr wrote of courage, faith, and hard, honest work, capturing the imagination of generations of young Americans providing them with a model of hope and promise in the face of hardships. The main, inspiring themes were of onward and upward rags-to-riches tales, patterning his hero Ragged Dick upon the homeless newsboys and bootblacks of urban America. His heroes almost always had the same qualities-moral, brave, generous, kind, diligent, industrious, and persevering. His ideology promised that everyone, no matter how poor, orphaned or powerless, if they

persevered they would succeed by hard work and the right action. This doctrine espoused the values of self-reliance, self-discipline, decency, and honesty. His books inspired a generation and found their way into almost every home, school, and church library in America capturing the spirit of a nation, selling 250 million copies world-wide. His books included such evangelical titles as *Ben the Luggage Boy*, *Bound to Rise*, *Brave & Bold*, *Facing the World*, *Fame & Fortune*, *Forging Ahead*, *In a New World*, *Mark the Match Boy*, *Risen from the Ranks*, *Rough and Ready*, *Rufus and Rose*, *Strive and Succeed*, *Strong and Steady*, and *Struggling Upward*. These titles resonate with the spirit of action and movement. His works shaped the minds of a generation of American youths and their boys own ethos became incorporated into the dominant collective notions of masculinity, and entrepreneurship manifested as independence of spirit and mind. Catano (2001:1) refers to them as being "morally uplifting stories that enact a successful struggle to overcome less than spectacular origins and reap justly deserved economic and personal rewards". In addition, for Catano (2001:10) they are "proto-entrepreneurial tales". They see "poverty's child", moving into respectability via a patron capable of recognizing their heroic characteristics. They are stereotypical endorsements of the entrepreneurial myth and late nineteenth century broad middle class stories of masculine self making. Alger's books are social constructionism in action.

Elements of this fabulous myth are discernable in empirical research carried out by Sarachek (1990:440) who examined the biographies of 187 Nineteenth Century American entrepreneurs. Sarachek emphasises the psycho-social nature of the father-son relationship and the effects of deprivation on their desire to become self-made men. Sarachek documented their formulaic nature as variations on rags-to-riches theme stressing the heroes - 1) Humble origins in poverty; 2) Orphan status, or the son of an invalid or a poor but honest hard working father; 3) Status as a native born and bred albeit a hero of foreign birth was allowed; 4) Working class status or the son of an impoverished middle class family or an unbeknowing rich orphan; 5) Upbringing by parents who staunchly upheld the PWE; 6) Plight of being forced to start work at an early age to be the familial breadwinner; and 7) The assistance of an older well-intentioned male benefactor. Keller (1953) carried out similar research into the social origins of three generations of American business leaders, finding that a significant number emerged from the ranks of those with humble beginnings.

Rockwell (1974:64) introduces an alternative Alger plot as daring feat, faithful-service, and marriage to the boss's daughter. For Reich (1987:87) these stories gave America a noble ideal and Collins & Moore (1964) found evidence of their accuracy with respondents having experienced childhood poverty and disrupted family lives. Kanfer (2000) notes how the classic Alger plot seldom varied; a youth of humble origins makes his way in the city by virtue of grit and toil. Luck usually plays its part, but fortune was something to be enticed and manipulated. In Alger's view, square dealing and independence formed the basis of the American Dream. Kanfer comments on the cultural underpinnings of this individualism arguing that the novels instilled the idea behind those phrases into America's children as homespun stories encapsulating the American way of self-reliance in a moral framework. Arnot (2000:203) marvels at their popularity. Yet, Reich (1987:79) asserts that it is an obsolete, gilded myth of stories of respectability, hard work, fortunate accidents, and of denial. A critic of this ideological myth was Mark Twain, who lampooned the genre in a short satirical story "Poor Little Stephen Girard". See storybox 5.

STORYBOX 5 - MARK TWAIN (1879) "POOR LITTLE STEPHEN GIRARD",

The man lived in Philadelphia who, when young and poor, entered a bank, and says he: "Please, sir, don't you want a boy?" And the stately personage said: "No, little boy, I don't want a little boy." The little boy,

whose heart was too full for utterance, chewing a piece of liquorice stick he had bought with a cent stolen from his good and pious aunt, with sobs plainly audible, and with great globules of water rolling down his cheeks, glided silently down the marble steps of the bank. Bending his noble form, the bank man dodged behind a door, for he thought the little boy was going to shy a stone at him. But the little boy picked up something, and stuck it in his poor but ragged jacket. "Come here, little boy," and the little boy did come here; and the bank man said: "Lo, what pickest thou up?" And he answered and replied: "A pin." And the bank man said: "Little boy, are you good?" and he said he was. And the bank man said: "How do you vote?"—"excuse me, do you go to Sunday school?" and he said he did. Then the bank man took down a pen made of pure gold, and flowing with pure ink, and he wrote on a piece of paper, "St. Peter"; and he asked the little boy what it stood for, and he said "Salt Peter." Then the bankman said it meant "Saint Peter." The little boy said: "Oh!" Then the bank man took the little boy to his bosom, and the little boy said, "Oh!" again, for he squeezed him. Then the bank man took the little boy into partnership, and gave him half the profits and all the capital, and he married the bank man's daughter, and now all he has is all his, and all his own too. My uncle told me this story, and I spent six weeks in picking up pins in front of a bank. I expected the bank man would call me in and say: "Little boy, are you good?" and I was going to say "Yes;" and when he asked me what "St. John" stood for, I was going to say "Salt John." But the bank man wasn't anxious to have a partner, and I guess the daughter was a son, for one day says he to me: "Little boy, what's that you're picking up?" Says I, awful meekly, "Pins." Says he: "Let's see 'em." And he took 'em, and I took off my cap, all ready to go in the bank, and become a partner, and marry his daughter. But I didn't get an invitation. He said: "Those pins belong to the bank, and if I catch you hanging around here any more I'll set the dog on you!" Then I left, and the mean old fellow kept the pins. Such is life as I find it.

It becomes increasingly apparent that entrepreneur stories are constructed using a heroic format.

9.7 - REFLECTIONS.

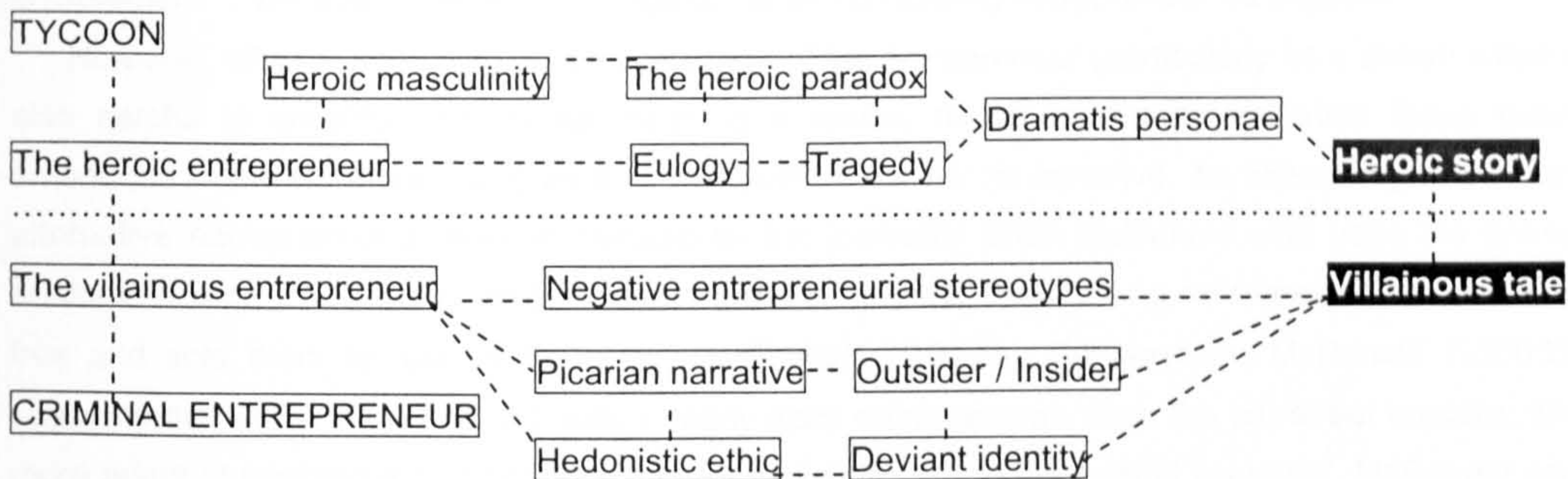
The objectives of this chapter were to examine how individuals and society make sense of complex social constructs and what they do with such collective knowledge. They construct (or re-construct) knowledge into narrative as written or spoken stories, and identities. Narrative unites the twin themes of action and communication. Communication is a form of action and encompasses discourse and rhetoric. The former is genuinely participative and discursive form of communication, whilst the latter leans more towards ideology and dogma. Dreams play an important part in the formation of entrepreneurial knowledge and provide a link to creativity and the archetypal element. We also considered narrative approaches, methods, styles and story elements in the formation of narratives, discourses and rhetoric's. However, it is in storytelling ability that we visualise the importance of narrative to the creation of value, because storytelling is narrative in action. Storytelling encompasses drama and mimetic replication as stories and actions combine to perpetuate cultural, personal, and storied values. Cherished entrepreneurial narrative is built up around such a core of values, morals and other subjective elements. When narrated by a raconteur the stories become an inspirational stock of narrated knowledge influencing our perceptions of reality for example as entrepreneurial, American, gangster, émigré dreams, success stories and morality tales. When combined with other cherished clichéd storylines they form a heroic, powerful, regenerative social script. This chapter builds upon our appreciation of the communicational nature of entrepreneurship and sees a coming together of the social processes of enabling-embedding and engaging-enacting. It demonstrates how social constructs influence the narrative and how narrative styles and elements influence the social constructs. It highlights the heroic nature of entrepreneurial narrative. In chapter 10 we continue our exploration of entrepreneurial narrative by considering the two most commonly narrated constructions of the entrepreneur, namely the entrepreneur as a hero and villain.

10. ENTER THE HEROIC AND VILLAINOUS ENTREPRENEURS.

INTRODUCTION.

READERS' GUIDE.

This chapter locates the entrepreneur in the preferred social role of hero, within the genre of heroic narrative and also considers the entrepreneur as a villain situated in Picaresque narrative.



10.1 - CONSTRUCTING THE HEROIC ENTREPRENEUR.

- 10.1.1: Eulogising the heroic entrepreneur.
- 10.1.2: The role of tragedy in shaping heroic entrepreneur stories.
- 10.1.3: The role of the heroic paradox in shaping heroic entrepreneur stories.
- 10.1.4: Constructing heroic entrepreneur stories.
- 10.1.5: Constructing the entrepreneur as a dramatis personae.

10.2 - CONSTRUCTING HEROIC MASCULINITY.

- 10.2.1: Heroic masculinity and work.
- 10.2.2: Mapping the masculine nature of the entrepreneur.

10.3 - THE ENTREPRENEUR MATURED.

10.4 - CONSTRUCTING THE VILLAINOUS ENTREPRENEUR.

- 10.4.1: Picaresque narrative.
- 10.4.2: Entrepreneurial stereotypes.
- 10.4.3: The outsider-insider dichotomy.
- 10.4.4: The entrepreneur as a deviant identity.
- 10.4.5: The hedonistic ethic.
- 10.4.6: Criminal entrepreneurship.

10.5 - REFLECTIONS.

In chapter 9, we established that entrepreneur stories are often constructed as a heroic narrative. This chapter develops this theme, exploring the darker side (McKenna, 1996) of the entrepreneurial construct, tracing certain entrepreneurial traits to their roots in masculinity. In Western societies, being an entrepreneur is synonymous with being a man and masculine self-making (Kimmel, 1995). Catano (2001:13) therefore refers to enactments of self-making. Catano (2001:8-10) talks of mythic self-making and stresses that being an entrepreneur is to represent the myth. Cawletti (1965) discusses three American themes of self-making, namely the Conservative Protestant Ethic; Individual social virtues; and Horatio Alger myths. Additionally, Leverentz (1989) lists three categories of American masculinity as being the Patrician (Mercantile); the Artisan; and the entrepreneur. From the literature, the entrepreneur emerges as a heroic social construct. For Casson (1990:245) an exciting heroic aura surrounds the entrepreneur in comparison with the conventional passive calculator of management with "no room for enterprise and initiative... One hears of no clever ruses, ingenious schemes, brilliant innovators, of no charisma, or of any of the other stuff of which

outstanding entrepreneurship is made". Also, Kets de Vries (1985:160-3) discusses the common heroic myth beginning with "the hero's humble birth, his rapid rise to prominence and power, his conquest of the forces evil, his vulnerability to the sin of pride, and finally, his fall through heroic sacrifice". Kets de Vries likens the formula to the symbolic themes of birth, conquest, pride, betrayal and death, suggesting that entrepreneurs who enact this script are tense individuals, prone to stress. Thus the entrepreneur is aligned to legendary heroes and subconscious archetypal images, beliefs and expectations, encased in a narrative tone of heroism (Gilder, 1984). Gergen (2001:10) notes that heroes and villains are such by virtue of narrative encasement¹¹. We also consider the image of the all-conquering entrepreneur as a tycoon.

However, when researching public perception of the entrepreneur (particularly as a British construct) it is also helpful to consider the entrepreneur as a rascal, rogue or criminal because these themes are embedded in the literature acting as a counterpoint to the heroic narrative. An interesting illustration of this alternative entrepreneurial story is narrated by the journalist Brian McDonald who uses the entrepreneur analogy to liken petty opportunistic thieves to entrepreneurs, thus "young entrepreneurs prised the blocks free and sold them for use in the grate" (McDonald, 2000:34). Furthermore, McDonald (2000:204-207) suggests that in the East End of London "Many early entrepreneurs were the old street bookies, who were more adept at wielding a razor or cosh than recording figures in the correct columns". McDonald narrates a world where a reputation for being game was a valuable attribute for the businessmen-gangster and describes a "gallery of crooks, conmen and sharp business individuals" who gathered in the same Pubs. An ability to fight was of equal importance to a sharp business brain - both earned one respect. Thus the world of McDonald (2000:266-277) was populated with "lovable rogues" and "artful wheeler dealers who knew every means of double dealing and business chicanery ever invented". McDonald describes his uncle Charles Wag McDonald as a "boxer, adventurer, traveler, entrepreneur and gangster" (2000:194). This suggests that the entrepreneurial label is another identity to be collected, or a set of stories to be exploited.

Indeed, history is populated with a veritable Rogues Gallery of villainous entrepreneurs, yet research into the villainous aspects of entrepreneurial character is sparse. Consequentially, the second part examines the entrepreneurial typologies of the rogue, rascal, villain, and criminal which narrate a less heroic tale. Typical entrepreneur stories gloss over the imperfections of entrepreneurial heroes. Negative typologies are accommodated under the rubric of the picaresque entrepreneurial narrative, which negates the mythology of the amiable entrepreneur (Rehn & Taalas, 2001). Indeed, there are more negative entrepreneurial stereotypes than positive ones (Smith & Anderson, 2001). The narrative of the villainous entrepreneur is invoked as a distancing mechanism. Despite generic societal disapproval of the villain, there remains a grudging admiration for those of an enterprising in nature, even when expended in the furtherance of greed or evil. Casson (1982:1) lent credibility to this negative perception when he wrote - "We all of us know someone who is an entrepreneur ... or just someone who knows how to turn a fast buck". Similarly, Thomas (1995:455) discusses "the scheming entrepreneur", whilst Smith & Anderson (2001) and Fadahunsi & Rosa (2001:3) refer to the "rogue-entrepreneur". Konieczny & Skrzypricz (2000:3) in a study of Polish shopkeepers post Communism wrote of the entrepreneur as "a shady character who would bribe shopkeepers". Davis (1987:72) enlarges upon this perception of communicational deceit noting that, "Fortunes are regularly made by clever entrepreneurs who think up some fad and persuade millions to buy

¹¹ Olsson (2002:142) makes a similar claim about narratives on executive identity.

the stuff at inflated prices". Here we encounter the social process of demonising (Taylor *et al*, 1975:160) invoked to neutralize the positive benefits associated with being an entrepreneur, by accentuating the negative. Techniques include name-calling, negative stereotyping and pejorative labeling. The public regard the maverick with suspicion and despite loving the idea of overnight success fear over reach and failure (Davis, 1987:185-6). Failure and over-reaching are common themes in entrepreneurship and heroism.

10.1 – CONSTRUCTING THE HEROIC ENTREPRENEUR.

Entrepreneurship literature is peppered with quotes praising the heroic entrepreneur. Many academics imbue the entrepreneur with heroic status (Cole, 1959:103); for Collins & Moore (1964:6) he was the "truly successful common man"; for Toffler (1978:140) - a folk hero; and to Casson (1982) a legendary figure. Cole emphasised masculinity, hazards and exhilaration. Casson (1982:347) positions the entrepreneur as a cultural hero rising from humble origins, and Davis (1987:12) asks the question - "So what of the entrepreneur, who from humble beginnings, built up an enormous fortune". Anderson (1995:118) wrote "the entrepreneur enjoys a rare and heroic status" and Reich (1987:87) talks of stories of "entrepreneurial heroism". For Curran (1986:54) the entrepreneur is an "economic hero". Reich claims the entrepreneurial myth is as old as America. Morse (1986:135) refers to entrepreneurs as the darlings of the venture capital market; Velamuri *et al* (2000:17) describe them as being elevated on a "pedestal of success", whilst Nadoushani & Nadoushani (2000) situate the entrepreneurial hero as rooted in the avante-guard. For Kirby (2003:preface) "Entrepreneurs have become stars". Legitimate entrepreneurs may hold the moral high ground because of the ideological loading of the construct, but Casson (1985:1/6) reminds us of the stereotype of the entrepreneur as a "swashbuckling business adventurer". In a similar manner, Packard (1961:304) refers to the adventurous entrepreneur.

For Scase and Goffee (1982:126) the classical entrepreneur captured the popular imagination, becoming the personal embodiment of cherished capitalist values. Mills (1991:35-6) described 19th century U.S. entrepreneurs as "captains of industry". Baumol (1990:18) remarks that the industrial revolution "brought to the industrialist and the business person generally a degree of wealth and respect probably unprecedented in human history". Gushing appreciation of entrepreneurial heroism can be found in the writings of Neale (1983:18) who wrote, "commercial shrewdness were gradually enlarged into enthusiasm for a far reaching principle, and the hard headed man of business gradually felt himself touched with the generous glow of the patriot and the deliverer". Weber (1990:65) made reference to the self-made parvenus of Manchester and Westphalia, rising from modest circumstances to create industries in the vanguard of capitalism. They rose from "the hard school of life" being possessed of calculated daring and temperance (*ibid.*69). For Belasco (1980) the entrepreneur is a cultural hero befitting Chinoy's (1955) image of the entrepreneur as the "poor-boy-made-good". Howorth *et al* (2003:1) discuss the "gendered masculinity of the entrepreneur as a wealth creating hero" and Hamilton (2001) that male entrepreneurs are often portrayed as heroes. This tone of masculine heroism is accentuated by the non-heroic narratives of female entrepreneurs. Anderson (1995:7) questions this sycophantic-hagiographic approach suggesting that as academics we are right to be suspicious of images of the entrepreneur as a folk hero narrated as entrepreneurial fable, myth, legend and parable. This hagiographic litany has become conflated with the virtues of morality and success. Hero making is a human trait transferable from the individual to the collective, exemplified by Reich's (1987:82) argument for "The Team as Hero", and by Hood's (1996) "heroic enterprise". Rhene & Tallas (2002) liken

entrepreneurship to heroic tales, enacted as heroic drama. In such tales, archetype shapes expectations and social roles such as the hero, and the heroic nature of entrepreneurial narrative. In Western societies, the theme of the entrepreneur as a hero predominates. When one decodes entrepreneurial eulogy, one is struck by the heroic content of the quotes – for example, hazards, exhilaration, captains, swashbuckling, adventure, adventurer, patriots, enormous fortunes, and calculated daring. Such heroic descriptors are the stuff of adventure stories, myth and legend. Considering the entrepreneur as a hero necessitates looking at mechanisms through which heroism is channeled such as eulogy and tragedy.

10.1.1 - Eulogising the heroic entrepreneur.

Becker (1963) articulates a human urge towards heroism and eulogy. A eulogy is a narrative form of written or spoken high praise, characterised by warmth, praising and extolling conceptual virtues. Eulogies are legitimising rhetoric's formulated after an event. They originate from ecclesiastic literature relating to the portrayal of saintly figures, dating back to mythical times, embodying acts of heroism narrated as paeans of praise. In eulogy, the entrepreneur (as a genre) is cast as a heroic figure thus to invoke an entrepreneur story is to narrate heroism. We appear to be socially programmed to consider heroes men, and appreciate heroism, eulogising or venerating the heroic in stories legitimised by constant retelling. Heroines seldom feature in entrepreneurial narrative because heroes and heroines possess different traits which result from the social processes of reputation building. Winston (1995:57-59) echoing Ramsaye (1926) highlights the human tendency to view history as the "progress of great men", leading to a selective presentation of a story. Winston criticises the poverty or thinness of great-men stories and the Western desire for eulogizing popular stories of heroes. In ascribing the entrepreneur hero status society is celebrating the e-word.

It is evident that eulogy is an important element of the entrepreneurial construct, influencing and shaping expectations of the entrepreneur. Eulogies contain descriptors of success, imbuing entrepreneur stories with the accrued, collective triumphs of other entrepreneurs by transferable status. Smallbone & Lyon (2002) point out that individuals use reputations as sources of information. Bromberg & Fine (2002) discuss four stages of reputation building, namely recognition, ruin, reknown and institutionalizing. This notion of soiled reputation is important in hero building as it permits what Fine (1999) refers to as "heroic embodiment". Bromberg & Fine discuss the construction of collective memory by the Media. For Fine (1996) reputations become enhanced by repeating them in a "Mnemonic community". Reputation enables the past to become relevant to the future, and connects historical events to shared values. Bromberg & Fine also discuss the social process of purification of tarnished reputations. This is of significance to the social construction of entrepreneurship because it is the very processes of purification and vilification, which influence and shape the entrepreneurial construct. Incisively, Ducharme & Fine (1995:1311) stipulate that when a reputation is controversial, society splits the image, permitting the simultaneous provision of positive and negative characteristics. This point is of vital importance to this thesis because it explains the dichotomous views of the entrepreneur as a hero or villain. Bromberg & Fine also discuss the social processes of selective forgetting and nostalgia, noting that iconic status is a function of outlasting one's enemies. Notwithstanding this, entrepreneurs do not act in isolation, being part of what Kochan & Whittington (1991:1) refer to as a "Cast of characters" with players and supporting cast. There is a down side to eulogy because the heroic entrepreneur in being ascribed halo status is expected to be a paragon of virtue. Failure to maintain virtuous status may lead to a tragic fall from grace. This section demonstrates that entrepreneurial narrative is influenced and shaped by the narrative genre of tragedy.

10.1.2 – The role of tragedy in shaping heroic entrepreneur stories.

For Leech (1969:68) tragedy is a form of writing concerned with the dramatic presentation of an ending visited upon persons of great reputation and prosperity. Atkins (1943) notes that tragedy is a narrative of the fortunes and adversities of the heroic. Leech (1969:30) echoes Aristotle's observations that tragedies and epic deal with similar criteria, but that in epic, there are merely tragic moments. Tragedy is linear and must run from happiness to misery, not vice versa. Simple and complex plots tell changes in the fortunes of heroes. This state of sad misfortune must be brought about, not by an act of vice or depravity but, by an error of judgment on the part of the heroic victim. Tragedy is a pre-ordained learning process. For Richards (1934/1960:246-7) it is the most general, all-accepting, all ordering experience known to man. It is an emotive, cathartic process, which teaches by example, and encompasses great actions, heroic characters, passion, majestic sadness, bravery in times of distress. Tragedies are thus narratives of the virtuous in distress and involve dramatic sacrifice and heroic achievement, which must be publicly enacted or performed in unity with time and space. An appreciation of the critical literary idiom of tragedy is useful in decoding classical entrepreneurial stories, because tragedy and heroism go hand in hand.

Tragedy involves the states of divine providence, and grace, and is associated with the qualities of stoicism, virtue, remoteness, isolation, admiration, awe, doom, quite dignity, pride, falling and tragic burdens. It follows distinctive processes of hubris, mimesis, harmatia, anagnorsis closely followed by peripety. Hubris or the adoption of excessive pride sets the scene for dramatic fall, followed by the mimesis or acting out of a heroic act and also harmatia. Leech (1969) describes harmatia as an error of judgment, or fatal imperfection, that lets tragedy in. Thereafter, an act of anagnorsis must occur in which the hero achieves a change from ignorance to knowledge in the form of a revelation of doom. The hero then enters into a state of peripety, or sudden reversal, which comes with a shock and suffering (pathos). Sudden changes have greater impact. For Ellis-Fermor (1945) it provides equilibrium or a sense of balance and a purifying sense of closure. In tragedy, we feel the inter-relation of character and circumstance as the hero is seen to contribute to his own downfall. For Levi (1986:156-157) this momentum culminates with the loser becoming a hero.

The parallels with entrepreneurial mythology are visible with the latter also being concerned with irony, justice and the destruction of the hero in a setting where tragedy, comedy and satyr are rife. The pathos reaches a crescendo with the fall from grace. Rockwell (1974:49-58) appreciates their normative influence upon people. For Rockwell, tragedies are devoted to heroic individuals who by excess of virtue become norm breakers and in such social dramas the group must cleanse itself of evil influence by casting the villain out. Tragedy relates to the destruction of a person of extraordinary merit through an excess leading to hubris (a pride encroaching on the Gods whose jealousy is aroused causing them to strike down the guilty). Hubris as excessive pride is a fabled entrepreneurial sin, making the parallels between tragedy as a genre and the classic entrepreneur story self-evident. The heroes of sagas face similar dilemmas, caught between conflicts of obligations. The sin of hubris and the social script of hubristic payback may therefore not be unique to entrepreneur stories but may be grafted upon it from accepted moral convention. Heroic society requires the hero to excel, but not to excess. In tragedy, reference is made to the common man (shades of the working class entrepreneur and the poor-boy-made-good storyline). Tragic heroes become the people's victim. We have empathy with him as being one of us (Leech, 1969:33). It is pertinent that Catano (2001:54) suggests self destruction naturally results from self-making as part of the masculine psyche. Heroines do not appear

to self-destruct. Tragedies are easily adaptable dramatic writings, which as pre-determined scripts are a ready made genre upon which to graft the heroic entrepreneur.

10.1.3 - The role of the heroic paradox in further shaping heroic entrepreneur stories.

It is of interest that the Ancient Greeks in enacting their value system resorted to epic poems, myth, and drama as methods of propagating, perpetuating and transmitting their cherished values. Taplin (1986:74) refers to a "heroic code" or "heroic paradox" by which heroes must strive to be first, kill their enemies, preserve their honour and accumulate wealth. Vestiges of this code are discernible in entrepreneur stories. Myth and drama augment the heroic paradox thesis, because they require the presence of a hero and villain. Gergen (2001) stresses that narrative forms are our chief means of self-portrayal and we inherit storytelling traditions that enable us to distinguish basic plots (such as the archetypes of hero versus villain) played out within culturally specific narrative forms such as comedy, tragedy and so forth. We may thus sub-consciously project our selves as hero or villain and construct our stories accordingly.

In relation to heroic archetype, Stevens (1982:129) argues that heroes assert their masculinity via combativeness and overcoming fearful obstacles. Both these storylines are embedded in entrepreneur stories. Therefore the distinguishing features of entrepreneur stories may have more to do with artefacts of masculinity and storytelling techniques than with entrepreneurship *per se*. It is evident that entrepreneur stories employ classical generic literary styles to propagate themselves, namely - eulogy; hagiography; epics; sagas; and the odyssey. Epics are purified myths whereas tragedies are exaggerated ones. Treble & Vallins (1936:72-3) discuss the heroic glorification of the epic and stress that the fable of an epic must have dignity representing great actions. Taplin (1986:60) argues that epic stories revolve around the complimentary themes of tragedy and comedy. Sagas are long detailed stories and the Odyssey is an ancient epic, a series of wonderings involving long adventurous journeys. It too has potential as a vehicle for expressing entrepreneurial narrative. The literary genres of eulogy, hagiography, epic, saga and odyssey feed this destructive urge to gain glory by demanding a winner and loser, building up suspense and drama. Entrepreneur stories can be fables of epic proportions, occurring over a time span, thus Fallon & Srodes (1983:10) refer to the DeLorean story as an odyssey.

Greek mythology provides a heroic template upon which we draw inspiration but Griffin (1986:78-79) warns that one must differentiate between myth, legend, folk-tales and other mendacious linguistic relatives because they set out to achieve differing objectives. According to Griffin, myths are concerned with heroes and heroines and are an exaggeration or heightening of ordinary life, rather than the wholly bizarre and dream-like sequences of some traditional tales. Myth and the mythopoeic faculty render the heroic paradox visible (Griffin, 1986:88). Traces of the mythopoeic faculty are also discernable in entrepreneur stories. It could be argued that entrepreneurial mythology conforms to what Cook (1969) referred to as the "ordinary" and the "fabulous". Griffin (1986:84) refers to Greek mythology as a heroic age, but entrepreneurial mythology can be presented as occurring in a heroic age. Wansell (1988:110) notes that fortune favours the bravest entrepreneur. Heroic stories are built up from typical scenes creating a sense of order, orthodoxy and typicality, providing depth to the story.

The Hero has a long tradition in storytelling. To appreciate how the structural elements of heroism stack up to construct credible stories it is necessary to consider the work of early narrativists such as Adolf Bastion (1826-1905), Victor Propp (1928), Otto Rank (1909/2004), Joseph Campbell (1990), J.G. Fraser (1960) and Carl Jung (1964). Bastion studied myths, folklore and customs and was impressed by similarities that

existed between many recurring themes and motifs or elementargedanken (universal themes) manifested as volksgedanken (ethnic ideas). In a similar vein, Jung built upon these similarities being struck by the universal parallelism of motifs, ideas and images or analogous motifs brought about by the combined operation of tradition and migration. Using comparative methodology, Jung amplified the genres extracting archetypal themes, immersing himself in mythology, religion, legends, fairy tales and dreams thereby defining their archetypal elements.

In a similar manner, Propp interpreted 100 Fairy tales and reduced them to 31 functions or basic units of action. This is important because heroism is measured in actions. Propp (1968:37) identified specific hero types in narrative - the victim and seeker. Both hero types are found in classical entrepreneurial narrative. Propp (1968:104-6) also discusses the struggle-victory storyline making reference to transitional stages such as misfortune, transfiguration and resolution all present in entrepreneurial narrative. Rank in his seminal work "The Myth of the Birth of the Hero", traced the intriguing similarities of mythologies across history and cultures finding a common pattern, of the hero emerging as the son of parents of high station, who overcame difficulties, faced danger being mentored by people of humble origin before embarking on an adventure to confirm their hero status. In modern narrative, heroes tend to be of humble birth. If one removes the stipulation of being a son of high birth the remaining story structuration fits that of entrepreneur stories. Indeed, entrepreneur stories are heroic and conform to the tenets of Campbell's (1990) monomyth theory with the expected elements of - test – ordeal – overcoming difficulties – triumph – reward. Campbell (1990), (1956) and Frazer (1960) developed common mythic themes as templates for building stories or for identifying inherent problems in a story. The mono-myth theory provides a general storyline based on world wide ancient myths, itemizing commonly occurring plot elements. We can choose individually proven storylines from a body of knowledge allowing us to construct innumerable new stories. Indeed, Campbell (1980) in "The Hero with a Thousand Faces" argued that all narratives conformed to basic heroic tenets rooted in unconscious psychodynamics of the hero overcoming socio-personal limitations, which Singer (1994:100) articulates as being akin to Jung's "hero quest" vision. These works demonstrate a structural element to hero stories making an argument for considering entrepreneur stories contemporary hero tales, as did Jones & Conway (2000) who sought to deconstruct the myth of the entrepreneur as hero.

10.1.4 – Constructing heroic entrepreneur stories.

Entrepreneur stories grow in stature by repeated tellings and performances and have taken on the format of what Jeffcut (1993:39) refers to as a canonized genre, with its own style and forms. Certain styles of entrepreneur stories definitely incorporate heroic-tragic-romantic storylines which demand an audience. Heroic narrative exists independently of the story of the individual. One can wrap this narrative around one's self providing one's life with a meaningful story that others relate to as ready made socially approved identities. One can invoke it wholly or partially. One of the features of entrepreneurial narrative that makes it so universally popular is articulated by Smilor (1996:5) who accentuates its truly egalitarian nature in that one does not need to be accredited, certified or degreed to start a business. It is a story applicable to and achievable by all. Entrepreneur stories enable the ontological process of becoming, being and belonging all of which are states constructed and achieved via narrative processes. For Czarniawska-Joerges (1994) such stories are quests and adventures. Thus entrepreneur stories are socially constructed from what Gergen (2001:104-105) calls "Quest" and "Chaos" narratives. A quest is a continuous state of becoming

(Gergen, 2001:157). Processes of becoming can be traced in narrative, as appreciated by Hjorth (2001:82) who refers to the multiple becomings of a targeted discourse.

One way of constructing heroic entrepreneur stories is to write them in the form of a hagiograph, replete with strong religious undertones of sainthood and saints and sinners. In the Roman Catholic faith Sainthood relates to an elevated status of eulogization - a collective exaggeration put forward for veneration by the public. It can only occur after death when the prospective saint has been distanced from the stories told about them by the process of canonization. Entrepreneurs undergo a similar selective secular canonization process without having to prove miracles. Instead they must generate myth and legend embodied in stories.

10.1.5 – Constructing the entrepreneur as dramatis personae.

Victor Propp (1968:20/25) talks of tale personages and dramatis personae – noting that in tales constants and variables may alter, such as the name of the hero but neither actions, or functions change, therefore the characters of a tale often perform the same actions. Likewise In entrepreneur stories the names of the dramatis personae may change but actions and functions remain. Such functions are basic tale components. One must separate the action from the action orientated noun (ibid.21). For Propp, character functions (traits) serve as stable, constant tale elements irrespective of how and by whom, they are fulfilled. The sequence of these functions is always identical to tale type. Moreover, functions must be defined independently of characters. Propp studied characters according to their functions, their distribution into categories, and their forms of appearance. This led Propp to enumerate the functions of dramatis personae whether hero or villain. Thus tales always begin with an expression of the initial situation in which the hero is situated. Propp constructed a typical tale structure in which the hero and villain make moves. Several of Propps' major storytelling themes impinge upon entrepreneurial narrative namely, transference, journeying, quests, ordeals, battles, tests and homecomings. The final goal of such stories always revolves around assimilation, ascension or a rapid descent. Propp likened it to an apotheosis = the deification or glorification of a person or principle released from earthly life. This is particularly astute when one considers that entrepreneurs struggle to achieve legitimacy freed from the drudgery of destiny. It is rare for actions of tale heroes not to conform to this structure (ibid.64). Functions are basic tale elements upon which one builds action (ibid.71). Also, Propp appreciated the significance of spheres of action, noting that characters are introduced into the course of an action. Volkov (1924 in Propp 1968:14) noted that such tales can be deconstructed into motifs, for example "Qualities of the heroes" or "the deeds of heroes". Leland (1998:192-196) discusses the traditional "combative relationship" and "face off" between hero and villain, arguing that the lines between them in literature are blurred. Leland, echoing Hans Jonas, stresses that wickedness is more direct and compelling when contemporary heroes possess feet of clay, bringing them closer to us. This is of significance in relation to entrepreneur stories as the entrepreneur is said to possess feet of clay (Nicolson, 2001). The developing theme that the conventions of heroic narrative and storytelling may influence the way entrepreneur stories are told is continued in the next section.

10.2 - CONSTRUCTING HEROIC MASCULINITY.

Masculinity is a form of social identity which is both personal and social. Masculinity is not singular there are plural masculinities (Segal, 1990). Wetherell (1997:301-321) investigated men, masculinity, and the process of becoming a man arguing that male identity is actively produced by men from available social

constructions, or social scripts, which conform to expectations. Men define themselves in relation to other men. Connell (1995) stresses that masculinities are constructed through power relations particularly hegemonic masculinity. Moreover, there is a connection between the economic organisation of society (Capitalism) and the psychology of masculinity (Tolson, 1977; Seidler, 1991). Hegemonic forms of masculinity are associated with competitiveness, aggressiveness and the non articulation of emotion. Tolson refers to a deep structure of male identity arguing that Capitalism encourages these traits and produces distinctive habitual sets of gestures, tones of voice and personalities. For Seidler (1991) the Capitalist ethos encourages self-control, stoicism and self-discipline. Indeed, Wetherell (1997:327) distinguishes between working and middle class masculinities and both Seidler and Tolson argue that economic differences between classes dictate the types of masculinity available to men. Indeed masculinity and entrepreneurial ideology merge as for Seidler personality, character, and social skills become marketable commodities.

Masculinity is also a cultural social construct in which it is difficult to separate the subjective actions, traits, beliefs, mores and values of the male entrepreneur from aspects of biological masculinity. Hofstede (1980) defined masculinity as the extent to which dominant social values are achievement and success as opposed to caring for others and quality of life. Hofstede defined individualism as the extent to which people are concerned with their own well-being and that of their immediate family as opposed to relying on more general groups in exchange for their loyalty. According to MacKinnon (2003) the mass media do not so much "reflect" masculinity in society as "teach" it, by creating or reinforcing its images. Zoonen (1995:327) argues that masculinity is a discourse of power and centrality, whereas femininity is one of powerlessness and marginality. Hunt & Levie (2003) analysed individualism and masculinity as cultural constructs using a statistical, quantitative methodology concluding that masculinity as a powerful explanatory variable is an anachronistic dimension. To fully appreciate the significance of masculinity to entrepreneurship it is necessary to take a step backwards and treat it as a pre-existing proto-entrepreneurial narrative which shapes how we (as men) tell entrepreneur stories. Indeed, the pervasiveness of masculinity emerged from an immersion in the literature – a point recognised by an increasing number of feminist entrepreneurial scholars. Masculine doxa shape the image of the entrepreneur as being male; a lone operator; materialistic who has achieved success as opposed to having been ascribed it by inheritance. Casson (1982:347-8) refers to the exercise of entrepreneurship by "men whose judgement differs from other norms". Thus the social phenomenon of work (and the workplace), construct how we behave as men and define masculinity.

10.2.1 – Heroic masculinity and work.

Indeed, Walvin & Mangan (1991) suggest that there is a definite link between manliness, morality, the work ethic and social class. Bourke (1994:44) discusses the "emphasis on working class masculinity and strength", whilst McKibbin (1990) discusses the heroic notion of masculinity and its attachment with manual labour, and working class ideology. Moreover, Sullivan (2000:94-98) considers testosterone to be a metaphor for manhood correlated with risk, physicality (and criminality). For Sullivan this explains why boys are action orientated. These ideologies of masculinity and heroism have fused in certain narratives. For example, Reich (1987:78) discusses the American myth of the entrepreneurial hero (personifying freedom and creativity). Industrial and working class mythology is replete with stories containing men of legendary strength and size selflessly conducting great acts of personal bravery. Such stories set a pattern, a heroic template, which does not require reinvention, merely invoked where necessary. Such stories mirror those of a heroic, warrior society emphasising masculinity, competitiveness, a strong sense of communal identity and

above all the group exclusion of others. Similarly, entrepreneur stories mirror both genres but cunning and guile may replace physical strength. Jordan *et al* (1992:94) discuss the often forgotten inherent link between manhood, work, pride and respect, noting that "Part of being a worker (a man) is to refuse to accept what a self-respecting worker should not accept". Pride and respect can be positive forces in funnelling such people towards entrepreneurial careers. For male entrepreneurs it is about competing, doing and ultimately putting one over on society. Conversely, Jordan *et al* (1992:134) note, "women's accounts of their employment decisions are constructed within rhetoric of obligations to family" - "fitting in", not "making good".

10.2.2 – Mapping the masculine nature of the entrepreneur.

Ironically, to properly explore the contribution of masculinity to the construct one must turn to the work of feminist scholars, such as Lerner (1986), Sundin (1995), Holmquist (2000), Holmquist & Lindgren (2002), and Campbell (2002). For Berg (1997) entrepreneurship is a male activity. Lerner (1986:219) highlighted the male hegemony of the symbol system and Campbell (2002) refers to "Kohlberg's and McClelland's healthy, achieving male". According to Holmquist (2000) and Sundin (1995) the entrepreneur is individually recognised as a masculine super-human leader and hero, a lone, strong man who fights against conservative structures to realize his dream. Holmquist & Lindgren (2002:7) argue that this creates the elitist notion of entrepreneurs as the chosen few, a mythic, Herculean figure. Holmquist & Lindgren (2002:6) refer to "masculine white successful networking society" and (2002:8) liken entrepreneurs to daring conquerors. Also, Bernard (1998:11) refers to an alienating "machismo element" associated with masculinity and the PWE. Heroic masculinity is also transferable to place. For example, Petterson (2002) refers to the Swedish entrepreneurial enclave of Gnosjo as being masculine. Incisively, Holmquist & Lindgren (2002:12) discuss the notions of single individuals and single heroes as being a typical masculine construction¹². These observations suggest that the hero model is an artefact of a masculine mindset and not of entrepreneurship *per se*. In eulogising the individual we risk being blinded to the reality of other entrepreneurial roles.

Manhood may appear divorced from entrepreneurial theory but given its archetypal nature it may very well be an important factor in the practice of entrepreneurship as a male dominated phenomenon. Indeed, manhood permeates the construct and its narratives. Five important precepts central to entrepreneur stories are attributable as central precepts of manhood. These are - the notion of the self-made man; action; competitiveness; the quest for legitimacy; and hard work. Biddulph (1998:240) stresses that the myth of the self-made man is central to manhood and that the truly self-made man exists nowhere in reality as we need other to help us. The myth is not exclusive to the entrepreneurial narrative, it emanates from the wider narrative of manhood. Biddulph citing the work of Bly (1991) asserts that men are renowned for their love of "action". Kindlon & Thompson (1999:76) discuss the dominant model of masculinity associated with strength and stoicism whereby boys are raised to have an affinity towards heroic action figures. Biddulph (1998:178) suggests that male competitiveness is a destructive personality trait. Indeed, Kindlon & Thompson (1999:114) argue that "Men's lives are filled with competition for dominance, status and power, often just for fun". For Biddulph (1998:178) men are "compulsively searching for approval that never comes". Approval is

¹² Howard Aldrich (in conversation) noted that the propensity of entrepreneurial scholars to refer to an individual as "The Entrepreneur" is a particularly distorting male practice. Aldrich prefers the more prosaic epitaph of "An entrepreneur" which is more in keeping with reality of the entrepreneur, merely being one of many. The usage of the 'the' word implies that there is something special and individual about its bearer.

central to the quest for legitimacy and is of importance to the entrepreneur. The heroic quest for legitimacy may therefore not pertain solely to entrepreneur stories but an artefact of masculinity. Additionally, Kindlon & Thompson (1999:6) stress that boys “struggle for self-respect” and may demand it – therefore the entrepreneurial quest for legitimacy may have its roots in a deeper psychological need. Biddulph (1998:152) notes men “love to work” and can be found out of working hours in sheds, pursuing activities synonymous with work. This evidences the importance of sheds in entrepreneurial mythology. It is perhaps no mere coincidence that these central precepts of the entrepreneurship are central precepts of manhood. Competitiveness is part and parcel of the entrepreneurial spirit and is a masculine trait. Loden (1985:90) argues that the masculine tradition ensures that one learns to “take charge, to be visible, to strategise, and to see others as either supporters or opponents”.

Heroism is formed early in childhood, influenced by the straight jacket of manhood. Kindlon & Thompson (1999:xvi) suggest that “boys fall into the trap of embracing the image of stoic masculinity they see in the mainstream media” - a self-protective, inflexible template replete with false bravado used as a protective screen. It is characterized by silence, solitude and distrust and emotional illiteracy, preventing some boys from forming meaningful relationships in life. According to Kindlon & Thompson (1999:44) every boy likes to fight an enemy. Kindlon & Thompson (1999:22) liken the struggle of young boys in early education to being “thorns among roses”. Kindlon & Thompson (1999:4) note the importance of voracious reading in forming emotional literacy in boys because reading connects us to a larger world beyond our own experiences and ideas. Boys have a greater propensity towards risk taking (ibid.31) and are often prone to overachieving (ibid.85-6). Gilmore (1990) notes that masculinity is defined by achievement and manhood becomes a prize to won or wrested by struggle. This develops the argument that many aspects of behaviour which we associate with entrepreneurship, *per se* have their roots in masculine behaviour. Catano (2001) examined narratives of self-made men from Carnegie to Lacocca, as well as those of African-American, ethnic, and worker class extraction, demonstrating the persuasive powers of the story of the self-made man in creating and re-creating masculinity. Catano argues portraits of self-made men are rife in Western culture. Whether positive or negative, fictional or factual they endure because the rhetoric and myth enacts both the need and the means by which one makes oneself masculine, via verbal power and prowess. This is an ongoing rhetorical practice in Western society and culture. For Catano, the basic narrative achieves much of its effectiveness by engaging and enacting the traditional psychological dynamics of the family and socialisation. Catano acknowledges the combined social, psychological, and rhetorical dynamics that constitute the ongoing activity of masculine self-making – the ongoing rhetorical enactment of cultural needs and desires. It is a formative process between what society and its individuals either are or should be.

10 3 - THE ENTREPRENEUR MATURED.

Tycoon stories are a particularly heroic format of entrepreneur stories. Successful entrepreneurs become C.E.O's, tycoons, magnates, barons or industrialists. Tycoonary is associated with power, masculinity, maturity, and middle age. The personal narratives of tycoons conform to the tenets of entrepreneur stories. Tycoons are hero figures of mythic proportions. For Wansell (1988:Preface) “Tycoons are the gladiators of the modern financial world”. The word tycoon is a wonderfully rebellious word, derived from the mistaken pronunciation of the 19th century Japanese word Taikun meaning Great Prince. It is universally accepted as

a descriptor for business magnates. The word magnate refers to a man of rank, wealth or power. Wansell (1988:12) defines a tycoon as a "businessman of exceptional power, wealth and influence". The stereotype of the belligerent self-seeking tycoon is a definite entrepreneurial stereotype beloved of the British headlines and gossip columns (Wansell, 1988:Preface). Wansell (1988:240) posits the image of the bullying, belligerent megalomaniac tycoon as a rich bullying monster. Tycoons are only partially accepted by the establishment on their socially prescribed terms (Wansell, 1988). Becoming a tycoon involves a change in stature to controlling companies and corporations. The words entrepreneur and tycoon are used interchangeably. Tycoons practice entrepreneurship, but on a grander scale. Wansell (1988:224) considers tycoons to be classless. It is also a genderless label. Steiner (2002:14) describes the tycoon Jan Fletcher as "one of Britain's wealthiest female entrepreneurs". Tycoons are often portrayed as a villain, or even criminal. Indeed, Beaumont (2002:x) argues incisively, "our world was made by rogues as much as by angels". Likewise, Sir Richard Branson (1995:2) in the book *Local Heroes* emphasised the heroic nature of entrepreneurs, concluding that their biggest challenge was to "avoid becoming villains". It is a fickle process in which the hero can fall, for example, Beaumont (2002:255) wrote, "Hudson the hero suddenly became Hudson the villain". We now consider the entrepreneur as a villain, rascal, rogue and even criminal.

10.4 - CONSTRUCTING THE VILLAINOUS ENTREPRENEUR.

The entrepreneur as a villain has a long pedigree. A variety of historico-ideological reasons have shaped this. Firstly, Proudhon (1840) naively regarded property as theft, whilst Ricardo (1817) articulated a general distaste for the inherent dishonesty of the middleman (merchants and bankers) based on the premise that they committed legalised theft and fraud by extracting value from the toil of others. Indeed, Weber (1990:69) refers to the flood of mistrust, hatred and moral indignation, which meets those who introduce innovations. A common mechanism of discreditation is to unearth legends of previous shady dealings. To Weber the entrepreneur requires an unusually strong character to avoid "moral and economic shipwreck". Warren (2003:9) highlights the negative perception of the entrepreneur, whilst Mumby-Croft & Hackley (1997:91-3) refer to the entrepreneur as an eccentric figure representing the dark image of the capitalist ideal, a disenchanting group considered by the elite as a rabble. Walsh (1986:139) stresses that professional criminals do not hold success in contempt if it is obtained in industry, commerce, craft-like trade or the professions, whom they consider to be "legal gangsters". The darker side of the capitalist process has a long history associated with hedonism and adventure. Yates (1991:268) refers to "young adventurers", Weber to 'Booty Capitalism' and Taylor et al (1975:228) the "Outlaw Capitalist". MacIntyre (1997:44) wrote whilst "entrepreneurs speculated, hedonists indulged", and Soros (1998:154) refers to robber capitalism. Casson (2000:93) refers to the "Adventurers approach". In any system there are cyclical forces at work and Casson (2000:8-9) talks about cycles of corruption and discreditation. Heroic entrepreneurial narrative acts as a carrier of values and belief in the morality of the system, but for Soros (1998:24) a person's misconceptions and misdeeds are an integral part of their personality and character.

Villainy in business spans many cultures and nationalities for example, the Italian word "I viddani" denotes people who run multi-national businesses (Robb, 1996:74). Rogue elements have always been present in business legitimising negative perceptions of the entrepreneur. The incorrigibility of businessman is not a new phenomenon. Indeed, Walvin, (1997:79) describes 18th century Britain as a "society where the huckster, the rogue, and the fraudster personified the world of commerce and trade". Bannock & Peacock (1989:85) state that it was unfashionable in Britain to start one's own business making it a route taken

predominantly by the untrained and uneducated. They consider entrepreneurship as predation, noting that societies with a scarcity of new entrepreneurs are vulnerable to it. Mehlum *et al* talk about the entrepreneur crossing over from crime to entrepreneurship and *vice versa*, noting that predators come from the same pool as entrepreneurs. For Hart (1975) the entrepreneurial ideology of mutual benefit makes the entrepreneur a social parasite. Jack (2002:138) describes one respondent - Arthur as being a bit of a "wide-boy".

It is inevitable that with the entrepreneurial process being a regenerative mechanism that stories of individual entrepreneurs are often regarded with suspicion. Pearson (1995:10) discusses the work of Balzac who was fascinated by the great fortunes amassed by the French Nouveau riches of the Second French Empire and the havoc they wrought to their descendants. Balzac opined that "behind every great fortune lies a great crime". Pearson (1995:52) discusses Veblen's theory of the leisure class and the wastefulness of the American nouveau riches with their cycle of conspicuous consumption and waste. For Walvin, (1997:30) personal wealth often forms the basis for implied criticism. Indeed, Helburn & Bramhall (1986) refer to entrepreneurship as a "celebration of dissent". Fadahunsi & Rosa (2001:3) note the "rogue entrepreneur" is a popular stereotype "sailing close to the wind, constantly testing the boundaries of what is permissible, bending the rules, and exploiting ambiguities in the law". For Hart (1975) and Stewart (1990) entrepreneurs occupy the margins of acceptability, expertly exploiting moral ambiguity.

10.1.1 – The Picaresque narrative.

McKenzie (2002) undertook the collection and analysis of the life stories of entrepreneurs concluding that they fitted the narrative genre of the picaresque tale rather than the heroic. McKenzie (2002) argued that while the metaphor of entrepreneurship as a heroic journey enjoys popular support it is contradicted by empirical evidence. This notion of the entrepreneur as a Picaro figure (McKenzie, 2002) is of interest because it perfectly describes the spirit and character of the entrepreneur as an anti-hero. This Spanish word for rogue has a double meaning, denoting a naughty mischievous child; and persons who are crooked, villainous, sly or crafty. In adults it is associated with restlessness, liveliness, unpredictability and dissolution. Such behaviours are typical of individuals searching for approval and a sense of self-identity. Picaresque entrepreneurship is an economic activity undertaken by individuals in their pursuit of self-identity (Guillen, 1961). The Picaro-entrepreneur is not always viewed favourably in societies where risk taking is not appreciated. Yet individual picaros make things happen. Picaresque identity is more complex than heroic, as it encompasses that of the rogue who both adds to the world's chaos and fights it. A typical picaresque story focuses upon the escapades of a rascal living by his wits. According to Yovel (2003) the picaro is roguish and deceitful, prone to use his inventive mind to devise schemes for surviving. The picaro enjoys his crude existence against major odds thus adding to his charm and success as a popular hero. Relating to the picaresque ethos enabled readers to transform their own protest against ruling social norms into a form of aesthetic pleasure. Indeed, Yovel refers to a "picaresque state of mind" and Sillitoe (1993) the "mentality of the picaresque hero". Picaresque stories are concerned with fortune seeking and exposing injustice. Rockwell (1974:61) discusses the picaresque story as a forerunner of the modern novel. For Yovel picaresque heroes are of base or dishonorable origins living on the fringes of society. Cruz (1999) classifies them as "discourses of poverty" legitimated by a moralizing framework. Picaresque tales have two readings, the moralistic and the ironic-satirical. Lindberg (2002) describes picaresque stories as being episodic and held together by the main character around which the episodes unfold dramatically, with rising action. Entrepreneur stories draw closely upon the picaresque and also upon negative stereotypes.

10.4.2 - Entrepreneurial stereotypes.

A surprising aspect of the literature review was the uncovering of more negative entrepreneurial stereotypes than positive ones (particularly in Britain). Indeed, Dodd–Drakopoulou (2002:524) refers to the “lens of British Skepticism”. Negative stereotypes abound and each one cumulatively distorts the public perception of the entrepreneur as being likeable rogue. Indeed, the clichéd likeable rogue stereotype pervades both the entrepreneurial persona and working class villainy. It is significant that the word entrepreneur is often associated with negative and criminal connotations. For example, Schell (1994) linked China's new generation of entrepreneurs to Bohemians, and Technocrats; whilst Greenhaugh & Cardin (2000) sought to locate the entrepreneur with the rogues and hobos of the great depression in 1930's America. Similarly, MacGaffey (1987) considered the entrepreneur as a parasite, and Schnieder (2005) describes the underground entrepreneur of Canadian Organized Crime as being a modern day Pirate and Outlaw. Smith (Jnr) (1982) likened the entrepreneur to Paragons, Pariahs and Pirates. The following negative entrepreneurial stereotypes appear in the literature. The Traditional Smuggler; The Pirate or Buccaneer; The Carpet Baggers of Post Civil War America; Robber Barons of the Industrial era (Josephson 1934, Klein, 1995); Spivs and Black Marketeers; NEPMEN of 1930's Russia - burlesque figure of western gangster-capitalism (Lyons 1937, Handleman 1994); Corporate Asset Strippers; British Long Firm Fraudsters; The secondhand car salesman; The dodgy businessman; The businessman gangster; Enterprise Orientated Criminals (Hobbs 1988 & 1996); Criminal diversifiers and sideliners (Dorn & South, 1991); and Russian New Entrepreneurs (Handleman 1994). It is worth discussing some of these stereotypes in-depth. See table 31.

TABLE 31- NEGATIVE ENTREPRENEURIAL STEREOTYPES

TYPE	NARRATIVE LINKING THE GENRE TO THE ENTREPRENEUR
Traditional smugglers.	The traditional smuggler was a protean form of the adventurer-entrepreneur. For Forbes (1909) they were romantic figures engaged in illegal commerce (not criminality) to which many turned a blind eye. Harrison (1937) calls them “Free Traders”. This romanticized rose-tinted perception accounts for the folklore of smuggling as perpetuated in “Smugglers tales” paying scant regard to accuracy distorting truth to create ripping yarns (Quinn, 1999:9). Quinn labels smugglers “local heroes” (a terminology used by Scottish Enterprise in 1995 to promote the entrepreneur). Smuggling became a major industry with traders, merchants, shippers, shopkeepers all conspiring together to evade duty (Walvin 1997:78). Quinn (1999:2) traces their evolution from Medieval traders who attempted to circumvent government taxes. Smuggling fills the gap in the market between the cost of the product and what people were prepared to pay. The link between the smuggler and the entrepreneur has a long history, which continues to the present day. The popular perception of the smuggler as a folk-hero allows many entrepreneurs the opportunity to dabble in illicit enterprise without donning the full mantle of criminality or sully hard earned reputations.
Carpet baggers.	Carpet Baggers were unscrupulous Northern profiteers (outsiders) who in the aftermath of the American Civil War came South bringing their possessions in carpet-bags, seeking private gain exploiting in chaos. These adventurers had no ties to the communities they pillaged. It is a descriptor peculiar to America, invoked to rebuke entrepreneurial sharp practice.
Robber barons.	Josephson (1934) immortalised the grasping entrepreneurs of 18 th century America as Robber Barons (derived from medieval history). For Hobsbawm (2000:173-176) they were “buccaneering business entrepreneurs”. Hobsbawm discusses Jim Fisk and Jay Gould as barefaced crooks operating in an era characterized by 3 distinguishing features, the total absence of any kind of control over business dealings, however ruthless or crooked; the maximization of profits; and they were invariably self-made men - hard men who valued smartness over ethics. However, Klein (1995) warns against accepting Josephson's portrait of them as “rapacious predators who grew rich through tactics that were unethical at best, illegal at worst, and contrary to the public interest in any case”. Klein accuses Josephson of being a moralist who cared less about history and accuracy than his ideological message and that he

	caricatured the creators of an industrial system that made the US the most powerful and dynamic economy in the world. Klein regards them as pioneers, masters of organization, visionaries, risk takers who thought and acted on a grand scale but stand accused of amassing the largest private fortunes ever known. Klein appreciates the significance of the Civil War in creating the economic climate in which they flourished. For Clark (1977:13) they operated in a "business era notorious for financial swindle and brigandage".
The Spiv:	The cultural meaning of the word is obscure outside Britain. Defined in the Collins English Dictionary as a "smartly dressed man who makes a living by shady dealings". It first appeared in print in 1934 to describe petty, small-time crooks turning their hands to anything not involving honest work. It may come from the word spiving (smart, or spiff a well-dressed man). Another derogatory Romany derivation refers to existing by picking up the leavings (criminal or legitimate) of betters. Spivs were typically flashily, well-dressed men - velvet collars and lurid kipper ties. Identifiable in popular fiction by the pencil moustache, the trilby hat (worn at a rakish angle) and long trench coat (for hiding contraband goods, watches, chocolate, cigarettes). They made a living by various disreputable dealings and sharp practice living on their wits rather than regular employment. They provided otherwise unobtainable black market luxuries, operating furtively in the streets and pubs, using lookouts to warn of a police presence, selling goods that had fallen off the back of a lorry. They were sharp-witted wide boys, located on the margins of criminality associated with post WW2 austerity where luxury goods such as nylons were unobtainable. Spivs appealed to the popular consciousness as folk heroes who had a laugh and knew all the villains (Parker, 1981:37). The illegality could merely consist of selling toffee apples made from rationed sugar (Parker, 1981:30). For McIntosh (1975:61) they knew everybody but did not engage in crimes themselves. The term is still used to describe streetwise entrepreneurs. Westwood (1990) points to the importance of being seen as streetwise to young working class men in Britain.
Corporate raider / Asset Stripper.	The predatory entrepreneur-corporate raider is a feared and hated negative entrepreneurial stereotype. Metaphors associated with the adventurer and piratical images pervade this genre e.g. Jim Hanson was frequently referred to as the buccaneering tycoon. Fallon (1994) refers to the Slater era of conglomerate hostile takeovers, with businessmen acting as predatory raiders reminiscent of the pirates of a bygone era of adventure capitalism. The stereotype of the corporate raider became fused with gangster mythology e.g. wide braces and short sentences and Fallon (1994:160-1) refers to a "generation of spivs and opportunists". Corporate raiders are portrayed as unscrupulous plunderers of the life work of many enterprising people - legalized thieves, characterized by downsizing and consequent loss of jobs. Yet conglomeration can be a beneficial force for industrial rationalisation and efficiency as part of a necessary wider system acting as a rejuvenating mechanism returning deadwood to the pile. The guiding philosophy is to spot a company with under valued assets, move in on it, cash some of the assets and use the profits to bankroll the next deal. Fear of the predator made many boards sit up and take notice. Corporate raiders achieved heroic status for example Jimmy Goldsmith, James Hanson and Gordon White becoming role models for a future generation of entrepreneurs such as Kjell Rokke to emulate. Fallon (1994) notes the actions of young entrepreneurs are often seen as being improper or impertinent.
Dodgy Businessman.	For Chapman (1968:163) a common stereotype of the businessman is one who avoids paying taxes and ideologically if successful in obtaining pecuniary advantage is not considered a thief. Parker (1981:330) refers to the "disreputable business fraternity"; Punch (1997:115-6) to "devious business people...folk devil"; and Godkin (1868) to commercial immorality.
The 2nd hand-car salesman.	Is an entrepreneurial genre par-excellence, shared with the criminal milieu - see the line drawing in Robinson (1983) [in images section] demonstrating the duality of this genre.
Businessmen-gangster	These operate in the shadow world linking legitimate and illegal business. Traditionally, gangsters were depicted as lacking in brainpower and entrepreneurial propensity. However, many villains regard themselves as being local businessmen. Indeed, the "resident gangster" with a suit of a "sartorial double-breasted style" has become a cliché in the nightclub business (Taylor, 1984:150-1). Geis in Wells (1992:Forward) stresses that the public are intrigued and respectful of wealth, secretly admiring those who beats the system.

These negative stereotypes all operated within the capitalist systems of their times and are picarean figures. The traditional smuggler has entered folklore as a heroic figure. Robber barons invoke ambivalent feelings dependent upon ones moral stance. Spivs, Blackmarketeers, Long Firm Fraudsters, Businessman gangsters, Dodgy businessman and the Secondhand Car Salesman are considered likeable rogues.

One cannot talk of such stereotypes without being drawn into their stories which add the personal dimension only obtainable via narrative and stories of action, drama, heroism, adventure and derring-do. The stories and actions of James Fisk, Jay Gould, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Andrew Carnegie and John R Rockefeller are those of outsiders climbing the slippery ladder of success to reinforce the American dream. Their exploits are the stuff of legends and lean towards the fictional. One such tale told by Fuller (1928) about the life of Jubilee Jim Fisk narrates the story of Fisk fighting off bandits on a train, cowboy style with six shooters blazing. Other stories of him relate to strike breaking. Many of the robber barons fitted the formula of the poor-boy-made-good, for example Vanderbilt was an ill educated farm boy from modest beginnings who never learned to read and could spell words only phonetically. He borrowed \$100 from his mother to buy a small boat and hired himself out as a ferry service to New York City, becoming a shipping magnate, snubbed by polite society. He erected a mansion on a corner of the old family farm. Gould was also a sickly frail farm boy who rose as an outsider to the establishment by creating a cadre of trusted employees. Rockefeller too was a farm boy and child prodigy. Klein (1995) remarks that defenders of these new fortunes equated wealth with success and extolled it as a reward of character, proof of the Protestant ethic in action. In an age bereft of political heroes, the entrepreneurs who forged America's industrial economy served as role models for the nation's young, exemplifying virtues long treasured by Americans such as vision, energy, perseverance, hard work, and character. Klein marvels at their vilification, discussing the case of E. H. Harriman who remarked that the public assailed and attacked him, impugning his integrity and character at every turn. Klein notes that as individuals, they were a varied lot whose personalities and tangled legacy of creativity and destructiveness defy easy generalisation or glib labels.

Two contemporary examples of positive entrepreneurial stereotypes, the Yuppie (Morris & Marsh, 1988) and the Stealth Wealthy (Hinde, 2001) are picaresque in composition. The Young Upwardly Mobile Professionals phenomenon originated in the USA during the 1980's to describe "a new breed of rising entrepreneurs (Morris & Marsh, 1988:22). They became an enduring image of the enterprise culture and many aspired to the life style that denoted people with similar jobs, styles of language, interests, tastes and attitudes. In class conscious Britain the yuppie label became a distorted class image associated with arrogant, youthful, predominantly middle class professionals who wore Barbour jackets and frequented Wine Bars. It became a collective taunt for those who succeeded but spurned traditional (humble) working class culture. Hinde (2001:13) discusses the growing, predominantly male, socio-economic entrepreneurial grouping of Stealth Wealthy whose preferred style is understated with expensive jewellery worn out of view. They are less likely to venerate money than the generation of the 1980's. In addition to contrast with the brashness of the Yuppie image, they present an interesting modern contrast to the conspicuous consumption of the leisure classes so castigated by Veblen (1899).

10.4.3 - The Insider-outsider dichotomy.

Bourke (1994:209) and Wright (1998:130) refer to the social imagery of the outsider-insider dichotomy. The entrepreneur as an outsider is an accepted entrepreneurial narrative whereby entrepreneurs are disparagingly considered by society as outsiders, non-conformists, and rebellious. It is a differential image that many entrepreneurs promote, and revel in. The dominant entrepreneurial elite display a discriminatory oppositional attitude towards them acting as a spur to success. Once the outsider succeeds and forms alliances with other successful outsiders a change occurs as they form alternative elites, discriminating

against other younger outsiders to protect their interests. Both are necessary to each other. The outsider label does not belong exclusively to the entrepreneur and is invoked in the autobiographies of the famous. Ex-Chief Constable Keith Hellowell classes himself as an outsider, rising from humble beginnings to suffer at the hands of a vengeful establishment (Hellowell, 2004). This is a socially constructed formula.

Many outsider groups such as Gypsies became fabled for their entrepreneurial skills. Gypsies are described as the ultimate outsiders suffering from ethnic discrimination, stereotyping, marginalisation and persecution from their hosts. Vulliamy (1998:37) discusses the plight of Romania's persecuted Indigenous Roma-Gypsy population who are stereotyped as itinerant thieves. Until 1864, the Roma were slaves and any gold coins they were found in possession of were confiscated. They now flaunt gold coins as jewellery. As with many persecuted minorities, they revere wealth for its own sake, and having traditionally been denied access to real wealth they now conspicuously flaunt it accentuating their ethnicity and inability to blend in. Yovel (2003) discusses the ontological influence of shame on outcast groups. For Roddick (2000:4/40) entrepreneurs have a "nomadic soul" and are glamourised as outsiders. Roddick argues that you cannot teach the joy of bootstrapping to those who have not experienced hunger, poverty, frugality, passion and freedom from structure that characterise and drive the entrepreneur. Roddick (2000:38) suggests entrepreneurs possess a spirit of delinquency. This leads to consideration of the entrepreneur as a deviant.

10.4.4 – The entrepreneur as a deviant identity.

A surprising insight gained from the literature review was that the entrepreneur and the criminal are perhaps connected via a common thread of deviancy, and deviant imagination (Pearson, 1975). Deviancy in relation to delinquency and criminality are well-researched subject areas. Not so entrepreneurship, albeit that the entrepreneur as deviant is an established paradigm. The seminal works in relation to the entrepreneur as deviant are Kets de Vries (1977) and (1985). Kets de Vries (1977) suggested that entrepreneurs are deviant marginal characters, misfits spurred on by adverse childhood experiences making unable to accept authority or to fit in within organizations. McClelland (1961) and Levine (1966) both identified the importance of childhood socialisation processes as causal factors in the psychological inheritance of the entrepreneur resulting in a lack of respect for authority. The misfit searches for an occupation to enhance perceived inadequacies and entrepreneurship allows independence and control of one's destiny. Conversely, Chell *et al* (1994:71) argue that deviancy is a profile consistent with all walks of life making it unlikely that the universe of entrepreneurs is over populated with deviants but stress that entrepreneurs are easily bored and are restless. Lindgren & Packendorff (2004) discuss narratives of deviating and belonging, articulating deviancy as a productive process by which one repositions one's self. They include the spirit of rebellion as a shaping force in productive deviance. Collier (2000) refers to banditry and entrepreneurship as being economic models of rebellion. Rebel voices and actions have become associated with the entrepreneur giving them broad public appeal. Kets de Vries (1985:160-3) in "the dark side of entrepreneurship" discusses the destructive internal needs of the entrepreneur and their personal qualities, such as seductiveness, gamesmanship, mystique and charisma. For Kets de Vries some entrepreneurs are obsessive and paranoid; suspicious of authority; are often unable to work with others and have problems being submissive. Many entrepreneurs infantilise subordinates. On the other hand, they are often self-deprecating and underplay problems, but that many possess a desire for applause or a need to build monuments symbolic of their achievement. Kets de Vries (1985:165-166) refers to the attitudinal pendulum of the unbalanced personality

and the societal propensity towards scapegoating. Kets de Vries notes that entrepreneurs do not have more personal problems than other people, but deal with the problems uniquely. Taylor *et al* (1975:160/162) describe popular portrayals of the deviant as villain, hard man, rebel, and risk taker.

There are also systemic factors at play. Merton (1957) explains certain forms of social deviance as an adaptation within a social system characterised by a lack of integration between socially proscribed goals and institutional provision of means to achieve them. Merton (1968) studied the use of illegitimate means to achieve legitimate cultural goals. Cloward & Ohlin (1960) argued that some manifestations of delinquency are attributable to the presence, or absence, of institutionalised opportunities to achieve culturally preferable results compliant with the "American dream of material success and being your own boss". Moreover, Claster (1992:130) describes the emergence of criminal sub-cultures where legitimate means for achieving success are inadequate, but illegitimate avenues of prosperity exist such as prostitution, gambling, and illegal drugs. Cloward & Ohlin (1960) argue that the absence of illegal avenues of wealth creation make society worse because the displaced energy is channelled into retreatist (drugs) or conflict (violence) sub-culture. Cloward & Ohlin's good versus evil model is built on the premise that "young American men, even those from the humblest origin aspire at the outset to success as defined by the dominant majority and only resort to delinquent behaviour as barriers arise". Taylor *et al* (1975:31-32) discuss the double standards of the powerful who buy immunity with their ability to pay and that infractions by them are viewed as "accidental leakage or possibly praiseworthy entrepreneurial activity". Adler (1985:150) notes that deviant behaviour has seldom been conceptualised as pleasure motivated. Adler's study found hedonism a potent driving force behind the illegal behaviour of businessmen-racketeers. Successful entrepreneurs may be prone to negative behaviours such as excess, profligacy and hedonism and the propensity for the entrepreneur to become involved in nefarious activities need not be driven by pure greed, or evil intent, but be driven by fundamental social cleavages and the inability of the state to cultivate genuine legal opportunities for the entrepreneurial to exploit. Entrepreneurial activity is part of a wider system of opportunity. If there are no genuine avenues for the dissipation of entrepreneurial energy, the entrepreneurial seek out alternative avenues as argued by Baumol (1990). Kitching (1982:41) calls for legally available opportunities for social and economic advancement to be made available to negate illegal opportunities. Hedonism offers another explanation.

10.4.5 – The hedonistic ethic.

Weber's PWE thesis only partially accounts for the spirit of capitalism because it does not address those entrepreneurs who appear to be motivated by greed or other hedonistic motives. Handerich (1995:61) refers to asceticism as a doctrine or way of life in which the enjoyment of bodily pleasure is foresworn for moral, spiritual or religious reasons. Its opposite, hedonism is the doctrine that pleasure is always good. Hjorth (2001:19) stresses the importance of homo ludens, the playing human. Also, Callahan & Elliott (1995:81) caution that irrationality and sub-optimal behaviour are part of socio-economic behaviour (a view that differs from the traditional view of economists that economic actors are rational, efficient, self-interested, utility maximising, goal directed decision-making beings). Economists often repackage hedonism as self-interested utility which is a powerful motivator. The socio-economist Etzioni (1988) offers an alternative view of the irrational, immoral, selfish and impulsive being constantly pushed and pulled by emotions and at odds with society. In a similar vein, Velamuri *et al* (2000:20) sought to "dispel the myth that the entrepreneur is a clever strategist obsessed with profit maximization in a zero sum societal game", challenging the common view of

economists that capitalism is capable of ensuring fair societal outcomes by arguing that the pursuit of "narrow self-interest" is acceptable. Moreover, entrepreneurs who commit excesses that have negative consequences for others should be penalised for breaking the law and not for being entrepreneurs (ibid.15). This brings us to consider the entrepreneur as a criminal (and *vice-versa*).

10.4.6 – Criminal entrepreneurship.

It is argued by criminologists that criminality is anti-entrepreneurial. Nevertheless, the literature of criminal entrepreneurship is an expanding one, albeit there is no unified theory, nor an accepted definition. Criminology academics have touched upon the subject, commenting upon the similarities between the two genres, and entrepreneurship academics are beginning to explore the same field. Yet the criminal and the entrepreneur remain separated by disciplinary narratives. At present the label criminal entrepreneur is located primarily within the pages of a genre of criminological, journalistic, popular criminology books and academic literature which suggests that the working class entrepreneur and the villain share a common epistemological and ideological heritage. Indeed, Chell *et al* (1985) note the popular image of the entrepreneur has much in common with the criminal making it beneficial to research the construction.

Consideration of criminality as entrepreneurship is not a new phenomenon. According to Abandinsky (1983:36), Sutherland (1937) in his seminal study 'The professional thief' appreciated the possibility of a self-made thief. It took another 35 years until Mack (1964) in a study entitled *The Able Criminal* used the words background operator and background entrepreneur interchangeably, to signify those now regarded as criminal facilitators (elusive non stereotypical criminal figures). For Mack (1972) they were a separate category of criminal from thieves to be distinguished from the habitual criminal. Mack (1964:52-3) found that "criminality is a normal aspect of the social structure" sustained by "a sub-culture of people and groups most of whose leaders are not only socially and personally competent but are exceptionally able individuals". Mack's successful criminals were the entrepreneurs of the traditional underworld system that also accommodates the less successful miscreant whom Mack believed were propelled into crime by pathological drives. For Haller (1997:56) the underworld "gives reign to personalities who take pleasure in deals, hustling and risk-taking". Mack (1964:53) argued that because the less successful criminal was "continually accessible to clinical observation than his abler colleagues they influenced and distorted the stereotype of the criminal". For Mack, the habitual criminal was incapable of finding a satisfactory career and thus become socialised into crime as life members serving the functional purpose as societal "scapegoats".

Another seminal text by Anton Blok (1974) entitled "Violent Peasant Entrepreneurs" posited the notion of the Mafia as entrepreneurs of violence. This is of significant as violence is part of the human psyche and many are socialised into violence by exposure to it from childhood. The ability to fight is a treasured masculine trait, regardless of social class. Controlled and directed violence forms part of the construct of the male hero figure. As a method of communication violence communicates immediate power, displeasure and an ability to act in a similar manner in future encounters. It is a very visual and graphic form of exploitable social capital. Indeed, Volkov (1999) refers to violent entrepreneurship. Other studies quickly followed suit and gained momentum. Heyl (1978) in her study "The Madam as Entrepreneur", considered entrepreneurship in relation to prostitution, and Smith (1978) considered entrepreneurial criminality and organized crime. Pino Arlacchi (1986) in his book, "Mafia Business: The Mafia Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism", attributed the success of the Mafia to their entrepreneurial flair.

In Britain, Hobbs (1988) and (1996) charted the rise of entrepreneurial criminality during the era of the Enterprise Culture. Hobbs posited the notion of the enterprise orientated criminal examining the interface between entrepreneurship, the working class and detectives in the East End of London, the common denominator being working class culture. His research was conducted at the height of the enterprise culture, and the type of entrepreneurship practised by his respondents is a brutal, selfish variety where legal and illegal opportunities merge. Hobbs (1988:165) describes as the "essentially parasitic nature of entrepreneurship" in a world where everything is negotiable and getting a result is paramount. For Hobbs (1988:155) "flexibility and optimism are key characteristics of any successful entrepreneur". To Hobbs (1988:14) "crime is but one option available to individuals operating within the maelstrom of market forces". Hobbs regards the enduring attraction of entrepreneurship as its utility as a problem-solving device. Entrepreneurship is a relevant criminal strategy characterised by predatory business acumen (ibid.227). In fact, Hobbs encapsulates the dual spirit of working class entrepreneurship and the criminal ethos, with one simple proactive phrase "Doing the business". Its very usage engenders sinister connotations spanning the criminal milieu of treachery, brutality, beatings and riches as well as the Machiavellian cut and thrust of business and the politics of the boardroom. The phrase is imbued with a masculine aura of finality and decisiveness of action and there is a veiled threat of violence. For Hobbs entrepreneurship is a legitimate vehicle for achieving upwards social-mobility. Hobbs developed an appropriate "Entrepreneurial Scale" along which the typical working class man travels in a quest for financial legitimacy – 1) The Client [Life's inadequate, exploited as mugs, punters or Johns]; 2) The Grafter [achieves limited success through toil]; 3) The Jump Up Merchant or professional criminal; 4) I'm a Businessman [proverbial Arthur Daley Types]; 5) The Small Businessman / Legitimate Tradesmen; 6) The Skilled Escapee [who adopt Middle Class Values and enter professions]; and 7) The Holding Elite of successful entrepreneurial types. This useful typology has obvious links to issues of morality and character.

Notwithstanding this, many ostensibly successful middle class entrepreneurs share working class origin. Membership of the first two levels on the scale, or rungs on the ladder, give one the impression that inevitably implies a degree of inertia and that one is somehow destined by factors outwith ones control to remain forever static. However, membership of the remaining levels implies a degree of entrepreneurial ability that and agency in one's choice / chance to make social progress. In the 1980's and 1990's the paradigm of the criminal entrepreneur continued to expand. Casson (1982:351-2) picking up on the theme argued that it is "normally only organized crime which qualifies as being entrepreneurial". Casson differentiates between ordinary criminality that only requires a willingness to contravene the law, whereas organized crime involves increasing levels of risk taking and the exercise of judgment. According to Casson racketeering involves the organization of an illegal market requiring the same set of skills of inter-mediation required for the operation of a legitimate enterprise. Thus the racketeer earns an increased profit margin, by accepting the increased level of risk. Unlike his legal counterpart, the criminal entrepreneur is not confined to legal means. Casson thus considers crime and revolution alternative forms of entrepreneurship.

Stewart (1990:151) described illegal entrepreneurs as people who operate at the margins and see more than one moral order and field of exchange. Baumol (1990) carried out a historical investigation into entrepreneurship as a productive, unproductive, and destructive societal force and into the allocation of entrepreneurs within different societies. Baumol talks of "free enterprise turbulence" and considers productive entrepreneurship as innovation; unproductive entrepreneurship as rent seeking; and destructive as organized crime. Baumol (1990:3/7) accepts that entrepreneurship can be unproductive or even

destructive and accepts that there a variety of roles that the entrepreneur can allocate their efforts and that they need not necessarily "follow the constructive and innovative script that is conventionally attributed to that person". Baumol argues that entrepreneurs can be parasitic, damaging economies depending upon the prevailing rules of the game and the reward structures in place at any given time. It is the set of rules in place, and not the supply of entrepreneurs available, that dictates the allocation of entrepreneurial resources. Criminal activities are of questionable value to society and are "acts of unproductive entrepreneurship" (ibid.6). For Baumol an entrepreneur is someone who is ingenious and creative in finding ways that add to their wealth, power and prestige. Nor are they overly concerned whether they create value. Hobsbawm (1969:40) relates, "It is often assumed that an economy of private enterprise has an automatic bias towards innovation, but that is not so. It has a bias only towards profit". Baumol (1990:14) suggests an alternative definition of entrepreneurship as "the imaginative pursuit of position, with limited concern about the means used to achieve the purpose". Baumol placed the concept of entrepreneurial reward at the heart of stimulating entrepreneurial activity because eventually a payoff is sought. Baumol argued that policies that impede moral entrepreneurship can cause entrepreneurs to switch to less productive, less ethical methods.

Smith (1975), Rueter (1983) and Haller (1990) all expound theories of organized crime that highlight criminal enterprise. Haller (1992:2) asserts that the family to which an individual criminal entrepreneur belongs must be regarded as a separate entity to their economic ventures. Haller likens the purpose of the family to the equivalent of the Rotary club to a legitimate businessman. MacGaffey (1991) carried out a study of illegality in Zaire considering the illegal entrepreneurial activity as an alternative economy, and van Duyne (1993) researched diverse forms of criminal organizations and activities. For van Duyne organized criminals and entrepreneurs adopt a "socio-economic enterprise approach", and have their own market position in local, regional or (inter) national economies. Both organized criminals and legitimate entrepreneurs make efforts to gain their market position; make long or short-term investments to keep that position; and seek contacts on the labour market and try to make their business profitable. The organized criminal has to operate as a rational businessman to maximize profit, by taking into account the market requirements (as do legal entrepreneurs) and anticipate them from his economic niche. The criminal entrepreneur must operate within the market place taking cognizance of the primary necessity of any criminal enterprise- avoid criminal/fiscal evidence. Van Duyne postulated that the basic requirement for an organization in business crime is the ability to behave like a legitimate enterprise. Goodson & Olson (1995:18) stress "The first business of criminal organisations is usually Business".

Naylor (1995) analysed the morphology of organized crime embodied in the Godfather Model versus the Entrepreneurial Model. Naylor proposed looking beyond the relationship of organized crime to the wider economy classifying relationships as being predatory (small gangs engaging in kidnap and robbery); parasitical (networks for the provision of illegal goods and services); and symbiotic (Money laundering and disposal of toxic waste). Naylor rejected the entrepreneurial model of criminality, which "depicts criminals as essentially highly individualistic entrepreneurs and criminal organizations as little more than informal trade". Smith (1995) argues that in relation to success in an illicit enterprise the qualities required are "entrepreneurial skill and willingness to exploit". Fiorentini & Peltzman (1995:9) citing Hirshliefer (1988) and Baumol (1990) suggested that entrepreneurs allocate their resources between appropriate and productive activities depending upon the relative returns. Organized crime operates within legal and illegal markets with no significant barriers to entry (ibid.5). It is in such markets that the entrepreneur traditionally operates. In illegal markets the most significant barriers to entry are lack of the appropriate knowledge and social capital

to exploit the opportunity. All ethnic criminal gangs believe they have been denied access to conventional opportunities to live comfortable lives, and therefore use this marginality thesis as an excuse to legitimise their criminal actions (ibid.75). Bourgois (1995:77) likens the logistics of selling crack as being similar to those of other risky private sector retail enterprises as both require honest disciplined workers to succeed.

Hobbs (1996) revisited the relationship between professional crime and working class entrepreneurship finding that entrepreneurial culture had become even more entrenched in the new order of criminal economic rationality as an ideological prop focusing upon wealth creation. Criminal activity mirrored that of the legitimate order, being "indistinguishable from the arenas that facilitate legitimate entrepreneurial pursuits (ibid.106)". Hobbs charted the shift from craft based larceny, to an entrepreneurial trading culture in which contemporary professional criminals were businessmen who merely buy and sell commodities (ibid.:10). Hobbs (1996:10-11) documents a distinct transformation towards entrepreneurial criminality, resulting in the emergence of flexibility "in a myriad of entrepreneurial activities". The new order of enterprise orientated criminals were "Bonded by enterprise" making money both within and outside the law (ibid.59). Crime was just another means of making money driven by a new entrepreneurial ethos thriving upon variety and diversification. Hobbs warns that these entrepreneurial mutants are better equipped than most to adapt to the new order being more prone to risk taking than their more business like colleagues. Similarly, Haller (1997:55) refers to an illegal business sector populated by "independent entrepreneurs" in which members of individual crime families act as individual entrepreneurs operating in a world of opportunistic venture via informal illegal enterprises. Individual family members possess independence to operate as entrepreneurs and that Crime Families could not be regarded as a centrally controlled business enterprise. According to van Duynes (1996) "crime enterprises pose a threat to the basic structures of society, but on a more subtle level, to basic values and morals". It is fitting that we return to the importance of values and morals. Nevertheless, criminal entrepreneurs and entrepreneurial criminals are constructions of the entrepreneur.

10.5 - REFLECTIONS.

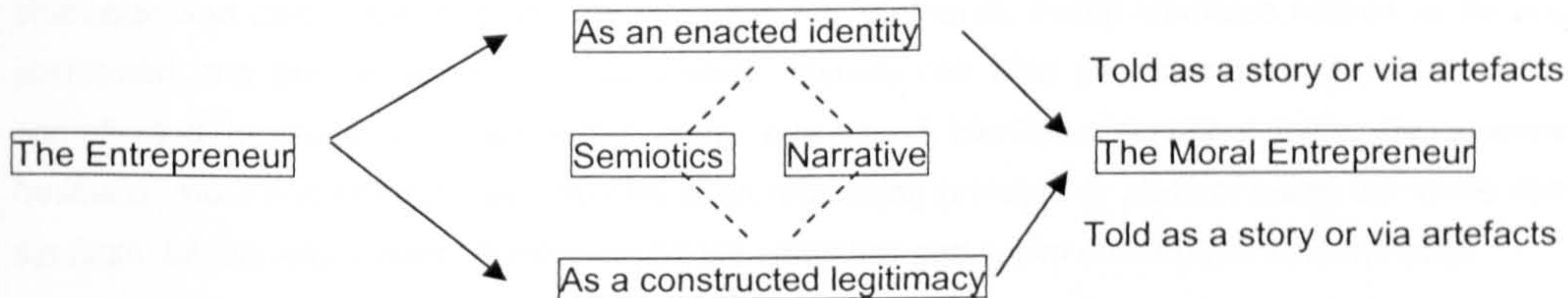
This chapter discussed the two most commonly encountered narratives of the entrepreneur, namely the hero and villain. This was achieved by tracing the roots of the eulogised heroic entrepreneur back to the construct of heroic masculinity and the heroic paradox. We then considered the entrepreneur matured into the tycoon before examining the entrepreneur as a villain and negative entrepreneurial stereotypes. We considered the historical basis of the perception of the entrepreneur as a villain, established the depth of the negative perception, and discussed the outsider-insider dichotomy, deviant identity, and the hedonistic ethic. Finally, the theme of criminal entrepreneurship was explored. It is of note that the theme of value was still present particularly in the form of narrative and stories. The entrepreneur as a hero is a cherished dominant narrative. However, there is an obvious heroic divide, namely that of the British versus the North American notions of the entrepreneur. Americans eulogize the entrepreneur, whilst the British are more restrained in their appreciation resulting in a less hagiographic and more critical narrative. This chapter is necessary because as Peter Rosa (in conversation) has remarked macro-ideologies of the entrepreneur as hero or villain, are too simplistic. Entrepreneurship possesses many nuances and overarching themes which merge into one another. It has been beneficial to compare and contrast apparent polarities. Having discussed these polarised narratives it is necessary to consider their purpose. As will be explored in chapter 11, they are told to claim (or negate) an entrepreneurial identity, and also to claim (or withhold) legitimacy.

11 - CONSTRUCTING IDENTITIES AND LEGITIMACIES.

INTRODUCTION.

READERS' GUIDE.

This chapter examines the role of semiotics and narrative in the formation of entrepreneurial identity and in the construction of legitimacy.



11.1 – THE ROLE OF IDENTITY IN CONSTRUCTING CHARACTER.

- 1 1.1.1: Semiotics and the socially constructed nature of identity.
- 11.1.2: Considering non-verbal forms of communication.
- 11.1.3: Constructing the self.
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11.2 – THE ROLE OF LEGITIMACY IN CONSTRUCTING CHARACTER.

- 11.2.1: Legitimacy and entrepreneurship.
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11.3 - REFLECTIONS.

In chapter 9, we examined how individuals and society make sense of complex social constructs by constructing and re-constructing collective knowledge into narratives as written or spoken stories. For Wetherell (1997:310) identities emerge from this constructivist process as positions. Michael (1996) talks of constructing identities. This chapter continues the constructivist mapping process considering the construction of identity as enacted stories. Both entail consideration of semiotics. In considering visual aspects of semiotics we touch upon negotiated reflections of reality. Identity and legitimacy are aspects of social constructionism as well as being processual outcomes resulting from a complex interaction of social processes and practices. Wetherell (1997:305) suggests that identity is continually and actively being made, rendering the past, present and the future plausible and meaningful. Personality, certain aspects of identity, and character are perhaps unifications, socially constructed in narrative. For Wetherell (1997:304) narrative, stories and constructions make up our sense of identity.

11.1 – THE ROLE OF IDENTITY IN CONSTRUCTING CHARACTER.

For Berger & Luckmann (1971:194) identity is a key element of subjective reality, which stands in dialectical relationship with society. It is an emergent entity formed from historico-social processes. Indeed, identity types are observable social products, located in symbolic universes (ibid.195). Man is biologically predestined to construct and inhabit a world with others (ibid.4). Identity is a complex social phenomenon formed of biologically inherited; socialised; self-elective and ascribed components and can be a self-

restricting framework. Erikson (1969:303) argues "self-restriction...saves our boy much moral wear and tear". Biological identity relates to sex, height, race, and colour. Socialised identity results from primary and secondary socialisation processes. Ascribed identity is that which others label you with and self-elective identity is what one chooses to project to the world consisting of grooming, dress and ornamentation all of which combine to form the visual self. Entrepreneurship can provide a social identity which can (albeit in part) be achieved by projecting the correct imagery. Wetherell (1997:40) differentiates between this form of personal identity and social identity (membership of a profession) appreciating that the latter will affect the character and personality projected via identity. For Wetherall, social identities require to be enacted and performed and are influenced by role models. Identity can also be incomplete (Erikson, 1969:317) and complicated because one can enact many role-based identities simultaneously, for example, father, husband, rebel and entrepreneur. Identity is an organising principle or state of being the same composed of symbols, beliefs and values. Symbolism brings semiotics and social constructionism into play.

11.1.1 - Semiotics and the socially constructed nature of identity.

There are ontological and archetypal elements in semiotics, which help create identities, as envisaged by Singer (1994:392) for whom the power of a symbol lies in its ability to attract people and lead them towards that which they are capable of becoming. Thus the ontology of semiotics is obviously rooted in viewing reality as a social construction with mankind creating reality or lived experience as defined by the structures and identity created (Deely, 1990). Chandler (1994) argued that ideology turns individuals into subjects (not people) who exist "only in relation to the interpretation of texts and are constructed through the use of signs". Individuals thus occupy a multiplicity of contradictory roles, subject positions and identities making it a "matrix of subject-positions" (Belsey, 1980:61). Semiotics, communication theory, narrativity and storytelling all influence the matrix, making identity a complex social process. Ideological elements necessitate the study of myth and the consideration of cultural imagery. Lewis (1961:182) links myth to totemism (group social identity attributable to particular objects). The totem signifies group unity and solidarity providing a common body of values, beliefs, and customs, which form accepted convention, becoming universally, unquestionable values and assumptions or collective representations.

Two helpful approaches to understanding identity are Semiotic Narratology and Signalling Theory. Semiotic Narratology is a branch of semiotics concerned with modes of narrative for example, literary, non-literary, fictional or non-fictional, verbal or visual, splitting narrative down into smaller units of analysis. For Leland & Pyle (1977), Busenitz *et al* (2002) and Hytti (2003:43) sense making is a narrative process; and for Brown (2000) it is accomplished through narratives making the unexpected, expectable thereby assisting individuals in mapping their identities. For Hytti, it is a case of becoming and acting as an entrepreneur. Rae (200:151) argues that knowing, acting and sense making are interconnected processes. Polkinghorne (1988) adds the dimension of time to this argument, arguing that identity is a product of and realised through narrative accounts of individuals, past, present and future. Interestingly, for Bruner (1990:105) stories matter to us because they happened. Signalling theory offers a complimentary approach because it is concerned with deducing the meaning of signals from the matter broadcast. Two types of signals are relevant, namely value signals and commitment signals. Smith (1991) refers to the theory of Honest Signalling whereby a signal to have any communal meaning must be produced and broadcast honestly to produce sense making value. For example, among humans, suits, fast cars, expensive watches are all indicative of an individual's relative wealth or status as a signaller of quality. Thus when we encounter these artefacts we make an

honest assessment based on our knowledge of their true cost. The basic argument of signalling theory in relation to entrepreneurs is that they communicate both a value signal and a commitment signal based on their level of personal investment. Leyland and Pyle (1977) argued that entrepreneurs "signal the true value of their ventures by their actions", or appearance. Both approaches will be used in the empirical section to help make sense of the data. However, it is necessary to consider the social aspects of identity.

There is a vast literature on identity in the social sciences, positioning identity as being a socially constructed phenomenon, including the works of Kelly (1955), Bardell (1990) and Giddens (1991). Basic principles of identity are embedded in anthropology and psychology. Kelly, in formulating his personal construct theory, argued that a person's processes are psychologically channelised by the way in which they anticipate events. Thus people create their own personal constructs, and attempt to superimpose these over their perception of reality. These are predictive but can be correct or misleading. Personal Construction Theory holds that the world is perceived by a person in terms of whatever meaning they apply having freedom of choice in respect of meaning. Kelly referred to this as alternative constructivism. This frees the individual from biographical determination by making use of reinterpretation and redefining constructing and trying out constructs or "transparent patterns or templates to be applied to realities. It allows us to author our own destiny and negotiate between the individual, social and shared reality. It is a narrative based theory. For Berger & Luckmann (1966) our sense of self as constancy is a social construction that is over-determined by a host of interacting cultural codes. Indeed, the most important constancy in our understanding of lived experience is our sense of who we are as an individual.

Thus identity has to be established and constantly re-affirmed or renewed. Indeed, Erikson (1969:338) refers to the preservation of identity achieved by social and narrative enactment. For Reid (1989:4) identity is socially constructed and shaped by societal forces such as stereotyping, customs, norms, institutions and the media; and for Bardell (1990) it is based upon environmental, socio-political and ethical dimensions. According to Turner (1982) when people identify with group values they begin an subconscious process of self-stereotyping adopting collective images of what it means to be a man or woman (or a manager or entrepreneur). For Turner (1987) self-stereotyping permits us to choose and adopt sets of attributes of social significance, aligning self with society by taking on a role. Also, for Kotkin (1993) entities - tribe, race and religion determine social identities and therefore success in the global economy. Identity is linked to power, status and social prestige (Erikson, 1969:228). Although the social forces which shape identity are not always directly related to entrepreneurship they influence the projection of entrepreneurial identity. Identity is tied to image and notions of image and identity are receiving growing scholarly and managerial attention (Christensen and Askegaard, 2001). We live in a society saturated with images (Baudrillard, 1981). Images and stereotypes may be superficial but are still real social constructions representing reality (Berger & Luckman, 1966). For Mishler (1986:243) narrative is self-presentation of claimed identity.

11.1.2 – Considering non-verbal forms of communication.

Lewis (1989) describes non-verbal communication or body language as a secret language of success arguing that positive non-verbal signals influence the overall mental imagery of success and are related to charisma. For Lewis (1989:185) such silent speech emphasises and amplifies the spoken, or undermines and contradicts it. An understanding of it allows one to craft an image of success and sell one's self to others. Goffman (1969) referred to this as front – that part of the personality we present to the world. Lewis (1989:22) discusses the importance of the correct usage of emblems, such as hand signals, in the

presentation of a successful appearance, using the example of Masonic handshakes to make his point¹³. Appropriate emblems help one gain acceptance to particular social groupings, as badges of shared belief or attitudes thereby aiding the ontological process of being and belonging.

Furthermore, Lewis (1989:23-24) describes the importance, and role of emblems as illustrators, regulators, and adapters of behaviour because they emphasize, indicate, and impose. Wells (1992:284) remarks that emblems are always performed deliberately because visual images of success enhance social poise and acceptability therefore improving life chances. Lewis (1989:59) refers to our subconscious association of purposeful flowing actions with determination, dominance and directness, which form assurance and honesty. Conversely, abrupt, uncoordinated movements convey a lack of confidence uncertainty, and deviousness. Poor visual imagery results in a self-fulfilling prophecy of failure and hurrying gives the impression of nervousness, timidity and untrustworthiness. Entrepreneurs can appear hyperactive and thus untrustworthy. Lewis (1989:34) warns against triggering such stereotypical responses because visual image can be controlled and crafted. Tall people are regarded as being more powerful, dominant and assertive and have impact image and a higher perceived status (Lewis, 1989:59). This arises from childhood socialisation with high status men perceived as being taller. Also, glasses trigger stereotypical assumptions because persons who wear them are ascribed a higher intellectual status (Lewis, 1989:136).

There is a widely held societal aversion, associated with a bohemian lifestyle, to men with beards. According to Spillane (1993) grooming for success equates to showing respect but overuse of after shave and colognes can create a negative impression. Hairstyles as important social statements of intent indicate conformity or deviance. Conformity is indicated by tidy well-groomed hair, especially short back and sides and a clean-shaven face. Trimmed moustaches are acceptable but a shaven head or cropped hair worn in combination with goatee beards, or long sideburns is a sign of deviance. Likewise long unkempt hair and full facial beards, dread-locks, pony tails, and braided hair are associated with deviance. For Morris & Marsh (1988:78) shaven heads are associated with criminality, ineptitude, shame and disgrace. These factors influence the social construction of reality and are social processes which although not directly related to entrepreneurship, nevertheless influence projected entrepreneurial identity.

11.1.3 – Constructing the self.

Notions of the self are central to the thesis and are an integral part of identity, character and personality. One only has to consider the euphemism “the self-made-man” commonly used as an alternative descriptor for the entrepreneur, to appreciate its significance to entrepreneurial lore. Also, the spirit of self-help as advocated by Smiles (1958) is central to the notion of entrepreneurial success. Wetherell (1997:259) refers to the social process of narrating the self and making oneself as characters and personalities.

Wetherell (1997:222-224) refers to the social processes of casting and recasting identity and of the incorporation of cultural narratives in the construction of self-understanding whereby subjects adopt cultural narratives as a set of personalized voices and positions upon which they can draw. For Hall (1990:225) cultural identity is matter of becoming, being and of transformation. According to Watson (1997) we constantly construct and reconstruct ourselves by telling others what we are about, drafting and redrafting

¹³ The handshake possesses a hidden ritualistic power as a tie sign to verbal messages. During Roman times, the handshake was a pledge of honour but is now connected to industry because of the custom of sealing a deal on a handshake creating a binding gentlemen's agreement, whereby one's word is one's bond. Firm handshakes create an impression of confidence and self-esteem known as the Great Man grip.

our biographies as a result of cues, ideas and models drawn from the public domain telling sets of stories, or practical fictions, designed for a purpose (Bate, 1994:15). Thus ongoing internalised dialogue revolves around the human capacity for self-perception versus self-deception (Erikson, 1969:183). This collective identity formation is a “reservoir of shared integrity from which the individual must derive his stature as a social being” (ibid.148). For Erikson (1969:335-6) “every person and every group has a limited inventory of historically determined spatial temporal concepts, which determine world images of evil and ideal prototypes and the unconscious life plan”. This is evidence of the social construction of identity narrowing our imagination. Erikson appreciates the significance of current historical prototypes, which he argues is currently that of the aggressive hero, and further identifies the importance of dominant national imagery as a counterpoint to the ideal and the evil images available from prototypes (ibid.232-235). Both these social facets are important given Erikson's view that there is a natural human propensity to emulate and identify with a societally dominant racial image. Erikson also appreciates that in any society there is a countervailing unconscious evil identity composed of everything which arouses negative identification and the wish not to resemble it. For Erikson this negative identity is projected onto ethnic out groups and exploited minorities as a social dirtying process, rendering them somehow unclean. To return to the example of Robert Maxwell, it is apparent from a reading of Haines (1988) that Maxwell constructed his entrepreneurial identity according to what was expected of an entrepreneur in Western society willingly entering into the fairytale of humble beginnings telling such stories. A constructed social identity vital to entrepreneurship is moral identity.

11.1.4 – Constructing a moral Identity.

Gergen (2001:1) discusses ethical commitment, defining moral identity as one's own definition of being a worthy and acceptable individual by the standards inhering in ones relationships. The concept of moral identity is significant because the entrepreneur is portrayed as being of worth. Indeed, Lindgren & Packendorff (2003) refer to the construction of entrepreneurial identity. For Gergen (2001:10) moral identity is created by narrative identity and historical consciousness in the context of community. Erikson (1969:281) describes social processes of narrating the self within daily life to create and sustain value in relation to the quotidian tellings of a life. Moral identity generates value. Adler (1985:128) asserts that individual identity is based upon degree of commitment to an occupation. However, the entrepreneurial label is not generic to a specific occupation making the significance of entrepreneurial identity difficult to articulate. To return to the example of Robert Maxwell, it is apparent that as a *modus operandi*, he chose to project the competitive, ruthless aspects of entrepreneurial character as a charming, likable rogue, rather than the aspects of moral identity because he sought to project himself as a cunning businessman prepared to win at all costs.

11.1.5 – In search of entrepreneurial Identities.

Scase & Goffee (1982:133) refer to “entrepreneurial identity”. Nevertheless, Hytti (2003:40) concluded that research into entrepreneurial identity has been of a limited nature. Entrepreneurship scholars who have touched upon identity in their studies include - du Gay & Salaman (1992); Ritchie (1991); du Gay (1996); Fournier & Lightfoot (1997); Cohen & Musson (2000). Hytti (2003) researched entrepreneurial identity as constructed in narrative and Kelemen & Lightfoot (2000) view identity as a narrated construction, a product of self reflection and the limited repertoire of stories. Notwithstanding this, the literature does not engage directly with entrepreneurial imagery. McNabb *et al* (1992) researched it from a company perspective, demonstrating its breadth of application, but to locate it one has to access the literature pertaining to the

projection of success, for example - Packard (1961), Lewis (1989), Spillane (1993) and Arnot (2000). The major theme of this literature is that entrepreneurial identity is inexorably connected to class structure, image and reality (Marwick, 1980) and is projected using socially constructed images of success. Marwick (1996:33) stresses that class is related to identity, as shaped by history; as evidenced by its subjectivity; by studying people and images of class; and as perceived in modern society. Also, Åkerberg (2002) studied the notion that changing societies imply re-definitions of social identities. Åkerberg studied unemployed people starting their own businesses as entrepreneurs, whereby their identities are questioned and consequently re-defined. Åkerberg also acknowledged the genderedness of entrepreneurial identities, arguing that identities can be empirically studied through narration. This justifies the use of semiotic images and narration in the empirical section to further explore entrepreneurial identity. Moreover, Hendry (2004) suggests entrepreneurial identity is a bureaucratically sanitized fiction that differs in critical respects from the real thing. Also, Pitt (2004) examined the nature of enterprising identity in engineering firms in the U.K, focusing on external factors that may have shaped or influenced this identity (or identities) including an awareness of historical context; the trajectory of industry development; entrepreneurial discourse and ideology; technological and professional influences; and subcultural influences such as locality, ethnicity and family. Pitt did not rely upon members' opinions and perceptions about influences on enterprise identity, but analysed facts and statements to produce a more detached assessment finding that technical influences are generally more significant than, for example, entrepreneurial discourse and drive.

Hytti (2000) suggests that studying entrepreneurial identity via narrative is a useful framework for achieving an understanding of entrepreneurship without the need to develop a unifying theory or of concentrating on behavioural approaches. Hytti suggests re-reading entrepreneurship via identity theories, arguing that identities are constructed and enacted via rhetoric. For Hytti, such narratives allow the study of interaction between individual and environment taking consideration of values, attitudes and beliefs. For Heath (1983), environment influences narrative. We can find clues in what Robb (1996:19) refers as physiognomy (appearance). For instance, Anderson & Miller (2003:27) in describing a respondent Paul, make reference to his authoritative English accent, his habit of dressing in formal attire-expensive suits and silk ties, his gold Rolex watch and his brand new BMW. Hjorth (2001:75) narrates that after the release of the movie 'Wall Street' in Sweden, there was an increase in the sales of red braces – "the number of people in fat braces and water coated hair increased dramatically". In another study Kampfner (1994) noted that the release of the same movie coincided with a conspicuous adoption of such imagery by Russian Mafia figures. This demonstrates the power of the media in shaping social imagery and the power of semiotics in constructing identity as it relates to the semiotic production of signifiers denoting entrepreneurial identity.

Down & Revley (2004) argue that entrepreneurial identity is shaped by generational encounters. Down & Revley adopted an ethnographic approach combined with a Community of Practice framework to demonstrate that generational encounters, in a social context, impact on decisions to embark on an entrepreneurial career and that, identities are (re)produced by hegemonic discourses. Entrepreneurial identity is a social production and thus social construction. But entrepreneurship is also an enacted collective identity (Hjorth & Johannisson, 2002:10). This suggests that entrepreneurs must make use of image in developing this collective entrepreneurial identity. Thus the sign phenomena of speech, the body and dress all play a part in semiotic construction. Consequently, the physical appearance of an individual entrepreneur and the possessions and artefacts they use to project their entrepreneurial identity are of interest. The

entrepreneur is perhaps what Stein (2000) refers to as a Byronic hero aligned to villainous and picaresque themes and portrayed as outlaws dressed in black. Also, the entrepreneur is a predominantly masculine construct influenced by the iconology of success. Yet, image and identity forms a concrete presentation of expectation, albeit of a stereotypical nature. Stereotypical conformity may provide a form of ontological security. It is difficult to construct a unified imagery associated with entrepreneurial identity because of the individuality of the entrepreneur and their rise from different class locations. Historically, entrepreneurship has been conceptualised as an individual level phenomenon negating consideration of researching collective constructions of it. It is easier to locate manifestations of economic success.

Another significant factor is the absence of an accepted entrepreneurial identity for female entrepreneurs. For Warren (2002) women consider the term entrepreneur as bringing negative baggage, maleness, exclusion, aggression, exploitation, hard-line political views (associated with Thatcherism). In a similar vein Cohen & Musson (2000) found that many of their female entrepreneur respondents also rejected entrepreneurial identity. Also, Brunel (2004) used a narrative based case study approach to highlight the processes undertaken by a woman to establish and develop her own business after being made redundant from a senior management position. Focusing on the question of identity, the story illustrates the complex issues involved in the transformation, development and maintenance of identity during such transition. Masculine entrepreneurial identity does not resonate with women who seek to fit their careers round their family. Drachman (2003) profiled 40 business women, exploring how race, class, ethnicity, geography, age and social upheaval infused women's experiences as entrepreneurs, innovators and inventors. Drachman traced their identity from their narratives, arguing that it often takes women years to develop an entrepreneurial identity and consciousness accentuated by the fact that female entrepreneurs have to overcome cultural expectations. Becoming an entrepreneur involves accommodating a change of societal identity and identity construction. We now turn to consider the role of artefacts and belongings in the ontological, social process of belonging.

11.1.6 - Artefacts, belongings and belonging.

Artefacts are constructions of the human hand, and play an important role in the social constructionist processes of belonging, and identity creation, necessitating consideration of the role of artifacts such as decorative jewellery, clothes and possessions. For Lewis (1961:203) these represent ideas, qualities and actions. Foucault (1974) makes reference to discursive objects reproducing discourses, whilst Morris & Marsh (1988:57) appreciate the importance of such badges and insignia as emblems of allegiance. Furthermore, Arnot (2000:87) appreciates that a fabricated identity can be manipulated by means of cultural artefacts and style of dress, or what Arnot (2000:17) terms the "carefully constructed environment of success". Entrepreneurial status is thus connected to image and can be assigned and self-ascribed. Scase (1992:26) discusses the concept of "patterns of privilege" and "disadvantage" and the importance of occupation on the construction of personal identity. Burns (2000:347) discusses the influence of "ingrained artefacts" on cultures. Erikson (1969) appreciates that certain cherished artefacts become cultural markers or even cultural matrices (Rohlf, 1962). Porterfield & Tarbert (1954) suggest that material culture traits consist of man-modified objects in common use. Cultural icons are influenced by their history of representation, association and relationship to other icons. It is a common human trait to imitate accepted generic type. For Leland (1998:17) "imitation remains the sincerest form of flattery". Capitalist artifacts of

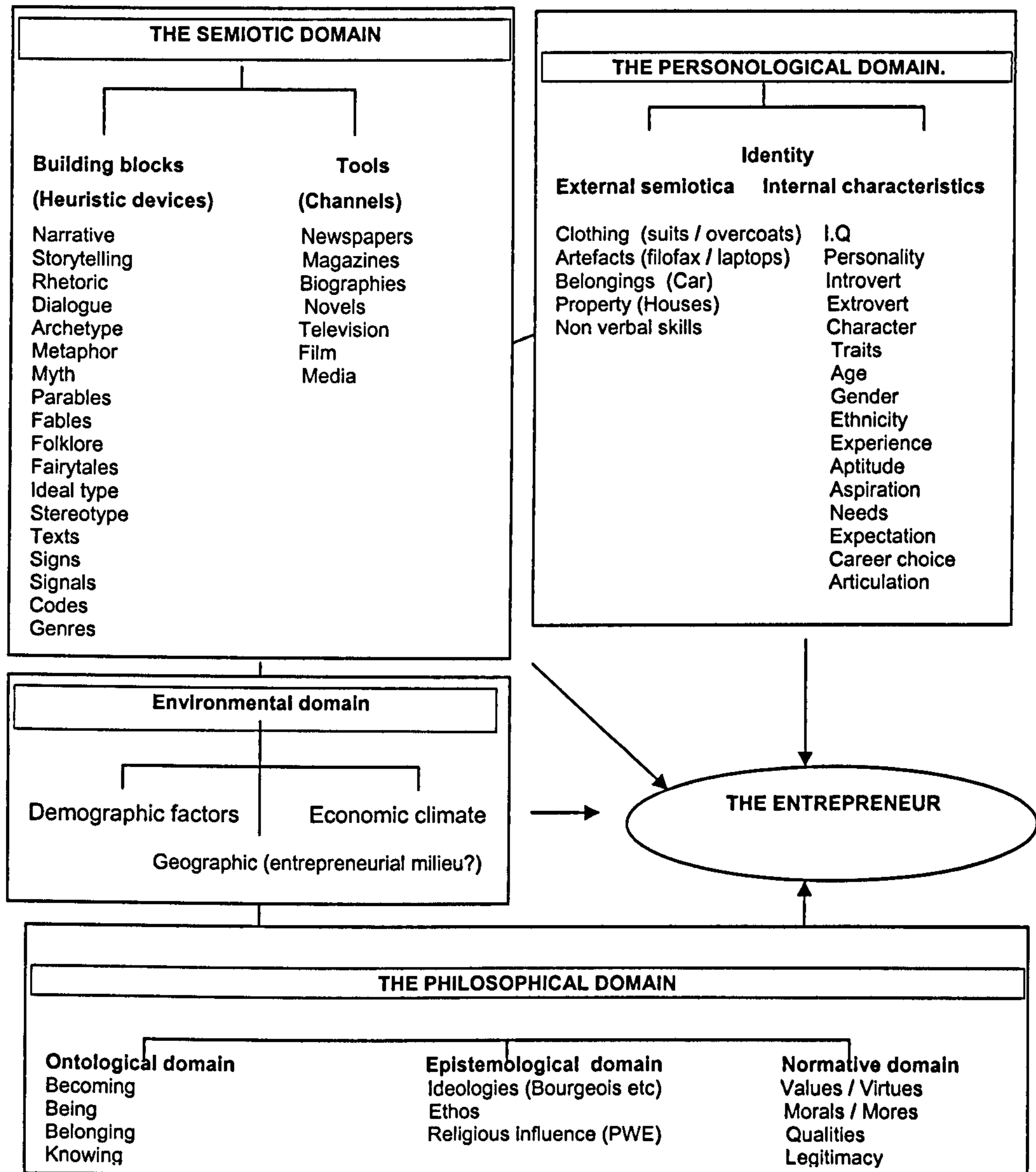
success are important in so far as they act as signposts of success and wealth creating a visual impact, influencing the perception of others, as well as being indicative of permanence and legitimacy. They bolster egos, creating entrepreneurial impact. Handerich (1995:47) discusses the concept of arête or a quality of a possession. The importance of these items may lie in their esoteric value to the entrepreneur. There is a direct linkage between the possession of certain cultural artefacts, semiotics, and the manufacture of importance (Anderson & Jack, 2000).

Entrepreneurial identity appears to be conflated with business imagery and corporate dress sense. Spillane (1993:9-30) warns that there is no magic formula for looking successful and advises clients that you are your message. Spillane warns the self-made not to be held back by presenting a poor image by dressing inappropriately. Dress codes are important in relation to socially constructed perceptions of acceptable imagery. Spillane advocates following a business role model and that failing to do creates a poor self image which prevents the projection of one's true qualities, values and abilities. Image, dress, grooming, and behaviour tell people who you are before you even establish personal contact. Such images of success are culturally specific and one must decide what image one wishes to convey in business and build a correlated corporate image. For Spillane image must add, reinforce and reflect value, not detract from it. Spillane warns against adopting a contradictory image by looking like a "slick spiv ...loud ties, trendy suits and slick hair styles". Spillane urges adopting the trappings of professionalism – formal business suits, good grooming, and appropriate accessories, warning against imitating Anita Roddick and Richard Branson in their devil may care anti establishment image. This links in with the material in relation to the semiotic construction of identity via such artefacts as red braces and so forth. Entrepreneurial identity can therefore be expressed via conformity, or rejection, of dress codes. Thus over time, certain cultural artefacts such as expensive cars take on a particular nuance and when parodied or exaggerated can send the wrong signal. For, example, the wearing of suits with open necked shirts and jewellery has in certain circles become conflated with entrepreneurial identity. Table 32 discusses cultural artefacts and entrepreneurial identity.

TABLE 32 – THE ROLE OF CULTURAL ARTEFACTS IN CREATING ENTREPRENEURIAL IDENTITY.	
Clothes	Clothes are a useful medium for displaying wealth, status and a sense of belonging. They demonstrate individual achievement. Kellner (1995:336) notes that mass produced goods are, used to produce a fake individuality and an image as a commodity. There is a link between dress sense and the visual imagery of success. Power dressing and dressing down can influence perceptions. Karpinski & Trupp (1987) refer to a "Winners style". Colour of clothing influences perceptions of success (Jackson & Lulow, 1984). Dressing for success is important in the workplace where unwritten codes of convention dictate acceptable dress. One has to conform or pay the penalty. Lewis (1989:232) argues the super wealthy and poor can flout this. Suits are associated with entrepreneurial identity as a three-piece suit communicates respectability (O'Connor & Downing, 1995:11).
Cars and homes	Lewis (1989) documents the role of big expensive cars and impressive homes in creating status. For Packard (1961:59-61) these are status markers, methods of making a status claim and accepted symbols of success. Packard refers to the status meaning of cars. A new car is a symbol of advancement and achievement (ibid.309). In 1960's America the Cadillac became a symbol of success for many newly self-made men (ibid.315). For Williams (1999:299) the Country House is a potent symbol "the abstraction of success, power, and money founded elsewhere".
Jewellery	Spillane (1993:94-6) appreciates the significance of quality accessories such as watches, pens and attaché cases but warns that jewellery and sunglasses project a sinister image. In a business environment, for bracelets, chains, earrings and necklaces - less is best. One ring is acceptable but gold medallions and chains are not.

The correct usage of nonverbal communication and certain cultural artifacts influence the perception others have of one's status, power and prestige. These can be manipulated via impression management and the manufacture of importance. Intellect, physique, appearance, the usage of body language, one's dress sense, and the possession of legitimising cultural artifacts build status and credibility. Aspects of Identity offer convincing evidence of the socially constructed nature of reality and of entrepreneurship as a cultural facet of perceived reality. It is helpful to summarise the influence of such aspects and in particular, semiotics upon the entrepreneurial construct. See diagram 6 for a pictorial representation of how the basic building blocks of semiotics and narrative combine to build entrepreneurial identity.

DIAGRAM 6 - THE PROJECTION OF SEMIOTIC ENTREPRENEURIAL IDENTITY.



It is also important to remember that credible identities create a sense of legitimacy.

11.2- THE ROLE OF LEGITIMACY IN CONSTRUCTING CHARACTER.

Legitimacy is important to the entrepreneurial construct because it provides an end point to the narrative. Like entrepreneurship, legitimacy, is a difficult to define social construct, but can nevertheless be explained satisfactorily. Clark & Dear (1984:163) succeed admirably in discussing legitimacy without ever defining it, suggesting that it is “derived out of the collective preferences of all individuals”. Legitimacy is a values based constructivist concept derived from adherence to conventional values. Suchman (1995:574) defines legitimacy as a “generalised perception of or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions”. Dowling & Pfeffer (1975:122) argue that legitimacy is the “congruence between the social values associated with or implied by activities and norms of acceptable behaviour in the larger social system”. Thus Berger & Luckmann (1971:79) argue that the institutionalised world requires legitimation as explanation and justification. However, Espejo (1999:654-655) notes that legitimacy is an assessment made about the grounding of social norms, and in particular are actions just and fair. Legitimacy, like morality is an outcome of group acceptance and requires to be granted by the process of affirmation (ibid.133). People affirm legitimacy. However, for Berger & Luckmann (1971:111) legitimacy encompasses more than values, because it embodies cultural knowledge – it tells the individual why he should perform one action and not another and tells him why things are what they are because knowledge precedes values. For Parsons (1968:646) legitimacy is reinforced by virtue of tradition as a sanctioning mechanism. Legitimacy is a process, and criteria of verification, but there is no one universal form of legitimacy. Wallerstein (1991:132) proposes legitimacy as a function of duration and that with the passing of time reality becomes unquestionable, until successfully challenged. Legitimacy is related to morality (Hess, 1988:70). Legitimacy is granted, whereas authenticity is recognised. Legitimacy entails consideration of validity which according to Kvale (1995) is socially constructed.

There are two schools of thought in relation to legitimacy - subjectivist and objectivist (Merquior 1980). The former is based upon the contemporaneous subjective assessment of individuals of justness, whereas the latter uses objective criteria external to public opinion. Modern theories of legitimacy are usually subjectivist and define legitimation as power (Abercrombie *et al*, 1984). Tsang (1996:23) discusses legitimacy as a multi dimensional key concept used in “theoretical analysis of the validity of power associated with authority, but accepts it can be used in a number of ways but entails adherence to legality and consistency with prevailing dominant ideological values. A good example of subjective construction of legitimacy is Weber’s (1946) theory of legitimacy, which highlighted the beliefs of followers thus legitimacy must be earned and bestowed. It is grounded in the conception of approval by society and is about establishing bona fides. Hargreaves (2003:2) discusses two schools of thought on legitimacy, of interest, namely the strategic and institutional schools. The first emphasise behaviours and values, whilst the second emphasises symbols and cognitive processes. Both are essential in achieving “Verstehen”.

Giddens (1979) considers legitimacy to be a driver in the structuration process by which actors reproduce socially endorsed patterns of behaviour, but for DiMaggio & Powell (1983) it is about mimetic isomorphism, or copying socially approved behaviours. Garfinkel (1967) notes we desire to account to others for their actions. Suchman (1995:574) discusses three types of legitimacy - Pragmatic (of Individual value); Moral (collective wisdom of society); Cognitive (collective cultural overview). Nevertheless, legitimacy is a subjective, interpretive notion, related to trust, credibility, and validity. It is characterised by longevity and

persistence, occurring as a consequence of repeated application combining to form durability, acceptance and validation. It accrues over time and relates to the validation of action and action sets. It is linked to identity because material possessions confer status and legitimacy upon the bearer. Moreover, legitimacy is dependent upon who is doing the interpretation. It is also linked to power (hegemony) and laws (legality), which compel us to engage in or refrain from certain types of acts. However, societies are characterised by diversity, plurality and dichotomous constructs. Just as there is no one source of morality, there is no one source of legitimate authority. As individuals, we construct morality and legitimacy, dependent upon our level of socialisation, education and our life experiences. We have a choice of whether to accept authority, or otherwise, and whose version of reality we adhere to validate our actions and behaviour. History is authored by the dominant elite who imbue their actions with an ideological seal of approval and thus legitimacy. Thus it means different things to the establishment, accepted social convention, one's peer group, or one's individual conscience. Ultimately legitimacy, although stemming from societal conventions must be self-imposed. Paradoxically, it is collectively constructed but individually prescribed. For Hargreaves (2003) Legitimacy is a grounded theoretical concept, which is important to the entrepreneurial process because the beginning of the process is characterised by its absence. We now consider legitimacy in relation to entrepreneurship, an over riding theme of which is the struggle for legitimacy.

11.2.1 - Legitimacy and entrepreneurship.

Blok (1974:172) suggests that the term legitimacy is "fraught with so many implications and value judgments it is best to be avoided". However, Stephenson (1995) who explored legitimacy in virtual entrepreneurial groups within a company setting, describing the entrepreneurial pursuit of legitimacy as necessarily challenging the establishment, arguing that paradoxically, the more legitimate a group becomes, the less entrepreneurial they are. Scase (1992:81) regards the legitimacy of Capitalism as being the collective perception of people that they are doing well for themselves in relation to others. However, an appreciation of the importance of legitimacy to entrepreneurship is a growing. Studies include those of Low & Strivatson (1993), Aldrich & Foil (1994), Stephenson (1995), Tsang (1996), Casson (2000), Dibben (2000), Aldrich & Baker (2001), O'Connor (2002), Aidis (2002) and Hargreaves (2003). Furthermore, studies into the link between legitimacy and strategic management research include those of DiMaggio (1991) and Suchman (1995). Berger & Luckmann (1971:8) stress that the edifice of legitimation is built upon language, which provides its instrumentality. We trust what is legitimate. Indeed, for Low & Strivatson (1993 & 1995), and Dibben (2000) trust (as a normative value) impinges upon legitimacy. Casson (2000:6/47) highlights the link between ethics and legitimacy in an entrepreneurial context, arguing it is determined by a moral authority with each social group having only one single source of moral authority. Suchman (1995) considered the importance of structural legitimacy and personal legitimacy within the moral order. Personal legitimacy is achieved by creating an account of one's self in moral terms by engaging in a moral discourse and embodying it (DiMaggio, 1991), whereas cognitive legitimacy is a mature form of taken for grantedness. One legitimating mechanism is traditional stories told in a consistent and comprehensive manner to every child. However, Suchman appreciates that legitimacy shifts between the pragmatic, the moral and the cognitive nodes, making it a very elusive social construct.

Entrepreneurs achieve legitimacy via the cognitive processes of framing and editing of behaviours, intentions vis-à-vis other trusting parties (Hargreaves, 2003). Elsbach & Sutton (1992) refer to this process

as impression management. Framing and editing are also narrative processes (Elsbach & Eloffson, 2000). For entrepreneurs, legitimacy entails getting others to legitimate their story by telling it. Indeed, Ashforth & Gibbs (1990) warn against self-promotion strategies, which often have the opposite effect upon an audience than the one intended. Legitimacy is part and parcel of the entrepreneurial process of becoming and being and plays an important part in the construction of the entrepreneurial dream. It sees a closure to the dream of success, as endorsement by others. If success is obtained by one's actions then legitimacy is the final act of arrival, the ultimate societal seal of approval for one's heroic actions. Thus the entrepreneur engaged in a process of becoming and being benefits from the category of accrued legitimacy by becoming socially approved. Weitzen (1983:158) discusses the value of emotional reinforcement from feedback as a form of legitimacy. Legitimacy provides emotional reinforcement to the entrepreneur. It could be argued that the entrepreneur is a creative destructor (Schumpeter, 1947) operating at the margins of necessity, constantly challenging the legitimacy of the accepted order. Entrepreneurs have legitimate authority and can influence others to do their bidding. Legitimacy appears to be a strong entrepreneurial motivator. Many detractors argue that entrepreneurs have an inferiority complex, constantly struggling to fight a shadowy establishment. The need for legitimacy is powerful societal motivator and may be connected to basic masculine psychology, albeit that there is evidence that women seek entrepreneurial legitimacy more overtly than men via the adoption of training programmes and networking. Lindgren & Packendorff (2003:6) challenge the common view that entrepreneurs acquire legitimacy from living up to general expectations on what an entrepreneur is and how he should behave. Instead, they claim that the entrepreneurial process is about challenging and breaking institutionalized patterns to become de-socialised from society. Legitimacy can be viewed as rite de passage (Van Genap, 1960), something to be aspired to. However, it is not a right of passage - it has to be earned. It is achieved through actions, the stuff of which dreams, legends and good stories are made. The journey's end must be viewed at the outset as being desirable and worthwhile. If the desired legitimacy fails to materialise, one has no other alternative but to pursue other legitimacy providing activities, such as an alternative peer group, societal strata, or career change (Goss, 1991).

11.2.2 - Strategies for securing entrepreneurial legitimacy.

Philanthropy, visual legitimacy, and the search for respect are all strategies engaged in by entrepreneurs to achieve legitimacy. Drucker (1985) considers philanthropy as a civilization process, ingrained in the entrepreneurial process. Smilor (1996:11) has researched the link between philanthropy and entrepreneurship and its impact upon education. There is a darker side to philanthropy with Bourke (1994:9) considering it "an odious expression of social oligarchy ". It can be equated with attention seeking and blatant attempts at manipulating public opinion thereby gaining cheap publicity. Indeed, Mackay (1998) stresses the virtue of the anonymous shilling. Successful entrepreneurs, tycoons and magnates are expected to be philanthropic. Adhering to visual legitimacy by conforming to accepted social imagery is a valid strategy because it is important to look and act the part, to gain peer group acceptance and establish one's credentials. It can be manufactured. Legitimacy is related to respect which is achieved by virtue of a combination of actions and values, such as honour and integrity and is an elusive, emotive subject. It cannot be demanded, bought or stolen but must be freely given and earned. Thus it is something of worth or value encompassing esteem, deference and honour. Arlacchi (1983:114-5) discusses how honour transforms itself into authority and finally legitimacy, creating a god-like status. Achieving respect imbues ones future actions

with the legacy of past successes. Smilor (1996:10) notes that one's legacy is the outcome of the convergence of competence and character, the coming together of how we do something with who we are. Competence demands performance and involves one's ability to do something well thus marking achievement. Character reflects the degree to which one demonstrates integrity, and honorable conduct. Thus, for Bourgios (1995) the entrepreneur is perpetually in search of respect. Likewise Yates (1991:124) argues that the entrepreneur does not crave legitimacy, but the respect of their peer group. This highlights the importance of character to the construction of entrepreneurial personality.

11.2.3 - The communicational nature of legitimacy.

Legitimacy is a negotiated social process, achieved via techniques of communication. O'Connor (2002:2-7) argues that legitimacy building is a dynamic iterative process, a "conversation that entrepreneurs have amongst themselves, their audiences, and their environment". It is a discourse and dialogue. Furthermore, O'Connor argues that legitimacy building is the pursuit of inter-textuality, involving the grafting of storylines onto existing narratives. Legitimacy building is a social and linguistic activity and accomplishment entailing making credible and compelling communications to persuade and influence others to give consent. O'Connor argues that the literature does not address the relationship between the assertion of the claims and practical acceptance, or rejection, of them by others. Thus for O'Connor it is socially constructed, developing from verbal actions such as claim making combined with the cultivation of morally laden values such as trust, faith, acceptance and agreement. O'Connor (2002:10-18) positions the entrepreneur in "an overarching story line of legitimacy" defining it as "a credible, persuasive and worthy story" which require taken for granted legitimized storylines. Stories are shaped and reshaped to establish legitimacy (ibid.27). Lounsbury & Glynn (2001) also make the link between legitimacy and stories in an entrepreneurial context.

Nonetheless, all conversations (for instance, those between the entrepreneur and the establishment) are not equal, therefore legitimacy plays an important part in relation to uneven dialogues. In Britain, according to de Koning & Drakopoulou-Dodd (2002) the popular establishment perception of the entrepreneur is that of the "posh barrow boy". A historical example is the entrepreneur Sir Thomas Lipton who despite the bestowal of a knighthood, like many other entrepreneurs was blackballed (a refusal to grant legitimacy) by an unforgiving establishment. According to Mackay (1998:96/187) the establishment considered him a clown; a buffoon; vulgar; a ghastly parvenu; an arch exhibitionist; a louche (shifty and disreputable); and raffish (tawdry, flashy, vulgar and unconventional). Thus we see a discrimination partially born of moralistic accusation brought into play by virtue of narrative, which allows the successful entrepreneur to narrate their own legitimacies. Indeed, Parsons (1968:633) notes that for Weber, charisma and legitimacy were linked in that charisma is a source of legitimacy. Furthermore, Parsons (1968:651-661) refers to moral obligations as legitimacy norms. For Weber, legitimacy was a quality of an order or system of norms towards which action must be orientated. If one holds an order legitimate then one has a moral obligation to adhere to it. It is helpful to consider different types of legitimacy open to the entrepreneur.

11.2.4 - Types of Legitimacy.

Legitimacy is not a one-dimensional construct and various types of legitimacy impinge upon and influence entrepreneurship. Berger & Luckmann (1971:112-114) appreciate that there are overlapping levels or layers of legitimacy which include 1) linguistic legitimation; 2) Moral maxims, proverbs, wise sayings, folklore,

legends; 3) normative theories of lore of what it is to be; and 4) Symbolic Universes or bodies of tradition often embodied in dreams. Furthermore, legitimacy is a product of normative historical processes embodying alternative symbolic universes. Mythology and philosophy are related to legitimacy because of their maintenance qualities (ibid.127-128). Dibben (2000) discusses other pragmatic types - Status generated; Accrued; and Trust based. Status generated legitimacy accrues to an individual by virtue of being an entrepreneur and the social cache which results from Status Generating Affiliations. Legitimacy is closely related to trust, because much that we consider to be legitimate in society has to be taken on trust. Rousseau *et al* (1998) defined trust as "a psychological state comprising the intention to accept vulnerability based upon positive expectations of the intentions or behaviour of another". It possesses its own set of positive expectations, and is a condition or process which leads to an outcome of legitimacy. It invokes different value sets in different people, engendering different meanings. Trust is a cherished human value, or social virtue (Fukuyama, 1995) which possesses a moral foundation (Bhide & Stevenson, 1990). For Granovetter (1985) networks incorporate trust which is a product of reputation, and the constancy of behaviour and actions, and this in turn helps produce social capital by facilitating individual action. For Roa (1994) reputation is a social construction. Moreover, trust is usually operationalised on a person to person basis, whereas legitimacy is generally socially ascribed.

Low & Strivatson (1993/1995) and Dibben (2000) regard trust as a communicational medium through which entrepreneurs take between. Low & Strivatson, in addressing the question what does it mean to trust an entrepreneur, concluded that trustworthiness and competence were essential impressions for an entrepreneur to project because of the high levels of risk and uncertainty involved in entrepreneurial activity. Dibben (2000:101-105) argued that trust relationships exist between people with self-trust being the first stage towards legitimacy. Achieving legitimacy denotes believability and involves issues such as authenticity, performance and ability to perform as a player. Authenticity and competency are forms of legitimacy. Dibben (2000:136-140) discusses the reciprocal role of effectiveness in generating legitimacy and trust whilst also establishing reputation. Being an entrepreneur entails acceptance of vulnerability. Dibben suggests that entrepreneurs have a capacity for making judgments based on swift trust. Also, for Dibben (ibid.264) "interpersonal trust is the medium through which the entrepreneur is able to engage in the process of creating and extracting value from the environment". Interestingly, Dibben (2000:16) refers to a "Locus of Trust", in individual networks and entrepreneurial milieus in which actions, projections and communications are legitimised. Dibben acknowledges that a lack of trust can damage reputations and self images. Socially constructed images of success influence what we consider to be legitimate. When confronted with an apparently authentic individual, one trusts the bearer of the image is a genuine article.

11.2.5 - Success as legitimacy.

Chell *et al* (1994:36) suggest that a study of the life-paths of entrepreneurs indicates that their entrepreneurial propensity wanes following success. Nevertheless, the entrepreneurial rubric has become associated with success stories, woven into the fabric as entrepreneurial fable. This is particularly so in Britain where the culture of success is endemic and the stigma of failure leaves a stain on one's character. Being successful is essential to entrepreneurial achievement, as success is seen as a measurement of character and competence. In Western societies, money is the primary measurement of success, albeit a skewed measure of worth taking no cognisance of morals, values and character. For Soros (1998:113) money is a store of value, whilst for Rockwell (1974:37) it is a common denominator of value in the

bourgeois world as a carrier of privilege, honour, and status. Thus to be seen as being successful the entrepreneur must create a "history of accomplishment", evidencing the legitimacy of their life's work (Dibben, 2000:62). Arnot (2000:208) argues that you always have to possess a hunger for success.

Success enables the entrepreneur to move from becoming and being, to belonging and entails perpetuating entrepreneurial actions to maintain one's reputation or status. Success can be articulated in social capital, and embedded in stories such as McClelland's (1961) Tales of Achievement, or Horth & Johannisson's (2002:4) "success scripts". Furthermore, success, legitimacy and patronage are reputational processes articulated via narrative. Kindlon & Thompson (1999:226) argue that such scripts emphasise themes of conquest and heroism. Moreover, Arnot argues that most people concentrate on outcomes of success and external motivators, and not internal causal factors (integrity of character) which generate success. People fixate on the artefacts by which success is measured. Achieving legitimacy entails hard work and the building up of momentum as proposed by Adler (1981) who suggested that success breeds success and that failure destroys behaviour and effects confidence, becoming a self-fulfilling prophecy. Yet, too much success can leave one vulnerable to criticism. For example, Frederick (2002) discusses the "Tall Poppy Syndrome" whereby anyone seen to make a success must be cut down.

11.3 - REFLECTIONS.

The chapter objectives were to examine the role of identity and legitimacies as outcomes of the constructivist process. Value continues to play an important role. Semiotics is an academic way of seeing how we create and extract meanings and identities. This chapter demonstrates that an individual entrepreneur by the judicious manipulation of semiotics and narrative can construct an entrepreneurial character, and enact an entrepreneurial identity, which is regarded as legitimate by those capable of decoding the signals. The stories and artefacts provide each other with a reciprocal form of legitimacy rooted in the socially constructed nature of identity. In addition, non verbal forms of communication reinforce the verbal and narrated aspects of identity. However, most aspects of identity relate to the subject as a person and not an entrepreneur, so it is first necessary for the entrepreneur to construct "the self" before seeking to narrate a moral identity from which entrepreneurial identity is constructed. The latter is an elusive and socially constructed phenomenon loosely based on images of class and crime and reinforced by the projection of certain belongings and artefacts, which in particular cultures have come to denote entrepreneurial character. The projection of such images, have over time come to be regarded as legitimate. Entrepreneurial legitimacy is achieved via the perpetuation of strategies which lead to success.

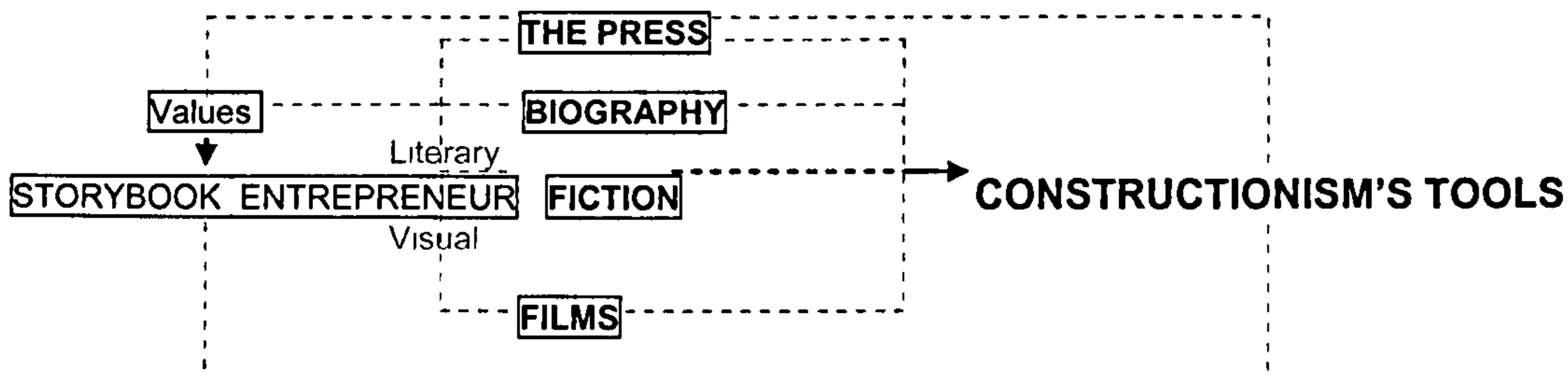
In chapters 8 and 9 we saw how persons construct narratives and identities and wrap them around themselves. In this chapter, we saw how people validate and legitimate their narratives and identities using legitimacy. In chapter 12 we examine Constructionism's tools through which socially constructed narratives are channelled and legitimised. Identity is strongly influenced by biography and narration and the stories and identities people create mingle with one another. Accordingly, Reich (1987:82-3) suggests we need to look for and promote new kinds of entrepreneur stories. It is to this challenge that we turn in the empirical section.

12 – CONSTRUCTIONISM'S TOOLS : AND THE STORYBOOK ENTREPRENEUR.

INTRODUCTION.

READERS' GUIDE.

This chapter explores the various channels of communication, or Constructionism's Tools, through which entrepreneurial narrative and identity is channelled. It also examines constructions of the entrepreneur found in the various media and presents the formula of the socially constructed storybook entrepreneur.



12.1 - CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION AS CONSTRUCTIONISM'S TOOLS.

12.1.1: How the media and media channels influence portrayals of the entrepreneur.

12.1.2: The media and the projection of values.

12.2 – THE PRESS AS CONSTRUCTIONISMS TOOLS.

12.2.1: How the press influences portrayals of the entrepreneur.

12.2.2: The message conveyed.

12.3 – BIOGRAPHY AS CONSTRUCTIONISMS TOOLS.

12.4 – FICTION AS CONSTRUCTIONISMS TOOLS.

12.4.1: Fictional characters and characterisation.

12.4.2: The bourgeois novel.

12.5 – THE ENTREPRENEUR AS PORTRAYED IN THE PRESS.

12.5.1: Tabloid Tales.

12.5.2: Cautionary tales and failure stories.

12.6 – THE ENTREPRENEUR AS PORTRAYED IN FICTION.

12.6.1: Reading entrepreneurs in fiction.

12.6.2: Identifying character as a dominant theme.

12.7 – THE ENTREPRENEUR AS PORTRAYED IN BIOGRAPHY.

12.7.1: Conducting a biographical analysis.

12.7.2: The socially constructed nature of biography.

12.7.3: The link between the entrepreneur as constructed in the press and biography.

12.7.4: The fairytale element.

12.7.5: Biography as personal legitimation.

12.7.6: Biography as a method of delegitimising entrepreneurs.

12.7.7: Mythical accusations.

12.7.8: The personal dilemma.

12.8 – PRESENTING THE STORYBOOK ENTREPRENEUR.

12.8.1: The emergence of the storybook entrepreneur formula.

12.8.2: Storybook structure.

12.8.3: An anthology of cherished storylines.

12.8.4: Isolating the storybook entrepreneur.

12.9 – REFLECTIONS.

In chapter 11 we examined issues of identity and legitimacy as outcomes of entrepreneurial narrations. In this chapter, we consider how different media influence portrayals of the entrepreneur. To recap, there are two basic social constructs of the entrepreneurs, in British society, the entrepreneur as hero or villain. However, to assess where this knowledge comes from, it is necessary to consider socially constructed channels of

communication through which such knowledge flows. Communication is the giving and taking of meaning, and is the medium through which we express values and meanings. For Ofverstrom *et al* (2002:11-12) communication entails sharing the thoughts and ideas that reside within us. An important part of communicating is being together with words. Contemporary communication is influenced by mass methods of communication (Gerbner, 1967). Therefore this chapter examines how the media, press, biography, and fiction influence expected social constructions of the entrepreneur as Constructionism's Tools (Nicolson, 2001). The entrepreneur as portrayed in film, television and semiotic imagery will be discussed in chapter 13. After considering how media channels influence portrayals of the entrepreneur, we examine constructions of the entrepreneur as portrayed in the British media by researching how the entrepreneur is socially constructed in fiction, in biography, and the press. These tend to be concentrated in national media channels in which the entrepreneur is portrayed as a storybook character. It is in such channels that the public are most likely to encounter the entrepreneur. Local media channels are less likely to perpetuate entrepreneur stories. This storybook formula owes more to storybook and journalistic convention than lived experience. After all, the social construct of the entrepreneur is what we (and others) write about them.

12.1 - CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION AS CONSTRUCTIONISM'S TOOLS.

An understanding of communication is essential in social contexts with structured socio-economic differences, where differences are embedded in competing ideologies. McQuail (1994) argues that methods of analysis used in understanding communication are based upon the structural (sociology; history, economics); the behavioural (psychology and biology); and the cultural (anthropology and socio-linguistics). These are the very elements used in the construction of entrepreneurial knowledge with which this thesis is concerned. Moreover, media content draws upon familiar and latent myths and cultural images (McQuail, 1994:247), so much so, that Downing *et al* (1995:xxi) suggest that critical approaches to media studies must entail analysis of myth, discourse and semiotics. Also, unless narrated orally, entrepreneurial narrative is normally broadcast in fiction, biography, the press and media. Indeed, Gergen (2001:135) talks of collective knowledge distributed via conversations, textbooks, newspapers, television and films. These influence public perception of the entrepreneur. For Downing *et al* (1995:xv) television, books newspapers, magazine images are all channels of communication; and sites where news is manufactured (Cohen & Young, 1973).

Early models of communication concentrated on interpersonal communication and prior to the advent of the cinema, and modes of mass communication, linguistic exchanges occurred via the mediums of one to one speech and literature. Stories perhaps had more power and significance than they possess now, making the status of orator and raconteur a socially admirable trait. Many successful entrepreneurs possess this ability. It is in writing that we most frequently encounter the entrepreneur, brought to life in stories. Although writing is a solitary process it is social when shared with a collective readership (Leland, 1998:23).

Heroic reputation, or *arête*, is the greatest prize in society and to be honoured in storybook format is a high form of legitimation. Indeed, Rockwell (1974:58-60) discusses the distribution of reward in heroic literature, whereby the person with the greatest reputation is the most admirable, albeit that they die in battle or are reduced to insanity. For Rockwell, stories are reputation enhancing, particularly when told as epics and sagas. Entrepreneur stories differ from classical forms dispensing with the necessity to delineate character by the repetitive citation of genealogies. Being of humble birth requires no such introduction. This is important in societies in transformation, such as America with no longstanding social elite. Humble origins

provide the bearer with a mystique that replaces the authority of genealogy. Also, entrepreneur stories are self-contained, generally being confined to the lifetime of an individual. Entrepreneurial status and prestige are seldom passed on to the next generation as a hereditary right, therefore entrepreneur stories are essential regenerating mechanisms. Epic and saga hold readers at a distance from which they are asked to admire the great deeds of heroes. This is true of classic entrepreneur stories. For Hjorth (1996) and Khoury & Raspa (1996) the heroism of the entrepreneur is reflected in the media, necessitating consideration of the collective influence of contemporary media channels upon constructions of the entrepreneur.

12.1.1 – How the media and media channels influence portrayals of the entrepreneur.

For Sreberny-Mohammadi (1995:23) media and historical epochs shape our lives. Capitalism is one such epoch. According to Curran (1973) the media, and press, are to an extent controlled by the Capitalist system. Entrepreneurs existed prior to mass communication in the popular cultural stream as folk heroes feted in stories. Yet contemporary entrepreneurial narratives are more likely to be located in the mass media, making it necessary to explore media and communication texts. For McQuail (1994:95/237) people are producers of culturally meaningful media texts which when read, watched or viewed influence the construction of meaning. According to McQuail (1994:1) the mass media increasingly define reality and dictate public versions of normality, because being a primary means of societal communication they are in affect a power resource and an arena for public affairs. They dictate who is prescribed fame and celebrity status and define images of social reality. It is a loci where changing cultural values are constructed, stored and visibly projected being communicated as information, images, stories, and entertainment. Indeed, Erikson (1969:282) talks of as the “mass produced mask of individuality”.

The entrepreneur and the media share a common obsession – the entrepreneur. Downing *et al* (1995:xix) argue that the media are controlled by a few select entrepreneurs who can afford the expensive process. Bagdikian (1989) also identified a concentration of media ownership by entrepreneurs and McQuail (1995:153) notes in the 1990's a new breed of entrepreneurial Media Moguls conquered continent after continent, sweeping away the old order. These are Gergen's (2001:200) “Mediapreneurs”¹⁴. Many successful entrepreneurs become Press barons owning and controlling channels of public communication. Haines (1998:11) describes publicity as an essential business tool for entrepreneurs. The media produce and distribute symbolic media, and societal content, upon which we have developed a co-dependency. Media messages convey multiple messages which help unify and integrate urban communities “providing a common set of values, ideas, information and helping to form identities” (ibid.71). For O'Connor & Downing (1995:4) the media enable us to communicate beyond the boundaries of our in-groups and cultures. Aidis (2002:6) remarks that Lithuanian entrepreneurs are frustrated by their media image as criminal speculators. According to de Koning & Holmberg (2000) media images reflect our assumptions about entrepreneurs and visual portrayals influence perceptions of reality. Media messages reflect the heroism of entrepreneurship.

12.1.2 – The media and the projection of value.

For McQuail (1994:110) identity is mediated through media words and images, and Mills (1956) identified the dependency of individuals on the media for their sense of identity and aspirations. McQuail appreciates

¹⁴ For example Eddie Sha; Tony O'Reilly; Rupert Murdoch, Robert Maxwell, and James Goldsmith.

that in secular society media images act as a store of memories, or map, which propagates values instilled in us by parents, school, religion and the wider symbolic picture of society. Baxter (1989:699) argued in relation to identity, that extraneous options reflect values and individuality and that choice of options is indicative of character. Persons reflect their surrounding influences. However, Meyrowitz (1995:51) discusses the distorted nature of much media presentation of one dimensional heroes and villains. The mass media are associated with the voice of authority. Fiske (1987:126) tells how the preferred meanings of dominant class influence pervade the media and also how people have the power to evade, oppose and negate preferred meaning. One must consider narrative purpose because it may reflect values which shape our perception of reality and create dominant paradigms (ideologically loaded, normative meaning systems associated with preferred readings specific to a particular interpretative community). Entrepreneurship can be explained as such a paradigm or set of rules or regulations (written or unwritten) that establishes or defines boundaries telling people how to behave inside those boundaries in order to be successful. Dominant paradigms rely on a transmission model of communication to express particular fixed messages composed by the sender. For McQuail (1994:41-42) they are exclusionary relating to the working class; youth; alternative sub-cultures (criminal sub-culture) as well as gender and ethnicity. These are counter balanced by alternative paradigms (that apply variant or oppositional readings). McQuail views these as a composite picture, woven from different voices at different times and expressing different objections.

According to McQuail (1994:268) the media influence images of conformity, manufactured in standardised ways by professional communicators of a higher social prestige than receivers (ibid.37). This process is facilitated by ritual or expressive communication, via shared understandings. Such ritual communication is a relatively timeless and unchanging phenomenon and are celebratory, consummatory and decorative (ibid.51). Messages are influenced by performance, associations and symbols made available to participants via culture. Entrepreneurial narrative is a manufactured ritualised narrative, which is both celebratory, and consummatory, and is composed of many decorative literary mechanisms. It is helpful to examine the entrepreneur as depicted in the press.

12.2 – THE PRESS AS CONSTRUCTIONISM'S TOOLS.

The Press play a significant part in the construction of entrepreneurial narrative, playing the role of the hero maker or breaker. Meyrowitz (1995:50) discusses “pre-existing news narratives” and Bignell (1997:81) suggests “news is not just facts, but representations produced in language and other signs like photographs”. For Leland (1998:46) mass communication is embedded in “ephemeral texts”, such as newspapers, and serial magazines, and because we process the information gathered eclectically from the stories without attributing journalistic authorship we regurgitate the acquired knowledge in our conversations with others, to illustrate our point of view, or demonstrate our knowledge or grasp of a subject. We may thus be unaware where this knowledge comes from. McQuail (1994:37) considers journalists to be professional communicators and senders of mass communication.

12.2.1 - How the press influences portrayals of the entrepreneur.

Newspaper articles are of considerable importance in the formation and maintenance of societal bodies of knowledge. In Britain, the press are considered part of the establishment and conservative in outlook. Also, Fallon & Srodes (1983:265-267) highlight the cynical Fleet Street - British media attitude towards private enterprise, stressing the Fleet Street love affair with the spectacular. The prevailing attitude in the 1980's

eulogised the American Robber baron image. According to Fallon & Srodes (1983:250) the press literally made the legend of John DeLorean. The press appear to adopt a formulaic structure in reporting entrepreneur stories but do not always adopt a neutral stance. According to Golding & Middleton (1982:142) the press socially construct images associated with entrepreneurship because – Journalists come from working or lower middle class backgrounds; are wed to the ideology of humble beginnings; have strong leanings towards traders and small businessmen; have their own tales of hardship overcome; eulogise the work ethic, individualism and the entrepreneurial idyll; are generally sympathetic towards people who display individualism and initiative; and consider that they too are self-made. For Gans (1979) journalists espouse motherhood values supportive of familial nostalgia, small town paternalism, individualism and responsible capitalism. Notwithstanding this respectful stance, stories about entrepreneurs are newsworthy and entrepreneurs are considered fair game. Additionally, McQuail (1994:201) argues that the middle class characteristics of many journalists, their personal backgrounds, and their experiences are reflected in their work. Journalists by virtue of their education and life experience gravitate towards the middle classes.

For Rodriguez (1995:129) national journalists as a profession belong to society's dominant elite shaping our understanding of the world. National journalists spend most of their time talking to themselves and each other – thus a major part of their dialogue is concerned with addressing each other not the public (ibid.131-133). Journalists communicate in a codified, ritualistic manner. According to Rodriguez journalists go to the same parties, send their children to the same schools, live in the same neighbourhoods and believe the same things leading to the formation of a particular world-view. The entrepreneur has a love-hate relationship with the media, particularly the press, often being accused of manipulation. The politics of a journalist can also influence how they construct the entrepreneur, for instance, Haines (1998:201-202) argues that the press (mirroring Labour values) censures men who make money preferring those who earn it and as a consequence are wary of rich men (especially entrepreneurs and foreigners). Rich foreigners suffer a double jeopardy. Paletz & Entman (1991) stress that minority and deviant groups get bad press.

McQuail (1994:231) discusses several methods or styles of journalism including craft or entrepreneurial [journalist as an impresario]. Investigative journalism contributes towards the media construction of the entrepreneur because investigative journalists publish stories which are in the public interest. What remains in print, unchallenged becomes legitimated as fact, even if of a questionable nature. Journalists can expose emerging trends of interest and present them in small manageable chunks of information. The storyline is king and journalists are unrestrained by academic etiquette or niceties. Journalists appear to have formed their own formulaic, stereotypical entrepreneur narratives consolidated by the practice of press-clippings. Thus many entrepreneur stories conform to a basic heroic plot particularly if written as a eulogy. An alternative is to vilify the entrepreneur by using a veritable battery of de-legitimising techniques.

The impact of press articles is influenced by editorial perception, the level of gender bias of the staff, journalistic bias-style, the sex of the journalist, where the articles appear in the paper, the pictorial content and the nature of the article. It depends upon if it is a main article or a packing article, and whether it is a business paper or a broad sheet. Newspapers have a hierarchy prestige - broadsheet; political press; and prestige press. These factors influence the stature and visibility of individual entrepreneurs because projected image reflects societal and journalistic images. The press is an important media which presents semiotic imagery (photographs, drawings and cartoons) as well as text. Therefore, one must take cognisance of the type of media in which the story appears. Consequentially, Stevenson (1995) advocates analysing newspapers to achieve a better understanding of cultural issues, because newspapers create

discourse and transmit it and at the same time persuade us to consent to ways of talking about reality that are taken for granted (MacDonald, 1995:3).

12.2.2 – The message conveyed.

Research into how entrepreneurs are portrayed in the media and press shows that male and female entrepreneurs are presented to readers as if they are different. An examination of frequency, content and appearance of male and female entrepreneurs confirms this. Ljunggren & Alsos (2001) focused on choice of words and content and subjected them to a critical treatment analysing a leading Swedish Business newspaper over a five-month period locating 276 references to entrepreneurs, of which 251 related to men, with only 25 relating to women. The narrative of the articles (and thus the story told) regarding the male entrepreneur, differed dramatically from that told of the female entrepreneur. The articles on men tended to be written using heroic metaphors of battle and concentrated very much on appearance; there was a gender-biased emphasis on success and virility; and particular emphasis upon any entrepreneur who had been a child prodigy. The female entrepreneur is seldom exposed in the newspaper and a small group of male entrepreneurs appear to become the focus of much of the attention, thus magnifying their influence upon the public perception of the entrepreneur. Conversely female entrepreneurs were treated more lightly with the emphasis being on sugar and spice and all things nice. Ljunggren & Alsos conclude that journalists need to be re-educated about their journalistic bias.

A formulaic societal mechanism used by the media to eulogise and vilify social categories is discernible - by filtering them through an inferential structure using borrowed prevailing and dominant beliefs thus reinforcing, amplifying and relaying them (Golding & Middleton, 1982:61). The media selectively relays, simplifies and colours images derived from popular mythology which becomes ruling ideology and popular indignation (ibid.67). Thus the mass media convey exalted images of the working class presented as fantasy to sanitise them of poverty (ibid.47). Images of crime pervade those of welfare (ibid.108) and are extended into depictions of the entrepreneur. It is a two way process and the imagery of criminality and the disreputable poor can be used against the entrepreneur. Similarly, the disreputable poor can be vilified by grafting on images of the entrepreneur. It is common to ridicule them as a parody of the entrepreneurial using the stereotyped imagery associated with the tycoon. Golding & Middleton (1982:60) discuss the media usage of the "King-Con" label to perpetuate the notion of the dole cheat as being a serious social problem. The entrepreneur as presented in biography also follows a discernable formula.

12.3 – BIOGRAPHY AS CONSTRUCTIONISM'S TOOLS.

Biography and autobiography are channels through which entrepreneurial narrative flows into everyday culture to become accepted knowledge, playing an important part in the social construction of entrepreneurship. Wetherell (1991:77) states that "the very act of involves imagining audience for whom you are constructing your identity". As readers we are fascinated by biographies and life stories which follow a definite chronological sequence and differ considerably from memoirs, which consist of a mixture of personal reminiscences, discussion of events and personal reflections. For Vaara (2002) narrative and identity are inextricably intertwined, particularly in autobiography, where stories make heroes of particular actors. Narratives build identity. Vaara discusses personified stories in which adversaries are required for the heroification, or glorification, of one's own actions in which such stories are told, described and re-described. Taylor *et al* (1975:90) refer to "biographical frameworks within which human choice occurs and is moulded".

Indeed, Leiber (1991:151) documents the human propensity to construct "life narratives", and Walvin (1997:10) talks of a "lexicon of character types" available to biographers to conjure forth images. The life stories, or biographies, of entrepreneurs are what MacIntyre (1997:1x) refers to as "defining saga" comprised of a series of smaller stories by which the individual (or the biographer) choose to define their stories and identity. MacIntyre (1997:9) refers to self-inflating memoirs, and Curran & Burrows (1987:10) refer to "biographically mediated interpretations". More importantly, for Frogett & Chamberlyne (2004) biographical approaches explore the dynamics of a whole life and its institutional setting. Hjorth (2001:173) considers biography a valid methodology for understanding entrepreneurship, and Chell *et al* (1994:69) advocates the collection of biographical data which can inform academic understandings and constructs. Casper (1992) examined biography, library records and diaries, exploring the constructions and uses of biography in nineteenth-century culture, noting how biographers shaped the model of the Jacksonian "self-made men". One must also consider the role of tributes and private unpublished books as many entrepreneurs openly encourage formal or informal accounts of their life stories accentuating their business success and self-author these pieces often from apocryphal stories, which become woven into the fabric of truth by repetition. Elliott (1992:130) argues biography can be used to toady favour with despots, and notes how media master Robert Maxwell used this process to his favour. Thus it can be argued that biographical structure influences the construction of entrepreneur stories. Moreover, much fiction can be described as faction, because it may be based on fact.

12.4 – FICTION AS CONSTRUCTIONISMS TOOLS.

Leland (1998:8) acknowledges the "otherness" of fiction but stresses its autobiographical element, with characters being concocted from a stock of autobiographical imagery. For Kreiswirth (2000) there is no difference between how truth or fiction is communicated because fiction is a discourse claiming the freedom of invention. Fiction is useful for explaining difficult concepts without fear of libel. Leland (1998:35) argues that fiction refines reality. For Barthes (1988:100-102) fiction brings method into play, and in stories there is a logic of action as well as a choice of modes of narrative and characters. It is also often one of the first inspirational forms of narrative encountered by children and may influence their future life choices. According to for Handerich (1995:279) it enables us to learn in a unique way from it, and for Rockwell (1974:29) it is an excellent medium, through which to transmit norms. It is a social product, which produces society (particularly in childhood) because of its normative nature whereby nursery rhymes, folktales and religious tracts set ideals of behaviour (*ibid.viii*). Fictions are powerful because we participate in them and novels help young people find their way in life (*ibid.57/92*). Its attraction lies in the personal element as a story about people, their adventures and fate (*ibid.21*). Fiction legitimises emotions and aspirations and provides models and patterns of acceptable or unacceptable behaviour, making it part of the necessary education of modern people (*ibid.81*). Rockwell (1974) advocates teaching reality, via fictional narratives because fiction is not as a falsification of reality, but as a necessary ordering of it. Fiction is "something made up" but representing social reality by permitting social change whilst conveying important social values and attitudes (*ibid.3-4*). Novels and biographies enable the personification of societal values and heroism as a triggering mechanism, enabling action, thereby turning the actor into a heroic type (*ibid.58*). Personification is a process by which norms and values are made visible by being represented as fictional characters (*ibid.76*). Fiction thus educates whilst, acting as social commentary allowing stories that would otherwise have

remained untold to be narrated. Fiction makes known helping us overcome our incomprehension of other people's worlds (Leland, 1998:9). Indeed, Ellis (1982) makes reference to "visible fictions".

Fiction is a dramatic, creative narrative process and as such is an ideal medium through which to channel entrepreneurial narratives. Leland (1998:204) notes via fiction we can vicariously experience the life of the millionaire. For Reich (1987:78) fiction and reality can converge in entrepreneur stories and Steyaert & Bouwen (1997) liken entrepreneur stories to fiction in which the hero skims the peaks and plumbs the depths. Leland (1998:98) discusses the formulaic nature of much fiction that follows a dramatic model dictating that stories begin with the introduction of characters. Thus in act one, we read of a period of rising action, act two contains the body of the story and the closing scene sees the denouement or falling action. Also, Leland (1998:120-129) appreciates our preference for happy ever after endings bringing closure. Alternative endings include comedy, failure or tragedy. In analysing this storybook structuration Leland discusses the 5 C's of fiction - co-ordinates; conflict; complication; climax; and conclusion. Entrepreneur stories utilise these narrative divisions. For instance, the coordinates of the entrepreneur are set by humble beginnings and a struggle against an apparently unbending establishment. Thereafter a complication occurs which the entrepreneur exploits before reaching the climactic conclusion that brings about legitimacy, or a fall from grace. The co-ordinates (who, where, when) of a story relate to the characters, the physical location, and historical anchoring. In relation to conflict (what, why) it is traditional in stories to have a central figure who is both subject and hero. Traditional storylines entail a battle of wills between hero and villain and the overcoming obstacles. This is the classic good-guy versus bad-guy formula. Entrepreneurs and villains are dramatic characters tailor made for fictional representation. The actions of such fictional characters validate or violate norms and values and fiction revolves around the actions of its characters.

12.4.1 - Fictional characters and characterisation.

Leland (1998:191) stresses compelling, iconic characters "violate our expectations". Indeed, Leland (1998:28) argues that such characters operate at an ideological level, and that the ideology is embedded within the actual words of the story. Leland examined the proto-text (the hidden structure) of the story stressing that storytelling conventions, or techniques, demands the presence of a compelling hero and villain (ibid.1). Thus the hero must be virtuous and purposefully strive towards a moral. Leland lists basic components of fictional characters such as characterisation; demeanour, dramatics and deeds (ibid.170-179). Furthermore, Leland (1998:192-4) describes literary mechanisms used to construct storied characters, and in particular the flawed character. The notion of the flawed character is relevant to entrepreneur stories, because entrepreneurs are portrayed as possessing such human vices, frailties and flaws. In addition, Leland (1998:18) discusses the self-dramatising character type of the "hellion". In popular novels the entrepreneur is portrayed as a hellion figure hell bent upon a collision course with the establishment.

A novel is a work of fiction generally concerned with character, presenting unchanging moral truths whilst individualizing characters by locating them precisely in time and space. Novels take their plots from everyday happenings making them an authentic account of the actual experience of individuals. They are popular because they closely represent the lives of the majority of people. The novel is related to epic and romance. Epics tell a traditional story and are an amalgam of myth, history, and fiction. Romances concentrate upon larger-than-life characters, emphasising adventure and may involve questing. For Frye (1957) novels relate to people like us and upon human character manifested in society. The characters portrayed are rooted in working and middle class beginnings (as is entrepreneurial mythology). Rockwell

(1974:88) argues that novels are an art form and differ from fables, tales and dramas because they concentrate upon individuals and their values. Fiction builds up a vicarious rapport in the mind of the reader. We identify with characters that remind us of people we know, and experiences we have shared, or imagined. However, the primary purpose of fiction is to entertain (Clark, 1997:201). Hall (1991:26-42) discusses the epic novel *Robinson Crusoe* by Defoe (1719 [1965]) as being a template for the new capitalist entrepreneur then conquering the new world. In highlighting Crusoe as a heroic, middle class risk-taker who benefited from the providence of Protestantism, is actually highlighting that Defoe wrote the proto-script for Weber's PWE. Hall (1991:42) suggests that Crusoe is an example of an individual socially constructed by society. For Watt (1957) the mentality and philosophy of the pragmatic hard-headed businessman is mimicked in the rationale of novels and in particular the bourgeois novel. Watt (1957) stressed that these novels contain essential elements of the bourgeois norm associated with philosophical realism, the Protestant ethic, and the rise of capitalism.

12.4.3 - The bourgeois novel.

The bourgeois novel may influence our understanding of entrepreneurship and entrepreneur stories. Rockwell (1974:100) describes the bourgeois novel as an allegory of "the triumph of perseverance, foresight and acquisitiveness over outwards circumstances". Rockwell (1974:56/85) discusses the prevalence of this happy-ever-after storyline and its association with marriage, establishing a new family, and the acquisition of wealth. The money motif is prevalent in bourgeois novels and the good are always rewarded with money (ibid.103-4). Indeed, love and money are common themes in novels with how to obtain these, forming the basis of the plot. In such novels, it is customary for the hero to overcome some impediment to obtain upward social mobility. Rockwell (1974:91-93) notes that the requirement of the hero or heroine in a novel to move upwards corresponds to the moral imperative of the PWE, as in venture and succeed! Novels are devoted to "getting established and settled in life" and thus the story relates to attraction = pursuit = success = upwards mobility as dictated by the norms of bourgeois society. Rockwell argues that for bourgeois society the novel is akin to the epics and sagas of earlier heroic societies. For bourgeois society, success is the greatest virtue as reflected in their novels, defined in individual terms with working class heroes being obsessed with escaping their fate. The character of the person prevails in the bourgeois novel with the "good-boy" being courageous and ardent of spirit (Barthes, 1988:117). Thus again we see the importance of character.

Rockwell (1974:98/101) condenses bourgeois norms to "virtue rewarded", listing virtues common to all bourgeois novels as abstinence, chastity, postponement of pleasure, refusal of self-indulgence, defence of one's self – all whilst maintaining a respectful carriage towards authority. Rockwell refers to these as the "bourgeois image of respectability". These virtues are not practised for their own merit but in expectation of financial and social advantage being morally laden traits practised as behaviours. Common societal norms and values may be inferred from the actions of fictional characters (ibid.17). Entrepreneur stories also glorify heroic virtues, necessary for the perpetuation of the capitalist system. However, they are oft devoid of the passion of everyday life. These formulaic stories do not deal with humanistic issues such as relationships, emotions, sexuality and other hedonistic impulses. The heroic act is separated from the person and only those parts necessary for the perpetuation of the story are emphasised. In novels this restriction is removed. The bourgeois novel was not the only genre to influence entrepreneurial narrative. American Dime novels presented working class symbols of potent masculinity (Nackenoff, 1994). The perpetuation of values in novels is desirable in societies being unmade as values are reassembled in a new form (Rockwell, 1974:65).

12.5 – THE ENTREPRENEUR AS PORTRAYED IN THE PRESS.

This section examines the perpetuation of entrepreneurial narrative in the popular press. The method of collecting data was to analyse tabloid newspapers over the period of the study and extract relevant articles by clipping. The national weekend newspapers were targeted as a convenient, yet purposeful method of data sampling. To replicate lay readers knowledge I developed a simple methodology which mirrored how the public assimilate their knowledge. Such articles could conceivably influence public perception of the entrepreneur and how such knowledge was constructed. Analysis of the press-clippings revealed that the articles could be labeled as tabloid tales, cautionary tales and failure stories. These are not intended as categories *per-se* but as descriptors of what the individual stories encompass and do.

12.5.1 - Tabloid Tales.

Tabloid tales are a construction of the entrepreneur, revolving around accusations of debauchery and sexual misconduct, invariably supplied by a mudslinging insider, a process, which Casson (2000:9) refers to as muckraking. These tales concentrate on aspects of personal character, or its absence. A classic example is told by O’Riordan & Hancock (2003:16-17) who in narrating the tale of the Berkley Homes empire (built by ruthless entrepreneur Tony Pidgley) invoke clichéd storylines such as “From humble beginnings”, “former Barnardo’s boy ...born with almost every imaginable disadvantage”, “phenomenal ascent”, and “built...with his bare hands”. In another tale relating to the same story, Stenson (2003) invokes a picaresque storyline stating that Pidgley was “raised by gypsies in a railway carriage” and “can still barely read or write”. Tony Pidgley is accused of brutal domestic violence, mental torture, torrid affairs, philandering, possessing a controlling nature, and squabbles over cash. Pidgley is accused of “flashing cash” and exuberant lifestyles. Pidgley’s family is attacked for displaying “bad taste” and being as “common as muck”. Doubt is cast on Pidgley’s character, because at his daughters wedding he sat beside “three heavies with cauliflower ears”. He is described as being a “bully” and a “nasty piece of work”. Pidgley’s ex-wife’s family is described as being from “a tough family” with several brothers one wouldn’t want to cross. Such press coverage is more indicative of gangsterism than entrepreneurism. Stenson (2003) concentrates on Pidgley’s tycoon son Tony junior, describing him as an evil, “sex mad, cocaine snorting wife beating tyrant” addicted to hardcore porn.

Laurance (2001) discusses the activities of the entrepreneur Malcolm Walker, the founder of the company Iceland, who was accused of insider trading and dishonest practice when he off-loaded a £13.5 million stake in the company shortly before trading losses were revealed. The tone of the tale is accusatory, alluding to Walker being underhanded by starting a new venture in the same niche. Much is made of the ironic nature of the name of Walkers new venture, named “Cool Trader”. Also, Gillard & Laurance (2003:1-3) conform to heroic entrepreneurial script by referring to entrepreneur Philip Green as an “Emperor of the High Street”, and his wife Tina as an Empress. Gillard & Laurance then metaphorically emasculate Green in the eyes of their readers, by referring to the old adage “behind every successful man is a woman”. They profile his wife Tina whom they refer to as “a remarkable women”, before asking the rhetorical question “who really owns Green’s retail kingdom”. Furthermore, Gillard & Laurance add to the perception of the entrepreneur as being of lowly extraction by referring to Philip Green as a “maverick entrepreneur”, and the “Mr Big Mouth of retailing”. Gillard & Laurance complete the stereotypical picture by writing that Green is blokeish, loves football, flash cars, and swears a lot. Mention is also made of flash parties and extravagance. To add to the emerging picture of deviousness, they suggest that Philip Green hides behind the Green family as a

mechanism for blurring the truth. The theme continues in an article in which the Aberdeen based entrepreneur Bob Tait was described as “a dramatic figure” who “liked a drink and to tell tales”. The words entrepreneur and criminal are frequently collocated in tabloid tales as evidenced by the story about Tommy McAlroy a Glaswegian entrepreneur who owns a building and bakery empire. Much is made of his association with known drug dealers, traffickers and security company owners. Tommy McAlroy is described as a “wheeler” whilst his deceased son Justin (slain in a gangland execution) is described as a “dealer”. Nor is the allusion to criminality rare. Indeed, journalists use the entrepreneur and criminal as interchangeable commodities. An interesting example of this is the magazine article entitled “Deliver a sports bag to Liverpool for five grand. Easy money?” in the Esquire Magazine. The article which obviously infers a criminal act also features a photograph of the fictional entrepreneur Del Boy illustrating a shared cultural iconology.

In a tabloid article entitled “The Lorry Drivers Secret”, McQueen & Smith (2001) outline the classic rags-to-riches story of Stephen and Beverley Billson whom had the outward appearance of a successful entrepreneurial family. In 1997 Stephen Billson, described as a Limousine Tycoon, and a self-made man quit his job as a lorry driver and became a businessman building up a portfolio of companies included an Executive Chauffeur Company. His wife Beverley ran her own company. On the face of it they were role models of the entrepreneurial dream to their two young children who entered private education. Stephen became an avid collector of art and antiques, and wore designer clothes. The trappings of success followed and the couple invested in a large house in the grounds of a castle, a country cottage, a BMW, a Mercedes and a Bentley with the personalised registration number GOT 1. However, Stephen was concealing a double life, which was exposed when he was stopped by Customs, in his Mercedes with 82.6 kilos of heroin worth £7.3 million in his boot. It is believed that Billson funded his businesses from the profits he made as a drug courier. Fallon & Srodes (1983:2) refer to the need to protect dreams against those who pervert them.

In tabloid journalist style, Kaihla (1998) discusses the life of enigmatic Canadian businessman Frank Roberts fated to be even more famous in death than in life, as the only high profile CEO in memory to be executed gangland style. Kaihla invokes ethnicity and marginality, the child prodigy and rags-to-riches themes as well as the golden goose storyline. Kaihla differentiates between perceived reality, and secret reality, noting that eulogisation can blind one to the existence of secret reality at variance with perceived (public) reality. In profiling the secret life of Frank Roberts, Kaihla notes that behind the façade of respectability, and the image of the family man, Roberts had a mistress. It can take a death to make persons talk freely about feelings and in the case of Roberts people narrated a litany of accusations such as cheating, not being a nice person, not having a good reputation, plagiarizing and the theft of business inventions. Accusations of ruthlessness and aggressiveness, autocratic and abusive behaviour abound as does a perception of having to watch your back. Kaihla invokes the word slick as a descriptor for entrepreneurs. Roberts even invented a heroic tale of Army service in the Korean War when in fact he was a Coast Guard. Roberts also alleged that he was a graduate of Yale University but no such record exists.

Also, Kay & Levy (2003) ask the question “What is it about rich men and the Prince of Wales”. They suggest that Charles is drawn to the vulgar opulence of borrowed luxuries such as private jets, helicopters, and yachts. Kay & Levy marvel at Charles's ability to suspend judgment about the dubious backgrounds of tycoons such as Armand Hammer, Cem Uzan, Nemir Kirdar, and John Latis. Kay & Levy discuss the disgraced billionaire (fraudster) Armand Hammer who bankrolled Charles charities. Uzan is a Turkish entrepreneur whom they suggest dare not set foot on British soil for fear of arrest on a 15 month suspended jail sentence. Kirdar is an investment banker. Likewise Latis is described as a gangster in his native Greece.

Latis is described as being born into poverty as the son of an itinerant fisherman and rising to incredible wealth as a shipping tycoon. The tycoons such as Latis are maligned for craving esteem and for personal vanity. Kay & Levy discuss the fawning sycophancy of foreign tycoons towards the Royalty. Journalists also draw on fiction for inspiration of stories as in the article Masters of the Universe borrowed from Tom Wolfe's description of Wall Street high-flyers in the novel "Bonfire of the Vanities". The Masters of the Universe is a term applied to members of the Young Presidents Club, a secretive group of young millionaires, who have to be under 44 to join and have companies with an annual turn over of 5 million \$'s plus or assets of £100 million. It is necessary to acknowledge that stories of or about entrepreneurs may have come from tabloid sources because these papers are targeted at a particular niche market of readers and are deliberately constructed to be of a sensational nature. Such stories lean towards the scandalous and are about the private, social lives of entrepreneurs, telling an alternative story to the hagiography and eulogies perpetuated via biography. These tabloid tales can thus paint a derogatory image of British entrepreneurs.

12.5.2 – Cautionary tales and failure stories.

As well as accusations of criminality, cautionary tales and failure stories are frequently invoked by journalists. The following three cautionary tales by Goodhand (2002) serve to explain the pitfalls and the character enhancing effects of failure. Goodhand discusses the tale of Ernest Malmstein - enigmatic founder of Boo.com who made his first millions with an associate setting up an internet business Bokus which they sold for £10 million before setting up Boo.com with £1.5 million of his own money. When it failed in May 2000 Malmstein was surprised at the aggressiveness of the media coverage and wrote a book Boo.hoo about his experiences. Goodhand tells of Don Murrell - an accountant who gave up his job and remortgaged setting up his own consultancy firm but failed after 6 months with debts of £50,000. Murrell faced the stress of legal problems and marital problems but turned failure into success by working hard and slowly regaining his capital. Murrell now specialises in advising failed businessmen and troubled entrepreneurs. Goodhand narrates the story of Canadian Yuppie, Gary Frank who lost his first million in a stock market crash but moved to Oxford, attended university, signed on the dole before borrowing £30,000 to start a chain of donuts shops. Frank had nothing to lose and the story exemplifies the durability of the entrepreneurial dream. Cautionary tales and failure stories are vital mechanisms of social regeneration acting as a template telling and showing people who may aspire to become entrepreneurs that what may seem as impossible odds can be surmounted. Failure stories dwell on private and social issues often left unsaid in more conventional entrepreneur stories which emphasise success and individual charisma. These typical cautionary, failure stories have an effect upon economic regeneration because they offer hope and guidance, empowering individuals to act. They thus empower entrepreneurial narratives in a wider sense.

12.6 – THE ENTREPRENEUR AS PORTRAYED IN FICTION.

This section examines the entrepreneur as constructed in fiction, both historical and contemporary, discussing the stories individually, unpacking important themes to be analysed and developed. It is easier to identify and separate themes than to separate people from actions. Entrepreneurial narrative is formulaic and serves as a template which has become the staple of a genre of prolific fiction writers, such as Howard Fast, who wrote - The Immigrants, The Second Generation, The Establishment and The Legacy. Indeed, Fast understands that entrepreneurial narrative twists tortuously as it passes across the generations. Smith (2002) argues that the fictional entrepreneur is a skewed construct portrayed in a historical, romanticised

context. Notwithstanding this, fiction serves a useful purpose for propagating entrepreneurial ideology and has been used to good effect in entrepreneurship texts such as Casson's (1982) fictional hero Jack Brash.

12.6.1 – Reading entrepreneurs in fiction.

In the following fictional stories we examine various constructions of the entrepreneur invoked in a number of different manners. A deliberate decision was made not to separate the fictional entrepreneur from their stories because it is within such stories that the public glean their knowledge of entrepreneurship. Twelve novels with a connection to entrepreneurship were selected from the public library to reflect the manner in which such novels are made available to the public. As such it was a purposeful sample. See table 33.

TABLE 33 – READING THE ENTREPRENEUR IN FICTION.	
<p>1. As a partial invocation of the entrepreneurial fable. Howard Spring (1940) (1991). Fame is the spur.</p>	<p>Spring's portrayal of John Hamer Shawcross is a classic example of the partial invocation of entrepreneurial myth as the poor-boy-made-good, albeit of the political variety. Hamer Shawcross, as he was known in later years, overcame the marginality and poverty of his boyhood in Manchester rising to the rank of cabinet minister. He served an apprenticeship in commerce becoming a manager for an entrepreneur friend and mentor. Shawcross possessed entrepreneurial traits - arrogance, ambition and raffishness, a love of books and his ability as an orator.</p>
<p>2. As a tragic fairytale. Martin Dressler- Tale of an American Dreamer Millhauser (1998)</p>	<p>A cleverly constructed tale told without recourse to the word entrepreneur. Written in the classical fairy tale tradition, discernable in the introduction – "There once lived a man named Martin Dressler, a shop keeper's son, who rose from modest beginnings to a height of dreamlike good fortune. This was towards the end of the nineteenth century when on any corner in America you might see some ordinary looking citizens who was destined to invent a new kind of bottle cap or tin can, start a chain of five cent stores, sell a faster and better elevator, or open a fabulous new department store....Although Martin Dressler was a shopkeepers son, he too dreamed his dream, and at last he was lucky enough to do what few people even dare to imagine. He satisfied his hearts desire. But this is a perilous privilege, which the gods watch jealously, waiting for the flaw, the little flaw that brings everything to a ruin (ibid.1)". Of ethnic extraction, Dressler is cast in the role of the gifted child prodigy beginning his business ascent aged 9. Socialised into the work ethic he helped in his father's cigar shop. Imbued with his mother's confident and creative streak, he commenced full-time employment at 14 as a bellboy at the Vanderlyn Hotel. He quickly rose to become a foyer clerk, using this position to his advantage directing discerning smokers to his fathers shop. Displaying entrepreneurial flair he negotiated a lease on a cigar stand and employed an adult to sell his fathers cigars. Groomed for promotion, his future career appeared assured - but he had other dreams. Forming an unlikely alliance with Walter Dundee (a hotel employee with access to venture capital) he entered business, opening a restaurant and developed it into a profitable chain before selling it to a rival tycoon at a profit. He then bought his beloved Vanderlyn Hotel and transformed it with the help of an enterprising and imaginative architect Rudolf Arling. Together they created and built a dream – The Dressler Hotel immortalizing his name. It was hugely acclaimed and was quickly followed by The New Dressler. Thus perched on the abyss of greatness his world disintegrated as his fatal flaw emerged. In his private life he was a tragic figure doomed to a succession of failed liaisons and dalliances. His next venture The Grand Cosmo overstretched his credibility. Outwardly it had the appearance of a fairy tale castle but inwardly it was an ever-changing cosmos. The public and investors were confused. He faced financial ruin, being driven towards a descent into madness, losing his grip of reality. He "had dreamed the wrong dream, the dream that others did not wish to follow (ibid.288)".</p>
<p>3. As a fall from Grace. Taylor Caldwell' (1972) - Captains and Kings.</p>	<p>A classical tale of overcoming poverty and marginality. It poignantly begins with his mother's death on the ship taking her and her young family to America and the lure of the American Dream. She had fled the poverty and marginality of 18th century Ireland, but cruelly died within sight of the promised-land propelling Joseph into the twin roles of the entrepreneurial child prodigy and hero. Forced to adopt the role of the familial provider to his infant brother and sister he struggled to survive in</p>

	<p>America where “the Irishman was not a man “(ibid.17). To overcome the stigma he adopted the persona of a Scotsman and denying his Catholic heritage enrolled his siblings in a private school. Gaining employment in a rich town where many men dealt in illegalities, including slave-running and other vices, he became a trusted bootlegger. Gaining the confidence of his employer he borrowed a cart and its load of illicit cargo and sold them. He was no ordinary thief and later repaid the debt. Cast in the role of villain, he used the proceeds to finance his first venture. As an avid reader he consumed knowledge voraciously. He set his heart upon becoming an “evil entrepreneur” (ibid.51) accumulating nefarious enterprises. He met an Irish businessman and Senator Tom Hennessey and fell in love with his daughter. He migrated to the thriving frontier town of Titusville, populated with ruthless entrepreneurs and gamblers, thieves and criminals exquisitely dressed and indistinguishable from each other as “hunters of men” (ibid.52). Serendipity led him to admittance in a sinister network run by his future mentor the amoral Irish businessman Mr. Healey, a likeable rascal whose personal life philosophy was “never turn down an honest penny” or a “dishonest one either (ibid.64)”. Under his tutelage Joseph supervised a vast legal and criminal enterprise, playing the twin roles of gunman and business associate. He continued studying and became a lawyer in pursuit of legal plunder. He amassed a fortune exploiting hungry businessmen during the American Civil War, assisted by a network of 13 other atavistic acolytes of “one breed, one blood, one mind” (ibid.86). He diversified into the oil business inventing and patenting a new drilling process making him rich beyond his wildest dreams. In time Healey’s network became his as he became first a Tycoon and then feared robber baron (ibid.374). He developed Armagh Enterprises into a vast empire encompassing oil and property interests as well as bootlegging, gun running and prostitution. Despite having a Midas touch in his business affairs his personal life was tragic. Despite providing for his siblings, his brother became a waster, his sister entered a convent, and although he married his sweetheart and built a big mansion their relationship was loveless. He sired two sons before his wife became insane. His second born was ironically shot by a bullet from a gun sold to enemies of America by his own company. He became a bitter man, feared but not respected by the establishment who regarded him as a “dirty shantytown Irisher” (ibid.218). To consummate his dream he sought to project his first born as President but was thwarted by the sinister and fraternal Committee For Foreign Studies (a cabal of ruthless global businessman, of which he was a member). On the instructions of these Captains and Kings of industry the future president was assassinated. Joseph had been castigated for his hubris.</p>
<p>4. As a boom to bust story.</p> <p>Howard Fast (1983) -‘Max’.</p>	<p>A classic tale told without recourse to the word entrepreneur. Max conforms to the storylines of the poor-boy-made-good and the hero. An immigrant Jew from a large New York family raised in poverty and marginality, he became a streetwise petty-thief surviving in a chaotic environment. Denied a proper education he was nevertheless imbued with the spirit of enterprise and imagination simultaneously operating his own scams as a ticket tout and a bagel seller. He too was exposed to an entrepreneurial role model in the form of Rowdy Smith an Irish immigrant businessman who operated a Penny Arcade. It was here his future aspirations were aroused, fantasising about becoming “a tycoon, a builder of rail roads and factories, wealthy beyond measure (ibid.36). In later years he was accused by many of being a thief, but although he had a flexible morality and purchased a stolen watch, paradoxically he was not interested in money. It was the thrill of earning that drove him inexorably forward. Max was propelled into frenetic animated activity on seeing his first cinematic picture. Spotting the potential, he extended himself incredibly, leased premises, inspired others with his confidence and opened Max Britsky’s Orpheum. This protean cinema was a roaring success and spawned a vast empire, the Britsky Organization. Max obsessed about building his dream – the Britsky Xanadu a grand building of storybook proportions. Max perfected his modus operandi introducing subtle changes to increase productivity. His enterprising nature came to the attention of a villain who tried to muscle in on his empire. Max outsmarted him and entered into an uneasy alliance diffusing the situation with corrupt practices. Max extended his influence into politics and was soon moving in circles of key people, who although ostensibly legitimate businessmen were stealing millions. Max sold out his cinema empire to a ruthless competitor when profit margins fell. He knew that the true fortunes to be made were in making films and</p>

	<p>took another giant leap in the dark. He sold up and moved lock stock and barrel to Hollywood. His exploits become the stuff of myth and legend amongst fellow tycoons. In his private life he was less successful. He married an articulate teacher and fathered two sons, but the marriage foundered and his two children became estranged. His two younger brothers became common thieves and his mother upon whom he dotted was ungrateful. His greatest asset was his fatal flaw. Being a man of values and principles he had dragged a coterie of friends and relatives with him on his epic journey to their benefit. The establishment hated him for he had never conquered the "curse of the inarticulate (ibid.172)". Ruthless competitors conspired with his embittered wife, his estranged children, his disloyal mother and brothers and his most trusted life long friends. All betrayed and humiliated him, voting him off the board of his vast business empire. Max, the man who was famed for being one step ahead of the others was forced to walk away from it all. He lost interest in life ironically dying of a heart attack in the back row of a former theatre.</p>
<p>5. As a tragic rags to riches story.</p> <p>I G Broat (1978) - "The Entrepreneur".</p>	<p>Alex Carradine conforms to the popular conception of the rags-to-riches tale and perpetuates the popular notion of the love - hate relationship between the establishment and entrepreneur. The caption on the front page says it all - "He was born with nothing. After that everything was sheer profit ". The narrative on the insert summarises the storyline "Alex Carradine was a mover. His drive and ambition brought him wealth, power and a taste for more in a world where those things mattered. He started at the bottom, as an East End car-dealer, with more crocks than a kitchen cupboard. But his talents brought him to better things - his own garage and the lucrative Satzui agency. And then the property boom hit. Alex was caught in a whirling maelstrom of developers and moneymen, politicians and bankers. Money didn't grow on trees, but it was certainly easy to find, and the profits were enormous. Slowly Alex clawed his way into the big league, to find himself with the tallest tower in London, worth millions - and then the politicians and the Bank of England pulled the rug out. Facing overstretch and financial meltdown the book ends with him contemplating suicide.</p>
<p>6. As the-rich-kid-making-better.</p> <p>Harold Robbins (1997). Tycoon.</p>	<p>A gripping tale which invokes stereotypes, clichés, stereotyped behaviours, clichéd character types, clichéd situations and clichéd stereotypes to tell the tale of Jack Lear the rich kid who made better. The following excerpts from the jacket cover tell the story "Jack Lear, a larger than life figure with a chip on his shoulder, has risen from a modest Jewish background to take on the WASP world, without ever quite succeeding in his ambition to become accepted as one of them. He makes a great fortune as a pioneering radio and television broadcaster and founds a landmark network, as well as getting his own back on the WASP bankers by seducing their daughters and wives. Yet, in the end, despite his money, fame, women, and art collection, he continues to hunger for what he cannot have". These build up the antecedents of an entrepreneur story. It breaks with the myth of the poor-boy-made-good and thus has to use other storylines to weave its magic. It portrays an establishment entrepreneur who is successful in all but personal relationships.</p>
<p>7. As a feminine construction</p> <p>Clarke (1979) - "Robber Baroness"</p>	<p>Tells the tragic tale of Hetty and her incredible rise to wealth and power. It is based on the true story of Hetty Green the 'Witch of Wall Street' detested, feared and maligned by her peers. In constructing the title, Clarke resorted to a reversal of the accepted masculine imagery of the day. Although fiercely competitive Hetty the heroine fails in life in all but business. Personal and familial ventures end in disaster.</p>
<p>8. As a non-heroic tale.</p> <p>Green (2001)- 'Nothing to lose'</p>	<p>In fiction, all too often the entrepreneur is cast in the role of the hero or villain, taking centre stage in the narrative. Rarely are they cast in a non-heroic supporting role. This is a refreshing example with a veritable supporting cast of entrepreneurial personae drive the story to its conclusion. Not once, during the entire plot does Green invoke the entrepreneur word. The entrepreneurial propensities of the cast are secondary to the love affair storylines. The heroine Jasmine Clegg inherits her grandfather Benny Clegg's greyhound betting pitch and a legacy of £50,000. Benny Clegg was a shrewd bookmaker of humble origins. Jasmine risked all and succeeded beyond her wildest dreams revitalizing the fortunes of the decrepit stadium. The villain of the piece is Oliver Gillespie a "Self-made Spiv (ibid.29), a child of the Thatcher era with the nouveaux riche gangster persona. The true power is Oliver's grasping wife Martina who controls his diversified empire. The Gillespie's live in a palatial home known locally as Tacky Towers. Oliver vies with Jasmine for trade, whilst running a shady debt-collecting empire. Another character is Brittany Frobister a seriously rich and beautiful brewery heiress and shrewd business-</p>

	<p>women. Sebastian Gillespie the privately educated and bored son of Oliver is Jasmines Clegg ideal man and woos the heroine (he ironically envies his parents roots in poverty because it provides them with a purpose in life). The story utilizes the props of entrepreneurial identity from flash clothes to the ubiquitous Mercedes and Bentley's. In this spellbinding story entrepreneurs are portrayed as villains.</p>
<p>9. As a parody of the American Dream. Simon Mayle (1993) - "Bum Jobs".</p>	<p>Humour is never far from the surface in this spoof autobiography written from the perspective of an Englishman who unsuccessfully pursued the American dream. It documents his hilarious, serial failures at becoming an entrepreneur. Born in Britain, Mayle immigrated to California with the intention of getting rich quick. Possessed of a hedonistic streak, he soon found trouble with the law and fled to New York where he landed a number of bum jobs. He still dreamed of becoming an entrepreneur and being "elevated to a position of respect (ibid.1). His first failed entrepreneurial venture consisted of a joint attempt with several friends to sell T-shirts at Daytona Beach (an entrepreneur's paradise). The trio failed to sell a single T-shirt, but succeeded in accumulating further convictions. Back in New York, Mayle decided that entrepreneurism was the answer and started a real business enterprise selling hot dogs at an illegal drinks party he and several friends organized. This venture failed. Undeterred he set about developing dynasty-building ideas. Several months later whilst reflecting in a bar on his failure to fulfil his promise to himself to be rich by his 40th birthday he met a worthy entrepreneurial role model Bob an advertising executive, whose favourite subject was himself – "a regular guy, out to make a shit-load of money (ibid:162-164). Mayle was impressed with Bob's new 5 series BMW, his Armani Suit, his kipper tie, his three hundred dollar alligator loafer shoes, his tanned face, his sixty-dollar haircut. Mayle became an enlightened man and was driven by an urge to emulate and obtain these obvious trappings of success acquiring the successful look at thrift shop prices. The book ends leaving his entrepreneurial aspirations in the realm of dreams.</p>
<p>10. As a tale of greed. Reid (1987) - "Easy Money"</p>	<p>A fast moving, spectacular, story of entrepreneur Lex Parlane, a flamboyant, charismatic, self-made, hard-nosed Glaswegian Millionaire bookie. Self proclaimed the most famous Scotsman since Rabbe Burns. It is a tangled tale of aggression, of boastfulness, of vendetta, of rule bending, of trying to keep one swift step ahead of the authorities, and the establishment who consider him to be a parvenu, a wide boy market trader, a vainglorious bully, a spiv, a fast boy, a thief, a shyster, and a crook. Lex is described as possessing the "louche style" of a "used car salesman" (ibid. 110) with a proverbial 'chip on his shoulder'. Of humble beginnings, from Glasgow's storybook past, Lex is regarded as a folk-hero, a ladies man, a hedonist who copiously consumes expensive gourmet food, champagne and cocaine with a "heroic capacity for excess" (ibid.79). In the racing fraternity Lex is a legendary Jack The Lad figure. To his enemies, he is a "genuine gangster" (ibid.36) in their midst situated on the edge of propriety, generating stories, legends and rumours in abundance. Image is important and descriptive language is used to convey this. For instance, Reid (ibid.1) describes the "tuxedoed figure of Lex Parlane"; "the buckled shoes and tailored suits" (ibid.10); his "Rolex watch" his "black tinted shades" (ibid.11); his "black fedora" (ibid.36); his "cashmere overcoat" (ibid.119); "his customary dark suit A bulky ankle length fur coat" (ibid.229); Gucci shoes (ibid.339); his garish ties (ibid.254); "loud checked suits and cigars" (ibid.30). The bad boy persona provides Lex with an automatic image, but provides his detractors with an opportunity to emphasise his vulgarity via his "cheap suits and silly hats" (ibid.34). Lex's flashiness extends to his choice of Mercedes motorcar and Rolls Royce and not to mention his helicopter with orchestrated, inspiring music and a gold telephone in pride of place on his Bloomingdale's desk (ibid.208). An acquaintance – Fat Jimmy is described as having signet rings on his fingers. Lex's Irish racing associates, farmers, club owners, businessmen and entrepreneurs are described as "bold bad boys...in caramel coats and big brimmed hats with beautiful bright eyed women at their sides". One such crony Danny McFarlane is described as having a whole wardrobe of monogrammed shirts and suits, a grey wool coat with a blue velvet collar. Others are described as "Brash and heavy men with feathered trilby hats and loud brown-and-white large check bold patterned suits" ... "a long leather overcoat trimmed with fur" (ibid.264); a "light brown camel hair coat worn with a red checked scarf and newly bought brown leather shoes to match" (ibid.265). Like his real life counterparts, Lex has a pet journalist who acts as his official biographer who wrote a hagiographic biography "Max Parlane: The Making</p>

	<p>Of A Scottish Legend” to repay his gambling debts. In the book Lex is portrayed as a cheeky, likeable rogue but a credit to society and the establishment.</p>
<p>11. As a spoof gangster story. Jake Arnott (1999) - 'The long firm'.</p>	<p>Strong entrepreneurial life themes run through this parody of the Long Firm era of the 1960's. It tells the tale of a deviant network run by Harry Stark, a homosexual businessman-gangster who attempts to jump the counter into legitimacy. The book narrates the stories of 5 main characters including Jack the Hat, a doomed gangster; Ruby Ryder a porn star; and Lenny a hip young lecturer and radical criminologist who influences Harry by instilling a desire for academic learning. Jack the Hat was a doomed gangster type, because he revelled in the gangster scene but had no grasp of the economic necessity to succeed. Ruby Ryder was the property of Harry Stark. He exploited her and made her into a minor celebrity. In return she ran his porn empire. She fell in love with Eddie, the working class gentleman thief regarding his crimes as a form of doomed romanticism whereas Harry did business, coldly and ruthlessly. Eddie was driven by passion and adrenalin, Harry by money and ambition. Even the deviant Ruby dreamed indecisively of better things and starting her own business. In Prison Harry educated himself, inspired by the Open University criminologist Lenny who saw him as a living discourse. Harry discovered that his life was a bounded by semiology. Education changed Harry's whole outlook and philosophy on life as he lapped up Weber's PWE, deviancy theory and appreciated male machismo. Harry reified himself as a businessman. Lenny turned native and seduced by gangsterism wrote an acclaimed paper - "Gangsterism: The Deviancy of Capitalism" arguing the gangster served a cathartic purpose in society allowing capitalism to exorcise itself and reassert moral normalcy. He portrayed the gangster as a malevolent folk devil and benevolent folk-hero arguing that Al Capone was "the Godfather of the sociology of deviance. His criminal corporatism had thoroughly confused images of normalcy with spectres of abnormality that there was irreversible changes to social norms ... Placed on the edge of modern values, he reassures it, gently mocking it in his mimicking of the trappings of big business, the well tailored suit, the fast car, etc. The gangster's very extremism cooperates with the everyday world of the free market (ibid.299). Harry escaped from prison complaining to the press of wrongful conviction for "offences that arose through disputes within my entrepreneurial enterprises (ibid.276). Harry became an elusive shadowy businessman figure or underworld business consultant. Lenny went native and fled to the Costa Del Crime.</p>
<p>12. As a gangster story. Carcatterra (2002) – 'Gangster'.</p>	<p>An entrepreneurial theme pervades this novel. Indeed, Carcatterra invokes entrepreneurial narrative when he refers to his fictional hero Angelo Vestieri as an astute man of business who saw opportunities before they materialised. Furthermore, Carcatterra stresses that Angelo "studied the habits of the industrial and business leaders of the day and sought to follow their ways. He read the Wall Street Journal and the New York Times. He devoured books on business and banking techniques and read as many biographies" as time permitted (ibid.242). Carcatterra weaves more spellbinding entrepreneurial narrative into his story noting that Angelo was possessed of a love of reading. Angelo's quest has all the hallmarks of the classic entrepreneurial narrative, such as overcoming poverty, marginality and personal tragedy to succeed where others failed (ibid.324). Ironically, Angelo's ascent began with the decision of his father Paulino to flee Sicily to escape the oppression of the Mafioso. For Paulino the Dream Of America gave him hope. Paulino's honest pursuit of this dream crushed him, whereas his son in attaining the status of a Mafioso Godfather grew to be at peace with his place in the American Dream. Bolton & Thomson (2000:193) note, "In the story of the Godfather we can again see clear evidence of entrepreneurship".</p>

Having let fiction speak for itself, it is necessary to analyse the stories. By using content analysis the following entrepreneurial themes were revealed in the novels – Child prodigy; The poor-boy-made-good; Empire building; Outsider stories; The entrepreneur castigated; The entrepreneur as criminal; and an Inability to form meaningful relationships. The fictional entrepreneurs discussed are projected as tragic figures. Fiction was specifically chosen as being worthy of exploration because it is one of the first forms of narrative encountered by children. Children are inspired by such fictional stories, which can influence their

future life choices. The fictional entrepreneurs are all united by their presentation as heroes, and as individuals aligned to the dominant discourse of individualism which lends itself to this hero making process.

12.6.2 – Identifying character as a dominant theme.

However, the strongest overarching theme is that all deal with the character of the entrepreneur portrayed particularly the deeper humanistic issues often uncaptured by researchers. Table 34 sets out the most obvious character flaws of the entrepreneurs presented above.

TABLE 34 - COMMON ENTREPRENEURIAL CHARACTER FLAWS PORTRAYED IN FICTION.	
Character	Character flaws
John Hamer Shawcross Howard Spring (1940) (1991)	Hamer is a tragic, lonely figure, a political entrepreneur devoted to doing good. He fell foul of the sin of hubris by changing his name to sound more respectable and to hiding his working class roots. He became but did not belong.
Martin Dressler Millhauser (1998)	Tragic Martin is a poor boy made good who succeeded beyond his wildest dreams. In his personal life he was indecisive and failed at personal relationships even marrying the sister of the woman he really loved. A dreamer he ultimately fell foul of hubris by dreaming a dream too far and in the cataclysmic breakdown of his empire sank into madness. He became but did not belong.
Joseph Francis Xavier Armagh. Caldwell (1972)	Joseph is the poor boy from Ireland who reinvented himself. He struggled against awesome odds to ruthlessly climb the ladder of success using all lawful and criminal methods at his disposal. He lived the American dream yet in his personal life he too was blighted by marrying for the wrong reasons and sought solace in the arms of a string of mistresses. His wife and sons and all around him perished by murder, suicide, misadventure or madness. He became but did not belong.
Max Britsky. Fast (1983)	Max was a poor boy made good with a ruthless reckless streak. He flirted with criminality possessing a flexible morality. His tale is a sad one of failed relationships, familial strife, vendettas, conspiracies and betrayals culminating in him being deposed from the empire he built, dying in penury of a heart attack. Despite becoming he was never accepted. Belongingness eluded him.
Alex Carradine I G Broat (1978)	A story of failed personal relationships, of succumbing to hubris and suicidal thoughts at the rapid fall of his empire. He became but was not allowed to belong.
Jack Lear. Robbins (1997)	Jack already belonged to the establishment, but in setting out to create his own empire he distanced himself from them. Jack's personal life is a depraved tale of betrayal by significant others and stolen doomed romance. Jack underwent the circle of belonging, becoming, and being but failed to re-belong.
Hetty Green. Clarke (1979)	Hetty belonged to the Quaker faith but in becoming the ultimate outsider as a successful female entrepreneur in an unforgiving era distanced herself from the establishment. Despite her success in business she remained a tragically flawed individual in her personal life, falling in love with the wrong men. She endured the tragedy of a son killed in a freak accident. She became but could never belong.
Oliver Gillespie Green (2001)	Oliver is portrayed as a grasping crook who despite apparently having everything is nevertheless a shallow flawed person. He became but could not belong because of his working class roots.
Simon Mayle Mayle (1993)	Is portrayed as a likeable but bungling rogue / wannabe entrepreneur. He has neither become nor belongs.
Alex Parlane. Reid (1987)	Is portrayed as a flash, arrogant, bullying, scheming, loud mouthed gangster and sexual predator who despite being accepted in his own milieu longs for acceptance by the establishment. He has become but will never be allowed to belong.
Harry Stark Arnott (1999)	Harry the homo-sexual businessman gangster is portrayed as a parody of the entrepreneur. Blatantly criminal and deviant he has neither become nor belongs.
Angelo Vestieri Carcaterra (2002)	Is the poor boy made good as a gangster. Being blatantly criminal, despite his renowned business sense can never be allowed to become or belong.

What unites Martin Dressler, Joseph Armagh, Max Britsky, Alex Carradine, Jack Lear, and Hetty Green is that they are all realistic characters driven by the will to succeed. They possess a passion, single-

mindedness, a work ethic and boundless energy combined with a ruthless streak. They are forced to fight injustices which they partially overcome by the strength of their personalities and stoic characters. Conversely, Lex Parlane, Harry Stark and Angelo Vestieri despite being ruthless and driven lack a basic redeeming aspect of character which sets them apart from the other entrepreneurs. Granted, Lex Parlane possesses the character of the likable rogue which aligns him with popular conceptions of the entrepreneur, but ultimately his entrepreneurial propensity, like that of Harry and Angelo is incidental in that it is an aspect of their character, not the defining aspect. Likewise, Hamer Shawcross lacks the ruthlessness which would have configured his story to the entrepreneurial fable. The juxtaposition of the characters of Jasmine Clegg and Oliver Gillespie illustrates the behavioural gulf which separates the moral and immoral entrepreneurs. Finally Simon Mayle does not possess the strength of character to be an entrepreneur, despite having the ideas he has no defining strength of character. Thus the entrepreneur presented is a tragic, flawed, obsessive individual of base character. Character is a defining characteristic of fictional entrepreneurs. By analysing their characters and actions it is possible to discern traces of the ontological and epistemological process of becoming and being. The entrepreneurs never quite manage to achieve a sense of belonging. Yet, novels are written to embody the processual aspects of becoming, irrespective of whether the ending is tragic or happy. The entrepreneur in fiction is hardly inspiring, but what of their counterpart in biography?

12.7 – THE ENTREPRENEUR AS PORTRAYED IN BIOGRAPHY.

Goss (2003) appreciates the role of biography in entrepreneurship research, as does Catano (2001) who examined masculine self-making. Clark (1996) used the biography of Robert Maxwell as a data set; and Jones & Conway (2000) explored the social embeddings of entrepreneurs by conducting a close re-reading of the biography of James Dyson. It is helpful to consider biographical narrative typologies. See table 35.

TABLE 35 – NARRATIVE TYPOLOGIES WHICH INFLUENCE BIOGRAPHICAL RENDITIONS.

Biography & Autobiography.	Autobiographies and commissioned biographies tend to be self-serving hagiographies, whereas those written by journalists fall into two types denigrational exposés; or critiques, albeit well balanced accounts. Both counteract hagiographic eulogies. See the hagiograph of Robert Maxwell by Haines (1988) and compare it with the exposé' written by Greenslade (1992). Biographies and autobiographies are often framed as tales of redemption, woven into short stories. An example is provided by Bolton & Thompson in the tale of George Reynolds a reformed Geordie villain turned successful entrepreneur / business magnate. Reynolds describes his former self as "dyslexic, illiterate, backward and brainless....thief, bootlegger and bookmaker" (2000:196). Reynolds prided himself in being a fast and decisive decision-maker. In prison a Priest challenged him to utilise his considerable organisational talents in legitimate business. Reynolds accepted the challenge and never looked back, starting up an ice cream round and through hard work diversified into shops, nightclubs, manufacturing, engineering, and finally shipping. His business interests are now worth a reputed £250,000,000. He is a role model worthy of emulation. Another interesting yarn told by Bird (2002) relates to his personal journey of redemption from a life of homelessness, vagrancy and crime to success. Stories of the-poor-boy-gone-bad accentuate those of poor-boy-made-good.
Chronicles.	In chronicled biographies, entrepreneurs tell their life story. Examples include "It's a Long Way From Penny Apples" by Cullen (2002) and "Some Luck" by Bird (2002). Cullen does not invoke heroic narrative. Yet, reviewers of his book do, calling it a poor-boy-made-good story or a tale of rags-to-riches. Similarly, Bird consciously rejects the entrepreneurial ideal but the framework remains implicit in their stories. The heroic and picaresque narratives are thus patently optional. The autobiography of the reluctant entrepreneur John Bird is refreshing in that he does not wrap the entrepreneurial narrative around him. Although he briefly introduces the word and

	also the humble beginnings storylines - he actively rejects the rhetoric refusing to perpetuate fable. His autobiography is about himself, not him as an entrepreneur.
Shortened Stories.	Shortened, condensed stories are powerful distillations, which magnify the power of entrepreneur stories. These can be found on the jacket covers of biographies highlighting keywords in the story. Thus Beaumont (2002:jacket) refers to a "poorly educated son"; "inherited a fortune"; "meteoric rise"; "Gleefully exposed"; "Hudson's fall" and "miserable penury" whetting ones appetite for the story. This is also discernible in the jacket cover of the book "The Quakers: Money and Morals" by Walvin (1997) setting out powerful storylines such as "A power in the land"; "A humble sect"; and so on. Such examples of entrepreneurial myth are at their most powerful in abbreviated form. Whilst the blurb on a jacket cover cannot be meaningfully compared to the data within a biography it can signpost expectation.
Abridged Biographies.	It is in celebrity profiles in magazines, written by journalists that people often encounter the entrepreneur. These form the basis of future stories via the journalistic system of press clippings and computer generated archiving. This powerful format can be found in the Readers Digest. Some examples are detailed below. Bouquet (1992) profiles Richard Branson describing him as a maverick, using positive trait descriptors such as self-confident and charismatic, or negative ones such as joker, pirate, megalomaniac, full of surprises, and idiosyncratic. Other metaphors such as irons in every fire, and David and Goliath rivalry are expressed. Elliott (1992) profiles Robert Maxwell noting how he was feted to a heroes welcome upon visting New York and how he exuded legendary charm, good-will and roguishness. Elliott lists Maxwell's character flaws including dealing harshly with underlings, his authoritarian personality, his penchant for bullying, and also provides a litany of negative descriptors not normally associated with entrepreneurs, namely finagled, crook, plunder, pillage, libel defamation, and litigation. Elliott concludes that Maxwell was the "greatest thief in history". Eckert (1994) discusses the "amazing success story" of Michael Dell and marvels at his "rise in just a few years from teenager to tycoon". Eckert eulogises Dell's propensity for hard work, his childhood business acumen as a stamp dealer which enabled him to purchase his first computer and also his initial sales technique of selling from the boot of his car. Schultz & Young (1999) tell a fast moving story of the meteoric rise from childhood poverty in Brooklyn of a restless working class boy who through modesty and hard work achieved success and accomplished his dreams in the Coffee Industry. In such microstoria entrepreneurial myth flourishes as life stories are married to action based descriptors.

12.7.1 – Conducting a biographical analysis.

This section extends our knowledge of how entrepreneurship and biography are socially constructed by conducting a biographical analysis. Firestone (1997) used this methodology to analyse contemporary Mafia autobiographies. The biographies and autobiographies examined demonstrate the diversity of entrepreneurial narrative - Adam Faith (Faith, 1996); John Zachary DeLorean (Fallon & Srodes, 1983); Anita Roddick (Roddick, 2000); Enzo Ferrari (Yates, 1991); Kjell Inge Rokke (Gibbs, 2001), Thomas Lipton (Mackay, 1998), John Paul Getty (Pearson, 1995); Tony O' Reilly (Fallon, 1994), James Goldsmith (Wansell, 1988), Robert Maxwell (Haines, 1985), Sir Richard Branson (Jackson, 1994 and Branson, 2000); and George Hudson (Beaumont, 2002). These were chosen by convenience sampling from a selection of readily available books at public libraries. These texts were available to any member of the public and could thus have influenced their perceptions of the entrepreneur. It is of note that these entrepreneurs either chose to project them into the public arena, or a biographer chose to publish their life story. Once a biography enters the public domain unchallenged it becomes established truth afforded the status of legitimacy.

Using content analysis, the stories were then analysed for the repetition of common themes and patterns, from which the thread of interconnected themes emerged suggestive of an entrepreneurial meta-

narrative, specifically tailored to suit the needs of the entrepreneur at particular life-stages. These themes occur with a frequency suggestive of the existence of a formulaic narrative structure. See table 36.

TABLE 36 – COMMON THEMES IN ENTREPRENEURIAL BIOGRAPHIES.

Narrative Themes	Thematic Descriptions	Examples
The entrepreneur as a child prodigy figure	A dichotomous narrative of the child blessed with a special gift or cursed with overcoming learning difficulties (such as dyslexia) or societal prejudices. Sub themes include overcoming marginality, poverty, race discrimination etc. A classic but optional paradigm.	Adam Faith, Anita Roddick, Enzo Ferrari, Thomas Lipton, Tony O'Reilly, and Richard Branson are all presented as child prodigies.
The poor boy made good	This category is central to the construction of entrepreneurial narratives being rooted in reality. It involves the mythical element of the <i>hegira</i> – the flight from oppression and often serendipity. A dominant paradigm.	Faith, DeLorean, Ferrari, Rokke, Lipton, O'Reilly, and Maxwell all claim this distinction. Goldsmith, Getty, and Branson cannot.
The heroic entrepreneur	The entrepreneur eulogized. Sub themes are succeeding against all odds, taking on the establishment, and the development of hubris. During this stage the entrepreneur creates new value or organizations. Sub themes are empire building and a change of stature. A dominant paradigm.	All are presented in a heroic light by their biographers. All but those of Getty and Maxwell are tempered by examples of self-deprecation.
The entrepreneur as an outsider	This category includes such demographic elements as class, marginality, ethnicity etc. It is the broad societal category for differentiating all those entrepreneurs who do not achieve legitimacy or heroic status. A classic paradigm	All but Getty and Hudson are attributed as outsiders who had to rail against the establishment. Getty is fingered as an eccentric.
The entrepreneur legitimized	Sub themes are - becoming immortalized, achieving a change in stature to tycoon, magnate or baron; philanthropic acts, societal recognition e.g. knighthoods or acceptance into fraternal orders. The homecoming is also part of this process. This dominant paradigm invariably involves a return to where it all began.	All the entrepreneurs listed achieved legitimacy in one form or another, but not always the legitimation they desired. All but Adam faith achieved tycoon status.
The entrepreneur castigated	Sub themes are hubristic payback, a general fall from grace [The Icarus narrative], a decent into madness, betrayal by significant others or overstressing ones capabilities or a debilitating scandal. It is a peculiar form of <i>schadenfreude</i> – where the public takes pleasure in the misfortune of others. This is a preferred paradigm.	Of the entrepreneurs examined only Getty and Goldsmith escaped castigation, probably because of their wealth and their establishment status.
The villainous entrepreneur	This is the traditional narrative of the likeable rogue or rascal. The entrepreneur is frequently cast in this role. An alternative paradigm.	All are cast in the role of villain but Faith more as a likeable rogue.

In reading and analysing, both the literature of class, and the biographies of the working classes, a recurring theme is that of struggling or fighting to overcome poverty or marginality, penury, privation or ethnicity – the very storylines we have come to associate with entrepreneurs. As a result of further readings of biographies, newspapers, magazines, it became apparent that these themes are also replicated across the medias. From an analysis of the biographies several generic themes emerged as discussed below.

12.7.2 - The socially constructed nature of biography.

In the biography of the historical entrepreneur George Hudson (Beaumont, 2002) the social construction of the entrepreneur becomes evident. When the hand of fate in the form of serendipity or an inheritance has intervened it is still possible to partially invoke the self-made storyline, as was achieved by Beaumont (2002:ix) who referred to Hudson as a "largely self-made man". The journalistic process of fudging makes

the facts to fit the preferred story. Hudson was middle class but inherited a £30,000 fortune, ostensibly via immoral and devious ministrations to an ailing relative (ibid.18). Yet, he was to remember the days before his inheritance as being happy days when his ambition was curtailed by circumstance (ibid.16). Beaumont (2002:13) refers to Hudson as a latter day Dick Whittington. When the preferred narrative does not fit, one can resort to telling of the trials and tribulations of an extraordinary life. Biographies generally perpetuate a heroic, masculine image of the entrepreneur, but also contain a less heroic, picaresque image of the villain, rogue or rascal. Both are necessary societal balancing mechanisms, being socially constructed pre-determined narratives invoked at will dependent upon whether the motive is to eulogise or vilify. Studying the entrepreneur in biography (and fiction) proved useful in identifying cyclic, formulaic structures, underlying themes and clichéd storylines less visible than the traditional poor-boy-made-good or humble-beginnings narratives. These storylines create an alternative script found in biographies. Although heroic entrepreneurial narrative is a one-sided rendition it is still a negotiated dialogue and biography provides a forum for entrepreneurs to tell their story, and a stage upon which to communicate and rebut their detractors

12.7.3 - The link between the entrepreneur as constructed in the press and in biography.

There is an obvious link between the entrepreneur as constructed in the press and biography, because biographers are often trained journalists. Indeed, very few entrepreneurs tell their own stories, using their own vocabulary and choice of words. Instead, their voice is filtered through the medium of the press and media. Many co-write their autobiographies or leave the onerous task of what to include and what to reject completely in the hands of the biographer whose perception of the entrepreneurial construct may already be well developed and perhaps skewed. It is in biography, that we most frequently locate the antagonism which exists between the press and the entrepreneur. The love-hate relationship is palpable. Wansell (1988:175) notes how Goldsmith was slated as a buffoon by the press for selling shares when others were buying and vilified by stories suggesting he had gone mad or did not know what he was doing. Wansell (1988:247) finds it astounding that the man responsible for being a British, French and American success story could have faced a 12 year campaign of vilification by the press. Entrepreneurs thus subjected consider themselves to be persecuted by fate. Indeed, Fallon (1994) notes that Tony O'Reilly too was constantly vilified by sections of the Irish Press. The treatment of O'Reilly by the Irish establishment is indicative of both sectarian snobbery and the treatment of outsider groups in general, from which so much entrepreneurial talent springs. Sir Richard Branson's biographer Jackson (1994:61) notes that "The news-paper industry had a further attraction too: newspaper proprietors had influence and respectability that would always be denied the owner of a mere record company".

It is also in biography that we often gain a glimpse of the power of the press to construct social opinion. In his biography of Robert Maxwell, Haines (1998:262-263) discusses standard journalistic techniques used for discrediting the powerful (and thus entrepreneurs) including the personal attack, masterly treatment of accounts, amazing leaps, loud promises, nod & wink innuendoes, muck racking and making, the splash, the scoop, and the slur, derision, scorn, veiled innuendo, smear campaigns, guilt by association and hackneyed / clichéd accusations such as the outsider accusation; the out of step accusation; and the traditional working class xenophobic fear of foreigners. Haines notes that metaphors such as maverick, clown and orator were frequently invoked against Maxwell. Haines (1998:4) argues that every derogatory description of Maxwell is

clichéd, for example, flamboyant, controversial, vulgar, ruthless, brazen, fiery, humourless, impatient, intolerant, rude, rampant. The public concentrate upon the flamboyant, perhaps because it is the aspect which newspaper accounts project as an assembled view. Flamboyance supposedly displays a lack of personal character (ibid.16). Haines balances this with less derogatory adjectives - cool, calm, collected, industrious, generous, amusing, jovial, kind, thoughtful, brave, charming, caring, and attractive. In biography we also glimpse aspects of the elusive entrepreneurial character and voice. Maxwell is described as self-confident, brash, deep, powerful, tactless, insensitive, brusque, and dogmatic. Haines (1998:240) highlights Maxwell's propensity towards deprecation exemplified by the saying "I have made a few bob".

Newspapers offer an avenue for the entrepreneurial voice and assist in the process of vilification by conducting a public dissection of the affairs of the disgraced entrepreneur. In trial by media reputations are forged or battered. Beaumont (2002:121) refers to journalists "conjuring up a Hudsonian hell, where George is playing the devil". Good stories must have an ending and the end of one's life or career is a good point to conclude such orations. It is necessary to have an obituary (a final summing up), akin to a verdict. These defensive orations can include the gracious comment - after the death of Hudson, The Sunderland Times likened his ascent to that of a splendid meteor in the commercial horizon. Like the eulogy they invoke pageantry, pomp and self-congratulatory backslapping orgies of flattery. In such stories we bask in reflected glory, not honest resumes. It is common in crafting a defence for the entrepreneur to edit the story to suit changing circumstances. Beaumont notes that people often treated Hudson at the height of his fame and fortune as if he was a god descending amongst them - "Hudson's fortunes soared" (ibid.117/125). Beaumont refers to an article in the Standard newspaper, which alludes to hundreds of people "feasting through the bold enterprise of one man" (ibid.80). Indeed, Beaumont (2002:54/56) describes Hudson as half genius, half madman noting that his character had set in stone and describes him by invoking trait descriptors such as - hard working, energy, vision, determination, unscrupulous, quick witted, rude, confident, self-indulgent, and obstinate. Not all the traits are hagiographic, indeed, many demonise.

12.7.4 - The fairytale element.

One of the first insights gained from reading the biographies of entrepreneurs was that the stories of these storybook entrepreneurs were infused with the fairytale element perhaps because many journalists resort to a storybook framework to invoke entrepreneurial success stories. A typical example is found in the Business Journal, dated 7 April 2000 in which an unnamed journalist (Anonymous, 2000) discusses the story of the firm Questia Media Inc, describing the inception of the firm as following a fairytale format with phrases such as once-upon-a-time, and rags-to-riches being used to liken the story to a fairy tale. Fisher (2001) a regular contributor to the magazine entrepreneur.com also utilises the storybook analogy using sentences such as "spawned thousands of storybook endings". Indeed, the storybook and fairytale formats are generative social scripts invoked by entrepreneurs to tell their own stories, or by biographers to eulogise or disparage them. Fairytales are related to mythology and fable and despite representing reality biography is pervaded by fable. Fables are short stories of dramatic, epic proportions which teach a moral lesson, instruct or amuse. Fable, like myth and metaphor illuminate heroic entrepreneur stories but is associated with fiction, falsehood and fabrication, having elements of the fabulous in that it is amazing. It can dazzle and deceive us and can be feigned or staged. Entrepreneur stories as adapted to the life stories of individual entrepreneurs can be regarded as a fabliau (a satirical tale) or a parody of an original story that is wonderful to behold but

may not bear up to scrutiny. One must accept them as stories which inspire and influence effective role models. The deliberate invocation of narrative to deceive is achieved by the fabrication of fable as an embellishment or creative construction of facts. A fabrication is a manufactured construction based upon credible falsehoods indicative of need for legitimacy. Fabrication can be found in many biographies, partially or by embellishing and adorning to accrue the legitimacy bestowed by the entrepreneurial master narrative.

12.7.5 - Biography as personal legitimation.

Having established the framework of an entrepreneurial meta-narrative, other interconnected themes also emerged of a heroic and communicational nature relating to how the entrepreneur as a genre, communicate important values and how they tell their stories. The themes can be divided into (1) Methods of communication used by entrepreneurs (See table 37); (2) Techniques of embellishment used by entrepreneurs (See table 38); and (3) Cherished storylines told by entrepreneurs (See table 39). The first category relates to actual methods used by entrepreneurs to communicate value, the second to techniques of distortion used by entrepreneurs to manipulate their life stories. The third contains cherished entrepreneurial storylines, namely dodging the blackball and the chameleon complex. These categories stem from the stories, voices, actions and observations of the entrepreneurs, gleaned from biographies. They are storylines that they (or their biographers) choose to present. The methods of communication used by the entrepreneurs and often what is communicated are invoked at their own instigation. The entrepreneur has a degree of control over their use, whereas the techniques of distortion alter the basic message communicated. These cherished storylines are important because the entrepreneurs chose to insert themselves into them, deliberately mirroring and reflecting the heroic Icarian tale. Conversely, biographers prefer to spin the alternative Picarian tale of the entrepreneur as a Picaro figure (McKenzie, 2002). Entrepreneurs such as Robert Maxwell and John DeLorean make excellent storybook villains (Smith, 2003b). Table 37 lays out these methods of communication as activities recorded in biographical format.

TABLE 37 – METHODS OF COMMUNICATION USED BY ENTREPRENEURS.
PROJECTING THEATRICAL / DRAMATURGICAL IMAGERY: Branson, Lipton, Goldsmith, Maxwell and Ferrari developed a communicational style characterised by theatrical antics and showmanship (Jackson, 1994; Mackay, 1998; Wansell, 1988; Haines, 1985; Yates, 1991). Ferrari choreographed his public appearances having a flair for the dramatic, communicating theatrically in an actorial style (Yates, 1991). Branson and Lipton engaged in exhibitions of theatrical showmanship, and Lipton revelled in staged parades, stunts and exhibition (Branson, 2000; Mackay, 1998). Taylor (1984:93) discusses “play-acting” whereby newsworthy exploits are staged for the attendant publicity.
SEMIOTIC EXHIBITIONISM: Including the adoption of a personalised (trademark) image. Branson’s goatee beard, long hair and unconventional business attire (Jackson, 1994). Lipton’s distinctive beard and his conventional sailing attire, donning white suits for publicity stunts (Mackay, 1998). By adopting a personalised clothing style, personal grooming style and cultural artefacts they create a distinctive visual public persona, accentuating their difference turning dramatically visible entrepreneurial iconology into a form of exploitable social currency.
STORYTELLING: Many entrepreneurs encourage stories about themselves, irrespective of their veracity or apocryphal nature, fabricating fable, fact and fiction. Many keep personal scrapbooks of press clippings and encourage self-serving biographical accounts or self-script small pamphlets depicting themselves in a flattering light. Ferrari was skilled wordsmith, a master of negotiation with a penchant for apocryphal stories, deception and flattery (Yates, 1991). O’Reilly and Lipton are described as raconteurs (Fallon, 1994; Mackay, 1998). A familial fable relating to O’Reilly hints at a propensity for commercial deception, selling orange peel to classmates (Fallon, 1994). J.P Getty escaped into a Boys Own world of J.H Henty (Pearson, 1995). Lipton was a practiced storyteller using tall stories, boyhood tales, local boy made good stories and hard luck tales, to good effect in crafting his life story, spinning yarns casting himself in the role of hero and avenger of wrongs (Mackay, 1998). John DeLorean was an avid reader (Fallon & Srodes, 1983).

Table 38 lays out the techniques of embellishment as activities recorded in biographical format and says more about the message that entrepreneurs seek to project than the role of biography *per se*.

TABLE 38 – TECHNIQUES OF EMBELLISHMENT USED BY ENTREPRENEURS.
<p>SELF-PUBLICITY: Seeking out of events or causes to sponsor particularly if they involve acts of benevolence or philanthropy. Lipton and Branson utilised humour to achieve this. Lipton through his innovative use of funny adverts (Mackay, 1998) and Branson through self-deprecating humour (Branson, 2000). Branson has detractors, who criticise him for being a self-publicist and an opportunist “without genuine cultural integrity (Jackson, 1994:65)”.</p>
<p>STATUS AND LEGITIMACY TRANSFERENCE: Transferring legitimacy from one sphere to another e.g. from business to sport or vice versa. It is linked a competitive spirit and a need to achieve. It requires the accumulation of sufficient wealth to enable participation. Exotic, exciting or dangerous sporting activities predominate e.g. Lipton (yacht racing – Mackay, 1998); Branson (Ballooning – Branson, 2000); Rokke (Speed Boat Racing – Gibbs, 2001); O’Reilly (International Rugby – Fallon, 1994). Legitimacy is a common theme. Lipton desiring the legitimacy of his fathers blessing ordered a splendidly liveried horse carriage emblazoned with the family name. His father spurned it as ostentatious but unperturbed, Lipton purchased it for himself, using it to good effect (Mackay, 1998).</p>
<p>EMPHASISING MASCULINITY / VIRILITY: Entrepreneurial propensity appears to fuse with sexual drive with. Goldsmith (Wansell, 1988), Getty (Pearson, 1995) and Ferrari is reputed to have had a high libido and machismo level being obsessive about sex and prone to exercising his “bragging rights” (Yates, 1991:167). O’Reilly exemplifies the link between sporting ability and success in other life spheres (Fallon, 1994). Virility is a constant theme. It may be an essential element in the masculine entrepreneurship, as is dispelling doubts about ones probity and continually striving to prove one’s-self.</p>
<p>THE ACCENTUATION OF DIFFERENCE: By claiming the alternative legitimacy of outsider status, whether racial, cultural or marginal, crafting life stories to fit. Roddick emphasises racial and cultural difference (Roddick, 2000). O’Reilly accentuates his Catholicism in a business world dominated by Protestant elites (Fallon, 1994). Branson accentuates his counter cultural roots (Jackson, 1994). Strategies used are self-deprecation (humbly under playing the significance of events) and self-exhibitionism (over playing the significance of events). The flash persona of the entrepreneur is another example.</p>
<p>ESPOUSING CHERISHED VALUES: Signalling adherence to accepted social values - being a devoted son, loving father, championing racial or cultural causes, espousing virtue by philanthropic means. Fitting their life story around the cherished notions of the self-made or the poor boy made good narratives. Lipton, Branson, Ferrari, O’Reilly, Maxwell and J.P Getty all adored their influential mothers (Mackay, 1998; Branson, 2000; Yates, 1991; Fallon, 1994; Haines, 1995; Pearson, 1995). It is apparent that the fathers of many self-made men are portrayed as shadowy figures and the mothers as being dominant. The mothers of Lipton, Branson, Ferrari, O’Reilly and J.P Getty all had an immense influence on their son’s futures shaping their entrepreneurial propensity. Lipton’s mother proffered him sound advice, Branson’s mother installed a sense of independence into him, Ferrari eulogized his mother as is the Italian trait, O’Reilly’s mother raised him single handedly and inspired him by dint of her personal example of industry, whilst Getty’s mother was the true power and driving force behind the Getty dynasty.</p>
<p>COVERING UP CHARACTER FLAWS: Character flaws and weaknesses are an ignored facet of entrepreneurial propensity. Ferrari had his “foibles”, womanising and a fondness for the company of flashy gentlemen. J.P Getty’s included a desire for immortality; indulgence in personal fantasy worlds of connoisseurship and reincarnation; excessive meanness and profligacy in spending; a predilection towards nymphomania; and a constant need for approval (Pearson, 1995). Lipton’s success is attributed to his bachelor status and his ability to avoid the handicap of an early marriage. Lipton is rumoured by many to have been homosexual and flawed by hubris refusing to accept that anyone but he had created his success (Mackay, 1998). Fallon & Srodes (1983:7) refer to an underlying belief that DeLorean was a crook.</p>
<p>AUTHORING ONE’S OWN LEGEND: Using carefully edited, self-serving, choreographed, formal or informal accounts of exploits, accentuating business successes. Lipton, Ferrari and Maxwell self-authored these pieces weaving apocryphal stories into the fabric of truth opening a continuing dialogue with the press, staging events to answer perceived criticisms (Mackay, 1998; Yates, 1991; Haines, 1995). Haines (1998:5) describes Maxwell’s carefully constructed glittering surface. Taylor (1984:94) notes a propensity for crooks to collect press clippings of their exploits. Yates (1991:x) describes how Ferrari crafted a “series of carefully edited, self-serving informal biographies”. They become obsessed by the stories printed about them. Events will be staged to answer perceived criticisms etc. Sir Thomas Lipton’s obsession with his scrapbook of press clippings about his life is a form of self-directed voyeurism (Mackay, 1998). Ferrari also kept a library of press clippings for future reference. Yates (1991:328) describes how Ferrari even choreographed the press coverage of himself accentuating the underdog story and how he turned himself into an icon, inflating his image to “mystical dimensions (1991:319)”. According to Yates (1991:340) Ferrari played the press like a</p>

maestro issuing rebuttals and threats of revenge.

THE FABRICATION OF FABLE: Is an alternative avenue of legitimation, involving lying, deceit or merely not correcting apocryphal stories. Lipton operating in the age of the oral tradition chose to play down his middle class extraction and his second-generation entrepreneurial status. Instead he perpetuated a myth of childhood poverty, lied about the age he left school and fabricated fanciful adventures mysteriously gaining a middle name - Johnstone (Mackay, 1998:10). Lipton claim he started work at 9 years old to save the family business is no more than a fabrication to appropriate the entrepreneurial narrative after being spurned by the establishment. For Mackay (1998:9) Lipton was the man who invented himself. Manufacturing events involves distorting timelines to fit the preferred narrative. Ferrari also fostered the façade of being a parvenu despite a middle class upbringing openly employing history at his convenience, inflating his importance in many events crafting self-serving stories using deception (Yates, 1991). Goldsmith born into a moneyed family was immensely proud of his mother being an Auvergne peasant (Wansell, 1988). Getty failed to overcome the image of the parvenu becoming obsessive about ancestral credit ratings, inventing false stories of his family tree, lying that a relative fought at Gettysburg and about being a student at Oxford University (Pearson, 1995). Wilson (1998) notes that similar false claims were made in relation to ancestry by the Guinness dynasty. MacIntyre (1997:97) talks of J.P Morgan being obsessed with charts, books and genealogies constructed to show spurious linkages with the Spencer dynasty to enhance social pedigree. According to Clark (1977:7-8) Thomas Edison embroidered his history, invoking the poor boy and poverty stories, clawing his way up the ladder of fortune when the truth was less prosaic. For MacIntyre (1997:xiii) Adam Worth "invented his own life as a dramatic romance" and for Beaumont (2002:1-10) Hudson practically reinvented himself (in crafting a defence against journalistic criticism). At 15 years old Hudson was drummed out of his local community for fathering an illegitimate child but vetted out the entire incident and in later years told the story that he left home at 13. A succession of disasters shaped Hudson's formative years making his childhood a difficult and testing time. Beaumont refers to the bald unalterable facts of the story (a touch of bastardy here, a little fraud there, a spell in prison and heart breaking exile there). Catano (2001:5) stresses that it is necessary for society to regularly rewrite masculine imagery and experiences to align it with white middle class values and the dominant middle class myth of the self made. Catano (2001:35) produces an example of a journalist engaging in the myth of self making, in an obituary by attributing the poor boy storyline to a tycoon who in life actively rejected such stories as being fabrications. Catano (2001:57) attributes the self making verbosity of Lee Lacoca's biography to being the product of a ghost writer. This ghost written rhetoric is presented now - "After all this is just a story about a kid from a good immigrant family who studied hard and worked hard, who had some big successes and some disappointments, and who made out fine in the end because of the simple values he learned from his parents and teachers, and because he had the good luck to live in America". Catano (2001:59) refers to this syndrome as being rhetorical self-revisioning necessary for maintaining masculine doxa. Catano argues that personal histories of the self made draw upon techniques of narrative and character construction.

FAIRY TALE INCANTATION: The meteoric rise of the Great Lipton 'Hero of the High Street' is an epic tale of fairy tale proportions from the slums of Glasgow to the friend of Kings and Emperor's becoming "one of the greatest self-made multi-millionaires the British Isles has ever produced" (Mackay, 1998:13-14)". The life story of John Paul Getty (a poor-little-rich-boy) narrated by Pearson (1995:17) is an epic tale of intra generational achievement of fairytale proportions. Pearson considers the tale of George Getty to be a "storybook example of the benefits which flow from Christian conduct". Wansell (1988) provides evidence of this in way of a storybook tale of the impetuous love affair and elopement of James Goldsmith with his first wife Isabella Patino, the daughter of a wealthy Bolivian whose father did not consider Goldsmith to be a suitable candidate for a son in law because he was a flamboyant adventurer with no money nor reputation and was also a Jew. The eccentricity and thus perceived madness of many entrepreneurs makes them impulsive by nature and their actions thus feed into the fairytale, which is often heralded and accentuated by the media as the entrepreneur is forced to live out their life in the headlines. In introducing fairytale into his life story Adam Faith mentions his "Surrey Mansion and more wealth than he had ever imagined". Faith (1996:188) refers to his life story as "a dream plucked from the storybooks". These techniques are regularly used in conjunction with each other, particularly in fiction and in journalism. Fairytale recitation induces a suspension of reality. It is a signal to STOP and LISTEN because storybook renditions are designed to cast a spell. Storytelling is a necessary mechanism as entrepreneurship is a parallel world, which may require to be deliberately invoked in minds not accustomed to its basic plot or nuances.

Table 39 lays out two common, cherished storylines told by entrepreneurs. Again these are examples of the narratives which entrepreneurs actively engage in biography.

TABLE 39 - CHERISHED STORYLINES TOLD BY ENTREPRENEURS.

DODGING THE BLACK BALL: Challenging the establishment and beating them at their own game is a storyline cherished by rebellious entrepreneurs. Blackballing is an isolationist technique supposedly employed by vindictive authority figures. It is the stuff of adventure, plot and counterplot. Ferrari was blackballed by Fiat and harboured a lifetime obsession of getting even (Yates, 1991). Lipton was blackballed by the establishment / Royal Yacht Club and the Ministry of Defence (Mackay, 1998). Accentuating links with working class values and fudging are common counter mechanisms. Lipton and Ferrari perpetuated love-hate relationships with the establishment, or hometown. In biography, hostility and suspicion between the two groups is presented as palpable with fears of an establishment conspiracy accentuated. In story-realms heroes require to battle adversaries and blackball stories provide a ready-made storyline.

THE CHAMELEON COMPLEX: Entailing the possession of a dual personality (being of two minds) thus accommodating dysfunctional paradoxes. Lipton possessed a chameleon like character being simultaneously a flamboyant orator, self-publicist, showman and organizer of stunts and an intensely shy private individual (Mackay, 1998). J.P. Getty was both a puritan and a hedonist (Pearson, 1995). There were two Ferraris, the private individual of lower class extraction (ribald, belching, farting, cursing, bragging, hectoring) and the artfully crafted public version (Yates, 1991). O'Reilly was both Irish entrepreneur and a corporate giant (Fallon, 1994). An ability to change storylines to suit circumstances has obvious benefits. Branson has a chameleon like persona evident in the personal make up of many successful entrepreneurs having an "unlimited capacity to swallow failures and humiliation (Jackson, 1994:65)".

These interconnected methods and techniques used by entrepreneurs flow into each other. Thus projecting theatrical and dramaturgical imagery compliments semiotic exhibitionism; storytelling, are clearly related whilst authoring one's own legend, the fabrication of fable and covering up character flaws help craft credible stories. Fabricating fable is not the sole prerogative of the entrepreneur. Jones (2002) in his biography of the spiritualist Laurens Vander Post noted that he avoided scrutiny and appeared to be an intensely private man, yet his life story is a tissue of fabricated ancestry, dubious military rank and conflicting truths. This is ironic from a man whose true-life story is fascinating enough. Perhaps legendary orators blur the boundaries between fact and fiction and ultimately hold a different concept of the truth from others. However, as Wetherell (1997:306) suggests in cases where there is a large disjuncture between old and new narratives a person is forced to reinvent themselves. Thus self construction is a process of telling stories and discovering new narratives which make sense of one's experiences. It is a process of framing and re-framing. Lakoff & Johnston (1980:174) suggest a kinder perspective, noting that it is of less importance whether a narrative is true than whether it is coherent and matches (perceived) reality. These methods and techniques embedded in biography and discussed above as used by entrepreneurs are all methods of legitimisation. As one would expect there is a journalistic formula for delegitimising entrepreneur stories.

12.7.6 - Biography as a method of delegitimising entrepreneurs.

There are numerous de-legitimising accusations or slurs used by biographers to counter balance hagiographic narrative (See table 40). These impugn the integrity of the individual entrepreneur and represent frequently levelled accusations challenging heroic narrative ensuring doubt is cast upon the veracity of the entrepreneur as a person worthy of being taken seriously. The tone of such articles is argumentative, questioning / interrupting / barracking and heckling. Wansell (1988:201) notes that Sir James Goldsmith was portrayed as a shrewd hedonist who liked to make business an extension of pleasure. Indeed most standard accusations have been hurled at him at some time during his meteoric career. There is also an implicit assumption that the speed at which the entrepreneur rises dictates that their success must somehow be built upon spurious foundations. Pearson (1995:55) in narrating that J.P Getty benefited from the Wall Street Crash of 1929 by becoming a corporate raider adds another socially proscribed accusation frequently levelled at the entrepreneur. Another accusation is that of being a profiteer. Indeed, Yates

(1991:130) notes how Enzo Ferrari in later life was so accused. A different accusation was levelled at Lipton whom was accused of being a front for Irish Nationalist Businessmen. This is typical of the myth that surrounded Lipton. For Waples (2002:5) the serial entrepreneur Allan Leighton is often accused of spreading himself too thinly (a common accusation). Accusations appear as press stories before entering the biographical realm. Biographies emphasise negative entrepreneurial character traits. Haines (1998:30) notes that Maxwell was portrayed by journalists as a man of mystery who also used the “doing nicely” accusation. Table 40 sets out common accusations levelled against entrepreneurs in biography.

TABLE 40 - DE-LEGITIMISING ACCUSATIONS FREQUENTLY LEVELED AT ENTREPRENEURS.	
Greed or gluttony – being too	Outrageous, controversial, idiosyncratic, flamboyant, rich, unorthodox; hurried, foreign, untrustworthy, paranoid, sensationalist, extravagant, casual, opportunistic, arrogant, secretive, prone to exaggeration, guileful, eccentric or extra-ordinary, unconventional, altruistic, insane or prone to madness, too good to be true and that their personal life story is a fairytale. (Wansell, 1988).
Negative character traits or flaws	A megalomaniac, a playboy, a gambler, a hedonist, mistake ridden (honest or otherwise), a womaniser, an alcoholic, just lucky, a demagogue, nomadic, a charlatan, a tyrant and bully. (Wansell, 1988).
Being bad	Verbally deceitful or dishonest, linked to criminality no matter how tenuous, an upstart, the beneficiary of financial legerdemain or sleight of hand, Machiavellian, a ragamuffin, guilty of creative massaging with figures. (Wansell, 1988).
Humour and ridicule	Are used to disparage the entrepreneur or tycoon. Cartoons in the press can be extremely damaging to hard won reputations. Being lampooned in print can cause irreparable damage, as disparaging words, pictures and visual images are difficult to defend against. To be subject to a concentrated barrage of public criticism can cause a loss of confidence. The process of humiliation and ridicule need not be direct. Disparaging innuendo against the entrepreneur or using images associated with the entrepreneur to ridicule another vilified genre, suffice. Another humiliation process used by the media is the attribution and repetition of a disparaging nickname (not of the entrepreneurs choosing) to their target thus Sir James Goldsmith was vilified as Golden balls (Wansell, 1988) and Robert Maxwell as Rambo (Haines, 1995). Blustering and putting a spin onto stories are other common journalistic techniques.
Falsely invoking humble beginnings	Elements of the entrepreneurial tale are also often misappropriated. Leeson & Whitely (1996) present the story of rogue trader Nick Leeson, using the structure of the classical entrepreneurial narrative. Much is made of Leeson's humble beginnings as the son of a plasterer and his “phenomenal rise to prominence and devastating fall from grace. Yet it is but a story of corporate chicanery and deceit. Clark (1996) examined cases of institutional rogue behaviour in corporations using the narratives of Robert Maxwell and Nick Leeson. Clark argues that they are representative of a strategy of demonisation and selective representation, designed to protect the reputations of existing institutions. For Clark there is a flawed logic in the explanations of individual behaviour that do not take seriously the context of behaviour.

Such linguistic barbs are often regarded by the entrepreneur as libelous or slanderous despite being couched in a veiled manner - comprising of a mixture of suspicion, innuendo and supposition. They create the impression that the entrepreneur somehow behaved inappropriately. They are often invoked as a deliberate insult. It is a clever mechanism for disparaging reputations because whilst newspapers have a short shelf life and the accusations, slurs or insults contained therein may pass unnoticed to the entrepreneur, once they are published and appear in biography they are regurgitated as facts. Individually they may not be worthy of the time and effort dispensed to challenge them. Entrepreneurs who seek to challenge them in court, as did Sir James Goldsmith find themselves pilloried as being tyrants. In a strange role reversal scenario the biographer is cast in the role of the underdog defending freedom of speech from the rich belligerent, manipulative tycoon. Role reversal is a classic method of vilification (related to the theme

of rise and fall) making the entrepreneur appear to be a vindictive Goliath, instead of a heroic David. Negative aspects, as opposed to heroic ones are accentuated. Wansell (1988:100) notes that the stories of Goldsmith being a playboy haunted him, so much so that he tired of being eternally cast in such a role. The vilification process can rarely be reversed because the bad impression has already been created.

It is apparent from reading about entrepreneurship, and from watching entrepreneurs, that they often possess a powerful arsenal of communicational styles and techniques. Some of them are apt descriptors of entrepreneurial behaviour, and are communicational methods used by entrepreneurs to take between. It was also apparent that there are communicational traits associated with entrepreneurs. These include rationalisation; moral exhortations; denials; qualifications; pleading; wheedling; Ingratiation; and storytelling – to gain competitive advantage. Moreover, it is a common media practice to discredit individual entrepreneurs by referring to their usage of an irritating communicational trait such as loudness, or being bellicose. In examining the words and stories of entrepreneurs, that they communicate using a variety of communicational styles as indicated in table 41. Examples of these are evident as culled from the dialogue of the biographies of entrepreneur Robert Maxwell (Haines, 1995; Greenslade, 1992).

TABLE 41 – COMMUNICATIONAL STYLES USED BY ENTREPRENEURS.	
Styles / methods	<p>Socially approved communicational behaviours– breathtakingly audacious; cajoling; championing; enthusiastic; flattery; gamesmanship; genial paternalism; generosity; hypnotic; joking; mesmeric; plain speaking; questing; softening up; sponsorship.</p> <p>Socially disapproved communicational behaviours - Aggressive; argumentative; avaricious; belligerent, bellicose; blustering; bombastic; braggadacio; bullying; chicanery; cunning; dogmatic; domineering; duplicitous; exaggeration; fantasist; flash; gloating; gregariousness; hectoring; harangues; insincere; loud; manipulative; narcissistic; nepotistic; pomposity; posturing; obfuscation; rude; sarcastic; scheming; self publicist; subterfuge; sycophantic; telephone terrorism; tirades; toadying; threatening; unscrupulous; wrathful; vacillating; verbose.</p>

This list of descriptors illustrates communicational traits used by Maxwell to “take between”. It is how he communicated his aims and objectives, yet it is usually only behavioural traits which are considered worthy of interest. Note the predominance of socially disapproved of communicational behaviours.

12.7.7 – Mythical accusations.

In biography another clichéd journalistic technique used to deflate the entrepreneurial ego is accusations based on mythical storylines. The most common is the Icarian tale (Beaumont 2002) modelled upon the Icarus myth. When used to discredit the entrepreneur, it becomes the Icarus Accusation. Numerous examples of this are evident in the media connected to the notion of hubris, as a ready-made storyline to cast doubt on the credibility of the entrepreneur being called into question. It is regarded both as an entrepreneurial failing and as a self-fulfilling prophecy. This accusation has been levelled towards most successful entrepreneurs at some time during their careers as if society expects them to fail (mirroring the themes of the fall from grace and the feet of clay). See table 42.

TABLE 42 - THE ICARUS ACCUSATION. Based upon Flynn <i>et al</i> (1998).
<p>Flynn <i>et al</i> (1998) set up Richard Branson for a fall posing the question – Is he flying too close to the sun? The technique involves building up heroic status prior to exposing idiosyncrasies thereby planting seeds of doubt. Thus they highlight his flamboyance, showmanship qualities – likening him to P.T Barnum, his toothy grin, corny publicity stunts, his counterculture roots, his media media-savvy methods, his propensity towards self-promotion, the irreverent Branson image and his anti establishment stance. Nevertheless they hedge their bets in case the prophesied failure fails to materialize acknowledging his solid business credentials</p>

before referring to his empire as an opaque hodgepodge of businesses, hinting at illegality via tax havens. They ridicule a joke he made about Virgin's inaugural flight into outer space, casting doubt on his sanity, suggesting that he is in outer space already. They accuse him of diluting his brand, overstretching his capabilities, denting his credibility, overall reputation and heroic status.

Not all the criticism is levelled by the press or the biographers, one must consider the personal dilemma.

12.7.8 - The personal dilemma.

In biography one encounters examples of the personal dilemmas faced by entrepreneurs and the human cost attached to the tragic demise perpetuated by financial ruination. When an individual entrepreneur is publicly disgraced in a financial scandal, reference is often made to them being at the centre of a web of corruption and deceit, thus vilifying his network. The formerly favourite son is shunned. Indeed, Beaumont (2002:111) refers to Hudson's catastrophic fall from grace and to the seeds of his downfall being traced directly to his greatest hour (ibid.80). The fall from grace is woven into the entrepreneurial regime (a set of social conditions that coexist in reality carrying the seeds of their own destruction). Failing entrepreneurs are quickly be transformed from hero to villain. The language used is rich in description as in the "wheel had turned full circle" (ibid.2). Hudson's plight is a heroic and noble one. He never sought to lay the blame for his downfall anywhere else, remaining humble and contrite (ibid.133-136). His downfall was spectacular as his company crashed with massive debts and recriminations resulting in a prison sentence. Beaumont describes an image of Hudson "his crown was lying tarnished and discarded in the gutter". It is also common to refer to dethronement. This is a vivid example of a personal nightmare enacted in the public glare. Beaumont discusses shame, opprobrium, and dark day's storylines in which the tone is nasty and the purpose is to find a scapegoat. Hudson, like many successful entrepreneurs inspired and mentored protégé's but also made many vociferous enemies who derided his dubious, down right crooked financial techniques (ibid.viii). Accusations of double-dealing, barefaced hypocrisy, scandal and rascality pervade such "I told you so" stories. When a fall from grace occurs it is often the very persons who eulogised the entrepreneur that become their fiercest critics. The paeon of praise gives way to the dissenting detracting voices. Hudson was a mass of contradictions but was a man of the oral, not written word, famed for his impassioned speeches and public arguments and regaling friends with stories, anecdotes and episodes (ibid.2-4). Equally, Hudson was often criticised for his outspokenness, his ostentatious display of wealth, his lavish hospitality, his boorish manners, his wife's social gaffes, his obfuscation, and evasiveness. Yet, Beaumont (2002:226) warns us not to judge Hudson by contemporary standards, but against the backdrop of hypocritical mid Victorian morality, or what Lambert (1934) referred to as the business morals of his time. In the midst of journalistic frenzy it is too easy to forget the personal nightmare of a disgraced entrepreneur.

This section demonstrates a link between the entrepreneur in the press and biography. The predominant image of the entrepreneur in biography is of a hero tinged with a villainous persona but nevertheless worthy of emulation. This pointed to an emerging storybook entrepreneur formula for narrating entrepreneur stories.

12.8 – PRESENTING THE STORYBOOK ENTREPRENEUR.

Appreciation of storybook heroes and villains is a life long process beginning in childhood, predating our appreciation of entrepreneurial narratives. Storybook characters owe more to archetype, to myth and legend,

as well as gendered stereotypes than to images of contemporary reality. Indeed, we wrap such heroic narrative around us (Hamilton & Smith, 2003). Nevertheless, the storybook entrepreneur is a powerful figure, upon which are grafted the familiar storylines and plots that together create an anthology of entrepreneurial narrative. A heroic, adventurous plot dominates such stories and we subconsciously evaluate them from this template, attributing halos and horns to the leading actors even when this may not be merited. It blinds us to the real message of the story. We must look beyond this and appreciate the power of the stories themselves and isolate the elements of the storybook entrepreneur from the actions and lives of real individuals; and refrain from embellishing our stories by grafting on the cherished clichés, metaphors and myths that surround and perhaps even corrupt the narrative. It is evident that storybook structuration is embedded in entrepreneur stories because storybook beginnings and endings predominate. Storybook beginnings emphasise disadvantage and portray the hero or heroine as being of humble origin. Storybook endings are either of the happy ever after variety or are imbued with the tragic pathos of the hubristic payback. Storybook entrepreneurs are dramatic characters brought to life by myth metaphor and archetype. This owes more to storytelling techniques, embedded in archetypal impulse, than reality. It is a mask behind which the character can hide - a convenient masque, shielding the personal life of the entrepreneur from intrusion. Talk of masques and cloaks may sound dramatic and theatrical but stories can be lived, acted and dreamt as well as being written or told, making it imperative to differentiate between original actions (which personify entrepreneurship) and the rhetoric and re-scripted reality (which constitute stories).

12.8.1 - The emergence of the storybook entrepreneur formula.

This section builds upon preceding ones, suggesting a storybook formula for narrating entrepreneur stories which spans the media, biography and fiction. However, it is at its most visible in fiction. From analysis of numerous clichéd entrepreneur novels it became apparent that they follow a discernable pattern comprising of the hounding, the haunting and the humbling. The hounding is entrepreneurship as an accusation whereby the character of the hubristic entrepreneur is blackened by a public humiliation in the press. The haunting is the hounding process internalised by the self-critical afflicted entrepreneur who comes to believe that they deserve to be punished for past misdeeds. The process culminates in the humbling, designed to accommodate the dreaded aspect of personal failure and the deflation of entrepreneurial ego. It is a stature reduction mechanism to detaching man from myth.

12.8.2 - Storybook Structure.

From an examination of entrepreneurs in the media, the press, biography and fiction a formulaic storybook entrepreneur structure is revealed in the creation of entrepreneurial fictions. This is a cyclic, self fulfilling prophecy of epic proportions, beginning with the hankering; the confrontation; the shunning; the disowning; the challenge / testing; the founding; the coming; the imposition; the revenge; the betrayal; the development of hubris and culminating in the hounding, haunting, humbling and the fall from grace. All are clichéd storylines, in which the protean entrepreneur adopts the role of hero. To succeed a story requires believability and convincing characters which necessitates the use of clichéd storylines to enable the identification of the hero (and the villain). We love a story we can anticipate and follow because it reasserts lived experience. Thus the narrator inserts the cliché, stereotype where appropriate to serve the purpose at

hand. Master storyteller will insert stereotyped images¹⁵. Alternatively the master storyteller will incorporate clichéd situational stereotypes, for instance larger than life, chip on his shoulder, great fortune, and lifelong struggle into the narrative. Sometimes situation becomes the cliché *per-se*. Another storytelling linguistic mechanism is stereotyped behaviour - getting one's own way, ruthlessness, domination, boldness, lack of deference, and dedication. Thus myth, metaphor, stereotype and clichés are complementary building blocks of social constructionism and storytelling devices that enable us to spin a convincing tale. Narrative functions as a necessary mechanism of transcendence, and of self-reinforcing circularity working at a micro level - as a carrier of values and personal antecedent information; and at macro level as a vehicle to express situational elements of the story out-with the control of the entrepreneur. Narratives thus permit one to embody prerequisite storylines in one's personal narrative, setting the scene for an entrepreneur story. A wide variation of permissible plots allow us to select appropriate one's tailored to personal circumstance, thus working class entrepreneurs resort to poor-boy-made-good storylines and middle-class one's the challenge or shunning storylines. Table 43 lays out this storybook structure.

TABLE 43 – STORYBOOK STRUCTURE / STORYLINES.	
The hankering	This relates to the genesis of the dream, the search to explain differences or the realisation that the hero must achieve something of value to them or personal holy grail. The protean entrepreneur often fixates upon symbols of success. This stage is discernable in the stories of Jack Lear (Robbins, 1997) and Frances Armagh (Caldwell, 1977).
The challenge	This confrontation revolves around a triage of behaviours and classic mythic storylines (akin to the Clash of the Titans) whereby the hero confronts an authority figure such as a scornful parent, a head teacher, or future rival who prophecies failure. It is a classic tale of the severance of ties on both sides and the formation of the will to go it alone. It has the same effect as marginality and childhood orphaning in creating entrepreneurial character. The challenge sees the climax where the hero is either dramatically set a challenge by a significant other being expected to fail; or they set themselves one. It may be to make their first million, or merely to survive on their own. It can be a personal challenge flung in the face of society, a message that they will not be ignored. It is designed to test their mettle or acceptability. This stage is discernable in the stories of Jack Lear (Robbins, 1997), Frances Armagh (Caldwell, 1977, and Hetty Green (Clarke, 1979).
The founding and coming.	The founding sees the invocation of hallowed, hagiographic stories replete with tales of hardship / devotion to the business by the founder. It is a tale of long hours and hard working days. It is during these story years that the hero sows their own personal seeds of destruction as neglected children or hushed up scandals. This is discernable in the stories of Martin Dressler (Millhauser, 1988); Frances Armagh (Caldwell, 1972); Max Britsky (Fast, 1983); Jack Lear (Robbins, 1997); Alex Carradine (Broat, 1978) and Hetty Green (Clarke, 1979). The coming is associated with the up and coming entrepreneur making good. The hero networks both socially and in business. Events are staged for their utility to future plans and to see and be seen. It is a dramatic stage upon which the charismatic shine as the hero attempts to don the 'tuxedoed' uniform of the establishment portraying one's self as being 'the right sort'. It is a process of flaunting, requiring good acting skills. It is a dangerous game leading to possible rejection. It is about asserting their independence and imposing themselves upon reality, their immediate environs, and the establishment. It is composed of many small stories of acceptance, and of small personal victories and is a prelude to the revenge or betrayal storyline. This storyline is discernable in the stories of Jack Lear (Robbins, 1997) and Hetty Green (Clarke, 1979).
Revenge, betrayal and hubris.	Revenge and betrayals are personal tales to the hero. These result from a partial acceptance by the establishment. Because it is only partial and not unequivocal legitimation as such, there exists a desire for revenge. The hero may even receive a knighthood or some other form of title. The revenge may consist of taking over the

¹⁵ Such as those of successful gentlemen smoking cigars.

	<p>opposition or appointment to a hitherto closed body or club. Or of marrying the daughter of an adversary or the dramatic sale of one's life work to a favoured rival rather than have it taken by a hated rival. It is a two-way storyline as a previously covered up scandal emerges. These themes form a staple part of the plots of the stories of Martin Dressler (Millhauser, 1998); Frances Armagh (Caldwell, 1972); Max Britsky (Fast, 1983); Alex Carradine (Broat, 1978) Jack Lear (Robbins, 1997); Hetty Green (Clarke, 1979) and Lex Parlane (Reid, 1987). Another common theme is the betrayal by significant others leading to the humiliation and the humbling – the symbolic returning of the once godlike entrepreneur to their roots, closing the circle. This theme arises in the stories of Martin Dressler (Millhauser, 1988); Frances Armagh (Caldwell, 1972); Max Britsky (Fast, 1983); Alex Carradine (Broat, 1978); Jack Lear (Robbins, 1997); Hetty Green (Clarke, 1979); Lex Parlane (Reid, 1987); and Angelo Vestieri (Carcatterra, 2002). Hubris (or arrogant pride) set the entrepreneur up for a fall. Hubris embodies the maxim "Pride comes before a fall". It is a classic entrepreneurial failing and long established storyline relating to the loss of charisma and the fall from grace. Drama is implicit in the notion of hubris, and this is evident in biographies also. Indeed, Wansell (1988:15) invokes so wonderfully in referring to Goldsmith as an "ambitious entrepreneur whom the fates had chosen to destroy". A similar story is told of Enzo Ferrari inflicted with hubris and bloated with pride-human weakness (Yates, 1991:70). Once an entrepreneur develops hubris the scene is set for a Hubristic Payback - the spectacular failure of the over ambitious.</p>
<p>The hounding, haunting and humbling.</p>	<p>The hounding storyline counterbalances the heroic celebration, or tribute, of the entrepreneur. These themes are discernable in the stories of John Hamer Shawcross (Spring, 1991); Martin Dressler (Millhauser, 1998); Frances Armagh (Caldwell, 1972); Max Britsky (Fast, 1983) Alex carradine (Broat, 1978); Jack Lear (Robbins, 1997); Hetty Green (Clarke, 1979); and Lex Parlane (Reid, 1987). In real life, it is a prolonged publicly enacted hunt to trap and humiliate a victim who is pilloried in the press. This precedes the humbling, and follows the provenance of hubris whereby the entrepreneur set themselves up for a fall. The entrepreneur is discredited reminding the public that entrepreneurs have feet of clay. It works by accentuating the typical British suspicion of the rich and powerful and distancing the victim from the values of the working class and middle class readership. The hounding is an external influence, whereas the haunting is an internal self recrimination. It is a guilt ridden process whereby one believes one is being punished for past misdeeds. The humbling accommodates personal failure. The entrepreneur may engage in it by telling personal narratives that espouse an acceptance of blame. The humbling returns the entrepreneur to their roots, allowing society to deflate the over inflated ego it previously elevated to heroic status. It is a voyeuristic experience and the public revel in the failure of others. It isolates failure, attributing it to personal individualistic foibles permitting the perpetuation of the myth by others. The spectacular failure accentuates the success of those entrepreneurs unaffected. Kuo (2001) tells the story of the spectacular demise of the dot.com company ValueAmerica with its eventual crash owing \$200 million. It is a classic story of a humbling and a dramatic fall from grace, crashing owing \$200 million. These themes transcend fiction, biographies and attach itself to companies. Cassidy (2002) in the book dot.con narrates the fascinating story of the era of dot.com entrepreneurship with its themes of rapid expansion and crash.</p>
<p>A Fall from Grace</p>	<p>Completes the heroic journey entailing a collapse of character storyline. This classic storyline is discernable in the stories of John Hamer Shawcross (Spring, 1991); Martin Dressler (Millhauser, 1998); Frances Armagh (Caldwell, 1972); Max Britsky (Fast, 1983) Alex Carradine (Broat, 1978); Jack Lear (Robbins, 1997); Hetty Green (Clarke, 1979); and Lex Parlane (Reid, 1987).</p>

The whole cyclic process can last for years and if the entrepreneur has a weakness and succumbs, it becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy and acts as a cautionary tale to others. It is an epic and heroic model for narrating entrepreneurial achievement. Entrepreneurs who buy into such entrepreneurial ideology set them self up for a fall, particularly if prone to the sin of hubris. Those that perpetuate their own stories as myth or legend are perhaps destined to be plunged back to reality. This framework is useful because it expands and builds upon the cherished storylines discussed earlier. The confrontation and challenge permit the inclusion

of aspiring entrepreneurs who are not of humble birth. It injects the necessary ingredient of injustices to be overcome. The founding is an activity which can be participated in by all. It sees the continuation of the injustice theme, which culminates in the revenge, betrayal and hubris plots. These provide alternative action scenarios whereby justice is served or denied. In many respects it is an anthology of cherished storylines.

12.8.3 - An anthology of cherished storylines.

Having considered clichéd storylines used in fiction, and uncovered biographical techniques, it is time to consider these as an anthological device incorporating cherished storylines. Entrepreneur stories are cyclic in nature with alternative beginnings and endings, capable of assimilating all eventualities by modifying the existing storylines to accommodate the unexpected. A recycling of themes and elements is common. Hytti (2000) refers to a mosaic of constructed stories. What appears to be "a tumbleweed of stories" (Clark, 1977:8) is a well-polished script. How one constructs an entrepreneur story depends upon ones previous exposure to the genre. The entrepreneurial narrative is at its most powerful when examined over a life cycle.

There are five identifiable heroic phases in a typical entrepreneur story:-

1. THE GENESIS – Establishing personal antecedents.
2. THE METAMORPHOSIS – Producing a change of stature.
3. THE QUEST – Searching for one's Holy Grail / confronting the establishment.
4. THE ORDEAL – Passing the test or perishing.
5. THE JUDGMENT – Achieving legitimacy or suffering hubristic payback.

Despite being identifiable stages, it is not a linear formula because it is not necessary for the entrepreneur to conform to the tenets all the storylines. The genesis phase provides an established battery of tried and tested storylines to suit all circumstances. It is a courtship between the entrepreneur and the public. Thus even if the hero is not of humble origins, alternative antecedents are available, for instance the ethnic origin or the outsider label will be invoked or the personal challenge issued by a father to his son to prove his worth by completing a challenge. Nor do the metamorphosis and the quest phases have to follow on from each other – they may occur simultaneously and merge with the ordeal phase. Likewise the judgement phase may occur simultaneously with the ordeal. To construct a convincing story the entrepreneur need only link various storylines from all the phases together in a linear fashion to authenticate their personal narratives. Heroic narratives accentuate the positive and gloss over the negative aspects of human frailty. External forces such as the hounding and the entrepreneurial dream influence the cycle. This model is useful because it acts a self-evident descriptive category, accommodating analytic categories whilst explaining what they mean. It is the first step towards the development of theory. One can plot these phases and storylines onto the biographies of individual entrepreneurs. The cycle is described in table 44.

TABLE 44– AN ANTHOLOGY OF CHERISHED STORYLINES.	
The Genesis	Begins the entrepreneurial odyssey consisting of childhood prodigy, hard luck, outsider, blighted education, morality tales, or humble origins anecdotes. It may include familial fable and is influenced by Boys Own and Adventure stories (as evidenced by Mackay, 1998 in the biography of Thomas Lipton). The storylines share common themes of overcoming adversity, shunning or accepting the gauntlet.
The Metamorphosis	Sees the transformation of the poor (or adventurous) boy into a giant figure of fairytale proportions achieved via poor-boy-made-good, success stories, and tales of achievement. Personal myth and legend is generated and apocryphal stories perpetuated. Underdog stories precluded by persecution by a vengeful establishment predominate. Other mechanisms include local hero stories and

	philanthropic tales. Hubris rears its head and fabrication of fable is often resorted to.
The Quest	Begins with either the founding story or serendipity [enter fate or lady luck]. Tales of heroism, rebel stories, tall tales and epic tales of facing the abyss predominate. The finale sees the besting where the hero triumphs and the homecoming.
The Ordeal	May see a public pillorying, the hounding and haunting in full flight as past misdeeds emerge to be overcome, - being unmasked as a criminal or personal / familial scandals. These misdeeds require to be atoned therefore benefaction and philanthropy are engaged upon in gargantuan scale. There are two alternative endings, namely the humbling leading to a loss of grace, or the acceptance where a knighthood or other honour is bestowed on the entrepreneur. The shunning and betrayal are also common themes, as is failure or cautionary tales. The dark side sees a slide into obscurity or a regeneration of the cycle as a comeback is mounted.
The Judgement	Acceptance sees the hero achieving a change of stature to tycoon or magnate, marking the beginning of a courtship with the establishment although legitimacy is still withheld. After-legitimacy stories are generated accentuating the epic feats and the meteoric rise from obscurity. These are necessary to maintain the legend. Vendetta storylines are common as old scores are settled. Failure sees the hero enter a saga of perpetual purgatory, becoming trapped in their own caricature.

These themes do not always emerge from the stories of entrepreneurs but are presented with such frequency to justify their discussion. Despite the prevalence of this anthology it is obviously a male orientated, heroic structure, which may not fit the stories of the storybook entrepreneur.

12.8.4 - Isolating the storybook entrepreneur.

From immersion in biographies, profiles and novels about female entrepreneurs several tentative formulaic themes emerge. A common theme is to bastardise the male dominated narrative - thus the poor-boy-made-good patronisingly becomes the poor-girl-made-good storyline. Serendipity plays an increased role in the stories of women entrepreneurs. It is common to liken successful examples to their male counterparts. It is a comparison, not a validation. Indeed, it is common to refer to them as being manly with masculine traits such as ruthlessness being emphasised. In stories, female entrepreneurs are masculinised by transforming them into heroes. This is achieved via a process of grafting on inspired iconology (albeit as ill-fitting facsimiles) by altering journalistic clichés. For example, successful female Victorian entrepreneurs such as Hetty Green, Victoria Woodhull and Tennessee Woodhull were dubbed "Robber Baroness's" (Clarke, 1979; Underhill, 1985). The robber baroness title has been romanticised and adopted as a female heroine figure by a genre of writers of fictional novels for example, Simmonds (2001) crafted the fictional heroine Captain Mary a ruthless, principled pirate - robber baroness. This tradition continues today in that fallen Russian female tycoon - Yuliya Tyenoshenko was similarly dubbed. Another method of heroising women is to invoke mythic representations. Indeed, both Hetty Green (in biography and fiction - Clarke, 1979) and Martha Stewart (biography) are likened to Queen Midas. Another quasi-religious analogy sees them likened to fallen angels. The Russian female tycoon Yuliya Tyenoshenko was described by the Ukrainian journalist Kniazhonsky as having "angel's wings on her shoulders". Another method is to invoke personalised insults for instance, the pioneering female entrepreneur Victoria Woodhull became "The terrible siren" (Underhill, 1985) and Hetty Green became - "The Witch of Wall Street", "The Sorceress of Wall Street" or a "She Devil" (Clarke, 1979:35/425). These less than flattering female stereotypes are embedded in mythological narrative and witchcraft. The use of such descriptives is common method in narrating such stories.

Also, stories of female entrepreneurs are more prone to follow a fairytale formula which is less factually grounded than those of males. It is a form of journalistic license that permits them to write more creatively.

For example, Bretezinski (2001) describes the meteoric rise of Yuliya Tyenoshenko as a “tale of Greed and Adventure on Capitalisms Wildest Frontier”. Thus stories often degenerate into sensationalist or censorious accounts of their personal life. Female entrepreneurs, like their heroic male counterparts have a darker side, for instance Martha Stewart’s misbehaviours are described as a “litany of horrors” and include the descriptives short tempered and domineering. Much has been made of allegations of insider trading. Similarly, Hetty Green was plagued with allegations of impropriety, perjury, fraud and forgery. Also, because successful females are rarer they are often treated as personages, instead of persons. In storybook renditions of female entrepreneurs there is often no one dominant entrepreneurial person or role. Instead, there may be more identifiable entrepreneurial roles. Historically, another stereotypical role is open to those girls who wish to make-good – namely, the Adventuress or heartless heroine. Another facet of such stories is the proprietorial pride anecdotes - the wife as a possession and public advertisement of the successful husband, eulogised for her womanly and homely virtues, and hence value to her heroic husband.

A characteristic of successful female entrepreneurs is that they play by men’s rules and values, but take considerable pride in beating the men at their own game and outsmarting men considered as bandits for their ruthless acquisitive skills. In narrating such stories, much emphasis is placed on articulating anecdotes that prove an entrepreneurial propensity - prowess akin to the male entrepreneurs War Stories. They are thus stories within stories acting as exemplars. In the novel about Hetty Green, Clarke (1979) tells seven such stories – Profiting on fire damaged stock; Buying scrap whale oil; Selling obsolete fire engines at a profit; Evicting tenants from houses to sell them as commercial property; Profiteering on gun sales; Profiteering with merchandise; and making a killing on the stock exchange. MacIntyre (1997) narrates a story about an 18th century Victorian adventuress Kitty Flynn who started her life as a barmaid in Liverpool before marrying one criminal, whilst simultaneously having an affair with another. She later married the millionaire son of a Cuban sugar baron and on his death inherited the fortune. It is of interest that McIntyre compares the entrepreneurial talents of the master criminal Adam Worth to those of J.P Morgan the Robber Baron, stressing that Kitty Flynn was equally entrepreneurial in her own right. McIntyre stresses that Worth, Morgan, and Flynn were all adventurers. Flynn because she followed the entrepreneurial strategy open to a women of humble origins – namely marrying into wealth. Throughout her life Flynn networked by having strategic affairs with persons whom would eventually be of benefit to her. McIntyre considers her to be a more honest entrepreneur than either the villainous Adam Worth or the regal J.P Morgan because she was open about what she did and hurt fewer people in the process. Thus it is possible that there is a formula for telling girl made-good-stories in which heroines are portrayed as matriarchs or adventurers, who engage in alternative entrepreneurial storylines. From an examination of the individual stories of successful women it becomes apparent that many had strong male figure (fathers or grandfathers) as role models and weak female influences. This appears to be a reversal of the accepted formula for the successful male entrepreneur who has a strong female influence in their life and absent or weak father / male role models.

12.9 - REFLECTIONS.

One of the aims of this chapter was to explore the various channels of communication, or Constructionism’s Tools, through which entrepreneurial narrative and identities are channelled. Communication is the primary method for conveying meanings, and values, essential to the survival of societies. Constructionism’s tools, such as the media, press, biography, fiction, and films magnify cherished societal values. In all these

mediums the entrepreneur is a heroic individual. The local press are generally more silent about entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship and tend to emphasise local person made-good stories in a parochial way. Thus the entrepreneur is generally viewed as a mythical celebrity figure as opposed to the prosaic pragmatic businessmen and women in their midst. Thus heroism and heroic virtues are celebrated and presented for public consumption. This is especially true for male entrepreneurs. Biographical accounts place entrepreneurs in the social context, in which they operate, exposing issues such as failure, flaws and foibles, glossed over in more traditional renditions. However, biographies glorify the entrepreneur as a hero figure. Therefore, it is essential to consider the entrepreneur in fiction to appreciate the values and norms (both positive and negative) associated with the entrepreneur as a person. All the mediums discussed portray the entrepreneur as a character, but this is especially so in fiction in which cherished societal values, virtues, qualities and traits are embedded. The classic example of the bourgeois novel was discussed as a vehicle for propagating societal values associated with enterprise and enterprising people. Constructionism's tools are therefore embedding mechanisms which may sub-consciously provide the basis for future entrepreneurial enactments. The main argument is that (although it does not say much about entrepreneurs) it demonstrates that individual medias' influence how entrepreneurship is perceived.

From the research an appreciation emerged for the need to differentiate between hard empirical evidence of entreprening and the carefully crafted narratives that surround storybook entrepreneurs in the pages of fiction and biography. These characters perform carefully crafted scripts that inform the social construct, whilst mirroring and reflecting a skewed portrayal of lived experience. They enact a pre-determined role, cleverly constructed by a process akin to "fitting self to circumstance" (Anderson, 2000) or *vice versa*. If the truth does not fit it can be fabricated or alluded to. This generation and regeneration of the entrepreneur stories is a two way process, negotiated between the entrepreneur and biographer. This chapter demonstrates that the analysis of media construction, biographies and novels of entrepreneurs provide a rich source for understanding entrepreneurial narrative. In particular it highlights the formulaic structure of narratives of the heroic and picaresque entrepreneur, which are predominantly masculine (and thus exclusionary) in content. It illuminates a formulaic script used by story-tellers to discredit the heroic entrepreneur, using a ritualistic process, characterised by the exposure of hubris, followed by the hounding, haunting and the humbling. It also highlights the anthological nature of the entrepreneurial narrative from which one can select relevant storylines to authenticate personal entrepreneur stories. The obvious dearth of biographies relating to the increasing number of female entrepreneurs accentuates the power of the dominant masculine form. Biographical analysis helps us understand a parallel entrepreneurial story-world.

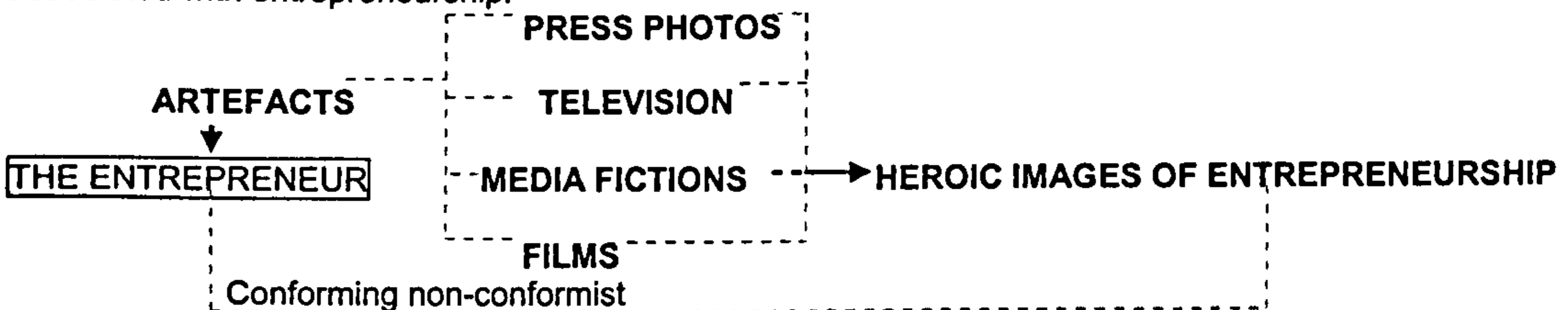
Entrepreneurs prefer to project themselves in a heroic light using autobiography, emphasising masculinity, virility, drama, and charisma, whilst fighting battles with the establishment or engaging in struggles for legitimacy. Over time they tell and re-tell these adventures as stories, bending the truth in their efforts to conform. Even Anita Roddick constructed her narrative along mythic storylines. Biographers prefer to perpetuate a less heroic picaresque narrative emphasising character flaws and accusations but do not always deliberately vilify the entrepreneur, perpetuating heroic narrative when it suits them. Nonetheless, entrepreneurs are frequently cast in the role of villain by biographers invoking a cynical storytelling formula rivalling the rags-to-riches-tale. Entrepreneurs inflated by hubris are hounded by publishing gossip, innuendo and even mythically founded accusations against them. It is a process akin to setting the entrepreneur on a pedestal only to knock them off. In chapter 13 the heroic formula identified above will be examined in relation to images associated with entrepreneurship.

13 – HEROIC IMAGES OF THE ENTREPRENEUR.

INTRODUCTION.

READERS' GUIDE.

This chapter examines the entrepreneur as portrayed on television, as well as analysing heroic images associated with entrepreneurship.



13.1 – THE ENTREPRENEUR AS PORTRAYED ON T.V.

13.1.1: The influence of photographic images.

13.1.2: The entrepreneur as portrayed on American and Swedish television.

13.2 – THE ENTREPRENEUR AS PORTRAYED ON BRITISH T.V.

13.2.1: British media fictions of the entrepreneur.

13.2.2: How television images of the entrepreneur differ from those constructed in print.

13.3 – A SEMIOTIC ANALYSIS OF ENTREPRENEURIAL IDENTITY.

13.3.1 – Belongings and belonging.

13.3.2 – A typology of entrepreneurial identities.

13.3 – REFLECTIONS.

In chapter 12, it was established that there is a heroic, storybook template for telling entrepreneur stories. This chapter examines whether or not there is a similar pictorial template for presenting images of the entrepreneur. In chapter 12 it was stated that film, pictures, photographs and images presented in movies, newspaper articles, books and magazines were constructivist building blocks as well as being one of constructionism's tools. In this chapter we examine the entrepreneur as portrayed in film, but in particular television, and consider the impact of photographic images on constructions of the entrepreneur. With the advent of mass communication technologies the importance of the visual image has increased as images overtake traditional narrative, as effective modes of communication. Visual communication makes an instant impact. Of particular interest are portrayals of the entrepreneur on British television which mirror the themes of the entrepreneur as hero or villain. Thereafter a semiotic analysis is conducted of images associated with entrepreneurship and these also present the entrepreneur in a less than flattering light.

13.1 – THE ENTREPRENEUR AS PORTRAYED IN T.V.

There is a circularity to images of the entrepreneur, as portrayed in film, because the images can be broadcast across different media. Thus an image of a fictional entrepreneur can be broadcast on television but reproduced in the press and magazine articles. Images have greater impact in real time as opposed to the images of an event captured on photograph. We thus consider the influence of photographic images on constructions of the entrepreneur and also examine images of the entrepreneur as presented on television.

13.1.1 – The Influence of photographs and other Images.

Hall (1981:241-2) emphasises the ideological character of news photographs, which operate under a principal of visual reality. Ideology is represented via a complex chain of events and meanings. Photographic

images can suppress and neutralise the selective and interpretive, masking ideological function. This supports the credibility and legitimacy of the newspaper as an objective accurate medium - neutralizing its ideological function. McQuail (1994:269) argues that ideological concepts embedded in the press do not produce knowledge but invoke recognition of the learned world. Barthes (1977:45-6) argues that photographs have a recording purpose but possess an ideological function, which masks the constructed meaning by presenting the given meaning. This can impact the image of the entrepreneur presented.

13.1.2 – The entrepreneur as portrayed on American and Swedish television.

Theberge (1981) argued that businessmen on American television are portrayed as crooks, con men and clowns and that rich and successful people are stigmatised. Ross (1994) narrates how on Swedish TV the entrepreneur is a common phenomenon, with 20% of characters portrayed being entrepreneurs. Television presents the same images to all, including tragedy and failure. Kellner (1995:339) argues that television as a primary storytelling medium, is ideal for presenting magical transformations, metamorphosis and fantasy imagery, borrowed from myths and fairy tales (making it an ideal medium for propagating entrepreneurial narrative). For Kellner, television is at the centre of our symbol system providing a channel through which dominant values flow. The images portrayed are influenced by cultural variation.

13.2 – THE ENTREPRENEUR AS PORTRAYED ON BRITISH T.V.

In this section, we examine other constructions of the entrepreneur as found in various media, including media fictions such as Flash Harry, Arthur Daley, Del Boy, and Ripley Holden, tracing their evolution as storybook character types. The purpose is to show the effect of the media on the popular stereotype of the entrepreneur. The method used was to collect images from various media sources over the course of the study. These photographic images were collected by a process of press-clipping, or down loaded from the internet. As such it was a purposeful sample of images broadcast in British media. These images tend to depict the entrepreneur in a less than flattering light.

13.2.1 – British media fictions of the entrepreneur.

When considering the image of the entrepreneur, it is necessary to consider the effect that the media has had on this over a prolonged period of time, and in particular the combined effect of the movie and television industries. This medium has encouraged the portrayal of the archetypical image of the entrepreneur as the bumbling, but nonetheless lovable rogue. The entrepreneur is rooted in public perception within the realms of the business world and in particular, the small business sector, shaped by socially constructed media stereotype. The best examples are the distinguished actor George Cole whose roles as "Flash Harry" and "Arthur Daley", respectively, have led to the phenomenon of the lovable rogue being firmly entrenched in the hearts and minds of the British public. This stereotypical image of the entrepreneur as a harmless rogue has been reinforced by the performance of another distinguished British actor David Jason, whose portrayal of the "Del Boy" character that has become part of British folklore. These famous media inspired entrepreneurial stereotypes of the lovable rogue are all London based and in particular Cockney's (reputed as being flash and prone to sharp practices and villainy). Flash Harry was a typical product of his time and place, the London of the 1930's to 1960's. Based on the stereotype of the Cockney Spiv, replete with working class mannerisms and the use of rhyming slang, Flash Harry emerged in the St Trinians comedy films (a girl's boarding school). As Flash Harry, Cole portrayed this genre to perfection. The Flash Harry character

was an evolving one who changed appearance to keep up with prevailing fashion. Even when dressed as a Teddy Boy, the trilby hat and the mustache remained as props bridging gaps to keep the image of the Spiv character firmly in vogue. When Cole was cast in the role of the wide boy entrepreneur Arthur Daley, in the 1980's comedy *Minder*, he dusted off his Flash Harry persona, adapting the character to play a matured elder statesman of the same genre to represent a typical product of the 1980's Enterprise Culture.

In a similar vein David Jason rose to fame in the 1980's television comedy series *Only Fools and Horses*. The title is apt, as it is a derivation of the American Vaudeville saying "Only fools and horses work". Indeed Del Boy turned his hand to anything that did not involve actual work. Arthur Daley is smitten with the same ethos. These characters became iconic ideal type entrepreneurs' entering public perception and the national psyche. The scheming Arthur Daley character has genuine appeal to the British public. George is a nice genuine man and this shines through in the characterisation. Arthur is ducking and diving, spinning his patter but usually ends up in grief, hoisted on his own petard, the victim of his own attempts at capitalism. The Del Boy character exudes a genuine character, a dreamer by nature whose daily exploits don't quite match up to his self image. Interestingly, Arthur Daley and Del Boy both live and work in a market orientated working class milieu and operate in a world of small time traders. This further entrenches the stereotype in the small business culture. Both Arthur Daley and Del Boy continually fell foul of the law, being subject to passing police attention leading to the entrepreneur becoming synonymous with cheapness and dodgy deals. Their images have become synonymous with the entrepreneur to a generation of British television viewers as loveable rogues. The actor David Jason based the Del Boy character upon an acquaintance who fancied himself as a bit of a businessman (in love with his own image) who projected the appearance of a perfect businessman down to the camel hair overcoat, the shirt and tie, trousers with razor sharp creases, and highly polished shoes. The irony lay in his inability to communicate the proper image of a gentleman because of a broad Cockney accent accentuating the wide boy image incorporating the use of body language and mannerisms. It evidences a class based communicational deficit. Both personify the dodgy businessman operating at the fringes of criminality.

The role of the media in the creation of stereotypes, and in particularly in relation to comedy, offers a rich vein of material. Brilliant examples of this are the two interesting caricatures portrayed by the comedian Harry Enfield – "Loads o Money" and "Bugger all money". These satirical comedy characters are very believable and true to life. These characters typify the two faces of the working class lad from a North of England Council Housing Estate and are basically the same person, but the latter has no money and uses such phrases as "I've bugger all money, me mate" and "I'm hard"; whereas the former is one is flash having more money than he knows what to do with. His catch phrase is "I've loads o' money, me mate". His mentality remains firmly entrenched in his working class roots. Both characters are brash and also lack class. Enfield, also portrays another stereotypical character - that of the apparently successful self made businessman - Derek, whom, despite looking and dressing the part in blazer and open necked shirt, and adopting the correct airs and graces of the new rich, still manages to convey an image of comical vulgarity by his loud and repeated usage of such phrases as "I've considerably more money than ya mate ", and "I'm considerably richer than ya are". This character is portrayed as a boring self-opinionated egotist whose favourite subject is himself. He introduces himself as a self-made man. His nameless sycophantic wife fawns over his every word and actions and agrees with him at all times. He introduces her as his man made wife (due to her crafted surgical beauty). His modus operandi is to engage a perfect stranger in conversation, in order to make an observation such as that given above. If his victim is obviously of a lower income bracket

he positively gloats and revels in his position of superiority. However, if ever bested, he then becomes argumentative and blusters such phrases as "How many houses have you got then? and "How many cars have you got then?. If he does not gain the upper hand he continually shouts "How many businesses have you single handedly started in the West Midlands then? ", before reverting to type by uttering a string of class based diatribes, expletives and profanities. Although none of Enfield's characters specifically mention the word entrepreneur the ideology is there for those able to decode it.

However, media fictional stereotypes are linked to particular generations in which they are grounded. The parody and humour dates and each new generation appear to require the creation of new satirical stereotypes. A contemporary example is Swiss Toni. Toni is a satirist's view of the contemporary genre of the dodgy car dealer, from the BBC3 television program Swiss Toni. In the opening scene, Toni is standing beside the ubiquitous Mercedes replete with flash jewellery and rings, adorning his hands. It is a post Trotterian image of a Del Boy character, adapted for the 21st century. Toni differs from Del Boy as Toni has social pretensions, whereas Del has a common touch.

Two other fictionalised media images associated with rogues, which impinge upon the entrepreneurial construct are Claude Greengrass (played by Bill Maynard) from the T.V series Heartbeat and Eric Pollard from the T.V Soap Emmerdale. Comparing the scruffy, bumbling, trench-coated Greengrass and the smooth, suave, charming Pollard with the equally fictional (but more symbolic) Del Boy and Arthur Daley one appreciates that all are of an entrepreneurial genre, being merely separated by time and location. They shared the image of the charming likeable rogue operating on the edges of criminality; idealised stereotypes, they have the gift of the gab; and they are all somewhat eccentric. Of cultural importance is the fact that all are portrayed as hapless and are brought to us via comedy and drama. The media love affair with the entrepreneur as a likeable rogue continues to the present day with the fictional character Ripley Holden in the 2004 television comedy Blackpool. Holden is played by the actor David Morrisay. Ripley Holden is a mess of masculine traits clichés. Of a shady working class background he owns a multi million pound gambling arcade and is on the verge of clinching a deal which will see him transform his business empire into a hotel and gambling casino. He alternates between the twin persona of the flash entrepreneur and a sinister gangster figure. He presents himself as a family man with values but has a string of mistresses as well as operating as a ruthless slum landlord. He is a bully, liar, rogue and cheat with the gift of the gab. Semiotically he gives off mixed signals. What is incredible is the persistence of the social construct of the entrepreneur as a likeable rogue in British society. It is of note that none of the characters described above appear to follow any of the classic storylines or profiles described in the preceding sections.

13.2.2 – How television images of the entrepreneur differ from those constructed in print.

This section considers how the television images of the entrepreneur discussed above differ from those of the entrepreneur as constructed in print in books such as fiction and biography discussed in chapter 12 and why this should be so. It is of significance that all the characters discussed in the previous section were made known to the British public via the medium of television. Moreover, because television images are instantaneous they rely on the semiotics of the image and also the aesthetics and for this reason make use of a different set of tropes, such as humour, irony, parody and satire as well as a heavy reliance on stereotypicality based upon images associated with culture, class and crime. The images themselves must make an instant visual impact as the words and narratives are forced to take on a secondary, supporting role. The cherished narratives of poor-boy-makes-good and humble-begginings give way to the alternatives

of the likeable rogue and the bad-boy entrepreneur. The body, gestures and clothing of the entrepreneur become living forms of visual data allowing us as researchers to identify aspects of character, personality conformity and group membership (Emmison & Smith, 2000:212-213).

13.3 - A SEMIOTIC ANALYSIS OF ENTREPRENEURIAL IDENTITY.

This section considers the physical images portrayed whereas prior research exposed the role of myth and metaphor in the social construction of entrepreneurship. An appreciation of these images presents a useful additional dimension in understanding the entrepreneurial construct. This section also extends research into the entrepreneurial narrative by the semiotic analysis of entrepreneurial imagery, revealing how entrepreneurial identities and images are constructed in narrative and in the media via a semiotic formula, which surprisingly has much in common with class based, criminal iconology. It considers visual images of real life entrepreneurs and media images of fictional entrepreneurs. These are not trivial. They are visual metaphors of entrepreneurship which shape public perception of entrepreneurial expectation. It presents and analyses data from a semiotic analysis of collected images associated with entrepreneurship. It also considers meaning and purpose. Images associated with entrepreneurship invariably portray manifestations of socio-economic success. Indeed, entrepreneurship is a social production as well as being an enacted collective identity (Hjorth & Johannisson, 2002). Entrepreneurs make use of image in developing a collective entrepreneurial identity which is a code of understanding that is perhaps only fully appreciated by an insider group capable of decoding these symbols of identity. We consider the physical appearance of individual entrepreneurs and the possessions and artefacts they use to project their entrepreneurial identity.

In celluloid constructions the entrepreneur is more likely to be portrayed as a rogue or villain. For example, I remember catching part of a late night movie of American origin. On the screen the narrators voice remarked along the lines of "This is where my friend Ritchie comes in....he's an entrepreneur". The screen then cut to a restaurant scene where a male person (presumably Ritchie) was seated at a table talking to a lady. Ritchie was middle aged, of excellent physique, with well groomed black hair and a goatee beard. He wore a black open-necked shirt and a black suit. His neck was adorned with gold chains and a close up of his hands revealed many rings. As a British national, with knowledge of the criminal fraternity, the image was inconsistent with the statement that Ritchie was an entrepreneur because the visage presented to me indicated that he was more than likely a gangster. Several weeks earlier I had caught part of a small trailer of an early Guy Ritchie black and white film in which a group of friends in a British pub were seated at a table playing poker. A narrator's voice speaking on behalf of one of the characters introduced the other players when the scene came to the person dealing the cards the narrator introduced the dealer using the words "This is... he's an entrepreneur". On this occasion the entrepreneur looked more like a South London gangster than an entrepreneur. The same scene was later included by Guy Ritchie in the blockbuster British gangster movie "Lock, Stock and Two Smoking Barrels". I became fascinated by this strange visual dichotomy as repeated exposure to such powerful examples of social construction inevitably shape social expectations of what an entrepreneur should look like.

In real life, entrepreneurial identity is difficult to locate because entrepreneurs are not such a socially visual phenomenon as the criminal. Indeed, entrepreneurs have a less universally accepted imagery than gangsters. There is no reason why any entrepreneur should conform to ideal type because some entrepreneurs are modest self-deprecating individuals; many are confident individuals who disdain the idea of copying the appearance of others; and many are not impressed by exhibitionism or by the possession of

artefacts signifying wealth. A flash persona is often the uniform of wannabe entrepreneurs who deliberately project such stereotypical imagery. Entrepreneurs possess a presence and make a definitive visual impact, manifesting themselves semiotically via gestures and animated action. Yet stereotypes do exist and because success is culturally defined, different socio-economic groupings within the same culture may share similar visions of success and project similar images. The taken-for-grantedness of stereotype allows us to construct and conform because the signs can be read and understood. Goodwin (2000) refers to these as semiotic fields arguing that social action is accomplished by a social actor and others who systematically recognise the shape and character of what is produced via a system of signs-semiotics which creates and conveys meaning as a social process embedded within a historically shaped material world. Artefacts used to construct identities frequently occur in combinations and stack up creating accepted cultural stereotypes. We now consider the role of belongings in becoming and belonging.

13.3.1 - Belonging and belongings.

Artefacts, possessions and belongings play a significant part in being and belonging, enabling the bearer to display their success, and to demonstrate an affinity with or membership of an elite thereby amplifying entrepreneurial identity by acting as symbolic accoutrements. These signify that one has arrived (Berger, 1963:95). Indeed, Vulliamy (1998:43) refers to as the "icons of western capitalism". In Capitalist societies the icons of success are usually products of the Capitalist productive process and bear easily recognisable brand logos. Examples include - Luxury cars; Expensive items of designer clothing (Armani, Kline); and expensive jewellery - Rolex or Cartier watches and ostentatious gold jewellery. It is the ability to possess these items which impresses, not their consumption. They bestow a transferable prestige, creating an identity which signifies success. The possession of power and status allows one to disregard group affiliations, but Morris & Marsh (1988) stress that adornment and decoration is a universal channel of communication which plays an important part in cultural identity. The possession and display of cultural artefacts, clothing and by personal grooming styles, mannerisms are best encountered in fiction, autobiography, newspaper and media content. Possession of such artefacts may also signal belonging. Yet the proliferation of this capitalist imagery and its association with success results in what Smith & Anderson (2003) refer to as Myopic Capitalist Imagery, whereby the visual effect of the trappings of wealth, success and status may blind one to the origins of the success. The impression created is the same irrespective of the legal or illegal origin of the capital. Thus successful businessmen and criminals may share the same generic images but the public only see the outwardly visible signs of success displayed and not the path chosen to achieve them. This creates a culturally specific visible ordering of success, a visual legitimacy which helps authenticate individual identity.

These images of success can be fabricated using impression management of clothing, artefacts and visible trappings of wealth which set one apart in the social order. These become sought after cultural artefacts and one is not seen to belong until one conforms to the expected type. These cultural artefacts become symbolic objects, totems, possessing the status of "cult objects" as suggested by Sudjic (1985). Morris & Marsh (1988:58) stress that when sufficient people all own and revere these items they form social tribes with "all the characteristics - bonds - alliances, shared customs and lifestyles of their counter parts in traditional cultures". Dated examples of cult objects of entrepreneurial significance are the mobile telephone, the filo-fax and the lap top computer, which became identifiers, symbolising more than their original intended

utility. Preferred images are perpetuated as stereotype, via a process of semiotic affirmation whereby one seeks to conform to cultural expectations using cherished possessions and artefacts. Also, Arlacchi (1983:98) discusses the physiognomy of an indigenous entrepreneurial class for whom wealth was based upon a proud awareness of the "symbols of prestige, and unfolded itself in the ostentatious exhibition of objects acquired for cash and in the exultation of power and the virtues of self and family". Morris & Marsh (1988) regard expensive cars to be cult objects and emblems of power and as a universal powerfully symbolic object permits the projection of self expression whilst acting as an emblem of allegiance to a particular class or membership of fiscal and social elites. Yates (1991:341) refers to women and cars as symbols and the trappings of success. Therefore expensive cars are an expression of success via fiscal ability and by inference proof of entrepreneurial propensity. Possession of (or access to) such objects enhance the manufactured image of importance. Such cars can be hired by the day or hour! Thus entrepreneurial imagery can become a form of personal aggrandisement and for the manufacture of importance (Anderson & Jack, 2000). Morris & Marsh (1988:91) appreciate the significance of the "unconscious stereotype", but images of success must be consciously projected by the adoption of culturally specific artefacts and possessions.

Images associated with entrepreneurship are predominantly masculine in nature and are related to the iconology of success. Artifacts and possessions associated with success become worshipped and used as props to bolster ego and vanity. Wilkins (1979: cited in Chell *et al*, 1991) criticises McClelland (1961) for his the glorification of "achievement imagery". Yet, Flugel (1935:65) suggests that men repress narcissism and have few outlets for personal vanity. Thus clothes and badging take on an extra importance, and may lead to an over attachment to powerful imagery and the accusation of "Flashiness" often leveled at working class entrepreneurs. This accusation is a powerful societal discriminatory mechanism stemming from a wider societal disapproval of the nouveaux riche whom Morris & Marsh (1988:90) describe as "lower class boys who have made good and wish to declare their arrival in a new income bracket". Thus working class origins and the masculine context of enterprise influence which symbols are deemed significant. To challenge this dominant male imagery Roddick (2000) conducted a poster campaign using confrontational semiotic images which provocatively challenged the stereotype of the entrepreneur as being a male person. Notwithstanding this, elements of the imagery are transferable to female entrepreneurs. For instance, Steiner (2002:14) in invoking an account of the female tycoon Jan Fletcher describes her as oozing success, being dressed in a white power suit, wearing a diamond encrusted Rolex and looking like she had stepped off the set of *Dynasty*. Steiner describes her in terms of personal artifacts such as a silver Monte Blanc pen, gold bangles and a marquis diamond ring and completes the picture with a mention of her Aston Martin DB7 with the personalized number plate JAN 1. This imagery is a feminised version of masculine iconography of success.

In biographies we encounter entrepreneurial identity. For instance, Yates (1991:214) in discussing the legendary entrepreneur Enzo Ferrari refers to the "de rigueur uniform of the sporting fifties: Lacoste pullovers, lightweight slacks, and Gucci loafers, accentuated with Rolex watches". Characteristically, the older Ferrari did not utilise this dressing mechanism, but dressed in simple dark coloured suits, crafting his personal image by adopting dark sunglasses as part of his persona (*ibid*.400). Lightfoot (1998:11) describes a criminal entrepreneur by invoking imagery - "Slim, despite a hard drinking lifestyle, sun tanned and dressed in smart shoes and a Ralph Lauren T-shirt...carrying the handbag size leather wallet de rigueur for the entrepreneurial set in this part of Europe. With his Gold Rolex Oyster on his wrist, he looked every inch the successful businessman". These examples, separated in time by a period of thirty years, and stemming

from different ends of the entrepreneurial scale suggest that one can indeed identify aspects the entrepreneur. Clothing and artefacts play a significant part in the fabrication of entrepreneurial identity combining to create clichéd visual stereotypes. A vivid example is described by Fallon & Srodes (1983) who refer to the enforced casualness of John DeLorean's \$700 dark blue three-piece suit, unbuttoned vest and shirts with long pointed collars. Nevertheless, it is difficult to construct a unified imagery associated with entrepreneurial identity because entrepreneurs are individuals rising from different class locations. Instead we must take cognisance of a typology of entrepreneurial identities.

13.3.2 - A typology of entrepreneurial identities.

Smith & Anderson (2003) argue that entrepreneurial identity can usually be categorised within three identifiable types - Conformist imagery; Non-Conformist imagery and Criminal imagery. Table 45 illustrates the iconic elements of each category. Smith & Anderson sought answers to two research questions. First the descriptive - is there a common, stereotypical image of entrepreneurship and what are the manifestations? Secondly the conceptual - what do these mean and how can we understand them? The Conformist category contains corporate elements and presents a generic successful business look, but some entrepreneurs appear to revel in what MacIntyre (1997:104) refers to as the "risqué image", reflecting a desire to appear as non-conformists. Smith & Anderson (2003) conducted a semiotic analysis of collected images associated with entrepreneurship, comparing them with images of criminality and corporate identity, demonstrating that as social constructs they rely on similar artefacts (in different contexts) to project socially recognisable identities. A categorical analysis of the components of the entrepreneurial image enabled common themes in the data to be established and differences examined using constant comparative analysis.

TABLE 45 - CONSTRUCTING CONFORMIST, NON CONFORMIST AND CRIMINAL IDENTITIES.		
From Smith & Anderson (2003)		
Types.	Sub-types.	STEREOTYPICAL ELEMENTS
CONFORMIST LOOK. Leaning towards the formal and conservative. A cloned look.	Corporate Executive.	Expensive suits in conservative colours, overcoat, monogrammed silk shirts, matching ties accentuating networking e.g. public school or club, expensive accessories cuff-links & tie pins, smart (short) well groomed hair, clean shaven (no facial hair / beards). Cigars, gold pens, one ring only, mobile phones, attaché cases and laptop computers. Cars must be top of the range models. Cultured accents preferred. A look to aspire to.
	Corporate Tycoon.	A similar construct to above but with more lee-way to demonstrate initiative, independence and eccentricity, perhaps leaning towards the Country Squire look. Accents will be mixed. Cars will be marques.
	Stock Broker.	Similar to above but more regimented with pin stripe suits, white shirts and the obligatory red braces (Ironically a look parodied by Russian gangsters).
	Business Look.	A pale parody of above achieved at a budget.
NON-CONFORMIST LOOK.	Maverick Tycoon.	The antithesis of the corporate tycoon look varying from the eccentric anything goes to a watered down version of the executive look – expensive blazers worn with jeans, casual open necked shirts, expensive shoes with no socks. Facial hair, goatees, pony tails, even long hair is permitted. Jewellery is worn in abundance making a definite statement of counter cultural roots. Again cars will be marques.
	Flash Entrepreneur.	A watered down version of above. Open necked

<p>Iconoclastic imagery leaning towards individualism, the casual and flamboyant.</p>	<p>Eccentric Look</p> <p>Yuppie Look.</p> <p>Barrow Boy Look.</p> <p>The Bad Boy Look.</p>	<p>shirts worn with designer suits and jewellery on display. The obligatory lower range BMW or Mercedes predominates.</p> <p>The eccentric entrepreneur does not conform to expected imagery and will often not be recognisable as such.</p> <p>In Britain the Yuppie look is associated with a definite middle class slant and is often confused with other middleclass stereotypes such as the Sloane Ranger. The successful entrepreneur (and their partner) may gravitate towards this social milieu. It is mildly non-conformist.</p> <p>Brilliantly parodied as Del Boy. The stereotypical image of the working class entrepreneur as flash and crude. Flat caps, sheepskin jackets, the obligatory rings and jewellery. Situated on the fringes of criminality.</p> <p>A deliberately constructed play boy artifice.</p>
<p>CRIMINAL LOOK.</p> <p>Iconoclastic imagery leaning towards the flamboyant and stereotypical.</p>	<p>The Spiv.</p> <p>Mafioso-entrepreneur. Businessman-gangster look.</p> <p>Ordinary-Criminal Look.</p>	<p>Brilliantly parodied as Arthur Daley. A variation of the businessman look associated with criminality.</p> <p>Open necked shirts, expensive suits, leather jackets, cigars and sunglasses. Surrounded by an entourage. Will project the image of the businessman but will betray themselves by subtle tell tale signs of criminal tendencies in the form of mannerisms, associates or flash jewellery. Surrounded by an entourage.</p> <p>Jeans, boots, black shirts, black leather jackets, jewellery. Silent and non-smiling.</p>

The analysis confirmed the complex construction of the imagery of entrepreneurship projected via identifiable sub-themes of class and criminality, providing evidence of the social process of demonology. To further appreciate the complexity of entrepreneurial identity. See the semiotic analysis of the images narrated in table 46.

TABLE 46 – IMAGES OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP.



A caricature of the Spiv in cartoon format. Note the long caramel coloured jacket with the brown velvet collar and deep hidden pockets full of contraband. Note the trilby hat, the pencil thin moustache and the sideburns. The long nose obviously depicts that he (like Pinocchio) is a liar. The white coloured vest and denim jeans denote base class extraction, as does the whippet dog. It is a caricature of a clichéd social construct. This drawing is circa 1970's and demonstrates how the construct spans time.



A black and white photograph of the young looking actor George Cole as Flash Harry. Note the pencil thin moustache synonymous with the era of Spivery circa 1940's – 1950's. Note the white silk scarf tied around his neck.



An image of the fictional icon Arthur 'Arfur' Daley played by a more mature looking George Cole. Note the trilby hat, the camel coloured overcoat with the velvet collar, the brown suede boots, the smile, the obligatory cigar and flashy jewellery. Daley is thus portrayed as a linear descendent of the Spiv. Also, note the casual 'devil may care' pose with the hand in the pocket. This is an updated image with heavy undertones of criminality / villainy. Without the outdated trilby hat and the brown suit swapped for a black one the same image would be that of the Businessman gangster.



A black and white photograph of a worried looking Arthur Daley taken at the inception of the television series, The Minder. Note that at this stage Daley is still a proverbial Spiv as indicated by the artefacts, such as the trilby hat and the velvet collared coat and cigar. Note the smile is gone as Arthur looks to take advantage of the situation



An image of the likeable rogue Arthur Daley but this time taken nearer the end of the series in the 1990's. Note that the trilby hat has now gone as has the camel coloured overcoat. In their place is the pin stripe suit, a more modern tie. However, note that the trademark smile and the ubiquitous cigar are still stereotypical character props. These images demonstrate how social constructions morph over time, but retain their basic meaning. Arthur Daley became the successful businessman of the 1990's, albeit a dodgy one.



A satirical representation of the British Prime Minister Tony Blair as Arthur Daley. It was intended as a slur against Blair by likening him to a Spiv or wheeler-dealer type. Note the presence of Daley's minder Terry McCann played by the actor Denis Waterman. This is important because entrepreneurs do not have minders – gangsters do. This demonstrates a conflated, confused iconology that is synonymous with British entrepreneurship. Moreover, the satirical image demonstrates that the iconology of Arthur Daley and of the 'bad boy entrepreneur' is embedded itself in British folklore.



An image which portrays and parodies the Del Boy figure. Note the flash white cloth cap, the smile of success, the fawn coloured trench coat (synonymous with businessmen) draped over the shoulders in a cavalier manner, the sunglasses (denoting shady character), the white suit worn casually with the black open-necked shirt, the gold chain draped around the neck and the wads of cash. It is a visual parody of the British version of the poor boy made good meets the flashy villain. It signifies low class because a flat cap is synonymous with working class roots which do not match the business attire. The white suit signifies villainy.



This 'grainy' iconic image presents the fictional entrepreneur Del Boy dressed as the Godfather in classic gangster pose. Note the dark coloured suit worn with the black shirt and the white kipper tie (analogous with 1930's gangsterism), the camel coloured overcoat draped over the shoulders in classic gangster style. The white tie signifies a lack of class as in a 'pantomime' or 'fancy dress' image. A close up would no doubt reveal that Del Boy was adorned with gold jewellery.



This close up image of Del Boy as a successful businessman shows his slicked back hair, his fawning successful smile, the obligatory rings and jewellery worn with suit and tie. Again note the camel haired over-jacket synonymous with both businessmen and gangster. The red shirt with white and black striped collar is very 1980's.



This image portrays the Del Boy impersonator Maurice Canham parodying the barrow boy look made famous by David Jason. Note the excessive adornment of jewellery and watches indicative of parody and stereotyping. Also, note the iconic filo-fax synonymous with entrepreneurial persona in the 1980's. This is a conflated image of working class and criminal imagery. This is more Del Boy than David Jason's portrayal of the character.



An image of David Jason as Del Boy in barrow boy persona. Note the flat cap indicative of working class roots, the smile of success, the gold jewellery, the rings, the cigar, the fur-skinned jacket (worn by market traders) and the red polo necked jumper signifying confidence and bad taste.



A cartoon caricature of a barrow boy obviously modelled after Del Boy. Note the fur lined sheepskin jacket, the smile, the cigar, the open necked shirt, the hard man stance, and the Reliant Robin parodying the one used by Trotters Independent trading. However, the image is classified as that of the Spiv showing how cultural images morph to fit in with the times.



An image of Del Boy holding up a canteen of cutlery. This image speaks volumes about dodgy dealing, the inference drawn that it is tatter or stolen property.



An image of the Del Boy impersonator Maurice Canham. Note the 'D' for Del jewellery and the early version of the mobile phone. This is the classic yuppie at work look. Note that the artefacts associated with entrepreneurship are often communicationally base. The modern equivalent would be the 'blue tooth' mobile phone technology.



An image of Del Boy impersonator Maurice Canham holding a cocktail drink with umbrella. This demonstrates the links to wine bar culture and an attempt at social climbing. Again linked to the yuppie at play look.



A photograph of Del Boy and his hapless brother Rodders after they have become millionaires. Note that Del Boy has visually moved up a class by losing the flat cap and the cravat he wears with his open necked shirt. Note the smile of success and the huge cigar. There is very little difference but it is a classier, less class conscious image.



A cartoon drawing of the Harry Enfield's Loads o money character. It depicts a young man from a 1980's council housing estate in the North of England who has made good. Note the 'T' shirt, the leather jacket, the jewellery and the arrogant stance with finger pointing and mouth obviously shouting off. Note the aura of confidence.



A line drawing showing the genre of the bad boy businessman 2nd hand car salesman (Robinson, 1983). Note the open necked shirt, the casual suit and the cigar. It is an image of criminality. The original caption under the drawing narrates "Know a villain by the occupation he keeps".



Cartoon contrasting the differences between corporate / entrepreneurs. It depicts the entrepreneur as a hedonist. (Davis, 1987). Note the contrast between the thin well groomed (characterless) corporate clone and the loud, vulgar, corpulent businessman. His 'I have fun' tie says it all.



An image of the fictional lovable rogue "Claude Greengrass" played by Bill Maynard from the Soap 'Heartbeat'. Greengrass is a bumbling but likeable rural rogue who dabbles in shady deals and frequently helps the local constabulary with their enquiries. He has a heart of gold and is accompanied by his dog. Note the eccentric appearance created by the greatcoat and the battered trilby hat.



An image of the fictional suave middle class, rogue Eric Pollard from the soap Emmerdale. Note the smile and the casual appearance which exudes charm. He is the personification of a gentrified Spiv. Pollard has had many failed businesses and is currently portraying a local councillor with a finger in many pies.



An image of the flamboyant fictional television entrepreneur Ripley Holden played by David Morrissey from the television series Blackpool. Note the theatrical theme and the posed stance, the white suit, the black shirt. It is a very working class image.



An image of Swiss Toni a second hand car salesperson and likeable rogue from the Fast Show. His one sales pitch is that driving a car is like making love to a lady. This image depicts him at home in his middle class settings. Note the psychedelic wallpaper and the velour chair both indicative of bad taste. Also note the white socks with black shoes (a fashion crime), the slick suit, the relaxed pose, the confident style and the bouffant bleached blonde hairstyle.



A cartoon image of Swiss Toni showing how the image can be parodied.



An image of the successful man about town from a Jaguar car advertisement. The gentleman portrayed could well be a playboy entrepreneur or businessman. Note the long overcoat associated with the businessman and the casual open necked shirt builds up the image. It is a British image of masculine success.



An image of the successful woman about town also from a Jaguar car advertisement. Note how the image does not cross gender divide's. The women, although obviously successful does not necessarily trigger the same response. One does not necessarily associate the image of the women with being one of business. It is an image of feminine success.



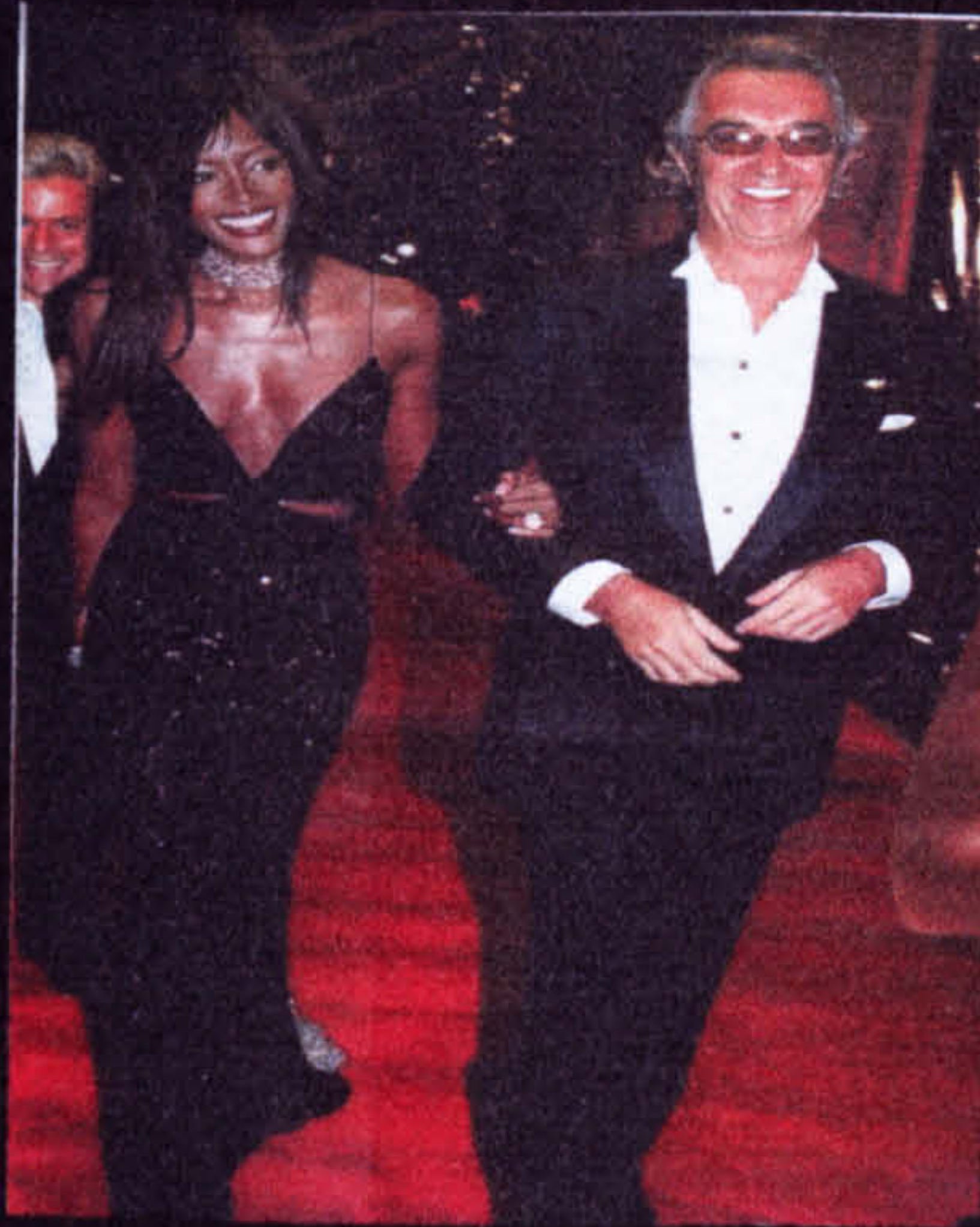
An image associated with the edificial statement. The mansion house as a status claim and image of success.



An image of a BMW sports car as an example of myopic capitalist imagery.



An image of the flamboyant entrepreneur Sir Richard Branson demonstrating theatrical entrepreneurial imagery. Note the goatee beard, the smile and the flash theatrical clothes. It is a posed shot but is typical of contemporary photographs of him.



An image of millionaire entrepreneur-playboy Flavio Briatore with super model Naomi Campbell. Note the casual air of assurance, the wide smile, the open necked shirt, the flash suit / dinner jacket, and the tinted glasses. This is an aristocratic, playboy image of success.



An image of the historical entrepreneur Sir Thomas Lipton again demonstrating the power of a 'theatrical entrepreneurial imagery' (Mackay, 1998). Note the trademark 'van dyke' beard and the sailing attire which became Lipton's trademark. Again it is an assumed image of aristocratic bearing.



A black and white image of the Tycoon Sir James Goldsmith – depicting the corporate tycoon look (Wansell, 1998). Note the casual pose, smile, the open necked shirt and tie and cigar.



An image of the entrepreneur John Delorean – depicting the Maverick Tycoon look (Fallon & Srodes, 1983). Note the casual pose and the open necked denim shirt denim jeans and cowboy boots. Note the smile. It is the antithesis of the traditional corporate executive pose.



A powerful masculine image of the entrepreneur Kjell Inge Rokke demonstrating the 'bad boy' entrepreneur look. Note the casual dark suited look, the open necked shirt, the red coloured handkerchief in the jacket pocket and the absence of socks as well as the black Mercedes motorcar. In criminal circles the non-wearing of socks signifies a counter cultural statement of defiance. It is a rich mixture of conformity and non-conformity.



A tabloid image of the Icelandic 'bad boy' entrepreneur Jon Asegeir Johannesson. Again, note the image of rebelliousness and non-conformity broadcast via the black suit and the dark coloured sweatshirt as well as the long hair sweptback hair. The stern unsmiling pose makes the image all the more sinister. It is significant that the background which has been cropped depicts an expensive yacht.



An early tabloid image of the British entrepreneur / property tycoon / villain Nicholas Van Hoogstraten. This depicts the flash young entrepreneur look. Note the dark sunglasses and the cut off jacket.



A more contemporary image, again of the dark suited entrepreneur Nicholas Van Hoogstraten. Note the somber double breasted suit, the tie and the slicked back well groomed hair. There is a hint of his trademark sly smile. This depicts the peculiarly British construction of the Businessman gangster look.



A powerful masculine image of the fabled 'Mafioso entrepreneur' Luciano Liggio (Arlacchi, 1983). Note the combined effect of the dark sunglasses, the cigar, the dark suit – obviously expensive but worn in a casual style. It is an assured casual suited look. In this image which has been cropped 'Lucky' looks every inch the entrepreneur. In the original photograph he is handcuffed to a police officer and is on trial for a serious crime.



A contemporary image of the real life gangster-entrepreneur 'Dodgy' Dave Courtney in full gangster regalia. Note how it parodies images 3 & 8. Courtney labels this his 'storybook gangster' persona. Note the shaven head the menacing smile, the black shirt with jewellery, the camel coloured overcoat, the excessive amount of rings, the cigar, the casualness of the pose with the hand thrust into the pocket. Also note in the background unsmiling members of his 'Firm'.



Another black and white image of Dave Courtney showing the link between the masculinity of the gangster image and that of entrepreneurship. Note the shaven head the sardonic smile, the black shirt, the heavy jewellery and the cigar.



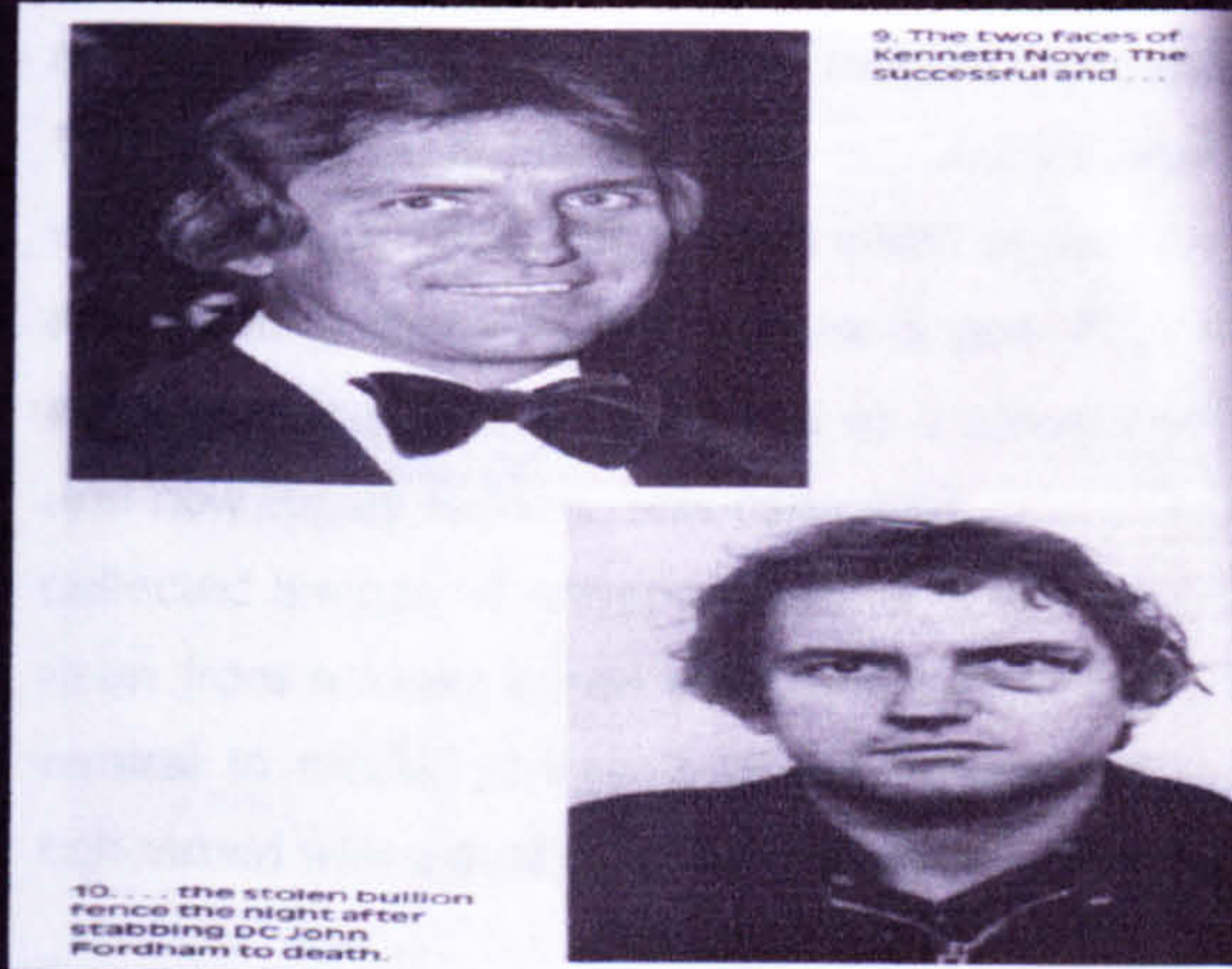
An item of iconoclastic jewellery symbolising success and wealth. Moulded as a \$ sign – note the stars and stripes banner behind it signifying the American Dream. These trinkets are popular with flash entrepreneurs and the criminal sub-culture.



This image represents the phenomenon of 'semiotic affirmation'. It portrays bling worn by a 'Puerto-Rican gangsta' - note the heavy gold rings, jewellery and pose. Bourgois (1995). It is a criminal ethnic look.



This photograph depicts a group of Romany – Gypsies celebrating at a wedding. Note the casual masculine image created by the wearing of dark suits, open necked shirts and the conspicuous display of jewellery. Note the Mercedes motorcar in the backdrop as a signifier of wealth. One is often faced with a confusing image. To them it is a cultural signifier of their success yet to others the same image signifies a pejorative association with the imagery of the thief. The same image in a British street may be mistaken for an entrepreneurial or criminal imagery as cultural variations.



The two faces of Kenneth Noye demonstrating the social construction of the two images. The first depicts him as a wealthy successful entrepreneur. Note the smile the long but groomed hair, the smile, the dinner jacket and bow tie. The second is of Noye the villain under arrest for murder. (Hogg *et al*, 1988).

These selected images are of entrepreneurs or are associated with entrepreneurship from which success and entrepreneurial identity can be inferred. The images resonate with the masculinity of entrepreneurship and build a stereotypical, almost burlesque visual image of the entrepreneur, using artefacts associated with class or socio-economic groupings. Moreover, Smith & Anderson (2003) found that at a descriptive level, there are many parallels between the linguistic and the semiotic. The selected images appear to conform to, and confirm the entrepreneurial myth, acting as carriers of entrepreneurial narrative, illustrating the fable. There are many patterns of similarity, some sufficiently powerful to suggest stereotypicality. Yet the unifying essence of the images is difference, showing entrepreneurs in contrast to non-entrepreneurs. Smith & Anderson revealed the paradox of conforming to non-conformity. The similarities within the ways that this difference is constructed mean that the images also conform! Indeed, the symbolism of entrepreneurship conforms to the symbolism of our fabricated world. This demonstrates the powerful role the media play in the creation of such stereotypical images. It is fascinating that the common stereotypical representations of entrepreneurship reveal themselves in visual form embedded in comedy and parody. These in turn influence public perceptions of negotiated reality. These formulaic images are related to masculinity, power, status and wealth and mean different things to different people. They will inspire some but frustrate and anger others who do not share the ideology. They work at a hidden intertextual (taken for granted) level, as do myth and metaphor which they compliment. Far from being the mythic rugged individualist, the entrepreneur projects a paradoxical image of being a conforming-non conformist demonstrating that entrepreneurial identity, particularly in Britain, is heavily influenced by images of class and criminality. By adopting the

accepted iconology of entrepreneurship an actor in effect performs, transmits and enacts accepted storylines which guide how it is portrayed and enacted, particularly when recourse is made to the theatrical aided by artefacts and props. Semiotics facilitates the transmission of entrepreneurial fable, bringing it to life.

13.5 - REFLECTIONS.

The aim of the chapter was articulated as examining the entrepreneur portrayed on television, as well as analysing heroic images associated with entrepreneurship. Reflecting upon the chapter, the most significant point to take away is that the American and the British public perception of the entrepreneur as portrayed on television is that of the crook or rogue. The image of the smiling (or sneering), irreverent, bejewelled, dark suited entrepreneur with an open necked shirt is thus in keeping with the ideological message of the entrepreneur as a rebel, misfit or maverick who cannot, or will not conform to the ideology of the ruling elite. The pictures and images thus corroborate the narratives as told by both the entrepreneur and the establishment. These are images which appear to appeal to the American and British public who recognise, and warm to these representations of poor boys made good. From the 1960's through to 2004 the British entrepreneur has been portrayed as a rascal from Flash Harry, Arthur Daley, Del Boy Trotter, Swiss Toni and now Ripley Holden. This cannot be mere coincidence, as was borne out by the semiotic analysis of the collected images of entrepreneurship which revealed that the entrepreneur is regarded as male who has risen from a lower social class and cannot leave behind their base roots. Indeed, issues of identity are central to media portrayals of the entrepreneur, particularly as presented on television. Chapter 14 is concerned with a public opinion survey of attitudes towards the entrepreneur in the North East of Scotland.

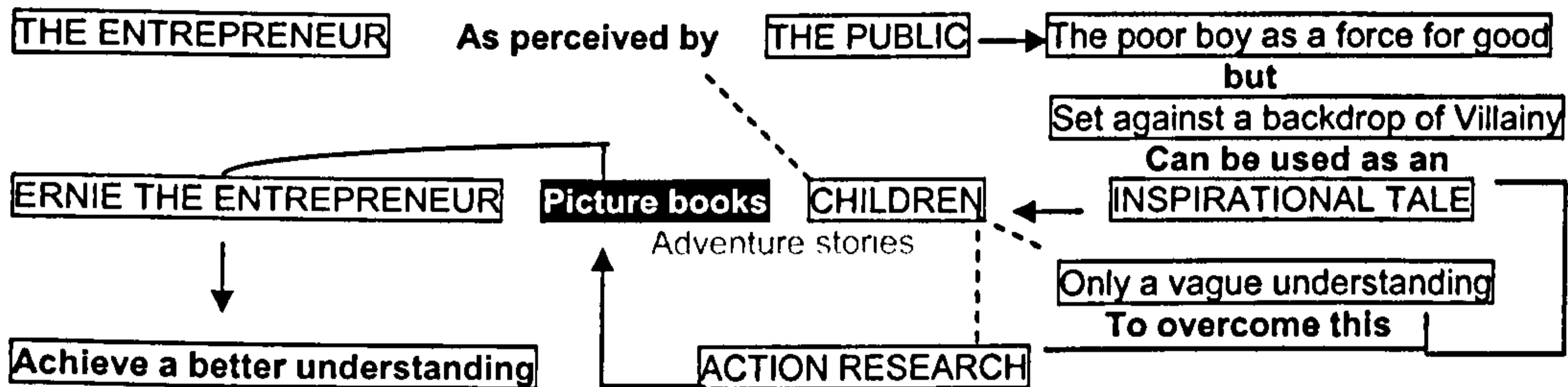
14 – THE ENTREPRENEUR AS PERCEIVED BY THE PUBLIC.

INTRODUCTION.

READERS' GUIDE.

This chapter

1. Establishes the public perception of the entrepreneur in the North East of Scotland and what meanings lie behind the idea of entrepreneurship.
2. Determines what techniques of social construction they use to construct their knowledge.
3. Introduces the concepts of inspirational tales and action research to propagate entrepreneur stories amongst children.



14.1 - ESTABLISHING THE PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF THE ENTREPRENEUR.

14.2 - INSPIRATIONAL TALES.

- 14.2.1: Making believe versus make believe.
- 14.2.2: In search of a medium.
- 14.2.3: Picture books.
- 14.2.4: Adventure stories.
- 14.2.5: Constructing and crafting inspirational tales for children.
- 14.2.6: Conducting action research.

14.3 – REFLECTIONS.

The research conducted and articulated in this chapter was carried out to find the entrepreneur as constructed in the North-East of Scotland. To do this the author first conducted a public opinion survey in the cities of Aberdeen and Inverness to establish exactly what perception the ordinary person in the street has of entrepreneurs as a genre. By doing this I was able to determine several relevant constructions of the entrepreneur is common usage in the North-East of Scotland. The methodology used has been discussed. The research sought to answer - "How do lay people understand entrepreneurship".

When I commenced the research I appreciated from personal experience that public perception of the entrepreneur in the North East of Scotland was influenced by a pejorative schemata. I had viewed an early episode of the successful Grampian Television soap comedy programme entitled "Monarch Of The Glen" in which a local Gangster type businessman operating a string of pubs in nearby villages was referred to as an 'entrepreneur' despite having the appearance and modus operandi of a villain. Despite being fictional the distaste shown towards the individual was palpable. Also, at a social event, when I explained to a neighbour who happened to be a local businessman that I was researching entrepreneurs, he immediately remarked, in an uncharacteristically explosive and derogatory manner that "There's no such thing as an entrepreneur – they are all crooks". That the mere mention of the e-word could invoke such rage and passion made a vivid and lasting impression upon me. Several weeks later whilst explaining to a friend of my wife's that I was researching entrepreneurs she remarked "Do you mean like Arthur Daley". Immediately, realising that this was evidence of the social construction of entrepreneurship, I was further taken aback by the fact that she

also simultaneously made a semiotic hand gesture associated with dodgy dealings. How could such a dubious image of the entrepreneur exist and more importantly where did it come from?

Surprisingly, the research established that generally, the public of the North-East of Scotland warm towards the entrepreneur. However, to answer the research question in relation of where this perception of the entrepreneur comes from it proved necessary to conduct further research. Being a lifelong resident of the area, I appreciated that the level of knowledge displayed by the respondents and their warm appreciation of the entrepreneur were unlikely to have resulted from their readings of the local press. The main, local newspapers such as the Press & Journal, The Inverness Courier, The Buchan Observer, The Fraserburgh Herald, The Ellon Times and so forth are very traditional, conservative newspapers, which report on local events. The reporting of abstract concepts like entrepreneurship in such newspaper is rare. Indeed, it is safe to say that in the North-East of Scotland the word entrepreneur is a silent one, seldom encountered in public or in writing. I had been privileged to overhear a conversation in a public house between two men discussing a local entrepreneur and it is of note that they referred to him as a "Self-made-man", stressing that he was a ploughman's son who started with nothing and built up a chain of hotels. The tone of the conversation was that of open awe and admiration for the individual whom one of them described as "nobody's fool". The word entrepreneur was not invoked at all during the conversation. It is more likely that such knowledge comes from experience and from the pages of the National Newspapers, from the biographies, novels, the media and from television and films discussed in chapter 13.

14.1 - ESTABLISHING THE PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF THE ENTREPRENEUR.

This section using the data collected from the survey attempts to chart the existence and extent of entrepreneurial images in the mind of the public. Evidence of the difficulty in understanding came to light with 18 respondents being unable to articulate the concept. From the 79 who could, two contrasting composite pictures of the entrepreneur emerged from the data. The first and most vivid was the ideological, morally bounded classical entrepreneurial parvenu. However, it was found that a second immoral shady character also emerged. Both fit the construct and appeared to coexist in the minds of the respondents. The former is eulogised and the latter marginalized. Whilst 62 per cent eulogised the entrepreneur, 20 per cent vilified him. Fifteen per cent were ambivalent and the remainder had no opinion. See response details below.

Responses (n 100)	
Female	51%
Male	49%
Could explain concept	79%
Had difficulty in articulating concept	18%
Unable to name an entrepreneur	19%
Able to name more than one	23%
Named Richard Branson	60%

From the data collected two contrasting public images of the entrepreneur emerged, namely the heroic entrepreneur and the villainous entrepreneur.

The Heroic Entrepreneur: 64 per cent of respondents perpetuated the myth of the entrepreneur as a hero figure, eulogising and echoing the construct of the enterprising self-made businessman with an emphasis on respectability. The ordinariness of the average entrepreneur was highlighted, as "*the lad who doesn't shine at school*" and "*a lower class of person who strives to get rich*".

The Villainous Entrepreneur. Twenty one % of the respondents invoked a pejorative picture either directly, or by allusion. Interestingly, 19 of these respondents were from the same group that had eulogized the entrepreneur. Morals and value systems were alluded to, approval being dependent upon honesty as evidenced by the quotes "you never read about a poor one, do you?" and "they don't get there just by being nice". There were many references to habits and intentions; breaking the law; acquiring wealth by other means; scams; rogues; underhanded methods; not legit; chancer's; and skeletons in cupboards. Only one respondent directly mentioned the link between criminals and entrepreneurs, by referring to - "the black market, cheap fags, cheap tobacco, drink and all that - some might say they are criminals, but it's the same thing". Another dryly remarked, "in Greenock we have plenty of villains, but not many entrepreneurs".

One of the respondents who provided evidence of this was to all extents and appearances from the criminal fraternity himself (by stereotypical appearance). Male, long hair tied in a pony tail, goatee beard and unshaven, tattoo's, earrings, nose studs, Army style camouflage combat jacket, wearing jeans and Doctor Martin type boots, carrying a guitar case. This respondent when asked why he had formed the mental imagery of the entrepreneur remarked - that it was mainly through watching the television, especially dramas with its stereotyped images, and also from reading books and newspaper articles. He laughed and stated that he had had plenty of time in his life for reading, but also from just watching people. Interestingly, he regarded Richard Branson as a classic example of a straight entrepreneur (and even remarked "good on him"), whilst drug dealers were an example of the classic bent variety. He regarded them both as the same thing, except one was legal and one was not. He also noted that both entrepreneurship and criminality were habits and manners of acting which one 'fell into'. It is apparent from these remarks that a question mark hangs over the honesty and probity of the entrepreneurial persona. This lent credibility to the existence of the entrepreneur expressed as a negative stereotype, or even as a criminal entrepreneur. As one respondent succinctly noted, "There are two sides to entrepreneurship, the first very exciting and intelligent, the second is very crafty and secretive". Interestingly, when asked if they personally knew an entrepreneur, 67 respondents had no personal or family experience, but 24 knew one as a friend. Only 4 respondents considered themselves to be entrepreneurs. Interestingly, one considered, "that it is up to others to validate one as an entrepreneur". The responses could be categorised within the following descriptions - 1) Perpetuating the entrepreneurial construct; 2) Communication; 3) Traits; Stereotypes; 4) Situational variables; 5) Describing the activity. Communication featured prominently as listening skills; publicity; lateral thinking; developing ideas; oratory skills; fast talking and sharpness. One respondent articulated this element of deceit as "the gift of the gab to fool you". A significant number of respondents chose to articulate entrepreneurship by emphasising traits. The following traits were mentioned, namely - risk taking; achievement; intelligence; extroversion; courageousness; enterprising; innovativeness; self motivation; creativity; independence; flair; sensibility; enthusiasm; self motivation; inquisitive; busy; noisy; hyper; successful; confidence; ambitious; and perseverance. Negative traits were also mentioned, ruthlessness; greed (monopoly); badness; dodgyness; selfishness; stealth; unscrupulousness; flamboyance; and eccentricity. It is of note that some of the traits are not necessarily of the conventional academic version and place more emphasis upon actions. The respondents also mentioned entrepreneurial activities, such as success; empire building; starting from scratch; opportunity recognition and exploitation; niche development; and philanthropy. One respondent succinctly described the entrepreneur as a "communicator with panache".

There was some evidence of stereotyping as theatrical impressionistic traits, such as sophistication; magnetism; and attractiveness or their pejorative relations - flamboyance and flashiness. Evidence of the

pejorative nature of the construct was uncovered with the entrepreneur being described as 'eccentric', 'highly strung', and 'basically mad, but in a good way'. There was also an appreciation that stereotyping was an inadequate method. Nevertheless, respondents provided a limited appreciation of the importance of semiotics, in the format of visual stimuli and personal artifacts in articulating the construct. Situational, Personological, and Contextual elements were emphasized and eclecticism was evidenced by the following quote, "Every one is different and bring different things to it". It was generally noted that one has to see and hear an entrepreneur in action, prior to confirming whether, or not they are entrepreneurial. One respondent noted "entrepreneurs are there period, whether you consider they are necessary or not".

Some metaphors were offered, "a finger in every pie" and "jack of all trades". Negative descriptors included, "rip off; sharks; all mouth". Interestingly, 60 respondents named Richard Branson, supporting his image of "The Peoples Entrepreneur", presenting a living metaphor of entrepreneurship. The chameleon-like persona of the entrepreneur was suggested, "not being interested in being noticed; blending in with the crowd; and being unassuming looking". Corroboration of the serious nature of the construct was obtained in respect of the dearth of entrepreneurial humour from one lady who stated - "I use the expression ' a right entrepreneur ' with a hint of sarcasm towards my husband. I've never heard that expression used in a nice way". A respondent demonstrated the malleability of the e-word, inventing a word, "entrepreneurness". This is indicative of the actual linguistic and semiotic mechanisms used by the public to articulate the construct.

Interestingly, the respondents sought to emphasise traits and communication, whilst acknowledging situation, stereotypes and metaphors. Traits are the individual building blocks of the construct, and communication allows one to project one's persona. Individual actions collectively become stereotypes and are expressed as metaphors. There was an appreciation of the entrepreneur operating in the local, national, international, historical and fictional contexts, as well as of entrepreneurial companies. I did not find conclusive evidence that the public perceive the entrepreneur as being criminal. From this one could infer that the increasing collocation of the words entrepreneur and criminal in the public domain does not appear to have had much effect upon the stereotype of the entrepreneur.

One respondent noted that entrepreneurs are "inspirational" and others appeared to appreciate the role played by fictional entrepreneurs such as Arthur Daley (named three times) and Del Boy (named once). In a similar vein was the perception by some respondents that an entrepreneur could be identified by their clothing and visual personal artifacts, with mention being made to suits, ties, briefcases, flashiness, spending lots of money, driving a Mercedes and using mobile a phone, by the big fat cigar, their theatrical aura. One respondent noted that in Aberdeen a Rolls Royce mattered but in London its effect was diluted. Only four of the respondents considered themselves to be entrepreneurs (3 male and 1 female). They were surprisingly deprecating individuals, as evidenced by the following quote from one of them - "I run my own business so I suppose I am one".

To allow a comparison, a similar, smaller opinion survey was conducted (50 respondents) at a later date using similar methodology and questions but adopted to test public opinion / perception about the professional criminal. It was desired to establish if any member of the public appreciated the link between the professional criminal and the entrepreneur. Only 4 respondents did. The most important lesson, learned from this second survey was unintentional – namely the warmth with which the members of the public in the North-East of Scotland hold the entrepreneur. In the first survey respondents took their time and many enjoyed displaying the level of their knowledge about the entrepreneur. Answers were longer and more drawn out. Many respondents positively glowed as they spoke. Conversely, whereas conducting the street

surveys in relation to the entrepreneur had been a fun activity, the second survey was not. The members of the public all answered in shorter sentences, the content of which was highly moralistic and judgmental (as one might expect). Indeed, one member of the public berated me for wasting my time at the public expense.

In response to the research question "How do lay people understand entrepreneurship" it is apparent that the entrepreneur portrayed in the survey is of the heroic eulogized variety with the overall impression being of approval, admiration and respect. This level of public approval of the entrepreneur is encouraging given the results of the survey carried out by Scottish Enterprise in 1995, for the "Year of the Entrepreneur", which claimed that the public perception of the entrepreneur in Scotland required development. The public acknowledgement of the existence of the entrepreneur as a rascal, but not as villainous as a rogue, also mirrors the results of the literature review and academic construct. The survey indicates that entrepreneurs are, in general well thought of, but with a hint of caution. They appear to be defined in terms of what they do, rather than who they are. The narratives act as inspirational tales.

14.2 - INSPIRATIONAL TALES.

Many entrepreneurial narratives act as inspirational tales, propagating valued stories at an ideological and mythological level. By participating in them we expose others to their inspirational power and encourage the process of emulation and mimetic replication. Potential outcomes include the perpetuation and regeneration of core ideological elements. Exposure to narrative is a process of social construction and re-construction that begins in childhood. Yet, entrepreneurship is essentially an adult paradigm. Consequentially, children may be channeled into individual occupations whereby few emerge as entrepreneurs. Unless one is exposed to the power of the as a result of familial fables, (see chapter 15) or by being raised in an 'entrepreneurial family' then by the time one makes a choice to pursue an entrepreneurial career path - life styles and alternative career paths are already established. The entrepreneurial narrative thus eludes children. This is obviously detrimental to both society and the individual. This chapter describes action-based research to address the problem.

This chapter is also an exploration of story telling and entrepreneurial narratives setting into context an appreciation of the power and influence of this narrative as an inspirational tale, building upon McClelland's (1961) seminal "tales of achievement" as "N-ach". Many families have such stories about a relative cast in the role model of the fabled heroic entrepreneur. Berger & Luckmann (1971:88) stress that family figures often act as passers on of tradition and knowledge passing on moral and magical lore to the younger generation. Such knowledge is also passed on and reaffirmed via symbolic actions and objects – mnemotechnic aids. Storey (1994) reported that such children are ten times more likely to pursue an entrepreneurial career path than children not exposed to such influences. Research by Schindehutte, Morris & Brennan (2001) relating to the entrepreneurial family confirms this. These privileged children absorb the values propagated within the entrepreneurial family unit, and can be regarded as being entropogenic in the same way the criminal family is criminogenic. This has important societal implications because the former is an obvious counterfoil to the latter. Storytelling is a traditional method of passing on values. However, as a method of storytelling such fables have their limitations, because the entrepreneurial narrative as it exists is almost exclusively an adult phenomenon, often not encountered in childhood out with a familial context. Also, the entrepreneurial construct is a serious one, there being an obvious dearth of children's stories specifically written to expose them to the power of entrepreneurship.

This section examines the impact of the entrepreneurial narrative considering alternative ways to propagate it effectively. An underlying theme is the effect of semiotic and linguistic mechanisms on our understanding of the entrepreneurial construct. For example the pictures in the storybooks in appendix 2 and 3 illustrate the stories and bring them to life. It considers whether entrepreneurial fable can be replicated as an alternative mechanism for propagating the entrepreneurial paradigm amongst children who lack a family entrepreneurial role model to emulate. After conducting a literature review I wrote a children's storybook entitled Ernie the Entrepreneur based upon a fictional entrepreneurial hero, to introduce primary school children to the complex concept of the entrepreneur. Using Action Research I then presented the story to children, by reading it to them and providing them with a copy of the stories. I was thus able to gauge their awareness of the entrepreneurial construct. This inspired another story about Elise a female entrepreneur.

14.2.1 - Making believe versus make believe.

One of the obstacles to propagating entrepreneurial narrative is that of making people believe in something which they may consider to be make-believe. One method is to emphasise values important to them and by personalising them in stories. Taking account of the lessons learned in previous chapters and having an appreciation of the basic formulaic themes my next dilemma was how to propagate such values to children. After careful consideration, I decided that storytelling was the most useful method for achieving this, because children love stories and books. Children's books are an excellent medium for accommodating reality and fantasy. As there were no entrepreneur stories for children I had to write one myself. This necessitated studying the role of storytelling in inspiring children. Constructing stories for children to demonstrate salient academic points is not a new phenomenon. Indeed, Callahan & Elliott (1996) asked students to write stories for children to simplify their argument, without recourse to excessive written explanation. Having identified children's stories as a feasible mechanism for propagating alternative entrepreneurial paradigms to children, it was necessary to explore children's books as a genre, to avoid obvious pitfalls. The task of constructing narratives for children incorporating the ideology of entrepreneurship was a daunting one, necessitating preliminary research. Having established that the story was a suitable medium, I had to consider how best to present it.

14.2.2 - In search of a method of presentation.

Entrepreneur stories include obvious satirical elements, irony and pathos perhaps making them unsuited for young children. They are more applicable to teenage or adult readers. Clark (1997:64-7) identified a prevailing ethos in children's books of being over protective, to prevent premature exposure to controversial experiences. Entrepreneurs are often portrayed as controversial characters. Also, for Clark it has become a cliché for children's stories to end happily. Thus the apparent societal preference for an unhappy ending in entrepreneur stories may make them unsuitable subjects for children's stories. Eyre (1991:11-14) astutely identified the relationship between the age of the child and the books they read. Children are exposed to adult life much earlier than hitherto. They read the same newspapers and magazines and watch the same television programmes. Eyre refers to this as the contracting childhood. Perhaps to previous generations of children the entrepreneur was just too complex a paradigm? In writing children's stories I was mindful of not violating the accepted conventions of writing for children. I had to (1) write with integrity; (2) avoid being patronising; (3) take cognisance of political correctness; (4) avoid value laden messages; (5) avoid stereotyping and stress shared humanity and common attributes. Point 5 proved problematic because Ernie

emerged as a stereotypical entrepreneur forcing me to disregard the advice of Eyre in relation to point 5. It was difficult to implement points 4 and 5 since entrepreneurship is a value-laden concept, traditionally associated with masculinity. In seeking to propagate the entrepreneurial narrative to children I had to choose the correct literary medium to achieve the desired transformation of values. Eyre (1991) acknowledges that many children's stories are written to a formula and that storylines are influenced by commercial influences. Eyre discusses the etymology of the accepted sub-genres of children's books from Puritanical Goodly Books; Fairy Stories; Picture Books; Adventure stories and Teenage novels. Table 47 discusses the etymological development of children's books demonstrating their benefits.

TABLE 47 – AN ETYMOLOGY OF CHILDREN'S BOOKS, SHOWING TYPE, PURPOSE AND DETAILS		
Typology	Purpose	Details
Fairy Stories	To entertain and educate	This genre includes folk-tales, fairy stories, fantasies, allegories, myths and legends. It is not a practical format for contemporary entrepreneur narratives because they are in the main set in a historical context and often require one to suspend reality.
Picture books	Stories with a purpose are instructional and excellent for communicating values. They are simple tales.	This classical narrative type evolved in the early 20 th Century. They were primarily didactic in nature and suffered from a lack of realism being written by and for the middle classes. They often incorporated the determinedly moral stories and stories with a purpose of the puritanical era. The illustrations accentuated the ideology of the text. Works well with timeless concepts. The picture book perpetuated fairy stories.
Adventure stories	To entertain whilst passing on basic ideological messages.	These imaginative stories were primarily without purpose or morals. Mass production placed an impossible strain on credulity as the age of the hero(ine) in the books reduced to match the age of the reader. They were often described as "tales of action". They often contained reference to criminals.

Entrepreneur stories are a pantomime narrative because they contain so many elements of established literary genres – tragedy, comedy, adventure and so forth. Whilst taking account of the history of children's narrative the challenge was to create – a children's story that included the best elements of the genres described above; and a morally impeccable tale of action, of educational significance to socialise children into accepting the entrepreneur as a role model worthy of emulation at an earlier stage. I narrowed the choice down to two - picture books or adventure stories.

14.2.3 - Picture books or adventure stories.

The picture book is associated with childhood and is an important constructionist building block. They are ideal for displaying stories with a purpose (such as entrepreneur stories). The genre evolved in the early part of the twentieth century. According to Eyre (1991:17-18 & 74) they were both determinedly moral and morally impeccable stories. They were unashamedly instructional causing many teachers concern but worked well because of "carefully thought out use of illustrations, combined with a simplified text to communicate the basic facts" (ibid.45-6). Indeed picture books "communicate to the younger reader a set of values" (ibid.57) and work well with timeless concepts with "something of value to communicate" (ibid.60-6). Entrepreneur stories are timeless and have something of value to communicate. Yet, for Eyre (1991:80) the real substance of any good book is the people in it. The message assimilated visually, produced a memorable fusion of text and picture. For Clark (1997:39) the pictures provide "decorative breathing space".

The genre permitted one to set fantastic characters in a background of reality and introduce larger than life characters and caricatures (ibid.44). Entrepreneurs are often fantastic, larger than life characters.

Eyre (1991:77) discusses the traditional genre of the adventure story and action stories. In their prime the action tale coincided with writers of the stature of G.H. Henty whose general schemata was the triumph of a typically British hero over evil-doers (ibid.89-91). These stories were preoccupied with criminal activities projected into other spheres and no adventure or schooldays story was complete without its cast of smugglers and black marketeer's and villains. For Eyre these "tales of action" were destroyed by a propensity towards mass production and writing to formulas which led to the demise in telling simple tales and straight narratives (ibid.92-108). The classic entrepreneurial "rags-to-riches" is essentially a simple tale.

Both genres had real potential. I chose picture books primarily because there were no known picture book stories relating to entrepreneurs. Adventure or action stories were appealing but the picture book format allowed the use of semiotics. This tipped the scales. In any case adventure stories are more difficult to write. I recreated a classic picture book to communicate the set of values embedded in entrepreneurship. Puritanical goodly books were rejected because of their dated and overtly religious nature. Fairy tales were rejected in the interests of realism. Adventure stories and the teenage novels were considered inappropriate for the targeted age group. Having chosen the medium, I had to construct an inspirational tale.

14.2.4 – Constructing and crafting inspirational tales for children.

Although entrepreneurship has been described as fantasy, I made a conscious decision to perpetuate the entrepreneurial formula identified in previous chapters. I did not want to rewrite the formula or cause confusion. As has already been articulated, entrepreneurship is predominantly an adult concept into which few children are socialised. Thus by the time they encounter the word they may be into adulthood, by which time their intended life / career path is already under way. In any case children construct the world in a different way than do adults (Bruner & Haste, 1987). I wrote the first version of a children's storybook, entitled Ernie the Entrepreneur, in trepidation, incorporating as many of the identified themes as possible. The basic plot revolves around a fictional entrepreneurial hero intended to introduce primary school children to the complex concept of the entrepreneur. It is a progressive narrative that encompasses the entrepreneur as a child prodigy; as a hero; the poor boy made good; as an outsider; the entrepreneur legitimized and finally castigated. The concepts of the entrepreneur as a villain or criminal entrepreneur were considered too confusing for an introductory story. I addressed this traditional element of morality versus immorality by the introduction of a gangster figure – the twin brother of Ernie. The genesis of Ernie began when I considered ways in which to project the entrepreneur as a serious role model to children, whilst mirroring reality without recourse to intense dialogue. This necessitated using symbolism and semiotic projection encased in illustration. The illustrations were drawn by my daughter from a list of obligatory characteristics and artefacts provided by me as a template. Ernie emerged as confident, youthful looking, irreverent individual, who wore jewellery and flash clothes. Interestingly, in animating Ernie and writing the text I subconsciously found myself being over-protective as argued by Clark above. The first casualty of this was semiotic - Ernie was not allowed the comfort of that symbolic masculine prop of success – the cigar, as it could be construed as propagating bad habits. Thereafter the aim was to make a complicated story simple. The storytelling element allowed research data to be collected, and in particular - (1) An exploration of the depth of understanding or

pervasion of the enterprise culture within children aged 7-11. (2) The impact of the story upon the children. (3) Establish whether they view the story as true life and a credible reflection of reality. (4) Explore any obvious effects it has upon them. (5) Assess how they respond to the story e.g. do they see themselves as a future entrepreneur? (6) Test if the story is an effective teaching aid in raising entrepreneurial awareness. (7) Allow a comparison between the familial fables of individual entrepreneurs and the stories of Ernie and Elise. (8) Highlight whether any other interesting research issues are raised? Having written the story I had to disseminate and propagate it. Action research emerged as the most appropriate research technique.

14.2.5 - Action research.

The first draft of Ernie the Entrepreneur was tested in a Primary School by being read to five classes, primaries three to seven. In parallel, ten educationalists involved with the school were asked to personally critique the story. Of these, eight stipulated that they would use the story if it were available commercially, two stipulated that the story was either not suitable for their age group or would require minor amendments. The consensus of opinion was that it worked well as a story and was informative. Criticisms were that Ernie was not true to life and was just too good to be true. All were unanimous in their praise of the illustrations and the reaction to ruin and poignancy of the ending. Yet it was apparent that there was a dichotomy between the illustrations' and the level of the text. A glossary was added. The sexual stereotyping was also commented upon. The lessons thus learned resulted in amendments, namely two Ernie the Entrepreneur stories targeted towards specific age groups. To redress the sexual stereotyping issue and the perception that the meteoric rise of the entrepreneur was too good to be true, I wrote another story, entitled Elise to provide a more balanced perspective. The storyline represents a regressive-progressive narrative and relates to a girl who wished to remain invisible and nearly succeeded until fate led her astray. She fell from grace until rescued by serendipity, becoming a famous entrepreneur. The revised Ernie the Entrepreneur and Elise stories were retested in another Primary School allowing research data to be collected from approximately 100 respondents. The data collected consisted of written responses to a questionnaire, visual responses to the story and feedback from the teachers. The method used was to write the word entrepreneur down on the blackboard and then administer a short three question pro forma to test prior knowledge. They were then provided with copies of both stories, which were also read to them by the author. The results compiled from the data collected are compiled in table 48.

TABLE 48 - RESULTS FROM DATA COLLECTED FROM CHILDREN EXPOSED TO THE NARRATIVES.	
The depth of the enterprise culture within children aged 7-11	Only 20 % of the children targeted in the age group had a vague prior knowledge of the concept and then only in general terms e.g. a rich man, someone who helps others etc. The gender and age of the children did not appear to influence the result.
The impact of the story upon the children	This was the most visible aspect of the research. Immediately upon being told that they were to engage in story telling activities the classes straightened their backs, settled down and paid full attention. At the conclusion of the Ernie story the children sighed in unison expressing disapproval at the unfair treatment of Ernie. After the stories were read about 20 percent of the children narrated stories of brothers, sisters, parents, or relatives who might be entrepreneurs. It is likely that they had been influenced by familial fables.
Establish if they view the story as "true" life and a credible reflection of reality.	This was one of the most pleasing results of the research in that 85% of the pupils regarded the stories as being true to life. They related to the stories and considered the exploits of Ernie and Elise achievable.

Ascertain what effect the story has upon them	The stories appeared to excite the pupils and inspire them. It was not possible to establish the long term effects of the story.
Assess how they respond to the story e.g. do they see themselves as a future entrepreneur	This was inconclusive, given the impressionable nature of children. Yet children who had relatives in business immediately understood their significance.
Test if the story is an effective teaching aid in raising entrepreneurial awareness	It appears to be an excellent teaching aid and the respondents appeared to understand what an entrepreneur was by the conclusion of the lesson.

The children warmed well to the stories and the experience was almost evangelical. In conducting action research one has to upset the existing equilibrium. This section should be read in conjunction with sections 15.1.3 and 15.1.4 because the fictional narratives are literary versions of the familial fable and mentorial tales discussed in those sections. The Ernie and Elise stories act as surrogate fables and are an alternative mechanism for replicating and propagating entrepreneurial fable amongst children who lack a family entrepreneurial role model to emulate. The positive response of the children to the stories was overwhelming and proof of the inspirational nature of the stories. Given the tentative, exploratory nature of the research no extravagant claims are made that exposure to the stories will propagate the entrepreneurial narrative

To obtain further feedback I sent a copy of the Ernie story to Sir Richard Branson to critique. A response was received from an aid Will Whitehorn who replied "In talking about your book, both he (Sir Richard) and I agreed that you had struck a cord with the reality of being an entrepreneur. Richard has always believed that being an entrepreneur should be an experience told as an adventure story because in reality that is what it is. The stories of the great British 18th and 19th century entrepreneurs used to be at the heart of our education be it Turnip Townsend in agriculture, Tar McAdam in road building, James Watt or indeed a host of other names. It was only in the late 19th or early 20th century that entrepreneurship became associated with the Marxist concept of the role of the class system in history of capitalism, even though some entrepreneurs historically come from humble origins and continue to do so today. The concept of the children's book is fascinating, although the story itself is maybe a little bit sad for the average youngster".

14.3 - REFLECTIONS.

This chapter highlights that the respondents as members of the public perceive the entrepreneur as a poor boy made good and generally as a force for good. However, a small number also view the entrepreneur as being villainous. Nevertheless the entrepreneur emerges as an inspirational tale. Conversely children have a lesser appreciation of the entrepreneur. To overcome this action research was carried out using children's stories specifically written as picture books stories by the author to address this. The action research, although of a limited nature obviously resonated with Sir Richard Branson and also on the entrepreneurship academic community as evidenced by the fact that a paper entitled "Inspirational Tales: Propagating the Entrepreneurial Narrative Amongst Children" which reported on the research won the Raymond Family Business Institute Best paper Award for 2002 when presented at the Babson-Kauffman Entrepreneurship Research Conference. This chapter contributes to the contemporary research debate in 3 ways. Firstly, it explores public perception of the entrepreneur. Secondly, it highlights an under researched area of the entrepreneurial paradigm. Thirdly, it proffers an apparently effective mechanism for propagating the entrepreneurial narrative amongst children who lack a familial entrepreneurial role model to emulate.

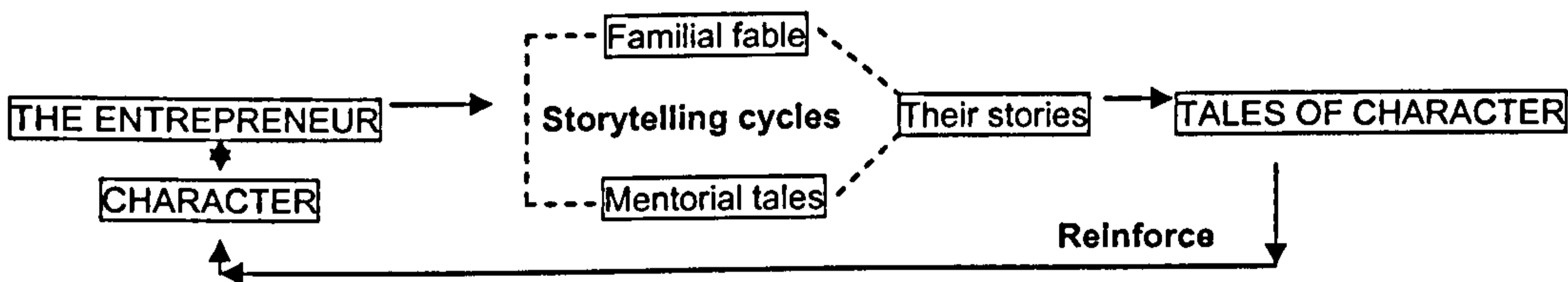
15 - TALES OF CHARACTER.

INTRODUCTION.

READERS' GUIDE.

This chapter

1. Reports on in-depth interviews with respondents.
2. Highlights the importance of character in the entrepreneurial character.
3. Examines the actions and communications of a gangster to establish if they are entrepreneurial.
4. Posits the categories of moral, immoral, amoral and criminal entrepreneur as useful typologies in discriminating between those who create value and those who do not.



15.1 – THE INTERVIEWS.

15.1.1: Their stories.

15.1.2: Unravelling the respondent's yarns.

15.1.3: Familial fable.

15.1.4: Mentorial tales.

15.1.5: Tales of character.

15.2 - CHARACTER REVISITED.

15.2.1: The character and personality ethics revisited.

15.2.2: In search of a measure of entrepreneurial character.

15.3 – A DEVIANT CASE STUDY.

15.4 - REFLECTIONS.

This chapter deals with research conducted by means of in-depth interviews with a small number of entrepreneurs and businessmen (in the North East of Scotland) predominantly from the small and family business sectors. The purposeful sample was chosen because I had already developed a rapport with them as individuals. I knew the respondents personally and was able to triangulate their stories, actions and deeds over the period of the research. I thus heard the stories they told and the stories told by their wives and family. This makes a vital contribution because it is often not the entrepreneurs or businessmen themselves who tell their stories, but their wives and family. It allowed me to develop issues that arose from their own words during the interviews. It was akin to unravelling yarn. The respondents were inveterate storytellers and their stories well spun and crafted. The small sample size allowed me to concentrate on the stories themselves, to look, listen and learn instead of imposing an emerging research structure onto the narrative. In this manner, the overarching theme of character emerged. The over-riding theme of their stories was that character matters in their entrepreneurial community. Two other significant themes were identified - familial fables and mentorial tales in the propagation of entrepreneurial narrative. This research thus complements the surveys discussed in chapter 14 building up our knowledge of attitudes towards entrepreneurship. It permitted me to map the knowledge gained from the desk research onto their narratives to test if the theoretical informs lived experience.

In a study scrutinising the entrepreneur as a hero or villain, it is essential to research real villains to provide a contrasting entrepreneurial reality. Therefore, the case study of Dave Courtney presents the story of a classic self-professed villain and his personal construct of the Storybook Gangster. It develops a profile

of a flamboyant London Gangster who evolved from being a run of the mill gangster, into an entrepreneurial criminal and then into a criminal entrepreneur. The case study was compiled from readings of his three autobiographies combined with field research using in-depth interviews with Courtney and members of his firm to provide depth to the study. It also deals with issues of morality and character.

In this chapter, I also utilise the narrative "life story approach" previously adopted by Hamilton (2002) and McAdams (1987). This view is that the life events of respondents are ordered into stories and recounted as such. This paper adopts the framework posited by McAdams (1987:65) who proposed that there were seven related features central to life stories, namely Narrative Tone – emotional tone or attitude; Imagery – determined by metaphors and similes; Theme; Ideological Setting; Nuclear episodes – particular scenes that stand out; Imagoes – idealized personification of the self as a character; and Endings – the generative script of a positive legacy left for future generations. These are the units of analysis used to decode the stories.

15.1 – THE INTERVIEWS.

This section deals with the actual interviews conducted, using collected data from entrepreneurs, mapping their narrative against understandings of the entrepreneurial construct developed in earlier chapters. Two distinct methodologies are used. In section 15.1.1 structured (tape recorded) in-depth interviews combined with participant observation were used, and in sections 15.1.3 and 15.1.4, informal unstructured interviews were carried out on a spontaneous basis, as and when the opportunity presented itself. This enabled the development and augmentation of themes identified from the in-depth interviews.

15.1.1 - Their stories.

This section introduces the respondents in cameo format presenting their basic life stories in storybox format. Specific elements of their yarns will be elaborated on in further sections as and when pertinent. Four cameo stories are presented - Bill, Vick, Alfie and Dan and Kirsty.

STORYBOX 6 - BILL'S STORY.

Bill was born in the early 1930's in rural Aberdeenshire, the son of a farm labourer. He was the only boy in the family and had several sisters. He had an austere upbringing in which he was exposed to the work ethic from an early age, working the land. He suffered in youth from several serious illnesses, which adversely affected his education, but he made up for this lack of education by personal enterprise and effort. He had a typical rural upbringing and formed a distinctively moralistic outlook upon life. A quiet man but imbued with a strong work ethic, he became a confident introvert. Apprenticed as a motor mechanic, he quickly acquired responsibility in the running of the garage business where he was employed. He came into contact with "self-made-men" and explained how he was inspired by them. Serendipity played a hand and he was able to purchase modest local garage premises. He was encouraged and assisted in this venture by a local bank manager, who acted as a business mentor. Over forty years with the assistance of his wife he built a thriving rural business which employed 12 people. Although his wealth and income were generated from the local community, he became a respected part of the community because of his fair dealings. Meeting him, you would recognise the projection of his morality in his personality. The most obvious foundation of his morality was contained in the advice he was given by senior members of his peer group at the start of his business career, "Dinna be a thief ...but take your profit". In other words be fair and honest but ensure that you do take a fair share. He lived his life working to this tenet. Unusually for a Scotsman, he was critical of "business conducted over a dram". His success appeared to result from his hard work and unstinting attention to the operational problems of the business. He never sought to be, as he put it a, "Big Shot" or to broadcast his success. He built an image of honesty, integrity and probity. Customers identified with him, as well as with his product. Honesty and trust were expected and given. Importance and power were of no concern to him, although customers freely ascribed him these qualities. Many local people regard Bill as being a paternalistic businessman and not an entrepreneur. Bill was an inveterate storyteller and loved nothing more than to wile away the quiet hours by telling stories of business, and of life. He was a keen

reader. Bill's children went to University and moved on in life. He worked his garage business until he was 70 and sold it on. It has gone bust. He lives in quiet retirement.

STORYBOX 7 - VICK'S VIGNETTES.

Vick grew up in the rural Aberdeenshire culture of the 1960's. He was a quiet industrious child by all accounts. He was the second son of a sober hard working joiner / builder's labourer. Vicks father Danny was a genial soul, who whistled his way through life. He considered his employer as a friend. At school Vick made modest progress and entered the same builders firm that his father worked at. He steadily learned his trade and became a 'jack of all trades' able to turn his hands to all aspects of the trade. As is often the case, serendipity played a huge part in Vicks future career as an entrepreneur. Vick and Danny's employer who was childless died leaving the modest business to Danny, his lifelong friend. Danny shouldered the responsibility he had never sought nor believed he would ever have to carry. He kept the business ticking over, but was no businessman by nature. Vick continued to work for his father until in his mid 20's but deep down knew he did not want to live all his life under his father's shadow. Having had new horizons open for him and inspired by his fathers progress he decided to take the plunge. Through a friend in the trade he was offered a building contract but he had to buy the materials himself. Newly married with a small child, he nevertheless used all his savings and run up a considerable overdraft before the deal finally paid off for him. His memories are of sitting at home of an evening at the kitchen table wondering how an earth he would ever manage to pay his debts and feed his family. Slowly, Vick began to prosper. He bought an old van and was soon employing two local men. Over the period of two years his business expanded and he employed several other labourers as and when required. He prospered because of his hard work, the long hours and his meticulous attention to costs and details. His reputation soon grew and he took on Council Contracts and diversified into other areas such as landscape gardening. He bought over his fathers firm and now as he nears his mid 40's he employs 29 full time employees. He is diversifying into property speculation and house developing. Vick is a very modest moral character who lives for his family and two daughters.

STORYBOX 8 - ALFIE'S ANECDOTES.

Alfie was raised in a rural village environment. Born in the 1930's he began work first as a farm labourer and then as a joiner. He lived all working life in the same village and in his early 20's he married and rented a house in the village. He was friendly with other young men in his peer group some of whom were the sons of shopkeepers, bakers, publicans and small business owners. Alfie played football with them and over a pint in the pub would listen to their stories of business success and failure. He became a well respected joiner noted for his craftsmanship and skill. He was also very artistic and painted and sculpted. His hobby is local history and he developed into a very articulate orator and author. For being such a quiet man he was very much a charismatic introvert. He had a keen sense of humour as well as being a student of life.

Alfie's chance came one day when a local joiner retired. Alfie made him a modest offer for the business which was accepted. Alfie remember his first six months as a time of despair. He remembers searching his jacket pockets for pennies to pay a bill. He often went without food himself because if he had a bill to pay he would do so because he did not consider it his money to use. Alfie did what he did best. He worked hard and slowly saved money. He employed two local joiners but chose to remain small. He saw from watching his business peers that expanding rapidly and being the big man did not always pay. He took pride in his expanding bank balance. When the local undertaker died he moved easily into the role and between the two businesses prospered. Alfie is a deeply moral man and a devoted husband. His children went to University and when he reached retirement age he sold his businesses to other local men. He now lives a quiet life, reading, writing, painting sculpting and a caring for his wife. He is a master storyteller, musician and singer.

STORYBOX 9 - DAN AND KIRSTY'S FAIRY TALE.

The tale of Dan and his wife Kirsty is a complex one. It is a story of joint entrepreneurial ability. It is a true love story where each partner's talents and life skills complement the others. The sum is greater than the total of the parts. Other writers would probably consider him to be a lone wolf entrepreneur. Had I not known them so well I would probably have been tempted to promulgate this fiction. Big Dan (as he is known to his friends) was born in rural England, in the 1950's, the son of a small farmer, with a large number of brothers. He has been in competition with them ever since. He was apprenticed as a mechanic and was good with his hands. He was also good at saving and soon had his first BMW. Kirsty was born into a travelling family who had settled into a small village in rural Aberdeenshire. One of six children she grew up looking after her four brothers and numerous cousins. She is one of life's maternal mother figures. Her childhood stories are replete with the usual masculine motifs of fist fights to protect the honour of her family and her brood of

siblings. Her mother had been raised in a strict farming family and when she met and fell in love with the charming likeable rogue Hughie (her father) she was cast out of the house. To marry a 'Tinkie' was a stigma. Hughie was a 'wheeler dealer' who bought and sold anything from horses to stolen property. One side of her family became thieves and feared gangsters but she wanted a better life for her family. Kirsty was brought up to respect religion and this underpins her basic sense of morality.

In the 1970's Dan tiring of the poor wages of a mechanic decided to seek his fortune in the burgeoning oil business. He arrived in Aberdeen and soon got a job on a pipeline. The world which he entered was like a miniature 'Wild West' with good money to be made. Big Dan worked hard and saved his money. He met Kirsty at a local dance and it was love at first sight. Marriage soon followed a brief courtship and Dan decided to follow his dream. He opened a garage in a nearby town and set out to ply his trade. He built up a thriving trader in a short time but believes that he was too naïve. His normal customers paid on time but the other members of the motor trade whom he dealt with were poor at settling their bills. A harsh lesson in cash flow problems ensued and Dan lost his first business. They had a young daughter by this time. Dan settled his debts but was penniless. He accepted the offer of a job on a pipeline in the Middle East and left Kirsty and their daughter her on their own. The money was too good to turn down. Kirsty remembers being alone with no money and no food in the house. Not one to be defeated she trudges through the snow and knocked on every door of the businessmen who owed them money. She collected the debt by a judicious use of persuasion and hectoring. She embarrassed them into paying up. It was a lesson she would never forget. It resulted in them becoming ruthless but very fair people.

Back from his travels with money in his pocket once again, Dan was mentored by Hughie who taught him the tricks of the traders. He learned quickly and started dealing in second hand cars. He did well and soon diversified into selling trucks. Over the years he built up a reasonable sized business but sold it to start a small oil company. He taught himself about hydraulics. He was at first moderately successful and opened up an office in the city. He employed a salesman and a secretary. His business faltered and he realised that his staff were robbing him blind by drawing wages and not putting in effort. An unexpected bill from the taxman cleaned him out again. Dan and Kirsty returned to dealing in second-hand cars with a vengeance and built up enough money for Dan to re-enter the oil business. He now travels the globe buying and selling second hand oil equipment and scrap, acting as a middleman for other companies. He trades in second hand oil rigs but still lives by his wits buying and selling cars on the side. He taught himself about finance and offshore banking. He is now practically a millionaire. He has a vast network of contacts in business and spends his spare time scouring the network for new deals. Kirsty stays at home and answers the phone and attends to urgent business in his absence. They make a formidable team. She buys and sells antiques and dotes on their teenage son. Dan now has a finger in many pies. He has an ongoing property development project which he hopes will fund his retirement as well as property deals in Africa and South America. He revels in his status as an entrepreneur but it is a word that he believes is over used.

15.1.2 – Unraveling the respondents' yarns.

This section deals with an analysis of the respondents stories, discussing narrative tone, emotional tones and attitude. It details the imagery associated with the respondent and unpicks common themes running through the narratives, as well as specific ideological settings that stand out across time. In the narratives a critical theme was character and a mono message of honesty and hard work.

In reviewing the life of Bill, it became apparent that he fitted the classical entrepreneurial narrative of the poor-boy-made-good. However, his business history demonstrates the full extent of his entrepreneuriality. For example, he acted as a mentor to encourage and support nine of his former employees to start their own businesses. His contribution to the local economy is significant. In the dour North East Scots culture which frowns on ostentatious success, Bill's business achievements were muted but quite remarkable in extent. Bill rejects any suggestion that he is an entrepreneur. He states that he did have an opportunity at one point to buy a large garage business in a nearby town but rejected it because he simply could not see himself mixing it with the big boys. He preferred selling cars to farmers and tradesmen and did not think he would be suited to the cut and thrust of town life. The narrative tone of Bill's story is heroic, being one of slow but steady progress over a life time of hard work. Bill's stories are those of an emotionally balanced individual with a lust for life and an honest character. He is one of life's gentlemen. Being a businessman, Bill was always well presented in his suit and tie which he insisted on for dealing with customers. Bill had a choice of cars

but insisted in driving a modest car from stock. He took pains not to appear flash. Again the main theme to emerge is of exemplary character. The ideology which pervades Bills stories is that of self help and scrupulous honesty. Refreshingly, Bill presents himself as Bill. Nothing more, nothing less. Bill's story ends poignantly but as a role model his persona lives on as a generative script.

The narrative tone of Vick's life story is that of slow but steady heroism. Vick comes across as a quietly confident but self deprecating character. The overall tone is of pride in achievement and doing so whilst keeping his character. Although Vick does not seek to project himself in local affairs he is every bit an entrepreneur. He does not consider himself to be one and considers that he is not ruthless enough to be one. He too is full of moral exhortations about the benefits of hard work. Vick is a very emotionally balanced individual. He lives his life for his family through his work. He has no sons and hopes for grandsons to pass his business onto. Vick does not project the imagery of an entrepreneur. He is very much the craftsman joiner with pencil behind his ear. He does have a Range Rover with private number plates, his daughters are in the Horry set but he keeps his feet firmly on the ground. Vick promotes his business image by modest acts of local philanthropy. The main theme to emerge was the projection of good character. Vick's image is a simple one. He presents himself as an idealized personification of the craftsman. It forms the basis of his very character. Indeed, Vick projects himself as being modestly well off honest businessman. Vick spoke at length about the bad character of many of his peer group. In keeping with his character he refused to divulge their names. To respect his wishes I cannot repeat the stories here because I was often able to guess who he was talking about. He told stories of fraud, fire raising, bootlegging and even gangsterism in the locale. Vick's stories are set in the ideology of working class craftsmanship and hard work and honest toil pervade his stories. Vicks stories still have an open ending.

The narrative tone of Alfie's stories are also unmistakably of morality and character. Alfie is a larger than life, genial character with a patient attitude to life. He rejects any notion of being an entrepreneur, despite his life narrative (like Bill) fitting the formula. He is very disparaging about entrepreneurs and laughs when he states that he still has all the money he made in the bank to pass on as a legacy to his grandchildren. He told me tales of his peer group and of those who bought flash cars, wasted their money on flash parties and in Poker games. He told stories of infidelity, kept women, mistresses, scandals and worse. He was not talking of gangsters but of local businessmen. They were his lifelong friends and being of good character he was too loyal a character to name names. Alfie drives a modest car. Alfie has maintained his character and associates entrepreneurs with local councillors and sleazy politicians. The ideology surrounding Alfie's stories is that of the rural entrepreneur. Like Bill, Alfie is of the generation who present themselves as themselves. There is only one Alfie whatever the situation. The generative script which Alfie leaves for future generations is one of moral entrepreneurship.

The narrative tone of Dan and Kirsty's story is a heroic life struggle. It is a classic rendition of the entrepreneurial narrative. However, it is not Dan who regularly tells his story. It is Kirsty who takes on this role, with relish. Dan is too self deprecating to 'blow his own trumpet'. However, an undercurrent of character is discernable in the collection of stories which form their life story. Dan is not an emotional man, but Kirsty makes up for them both telling stories with a passion. Dan's attitude is that you have to work hard in life to succeed. Dan projects classic entrepreneurial semiotic imagery. His personal car is a top of the range black Mercedes with a personal number plate. As a car dealer, Dan always has a choice of any car that passes through his books. He often has a second Mercedes or a BMW as a run around, but is equally at home at

the wheel of the Transit vans he also trades in. Kirsty uses which ever car is in the driveway. Dan also projects a very masculine entrepreneurial imagery. Being 6 feet four inches tall and twenty stone, he is an imposing figure. With a head of dark hair and a moustache or goatee beard usually complementing the image he looks formidable. He has a propensity to dress in black trousers and black shirts. A modicum of gold jewellery (rings) completes the bad boy imagery. His image belies his gentle character. Dan and Kirsty are both at pains to project their high moral standards as an underpinning to their characters. Dan and Kirsty espouse the ideology of the underdog, of the outcast and of the entrepreneurial dream. Kirsty presents herself as a homemaker, but is possessed of a shrewd business acumen honed by years of privation and trading. Dan, on the other hand projects himself as a serious man, not someone to be messed with. He is soft spoken, until he slips into business mode when he changes tone to a more aggressive confident style. It is a very abrupt direct style. Both Dan and Kirsty have multiple selves. Like Janus they may well have more than one face. The epic story that is their cumulative rise out of poverty is not yet over. Despite having moved into a mansion sized property in the city their story has many chapters yet to unfold. Their story is the regenerative script that is the entrepreneurial narrative. Their daughter has now obtained her doctorate and is a practicing psychologist. Dan is definitely an entrepreneur by anyone's standards. He considers an entrepreneur to be anyone who "risks their money and reputation" to better themselves. Dan believes that to entrepreneurs possess a chameleon like character and so presents himself.

In addition, I also carried out a number of shorter semi-structured interviews with businessmen acquaintances. These proved fruitful in developing some of the themes identified in the interviews above and in particular familial fable and mentorial tales. These are very personal narratives of entrepreneurs, not stories they tell about themselves but stories they tell about their inspirations. The two sections were developed from data collected from interviews with four entrepreneurs and four small businessmen. The entrepreneurs were regarded as such, because when operating they had more than one business venture ongoing, whereas the small businessmen had only one venture ongoing. I asked them what had inspired them to go into business. Immediately after the interviews I wrote up the details as field notes and subjected them to a content analysis. Interestingly, it was found that their entry into business was facilitated by three mechanisms – familial fables; external mentors and benevolent mentors. These mechanisms perpetuate entrepreneurship. No claims of generalisability can be made but nevertheless the stories are very real and vivid examples of personalised tales. The most significant inference to be drawn is that the decision of the respondents to enter business was influenced by exposure to familial fables or other mentor figures. Successful entrepreneurs appear to generate fable around their deeds, which act as inspirational tales.

15.1.3 - Familial fable and mentorial tales.

This concept emerged from the grounded nature of the research - from listening to the yarns of the respondents. Familial fables are eulogistic narratives relating to the exploits of a specific named individual acting in the manner of a parable embodying the themes of success and morality to inspire other family members to emulate them as role models personified. These are stories of proprietorial pride.

Two of the entrepreneurs and one of the small businessmen were inspired by exposure to familial fables. The originators of the familial fables were all charismatic, enterprising individuals who generated stories in abundance. These yarns frequently are stories of success in the face of adversity and embody the twin themes of success and morality. They were inspirational at two levels, having acted as role models and

dispensers of practical business advice. This advice was packaged in the manner of moralistic "couthy, pithy wisdom" or sensible folklore. Examples of the advice include "They don't shoot you if you go bust"; "Dinnae be a thief, but take your profit", "Make a profit, everyone expects it". They inspired others by virtue of their basic honesty, character; kindness and by propagating the work ethic by personal example. The fables are replete with examples of stubborn pride, of hardship faced in the early years - searching jacket pockets for money to pay bills on time, of facing hunger rather than create the impression they could not pay a bill, of overcoming financial losses. They are tales of morality and success. The couthy advice is reminiscent of MacIntyre's (1997:104) "Home Spun Philosophies"; or Wetherell's (1997:304) "remembered sayings and philosophies of parents". Similarly, Carcaterra (2002:36) refers to as hand-me-down-tales.

The strongest example of the familial fable in action relates to one of the entrepreneurs who having been raised on stories of familial fables, and in particular about an enterprising uncle. In time he passed them on to his sons and will undoubtedly have propagated a few stories of his own endeavours in business. However, self-deprecation appears to have prevented him from narrating them. Perhaps it is too early in the cycle of story telling for these stories to be propagated. Another of the entrepreneurs also generates stories aplenty of his trading prowess and is affectionately known as "Arfur", because he is a proverbial Arthur Daley figure. He is a part-time entrepreneur, inspired by his upbringing in his fathers business. Having been socialised into the entrepreneurial ethic and practices it effortlessly in many sidelines. The power of familial fable lies in its ability to inspire.

The content of actual familial fables is learned in childhood and it is possible that such familial fables do impact upon future entrepreneurial actions. General narratives, the parables, myths and stories found in the public domain may find their way to raise entrepreneurial awareness, but these personal tales acted as a directly inspirational and directive device. A striking point emerging from this work was that although such personal tales were inspirational, because they were so very personal, they were also very limited in exposure. Respondents made comments such as, "I've never actually told anyone about this before..."; "Only a few folk know this about my father..."; "actually, he kept this very quiet, he was a modest man". Nonetheless it was made clear to me that these tales had been very influential in later shaping their conduct in business life. Very few children appear to be exposed to such fables. Those that are, are obviously privileged, being endowed with a precious form of social capital.

Examples of such familial fable can be found in autobiography. In his autobiography Bill Cullen, a successful Irish entrepreneur, provides further evidence of the influence of the matriarch and of the power of familial fable when he recounts some of the homespun advice he received as a child from his mother. These vignettes / homilies are powerful motivators and included such examples as "You'll never meet a man better than yourself" and "Do your best at everything". Evidence of it can be found in the biography of Sir Thomas Lipton by Mackay (1998) it was interesting to read the type of paternalistic advice that Lipton's mother smothered him with. For example, "You're doing fine Tom, but dinnae kill yersel working oor hard" (1998:73). This is the couthy type of advice that is reminiscent of the familial fable. Mackay (1998:189) also discusses Lipton's chilling maxim "Never do business with an unsuccessful man". Furthermore, Mackay (1998:66-9) narrates the advice of Lipton's father that they were "only humble folks and should not build castles in the air for fear of riding for a fall". It is an admonishment against committing the entrepreneurial sin of hubris. The advice dispensed as familial fable is tinged with homily. It differs significantly from cynical advice gained from hard experience, such as that documented by Haines (1998:154) in discussing Robert Maxwell's favourite

anecdote "If a gentleman of the establishment offers you his word or his bond, always go for the bond". Interestingly, the advice dispensed by the external mentor figures also mirrors the "couthy" advice provided by the propagators of familial fables. Their nuggets of advice are reminiscent of classical parables or proverbs. Familial fable becomes an internalised dialogic story which guides the future behaviour and character of the entrepreneur and their family.

Entrepreneurial mentors also generate stories to be perpetuated by others. These are variations of the craft based master - apprentice type external role model. Two of the entrepreneurs, who had no prior exposure to business, were instead influenced by a network of external mentor figures. In relation to the small businessmen, two were practically gifted their businesses by benevolent mentor figures. These mentors appear to have acted so because they had no suitable offspring who could perpetuate their business and were thus prevented from perpetuating familial fable. Instead they chose to propagate their life work in what can only be described as a process of benevolent entrepreneurial transference. One of the small businessmen started as an apprentice and became a favoured employee groomed for future success – a surrogate son? He was tutored and offered the business at a discounted rate. It appears to be a fairy tale manifestation of propagating frustrated familial fables. The external mentor figures also generated fables, which were perpetuated by the recipients of their benevolence as opposed to within their immediate family. What both, familial fable and mentorial tales have in common with the stories of the respondents is that they all express elements of character.

15.1.4 – Tales of character.

It is fair to assert that all the respondents are all "Characters" in their own right. They are all intensely private people whom nevertheless exude warmth and charm and have the knack of making you like them. They all welcomed the opportunity of being able to tell their own stories being seldom granted the opportunity of telling their stories to others. The social settings chosen allowed them to relax sufficiently to tell their stories. Interestingly, only one of them sought to present themselves as entrepreneurs, using the standard entrepreneur storyline. They were genuinely self-deprecating individuals. They emphasised personal and family values and modesty. Being shaped by adversity and adhering to values breeds character and makes you appreciate its hard gained value. They had all lived through hard times and had lost money. Slowly, I came to regard their stories as being Tales of Character. What is of significance is that although none of them sought to present themselves as entrepreneurs, when one plotted the elements and storylines associated with entrepreneurship (as mapped in the first half of this thesis) onto the skeleton of their stories one could with considerable accuracy designate them as being entrepreneurs. Thus Narrative Fit is a useful method for identifying a person as being an entrepreneur. Granted, since entrepreneur stories are social constructs and narrative has been the tool used to unlock them, one would expect this result but, it is nevertheless an interpretative, subjective method and an additional tool in the armoury of the entrepreneurship researcher. Traits, personality and character play an important part in the profiling process and help us build up different levels of understanding. It is worth revisiting character.

15.2 - CHARACTER REVISITED.

Character is the quality of an individual's behaviour, revealed through their thoughts, expressions, attitudes and actions and is a foundation upon which important traits are built. Character, like legitimacy, matures through time. For Covey (2000:92-3) these characteristics are internal and must be transmitted from "the

inside out ". It is a constructionist process built up over time. For Maher (2003) character is the expression of the personality of a human being revealing itself in conduct (action). We speak of men of character, implying a unity of qualities and a recognisable degree of constancy (fixity) in mode of action. It is linked to psychology, ethics, education and religion. Human behaviour is the outcome of a complex collection of elements of which character is but one. Character is linked to acquired habits. Covey (1989:47) regards a habit as being an intersection of knowledge, skill and drive which collectively, mould character. Entrepreneurial activity is a powerful proactive habit. According to Maher, consideration of character is problematic, being regarded as unscientific, individualistic, unpredictable and difficult to classify. To locate character requires deductive reasoning and drawing inferences. Like entrepreneurial status it is something which must be deduced, interpreted and ascribed by others. Ascribing character is about determining the worth of a person and requires the attribution of judgment of whether someone is good or bad. Character, like legitimacy is the outcome of a set of social processes, a set of principles, but it is also a standard against which we measure ourselves and others. It is the standard by which the respondents judged their own actions. We now look at the work of Covey (1989, 2000) on the character and personality ethics.

15.2.1 - The character versus personality ethics.

Covey (1989) (2000) was concerned with aspects of personality and the character ethic. Incisively, Covey (1989:23) argues that both the character and personality ethic are social socially constructed paradigms which can be changed. Covey studied the literature of success over a 200-year period. He argues that the literature of the first 150 years equates to the character ethic. Covey considered this to be the foundation of success as it championed traits like integrity, humility, fidelity, temperance, courage, justice, patience, industry, simplicity and modesty. Indeed, Covey (2000:92) argued that character is an "essential aspect of any person ...made up of those principles and values that give your life direction and meaning". For Reich (1946), collectively, these form "Character Armour". Conversely, Covey argues that the predominant ethic of the last fifty years equates to a personality ethic, which regards success as a function of personality, public image, attitudes, behaviours, skills and techniques. Covey argues that placing too much emphasis upon personality, if one's character is flawed, manifests itself as duplicity and insincerity. For Covey failings of character are important and can result in self-destructive behaviour and ultimately failure. Character failings (like many facets of entrepreneurship) cannot be separated from the "flesh and blood entrepreneur" with their passions and foibles, their brilliance and flaws as envisaged by Casson (2000:viii). In chapter 13, we saw that character flaws were part of the characteristics of fabled entrepreneurs such as Enzo Ferrari, Robert Maxwell and so forth. In narrative and stories these characteristics are brought to life splendidly by the portrayal of the entrepreneur as hero or villain. It is perhaps this dominant character ethic that makes classic entrepreneur stories so popular with the public. Covey (1989:103) advocates re-scripting and becoming your own first creator by utilising the most effective existing scripts. Entrepreneurship is one such ready made social script. According to Covey (2000:92) character is "the bedrock of our lives".

15.2.2 – In search of a measure of entrepreneurial character.

It would clearly be beneficial to test for entrepreneurial propensity and character. To date no such infallible tests exists. A common theme in the literature is the inability to predict entrepreneurial propensity or intentions (Kruger & Carsrud, 1993). Trying to develop a personality-character theory of entrepreneurship

could prove to be problematic. Indeed, Chell *et al* (1994:33) acknowledge that personality can only be inferred, as there is no objective measure. As a result of immersion in the literature of entrepreneurship it became apparent that because entrepreneurs are portrayed as heroes or villains then perhaps entrepreneurial behaviour and thus character could be measured along an entrepreneurial morality scale. Entrepreneurs are not one-dimensional actors but arrive with their basic character and personality already formed. For Bass (1999:77) much entrepreneurial activity occurs at the lawless frontier of capitalism, or badlands where new fortunes are made and lost and morality and legality are flouted. There is a need to consider new typologies of entrepreneurial behaviour based upon character to separate entrepreneurial types from entrepreneurial actions. I therefore posit four basic, character based entrepreneurial types on this scale, namely – 1) the moral entrepreneur; 2) the immoral entrepreneur; 3) the amoral entrepreneur; and 4) the criminal entrepreneur. By adopting this scale one can separate the individual from the action and judge the action not the individual. This is necessary because not all actions carried out by entrepreneurs are legal or socially desirable. Where one fits on this scale depends on ones character and socialisation. It is possible that one can progress or regress along the scale during ones lifetime, or can hold dual identity. The character based typologies discussed above emerged from a review of the literature, see table 49.

TABLE 49 – DEVELOPING A CHARACTER BASED MORALITY SCALE.	
Character typology	Perceived personal characteristics
Moral entrepreneur.	Is socially responsible with high moral standards and value systems, and may be influenced by religious beliefs. They are generally very private persons, who are restrained by conscience, ethics, conventional morality and legality. Consequentially they may choose not to project themselves as flamboyantly as do other celebrity entrepreneurs. This often serves to increase the mystique that surrounds them. They fit the stereotype of the self made man from humble beginnings worthy of emulation. They generally follow the progressive narrative format and are portrayed as a heroic figure and as inspirational tales. Contemporary examples include Tom Farmer and Brian Soutar.
Immoral entrepreneur.	Is considered by others to be immoral, but may not consider themselves to be such. They operate in business areas such as prostitution, gambling, pornography, trafficking of alcohol and so forth. They may possess moral standards but have a flexible (situation specific) value systems. They are otherwise indistinguishable from moral entrepreneurs.
Amoral entrepreneur	Is the sociopath of the business world, for whom legality and morality are irrelevant, everything is just a negotiable commodity. The amoral entrepreneur is not overtly criminal, but is neither overly concerned with legality. They are constrained only by the limits of their intelligence and bounded rationality.
Criminal entrepreneur	It is the breaking of specific laws which dictates that the person is deemed to be a criminal entrepreneur.

To illustrate elements of character one must return to storytelling. See table 50.

TABLE 50 – ILLUSTRATING THE CHARACTER TYPOLOGIES. Source – Developed from Beresford (1990).	
Character typology	Narrative accounts.
Moral entrepreneur.	Beresford narrates the stories of 1. Alan Sugar whom is described as a "genuine East End Barrow boy" who left school at 15 to sell car aerals out of a car boot and went on to found the Amstrad business empire. Sugar is fiercely proud of retaining his outsider status and has no time for the old school tie network or the city. 2. Stephen Boler who started up a tyre company at 21 and built a business empire.

	<p>3. Michael Ashcroft who built up a business worth £2 billion, despite having few advantages in life besides a willingness to take risks and work very hard.</p> <p>4. Raffaello Bacci described as a van hire entrepreneur who in 1951, as a 13 year old working class Italian boy left the small Tuscan town of Lucca to come to England for a holiday. He stayed and in 1965, together with a cousin, bought 4 vans and went into business for himself. Within 3 years he had 56 vehicles, trading as Salford Van Hire. He built this up to a fleet of 5000 vehicles in Manchester and Leeds.</p>
Immoral entrepreneur.	<p>Beresford narrates the stories of</p> <p>1. David Sullivan is described as a soft pornographic magazine and newspaper owner, who has a degree in Economics from London University. He started selling nude magazines by Mail Order through the Exchange and Mart, as a sideline and found that he could earn £800 a week for 3 hours work per day instead of his normal £88 a month wages. His empire grew to embrace 125 sex shops and 25 magazines. In 1982 he was convicted of living off the immoral earnings of prostitutes and was jailed for nine months and fined £10,000. The conviction was later quashed on appeal but he spent 71 days in prison which he claims mellowed him. He now owns the Sunday Sport newspaper empire. Sullivan broadcasts an image of having high moral standards and is very anti drugs.</p> <p>2. Paul Raymond the publishing and theatre entrepreneur who was a rebellious youth with over protective parents. His father was a haulage contractor. He joined the RAF but spent his time "buying and selling second hand cars and organizing local dances at a big profit". He describes himself as a "Spiv". He became an entertainer and in 1958 opened Raymond' Review Bar, with topless waitresses and diversified into the soft porn magazines - Men Only and Club International before expanding into property development.</p>
Amoral entrepreneur	<p>Beresford (1990) narrates the story of Nicholas van Hoogstraten described as a property developer. A judge once described him as a self imagined devil. The aura of violence which surrounds "black suited" Hoogstraten helped him project himself as one of Britain' largest residential landlords. His tenants frequently complained of a reign of terror including forcible entry to remove their belongings and even the removal of a staircase for one unfortunate tenant. He is on record as saying that his tenants are absolute filth, and after one operation when he and a gang entered a tenants house and hurled the furniture into a road, he said 'its the best bit of fun we've had for some time' Although his violence resulted in a number of convictions and brushes with the law they have not hindered his money making skills. The son of a Sussex shipping agent, he made his first fortune through stamps, and by the age of 15 his collection was worth £30,000. At 16 he went into the navy for a year, during which he bought land cheaply in the Bahamas. At 17 he entered the property business buying up four houses in Brighton. All were tenanted but he managed to sell three with vacant possession at a huge profit and was well on his way to his millions. At 22 he was described as Britain' youngest Millionaire with 350 properties in Brighton alone. In 1990 he owned 50 properties, of which a third are in West London. He has a £4.5 million Mansion in Sussex built on the site of an old people's home where predictably - the last old residents were persuaded to leave. The water and electricity were cut off. At the time he was living in Lichenstein for tax reasons, having just paid £5 million, the record personal tax bill to the Inland Revenue. One close associate Rodney Markworth whom he met in Jail had a reputation for violence. In 1979 Markworth who allegedly owed Hoogstraten nearly £9,000 simply disappeared. Hoogstraten was quoted as saying "He wasn't the cleverest of blokes. I think he stepped out of line and was dealt with (1990:225/226)". Hoogstraten is an interesting example of how a villain is portrayed as an entrepreneur by the media for lack of proof of criminality and fear of libel. Beresfords narrative about Hoogstraten is trapped in time. Contemporary events, namely his recent trial for murder suggest that Hoogstraten is far from being a genuine entrepreneur, but is perhaps an infamous businessman gangster figure.</p>

Legality, morality and legitimacy can be strong allies. The moral entrepreneur has a distinct advantage over the immoral, amoral or criminal entrepreneur, because their legitimacy is sanctified by lawfulness, and their

actions become self-legitimising. Legitimacy endows the moral entrepreneur with a positive societal equity because once achieved, it must be maintained by serial acts of morality, ethical practices and integrity. For the purpose of clarity I posit working descriptions of the above typologies. Their basic orientation revolves around the argument that the creation and extraction of value are the core activities that all entrepreneurs exert regardless of their societal location or typology.

- **Moral Entrepreneur:** Any person who creates something of value to another and extracts value whilst respecting legal, ethical and moral considerations.
- **Immoral Entrepreneur:** Any person who creates and communicates something of value to another and extracts value, in the knowledge that it flouts minor social, ethical and moral considerations.
- **Amoral entrepreneur:** Any person who creates and communicates something of value to another but extracts value without respect for the consequences.
- **Criminal Entrepreneur:** Any person who creates and communicates something of value to another and extracts value in the knowledge that they are breaking proscribed laws.

These can also be considered as narrative typologies. Indeed, entrepreneurial narrative can and does accommodate a wide range of character types of differing moralities. Issues of character are the background material from which one creates entrepreneur stories. It is helpful to consider a deviant case study.

15.3 – A DEVIANT CASE STUDY.

This section utilises case study methodology and reports on in-depth interviews with a reputed London Gangster Dave Courtney and shorter interviews with several of his associates. The interviews were all tape recorded. The data constructed was triangulated using biographical data, autobiographies and newspaper clippings. It begins with storybox 10 recounting Dave's story before examining two entrepreneurial strategies he uses as an entrepreneur, namely crafting an image and commodifying his social capital.

STORYBOX 10 – DAVE COURTNEY.

Dave Courtney is a self proclaimed professional criminal, born in 1959 in London of respectable working class parents. Dave grew up in a moral climate. Indeed, his parents were "Boy Scout Leaders". Dave is an extrovert and consummate showman who was drawn towards and socialised into a life of crime by the attraction of the lifestyle and by exposure to the role models of "old school" villains. Impressed by their style and stature and their mode of dress, Dave set out to emulate them, quickly developing a formidable reputation based upon his propensity towards violence and his willingness to engage in ferocious brutality. His success hinged upon a reputation for violence and cunning. Dave works hard to project his image – Shaven head, he smokes large cigars, drives a Rolls Royce, drips with heavy gold jewellery and has a piercing stare which fixes on the person he is talking to.

As a professional criminal, Dave considers himself to be no different from a businessman, except that some of his transactions are illegal. Dave argues that crime is a business that shares similar working practices to conventional business. Dave has acquired a considerable reputation as an organiser of professional crime and revels in his nicknames "The Yellow Pages of Crime" and "Dodgy Dave". Dave developed a business supplying doormen to clubs. This quickly grew to 500 employees, but failed abruptly when the authorities required the registration of doormen and prohibited the employment of those with criminal convictions. Courtney lost most of his staff. Dave also diversified into the drink trade, largely through operating illegal clubs. The authorities closed down this illegal venture when they learned about the scale of his operations. Dave also provided a debt collection service, pointing out the many of the debts he recovered, would not have been recoverable by conventional means. This "service", which was apparently very effective, used, he claimed, the only threat of violence. Dave now aspires towards legitimacy by projecting the persona of an entrepreneur. He now seeks a broader legitimacy than that gained through his criminal endeavours. Denied authentic entrepreneurial legitimacy he attempts to create his own, albeit in a very different sphere. It is a different form of legitimation. Courtney is no fool, what marks him out from his

criminal peer group, as a criminal entrepreneur, is that he has manufactured an identity that reflects his power. Dave has commodified criminality and personalised it, utilising the human capital which forms part of his criminal heritage taking the traditions and components of the criminal underworld and idealising them.

Crafting the 'Storybook Gangster' persona: Dave Courtney tells a familiar story of struggling for legitimacy. He achieved it via his personal construct of the Storybook gangster, a manufactured identity which fits social expectations of gangster iconology associated with the stereotypical businessman gangster. He became a product, a commodity, a brand image to be imitated by others. His shaven head and cigar are contrasting visual symbols of defiance (to the universal stigma of criminality) and success. He revels in the "overall gangstery thing" (1999:39). His writings are richly descriptive and emphasise the semiotics of the artifacts of gangsterism which he lovingly refers to as "Full gangster rigmarole" (1999:155) or "Gangster Regallia" (1999:218). He constructs the expected gangster image of being "Crombied up" (Crombie overcoat), wearing black shirts, black Armani three piece suits, black leather over coat, Versace sunglasses, sharp threads, gold rings, bracelets, jewelry, after shave, freshly shaven head and the cigar. Artefacts obviously play an important part in the manufacture of visual legitimacy in the criminal fraternity. This dress code legitimates an identity and authenticates it. Such artefacts define criminal identity. Courtney wears solid gold knuckledusters engraved with DC and to a hand crafted gold dice with studded diamonds made up from the proceeds of a crime and worn around his neck on a chain. For Courtney, showing out and being flash are important. In his world artifacts of success are important and he writes of rows of Bentley's, Lexus, BMW's, Merc's with alloys and dark windows. He has personalised such bad boy imagery to the extent that the Bentley in his driveway bears the fictitious number plate BAD BOY 1. However, there is purpose in his portrayal because it generates a sense of belonging, of being part of a team, one of the chaps (1999:103).

Courtney was obviously influenced by the successful villains of his youth, whom acted as visual and iconic role models to him. He determined to emulate them after exposure to them in the gym where he trained as a boxer. Courtney's early exposure to the criminal idyll and the allure of success obviously impressed him greatly because he now perpetuates the modern version of the myth, exuding flamboyance. Courtney understands the perception of villainy. He does it in style and class because "everyone loves a good baddie, don't they" (1999:32). Courtney personifies the likeable rogue, a fabled entrepreneurial type. There is a serious purpose behind his adoption of Storybook gangster imagery because by looking and acting the part he ensures that the power and reputation of his firm of geezers is taken seriously. Courtney's creation is extremely clever in that it takes all the elements of romanticised old school villainy and repackages it as new skool. Ironically, Courtney (1999:316-7) bemoans the loss of the traditional criminal ideal, the loss of the romance, the loss of morals, standards, loyalty and honour. Courtney's manufactured persona is his attempt to put the romance back into crime and money in his pocket.

Commodifying social and human capital: In portraying the storybook gangster persona, Courtney has commodified the criminal construct and has capitalised on it as a business opportunity creating a market niche for himself whilst controlling his media image. It permits his paying public to vicariously experience his gangster life. It is a legitimate business venture worthy of an authentic entrepreneur. Courtney trades on his social capital as a bad boy and as a loveable rogue. Courtney has created a market and has commodified his human and social capitals and now trades on his reputation in one world taking it to another. In turning himself into a story, Courtney has crossed into the storybook world where his actions and deeds are separated from their moral consequences, by suspending reality and introducing drama, adventure and

vicarious experience. Courtney has achieved what many storybook characters are denied - the legitimacy of personifying the hero and villain in one character. Commodification provides a second level of legitimation. Courtney has turned himself and the Crime Biz into legitimate products for sale. One can enter his web site www.davecourtney.com view and download selected stories and images of him and his associates. In doing so, Courtney cleverly moves from storybook gangster to a virtual gangster. One can buy posters, books and other paraphernalia direct from a legitimate thriving niche business. It is entrepreneurship, creating something out of nothing. The important element of creating value is not so easy to reconcile. The book "Raving Lunacy" (Courtney, 2001) typifies the increasing commodification of criminality. Courtney (2001:2) acknowledges that he perpetuates the old gangster myth and acts as a deviant role model for others.

Field Research to build depth to the study: Having established that Courtney was a criminal entrepreneur, I wrote to him - care of his publishing company with the intention of entering into correspondence with him. I anticipated receiving some interesting insights into the mind of the criminal entrepreneur. The letter was drafted on University notepaper. After negotiation a date was set for an interview. Dr Anderson and I met Courtney by prior arrangement in the bar of the hotel where we were staying. We observed the theatrical entrance of Courtney and his firm. The pure masculine drama of the entrance of Courtney and twenty other villains had a powerful visual impact, the drama of which was reminiscent of a scene from Quentin Tarantino's movie Reservoir Dogs. Courtney and firm took over a corner of the lounge where he held court like a feudal medieval prince. It was pure showmanship. The flamboyant group displayed a menacing, fluid dynamic and the entire group were engulfed in a collective cacophony of mobile telephone ring-tones. The villains all had two or more mobile telephone calls – one for legitimate calls and the other for conducting their secretive criminal business. The formal introduction was conducted by Courtney who introduced Dr Anderson and me to the assembled members of his firm, being careful to stress Dr Anderson's academic qualification. We also had decided upon a deliberate strategy of our own presentation of self, dressing in suits and ties to emphasise our difference and ensure that we were treated with respect. The strategy worked. Courtney stressed that he had granted an audience because he had been impressed by my honesty in stating that I was a policeman, when it would have been easier to deceive. He stated that several years ago he would never have granted such an interview opportunity and he doubted whether any serious active villain would either. In total we interviewed Courtney and seven members of his firm.

The Dave Courtney Interview: For the sake of clarity and continuity, the interview with Courtney was conducted using the same set of questions that were posed to the other respondents. The main interview was tape-recorded. However, there were various other points of interest that came up during the interview, which were raised and resolved on an informal question and answer basis. The main interview was conducted on the set where he was filming his movie. When visiting the set, I was taken aback by the most powerful concentration of criminal imagery and power that I had ever encountered. It was Courtney in his element, at his theatrical best, loud, gregarious, joking, backslapping, receiving homage, greeting important personages with a kiss (in the manner of a Mafia Don) and making a show of counting a large wad of cash. Courtney was the lead actor in his continuing production where fantasy and reality merge. His firm is both an extension of his personality and a reflection of his power. A supporting cast of sycophants who accentuate

and magnify his power by their presence adorned in Crombies, black leather jackets, black shirts, sunglasses, shaven heads, tattoos and dripping with gold. Their presence legitimises Courtney as a player.

Incisively, Courtney associated being an entrepreneur with the "gift of the gab", but using it in a nice way to make people like you enough to want to do business with you. For Courtney it is an operational necessity to be nice to people in criminal or business circles because one does not need unnecessary enemies. Being nice legitimises ones position. If it was ever necessary for him to resort to violence his peers would support him because they would know it was the other guys fault. Courtney was at pains to stress that he disapproved of entrepreneurs who used the gift of the gab in a bad way. Courtney is also a raconteur. According to Courtney he associates the entrepreneur with people who made an impression upon him and that if a person does not make an impression upon you they are unlikely to be much of an entrepreneur. For Courtney the entrepreneur is a risk taker, pitting his wits against others and possesses a chameleon like ability to blend in. Courtney opined that one could recognise an entrepreneur by their flamboyance and their uncanny ability to make you like them – to him it was the hallmark of an entrepreneur. Courtney spoke admiringly of Richard Branson and revelled in the parody of being known as "the people's villain" whilst Branson is "the peoples entrepreneur". Courtney has a raw powerful flamboyant and charismatic presence, the very accusations levelled against the entrepreneur by the media and the establishment. Courtney engages in another myth dear to the British public by continuing a feud with the establishment and law.

Courtney considers himself to be a businessman and that it is up to others to regard him as an entrepreneur if they so wish. It is interesting that such a self-professed criminal should emphasise issues of morality (niceness) and legitimacy. In relation to morality, Courtney considers he grows more moral with age, regardless of whether it related to issues in business, crime or in personal life. For Courtney such concepts are associated with maturity - crime is committed by young men who don't care about such issues. Courtney stresses that as a twenty year old he did not care about morality or legitimacy. Personally, legitimacy has become very important to him because behind the myth the criminal lifestyle has its disadvantages. By his own admission, the criminal lifestyle has denied him of a proven history of legitimacy. He has no bank account, no national insurance number, no mortgage, and is forced to deal in hard cash or trade on promises. His lack of legitimacy is palpable. Courtney asserted that appearance was everything in the criminal world and that although he may project the appearance of having money, his cars were owned by friends, he had little food at home and his current legitimate earnings were negligible. However, he stressed that his outgoings were also negligible because being a personality he did not have to spend money as people fell over themselves to buy drink for him, because it made them feel good to share vicariously in the experience. Courtney revels in his celebrity status and adulation. He is a poor-boy-made-bad. Courtney argued that he had been seduced by the criminal lifestyle and having £60,000 on his table one week and the next having no food in the fridge. Notwithstanding this, Courtney clearly enjoys myth-making.

Courtney reiterated his claims to be legitimate and stressed that 95% of his activities were definitely legitimate. Interestingly, Courtney chose to emphasise his book and film ventures and remarked that his legitimate and criminal ventures are facilitated from the same networks – using the same phonebook. Courtney asserts that he can facilitate deals and put them together, using his network because people genuinely want to work for him. However, the dynamic of power that Dr Anderson and I witnessed casts doubt upon the validity of this claim to have gone legitimate. To maintain that one is merely a businessman, whilst retaining the obvious trappings of the underworld projects a confusing message. The language of

power used by Courtney in facilitating introductions when introducing subordinates casts further doubt. For instance Courtney takes an obvious pride in introducing them as 'My man in the North', 'My publicist', 'My man in Wales'. By talking to Courtney's emissaries, it was apparent that far from being a vehicle through which to project his legitimacy the firm is a living vibrant criminal network that belies Courtney's assertion of going legit. Notwithstanding this, legitimacy is only one part of the entrepreneurial construct. It is possible for Courtney to be a businessman, a gangster and an entrepreneur.

Courtney intimated that whilst in prison he decided that he wanted to pursue a more legitimate life, which provided him with the criminal lifestyle without resorting to the hassle of actually committing crime. With this in mind he had decided to market himself as a celebrity gangster and created his storybook persona, crafting an image based upon an amalgam of various real and fictional gangsters and businessmen whom had left a lasting impression upon him. Courtney acknowledges that it surprises him how successful his persona has become but bemoans having to live out his life as his caricature. Courtney appreciates that his manufactured myth has become a reality and that he tires of seeing those near him emulate him by turning up with a shaven head and wearing flash gear – when he likes them for being them. Courtney is a consummate actor and has crafted his theatrical persona in the same manner in which David Jason and George Cole crafted theirs. Courtney is the embodiment of, and linear descendent of these loveable rogues. Whilst they were fictional, Courtney has taken it to new heights. Courtney is a professional criminal and major league villain, a real life entrepreneur of crime. Courtney appreciates that entrepreneurs must be nice but that villains do not. Courtney thus extracts value from both worlds having the luxury of resorting to his two personas when the need arises from them. He can exude flamboyance, charisma and charm when enacting his storybook gangster persona and resort to menaces, violence and ruthlessness when adopting a villainous persona. Yet, paradoxically, Courtney the professional villain does not approve of violent crime as it brings too much police activity and bad publicity. Courtney argues that there have always been criminal entrepreneurs but that until recently the authorities had always emphasised the brutality of crime. One was never encouraged to suggest that criminals could be serious individuals with business acumen to match. Courtney stressed that an entrepreneur was an entrepreneur regardless of whether they were a doctor, a businessman or a plumber, and that it was one's background which was important. If an entrepreneur had a criminal background then it was likely they would be a criminal entrepreneur and a flash character.

Interviewing Courtney's Firm: In criminal parlance the word firm is used to describe a gang. The interviews with the seven members of Courtney's firm provided an insight into how criminals view the entrepreneur. Six were self-proclaimed professional criminals and one was a businessman at pains to emphasise that he was entirely legitimate (invoking the metaphor straight as a die) and merely enjoyed Courtney's company. He emphasised that his personal network contained a broad range of diverse talent from Villains to High Court Judges. The respondents all approved of the entrepreneur and were unanimous in their belief that Courtney was a criminal entrepreneur. One respondent in seeking to describe an entrepreneur remarked that they "glowed" with natural confidence, dressed smartly and got the best out of life. Another respondent remarked that entrepreneurs do not hurt anyone unnecessarily. He considered himself to be an entrepreneur and an all round character, whereas the term businessmen merely describes a profession. Note the emphasis on character. This respondent revelled in his image of a loveable rogue but disliked the term criminal entrepreneur because it narrowed down and diluted its entrepreneurial aspect. He noted that he upset

people by being blatant (another trait he admired in entrepreneurs). One respondent saw the entrepreneur as "pitting their wits against others" and marvelled at how they all appear to have started with nothing, describing them metaphorically as "the sharper tools in the box". Another described them as people with a flair for succeeding and expanding in business. A younger respondent emphasised that the entrepreneur is an image he associated with younger upwardly mobile persons like himself who made their own life opportunities. He remarked that others regarded him as carrying the persona of the entrepreneur. His personal philosophy was that one had to take life. One respondent remarked that being an entrepreneur was something to aspire to – a dream to fulfil. He associated being an entrepreneur with being the best.

In relation to whether it was possible to recognise an entrepreneur, one respondent noted they have to possess charisma, presence and flair and had to have that little something else that makes people notice them. They have to leave an impression, whether it is one of jealousy or admiration, which inspires you to do better. Another respondent remarked that one could often recognise one, but could be fooled because often reclusive entrepreneurs had the appearance of tramps. Another respondent remarked that the entrepreneur can be recognised by their flashiness with money, their upmarket cars, their neat manner of dressing and the way in which they handled themselves, emphasising that one can tell the difference between an entrepreneur and a flash cheeky-bastard because the entrepreneur is always nice. It is what differentiates them from others. Another described the entrepreneur as a loveable-rogue, a chameleon who can blend in with royalty, the middle classes and the lowest of the low by adapting to a situation and making the best out of it. Three members of the firm ascribed to the belief that they were born bad (a view shared by Courtney).

In relation to storytelling, one respondent noted that he loved being involved in Courtney's network and being privy to everyone's stories which were a good starting point for business ideas and invaluable in ensuring that one did not make the same mistakes as others. For this respondent, storytelling was networking and stories were currency. He astutely realised that stories have a negative connotation in that when one is popular it is easy to believe in one's invincibility. In relation to legitimacy one respondent noted that legitimacy is nice but connected to the future. In relation to criminal entrepreneurs one respondent noted that the world was full of criminal entrepreneurs, who inevitably get their comeuppance, but that clever ones were few and far between. Another remarked that the rich and all corporations are all criminal entrepreneurs and are involved in more scams than ordinary people. Another noted that criminal entrepreneurs were no different from ordinary entrepreneurs and to succeed in life one had to be bent - not in a bad way, but by taking every opportunity that presents itself. He mentioned backhanders and handshakes in the same sentence. Another respondent suggested criminal entrepreneurs took risk taking to new heights.

There are two manifestations of entrepreneurship in Courtney's activities. Firstly, the Barthian (Barth, 1971) transfer of value in the conversion of his criminal reputation to a valuable commodity as represented in his books, films and television presentation. Although the spectacle is bizarre, people appear to enjoy the vicarious experience of the bad-boy. The second form of entrepreneurship is the application of business principles to his criminal and quasi-criminal organisation. It can be judged morally suspect, though perfectly legal. The second is clearly both immoral and illegal and destructive in Baumol's terms. Courtney deserves the entrepreneurial label, but his version parodies the authentic. Courtney established his name and reputation by being an entrepreneurial professional criminal in criminal circles, as an entrepreneur of violence. He recreated a niche for the image of the traditional villain, in a world where even "criminal social and moral values" are being eroded by the conspicuous wealth obtainable via the illegal drug trade. Some

may argue that he is merely a parody of the entrepreneur, but nonetheless he still exercises a considerable degree of power. Originally his criminal provenance had one-dimensional legitimacy. He now seeks a broader entrepreneurial legitimacy by transferring his organisational skills further into the legitimate sphere. Whilst criminal entrepreneurs like Courtney enrich our appreciation of the extent of the entrepreneurial construct, they also corrode the authentic ideal. Whilst the life stories of such criminal entrepreneurs often fit the entrepreneurial narrative, they lack at least two important components namely, morality and legitimacy.

15.4 - REFLECTIONS.

This chapter highlights the importance of character to the entrepreneurial construct, because the ideal-type of entrepreneur exists only as a social construct, albeit a powerful moral construct. In reality, however theoretically entrepreneurship as practice, like Capitalism, may be viewed by some as being amoral with the ideal type of entrepreneur providing an essential framework of ideological moral bounding. How one chooses to practice it influences how others perceive it axiologically. It is the context and outcome of the entrepreneurial act determines its legitimacy and morality. However, the entrepreneurial label can be manipulated for personal and ideological gain. The respondent's stories perfectly illustrated the importance of character in shaping their personal narratives of success. Indeed, character is important to them because it differentiates their behaviour from other business persons of their acquaintance. The narrative tone of their renditions is unmistakably moralistic and judgmental. The respondent's care about the legacy left behind in their Tales of Character. This led to a re-visitation of character *per se*. In particular, it led to consideration of how best to capture this elusive quality. It was argued that it was best captured in narrative and thus an entrepreneurial morality scale was developed, based upon a narrative typology. The categories of moral, immoral, amoral and criminal were found to be useful in articulating the worth of both the individual entrepreneur and their actions. The chapter concluded with a case study into the activities of London Gangster-entrepreneur Dave Courtney. Surprisingly, this case study illustrated the importance of character to Courtney's entrepreneurial persona. Although entrepreneurship is normally viewed as good in principle, immorality can pervade its practice. It is tempting to consider moral and immoral entrepreneurship as being merely differing perspectives. They are not. Entrepreneurs acquire their status and power for themselves. One is creative, the other destructive. Therefore entrepreneurship can be practiced in very differing formats. Authentic entrepreneurs should be seen to add value, not subtract it because entrepreneurs exist, and will continue to do so, regardless of societal or moral opprobrium.

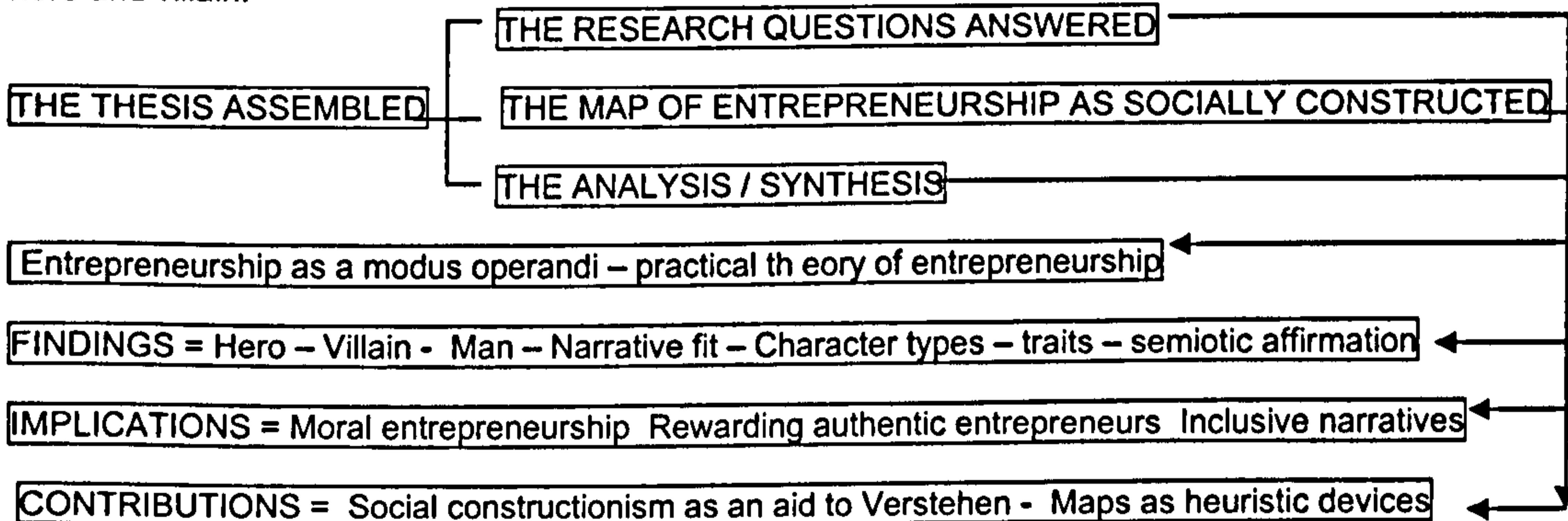
16 - RE-CONSTRUCTING THE ENTREPRENEUR.

INTRODUCTION.

READERS' GUIDE.

This chapter

1. Concludes the study with an analysis of the material covered, followed by a synthesis discussing findings, implications and conclusions.
2. Argues that one must take account of character and look beyond constructions of the entrepreneur as hero and villain.



16.1 – REVIEWING AND MAPPING THE THESIS.

16.1.1 - Assembling the thesis and summing up the arguments.

16.1.2 - Mapping the thesis.

16.1.3 - Mapping entrepreneurship as socially constructed.

16.2 - AN ANALYSIS OF THE MATERIAL.

16.2.2 - Answering the research questions.

16.2.3 - Developing deeper understandings.

16.2.4 - Considering entrepreneurship as a modus operandi?

16.3 – FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS.

16.4 – IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH.

16.4.1 - Expanding the paradigm of moral entrepreneurship / rewarding moral entrepreneurship.

16.4.2 - Acknowledging the exclusionary nature of heroic entrepreneurial narrative.

16.4.3 - Appreciating the significance of narrative to entrepreneurship *per se*.

16.4.4 - Future research.

16.5 – THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE RESEARCH TO ENTREPRENEURSHIP.

This chapter reviews and analyses the preceding chapters, articulating their utility in addressing the research questions. Consequentially, this chapter commences with a summary of the main contributions of each chapter, followed by a mapping exercise to illustrate the linkages between the main themes covered. Thereafter, an analysis of all the material covered is conducted before synthesising the findings into an explanatory framework encompassing implications and conclusions. In chapter 5 we discussed trait, personality and character theories, noting that they were too simplistic and generally discredited by academics. It may well be the endurance of traits as a key constituent of social constructions of entrepreneurship which made many academics reluctant to abandon the theory. However, in reviewing the academic literature and the secular media, for example novels, biographies, and in listening to stories told of, and by, entrepreneurs, it is evident that revisiting the trait material was worthwhile because the traits are commonly used as descriptors of entrepreneurial behaviour, and act as prompting mechanisms for invoking an understanding of entrepreneurship. It would be difficult to write an entrepreneur story without invoking trait descriptors, because traits are embedded in narrative.

16.1 – REVIEWING AND MAPPING THE THESIS.

It is helpful to provide a chapter by chapter summary of the thesis, summing up the main contributions of each to the developing argument, prior to reinforcing this by a mapping exercise. Reviewing is an important part of the process of “Verstehen” and assists in the embedding process.

16.1.1 – Assembling the thesis and summing up the arguments.

This section demonstrates how the chapters fit together to show how entrepreneurship is socially constructed; what this means; and shows how the thesis has contributed to our understanding of entrepreneurship. To reiterate, the purpose of the thesis is to understand entrepreneurship as a social construction by examining social constructions of the entrepreneur as found in the public domain. This has been achieved by using social constructionism as an analytical tool to explore cultural issues of identity, discourse, rhetoric and narrative thereby establishing how texts and images (as social representations shared by members of a social group) underpin our perceptions of reality as already objectified and socially constructed stories and discourse. By focussing upon the entrepreneur in popular media the research permitted indirect observation, deduction and interpretation to mature into a deeper, richer understanding of entrepreneurship process. The research context was set as being an examination of academic literature, biography, autobiography, novels, the media [television and cinema] and the press. Adopting a holistic, narrative approach enabled observable social constructions of the entrepreneur to emerge from the data. It also demonstrated how knowledge of entrepreneurship is socially constructed; as well as mapping constructions of entrepreneurial process. It is useful to provide a brief synopsis of how the arguments made in each chapter contribute to and thus progress the thesis. Table 51 presents a progressive, and progressing narrative of the research conducted.

Table 51 – Reviewing the collective contribution of the chapters to the thesis.

Chapter 1 introduced “Verstehen” both as a research methodology and orientation, in that this thesis is a reading of social constructions, or representations, of the entrepreneur from text and image. From the outset, the title and objective of the thesis privileged social constructionism *per se* as a “Versthande” approach in turn privileges reading, setting up narrative and narrated identity as essential elements of the study. It is salient that “Verstehen” approaches necessitate the researcher to read widely across disciplines (such as Sociology, Psychology and History) which are the very disciplines which explain entrepreneurial behaviour. This approach aligned the direction of the research with social constructionist, phenomenological, and hermeneutic approaches which lean towards the use of narrative. Social constructionist approaches align one with semiotics and thus privilege the study of texts and images. Adopting a grounded theoretical approach dictated that extensive reading was necessary to allow dominant themes to become a virtuous circle of self-reinforcing data. Chapter 1 set out the research questions and prepared a platform upon which chapter 2 and the rest of the thesis builds. Chapter 1 articulated the research as a quest for understanding.

Chapter 2 built an argument for WHY entrepreneurship is socially constructed, creating a case for viewing it as a social process, or set of social processes, which require to be read out of representations (text and image). However, the main contribution of chapter 2 was to introduce the notion of constructionist building blocks and constructionism tools as aides to understanding and units of deconstructionism and analysis. In doing so, it also set the scene for enquiries in later chapters to consider HOW and In WHAT ways

entrepreneurship is socially constructed. Chapter 2 set up a tension between the self as socially constructed and the socially constructed world, highlighting the utility of discursive psychology and social representations theory in explaining these subject positions thereby linking person to process.

Chapter 3 is a pivotal chapter because, as well as considering issues of pre-understanding, it broached the related subjects of ontology, epistemology and axiology and considered entrepreneurship as a social process of becoming, being, but also as belonging and knowing. The foregoing are all important states and sophisticated philosophical building blocks of socially constructed selves and worlds. Considerable emphasis will be placed on addressing the importance of these behavioural building blocks in this chapter. This in itself is an important contribution because much entrepreneurship research has focused upon traits, not states. However, the true value of chapter 3 is in identifying the importance of discursive modes of belonging such as enabling, embedding, engaging and enacting as important sub-processes of becoming and being as well as being important units of analysis. These mechanisms are developed in subsequent chapters. Chapter 3 saw the selection of a number of appropriate qualitative research methodologies including social constructionism, biographical analysis, semiotics analysis, in-depth interviews, participant observation, case studies and action research forming a multi-method approach to the empirical research. However, prior to conducting the empirical research and answering the research questions it was necessary to introduce the focal topic of the research namely the concept of entrepreneurship.

Consequentially, **chapter 4** examined entrepreneurship theory beginning the constructivist mapping process. An etymological and semantic analysis of the concept revealed that obtaining conceptual clarity and definition was problematic but that entrepreneurship can nevertheless be explained by recourse to rhetorical practices. This understanding added another element to the reading and narration theme. It was determined that entrepreneurship was better explained by numerous approaches including the economic, Anthropology, Sociology and Psychology. The unifying contribution of chapter 4 was to align these into a broadly behaviourist stance, permitting consideration of practice and process. Another important contribution was the discovery of the importance of value *per se* and of guiding principles which shape ideology and doxa which are basic building blocks of constructionism. Chapter 4 links theory to person.

Chapter 5 placed emphasis on the individual and behaviour with action and communication emerging as important themes reinforcing the importance of narrative. A major contribution of the chapter was its concentration on aspects of trait, personality and character as important behavioural building blocks and narrative descriptors. The chapter identified charisma and creativity as important behavioural building blocks. Moreover, morality was found to be inherent in entrepreneurial actions and stories and an important building block of character. It was determined that these building blocks form action sets from which we extrapolate traits which we express as qualities and repeat as stories. This reinforced the importance of narrative. The main contribution of the research was to posit an action – communication – narrative model as an appropriate research tool justifying a communication based narrative approach. Chapter 5 linked the individual to behaviour.

Chapter 6 moved the research focus away from the person to the influence of environment and social structures, continuing the narrative theme noting that the social institutions of culture, childhood, family, education and religion are all building blocks which influence the constructed narrative and provide the setting and basis for the plots of entrepreneur stories. It is within these habitus that entrepreneurship emerges and is enacted. Consideration was given to habitus and enterprise cultures, entrepreneurial

families and dynasties. In this chapter the importance of reading is highlighted. A heroic picture begins to emerge of the stereotypical entrepreneur as the child who struggled at school, suffering a put down to overcome marginality or ethnicity or having to overcome learning difficulties such as dyslexia. These facets are evidence of the importance of character building activities and provide the substance of future entrepreneur stories. The narratives relating to Weber's Protestant Work Ethic, the Puritan and Quaker ethic, the Russian Old Believers and the Jewish faith are all powerful evidence of the coming together of entrepreneurship as practiced in real communities in which reading, writing, working and learning were revered. The main contribution of the chapter was to highlight the important building block of morality and moot the notion of moral entrepreneurship extending the quest from person to socio-economic environment.

Chapter 7 continues the examination of entrepreneurial behaviours, practices and processes as enacted in socio-cultural settings via the demographic facets of class, ethnicity and gender. Important contributions are discussions of working class and middle class entrepreneurship, craftsmanship, the bourgeoisie mentality, status groups, social capital and social mobility. Collectively these facets tell a character building story of becoming other. Enacting these class based scenarios also provides the basis for entrepreneurial plots and storylines. Another contribution was linking the narratives of ethnicity and marginality to those of the outsider to character building storylines which provide challenges to be overcome. Ethnic entrepreneurship can be likened to enacting a formulaic story of the underdog succeeding against the odds. An important variation is the story of the émigré entrepreneur who arrives with nothing and by dint of hard work works towards success in an entrepreneurial ghetto culture. The darker side to marginality links ethnicity to the alternative crooked ladder of social mobility. The final contribution is to link gender to discrimination by virtue of the heroic entrepreneur being presented by society as male thus rendering female entrepreneurs invisible and thus marginalised. It was established that issues relating to demography, class, ethnicity and gender are embedded in the narratives told of and by entrepreneurs and that the scenarios discussed form the basis of familiar plots and storylines. This necessitated taking account of narrative genres in chapter 8. Chapter 7 thus developed the link between person and environment.

Chapter 8, moved away from the entrepreneur as an individual to consider the building blocks of entrepreneurial narrative, entrepreneur stories, discourse, rhetoric, enterprise discourse and proto-entrepreneurial tales. This entailed consideration of the semiotic building blocks of signs, signals, codes, texts which fuse together to form mental maps of what we expect entrepreneur stories "to be" and "do". Moving on from there it documented the influence of archetype, myth and metaphor as building blocks. Archetype pervades narrative and semiotic imagery associated with identity. The contribution of these sections was to emphasise the importance of archetypal constructs such as the hero and villain to entrepreneur stories. Entrepreneurial narrative is saturated with images of masculine heroism and mythic metaphors which reinforce and inflate the heroism and masculinity of the entrepreneur. Thereafter we considered other proto-entrepreneurial narrative formats and in particular parable and proverbs and the role of literary genres of fable, fantasy, fairytale and folklore which pervade and influence entrepreneurial narrative. Chapter 8 illustrated how semiotics and language help make sense of social structure and bring order to a cacophony of competing messages. The chapter was therefore about how narrative constructions influence the entrepreneurial construct and ultimately the entrepreneur as an individual person inviting consideration in chapter 9 of how entrepreneur stories are constructed.

Chapter 9 continues developing the theme of narrative building blocks in that people use socially

constructed knowledge to manufacture stories and personal identity as well as channelling it into discourse and rhetoric – espousing cherished ideals and values in narrated identity. Entrepreneur stories narrate a story of an individual whereas enterprise discourses relate to an ongoing dialogue between society and its expectations of entrepreneurs. We engage with them and perform them and discourses reproduce social identities and scripts and patterns of action. Such masculine discourses of becoming bind us to society and circulate values. A contribution of the chapter is to identify two main story types, the heroic and picaresque. Moreover, it is essential to develop a narrative understanding because ontologically stories embody who we are and what we are becoming. Entrepreneur stories reinforce heroism as progressive narratives of struggling to overcome injustice scripted as heroic narratives or personal tragedies. Another contribution of the chapter was to identify forms of entrepreneur storylines constructing a socially ascribed and constructed world-view allowing individual entrepreneurs to engage in a shared group experience, whilst retaining their individuality. These stories reinforce the importance of entrepreneurial character. In addition, narratives are composed of a series of structured actions capable of narrative analysis deepening our understanding of entrepreneurial behaviours, actions and communications. Drama was identified as a theme in entrepreneur stories. Indeed, being dramatic may be part and parcel of entrepreneurial character. Narrative analysis aids understanding by reducing stories to basic units, common themes, actions, plots and storylines manifested as formulaic structures repeated across stories. This “becoming” approach moves the focus of research onto social processes, because as was demonstrated in later chapters, to become and be an entrepreneur is to adopt a set of socially constructed actions and narratives and to engage in modes of being or ways of acting enacted in social embedding mechanisms. By adopting entrepreneurial identity and narrative an entrepreneur is performing a social script which enables them to engage with the concept of entrepreneurship as understood by society becoming embedded. Another contribution of the chapter was to link dreams such as the entrepreneurial dream, the American dream and the gangster dream as related narrative types. The final contribution is that entrepreneur stories are frequently perpetuated via formulaic clichéd narratives such as the poor boy made good, the humble origins storyline and so forth. These clichéd narratives render entrepreneur stories understandable to all. Chapter 9 covered a wide variety of narrative material and demonstrated how the entrepreneur stories are socially constructed.

Chapter 10 took the study forward by articulating entrepreneur stories as eulogy, hagiography and tragedy and took cognisance of heroic paradox and the influence of heroic literature, manhood and heroic masculinity on the construct. All of these are building blocks of constructionism with the entrepreneur being constructed around a heroic storied template and presented as dramatis persona. Another contribution of the chapter was positioning the entrepreneur as a villain and Picaro figure represented in negative stereotype likened to Pirates, Buccaneers, Outlaws, Smugglers, Cowboys, Bandits and Spivs. This led to consideration of the entrepreneur as a deviant social identity, the influence of the hedonistic ethic and to criminal entrepreneurship. Chapter 10 thus developed narrative understandings.

Chapter 11 continued the narrative theme examining how individuals construct and re-construct narrated identities which legitimize actions and achievements. Identity and legitimacy are aspects of social construction as well as being the outcomes of process resulting from the complex interaction of social processes and practices discussed in this thesis. Socially prescribed identities are created via a combination of narrative constructionism and the adoption of semiotic images associated with cultural expectations of what it is to be successful which require enacting and performing. This chapter continued developing the

building block thematic. An important contribution was identifying that identity is a state of being associated with the projection of the appropriate symbols, emblems, behavioural mannerisms, beliefs, attitudes and values – thus linking stories to appropriate actions and semiotic phenomena such as gestures, grooming, clothing, artefacts and belongings which together construct images associated with success and the projection of a moral identity. However, entrepreneur stories hint at non-conformity pervaded by images associated with maleness. The purpose of this processes of narrative self-building and identity formation are related to constructing a believable character base from which one projects one's self as either a hero or villain. The entrepreneur as a likeable rogue figure provides an alternative legitimacy and identity associated with class and criminal iconography. Masculine doxa is at variance with business etiquette as demonstrated by the propensity of many entrepreneurs to conform to the non-conformist uniform of open necked shirts, suits, cigars, gold jewellery and the ubiquitous Mercedes motor car. It is via artefacts and belongings that many male entrepreneurs choose to broadcast their sense of belonging and legitimised identity. Another contribution was to identify the importance of legitimacy as a storied outcome of the search for respect. Achieving legitimacy and establishing one's bona fides in terms of entrepreneurship provides a closure to the ontological journey of becoming and being which can only be closed by genuinely belonging. Strategies of legitimacy such as philanthropy contribute by enabling narrative encasement thereby aligning appropriate behaviours, values, symbolism and iconology with framing, editing and narrating appropriate stories which present oneself in a good light. Chapter 11 thus linked person to process and narrative to outcome.

Chapter 12 begins to shift the focus away from constructionist building blocks to consideration of constructionism's tools as channels of communication used to propagate the images and narratives. Notwithstanding this these tools are also building blocks which influence portrayals of the entrepreneur, and entrepreneurship. These channels include the press, fiction, biography, and film. An important contribution was demonstrating how the backgrounds of journalists influence their writings about entrepreneurs. This is important because when the public encounter a newspaper account about entrepreneurs they are reading a construction. Another contribution was the appreciation of the importance of fiction and novels in shaping popular notions of the entrepreneur by discussing personal aspects such as flaws and foible, generally glossed over in hagiography. Novels perpetuate socially approved fictional stereotypes whose actions almost validate or violate norms and values, teaching us valuable life lessons. The entrepreneur in fiction is invariably male, heroic who displays the requisite social virtues and morals who strives to overcome disadvantage to succeed against the odds thereby displaying character. Another contribution was to discuss how entrepreneur stories are influenced by tragedy, romance, epic, picaresque novels, dime novels, and the bourgeois novel. The empirical research into tabloid tales, cautionary tales and failure stories demonstrated the socially constructed nature of entrepreneur stories in the press portraying the entrepreneur as charismatic to the point of brashness, selfish and prone to exhibiting sensational and scandalous behaviour – a bit of a rogue. This is in keeping with the social construct of the entrepreneur in Britain as being a rogue or rascal. The research into biographies of entrepreneurs also confirms that there is a storybook formula to writing entrepreneur stories. An examination of novels and biography confirmed the existence of such a guiding structure because many biographers are also journalists. In biographical rendition the entrepreneur presents their life according to how they conform to scripted social expectations. Journalists employ a standard battery of journalistic vilification techniques and derogatory metaphors to denigrate them. Also of importance was the discovery of communicational methods, techniques of communication and cherished

storylines to court public opinion used by entrepreneurs to narrate their own tales of heroism. An appreciation emerged of entrepreneurial narrative as a negotiated, socially constructed narrative, or anthology of stories, as opposed to a lived reality. The identification of a heroic formula in the shape of the haunting, hounding and humbling leading to hubris and either legitimation or a fall from grace is significant. This process can be summed up as the genesis, the metamorphosis, the quest, the ordeal and the judgment because these thematic stages mirror the pattern of entrepreneur stories.

Chapter 13 makes a contribution by confirming that the entrepreneur as portrayed in film and television, particularly in America and Britain, is predominately that of the rogue or villain. It illustrates this by discussing the evolution of fictional storybook characters such as Flash Harry, Arthur Daley, Del Boy, Ripley Holden and Swiss Toni. These parodies of flawed British entrepreneurial character types all portray the entrepreneur as bumbling yet loveable rogues with a flexible morality leaning towards the criminal. However, the major contribution of the chapter is the extensive semiotic analysis of images associated with entrepreneurship which were shown to be skewed towards masculine, class based criminal imagery consistent with that also found in biography and novels confirming the existence of a socially constructed formula used by the media to narrate entrepreneur stories as being either hero or villain.

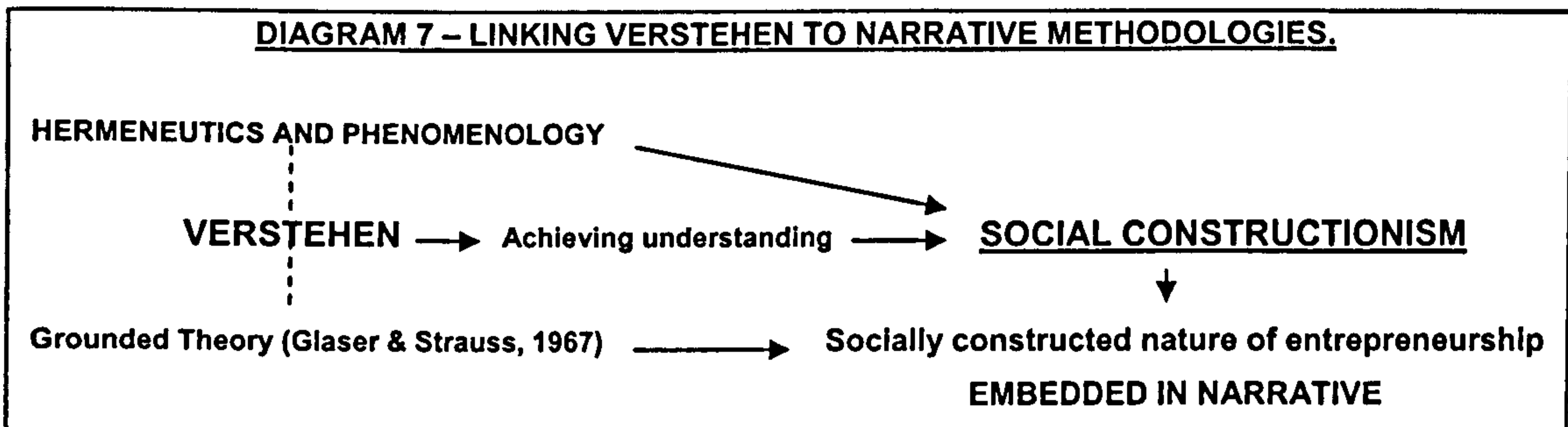
Chapter 14 gauged public opinion of the entrepreneur by street surveys which confirmed that the entrepreneur is regarded with warmth as both hero and villain. The respondents emphasised their perception of communicational and action elements of the construct and appreciated that the entrepreneur was socially constructed as a stereotypical representation and media formula. The chapter reported on action research, authoring and presenting children's stories which utilised the lessons learned from previous chapters. The research demonstrated that the children warmed to the entrepreneur as an inspirational tale. These children's stories were constructed to mirror and contain the themes, storylines and stereotypical images associated with being an entrepreneur - flawed hero. The stories are powerful constructions of perceived fact which confirm the socially constructed nature of entrepreneur stories.

Chapter 15 examines the narratives of a small number of entrepreneurs and businessmen who chose to narrate their stories as tales of character. It considered the stories told by these respondents and their wives. This makes an important contribution because it is often not the entrepreneurs who tell their stories, but their wives and family members. Two other contributions made were the importance of familial fables and mentorial tales. This necessitated revisiting the subject of character and the positing of a new typology of character types to distinguish the moral entrepreneur from the amoral, immoral and criminal variety. Another contribution is the deviant case study of a gangster-entrepreneur which highlighted the desirability of being able to distinguish between entrepreneurial character types.

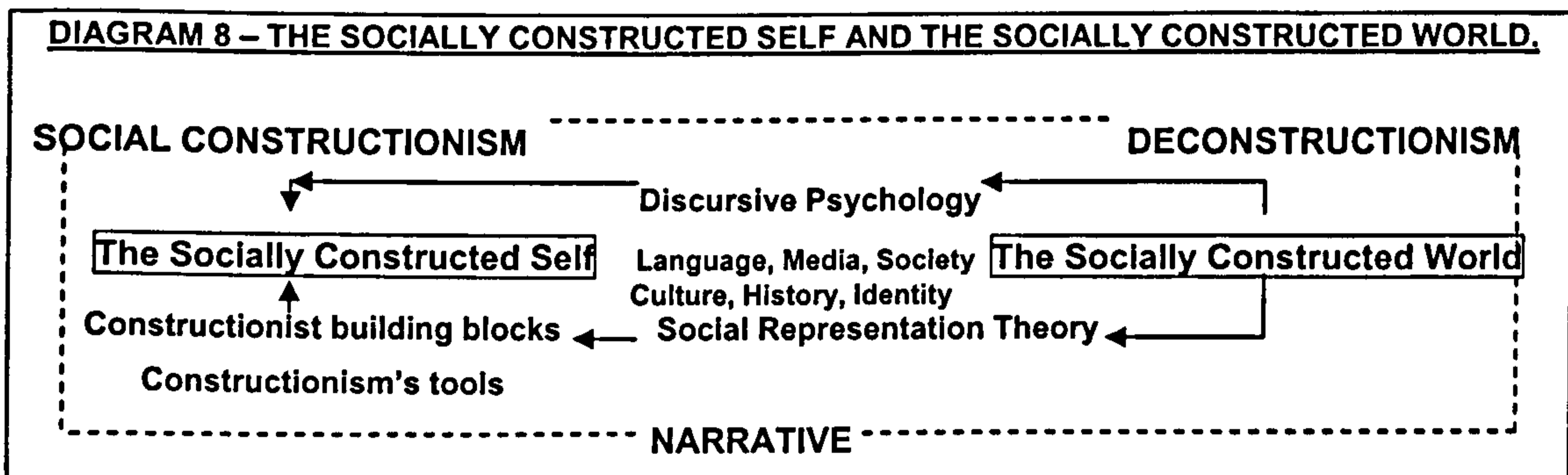
16.1.2 – Mapping the thesis.

This section turns to mapping the thesis pictorially enabling analysis and synthesis to be undertaken beginning the task of (re)constructing the different strands and elements of the work (Hart, 1998:143). The cognitive mapping approach contains two basic linked elements, namely concepts and causal beliefs (Axlerod, 1976). The use of cognitive mapping, in entrepreneurship research is not new. For example, Russell (1989) used it to explore corporate entrepreneurship. The following diagrams are pictorial representations of the chapter contents. After each diagram a monologue explains the importance of the diagram to the emerging thesis. In chapter 1, the purpose of the thesis was articulated as "achieving Verstehen" in relation to the socially constructed nature of entrepreneurship, thus privileging social

constructionism. Diagram 7 presents a pictorial representation of the contribution of the chapter.



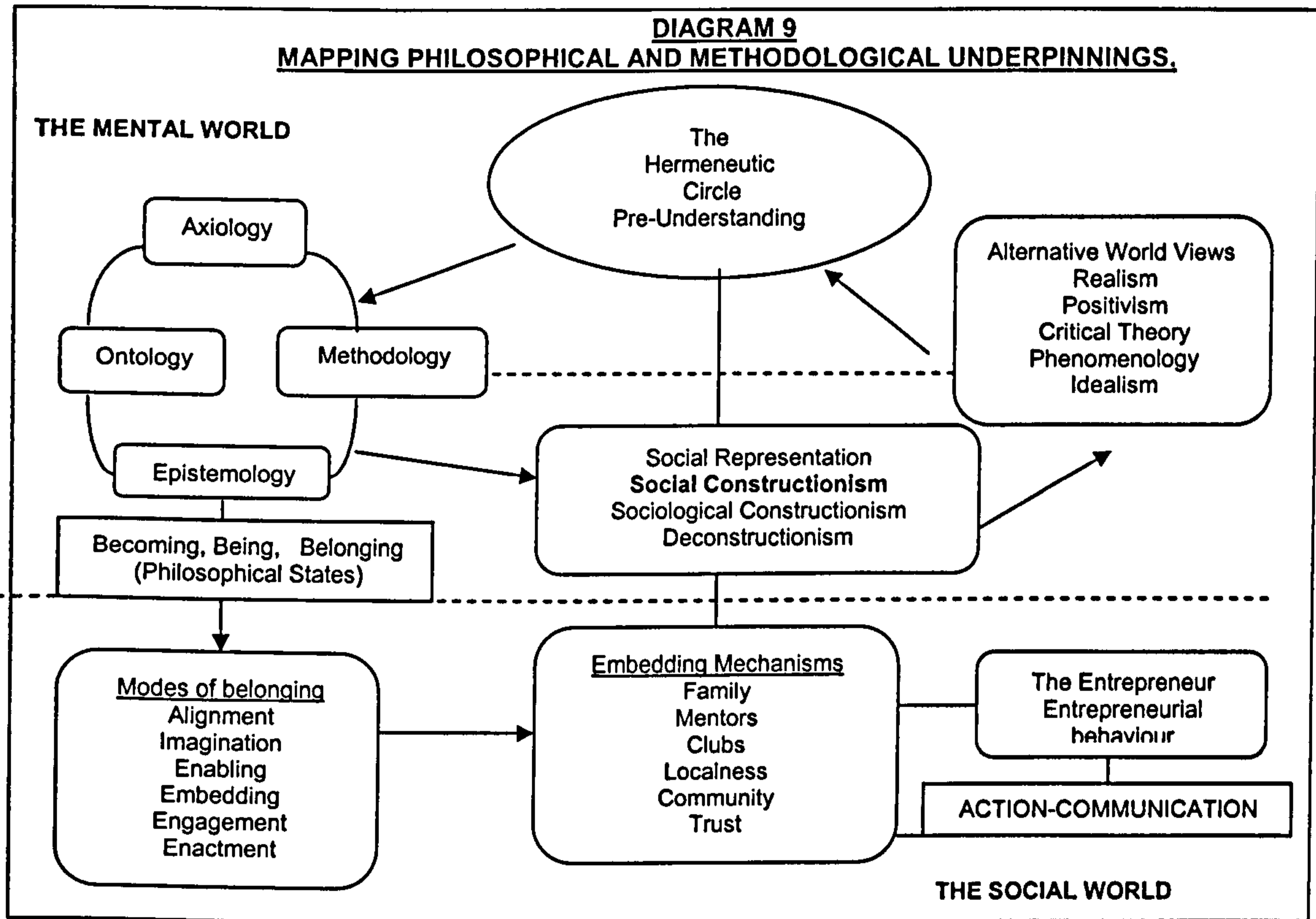
Given that “Verstehen” is a socio-historical methodology which evolved from the hermeneutic and phenomenological traditions, it is hardly surprising that narrative played a significant part in this thesis, particularly since social constructionism is embedded within the linguistic, and thus narrative. The importance of narrative emerged from the grounded data as did the socially constructed nature of entrepreneurship. This paved the way for a discussion on social constructionism, constructionist building blocks and constructionism’s tools in chapter 2. Chapter 2 symbolically placed the self as socially constructed in collocation with the notion of the socially constructed world (and thus lived experience). Diagram 8 details the contribution of the chapter.



Two different but complimentary constructionist methodologies were found to be helpful in explaining social constructionism, namely discursive psychology and social representations theory. The former relates to the individual, whereas the latter relates to the social. Socially constructed experiences are negotiated and perpetuated via language, media, society, culture, history and in identity, and are channelled through by constructionist building blocks and constructionism’s tools. There is a degree of circularity to this, because social constructionism and deconstructionism are both constructed and articulated in narrative. Prior to commencing the research it was essential to take account of philosophy and methodology.

Chapter 3 mapped the philosophical and methodological underpinnings to the study. Diagram 9 represents the links between the mental and physical worlds beginning with the hermeneutic circle and issues of pre-understanding as influenced by ontology, epistemology, axiology and methodology.

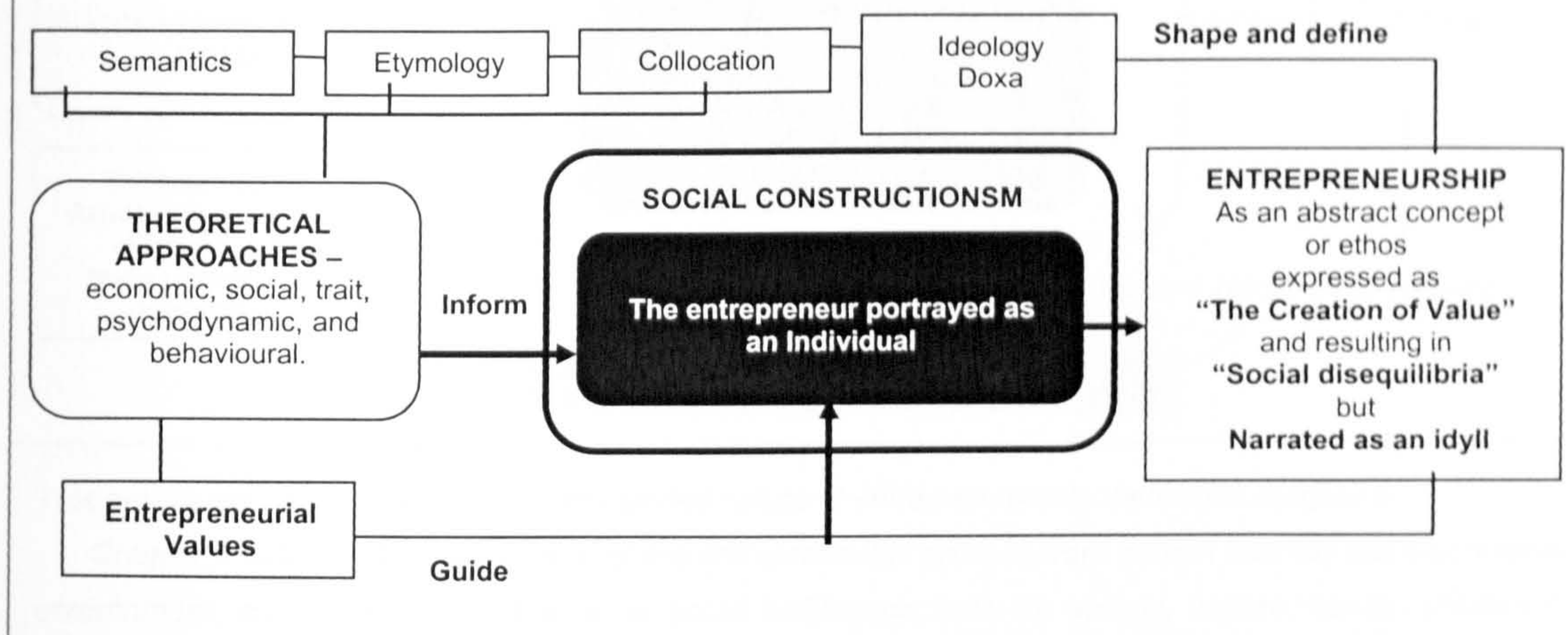
DIAGRAM 9
MAPPING PHILOSOPHICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL UNDERPINNINGS.



Chapter 3 considered behavioural aspects as occurring within a hermeneutic circle of pre-understood social knowledge. Methodology is influenced by various alternative world views of which phenomenology is of interest in this study because it leans towards narrative and a social constructivist stance. The main contribution of the chapter was to posit the argument that entrepreneurship can be viewed as ontologies of becoming, being and belonging. The ontology, epistemology and axiology of entrepreneurial narrative are directed towards these behavioural states. Despite being afforded a privileged place in the study, social constructionism is composed of many diverse stances which make it an ideal methodological tool for researching entrepreneurship. Its usage renders visible various societal modes of belonging and embedding mechanisms through which entrepreneurial behaviour is facilitated. The former include enabling, engaging, embedding and enacting; whilst the latter include family, mentors and so forth. This framework provides a useful heuristic device to help us understand the purpose behind individual constructionist building blocks such as class or mythology. Understanding how each of these building blocks "fit into the wider picture" and contribute to the construction of our understanding of entrepreneurship enables a deeper understanding to evolve. Therefore this chapter provided a unifying method of understanding the contribution of each chapter to the emerging processes of understanding. However, prior to beginning the primary research it was vital to take account of the nuances of entrepreneurship theory.

The insights gained in chapter 3, allow us to develop a deeper understanding of how entrepreneurship theory can contribute by enabling, embedding, engaging or enacting in the entrepreneurial process. Before engaging with a phenomenon it is helpful to understand basic themes such as definition and origins, not to mention ideology, doxa and other guiding principles, as detailed in diagram 10.

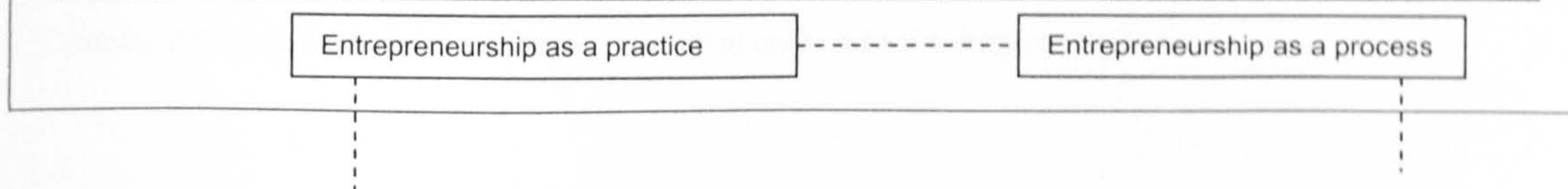
DIAGRAM 10 – A MAP LINKING THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO DEFINING THEMES IN ENTREPRENEURSHIP THEORY.

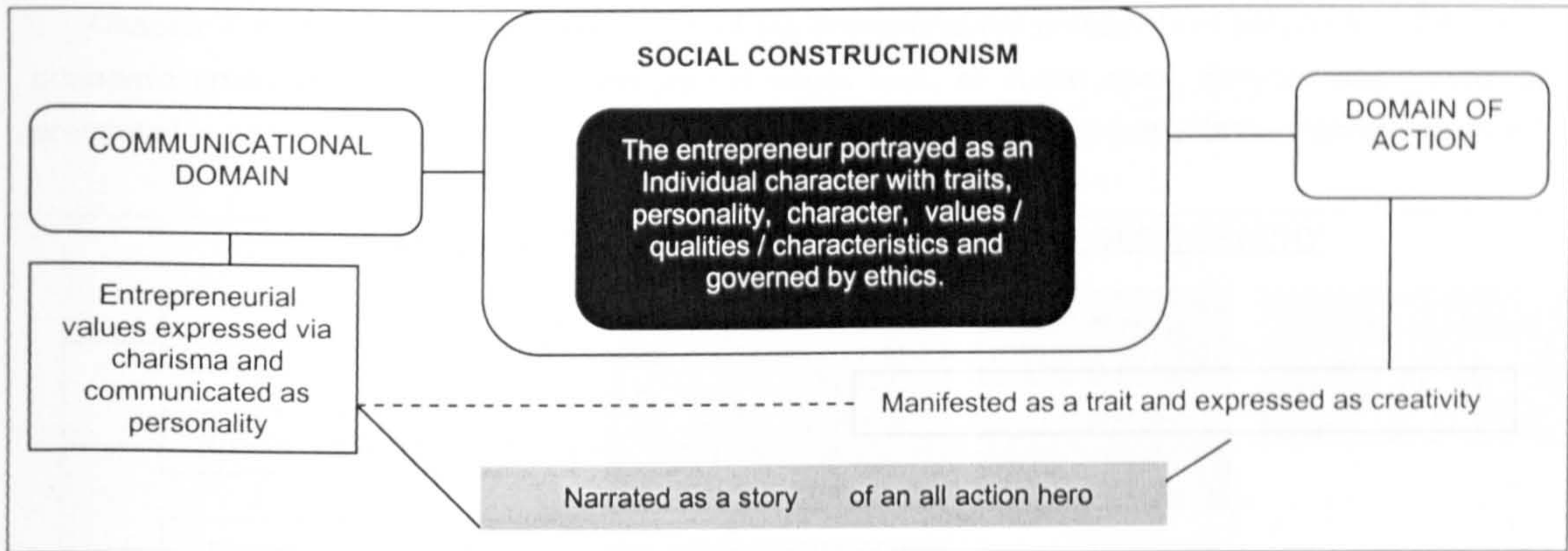


Chapter 4 examined semantic, etymological, ideological, doxic and collocational elements which shape and define our understanding of entrepreneurship and the entrepreneur, considering the main theoretical approaches but in particular concentrating upon the trait, psycho-social and behavioural approaches. These influence the entrepreneurial system, which in turn guides our understanding of entrepreneurship as an abstract concept capable of standing alone at a theoretical level above the individual entrepreneur. Entrepreneurship as an abstract concept requires to be narrated as an ideal or idyll to become re-embedded as a guiding social construction. The entrepreneur, as an individual can thus engage, enact with the narrative thereby enabling manifest entrepreneurial processes to occur. Moreover, in this chapter an understanding of the importance of entrepreneurship as a behavioural phenomenon emerged, which necessitated researching psycho-social aspects of behaviour such as traits, personality and character.

Therefore, chapter 5 concentrates on the entrepreneur at an individual as well as considering behavioural and psychosocial aspects of entrepreneurship. Chapter 5 thus considered the entrepreneur as a socially constructed individual engaging in, and enacting, entrepreneurial practices and processes. The two most important facets of entrepreneurial behaviour were found to be action and communication. Both of these guide, and are guided by the values and charismatic personality of the entrepreneur. They are narrated as a story of the all action hero and manifested as entrepreneurial traits such as creativity. The behaviour of the entrepreneur as an individual is guided by a myriad of traits, values, qualities and mores which form their personality and character. This chapter developed the importance of character to the construction of an entrepreneurial personality. Moreover, it deepened our understanding of the importance of communication to entrepreneurship, and of the importance of narrative. Diagram 11 represents the themes discussed.

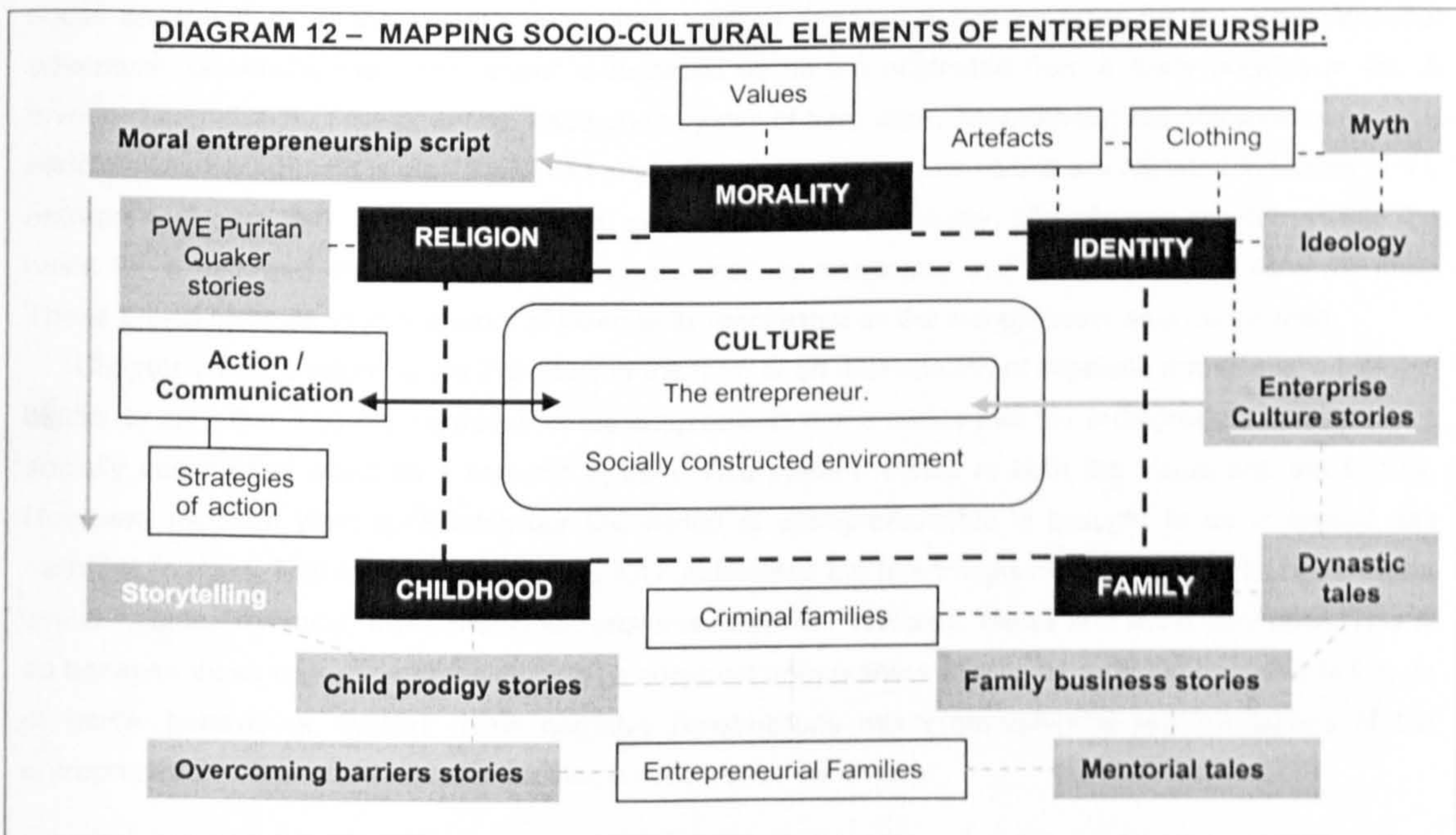
DIAGRAM 11 – A MAP LINKING ACTION AND COMMUNICATION TO SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM.





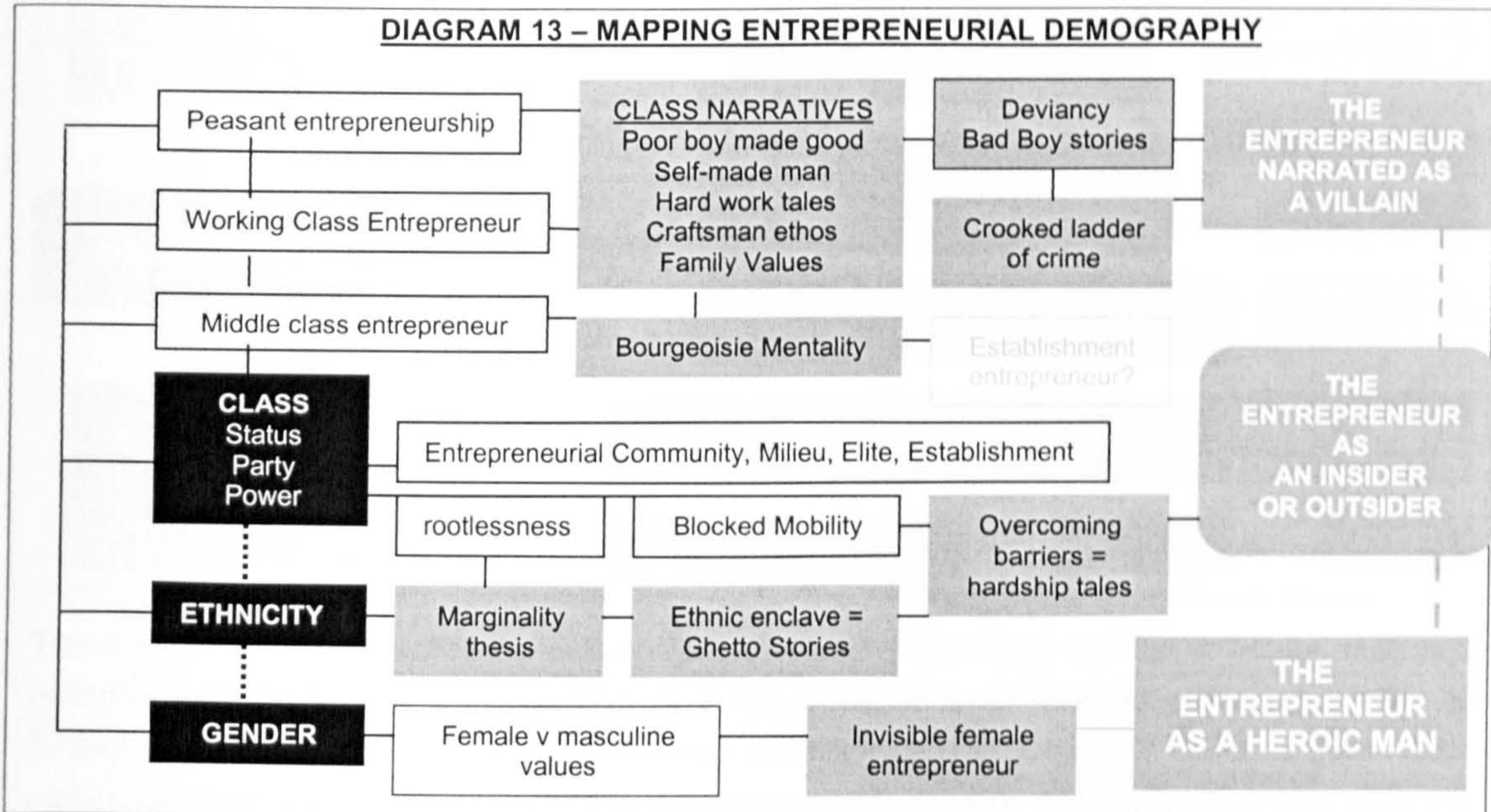
This set the scene for understanding the storied nature of entrepreneurship develop in chapter 6.

Chapter 6 extends the examination of the entrepreneurial process from person into the socio-economic environment, considering the influence of social institutions such as society, culture, family, childhood, education, religion and morality on entrepreneurial behaviour and identity. The main thrust of the chapter is of the entrepreneur engaging in and enacting with entrepreneurship in the environment where socio-culture institution such as culture, childhood, the family and religion influence the expected social constructions associated with entrepreneurship. It becomes evident that such social constructions are carried in narrative and are enabled and embedded by storytelling as illustrated by diagram 12 which depicts a web of inter-related stories and narrative typologies (represented in grey ink) which cluster around the institutions. These cognate narratives are shaped by socio-cultural experiences drawn from childhood, from the family unit, from religious affiliation. All of these in turn are influenced by morality.



Chapter 6 thus built upon the platform of narrative understanding begun in chapter 5.

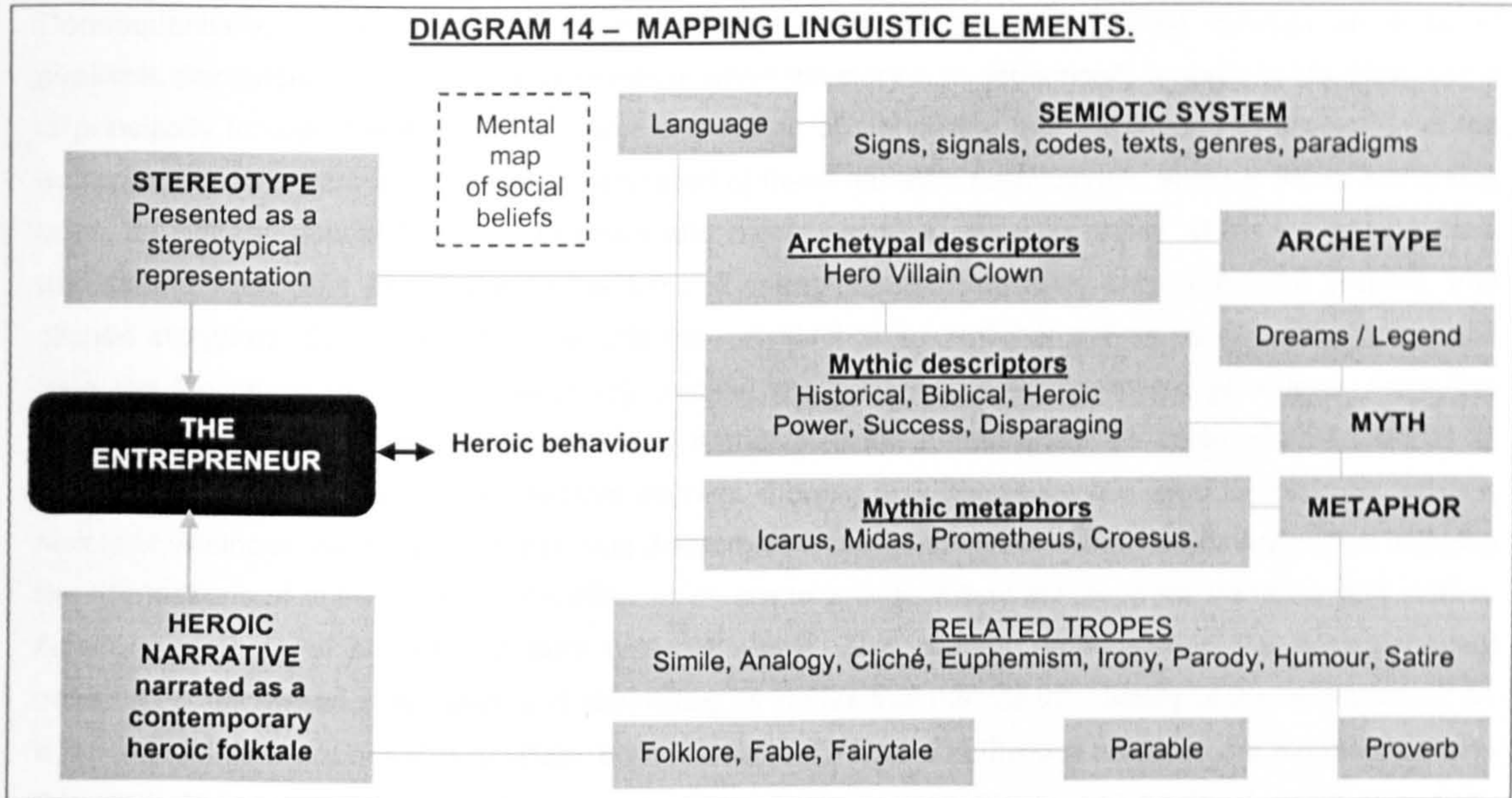
Chapter 7 further extends the examination of the entrepreneurial process from person into the socio-economic environment, considering demographic issues such as social class, ethnicity and gender as presented in narratives of social class, marginality and ethnicity. Diagram 13 presents the themes discussed.



This chapter further develops the understanding of narrative to the entrepreneurial construct. Furthermore, it demonstrates that as building blocks issues of demography such as class, ethnicity and gender influence social constructions of the entrepreneur. Class position provides a starting point for the entrepreneurial adventure. Generally, the entrepreneur is regarded as having originated from a lowly position in life. A favoured narrative is of the poor-boy-made-good by dint of hard work. Alternatively, the entrepreneur from a middle class background is also a well told story. Their respective class values are narrated in stories of the entrepreneur as a hero or villain, and as an outsider or insider. Similarly, ethnicity and gender provide the basis for a hallowed story of overcoming discrimination, marginality and hardship, particularly for men. These facets combine to form a story of masculinity manifested as the entrepreneur as a heroic man.

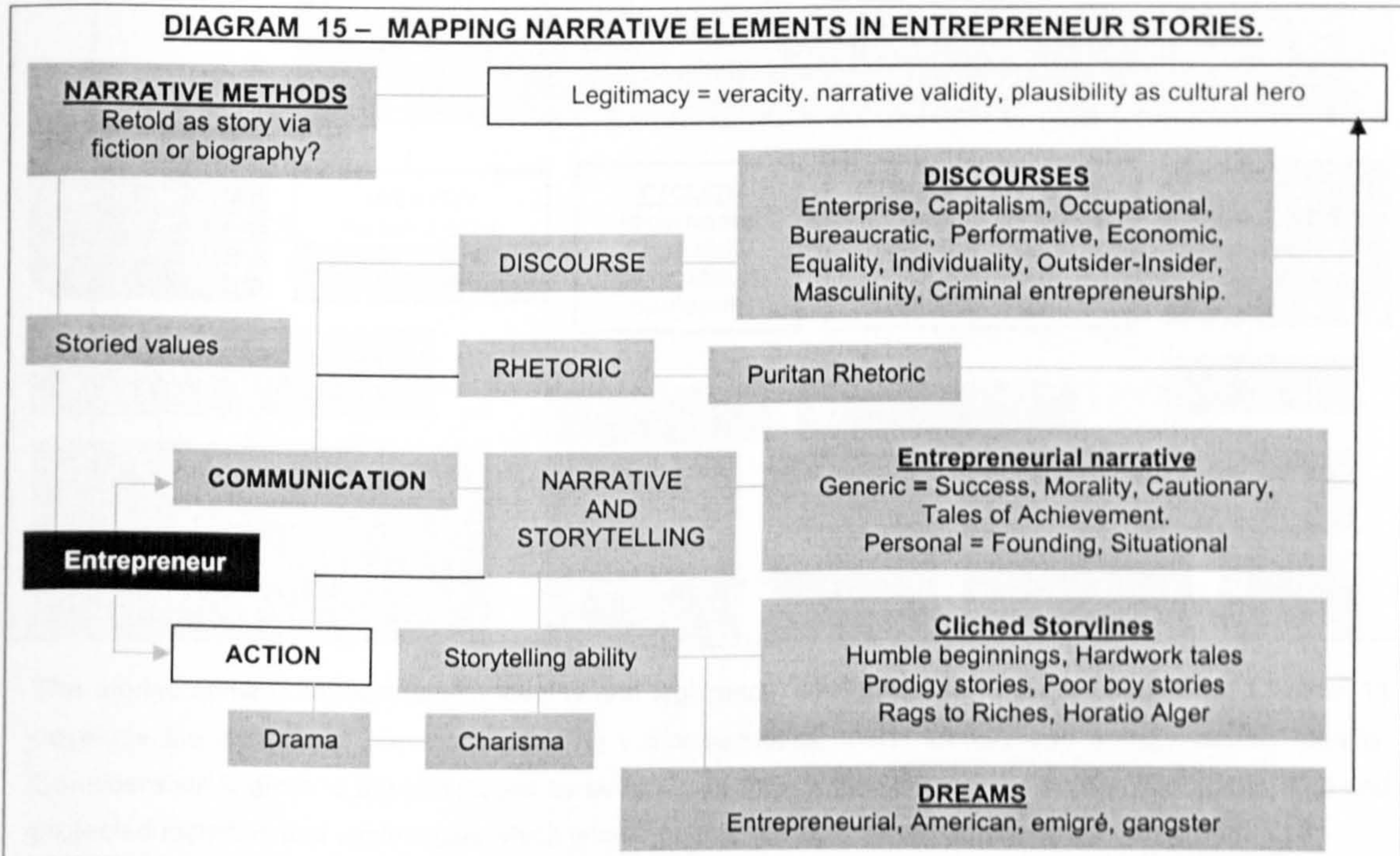
Chapter 7 saw a return to the individual in the form of an examination of linguistic and semiotic building blocks of narrative. The main purpose of the chapter is to demonstrate that the entrepreneur engages in a socially constructed world as a semiotic system. This system relates to both the visual and the textual. However, much of what constitutes our knowledge of entrepreneurship is brought to us in textual and narrative formats. This makes it essential to fully understand the basic linguistic building blocks of narrative, which include archetype, myth, metaphor, proverbs, parables, folktales, fables and even fairy tales. This is so because these linguistic genres all help us construct entrepreneur stories as a heroic narrative telling us of heroic behaviours. Indeed, these narrative constructions mirror stereotypical representations of the entrepreneur. Diagram 14 lays out the themes covered in the chapter.

DIAGRAM 14 – MAPPING LINGUISTIC ELEMENTS.

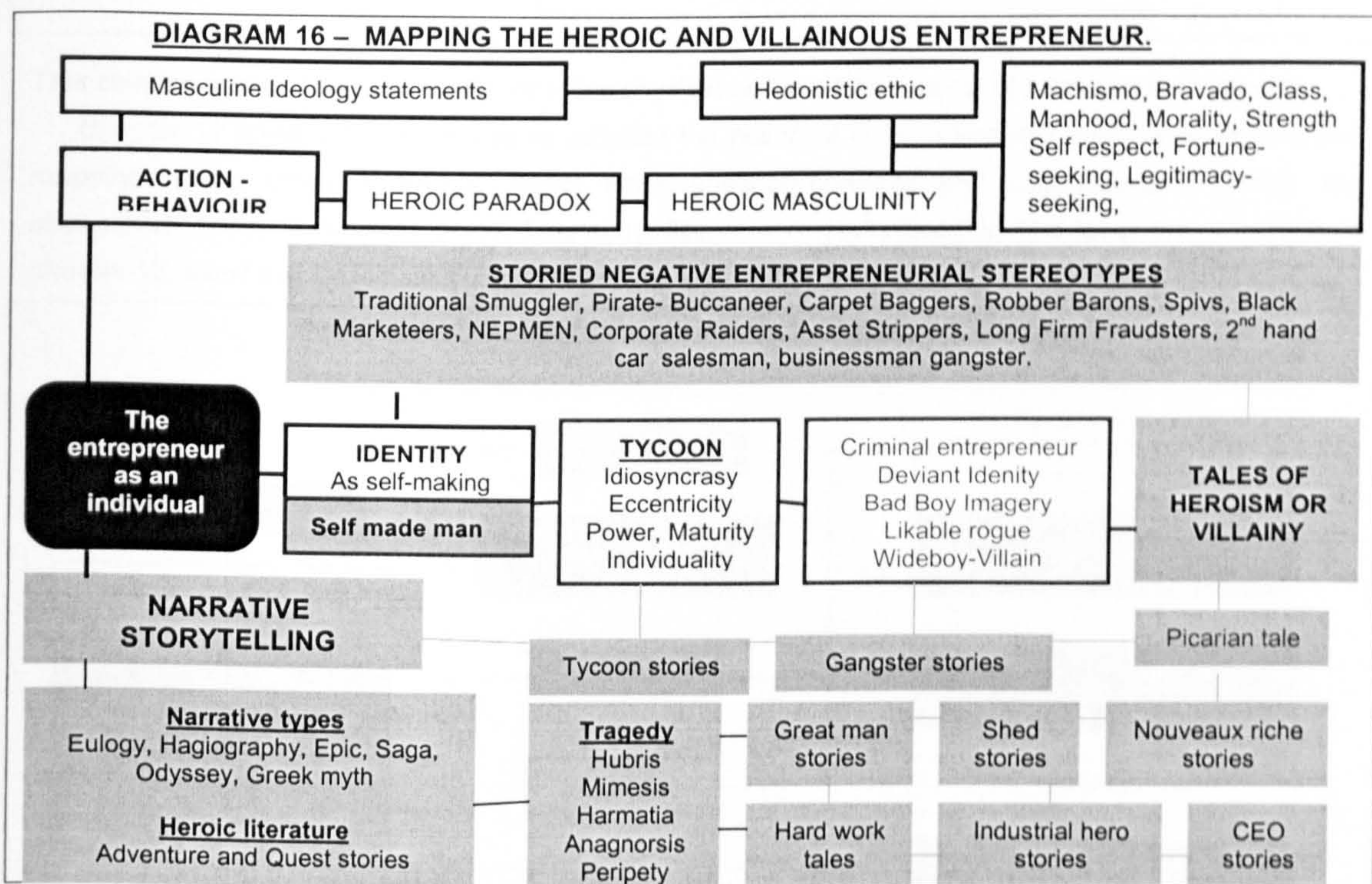


This diagram helps us visualise the process whereby narrative typologies such as archetype, myth and metaphor form the basis of cameoed descriptors from which the social construct of the entrepreneur is formed as a stereotypical representation which we instantly recognise. Chapter 7 is not as much about stories as about appreciating the role of proto-entrepreneurial narrative typologies which help build the narratives which will be discussed in chapter 8. Chapter 8 continues the exploration of how narrative typologies pave the way for the telling of socially constructed entrepreneur stories. It delves further into the entrepreneurial construct and demonstrates aspects of social constructionism as illustrated by diagram 15.

DIAGRAM 15 – MAPPING NARRATIVE ELEMENTS IN ENTREPRENEUR STORIES.

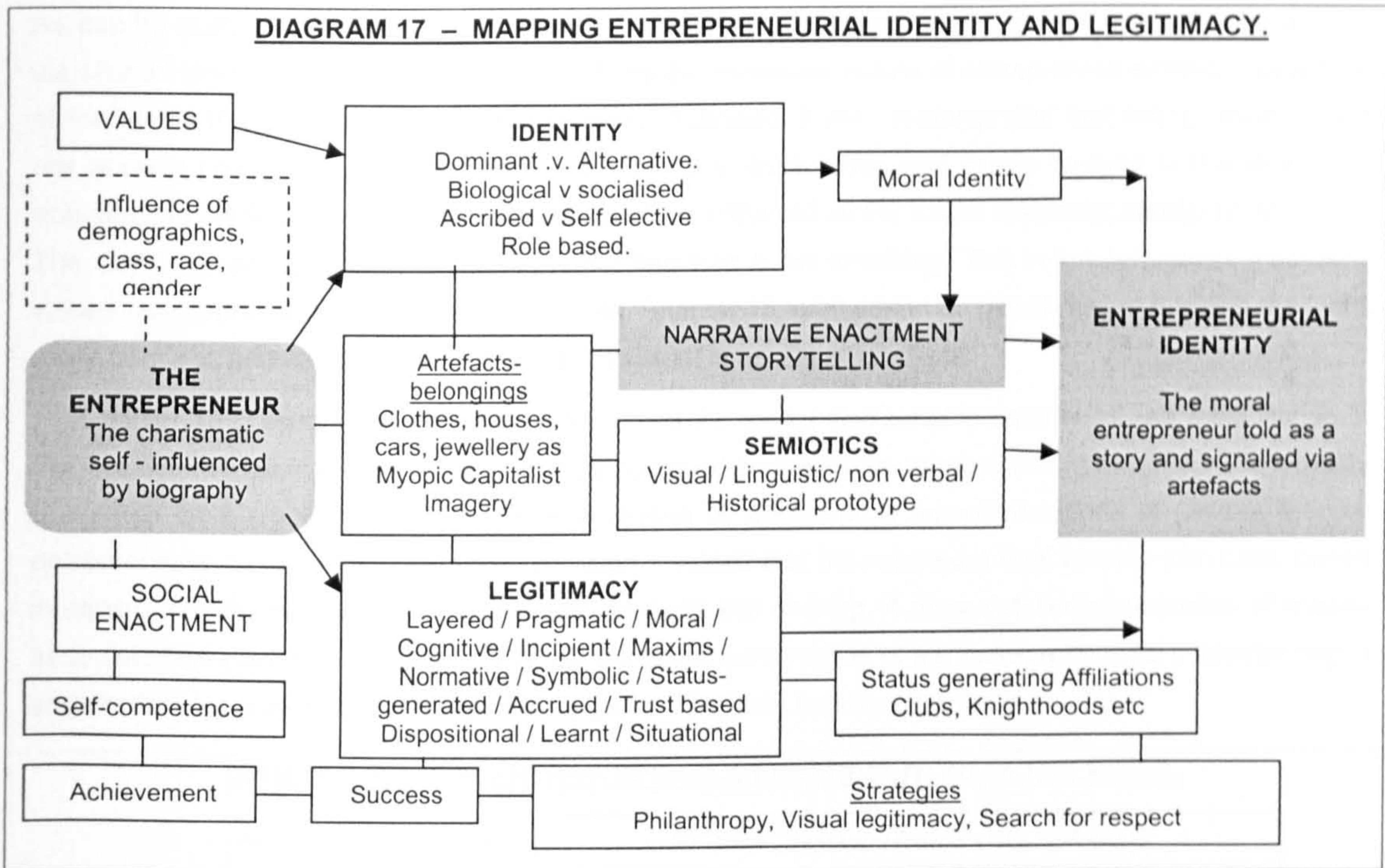


Consequentially, this chapter sees entrepreneurial knowledge being channelled through an array of available discourses, rhetoric's and narratives in which the story is metaphorically brought to life. However, it is principally through the media of narrative and the art of storytelling that we engage in the notion of the entrepreneur as a hero or villain. An appreciation of these narrated social scripts enables those embarking upon an entrepreneurial trajectory to enact and communicate a narrative reality which we as a society understand from past experience in the form of entrepreneurial narrative, entrepreneurial dreams, and clichéd storylines. Collectively, these enable the individual to present themselves as an entrepreneur and gain the legitimacy that being able to tell credible socially constructed narratives generates. From this chapter an appreciation of the importance of narrative to the entrepreneur as constructed continues to develop. Chapter 9 develops the narrative element showing how narratives are used to construct either a heroic or villainous, persona. From perusing diagram 16 it can be seen that these stories are critical in laying the foundations of entrepreneurial identities which are to a large extent achieved via narrative and stories. Again, a plethora of stories and story types is visible. This chapter demonstrates the entrepreneurial construct is expressed in narrative and storytelling as stories that narrate the identity of the entrepreneur as a hero, or if this is not possible, a villain. Both (heroic) behaviour and (heroic) narrative are directed towards this end. The entrepreneur thus enacts a particular stereotypical identity, the basis of which is socially constructed in extant narrative constructions. These include heroic paradox or tragedy.



The stories confirm entrepreneurial identity and legitimacy, which are the focus of chapter 11. Chapter 11 develops the narrational process examining visual semiotics, moral identity and entrepreneurial identity. Consideration is given to the role played by semiotics, artefacts, and belongings in constructing narrated and projected identities and legitimacies which when enacted create a sense of belonging. See diagram 17.

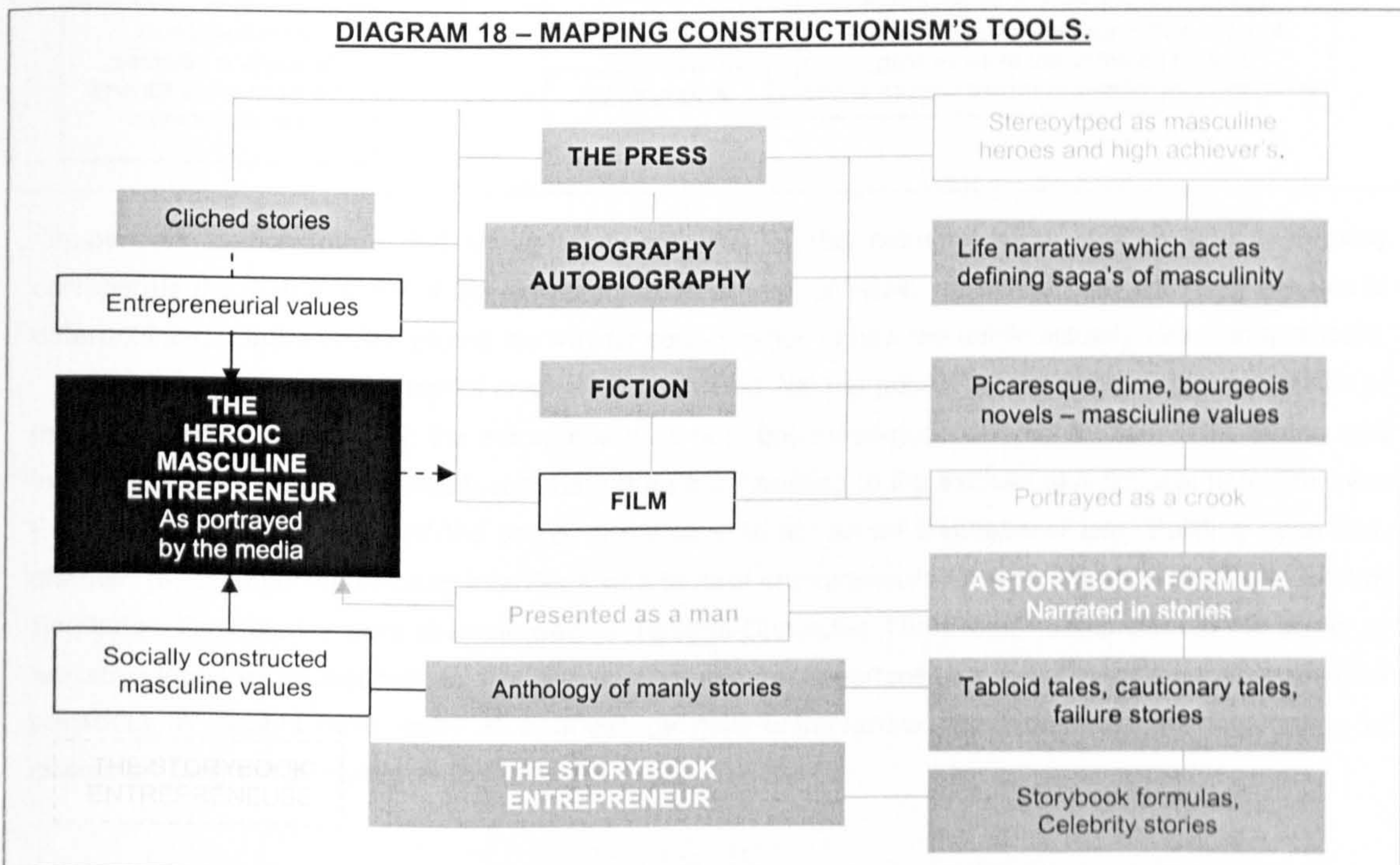
DIAGRAM 17 – MAPPING ENTREPRENEURIAL IDENTITY AND LEGITIMACY.



This chapter emphasises the importance of the physical and semiotic aspects of entrepreneurial identity.

Chapter 12 takes a sideways step to consider the notion of constructionism's tools by examining and mapping media channels through which entrepreneurial narrative and entrepreneurial identity are channelled. These include the press, biography, fiction, and media images. The latter are dealt with in chapter 13, albeit that for the sake of simplicity they are included in diagram 18.

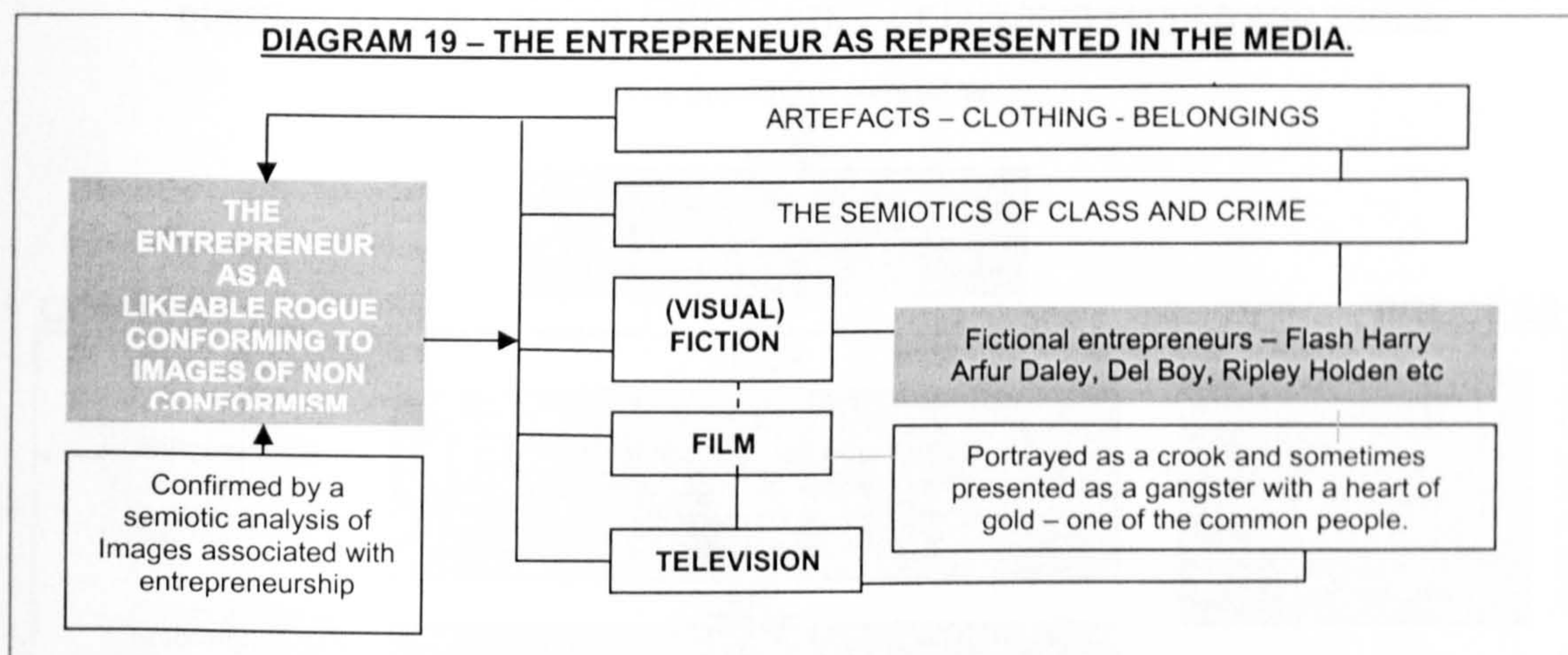
DIAGRAM 18 – MAPPING CONSTRUCTIONISM'S TOOLS.



As can be seen, in all the medias discussed above the entrepreneur is narrated as a masculine hero figure via clichéd stories and stereotypes. This confirms the masculine nature of entrepreneur stories, irrespective of the media through which the representation is channeled. It also demonstrated that entrepreneur stories are socially constructed using an accepted storybook structuration and media formula comprising of an anthology of stories depicting manly virtues socially constructed as the heroic storybook entrepreneur.

The storybook entrepreneur is isolated reinforcing their social invisibility. This in turn influences masculine values associated with entrepreneurship *per se*. Chapter 13 extends the empirical research taking the focus away from text and narrative towards representations, images and artefacts.

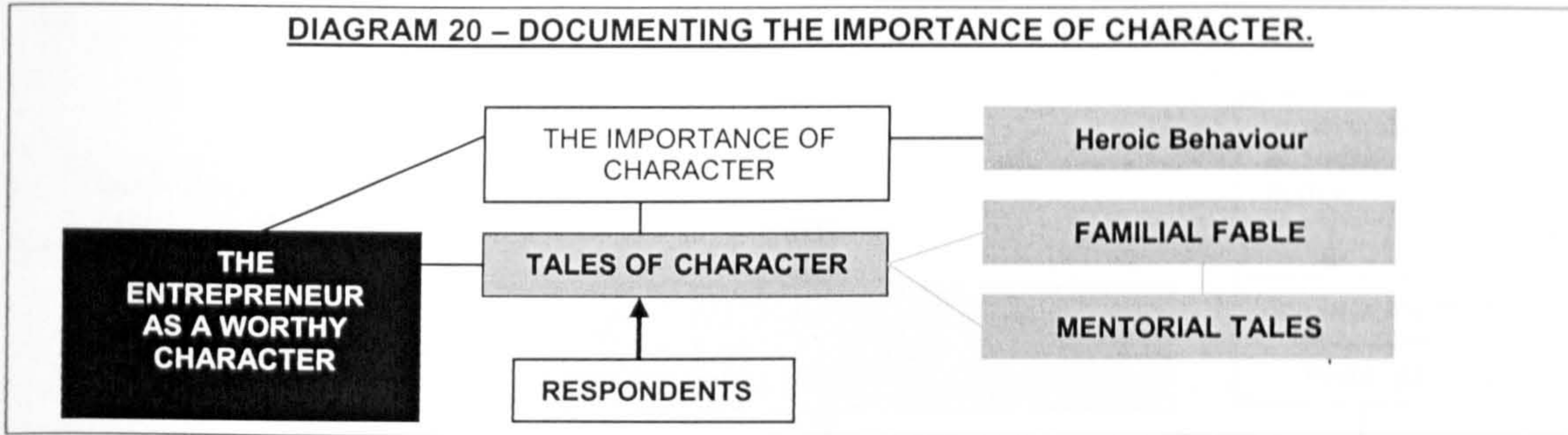
Chapter 13 presents the empirical research into the media discussed in chapter 12. An examination of the literature pertaining to the entrepreneur as portrayed on television revealed that in America he is typically presented as a crook or con man. An examination of stereotypical representations of (visual) fictional entrepreneurs as presented on British television revealed that they shared a dual identity with class based images of criminality embedded within iconic artefacts and clothing. A more detailed examination of images associated with entrepreneurship confirmed this social construction of the entrepreneur as a likeable rogue and conforming non-conformist. Diagram 19 depicts the main themes uncovered.



Chapter 13 demonstrated that visual representations of the entrepreneur in British Society broadly corroborate the textual script of the entrepreneur as a hero, or villain, albeit that they do so by the use of different interpretative codes, paving the way for consideration of how the public actually view entrepreneurs.

Consequently, the first half of chapter 14 confirmed that the public have a dichotomous perception of the entrepreneur appreciating the entrepreneur as poor-boy-made-good and as a villain. This theme was introduced into the action research and the picture book relating to the exploits of a fictional hero Ernie the Entrepreneur. This demonstrated the power of narrative to act as an inspirational tale. Building upon this, chapter 15, documented in-depth interviews with several entrepreneurs / businessmen in the North East of Scotland. Their stories were characterised as Tales of Character. The chapter demonstrated the power of narrative to act as an inspirational tale and documented the importance of character to the entrepreneurial construct. A deviant case study of a British gangster-entrepreneur also confirmed the importance of character. Diagram 20 illustrates this research.

DIAGRAM 20 – DOCUMENTING THE IMPORTANCE OF CHARACTER.

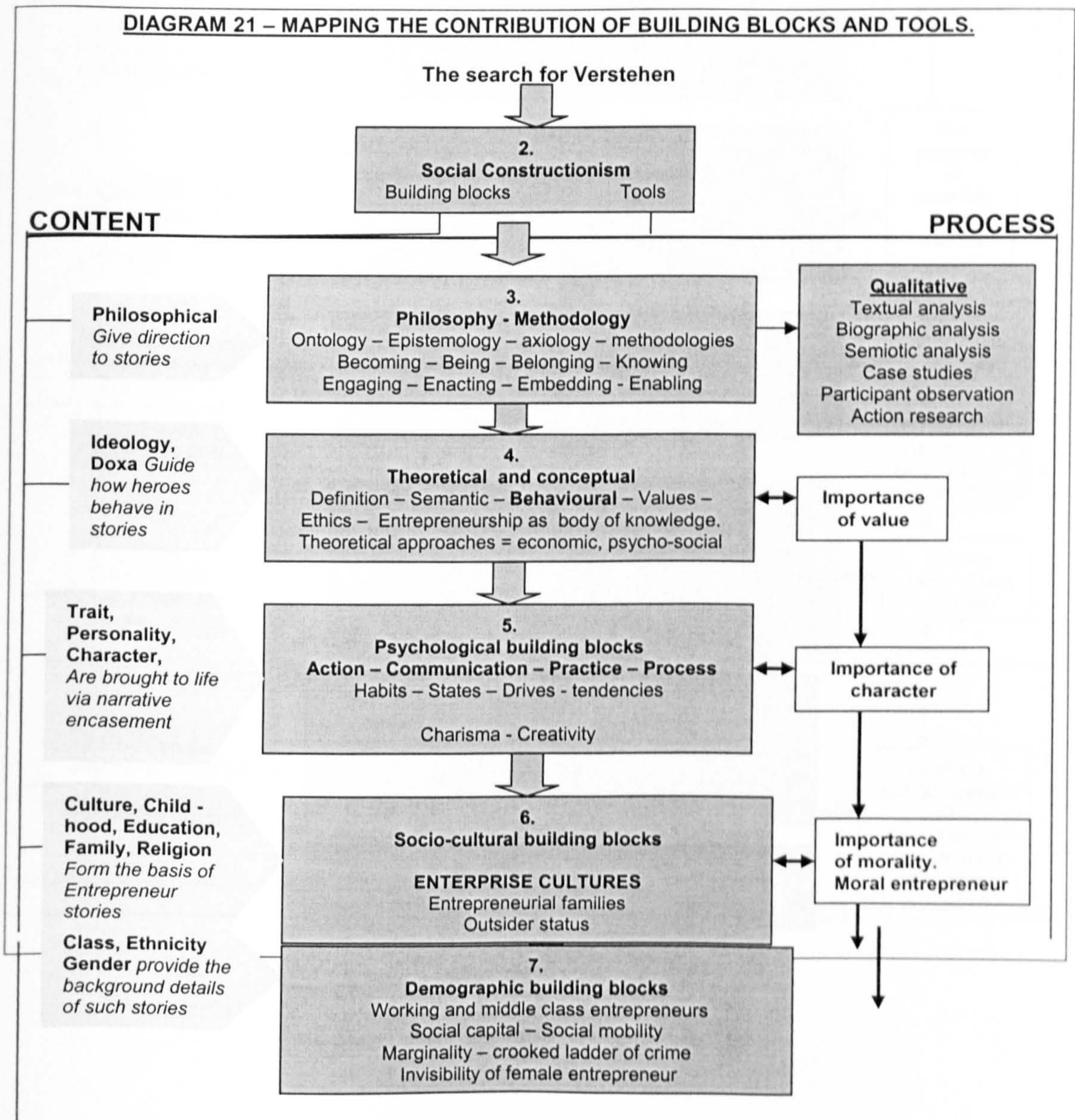


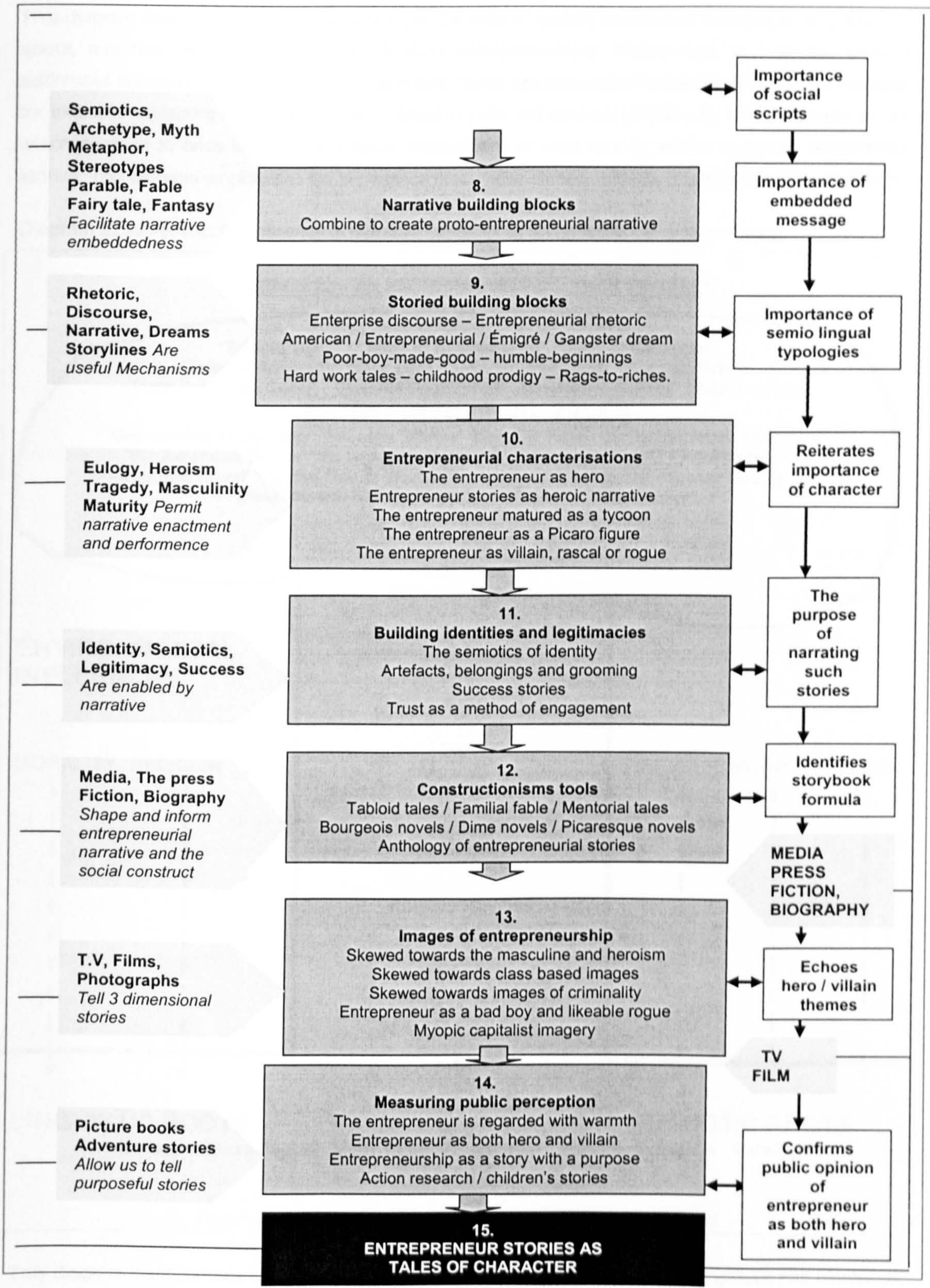
The next section maps entrepreneurship as socially constructed.

16.1.3 – Mapping entrepreneurship as socially constructed.

Having summarised the contributions of the chapters and mapped these to demonstrate the increasing importance of narrative it is helpful to consider how the constructionist building blocks and constructionisms tools discussed this far fit together and how they contribute to understanding. Diagram 21 maps the contribution of constructionist building blocks and tools.

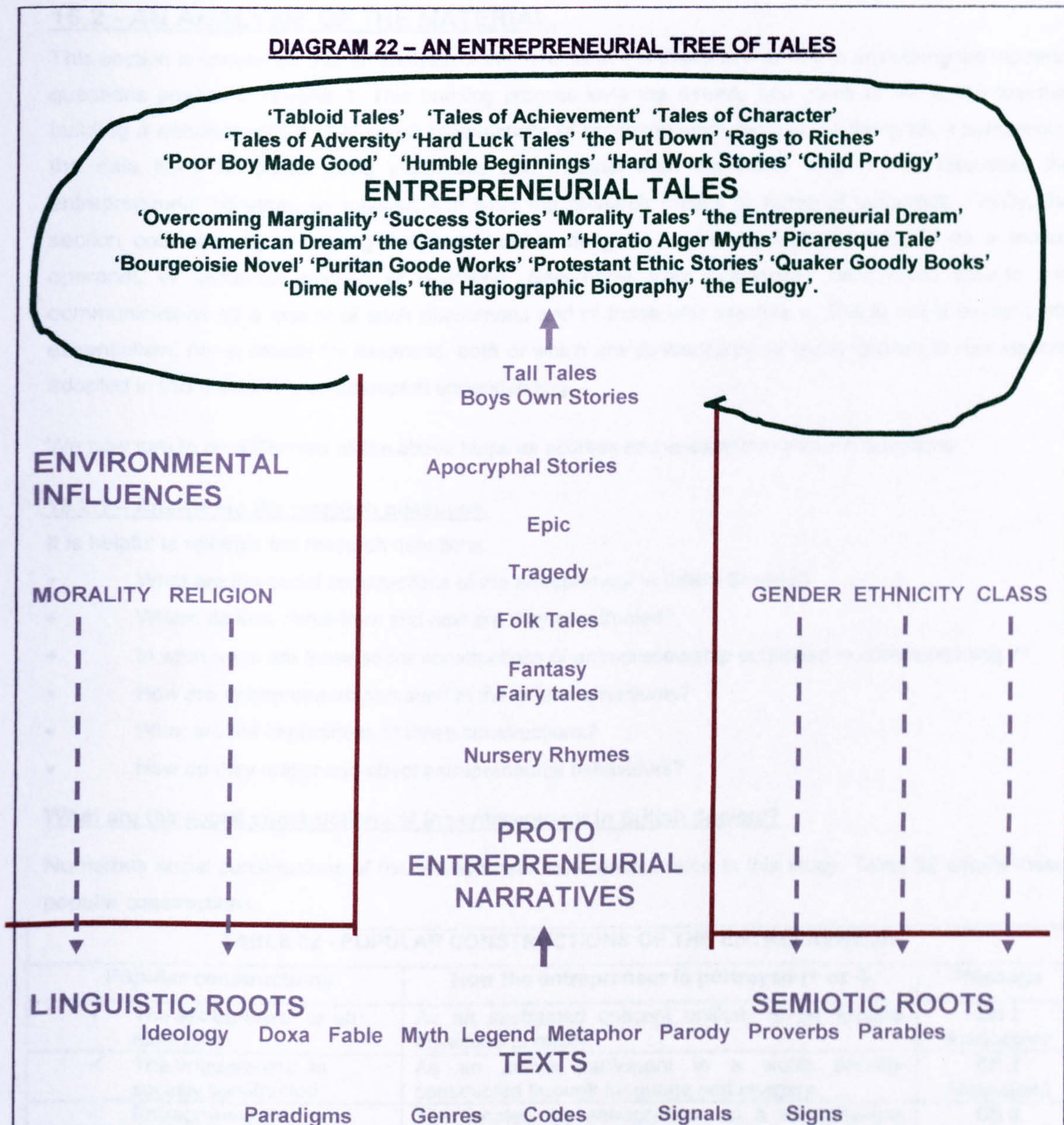
DIAGRAM 21 – MAPPING THE CONTRIBUTION OF BUILDING BLOCKS AND TOOLS.





This diagram illustrates how narrative addresses the limits of socially constructed knowledge, how it comes about, and how we know what we know about entrepreneurship. Furthermore, to a limited extent it addresses issues of epistemology, and what is told. These epistemological issues inform issues of ontology, for example explaining how one becomes entitled to claim entrepreneurial status by telling selected stories which conform to ones life story and social expectations of what type of stories constitute entrepreneur stories. This diagram emphasises the importance of narrative embeddedness, enactment, and encasement.

Diagram 22 represents the influence of narrative elements as an entrepreneurial tree of tales.



This diagram demonstrates how entrepreneurial narrative is influenced by narrative genres and typologies which support a stock of entrepreneurial tales. These tales are rooted in and grow from narrative structures

and blossom as a flourish of tales. The narrative elements of entrepreneurship are supported and indeed nurtured by pre-existing narrative and semiotic frameworks. The elements which form the basis of this stock of tales are drawn from the environment and channelled through narrative typologies (many of which are in effect proto-entrepreneurial narratives) which make the stories understandable to us as such. A map of entrepreneurship as socially constructed is annexed at appendix 5, illustrating entrepreneurial process. This developmental map plots the contribution of elements of social constructionism to our understanding of entrepreneurship.

16.2 - AN ANALYSIS OF THE MATERIAL.

This section is concerned with an analysis of the material in this thesis and its role in answering the research questions posited in chapter 1. This braiding process knits the threads and yarns of the thesis together building a detailed picture of social constructions of entrepreneurial process. In doing so, it synthesises the data from the thesis using arguments and material from the whole text. It also discusses the entrepreneurial construct as mapped and what the research means in terms of outcomes. Finally, the section concludes by proposing that consideration be given to viewing entrepreneurship as a *modus operandi*, or particular method of operating, discernable from observable behaviours, actions and communications as a quality of such phenomena and of those who practice it. This is not a descent into essentialism, nor a search for essences, both of which are contradictory to social constructionist stances adopted in this thesis. It is an attempt at understanding.

We now turn to consider how all the above helps us address and answer the research questions.

16.2.1 – Answering the research questions.

It is helpful to reiterate the research questions.

- What are the social constructions of the entrepreneur in British Society?
- Where do they come from and how are they constructed?
- In what ways are these social constructions of entrepreneurship employed in communicating it?
- How are entrepreneurs portrayed in the different mediums?
- What are the implications of these constructions?
- How do they reflect and affect entrepreneurial behaviours?

What are the social constructions of the entrepreneur in British Society?

Numerous social constructions of the entrepreneur were encountered in this study. Table 52 details these popular constructions.

TABLE 52 - POPULAR CONSTRUCTIONS OF THE ENTREPRENEUR		
Popular constructions	How the entrepreneur is portrayed (+ or -)	Message
✓ The entrepreneur as an ideal type	As an abstracted concept unlikely to be located anywhere in reality.	Ch 1 Ambivalent
✓ The entrepreneur as socially constructed	As an active participant in a world socially constructed through language and imagery.	Ch 2 Ambivalent
✓ Entrepreneurship as a subjective phenomenon	This locates the entrepreneur on a metaphysical realm and thus difficult to define.	Ch 3 Ambivalent
✓ The entrepreneur as a taxonomic descriptor	This locates the entrepreneur as a prefix or suffix for other active descriptors (neither + nor -).	Ch 4
✓ The entrepreneur as an	This places the entrepreneur on a theoretical plane	As an abstract

<p>abstract theoretical concept</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ The entrepreneur as a manager ✓ The corporate entrepreneur / intrapreneur ✓ The entrepreneur as a leader of men ✓ The entrepreneur as a creator (of value) ✓ The entrepreneur as a (creative) destructor ✓ The entrepreneur as an ethical practitioner ✓ Entrepreneurship as an ideology ✓ Entrepreneurship as a doxic construct ✓ Entrepreneurship as an ideal / idyll 	<p>capable of being separated from person and action (+).</p> <p>This stance sees the process move to an applied behavioural process - a clever manipulator (+).</p> <p>Takes account of entrepreneurship as an applied behaviour - the entrepreneur as a useful misfit (+).</p> <p>Another exulted exemplar of applied behaviour - the entrepreneur as a heroic tireless character (+).</p> <p>Continues emphasis on positive applied behaviours - the entrepreneur as a valued godlike figure (+).</p> <p>Positive and negative behavioural facets presented side by side – a demonic deity (+ and -).</p> <p>This continues the theme of purposeful application – the moral entrepreneur? (+).</p> <p>The application of entrepreneurship as a guiding principle as seen by dominant elite (- and +).</p> <p>The application of pre-existing (gendered) scripts such as masculinity, heroism and self-making (-).</p> <p>Presented as something to aspire to but capable of being over-articulated and romanticised (- and +).</p>	<p>theoretical concept the entrepreneur is neither positive nor negative but when applied takes on a positive colouration but with a hint of negativity</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Entrepreneurship as a trait or personality ✓ The entrepreneur as a narrated story ✓ The entrepreneur as an all-action hero ✓ Entrepreneurship as a valued behaviour ✓ The charismatic entrepreneur communicator 	<p>Entrepreneurship as discerned from traits and manifested as personality – a gifted person (+).</p> <p>The entrepreneur as an individual at the centre of an epic story – a hero (+).</p> <p>This forms the subject matter of the entrepreneur as a narrated story – a larger than life hero (+).</p> <p>Entrepreneurship as a behavioural activity - creativity, eclecticism and networking (+).</p> <p>Entrepreneurship as a communicated behaviour - a marriage of (action and communication) behaviour to gift of grace storyline (+).</p>	<p>Ch 5</p> <p>Emerges from the psycho-social literature positively glowing</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Entrepreneurship as a culture ✓ The entrepreneur as a strong-willed hero ✓ The entrepreneur as a mentor ✓ Entrepreneurship as a work ethic ✓ Entrepreneurship as a moral activity 	<p>Entrepreneurship as practiced in a particular habitus, family units, location or milieu (+ and -).</p> <p>Entrepreneurship as an impediment to be overcome – dyslexia, put-down or poor education (+).</p> <p>The entrepreneur as a helper of those deserving of a helping hand up the ladder (+).</p> <p>Constructs entrepreneurship as a behaviour applied in a particular community – PWE, Puritan etc (+).</p> <p>Entrepreneurship as an applied behaviour worthy of emulating (+).</p>	<p>Ch 6</p> <p>Emerges from the cultural arena as a positive social facet</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Entrepreneur as a working class hero ✓ Entrepreneur as a middle class achiever ✓ Entrepreneur as a heroic peasant ✓ Entrepreneur as a craftsman - artisan ✓ Entrepreneur as a petty shop-keeper ✓ Entrepreneur as a small businessman ✓ The entrepreneur as an upwardly mobile person ✓ The entrepreneur as an ethnic hero ✓ The entrepreneur as a clever deviant ✓ The invisibility of the female entrepreneur 	<p>The classic storyline of the poor-boy-makes-good pervades and distorts the literature (- and +).</p> <p>This alternative narrative is of clever boys making better (+).</p> <p>A hero story presented as a fairytale – the poorer the peasant, the more miraculous the rise (+).</p> <p>A heroic story of skill married to purposeful behaviour, hard work and devotion (+).</p> <p>A heroic story of dedication and hard work married to purposeful behaviour / entrepreneurial ethos (+).</p> <p>A story of pride and hope in the face of austerity and adversity – smallness is a theme (+).</p> <p>A story of energy expended in the furtherance of self and position (+).</p> <p>A heroic story of overcoming marginality and discrimination to succeed despite the odds (+).</p> <p>An alternative story of the marginal succeeding via criminality parodying the entrepreneurial act (+).</p> <p>A skewed tale diminishing the entitlement of enterprising women to entrepreneurial status (-).</p>	<p>Ch 7</p> <p>Emerges from the demographic background as a person of worth held in high regard</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ The entrepreneur as a hero or villain ✓ The entrepreneur as a clown, fool or alchemist ✓ The entrepreneur compared to mythic heroes ✓ The entrepreneur expressed as metaphor ✓ Entrepreneurship as modern parable ✓ Entrepreneurship as latter day proverb ✓ Entrepreneurship as a contemporary fable ✓ Entrepreneurship as lived fantasy ✓ Entrepreneurship as fairytale ✓ Entrepreneurship as folklore ✓ The stereotypical entrepreneur 	<p>This is a recurring archetypal construction which may present a confusing message (+ and -).</p> <p>This is another archetypal construction which leans towards the negative and controversial (-).</p> <p>This construction sees the entrepreneur take up the flaws of Icarus, Midas, Prometheus, Croesus and Pandora (-).</p> <p>Metaphor leans towards the negative and critical – skewed towards masculinity (-).</p> <p>Parable permits the entrepreneurial message to be delivered in a style which emphasises morality (+).</p> <p>A proto-entrepreneurial narrative which teaches lessons of success and morality in actions (+).</p> <p>Fable is a mechanism which permits the introduction of fabrication and falsehood (+ and -).</p> <p>Fantasy allows the entrepreneur to expand upon fable and tell spellbinding stories (+ and -).</p> <p>Fairytale permits the completion of this storytelling cycle (+ and -).</p> <p>Entrepreneurship is a cherished story of the people and as such is a modern folk tale (+ and -).</p> <p>The entrepreneur as a stereotype is male, middle aged and invariably middle class (-).</p>	<p>Ch 8</p> <p>A concept born of negativity but expressed positively</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Entrepreneurship as discourse ✓ Entrepreneurship as a rhetorical practice ✓ Entrepreneurship as a narrated process ✓ Entrepreneurship as a dramatic performance ✓ Entrepreneurship as a dreamed enactment ✓ Cherished entrepreneurial storylines 	<p>This construction is entrepreneurship as an engaging, empowering dialogue (+).</p> <p>This construction is entrepreneurship as a persuasive communicational style (+ and -).</p> <p>This important construction is entrepreneurship as a story and thus open to interpretation (+ and -).</p> <p>This construction allows entrepreneurship to become enacted and thus entertaining (+ and -).</p> <p>This allows us to envisage an entrepreneurial future and bring it into being before it is enacted (+ and -).</p> <p>These constructions tell of familiar and well rehearsed performances which we warm to (+).</p>	<p>Ch 9</p> <p>A valued process to be wary of</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ The entrepreneur as a tragic figure ✓ The entrepreneur as a dramatis personae ✓ The entrepreneur as a flawed hero ✓ The entrepreneur as a picarian figure ✓ The entrepreneur as a negative stereotype ✓ The entrepreneur as an outsider ✓ The entrepreneur as a hedonist ✓ The entrepreneur as criminal, rascal or rogue 	<p>This construction is a marriage of the "Gift of Grace" storyline and the genre of tragedy (+).</p> <p>This construction views the entrepreneur as being a character act to perform (+).</p> <p>This construction predisposes the typical entrepreneur to failure (-).</p> <p>This construction represents the entrepreneur as an outlaw, pirate or bandit (- and +).</p> <p>This construction projects the typical entrepreneur in a negative light (-).</p> <p>This romanticised construction dooms the entrepreneur fight the establishment (+).</p> <p>This construction portrays the entrepreneur as a thrill seeking bad boy (- and +).</p> <p>This popular construction presents the entrepreneur as a likable rogue and often a villain (- and +).</p>	<p>Ch 10</p> <p>A hero and a villain in one</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ The entrepreneur as an identity ✓ Entrepreneurial artefacts / objects ✓ The entrepreneur as a philanthropist 	<p>Constructs entrepreneurship as an identity attributed to those who fit the script (+ and -).</p> <p>This attributes entrepreneurial status to objects typically associated with entrepreneurs (+ and -).</p> <p>This construction views the entrepreneur as a benevolent benefactor – money making good (+).</p>	<p>Ch 11</p> <p>Something of worth</p>

The entrepreneur emerges from these constructions as a positive heroic figure, who is nevertheless best treated with caution. The most vivid social constructions of the entrepreneur encountered in this study were of the entrepreneur as hero or villain and sometimes both. Other socially constructed representations of the

entrepreneur were based upon heroic types drawn from archetype, mythology and metaphor. These were skewed towards the masculine gender and influenced by class based and criminal iconologies. In the quality and business press, a more objective presentation is dispensed, however in the tabloid press and in novels and biographies a less objective presentation of character emerges. An undercurrent of suspicion still exists with the entrepreneur being associated with the working class boy made-good, the Spiv, the likeable rogue, the businessman gangster and the barrow boy. These are all stereotypical (and often parodied) representations of the flawed masculine hero. Furthermore, there appears to be a disparity between the warmth and esteem that the public hold the entrepreneur and the comedic or villainous storybook characters portrayed in the media. It is also a finding that the entrepreneur is often defined by reference to the morality of their actions (and thus character).

Where do they come from and how are they constructed?

These social constructions surround us as narratives, stories, archetype, mythology, ideology, doxa, and media images. In particular they come from

The Press – It was shown that the National and tabloid press shape the perception of the British public in relation to what constitutes an entrepreneur. The press are primarily interested in the entrepreneur as a person and story because although entrepreneurship is not generally news worthy as such the social lives of entrepreneurs are. The local press tend to ignore entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship unless there is a parochial angle such as local-person-made-good stories. This accentuates the image of the entrepreneur as a mythical celebrity figure. The populist construction of the entrepreneur as portrayed in tabloid tales serves to distort and skew the popular perception of the entrepreneur by presenting the atypical behaviour of a few (possibly flawed) entrepreneurs as being typical. Nevertheless, this is a valuable construct for researchers because it which fills in the gaps missed out in traditional eulogies and hagiographs. Another valuable source of data is the cautionary tale which both entertains and educates, again covering aspects of the entrepreneurial tale commonly ignored in traditional renditions of entrepreneurial success stories.

Novels – It was shown that novels play an important part in the generation of entrepreneurial imagery and knowledge. In this instance it is a generalised storybook formula that is propagated. Thus the country of origin or period in which the story is set does not matter. However, the habitus of the creation of the novel does matter. Novels fuse cultural presentations and representations of entrepreneurial myth and storylines. In reading a novel we separate the make believe from that which we believe. In many instances the fictional entrepreneur is the only one the public will meet. Irrespective of the origin of the entrepreneur or the locus of the entrepreneurial adventure the fictional entrepreneur is characterised by a dual personality weighted in favour of the heroic, but able to resort to villainy when necessary. This populist template of the likable rogue is accentuated in novels. This presents an equally valid construction of the entrepreneur often glossed over in traditional moral tales and success stories.

Autobiographies / Biographies – Autobiographies are a rich source of information and knowledge about entrepreneurs and are a natural habitat for their stories. It is in autobiographies and ghost written pieces that the entrepreneur will display their character and tell the stories which are important to them. Biographies are an excellent source of knowledge about entrepreneurs. The entrepreneur in biographical form is perpetuated as a storybook formula. Biographies can be hagiographic, objective or character assassinations dependent

upon the aims of the author. The entrepreneur as portrayed in literature shapes and maintains the carefully constructed fictions or constructions that is the entrepreneur. Again, biographies present alternative constructions of the entrepreneur not encountered in the condensed versions of the genre. Novels and autobiographies allow space to cover many aspects of entrepreneurial character which are commonly not discussed elsewhere.

Constructions of the entrepreneur located in the press, novels and biographies share a common thread in that they deal with subjective issues and lean towards the aesthetic, in that they must be read and interpreted. Moreover, entrepreneur stories constructed in a masculine mould may make an appeal upon aesthetic sensitivities, in that they require one to make a value judgement. If we are predisposed towards such narratives as a result of gender bias, habituation or enculturation, we will warm to the stories which reinforce our cherished values and uphold our world view. The stories thus act as triggers which induce a response releasing feelings and emotions which influence our aesthetic choices. This is so because ultimately entrepreneur stories deal with subjective issues such as morality, character, success and legitimacy which cannot be taken as given because they demand one to make a judgement. The subject matter of the stories, drawn from the environment allow for the resolution of conflict between highly subjective elements of the story.

Films and Television – The entrepreneur as encountered in film is often presented without reference to the word entrepreneur. We have to decode and provide our own inferential frame work to the image. Thus American films such as Wall Street may shape perceptions of the entrepreneur globally. However, in Britain the fictional entrepreneur as portrayed in comedic television shows such as Flash Harry, Arthur Daley, Del Boy and Ripley Holden and the comic characters portrayed by Harry Enfield hold pride of place. Generally, as a nation we warm to these stereotypical cameos of the extremes of entrepreneurial character. We realise that whilst they are representations of entrepreneurial characteristics, they do not represent an entrepreneurial reality. However, the images which are broadcast on television and in film tend to portray the entrepreneur as a bumbling, likeable rogue who despite sharing the appearance of a criminal has a heart of gold and is one of the people. It is a simplistic formula but the combination of semiotic imagery and narrated plot reinforce our perception of the entrepreneur as gleaned from the printed word.

In what ways are these social constructions employed in communicating it?

The social constructions of the entrepreneur discussed above are often employed as heuristic devices – cameo images of what an ideal type or stereotypical entrepreneur should look and behave like. They act as sense-making and sense-giving devices which illustrate and explain to the public understandings of the entrepreneur as a concept. It must be remembered that many of the public may have had limited exposure to entrepreneurial narrative, rhetoric or ideology and thus may possess only a rudimentary understanding of what an entrepreneur should look, sound or behave like, or indeed what the entrepreneur does. In this manner these social constructions act as a form of visual socio-cultural shorthand to provide some form of universal understanding. It adorns the entrepreneur with a recognisable uniform composed of identifiable clothes, artefacts, traits, mannerisms, behaviours and character typologies. There are few people who have lived in Britain over the past two decades who have not encountered the stereotypical entrepreneur in the form of Arthur Daley or Del Boy. However these social constructions of the entrepreneur have more to do with socio-cultural historical prejudices and the perpetuation of the storybook formula by the press than the

lived reality of entrepreneurs. Nevertheless, entrepreneurs do participate in these social constructions in a number of ways. Firstly, these social constructions act at an motivational and aspirational level whereby the stories communicate with them in such a manner as to cause them to begin acting entrepreneurially and to engage in the entrepreneurial process. Secondly, the social constructions act as a mechanism for embedding by those who create an entrepreneurial identity. Thirdly, some of some people by conforming to to one of the dominant narratives , reinforce them as a social construct Notwithstanding this, the media generated social formula for narrating and depicting entrepreneurs pervade all methods of communicating it as will be demonstrated below. Stereotypical formulas render the complex simple and understandable.

How are entrepreneurs portrayed in the different mediums?

The entrepreneur is portrayed similarly in different mediums via the use of archetype, myth, ideology, doxa, metaphor, clichés and semiotics, but different qualities and values are projected. See table 53.

TABLE 53 – MEDIUMS USED TO PORTRAY ENTREPRENEURS IN DIFFERENT MEDIA								
	Archetype	Myth	Ideology	Doxa	Metaphor	Clichés	Semiotic	message projected
PRESS	Hero Villain Warrior Success	Icarus	Pervasive Capitalist propaganda	masculin ity	Widely used	Poor boy Humble beginnings Rags- riches	Widely used	Good man or a good man gone wrong.
NOVEL	Hero Villain Adventurer Quester	Self making	Pervasive Capitalist propaganda	masculin ity	Widely used	Poor boy Humble beginnings Rags- riches	Image on front cover only	Good man with tragic ending.
BIOG'S	Hero Villain Self maker Success	Self making	Pervasive Capitalist propaganda	masculin ity	Widely used	Poor boy Humble beginnings Rags- riches	Front cover and photo's	Good self made man or likable rogue
T.V.	Hero Villain Criminal Comedic	Subtle or silent	Subtle or silent	Usually silent	Usually silent	Poor boy Humble beginnings Rags- riches	Main medium	Charismati c man who wins at all costs

We can conclude from the above table that each of the media discussed make selective use of the most appropriate medium available – thus the press, novels and biographies make use of linguistic structures that can be expressed powerfully in writing. Thus myth, metaphor, eulogy, hagiography and tragedy predominate. Conversely, in television (or other pictorial media) a more visual or sophisticated method is required. The social constructions presented above shape scholarship because in conducting empirical research we trawl newspapers, books and other media for raw data to explore our hypothesis or theories. What lay persons may perceive as genuine data or behaviours may in fact merely be re-enacted doxa. Nevertheless, as academics we may approach entrepreneurship carrying our own socio-cultural baggage, which if we can work out what this is, we can deal better with it.

What are the implications of these constructions?

It is important to understand that the implications of these constructions are subtle and are not made explicit. It is apparent that over a long period of time, the British public have constantly received mixed messages of

the entrepreneur as a hero or villain, or as a comedic figure. It is hardly surprising that many do not take entrepreneurs seriously. However, public perception is notoriously difficult to measure albeit that it changes slowly. It is not simply a case of presenting better stories and images of the entrepreneur to the public, because social constructions and stereotypical representations are notoriously resist to change. Moreover, research by entrepreneurship scholars such as Warren (2003) has demonstrated that many aspiring female entrepreneurs simply do not buy into the storied masculine ideology and hero-making that pervades stereotypical representations of the entrepreneur. Whilst most people appreciate that media stereotypes of the entrepreneur are humorous parodies of the real thing it is nevertheless not how many entrepreneurs would wish to be portrayed. In considering the implications it was necessary to consider issues such as

- The inherent morality of the entrepreneurial construct and how this guides expectations of what constitutes entrepreneurship.
- Stereotypical representations based upon gendered assumptions of what an entrepreneur is.
- The power of the rhetoric in shaping what constitutes entrepreneurial narrative and enterprise discourse.
- The issue of social reproduction of scripted entrepreneurial narratives and negotiated entrepreneurial identities.
- Issues of what constitutes suitable forms of legitimising entrepreneurial actions.

Although the stereotypical representations of the entrepreneur discussed above entertain us, they also act as a point of constructive engagement. In taking cognisance of the stories of individual entrepreneurs whether presented in the press as tabloid or cautionary tales; or in novelesque or biographical format; or as visual fictions; we (as a public) are being subjected to another complex master narrative. The combined message we take away from these representations of entrepreneurial reality is that although the entrepreneur is appreciated by society, their character flaws and foibles are not. This should act as a warning to all future entrepreneurs that despite their genius and creativity they are entering a perilous realm where they are encouraged to manufacture their own fable which may in time lead to their demise. The message this sends to those who seek to become entrepreneurs is be humble, be generous and be contrite. Society may expect its entrepreneurs to be moral and to present a good character, because greed and hubris cannot be tolerated. Nevertheless, there are a plethora of narratives (and legitimation tools) which entrepreneurs can engage with. Entrepreneurs need not adopt a flash entrepreneurial persona, nor enact the various personally destructive scripts associated with entrepreneurship. Taking on the establishment and presenting oneself as a rebel or maverick can be irreversible strategies which imprison one in a one dimensional narrative from which there is no return. Becoming and being an entrepreneur need not be synonymous with enacting the storybook entrepreneur script.

The subjection of the public to media constructions is only part of the equation because the same public collaborate in the generation, transmission, reinforcement and adaption of these master narratives. However, the two dominant master narratives of the entrepreneur as hero and / or villain nevertheless offer two competing narrative embedding strategies which entrepreneurs can utilise at will dependent upon their circumstances and intentions. This explains why Dave Courtney tells a different entrepreneur story to the other respondents. Both are equally valid constructions of the entrepreneur.

How do they reflect and affect entrepreneurial behaviours?

They affect entrepreneurial behaviours because they enter socially proscribed doxic behavioural templates which people use to help inform and guide their behaviours and actions. In other words they enact and regurgitate the knowledge they have learned from others. Masculinity, femininity and religion are enacted doxas. A prime example is a respondent who told me that he has met many African entrepreneurs who idolise Sir Richard Branson and read his biographies "as if" they were gospel truth. In any occupation or walk of life learning by doing is so important, particularly if performing a role. Thus when in doubt we act as if we were that role, we re-enact what we believe one expects from us. It is now time to develop a deeper understanding of entrepreneurship.

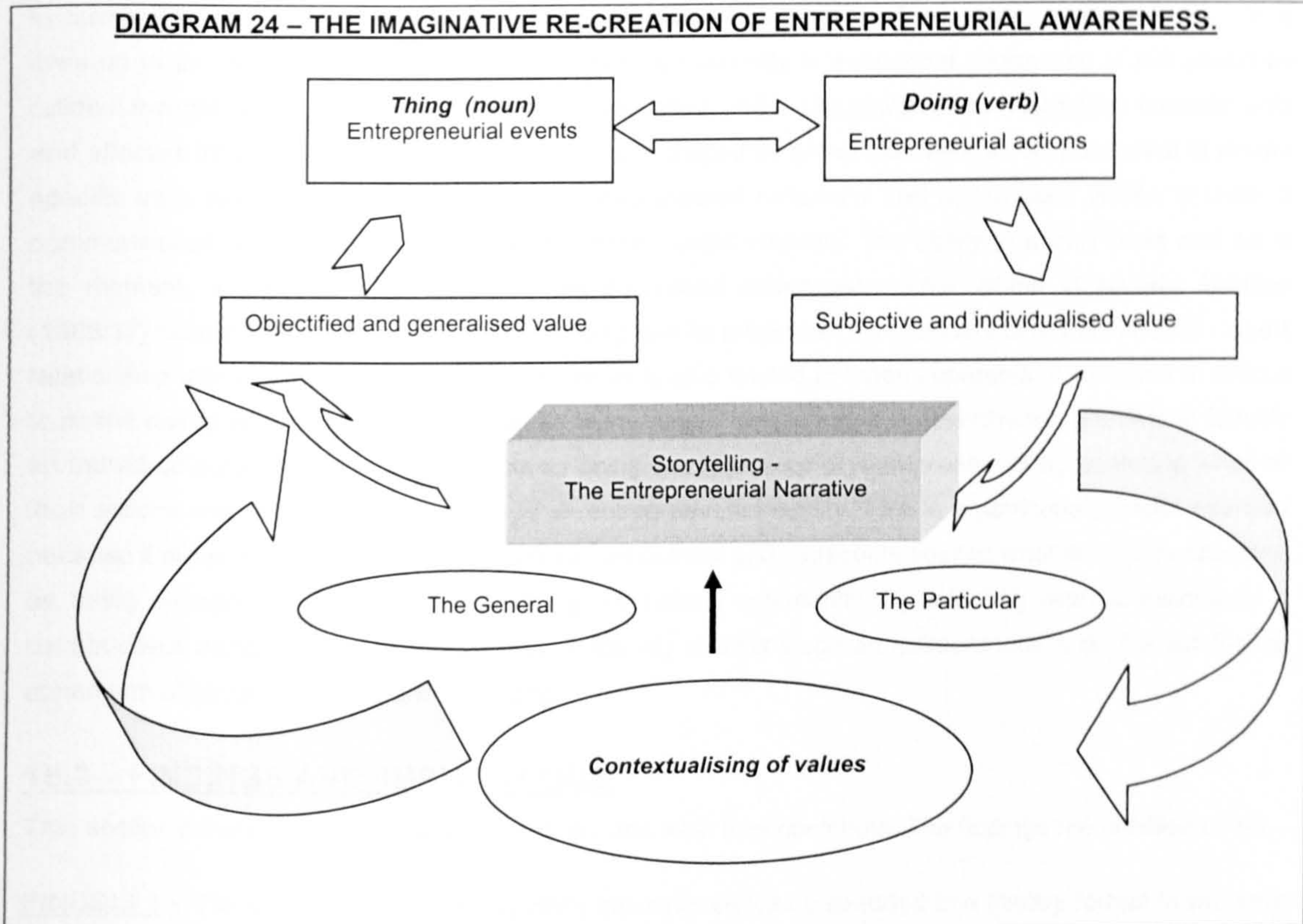
16.2.2 – Developing deeper understandings.

As the title of this section alludes to, there is no one understanding, but a plurality of socially constructed understandings. In the first twelve chapters of this thesis I mapped how the entrepreneur is portrayed in narrative; and in chapters 13 to 15, I sought to establish if this knowledge was replicated in the media. From this I formed an appreciation of the power of narrative as a mechanism through which we can understand the entrepreneur and entrepreneurship. Recognition and appreciation are the first steps towards developing an understanding, therefore, in the following section I will explain what this revelation means, in terms of new knowledge or a better interpretation of existing knowledge. If one accepts the argument that entrepreneurial narrative is about the communication of value and values and that entrepreneurship is undertaken by communication, then it becomes apparent that all we can do is talk around the subject of entrepreneurship which is precisely what has been happening in the entrepreneurial academic dialogue. When an entrepreneur seeks to explain to others the basis of their success, they must resort to narrative with its hidden persuasive elements of myth, metaphor, storytelling, and all the theatricality and drama this entails.

Entrepreneurship, as social reproduction, emerges in many forms and we must accept that what Machan (1999) refers to as authentic entrepreneurship is only one possible form. There are also forms of entrepreneurship that are Muted (Smith 2003) and also forms that are Mutated (Hobbs 1988). They are all types of entrepreneurship. Muted entrepreneurship (female / family business / social) often occurs silently and may thus not be recognized as such, whereas mutated entrepreneurship (criminal) is generally ignored. Nevertheless, entrepreneurial narrative unites these diverse forms. This is an important understanding.

The diversity, and resilience, of entrepreneurial narrative is one of its most enduring strengths because entrepreneurial narrative offers us a mixture of substance and hope. It is a narrative which we can appropriate as our own. Its beauty lies in the fact that it is not a linear tale and it can start at any place along another story. It can be formed from pre-ordained components that one can selectively use to fit into one's life story. It can be inserted after the fact into individual stories to transform and validate the life (and thus success and failure) of the person being narrated about. The stories can be constructed to suit the events of ones' life. Entrepreneur stories, of whatever type, are useful templates for fitting life stories into, because adopting the socially constructed script provides one with a role, a function and above all else a contextual vehicle for applying ones actions, communications and endeavours. For these reasons narrative is a useful method through which to understand entrepreneurship. This is primarily because narrative can accommodate the paradoxical, contradictory and enigmatic qualities that pervade the construct. There is no one entrepreneurial narrative but a plurality of narratives containing many contrasting stories. It must, of

DIAGRAM 24 – THE IMAGINATIVE RE-CREATION OF ENTREPRENEURIAL AWARENESS.



It has been demonstrated that the entrepreneur as hero or villain are both well-established myths that mirror the mechanisms of ancient mythology. The myths of the entrepreneur as hero and villain remain a rich source for future plots and virtual stories, because the myths contain various established separable elements tied together by a main storyline. The structure of the entrepreneurial narrative mirrors that of the classical myths and the events in them that have been the focus of intense study for centuries. Entrepreneurial narrative is alive and evolves through time and space. Only in narrative is there an end as such. Individual stories of entrepreneurial heroism and villainy may have a beginning and an end but the entrepreneurial narrative in the form of a meta-narrative is a perpetual and perpetuating narrative. Entrepreneurs as heroes and villains become ephemeral but live on in the stories told about them. Indeed, entrepreneurship is brought to life by the personal and the anecdotal.

This research presents a credible argument for considering that entrepreneurship may be a quality of an action as opposed to being a type of action and that perhaps entrepreneurship is a method of operating. Indeed, over time certain actions and communications have become associated with the entrepreneur and the entrepreneurial act.

16.2. 3 - Considering entrepreneurship as a method of operating?

Entrepreneurship can be considered as a method of operating associated with the qualities of an action. Methods of operating (M.O.) or *modus operandi* are normally associated with criminology and require to be deduced from salient inferences. Kirby (2003:203) refers to business *modus operandi*. Interestingly, Parsons (1968:649-50) discusses modes of orientation towards action, and considers that actions may be orientated

in terms of usage or habit; interests based upon rational expectations of reward; or legitimate order (one lives up to an ideal or evades or defies it). Action, like morality is a personal choice and is influenced by rational thought, irrational thought, emotions, moral values and social relationships. Normative commitments and affective involvement are also important and are shaped by group membership. It is essential to isolate specific traits and actions that characterise entrepreneurial behaviour and action sets. Action is form of communication, and individual and collective actions speak volumes. The ability to action ideas and seize the moment, is perhaps what separates the successful entrepreneur from others in society. Barthes (1988:37) makes reference to *modi essendi* - being and its properties. The concept of *modus vivendi* – one's relationship with one's peers in a lived environment is also related to *modus operandi*. Although it is difficult to define entrepreneurship or exactly what an entrepreneur is or is not, it is nevertheless possible to identify an individual subject or group of subjects as being entrepreneurs or entrepreneurial by analysing whether their actions and communications possess an entrepreneurial quality. This is a particularly useful exercise because it allows one to plot their traits, actions, behaviours and constructs against what is already accepted as being entrepreneurial knowledge in any given cultural community. By adopting what is essentially a constructivist mapping process it is possible to identify at what stage an entrepreneur is on the ontological continuum of becoming, being and belonging.

16.3 – FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS.

This section details the findings; what they mean; and what they contribute. The findings are detailed below.

FINDING 1 – The entrepreneur most frequently encountered was embedded in a literary format in two very different forms. The first being entrepreneurship journals and academic texts; and the second in biographies, novels, newspapers and in other media forms. The entrepreneur who emerges from academic journals is portrayed as a purposeful actor at the centre of the equation, a subject to be studied and interpreted. In the latter formats a socially constructed and carefully maintained storybook entrepreneur script is presented. The entrepreneur is still very much at the centre but it is the enacted script which is the focal point.

FINDING 2 – The construction of the entrepreneur most frequently encountered in literary form was as a heroic male personage (with all the ideology, rhetoric, mythology, doxa and dogma which this entails). As a result the entrepreneur is presented as if it were a masculine construct when in reality it is very much an ungendered activity. Consequentially, when enacted by a female entrepreneur, only those parts of the script which resonate with masculine doxa are emphasised.

FINDING 3 – The entrepreneur is also frequently encountered as a villainous character. In this respect it can either be as a character flaw whereby the entrepreneur possesses dual personality as hero and villain, or occasionally the entrepreneur is portrayed as a villain *per se*. However, the entrepreneur as villain is not always associated with a negative image. Indeed, in certain socio-economic milieu's the entrepreneur as a villain emerged as a resonant archetype, viewed with affection and approval. This has important implications for society because within specific habitus of approval the entrepreneur as a villain is deemed to be both legitimate and authentic. The negative archetype becomes the dominant archetype. When this occurs there is a danger that social constructions of the entrepreneur under certain circumstances can legitimise criminality.

FINDING 4 – A pictorial format for portraying entrepreneurs was also discernable in the literature. This semiotic phenomenon is skewed towards images of masculinity, class and criminality. These semiotics reinforce the negativity of the stereotype.

FINDING 5 – In seeking to identify whether a subject is an entrepreneur or not, it is useful to adopt a holistic profiling approach to match the narrated and semiotic profiles to the social construction under review. It is possible to identify a subject as being an entrepreneur by virtue of character type, behavioural traits and semiotic affirmation. The concept of entrepreneurial character type is helpful when seeking to identify a subject or respondent as an entrepreneur. This influences how they project their entrepreneurial identity and how they communicate with others. It is possible to read and assess the likely character type from the narrative. Social constructions of the entrepreneur as manifested at the level of the entrepreneur are articulated and narrated as stories which emphasise the morality and uprightness of character. It is helpful to read traits as narrative descriptors providing links into the stories and actions of the subject. Consider whether there are sufficient examples of such traits to indicate entrepreneurial status. If the subject is an entrepreneur they should be able to articulate themselves as such. The absence of such examples embedded in narrative format may well indicate that the subject is not an entrepreneur, as will the inability of the subject to narrate a personalised stock of entrepreneur stories. However, the inability of a subject to articulate entrepreneurial behaviour traits or storylines should not debar them from entrepreneurial status merely because they do not consider themselves as such. The notion of semiotic affirmation is of significance because it provides corroborative evidence of entrepreneurial identity and narrated claims. For example, does the subject possess artefacts or belongings which broadcast a culturally mediated entrepreneurial identity? A visual appraisal helps but the fact that a subject does not conform to expected type need not exclude them from entrepreneurial status.

This finding does not seek to imply that those entrepreneurs who do not espouse moral entrepreneurship are any less valid a construction of the entrepreneur than those who do. Moreover, taking cognisance of storied entrepreneurial moralities enable us to reach a deeper understanding of what type of entrepreneur a subject is trying to be.

16.4 – IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH.

This section details the implications of this research. These include – expanding or refining the paradigm of moral entrepreneurship; and perhaps rewarding the moral entrepreneur. It is also necessary to consider the exclusivity of entrepreneurial narrative as a masculine narrative.

16.4.1 – Expanding the paradigm of moral entrepreneurship and rewarding moral entrepreneurs.

Given the research of Baumol (1990) into the historical process whereby society produces both productive and unproductive entrepreneurs then it is likely that society will continue to produce immoral, amoral and criminal entrepreneurs. As entrepreneurship scholars we do not have a duty to espouse and promote moral forms of entrepreneurship but we can acknowledge and research all aspects of entrepreneurship with equanimity. This necessitates acknowledging the unacceptable face of entrepreneurship. Although good scientific research must be kept values free this does not equate to avoiding the issues of value, providing one is up front with ones aims of encouraging the expansion of the paradigm of moral entrepreneurship. Moral entrepreneurship is a powerful societal rhetoric. If character is all that separates the successful

criminal from the authentic entrepreneur then society owes it to itself to consider character more deeply. To espouse the moral entrepreneur is not a utopian vision, nor is it a neo-platonic search for an elusive purity. As indicated by Baumol (1990) entrepreneurship occurs in the prevailing societal climate irrespective of morality. Therefore it may be beneficial to society to encourage a moral climate in which moral forms of entrepreneurship can occur. Leaving aside arguments over the ethics of privileging one type of morality over another, if we want to stimulate and legitimate morally uplifting narratives of entrepreneurship we need to look at where narratives of criminal entrepreneurship are well received, and target alternative constructions at these milieus.

16.4.2 – Acknowledging the exclusionary nature of heroic entrepreneurial narrative.

The heroic entrepreneurial narrative is a cherished story, which should be appreciated for what it is – a story, as is the narrative of the entrepreneur as villain. Both come to life vividly on the pages of storybooks. The individual entrepreneur should be allowed the freedom of choice, to choose whether to wrap these narratives around them, or to reject them. At present, to be accepted as an entrepreneurial narrative the plot must conform to the basic tenets of one or more accepted narrative types and be anchored in expected reality. Thus they commonly begin with examples of poverty and marginality heroically overcome in childhood. Just as we expect a fairy tale to begin with a line such as "Once upon a time" we expect entrepreneurial tales to begin in a familiar format. We thus know what to expect and decide whether to listen or not. We are socially programmed to expect the tale to end with the hero either being accepted or rejected. Storybook entrepreneurs demand a dramatic ending. A major problem in propagating entrepreneurial narrative is that we are socially programmed to select the stories we find interesting and repeat. This repetition of formulaic stories may embed the entrepreneur in a storybook persona. Also, the discourse, narrative and social constructions of entrepreneurship are all skewed towards presenting entrepreneur stories almost exclusively as a narrative of heroic masculinity. This can have the effect of excluding the entrepreneurial narratives of many female entrepreneurs from being heard because they do not conform to social expectations of what constitutes an entrepreneur story. Thus to tell exclusively masculinised entrepreneur stories is to discriminate against other forms of entrepreneur stories such as those of female entrepreneurs. Those that choose to repeat such stories to the exclusion of others are representing and reifying entrepreneurial narrative as heroic masculine doxa. Moreover, this has implications upon how we value different forms of entrepreneurship. It is difficult to envisage a socially inclusive entrepreneurial narrative. However, the first step towards this is to acknowledge the naturalised bias of entrepreneur stories towards masculinity. Heroic stories of manhood and self-making have their place, but also have their limitations despite their inspirational basis.

Theoretical and practical implications can be drawn from the research. The research has found that entrepreneurship is socially constructed as a heroic; masculine – storybook formula. This dictates that it can be an exclusionary narrative in that the stories of those entrepreneurs (both male and female) which do not fit the criteria for such heroic tales are often left untold. This has consequences for society and for entrepreneurship as a body of knowledge because these other equally valid stories of entrepreneurship are denied the opportunity to inform the social construct. Moreover, the potentially destabilising effects of the mildly revolutionary narrative of the entrepreneur as a villain, flouting their proper place in the established order of things, and daring to act and dress in a flash manner is nullified by the resultant hero worshipping of

the entrepreneur. This has theoretical implications in that it obviously affects the role and quality of the social constructs and THEORY as conceptualized. Building upon this argument the practical implications are that if the accepted social construct remains that of the hero or villain society may look at the entrepreneur (and may continue to judge them) through a constructionist lense thus influencing PRACTICAL applications of entrepreneurship theory and knowledge.

16.4.3 – Appreciating the importance of narrative to entrepreneurship *per se*.

A significant contribution of the thesis is uncovering the importance of narrative to our understanding of the entrepreneurial process. Indeed there is a circularity to this argument, because in chapter 1 it was noted that “Verstehen” approaches are aligned towards hermeneutic and phenomenological approaches which privilege reading, and thus by extension narrative. Building upon this, in chapter 2 it was established that social constructionism privileges narrative; and in chapter 3 that qualitative methodologies align one with narrative and prose. Moreover, in chapter 3 it was identified that ontology, epistemology, axiology and methodology play a role in the taken-for-grantedness of the philosophical states of becoming, being and belonging. These are all states understandable as modes of belonging such as enabling, engaging, enacting and embedding. These philosophical building blocks construct a necessary cosmology of circularity which in turn actively constructs this sense of taken-for-grantedness using narrative and storytelling methods. Narrative is thus a methodology for achieving understanding. This has important consequences in that it affects our ability to succinctly define entrepreneurship, because to do so it is necessary to narrate it in context thereby re-engaging in the cycle. Also engaging in narration prohibits brevity upon which definition rests. We learn to appreciate the power of entrepreneurial narrative and storytelling when we encounter it, but we rarely consider questions of ontology, epistemology and axiology upon which such stories address. This is so because these deeply philosophical issues are embedded within narrative and taken-for-granted. These by their very nature take on a circularity of their own. It is vital to consider such issues in relation to this study. Ontology – is difficult to unravel because it is a macro structure which contains elements of epistemology and axiology. Also, epistemology draws its subject matter from the ontological chain. There is a danger that researchers may construct false epistemes. Axiology is easier to decipher because of its reliance upon normative aspects. Ontology, epistemology and axiology are perhaps best understood as forming part of a philosophical chain of understanding in the same manner as semiotics building blocks form a semiotic chain of meaning. See table 54 for an explanation of how this thesis has contributed to this chain of understanding. The table is necessary at this juncture to incorporate all the disparate elements contained in individual chapters into one body from which ‘Verstehen’ can be achieved.

TABLE 54 – A CHAIN OF UNDERSTANDING

	The contribution of each heuristic device in explaining entrepreneurship	How this develops our Understanding
	<p>This section considers the building blocks examined in this thesis and how they stack up as heuristic devices in an ontological chain of being (and beyond). The ontology of entrepreneurship is concerned with tracing its sources of knowledge.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Verstehen (ch 1) – is an individual process undertaken by all ✓ Hermeneutics (ch 1) – is a process linked to verstehen and engaged in by all ✓ Phenomenology (ch 1) - ✓ Ideal type (ch1) – Offers an alternative method of viewing 	<p>The ontological chain of being is extremely complex and this explains why definitions of entrepreneurship are not easy to articulate. Verstehen,</p>

O N T O L O G I C A L C H A I N	<p>and interpreting abstracted data by giving us an idealised vision to compare ourselves against</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Social Constructionism (ch 2) – a toolbox for unravelling ontological, epistemological and axiological meaning ✓ Ontology (ch 3) – is a lifelong revisionist process in which we all engage ✓ Epistemology (ch 3) – acts as a set of guiding stories which influence our behaviours ✓ Axiology (ch 3) – acts as an internal guiding system ✓ Methodology (ch 3) – is concerned with issues of truth, ethics and justice. ✓ States of being, becoming & belonging (ch 3) – allow us to organise data we experience into meaningful chapters of life ✓ Modes of belonging , enabling, embedding, engaging & enacting (ch 3) – are all important mechanisms of data filing and retrieval which occur at a sub-conscious level ✓ The state of knowing (ch 3) – is an overarching state of readiness for action which enables us to act upon already interpreted data ✓ The state of alignment (ch 3) – is an instant mechanism of recognition which occurs when we experience data which we have already interpreted as influential 	<p>hermeneutics, phenomenology are ways of seeing, or interpreting through reading. Ideal types and social constructions are valuable mechanisms which enable us to see and understand more clearly. The connected states of ontology, epistemology and axiology are all goals towards which our quest for understanding is directed. Methodologies are useful heuristics for allowing us to develop a clearer understanding of these goals. Therefore, states of being, becoming, belonging and knowing, as well as modes of belonging (and traits) are all directed towards modes of action. The related mode of alignment allows us to reconcile the diverse elements in the ontological chain into an understandable story.</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Etymology (ch 4) – a collective system of already established connected meanings ✓ Semantics (ch 4) – a system of already interpreted meaning ✓ Collocation (ch 4) – permits us to act on established connections to a related concept ✓ Taxonomies (ch 4) – a convenient system of ordering related data ✓ Theory (ch 4) – is a high level analytic system for dealing with interpreted data which has explanatory power ✓ Values (ch 4) – Personal, economic and negative guide actions and link with traits ✓ Virtues (ch 4) - are cherished societal values ✓ Qualities (ch 4) – are expressions of valued traits ✓ Attitudes (ch 4) – particularly positive attitudes such as determination influence success ✓ Beliefs (ch 4) - are guided by values and influence attitudes. The primary belief in entrepreneurship is self-belief ✓ Thoughts (ch 4) – are fleeting and ephemeral unless recorded. Certain types such as lateral thinking and brainstorming are associated with entrepreneurial behaviour ✓ Ethics (ch 4) – are a double system of practices which are formed by patterns of directed action; and as prescribed patterns for dealing with axiological problems ✓ Doctrines & philosophies (ch 4) – are prescribed behavioural scripts which guide behaviours ✓ Ideals (ch 4) – are also prescribed script which are held up as exemplars to follow ✓ Ideology (ch 4) – are explanatory narratives of justification formulated by dominant elites ✓ Doxa (ch 4) - Pre-determined behavioural scripts of how to behave appropriately e.g. masculinity and self-making ✓ Trait (ch5) – are predictive scripts based upon an understanding of how individual actions repeated over time influence our understandings of those actions ✓ Personality (ch 5) – the sum of characteristics that explain why one behaves as one does 	<p>The linguistic building blocks of etymology, semantics, and collocation aid understanding by providing a common definition. Taxonomies and theories build upon such commonly understood meanings.</p> <p>Values, virtues, qualities, beliefs and thoughts are all personally directed frameworks which help us achieve a personal ontological understanding. Ethics, doctrines, philosophies, dogma, ideals, ideologies, idylls and doxa are collective already formulated societal frameworks which guide and shape understanding.</p> <p>Traits, personalities, character are all constructionist building blocks comprised of the two master categories of being, namely action and communication. Practices</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Character (ch 5) – the mechanism for ascribing judgment to ones behaviours ✓ Action (ch 5) – an overarching category into which behavioural practices can be grouped by virtue of body movement ✓ Communication (ch 5) – an overarching category into which behavioural practices can be grouped by virtue of orality and literacy ✓ Practices (ch 5) – are a series of loosely connected actions and communications which when performed usually result in a achieving a pre-determined goal ✓ Processes (ch 5) – are a tighter form of practice which must be conducted in a linear fashion to achieve a result ✓ Charisma (ch5) – a rhetorical and visually observable quality strongly associated with successful people and thus entrepreneurs ✓ Eclecticism (ch 5) – the practice of taking from many sources, a quality of thought highly evident in entrepreneurs ✓ Creativity (ch 5) – another prized behavioural practice evident in entrepreneurs ✓ Networking (ch 5) – an essential practice of connecting with and between others 	<p>and processes are both sub categories of action which are deemed to have a predictive element. Charisma, eclecticism, creativity and networking are examples of behavioural practices associated with entrepreneurship and can be classified as modes of doing.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Culture (ch 6) – a framework of accepted values, images, attitudes, outlooks and practices sanctified by peer approval and legitimated over time ✓ Habitus (ch 6) – is both a cultural framework of sanctified and habitual institutions and practices as well as being associated with place and milieu. It is something we carry inside our minds ✓ Community (ch 6) – a collection of individuals who bond together as a result of culture and habitus providing a sense of shared belonging ✓ Milieu (ch 6) – is a particular cultural niche within which one finds a sense of belonging ✓ Childhood (ch 6) – a state of being and becoming in which one is socialized into the chain of being ✓ Family (ch 6) – basic building block of society offering support and nurturance. Instills values ✓ Education (ch 6) – a system of shared learning and understanding. Instills knowledge and values ✓ Religion (ch 6) – a system of moral and emotional support ✓ Morality (ch 6) – a societal framework for demarcating cherished values from harmful ones 	<p>Culture, habitus, community, milieu, childhood, family, education and religion are all social channels through which ontologies of action are performed in a manner understandable to us. All these institutions shape and are shaped by morality which is a goal towards much action is expended.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Class (ch 7) – a demographic system of classifying people by economic earning power, location and mindset ✓ Status (ch 7) – a demographic system of classifying people by virtue of achieved power, belongings and the privilege they bring ✓ Party (ch 7) – a demographic system of classifying those with a share d objective and the power to achieve it ✓ Social mobility (ch 7) – is an artifact of entrepreneurial success ✓ Social Capital (ch 7) – is a type of inherited or earned social currency which one can exploit to ones advantage. It can also be a disadvantage ✓ Ethnicity (ch 7) – is an inherited demographic facet providing one with the dual status of insider and outsider dependent upon social location ✓ Marginality thesis (ch 7) – Gives one a purpose to work to overcome perceived discrimination ✓ Émigré status (ch 7) – places one on the bottom of the 	<p>Class, status and party are all ontologically derived demographic categories of performed behavioural scripts which situate one on a recognizable plane of becoming. Social mobility and social capital assist one to progress along the plane or continuum. Ethnicity, marginality, and émigré status are modes of understanding, or predetermined scripts which explain how the differential categories of class, ethnicity and gender can be affected by the demographics of ontology and the effect that these can have upon individual outcomes. The crooked ladder</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ ladder and gives one a reason to work hard ✓ Crooked Ladder (ch 7) – Offers an alternative route to success ✓ Gender bias (ch 7) - Invisibility of female entrepreneur and accentuation of masculine entrepreneur 	<p>offers an alternative developmental ontology.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Semiotics (ch 8) – construct realities ✓ Signs (ch 8) – construct realities ✓ Signals (ch 8) – construct realities ✓ Codes (ch 8) - construct realities ✓ Genres (ch 8) - construct realities ✓ Mental maps (ch 8) - construct realities ✓ Archetype (ch 8) – ancient behavioural templates ✓ Mythology (ch 8) – time honoured behavioural templates ✓ Legends (ch 8) – honour those who have behaved in a manner worthy of recounting again and again because we can learn from their behaviour ✓ Apocryphal stories (ch 8) – Give us insights in character irrespective of whether they are true or not ✓ Metaphor (ch 8) – allow us to explain one thing by reference to another ✓ Visual metaphor (ch 8) – allow us to picture elusive concepts in another way ✓ Parable (ch 8) – short moral stories which guide behaviour ✓ Proverbs (ch 8) – short moral stories which guide behaviour ✓ Fable (ch 8) - allows us to creatively stretch the truth ✓ Fantasy (ch 8) – allows us to stretch the truth even further by being inventive ✓ Fairy Tale (ch 8) – behavioural scripts learned from childhood ✓ Folklore (ch 8) – a body of stories held dear to people ✓ Stereotype (ch 8) – a crude form of behavioural typing 	<p>Semiotics, signs, codes, genres, archetype, mythology, Legend, apocryphal stories, parables, proverbs, Fable, fantasy, fairy tale and folklore are all linguistic modes of understanding which present already recognizable meanings. Mental maps and visual metaphors present images in a similar understandable manner. These are all the building blocks of stereotype. They are also proto-entrepreneurial narratives. What is evident from this section is that all the narrative formats discussed are narrated to inform and guide future behaviours</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Discourse (ch 9) – allows us to argue and take between ✓ Rhetoric (ch 9) – allows us to argue and persuade ✓ Narrative (ch 9) – allows us to relate to another on an individual basis ✓ Storytelling (ch 9) – is a method by which narrative achieves this personalisation ✓ Drama (ch 9) – is a sophisticated medium of narrative enactment ✓ Biographical impulse (ch 9) – the human urge to tell and talk about oneself ✓ Dreams (ch 9) – allow us to turn perceived realities into personal dramas ✓ Clichéd storylines (ch 9) – are ready made storylines into which we can step ✓ Horatio Alger Myths (ch 9) – were ready made behavioural templates in the format of novels ✓ Eulogy (ch 10) – allow us to extol virtues and values ✓ Hagiography (ch 10) – allow us to tell moral tales and honour individuals worthy of praise ✓ Epic (ch 10) – prepare us to listen to a long story ✓ Saga (ch 10) – prepare us to listen to a series of long stories ✓ Tragedy (ch 10) – prepare us to know what to expect ✓ Heroism (ch 10) – prepare us to expect a climactic action ✓ Heroic Paradox (ch 10) – a pervasive societal formula whereby masculine competitiveness is enshrined ✓ Heroic Masculinity (ch 10) – prepare us to expect quests and battles ✓ Dramatis personae (ch 10) – what the entrepreneur becomes within the story 	<p>These narrative typologies permit us to disseminate the entrepreneurial message in the most appropriate manner entrepreneurial whether as a collective ideological message or as an individuated argument / dialogue between two parties. The ability to personalise the narrative (as a dream or as ones story) and make it ones own makes it a powerful tool for exerting influence on behavioural patterns.</p> <p>It is also evident that entrepreneurial narrative is traditionally channeled through various literary mediums such as eulogy, hagiography, epic, sage, tragedy, heroic tales of masculinity which influence how we tell and decode such stories in which the entrepreneur takes upon the role of dramatis personae and performs as expected in character. In presenting oneself as an</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Characterisation (ch 10) – how the entrepreneur chooses to portray himself in stories ✓ Tycoonery (ch 10) – an inflated entrepreneurial stereotype which accentuates all the entrepreneurial virtues and vices ✓ Picarean typology (ch 10) – ready made character stereotypes which the entrepreneur can adopt at will ✓ Entrepreneurial stereotypes (ch 10) – can be selected by the entrepreneur at will to suit their personal life story ✓ Outsider – Insider Dichotomy (ch 10) – situates one in relation to society and dictates what story can be told with credibility. Outsiders tell rebel stories, insiders don't ✓ Entrepreneur as a deviant (ch 10) – this permits the entrepreneur to misbehave within reason and still retain societal approval ✓ The Hedonistic Ethic (ch 10) – work to live and not live to work and enjoy life en-route ✓ Criminal entrepreneurship (ch 10) – an alternative identity for those who operate under a different moral code than moral entrepreneurs ✓ Moral identity (ch 11) – a statement of one's axiological worth to society ✓ Entrepreneurial Identity (ch 11) – a constructed ideal typification of what we expect entrepreneurs to look like ✓ Artefacts (ch 11) – construct identities ✓ Belongings (ch 11) – construct identities ✓ Clothing (ch 11) – construct identities ✓ Grooming (ch 11) – construct identities ✓ Legitimacy (ch 11) – the end purpose of self-making, storytelling and identity creation ✓ Visual legitimacy (ch 11) – relates to how well one conforms (or otherwise) to the expected ideal typification ✓ Philanthropy (ch 11) – permits the entrepreneur to do good for all and tell a rewarding story ✓ Search for respect (ch 11) – this basic urge drives the narrative forward ✓ Success (ch 11) – provides the destination for the story ✓ Media (ch 12) – perpetuate and regenerate the chain ✓ Press (ch 12) – perpetuate and regenerate the chain ✓ Biography (ch 12) – perpetuate and regenerate the chain ✓ Novels (ch 12) – perpetuate and regenerate the chain 	<p>entrepreneur one has a wide choice of character roles and resultant scripts to choose from.</p> <p>By personalising these stories the entrepreneur in effect enters into a ritualised drama between self and society. The virtuous and the moralistic must abide by the rules and conform to the expectations of what society deems to be acceptable behaviour. The outsider and deviant labels along with the hedonistic ethic and the notion of criminal entrepreneurship allow a wide degree of latitude for those who cannot and will not conform.</p>
<p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">EPISTEMOLOGICAL CHAI</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Self help ethos (ch 4) – is a proto-entrepreneurial story par excellence. This entails the related ethic of self-education. It is difficult to envisage an entrepreneur story beginning without this ethos. From self-help springs agency ✓ The spirit of free enterprise (ch 4) – This inclusionary story embodies a proto-entrepreneurial precondition that access to enterprise is free to all who wish to engage in it. No one is disqualified by class or caste ✓ The philosophy of the market place (ch 4) – is a cautionary tale to all that business is guided by a set of rules or a pragmatic philosophy that is governed by market practices and conditions ✓ The Doctrine of Laissez-faire (ch 4) – is that of live and let live and is a Darwinian tale of the survival of the fittest ✓ The Bourgeoisie Mentality (ch 4) – is an unwritten class based narrative based upon a collective understanding of the will to succeed and the attitudes and behaviours necessary to achieve it. ✓ Doctrine of greed is good (ch 4) – is a narrative of justification negating the need for remorse when exploiting the basic human drive of customers and competitors to want more. 	<p>Identity is formed by a mixture of narrative positioning and semiotic affirmation. The aim of many entrepreneurs is to present a moral identity. However, entrepreneurial identity as socially constructed is often at variance with such a stance. Entrepreneurial identity is therefore complex but achieving an entrepreneurial identity and being ascribed the status of entrepreneur is often the sole purpose of telling entrepreneur stories. Being respected and successful are both powerful forms of legitimation.</p> <p>It is evident from reading the action orientated ontology's above and the epistemes discussed herein that when different ontological elements are invoked together they create narrative based epistemes, or logical stories with a powerful explanatory basis in reality. The epistemologies narrated in this section and discussed in chapter 4 are all philosophies or doctrines which extol or justify a particular ethos as an action based template which when performed leads to a predetermined result. Moreover, there is no one episteme which sums up entrepreneurship. Instead there are a number of competing and</p>

N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Capitalist ideal (ch 4) – is another justificatory narrative which shifts the blame from person to system. ✓ Corporate ideal (ch 4) – Again shifts the focus away from person to organisation and excuses those who adopt bad practices in the name of the company. ✓ Entrepreneurial ideal (ch 4) – Can be articulated as work hard and prosper. ✓ Entrepreneurial Idyll (ch 4) – Is merely the entrepreneurial ideal eulogised as if viewed through rose tinted glasses. ✓ Working class entrepreneurship (ch 6) – Tells all poor boys (and girls) that if they work hard and allow the rules that they too can make good. ✓ Ethos of peasant entrepreneurship (ch 6) – Work hard and engage in the fairytale of business. ✓ Craftsman ethos (ch 7) – work hard, take pride in your work and your work will provide for you. ✓ Protestant and other religiously motivated work ethics (ch 6) - work hard, keep the faith and reap the rewards. ✓ The entrepreneurial and American dreams (ch 9) – work hard, believe in yourself and realise your (socially constructed?) dreams. ✓ The émigré dream (ch 9) - The peasant ethos transported into another country. ✓ The criminal dream (ch 9) – Can be articulated as the entrepreneurial dream achieved via criminal acts. ✓ Clichéd storylines (ch 9) – embody all the above epistemes into manageable everyday stories of hard work, humble beginnings and so on. 	<p>contrasting epistemes from which one can choose. These epistemes are narrative antinomies. Each episteme embodies a culturally or situationally specific explanatory story which if followed will eventually lead to success. These epistemes guide how we engage in what is socially constructed as entrepreneurship. What all these epistemes have in common, even if it is not always articulated is that society requires one to work hard. The spirit of hard work pervades all such epistemes. They are therefore cleverly constructed motivational stories which propagate the regeneration of the system. They are ideologies into which one invests time and effort as one becomes one's work. It is apparent that these epistemes all have an axiological element.</p>
A X I O L O G I C A L C H A I N	<p>Entrepreneurship is</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Values based as in normative traits (ch 4) ✓ A character facet (constant theme) ✓ Practiced by the charismatic (ch 5) ✓ About overcoming difficulties (ch 6) ✓ Influenced by applied religious principles e.g. PWE, Puritan etc (ch 6) ✓ A moral construct (ch 6 & 11) ✓ Influenced by familial norms (ch 6) ✓ Influenced by masculine gender (ch 7) ✓ Influenced by class and class and class based criminal imagery (ch7) ✓ Influenced by ethnic norms / mores (ch 7) ✓ Influenced by archetype e.g. hero or villain, clown, alchemist (ch8) ✓ Influenced by normative metaphors (ch 8) ✓ Influenced by normative myths (ch 8) ✓ Expressed by normative storylines – e.g. humble beginnings or making good (ch 9) ✓ Practised by flawed heroes (ch 10) ✓ Influenced by negative stereotype (ch 10) ✓ Articulated as a deviant process and the entrepreneur as a likeable rogue (ch 10) ✓ Influenced by representations of criminal entrepreneurs (ch 10) ✓ A tale of achieving legitimacy or a fall from grace (ch 11). ✓ About giving and Philanthropy (ch 11) 	<p>It is evident from reading this list of themes abstracted from the chapters of this thesis that entrepreneurship is constructed in narrative from a variety of different sources an activity which has a basis in axiology. This is so because the entrepreneur is judged by their character and by their sense of worth and being. Entrepreneurs are either classed as saints or sinners by virtue of their actions and the stories told about them. It is also evident that each of the different facets and storylines have a constructivist theme in that individually they have limited value as descriptors of entrepreneurial behaviour, but collectively when sufficient of them are aligned they tell the socially constructed story that is entrepreneurship.</p>

It is apparent from scrutinising the above table that entrepreneurship draws its subject matter from a wide array of elements which can be situated along the ontological – epistemological – axiological chain. This dictates that although it cannot be succinctly defined it can be narrated in context. This presents a powerful argument for viewing entrepreneurship as socially constructed. The ontologies discussed above are

associated with action and result in the formation of epistemes which have a guiding axiological framework embedded within them. The action element is evident in the discourses of being which require to be articulated via communication, returning one to the circularity of taken-for-grantedness. The action element emphasises doing and being, the communicational element is directed towards becoming, whilst the axiological addresses issues of belongingness. Furthermore, narrative allows us to align ourselves with society and others. By aligning oneself with entrepreneurial narrative, one is effect continuing a never ending dialogue between self and society that is entrepreneurship.

Another significant facet of narrative is that it provides a template for attributing entrepreneurial status by virtue of the social acceptedness of the constructions and stories discussed above. Whilst it can be problematic to define exactly why a subject is an entrepreneur it is possible to establish whether the stories told of, or by them, are cognate with accepted entrepreneur stories. This concept of narrative fit is of significance. For example, how closely do the stories the subjects tell of themselves conform to accepted entrepreneurial narrative? Do they position themselves as entrepreneurs and adopt storylines associated with entrepreneurial doxa and ideology. Alternatively, in the absence of this is it possible to plot the storyline elements identified in this thesis to recognise and thus legitimise their entrepreneurial identity. The construction of narratives with a number of linking storylines should suffice to tentatively locate an individual as an entrepreneur. The presence of such stories should lead to the identification of character traits as descriptors and lead to the discovery of actions consistent with entrepreneurial behaviour which will confirm or refute entrepreneurial propensity. Self proclamation need not be the main criteria. It is necessary to consider storylines and traits together because the storylines may have been attributed to the subject by a third party such as a journalist or biographer. There is a need to match the narrative and semiotic profiles.

16.4.4 - Future Research.

I have reached a state of "Verstehen" in relation to what I sought to find. I can now explain entrepreneurship to a wide variety of audiences in a manner in which they also achieve understanding. This in itself is a significant feat given the complexity of its many constructions. Yet, having achieved a sense of "Verstehen" in relation to issues of conceptual clarity, I have developed new research interests. I now seek to understand entrepreneurship as a particular modus operandi. The focus of my work is to develop entrepreneurial modus operandi indices which can be used to deduce entrepreneurial actions and behaviours.

16.5 – THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE RESEARCH TO ENTREPRENEURSHIP.

This section focuses upon what this study contributes to academe. From the analysis it is apparent that entrepreneurship occurs within the social system and draws upon many of its systemic facets. Our recognition of entrepreneurship results from a socially negotiated interaction between the entrepreneur, the establishment, the press and the public. It is a plethora of competing and negotiated value systems and meaning structures. From this it is possible to make several assertions.

1. That entrepreneurship (as we know it) is a social construct and therefore is liable to change. Thus as a social construct we can influence how it is presented and projected to society. It is a product of purposeful interaction between a myriad of social forces, traits, states of being, actions, communications, behaviours, attitudes, emotions, values and beliefs.
2. That there may be a considerable difference between how the entrepreneur is socially constructed in the media and what actually constitutes the practice of entrepreneurship in lived experience.

3. That we need to be aware that the construct of the storybook entrepreneur identified in this study is as much entertainment as reality. It is essential to concentrate upon the practices, processes and behaviours that constitute entrepreneurship. Therefore, apart from the scripted nature of social constructs, there is no valid reason why it should form part of the narratives of the majority of entrepreneurs, unless they themselves choose to engage with it and perpetuate it as their stories. The existence of the storybook formula tells us more about the negotiated interaction between the entrepreneurs, the establishment, the media and the public than it does about the practice of entrepreneurship, and is perhaps a systemic artefact of class struggle.
4. Nevertheless, having said this, it is essential to take cognisance of the accepted social constructions of the entrepreneur. We can learn much about the entrepreneurial processes that resulted in the creation of the storybook formula because after all entrepreneurs emerge from within the ranks of society making the storybook formula a powerful amalgam of many cherished storylines which have stood the test of time.
5. Yet we must be mindful that the entrepreneurs who emerged from the system did not become entrepreneurs by virtue of living and enacting the storybook formula, they became entrepreneurs because they seized an opportunity and had the social capital and skill base to practice a set of skills, values and beliefs and engaged in processes which led to their success in their chosen field of endeavour. This in turn led to their success. However, in the process social constructions and scripts may have influenced what type of entrepreneur they aspired to be.
6. We should acknowledge the role of masculinity in shaping the socially constructed heroic entrepreneur whilst also appreciating that it also perhaps obscures the contribution of femininity to the construct. This does not necessitate criticising the heroic narrative as being politically incorrect. Instead, we should actively research what aspects of heroic masculinity foster and enhance the entrepreneurial spirit *per se*. This must include the feminine and the counter-cultural.
7. Entrepreneurship researchers should take account of socially constructed aspects of personality and character. This is so, because in order to fully understand the entrepreneurial construct it is necessary to appreciate the role of character as a constant underlying theme in entrepreneurial narrative because entrepreneur stories are characterised by their presentation of the individual as an exemplar of someone with upstanding character.

This thesis contributed by exploring how entrepreneurs construct and communicate their personal life stories and identities thus revealing the social processes involved. By focusing on how social construction impacts on the entrepreneurial process this study makes a significant and important contribution to entrepreneurship literature. Indeed, Jack (2002:5) stressed that increasingly the literature adopts the view that to understand the entrepreneur, academic research must focus away from the individual. By adopting a social constructionist approach and focusing on constructions of the entrepreneur and upon the wider issues of social construction and narrative construction this thesis accomplishes this. Also, this thesis bridges many theoretical approaches considered in entrepreneurship research by using narrative and communication techniques to reveal the social construction of entrepreneurship, locating it in the social and behavioural approaches. It argues that the dominance of the behaviourist school of entrepreneurship requires to be balanced with empirical research linking macro-social phenomena to a holistic approach. Furthermore, it examined and mapped conceptualisations of the entrepreneur in public discourse. This thesis contributes to entrepreneurship scholarship by extending extant knowledge of social constructionism of entrepreneurship

and by its examination of character. However, a major contribution of this thesis to entrepreneurship research is that it stands back from the entrepreneur as an individual, but still takes cognisance of their actions, communications, attitudes, beliefs and values as enacted in the wider social environment. By considering entrepreneurship as a social construction and accepting that social constructionism is part of entrepreneurship enables one to demonstrate a clearer understanding of the entrepreneurial process. This is so because it enables one to study the way people see and describe entrepreneurship. Social constructionism is therefore a valuable aid to understanding, and as such, is another tool in an entrepreneurship researcher's toolbox. In essence, this thesis contributes to originality by demonstrating that the predominant social construct of entrepreneurship is a heroic one, rather than a prosaic one rooted in reality. Furthermore, it expands on appreciation of the darker side of the entrepreneurial construct by expanding existing knowledge of the deviant entrepreneur as a villain, rascal, rogue and criminal. It shows how entrepreneurial practice is influenced by heroic stereotyping and how entrepreneurship can be understood as a communicational construct; a living, evolving narrative; and perhaps as an enacted story. Additionally, this study shows how academic conceptualisations adhere to but differ from more popular concepts, in a dyadic way, flagging up the need to further investigate other populist and social constructs.

In conducting this quest, and in arriving at the importance of character, I consider that I have developed a practical narrative based theory of entrepreneurship. This is a major contribution of the thesis. Rae (2004) developed the use of "practical theory", as a resource in entrepreneurial learning. Practical theory emerges from the implicit, intuitive, tacit and situated resource of practice, whereas academic theory is abstract, generalised, explicit and seeks to be provable. Rae developed practical theories from the life story accounts of entrepreneurs demonstrating a framework for interpreting entrepreneurial working by considering "what, how, why, who and in what conditions" effective practices emerge. Such practical theories are based upon a sense-making perspective. Rae used discourse material to support and illustrate his practical theories. I believe my thesis has contributed towards a practical theory of entrepreneurship because the constructionist approach of necessity concentrates upon issues surrounding action, communication, narrative and identity and upon the physical processes of doing as well as becoming and being. These practical phenomenon are the very processes used by entrepreneurs to create and extract value.

Furthermore, this study has demonstrated the importance of values as inherent in the entrepreneurial construct and highlighted the importance of character. It is fitting to close this study with a summary of its strengths. Firstly, it is an extensive study. Secondly, it covers a wide range of media. Thirdly, it explored these in depth using a raft of qualitative research methodologies and techniques in a way no one else had done before. Fourthly, it identified a universal storybook formula and themes across the wide range of media's such as fiction, biography, the press and film / television. Fifthly, these themes and elements are reasonably consistent across the media and genres thus demonstrating its socially constructed nature. Penultimately, it posits a robust social constructionist framework for achieving "Verstehen" in relation to entrepreneurship. Finally, the most substantial contribution of the research is that it has taken the notion of entrepreneurial narrative, discourse, and constructions to a new level in taking cognisance of the plethora of plots, sub-plots and storylines which constitute the socially constructed narrative that is entrepreneurship.

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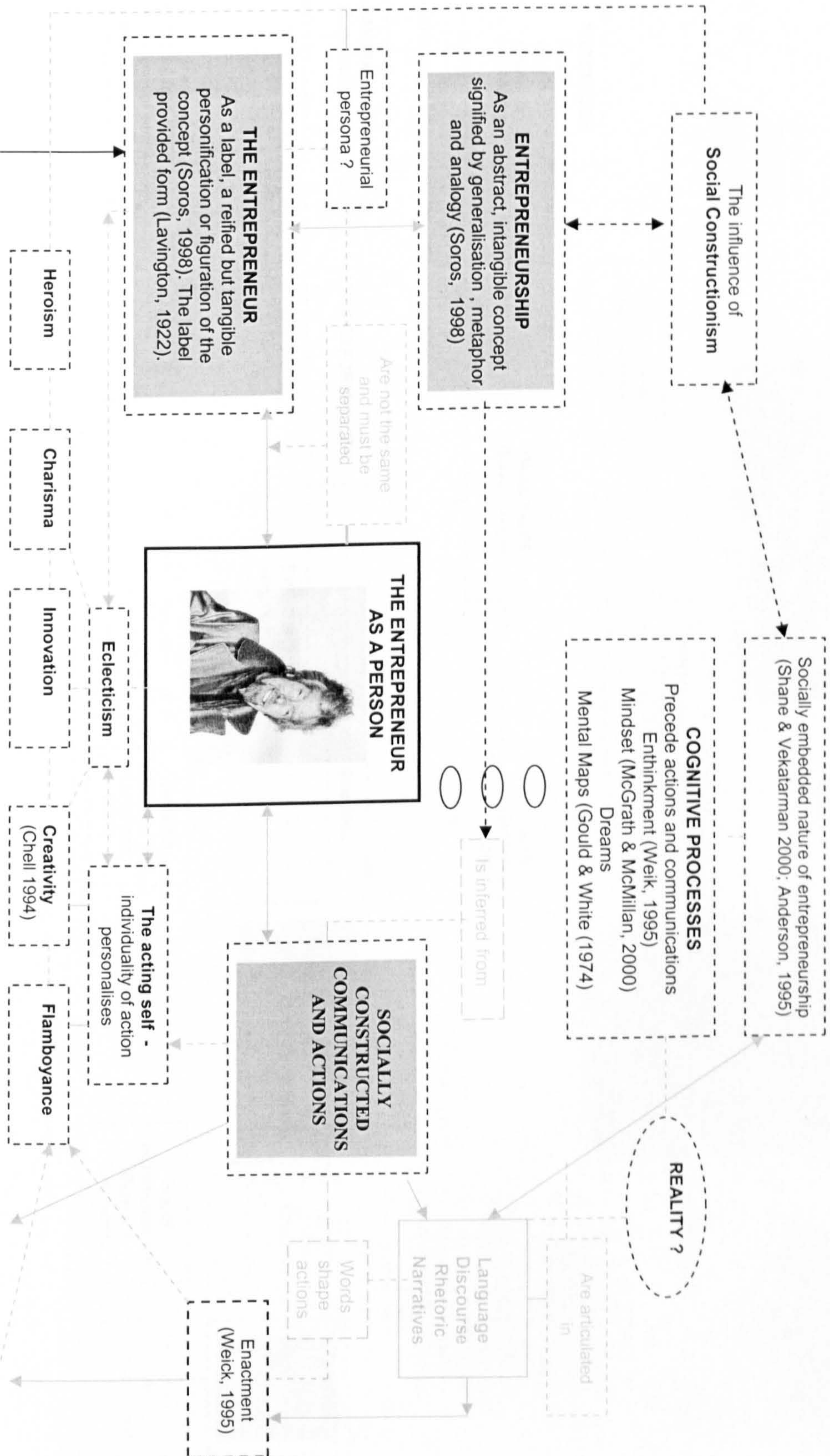
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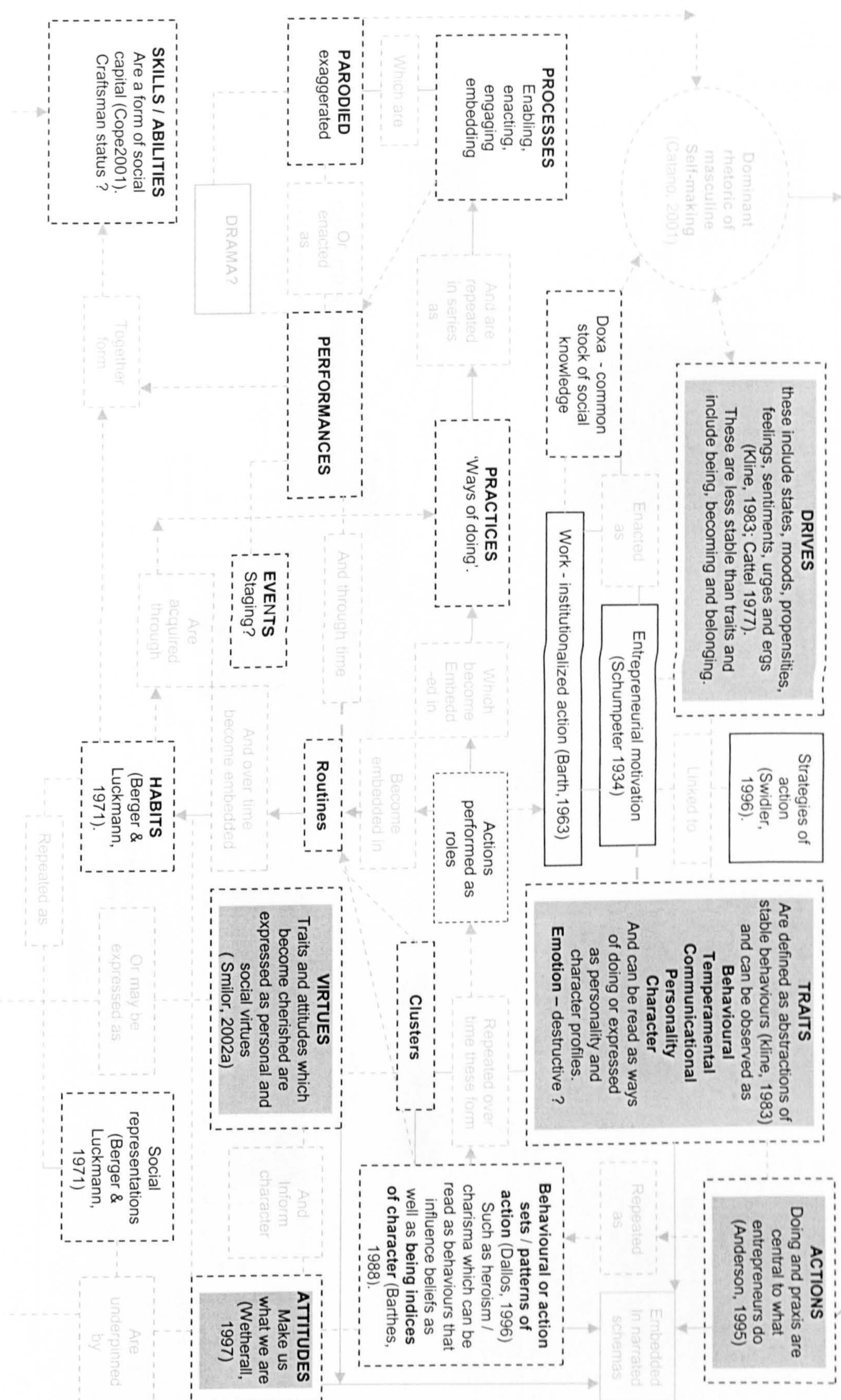
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APPENDIX ONE - A LIST OF PAPERS / PUBLICATIONS BY THE AUTHOR **WHICH HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THIS THESIS**

- **"The E-word as a Reflective Surface: An Exploration of Practices, Parody and Power".** Co-authored with A.R Anderson. Submitted for consideration of publication in the Journal of Entrepreneurship and Regional Development. Decision still pending. It evolved from a paper presented at the Global Entrepreneurship research Conference in Lyon in April 2001, entitled "Crossed Words, Entrepreneurship and criminality".
- **"The Devil is in the e-tale: Form and function in the entrepreneurial narrative".** Co-authored with Alistair. R. Anderson and presented at the ESBRI 'Movements of Entrepreneurship Workshop, Sandhamn, Sweden, May, 2002 and published as a book chapter in "Narrative and Discursive Approaches in Entrepreneurship: A Second Movements in Entrepreneurship Book", Daniel Hjorth and Chris Steyaert (Eds), Edward Elgar.
- **"Tailoring the future: the moral sentiments of the entrepreneurial narrative".** Co-authored with Alistair. R. Anderson and submitted for consideration of publication in the Journal of Entrepreneurship and Regional Development. Decision still pending.
- **"Inspirational tales: propagating the entrepreneurial narrative amongst children".** Presented at the Babson-Kauffman Entrepreneurship Conference, Boulder, Colorado, June 2002. This subsequently won the Raymond Family Institute Best Paper Award and was published in full in the *Frontiers of Entrepreneurship Research*, 2002 pages 101-114. It is also accessible on the Raymond Family Institute web site and on the Babson Frontiers of Research Website.
- **"The Entrepreneurise: A Silent Entrepreneurial Narrative".** A conference paper co-authored with Eleanor Hamilton, Lancaster University as lead author and presented at the SBED Conference, Surrey, April 2003. This subsequently won the 'Bill Stephen' Best paper Award at the conference. It is to be written up for consideration of publication in *Entrepreneurship, Theory and Practice*.
- **"Entrepreneurial Identity and Bad Boy Iconology".** A conference paper presented at an Entrepreneurship Research Seminar at Strathclyde University in April, 2003.
- **"Constructing The Heroic / Fabled Entrepreneur: A Biographical Analysis".** Conference paper presented at the Babson-Kauffman Entrepreneurship Research Conference, Boston, June, 2003. Published as "The Fabrication of Entrepreneurial Fable: A Biographical Analysis" in the *Journal of Equitable Finance*, August 2005.
- **"Conforming Non Conformists: A Semiotic Analysis of Entrepreneurial identity".** Conference paper co-authored with Alistair. R. Anderson and presented at the Babson-Kauffman Entrepreneurship Research Conference, Boston, June, 2003.
- **"Storybook Gangsters and Entrepreneurs".** A conference paper presented at the 2003 British Society of Criminologists, University of Bangor, Wales.
- **"Rural Rogues: A Case Story On The Smokies Trade".** Conference paper presented at the 2nd Rural Entrepreneurship Conference, Dumfries in October, 2003. It was published in the *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, Vol 10, No 4, 2004, 277-294.
- **"Daring to be different: A dialogue on the problems of getting qualitative research published".** Co-authored with Alistair. R. Anderson and accepted as a book chapter in a forthcoming book "A Handbook of Qualitative Research" relating to entrepreneurship research.
- **"Recognising Meaning: Semiotics in Entrepreneurial Research".** Co-authored with Alistair. R. Anderson and accepted as a book chapter in a forthcoming book "A Handbook of Qualitative Research" relating to entrepreneurship research.
- **"Entrepreneurs and Dyslexia: Learning Lessons from Dyslexic Entrepreneurs",** Accepted as a book chapter in the forthcoming book 'Entrepreneurial Learning: Conceptual Frameworks and Applications', Routledge.
- **"Becoming, Being and Belonging: The Stories about Babson Distinguished Entrepreneurs".** Co-authored with Glenis Wade of Manchester Metropolitan University and Alistair. R. Anderson. Paper presented at the British Academy of Management Conference, St Andrews, July 2004.
- **"An Unfinished Tale: Grounding Enterprise Discourse in Tales of the People",** Paper presented at ESBRI Movements Workshop, Dallhammer, Sweden, May 2004.
- **"Narrating the decline of subsistence entrepreneurship in a Scottish Fishing Community: 1934-2004".** Presented at the 3rd Scottish Rural Entrepreneurship Conference, Dumfries, 2004. Accepted for publication in the *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*).
- **"Images of Women's Entrepreneurship: Do pictures Speak Louder than words?",** Co-authored with Helle Neergaard - presented at the RENT Xviii, Copenhagen, 2004. Best paper award.
- **"Narrating Entrepreneurial Identity: Bill Gates and Richard Branson In Quasi-Direct Discourse",** Co-authored with David Boje and submitted to the *Journal of Visual Studies*.

APPENDIX 5 – MAPPING ENTREPRENEURSHIP





APPENDIX TWO.

Ernie the Entrepreneur.



An Inspirational tale by Robert Smith

Illustrations by Lauren Smith.

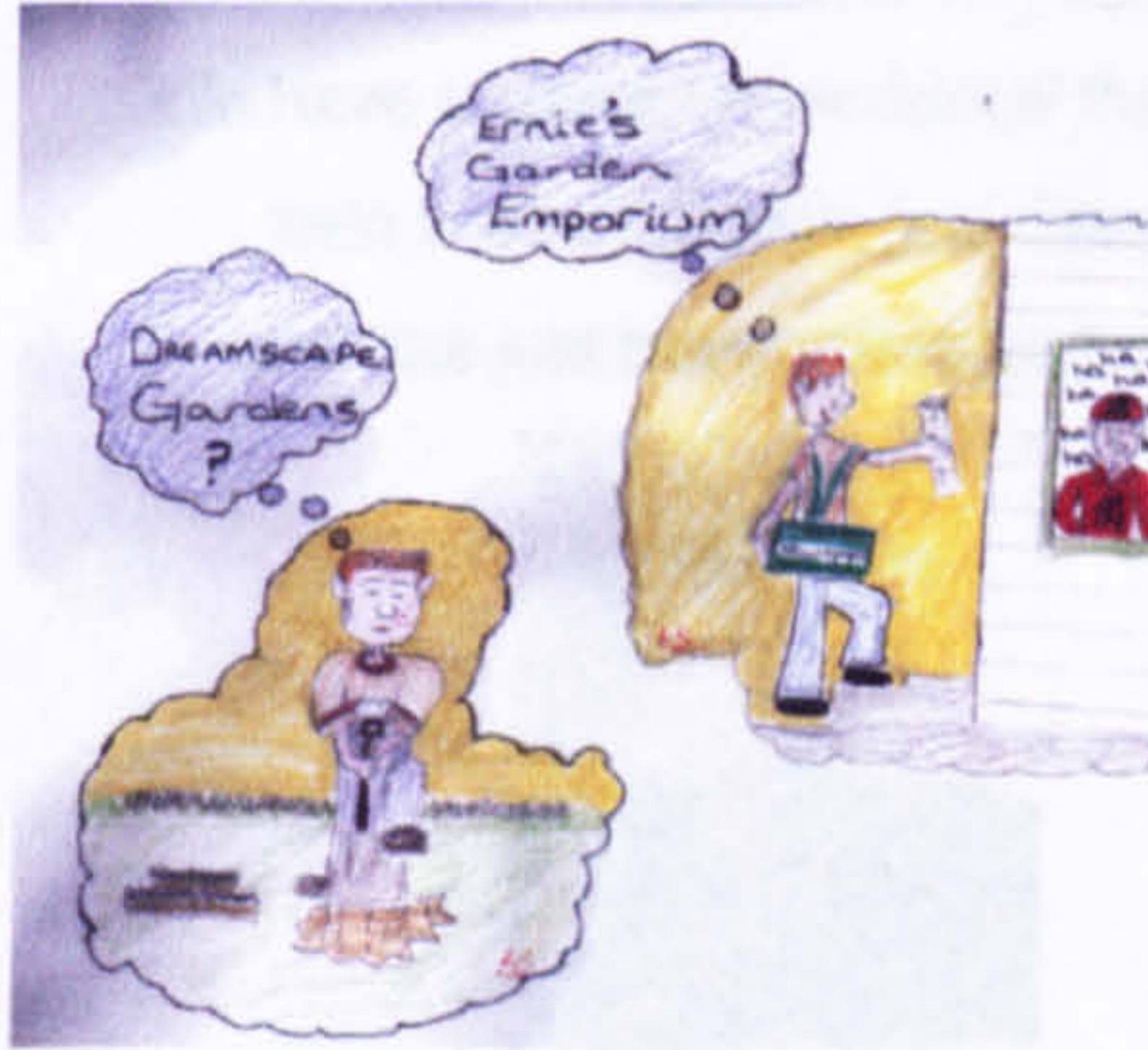
This is a tale of Ernie a self-made man from humble beginnings and how he became rich and successful. He started with nothing but in his prime was worth a cool million £'s. Ernie wasn't always rich, or cool. He came from a large, poor family. He didn't do that well at school. He lived in the poor part of Humbletown. His mother worked very hard to provide for her family. She had three jobs. She is the real hero of this story, not Ernie. Ernie had to wear old clothes bought from jumble sales. The clothes weren't the latest fashion, nor were they brand names – but Ernie didn't care!



The cool kids at school all laughed at Ernie, but he didn't care! He tried his best and worked hard. The cool kids said he was a loner. They thought he was slow but he was just different. He saw and understood things that they didn't. He was always dreaming and scheming about his future. He wanted to make his mark in the world. Ernie loved books and telling stories. He listened and he learned.

Ernie had a good pair of hands and wasn't afraid of hard work. He worked long hours to help his mother. The cool kids still laughed at him. They said he was always in a hurry. Like his mother, he had more than one job. He dug people's

gardens, cut their grass and then rushed home to do his paper round. People liked Ernie because he worked hard and was honest. He did a fair day's work for a fair day's pay. He always had a smile. In his spare time Ernie read lots of books.



Ernie had to leave school early when his mother became ill. He worked and saved his money. When he had enough, he took a risk and became his own boss. He bought an old van, got a mobile phone and never looked back. No job was too big or small for Ernie and he was very busy. He called his business Dreamscape Garden Services. After all, it had started with a dream!



Ernie continued to work hard and dreamed of starting another business. He borrowed a suit from his twin brother Gordie and went to see the Bank Manager. Ernie borrowed money from the Bank and opened Ernie's Garden Emporium. Another dream come true. He had to work even harder, but he didn't care. He was soon able to buy his own suits. Ernie liked nice clothes because he never had any before.



Ernie made so much money that he opened a factory and called it Ernie's Enterprises. He had the last laugh because the cool kids had to come and work for him. He didn't really laugh at them, he was too ethical for that ! Guess what he did instead?



Ernie just made them work as hard as him. THEY had to set THEIR alarm clocks for 5 am, just like Ernie! Oh No!



The cool Kids worked so hard that Ernie made even more money. He built a big house in the countryside for his mother. He bought himself an even bigger car. Ernie wasn't selfish, he became a Philanthropist. He donated widely to charities and opened a Library and called it the Ernie Institute. All the children could now read and dream, like he had. Ernie knows that EDUCATION is the key to SUCCESS!



One day Ernie read the Humbletown Chronicle and boy did he get a surprise! There in the paper was a photograph of his twin brother Gordie!

Humbletown Chronicle – Special Report

Is Humbletown's Premier Entrepreneur

Ernie too good to be true?

We have uncovered evidence that Ernie's

twin brother Gordie is a Gangster

and has just been released from jail.



Gordie the Gangster

Gordie left Humbletown aged only sixteen. He too had been in a hurry to make money. Gordie fell in with a bad crowd. Unlike Ernie, he took the wrong path in life. The cool kids laughed at Ernie again because the good people of the town turned their backs on him. They thought he was bad like Gordie and ignored him. Ernie's business failed and the Bank asked for its money back. To keep his house, Ernie had to sell the Emporium, his factory, his cars and his suits but he didn't care! At least his precious gift to Humbletown - The Ernie Institute - remained. Clothes and cars weren't important to Ernie. He went back to doing what he did best, working hard. Ernie still dreams his dreams. He is lucky because he has achieved something more precious than mere possessions. The children of Humbletown ALL look up to him. They respect him because he set them a good example. They love Ernie's inspirational story. Ernie started with two empty hands and so could YOU!



APPENDIX THREE.

ELISE: An INVISIBLE Entrepreneur!

**An Inspirational Tale by Robert Smith.
Illustrations by Lauren Smith.**

This is the story of an ordinary girl – Elise, from an ordinary town. Elise was so ordinary nobody noticed her. She was not poor and wanted for nothing. She even took a wrong turn in life, but made good in the end. Now Elise is an extraordinarily successful business woman.

Elise Becomes Invisible.

Elise grew up as an ordinary girl, in an ordinary town. Her parents were hard working people. Her mother worked in a restaurant and her father in a factory. She was an only child and was never poor or hungry. She loved to help her mother in the restaurant and experiment with the cooking. Her mother said she was creative. Elise spent a lot of time with her mother, because her father was always at work. Elise used to daydream about having her own restaurant but never believed that one day she would. After all, dreams only ever came true for other people. Elise loved to read and had an active imagination. She was bright at primary school, but she was very shy and hated being noticed. She would blush and stammer if anyone looked at her, or asked her to talk in class. She was as quiet as a mouse. In fact, none of her primary school friends even remember her now.

At secondary school, Elise excelled at being invisible. She was petrified of being different from anyone else. She wore all the right clothes, said the right things to the right people and blended in with the crowd. Then, Elise became a teenager and changed overnight. If the other teenagers were bad, then she would be bad too. The only flaw in Elise's plan was that when you become bad, you stop being invisible - everyone knows you. The more that Elise tried to be like everyone else, the more she became different. The harder she tried, the more she stood out. She was suspended from school. Her parents were horrified at what had become of their daughter.

The Downward Path.

One day Elise realised that she was so visible that everyone knew her. She became popular for the first time in her life. She liked it, and decided there and then, to become the 'baddest' girl in town. Elise had her nose pierced and wore ten earrings in both ears. She even got a tattoo. She stayed out all night, drank alcohol and tried every drug available. Soon she couldn't help herself. She partied for several years, until even that

became boring. Over a period of time she changed from being a normal, happy teenager into a junkie. She became so desperate that she stole from her friends, her family, anyone - just to feed her habit. Her parents shouted at her, until she could stand it no longer. She ran away from home. She lost all her friends and had to sleep rough in the streets. She found a new home in a cardboard box, under the railway arches.

Elise had reached 'rock bottom' and become invisible again, but she was not happy. People passed her in the streets and looked right through her as if she no longer existed. She saw her former friends walk by - too busy to even notice her. They had jobs, boyfriends, things to do and places to go. She had nowhere to go, and no one to turn to. That night, as she huddled under the arches with the rest of the homeless people, a kindly old man, took pity on her as he passed by and gave her his newspaper and a crisp new five pound note. Elise fell asleep, with the newspaper as her only source of warmth, and with hope in her heart.

The next day, Elise woke early and read the newspaper from cover to cover. She read about a lady who was opening up a new shop in town. She was famous and owned a chain of shops across the country. Elise admired her and found the story strangely exciting. She read the article several times. It mentioned a strange word she had never heard before. She did not understand it and had no one to ask. Elise decided that she was fed up with being invisible anyway. Later that morning Elise decided to go to the shops to get something to eat. She had not eaten in days. She could not believe her luck from the night before. At the shops, she bought several Mars Bars and saved the change for later.

On her way back to the arches, she noticed an Asian gentleman staggering about in the street, obviously in a state of great distress and in urgent need of help. Elise watched in horror as person after person walked briskly past him as if he was invisible. She even heard one of them mutter "What a time of the day to be drunk". Elise knew that she would never walk past anyone in need of help. Elise was at the gentleman's side and saw that he was wearing a 'talismán bracelet'. She quickly read it and established that he was a diabetic. She knew exactly what to do because she remembered reading about it in a magazine. He needed sugar and quickly! Elise helped him to a nearby bench and sat him down. She gave him her last Mars Bar and, as he ate it, he began to come round. Elise saw a café across the street and suggested that they go for a tea. She used the rest of her money and bought the gentleman, Sanjay, and herself two cups of steaming hot tea with plenty of sugar. Soon Sanjay was himself again. He looked at Elise and

saw, not an invisible tramp but an angel in disguise. Sanjay insisted that he repay her for her kindness. Elise was suddenly overcome with shyness and muttering her excuses she fled the scene. That night as she sat under the arches she felt a contented.

The Path To Success.

The next morning, when Elise woke up in her cardboard box, she found that Sanjay was standing above her. His first words to her were "You have done me a great kindness, and now I must repay you". He had searched through the night until he had found her to thank her personally. He took her to the café and bought them both breakfast. He listened to her sad story and to her hopes and dreams. No one had ever taken the time to do so before. He offered her a job in his restaurant, and a place to stay. She repaid his kindness by putting all her energies into her job. She was, as her mother had remarked all those years ago, a creative cook. She experimented with the spices and soon Sanjay's restaurant became renowned locally.

Sanjay became a true friend and because he knew that she possessed true talent and flair, he suggested that she open her own restaurant. He was a true business angel. Elise did not have the money, and being too proud to accept charity, she started her first business making ready made meals from her own kitchen. Soon her business flourished and she made enough money to purchase the lease on the café where she had first taken Sanjay. She worked long, hard hours over the years and soon her restaurant was the talk of the town. Elise named her restaurant – "The Garden of Serendipity", because meeting Sanjay, as she had through luck, had changed her life forever. It reminded her of the 'fairy tales' she had read and loved as a child.

One day Sanjay came to Elise with a business proposition. He suggested that they become partners and share their resources. She knew it made sense and that, no matter how hard you work, you cannot do everything yourself. You must learn to delegate responsibility and trust other people. Sanjay took care of the day to day running of their business and Elise perfected the recipes and looked after their expanding chain of restaurants. Demand was so great that they had to build a large new factory and employ hundreds of people from the town. They exported their meals all over the world. Sanjay and Elise became very rich. She published a biography about her success story. There was even talk about a film of her life. Elise became a celebrity restaurateur and appeared on the television. She was asked to make speeches and became a raconteur. Elise was never ever invisible again and wherever she went people recognised her.

When Sanjay retired, Elise continued to expand their enterprise. Elise was always appearing in the newspapers and people read about her success and were inspired by her - like she had been inspired by the story in the newspaper about the famous business women. Now she too was a famous business woman, and always helped other people who came to her for advice. She encouraged younger people to take a risk and follow their dreams.

One day Elise was surprised to receive an invitation to attend a ceremony after being nominated for the prestigious 'Entrepreneur of the Year' Award. Elise was taken aback for, there in writing, was that very word she had read about all those years ago in the newspaper. She had been working too hard to even realise that she too, was an entrepreneur. She may have thought that she had been invisible, but the business community had noticed her. Elise made her own success because she worked hard and had the courage to follow her dreams.

On the day of the big event, Elise dressed up in her best clothes and to her surprise she was voted "Entrepreneur Of the Year". She told everyone her story, even the part about losing her way in life. The people in the crowd were impressed by her inspirational story. Elise became 'Entrepreneur of the Year' - and so could you if you try hard enough. After all entrepreneurs are just ordinary people!



APPENDIX 4 – MAPPING ENTREPRENEURSHIP

