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RE-STORYING AND VISUALIZING THE CHANGING ENTREPRENEURIAL IDENTITIES OF BILL GATES AND RICHARD BRANSON

ABSTRACT

The storytelling in textual and visual re-constructions of Bill Gates and Richard Branson by their organizations produce entrepreneurial identities bound into particular social power-knowledge relations. Our purpose is to examine how these organizations, and their critics, mobilize storytelling in acts of re-storying (enlivening) or re-narrating (branding a monologic) practices using Internet technologies to invite viewers to frame the world of entrepreneurship. We use visual discourse and storytelling methods to analyze how Microsoft and Virgin Group use various kinds of entrepreneurial images and textual narratives to renarrate and produce particular brands of capitalism. These organizations' scoptic regimes of representation are contested in counter-visualizing and counterstory practices of external stakeholders. We suggest that the image and textual practices of storytelling have changed as both entrepreneurs enter court philanthropic and social entrepreneur identity markers. Our contribution to entrepreneurial identity is to apply double and multiple narrations, the appropriation of another's narrative words (or images) into another's narrative, and relate such storytelling moves to visuality.

INTRODUCTION

We consider entrepreneurial identity to be a combination of individual and organizational symbolism and start from the point that storytelling including visual constructions of entrepreneurs and their organizations produce entrepreneurial identities bounded by particular social power-knowledge relations. The two most famous and visually iconic entrepreneurs in the Western world - Bill Gates and Sir Richard Branson - have been highly successful in crafting and subsequently re-inventing their entrepreneurial identities over the years. The identities of Gates and Branson as entrepreneurial are seldom called into question. However, the latest adaptation of their entrepreneurial identity is their attempts to reposition themselves within the domain of social entrepreneurship and philanthropy. In this paper we therefore study how this identity construction is achieved through visuality and narrative practices. In this respect it is significant that Swedberg (2006) extends Schumpeter's economic theory of entrepreneurship into the

developing sphere to social entrepreneurship. For example, Schumpeter's (1942: 81-86) idea of *creative destruction* is that the old economic structure is destroyed *from within* in creating a new one. Changes prompted from outside the sphere are considered to be adaptation.

Schumpeterian scholars have been exploring entrepreneurship as creative destruction (or *development*), rather than *adaptation* in recent English translations from Schumpeter's 1911

Thoerie der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung (2002, 2003). For Schumpeter development and adaptation have nothing in common (Swedberg, 2006: 24) because development arises from within economic life (Schumpeter, 2002: 405) while adaptation is a response to forces outside the economy (Schumpeter, 2002: 406).

This tension lies at the heart of this study in relation to the attempts of Branson and Gates seeking to re-story or in some cases re-narrate their entrepreneurial identities. A restoried identity breaks out of a dominant narrative (White & Epson, 1990). To re-narrate is to tether in differences in living story plurality, into a few branded elements of identity.

This distinction has relevance to our analysis of both Gates and Branson because Gates does not want to change Microsoft and his software changes over the last decade have been within given limits. He is not really switching from one type of software to another. We see adaptation, but nothing radically new. Gates is wed to the old, and does not make changes unless something happens outside, such as the emergence of Internet web browsers. Gates exhibits static behavior, whilst Branson is more apt to do what is unfamiliar to himself and to Virgin Group. He is a classic example of a person "swimming against the stream" (Schumpeter, 1911: 121). Gates adapts by swimming with the stream, and Branson heroically develops ventures against it. Gates relies more on rational choice within limits of rational behavior, but Branson is known to rely on intuition, to jump in and take risks. If entrepreneurship is more about development (creative destruction) than adaptation, then we might question whether

Gates, after his initial entry into software design, still qualifies as a developmental entrepreneur because he is not making new combinations anymore. However, bear in mind the following quote:-

"Our assumption is that he who makes new combinations is an entrepreneur" (Schumpeter, 1911: 172, as cited in Swedberg, 2006: 28).

Branson brands a new combination or use of an existing good, opening up new markets. Both Gates and Branson have established large corporations, and made billions of dollars. But it is Branson who continuously acts to break the old mould, and envisions doing things differently. Gates seems to repeat or appropriate what has already been done, and then defend it against new alternatives.

It is interesting to watch the ways in which both Gates and Branson are moving into social entrepreneurship. Gates' *Creative Capitalism* resurrects Adam Smith as justification for the wealthy helping the poor it being implied that making Microsoft technology available to the poor in Africa will automatically lead to progress. But as Swedberg (2006: 30) points out, Schumpeter does not agree that the economy will grow by itself and insists entrepreneurial change is more dynamic. The social entrepreneur then does not merely repeat what has already been done. Branson, on the other hand, enters *Gaia Capitalism*, with its more dynamic entrepreneurial approach. Branson chose the term "Gaia Capitalism" to refer to the ideological intentions of the Virgin Business Group. The word *Gaia* or *Gaea*, is derived from ancient Greek mythology and means earth goddess. *Gaia* was the mother of Cronus of the mythological Titans. Gaia Capitalism seeks to synthesis Capitalism as a private enterprise system with being eco-friendly. The Gaia thesis was first proposed by James Lovelock (Lovelock, 2001) to integrate the physical components of the biosphere. To capture this changing nuanced entrepreneurial

identity we conduct critical discourse analysis in conjunction with a semiotic analysis of images of Branson and Gates from their respective company websites and contrast these to cartoon images located on the internet. This article therefore embodies a semiotic analysis of how both fashion their entrepreneurial identity quite differently as they reposition themselves in the new hagiographic narrative of social entrepreneurship.

We consider that the main contribution of the paper lies in the domain of conceptual analysis. However, as is often the case there are empirical implications too because it is notoriously difficult to separate conceptual and empirical contributions. The empirical implications are implicit in that in expanding the use of semiotic analysis as a legitimate data set for empirical analysis we make a limited contribution in terms of empiricism. We illustrate this reconceptualisation by means of the images of Gates and Branson which we present. We use tools adopted from Bakhtin (1981) to understand how entrepreneurial identities (as a combination of individual and organizational symbolism) are constructed by visual appearances. We illustrate this symbolism with different examples of Gates and Branson.

The remainder of the article is structured in six sections. We first discuss changing entrepreneurial identities and discourses. Thereafter, we review visual and storytelling analysis identifying some neglected links between visuality and storytelling. We then introduce readers to Bakhtin's (1981) discourse theory of internal an external dialogisms. We then discuss issues of methodology before exploring authorized caricatures of Gates & Branson in images and narratives produced by Microsoft and Virgin Group. Finally, we examine the implications of this study for research and practice of entrepreneurial identity.

CHANGING ENTREPRENEURIAL IDENTITIES AND DISCOURSES

We seek to explore the displacement between enterprise and equality discourse by focusing on differences in entrepreneurial identity construction. Discourse here refers to images, storytelling, metaphors and tropes that together produce a particular version of the world (Foucault, 1972; Laclau & Mouffe, 1985). Towards this end, we look at images and stories of the hunt for billionaire entrepreneurs to save Africa or save the Earth. These are but some of the multiple images and stories available to narrate entrepreneurial identity. Ahl (2002) and Ogbor (2000) demonstrate that 'white, 'male' and entrepreneur seem to cohere in discursive practices encouraging us to take a closer look at the "identity work" (Svenningsson & Alvesson, 2003: 1165) of Gates and Branson, as well as their enterprises, Microsoft and Virgin Group. Identity work involves forming, repairing, maintaining, and strengthening or revising the self (Berglund, 2006: 237). Discourse and identity construction (through visual narration) are related in that storytelling (including narrative) is a subdomain of discourse. Entrepreneurial identity is accomplished in narrative re-presentations to the world. Given that we view discourse as referring to domains including storytelling, images metaphors and tropes, that together produce a particular version of the world, there appears to be an obvious leaning towards the linguistic. Thus in seeking to re-story an established narrative identity it is important to begin with other aspects of discourse, to associations to metaphors, tropes and images. If these are aligned it is likely that the visual element of the narrated identity will correspond.

Berglund (2006) argues that *enterprise discourse* being rooted in economic rationality of large companies, frames entrepreneurship differently than the *equality discourse* where all inhabitants of a sphere or region are seen as entrepreneurs. This dictates that in enterprise discourse, (social) entrepreneurs are not sought locally or among the ranks for the poor. There is a presumption that heroic-CEOs and their enterprises dominate entrepreneurship. In patriarchical culture, it is via action that subjects are defined as entrepreneurs, perceived as risk-

takers, with the creative imagination necessary for radical change. "The creature to be sought is clearly a man who is strong-willed, determined, persistent, resolute, detached and self-centered" (Berglund, 2006: 239).

Organizations are increasingly defining themselves and their leaders through *visuality practices* via the Internet in ways that construct special power relations with other groups. Our focus is on the kinds of practices that frame entrepreneurial identity along various forms of capitalism. There is a *centrality of visual* in contemporary Western social life (Berger, 1972; Jay, 1993). Organizations are beginning to turn visuality into a *scoptic regime* or *scopic regime* (Haraway, 1991; Rose, 2007) conflating *seeing* and *knowing* with *power*. Such regimes operate via the deliberate introduction of mockery.

The proliferation of storytelling, including textual and visualization technologies, such as the Internet, diffuses scoptic regimes throughout late modern capitalism. Websites are becoming increasingly multimodal with visuals accompanied by narratives to direct (or control) how viewers make sense in intended ways. Individuals can now browse the net and download images of celebrity entrepreneurs of interest to them in a manner which they could not have done twenty years ago. Internet websites such as 'Google Images' allow us to browse images from a variety of [often dubious] sources in juxta-position to each other acting as magnifying loci for the images presented therein. As many of these are often caricatures or are satirical in nature such sites have huge potential to influence how the public perceive individual entrepreneurs. And indeed, the entrepreneurial-images, as well as storytelling practices, are becoming sites of resistance (Armstrong, 1996: 28).

We take a Bakhtinian dialogical approach to storytelling, differentiating control narratives that are monologic, from more dialogic manner of living stories and antenarratives, in order to show the interactivity as force and counterforce. Bakhtin (1973: 12), for example says,

"Narrative genres are always enclosed in a solid and unshakable monological framework."

Derrida (1979: 94) also sees narrative as hegemonic. Czarniawska (2004) points out the positive aspects of narrative petrification, in accomplishing the cohesion for strong corporate culture.

There is for Bakhtin, a "Dialogical manner of story" (1981: 60). Derrida (1979: 99-100), for example, treats story more in terms of their reflexivity web of story to other stories.

Antenarrative is defined as a 'before'-narrative, and as a prospective 'bet' shaping the future (Boje, 2001). To our knowledge, a dialogized approach to storytelling, as triadic of multiple retrospective narrations, webs of living stories, and prospective antenarrating has not been developed either in organization narrative studies (Boje, 2001, 2008; Czarniawska, 1997, 2004; Gabriel, 2000, 2004), or in entrepreneurship studies. Here we look at re-storying and –renarrating, as a kind of antenarrative exchange process in which narrative (petrification) is undone to allow transformation of the stable narrative. In re-narrating, dialogic living story plurality or differences, become tempered into more monologic narrative.

In relation to entrepreneurship, scoptic regime is the study of how several sorts of conflicting entrepreneurial identities vie for public attention as capitalist role models. In the case of Gates and Branson, exploitative identities of profit-maximizing entrepreneurial initiative come into conflict with their recent turn to social entrepreneurship and their active promotion of social entrepreneurship. Consumers are invited to re-imagine Gates and Branson through the hagiographic fog of social entrepreneurship.

Billionaire Gates and Branson in calling for a revision of capitalism seek to change their identity and institutions to fit a new brand of emerging social entrepreneurial capitalism. Both are venturesome protagonists moving the plot of social entrepreneurship forward. Gates and Branson are transforming their entrepreneurial identities from that of the traditional capitalist entrepreneur to social entrepreneurs. Gates is the undisputed software baron, and Branson the

acknowledged branded venture baron. What is interesting is the transition from "entrepreneurial free market capitalism" to Gates' "Creative Capitalism and Branson's 'Gaia Capitalism." Free market entrepreneurial capitalism celebrates the individual entrepreneurhero, discounts the role of government, and treats business competition as the answer to all life's problems.

How much of Gates and Branson's change of heart is image management and how much is a heartfelt change of attitude? Entrepreneurial identity, for example, is thought to be a construct that individuals manage and change in transitions in organizing faced by organizations (Ibarra, 2003; Ashforth, 2001; Louis, 1980; Stebbens, 1970). Some approaches equate entrepreneurship with the phenomenon of new venture creation (Gartner 1985) and organization building (Bird, 1989). Microsoft has fended off attempts to break up its monopolistic grip on the software industry, and is coping with Gates move from full-time CEO, and he and his wife diverting billions form Microsoft and family fortunes into their philanthropic foundation. Branson's green initiative could save Virgin Atlantic money in fuel costs, and be a public relations windfall.

We sense that entrepreneurial images under the cultural logic of late modern capitalism may be becoming more ephemeral, fluid, fleeting, and superficial with the advent of Internet technologies. Harvey (1989) and Jameson (1984), for example, argue that late stages of late postmodern capitalism are rooted in image production. If so, then corporations, such as Microsoft and Virgin Group are becoming implicated in constructing entrepreneurial identity differently using more fluid, ephemeral images. These entrepreneurial images of postmodern capitalism produce identities that influence the social.

We argue that a corporate double narration occurs whereby authorial-intention is achieved through another's cited narration. For example, at an institutional level, we expect

that most times when a celebrity or retired executive be hired as a spokesperson, their narrations, narrate the ideals and ideology of the corporate team writing their scripts.¹

Previous studies of entrepreneurial identity initially focused on how heroicentrepreneurs bore risk and managed uncertainty (Brockhaus, 1982). There is however reason
to question the popular conception of heroic-entrepreneur. For example, Schumpeter (1942)
rejected entrepreneurial-heroism as an explanation of organizational success, preferring to
locate 'creative destruction' in broader political economy, such as differences between
capitalism and socialism. While there is 'entrepreneurship' in creative destruction, it is the 'firm
and the society,' not the entrepreneur-CEO doing this. Schumpeter's narrative is the "capitalistic
civilization is rationalistic, 'and anti-heroic' " (Schumpeter, 1942: 127). Habits of entrepreneurial
thought, for Schumpeter, are rationalized into socioeconomic infrastructure. This suggests that a
comparison of Bill Gates and Richard Branson would be instructive. The former is more the
rationalistic creative destructor of computing and software, while the later is more of the
heroic-entrepreneur risk taker. How socioeconomic and political practices used by
organizations that surround how entrepreneurial-images are seen and used has yet to be
researched. Here we are more concerned with how images and associated narrative-texts
construct entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial identities.

Previous studies have not looked at discourse or narrative in relation to visuality. We are particularly concerned with how entrepreneurial-images position the spectator (viewer) in relation to certain ways of seeing and knowing on the Internet. White-male entrepreneurs (e.g. Gates & Branson) are often represented as more active, and ingenious than non-White, non-male entrepreneurs. Images are compositionally designed using strategies of content, color, and spatial organization, along with sound, moving images to attract viewers to particular ways of

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¹ There are times when the retired CEO badmouths the corporation and its product; this occurred in the case of Col. Sanders who did not appreciate the way the new owners interpreted quality and service.

viewing entrepreneurs. The reaction expected: "Oh how extraordinary and richly marvelous is the White-male entrepreneur!" Our approach is to identify the visual and storytelling aspects of their respective entrepreneurial identity.

VISUALITY AND STORYTELLING

Web images oftentimes invite a certain viewer way of appreciative-seeing and knowing organizations and their leaders. Web technologies act to determine entrepreneurial-images' form, meaning, and audience-effects makes a contribution to discourse studies. *Discourse analysis* (DA) is defined as "the study of how meanings are produced, and of which meanings prevail in society" (ledema, 2008: 389).

We adopt *Critical discourse analysis* (CDA) such as in the work of Fairclough (1992b) and Rose (2007). CDA is the study of critical textual, language, and sociocultural discourse practices. Rose (2007) and Haraway (1991) argue that critical scholars must also consider their own ways of looking at images. Haraway (1991: 190) suggests, "we might become answerable for what we learn how to see." This raises questions of critical discourse analysts' own reflexivity. We notice that in Rose's treatment of CDA as a critical visual method, there is no mention of narrative in relation to visuality. However, Rose's (2007) approach to discourse analysis of four sites of visuality (production, composition-design, social, and authorial), we believe can be extended to storytelling, in particular the kinds of narrative aspects of images. Moreover, it is significant that caricatures and cartoons are important vehicles in the transmission of cultural values because they remove the element of authorial control away from the individual entrepreneur and the organization.

We suggest that CDA can benefit from narrative approaches incorporating critical visual methods. Internet is the site of producing entrepreneurial narratives through images. Internet

technologies of compositional-design of entrepreneurial images are reinforced in and resonate with accompanying textual narratives. The social processes of who is and is not an entrepreneur are a combination of image and narrative-text practices. For Rose, each of these three sites reverberates in the fourth site, the authorial.

Several critical visual issues and questions problematize CDA and impinge upon our study. Do visual representations of entrepreneurs have their own effects? Or are visualentrepreneurial effects entirely reducible to context? If we think critically about the social categories of images of entrepreneurship, how are various social conflicts negotiated to produce social subjects? For example, how are certain races, ethnic groups, social classes, nationalities, and genders depicted in entrepreneurial images? Roland Barthes supports the idea that the camera captures images of what was really there, and how things really are. Rose (2007) argues that truthfulness of photos is constructed, and that people in images can be posed. Therefore an organization's web images are compositionally designed to be a form of visual social capital. "Dominant discourses of globalism and governance have begun to colonize organizational thinking and strategizing" (ledema, 2008: 389). Explorations on the boundary between organization and more societal discourse levels are just beginning (Boje, 1995; Boje 1999; O'Connor, 1995; Keenoy et al. 1997; Hardy & Phillips, 1999). The broader societal context is an influential discursive resource to the institutional field of organization and interorganizational discursive activity (Keenoy et al. 1997; Hardy & Phillips, 1999) and successive organizational roles of entrepreneurship are thought to be associated with socialization (Burke & Tully, 1977; Ibarra, 1999). Identity role theory builds upon symbolic interactionism (Mead, 1934), by suggesting that identity formation is influenced by broader societal structure of what is considered entrepreneurial (Gecas, 1982). We turn next to Bakhtin's (1981) theories of dialogism for its potential contribution to visuality and storytelling of entrepreneurial identity.

INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL DIALOGISM

The living utterance, having taken meaning and shape at a particular historical moment in a socially specific environment, cannot fail to brush up against thousands of living dialogic threads, woven by socio-ideological consciousness around a given object of an utterance; it cannot fail to become an active participant in social dialogue (Bakhtin, 1973: 276).

We thus look to Derrida (1979) and Bakhtin (1973) for a critical approach to narrative, one where narrative and story are not the same. For Bakhtin, narrative is always monological, where as story is more dialogical. Oftentimes, entrepreneur stories, for example, are reduced in a Horatio Alger narrative of rags to riches, to a rather linear plot of overcoming obstacles, and becoming larger-than-life legends. This outdated imagery does not resonate with everyone and we argue that it is a gross oversimplification (reductionism). Consequentially we adopt and adapt Mikhail Bakhtin's (1981) notion of *double narration* and extend it to accommodate *multiple narrations*. Bakhtin (1973: 324) develops the concept of double-voiced narration or "double-voiced discourse." The two voices we are concerned with are the direct discourse of the entrepreneur and the narration by one or more corporate handlers as both voices are "dialogically interrelated" (Bakhtin, 1973: 324). There are two constructs of dialogism, internal and external, which interact.

Internal dialogism is defined by Bakhtin (1973: 280, italics in original) "every word is directed toward an *answer* and cannot escape the profound influence of the answering word that it anticipates." Amongst other arguments Bakhtin's (1919/1990) first published essay refers to how we strive to relieve ourselves of "answerability" (p. 2). Our research question is does this internal and the external call for answerability (in short, the dialogism) occur within double-narrated entrepreneur discourse?

There is an important interrelation between visuality, and the *internal dialogism* of an organization's double narration, and the background environment of *external dialogism* of counterstories by external stakeholders. At both levels, and in between, the speech acts of dialogism constitute unexplored under-researched social practices. Our contribution to critical discourse analysis is to show the interplay of entrepreneurial visual identity and double narrative constructions with societal levels of discourse.

The application of role identity to entrepreneurship looks at relationships with Entrepreneur-identity with ideal types propagated by the media and broader culture. Entrepreneurs are not solely produced by this institutional field discourse of a particular organization. There are also the broader discourses at the societal level, which construct alternative images of entrepreneurs. We see Bakhtin's (1981) double narration as intersecting with Volosinov's quasi-direct discourse and particularized type. In both, there are two speech acts in the storytelling that may or may not result in ironic, the parodic, or mocking. Bakhtin (1973: 25) argues that "the hero turns into a jester" narrated with a sense of ambivalent laughter to be come a more "dialogized story." The question is, in institutional and societal discourse, do Bill Gates and Richard Branson become more carnivalesque, more humorous familiarizing" on either plane (Bakhtin, 1973: 37)? In dialogized storytelling, there are two simultaneous speech acts that meet in a "zone of dialogical contact" (Bakhtin, 1973: 45). Specifically, we want to see if an epic portrayal dialogizes with a more carnivalesque ambivalent caricature. At the corporate (institutional) level of discourse, the narrative can be internally dialogized, and at a societal level, one would expect the level of satire to be more pronounced (approaching mockery, in some instances). Many of the critical images of these entrepreneurs are drawn in grotesque style. A grotesque image exaggerates the body. Visual languages evolve

in an environment of social heteroglossia; cartoons are "shot through with intention and accents" (Bakhtin, 1973: 292-293).

Entrepreneurship is a dialogized process and a dialogized image of manufacturing identity. Especially at a societal level, "discourse lives, as it were, on the boundary between its own context and another, alien context" (Bakhtin, 1973: 284). Therefore, one would expect that entrepreneurs present contradictions that enrich social heteroglossia, so that, a deeper dialogue of opposing voices arises out of their enterprise.

It seems sensible to suggest that entrepreneurship is a dialogized system of identity construction; perhaps entrepreneurs, at both the institutional and societal discourse level are narrated as ambivalent characters that go against the societal-grain; perhaps entrepreneurship is an identity construction outside traditional stories of leadership. An entrepreneur, perhaps is more like the clown of the Middle Ages, who "with varying degrees of qualification, respected the freedom of the fool's cap and allotted a rather broad license to laughter and the laughing word" (Bakhtin, 1973: 72).

Many executives and successful entrepreneurs of major corporations have speech writers, press release writers, and others who narrate their stories for them, in their stead; ghost writers are oftentimes hired to write an entrepreneur's autobiography, to take fragments of directly quoted discourse, and package it with narrative commentary and corporate intonations. It is not very often that corporate orchestrators of entrepreneur or executive narration engage in hypocritical prose. In short, most of the time official narrators (handlers & entrepreneurs) narrate in the same mutually reinforcing direction. There are times where a false pathos is constructed, so that there is parodic stylization of the entrepreneur by handlers. More often, we suspect this parodic stylization with hypocritical judgments and unflattering intonations occurs in societal discourse.

Our approach to CDA is narratology, how institutional narrative and more dialogic counterstory interplay to construct entrepreneurial identity along ideological lines. Discourse domains include narrative, metaphor, and trope conveyed in text and social action. We can examine Microsoft and Virgin Group as narrators of their respective entrepreneur, using more or less original styles of storytelling, and strange twists and turns of the storyline. One would expect that Bill Gates stories told by Microsoft are more toned down in comparison to Richard Branson stories told by Virgin Group. We would expect less speech interference and less particularized direct discourse modifications. Next we turn to examine the institutional narratives and the visuality of Bill Gates in contrast to Richard Branson.

VISUALITY AND ADDRESSING METHODOLOGICAL TENSIONS

Since the advent of the Internet and the proliferation of search engines such as Google Images the public increasingly have unprecedented access to a virtual library of often controversial images over which individuals and organizations have little control. As we discovered these invariably include satirical and cartoon images. As entrepreneurship scholars, we have been slow to capture this rich source of data which in legal terms sits somewhere in a contested 'no mans land'. Nevertheless, we contest that these images are in the public domain. A few brave scholars such as Venkatraman and Nelson (2008: forthcoming) have incorporated semiotic analysis into their repertoire and have presented images to illustrate the text. We follow this trend and present the images to enhance the analytic experience for the reader.

We perform two analyses. First, we analyze how visual imagery (Rose, 2007) is situated to fashion quite different entrepreneurial identities. Second, we analyze the storytelling, including instances of quasi-direct discourse. Quasi-direct discourse is defined as "half narration and half reported speech" (Volosinov 1930/1973: 134). Quasi-indirect discourse, by contrast, is a

narration about the discourse spoken, whereas direct discourse quotes the speakers. Quasi-indirect discourse involves a transposition of utterances by the narrator. There is a texture to the storytelling, the use of pauses, filling in the gaps, or filling in the context, making more commentary, and using more expressive construction (metaphors, rhythm of speech, etc.).

ORGANIZATION, ENTREPRENEURIAL STORYTELLING AND THE VISUALITY OF GATES AND BRANSON

In this section we first of all consider authored (authorized) images of Branson and Gates downloaded from their company websites. Thereafter we compare and contrast these images with unauthorized cartoons and caricatures of Branson and Gates demonstrating contrasting semiotic styles and purposes.

Authorized Images

See Photo Series 1: Gates and Branson in the appendix. On the left image, Richard ('Bill') Gates III, Chairperson of Microsoft. On the right image, Sir Richard Branson and Pamela Anderson attend the celebration party for Virgin America's first flight from San Francisco. The visual theme for Bill Gates is a geek computer nerd who built a corporate empire. For Branson, it is a playboy and daredevil who built a corporate empire, and was even knighted by the Queen, as the royal "entrepreneur."

See Photo Series 2: Gates at far-left, Visualityⁱⁱⁱ in the appendix. This is a theme that continues in the corporate choice of photos. Microsoft's images represent Gates in glasses and a sweater, situating Gates as less of a risk taker. It is much less flamboyant than Branson's images. Branson's images depict him using unorthodox methods to promote the Virgin brand. Both have build corporations that are recognized as global brands, Microsoft and Virgin Group.

See Photo Series 3: Photo Montage on Virgin Group History page^{iv}. Images: Who's Richard Branson? The signature: beard, gleaming teeth, and coiffed hairdo; the portrayal as pilot of planes and balloons, and explorer; these are photos that fuel the phantasm, and construct his virtual entrepreneurial image.

See Photo Series 4 – Branson Photo Virgin Atlantic history page. The above photo is from the Virgin Atlantic history page, shows Branson in an animated pose, beneath the "diving Virgin" cartoon, entitled, the "Scarlet Lady." The visual elements reinforce the playboy who builds empire theme. The Fox reality TV show, "The Billionaire" promotes the phantasm:

BRANSON'S QUEST FOR THE BEST: SIR RICHARD BRANSON, the colorful founder and Chairman of the Virgin Group of Companies, teams with award-winning Bunim-Murray Productions ("The Simple Life," "Real World") to lead a group of young entrepreneurs on an epic journey around the world, testing their mettle by having them relive some of his own colorful adventures.

Both company websites use textual storytelling to accent particular aspects of their respective entrepreneurial identities.

Storytelling on the Microsoft Websitevi

In 1973, Gates entered Harvard University as a freshman, where he lived down the hall from Steve Ballmer, now Microsoft's chief executive officer. While at Harvard, Gates developed a version of the programming language BASIC for the first microcomputer - the MITS Altair.

In his junior year, Gates left Harvard to devote his energies to Microsoft, a company he had begun in 1975 with his childhood friend Paul Allen. Guided by a belief that the computer would be a valuable tool on every office desktop and in every home, they began developing software for personal computers. Gates' foresight and his vision for personal computing have been central to the success of Microsoft and the software industry.

Under Gates' leadership, Microsoft's mission has been to continually advance and improve software technology, and to make it easier, more cost-effective and more enjoyable for people to use computers. The company is committed to a long-term view, reflected in its investment of approximately \$7.1 billion on research and development in the 2007 fiscal year. In 1999, Gates wrote Business @ the Speed of Thought, a book that shows how computer

technology can solve business problems in fundamentally new ways.

.... In addition to his love of computers and software, Gates founded
Corbis, which is developing one of the world's largest resources of visual
information - a comprehensive digital archive of art and photography from
public and private collections around the globe. He is also a member of the
board of directors of Berkshire Hathaway Inc., which invests in companies
engaged in diverse business activities. Philanthropy is also important to Gates.
He and his wife, Melinda, have endowed a foundation with more than \$28.8
billion (as of January 2005) to support philanthropic initiatives in the areas of
global health and learning, with the hope that in the 21st century, advances in
these critical areas will be available for all people.

In the above Microsoft storytelling, Gates is positioned as the first microcomputer language, having the "foresight and vision" to foretell personal computing as central to Microsoft success in software industry. Through quasi-direct discourse, including examples of speech interference, the entrepreneurs and the corporate narrators recreate a phantasmagoric living past. Gates is said to found Corbis (digital archiving), and has moved into philanthropy for global health and learning (with his wife Melinda). It is this storytelling that has positioned Gates as among the best-known entrepreneurs of personal and business computer software. For example in 1999 *Entrepreneur Magazine* picked Gates as its Entrepreneur of the Millennium. Gates has been number one on the "Forbes 400" list from 1993 through to 2007 and number one on Forbes list of "The World's Richest People" from 1995 to 2007 with 58 billion U.S.

Official corporate storytelling of entrepreneurship invites counterstories. For example, rather than the Basic software language written in 1975 (with help from Paul Allen), for the Altair computer, Critics assert it was software purchased by Gates for \$50,000 from a Seattle company that is the guts of MS-DOS that became an industry standard. And it was the MS-DOS licensing agreement with IBM that explains the fortunes of Microsoft. Gates did not recognize the potential of the Internet until 1996 (2 years after browsers were debuted).

counterstories that led Gelernter (1998), for example, to argue that Gate's entrepreneurial identity is over-blown, since Microsoft products combine ideas already existing in the marketplace. Finally, Gates is widely criticized for anticompetitive practices that culminated in 1998 U.S. versus Microsoft antitrust lawsuit. These themes are portrayed in the 1999 docudrama, *Pirates of Silicon Valley*. In short, while Microsoft and Gates make significant contributions to the software industry, neither the company nor its co-founder is innovative. And Microsoft's monopolistic market share is an impediment to entrepreneurship and innovation. Microsoft redesigns existing products and rival developers' projects, rather than inventing new ones.

These counterstories are consistent with Schumpeter's distinction between adaptive and developmental entrepreneur. Gates adapts existing ideas into profit making ideas, then aggressively protects the long-term interests of Microsoft against risk. Firsthand accounts of meetings of Gates with Microsoft's senior managers portray Gates as "hostile, berating managers for perceived holds in their business strategies or their proposals which place the company's long-term interests at risk" and "shouting at length at employees before letting them continue, with such remarks as, 'That's the stupidest thing I've ever heard' and, 'Why don't you just give up your options and join the Peace Corps?"

Let us continue the official storytelling with the on line "Microsoft Museum."

Welcome to the Microsoft Museum xvi - It all started with the dream of "a computer on every desk and in every home." In just 28 years, Microsoft turn this revolutionary idea into a reality, creating a new industry and transforming how we work, live, learn and play...

In the above excerpt, there is a fragment of quoted discourse that seems indirectly attributable to Bill Gates. "A computer on every desk and in every home" seems to suggest what the entrepreneur was thinking, but not directly uttering, or more precisely what Microsoft now says he should have been thinking. The excerpt also his several positive epithets: "dream,"

"revolutionary," "new," and "transforming." As an example of double narration, the two voices (corporate narrators and the entrepreneur) are in alignment, no apparent contradiction or interference can be seen: the two speech acts reinforce one another.

MUSEUM TOUR – At the Microsoft Museum, you can explore the vision, products, culture and history of Microsoft... Our museum tells the story of the ideas, dreams, and accomplishments of the people who make up Microsoft. Through interactive exhibits and engaging storytelling, visitors can explore how people are realizing their potential through the magic of software...

In the "Museum Tour" excerpt, "story" and "storytelling" are explicitly acknowledged. Software is given a "magic" quality. This is an example of indirect discourse, one where Bill Gates is not acknowledged (except as one of the people, part of the history, perhaps a reference to the "dream" in the preceding, 'Welcome to the Microsoft Museum,' excerpt).

MAKING HISTORY – TIME LINE – It's hard to believe that Microsoft is already 28 years old. The company that made Redmond, Washington a household name was actually founded in another city, in 1975, by two young men from Seattle, one of whom was a college dropout. From this inauspicious beginning came an equally improbable vision: A personal computer on every desk and in every home... when only a handful of people knew what a personal computer was, it was a great leap of faith and daring.

The 'Making History – Time Line' excerpt is one of the only examples we could locate of Microsoft narrating Bill Gates in ways using some speech interference. Gates, not mentioned by name, is the "college dropout," whose "inauspicious beginning" and "equally improbable vision" was a "leap of faith and daring." Yet this speech interference does narrate Gates as an entrepreneur, implanting traits in his characterization that tint the hero, making his journey all the more incredible. These are value judgments, and portray the narrator's (authorial) attitude, and do give referential weight to a somewhat picturesque hero.

In Microsoft's official biography of William H. Gates, three excerpts merit quasi- direct discourse analysis: (for ease of reference, these are numbered 1, 2, & 3).xvii

1)... In 1973, Gates entered Harvard University as a freshman, where he lived down the hall from Steve Ballmer, now Microsoft's chief executive officer. While at Harvard, Gates developed a version of the programming language BASIC for the first microcomputer – the MITS Altair.

In the official biography excerpt 1 (above), the new CEO (Ballmer), who lived down the hall from Gates is tied into the biography. This commentary presets the telling of the story of Microsoft's founding, linking former CEO, to its current CEO. Next, Gates' software programming of BASIC for the MITS Altair is set out as an event (this also presets the founding). The "entered Harvard" and "at Harvard" give referential weight to the software design event. There are parts of the story left out, which one can only find in the societal (extra-institutional) discourse about Gates and Microsoft history (we will leave this point until that section).

2) In his junior year, Gates left Harvard to devote his energies to Microsoft, a company he had begun in 1975 with his childhood friend Paul Allen. Guided by a belief that the computer would be a valuable tool on every office desktop and in every home, they began developing software for personal computers. Gates' foresight and his vision for personal computing have been central to the success of Microsoft and the software industry.

In excerpt 2 (above), we are told that "Gates left Harvard" for this reason "to devote his energies to Microsoft." It is a strange construction, since Gates left a year before starting the company. We are not told that Gates and "his childhood friend Paul Allen" founded a partnership in 1977, not 1975 (that key event is in the Microsoft History, in a different location in the website). The Key events in Microsoft History pages say it was Nov 26 1976 when "The trade name 'Microsoft' is registered with the Office of the Secretary of the state of New Mexico."

3) Under Gates' leadership, Microsoft's mission has been to continually advance and improve software technology, and to make it easier, more cost-effective and more enjoyable for people to use computers...

Branson's Virgin Group website presents quite different storytelling:xix

Virgin Atlantic Storytelling:-

So who's the guy with the beard? Keep reading to find out all about Richard Branson....

Richard Branson was born in 1950 and educated at Stowe School. It was here that he began to set up Student Magazine when he was just 16. By 17 he'd also set up Student Advisory Centre, which was a charity to help young people.

In 1970 he founded Virgin as a mail order record retailer, and not long after he opened a record shop in Oxford Street, London. During 1972 a recording studio was built in Oxfordshire, and the first Virgin artist, Mike Oldfield, recorded "Tubular Bells" which was released in 1973. This album went on to sell over 5 million copies! Since then many household names, including Belinda Carlisle, Genesis, Phil Collins, Janet Jackson and The Rolling Stones have helped to make Virgin Music one of the top six record companies in the world. The equity of Virgin Music Group - record labels, music publishing, and recording studios was sold to THORN EMI in 1992 in a US\$1billion deal.

This positions Branson as a developer of business ventures that are subsumed under the Virgin brand. Virgin branded some 200 companies, employing 50,000 people worldwide, in 30 countries, with revenues exceeding £10 billion (approx. US\$20 billion).**

The storytelling is accomplished with quasi-direct discourse practices to arouse what Volosinov, 1930/1973: 148) calls the "reader's fantasy." For example, in the Virgin Atlantic history page, Branson's "story" is replotted along the lines of David and Goliath, a story is told in more artistic telling, with more pictorial metaphors and lots of surprise: a "Virgin Story" of the "newcomer" who takes on the "giant" and is characterized as the "people's champion" and a reputation for "innovative product development." "xxi"

1) "...Virgin Atlantic is the quintessential Virgin story. It has every ingredient, the small newcomer taking on the giant and complacent establishment, the people's champion introducing better service and lower costs for customers with a reputation for quality and innovative product development.

The next extract, as with Gates narration by Microsoft, there is a bit of speech interference: "young" and "unorthodox chairman."

2) Virgin Atlantic was developed as an offshoot of Richard Branson's Virgin group, which was better known at the time as a leading light in the world of pop and rock music. In early 1984, the then young and unorthodox chairman of Virgin was surprised when he was contacted by an Anglo-US

lawyer called Randolph fields with a proposal for an involvement in a new airline...

The Virgin Group corporate narrators represent Branson as living the dream.

3) HISTORY – Back in the early 80s Richard Branson was probably best know[n] for Virgin Records – the legendary record label that signed major names like the Rolling Stones, Janet Jackson and The Human League. In 1984, much to the horror of his directors, Richard announced to the world that a high quality, value for money airline would begin operation within three months...

Excerpt three (above) makes the record label "legendary" and associates Branson with the "major names" (Rolling Stones, Janet Jackson & The Human League), then makes the incredible bet: he can bring a new airline into being "within three months."

In sum, what is important about the use of quasi-direct discourse in both the Microsoft and the Virgin Group websites is that *the storytelling effectuates economic and social interests*. At Microsoft we visit the past in the virtual "Living Museum" and take a virtual tour of Bill Gates 90 million-dollar home. At Virgin Group, we can visit Branson's "Virgin Island" getaway. The use of picturesque speech, scrolling and interactive text invites the reader into the constructed phantasm, with an economic intent (for the websites are also portals for employment and investment). Both Gates and Branson give advice to young students who want to become entrepreneurs, and inhabit the living fantasy; the picturesque speech, the positive value judgments, and the speech interference ads to the phantasm, and to the overall theme.

Microsoft and Virgin Group Persons – Both companies fashion visual images of what is the identity of their corporate person. Microsoft represents caricatures of the "Microsoft Person" that are more Preppy. See Photo Series 5: Microsoft Person **xxii*.

Who is a Microsoft Person? Images and fragments of discourse also construct "who is a Microsoft employee?" the "Microsoft Person"

"All kinds of people; all kinds of potential At Microsoft, when we talk about recruiting the best and the brightest, we're talking about people who thrive on the excitement of collaboration and the discovery of new opportunities. They like setting their own goals and working hard to achieve them in their own style."

Contrast this to Virgin Group's "Virgin Person." The "Virgin Person" uses more grotesque imagery.

What is a Virgin employee? The visual constructions are of a Frankenstein-like male and female body parts in grotesque proportions. See Photo Series 6 - "Virgin Person" is someone with "signs of creativity," "smells new business opportunities,"" listens to customers," "desires to please," "can multi-task with ten projects at once" has "passion for new ideas," thinks "differently," with "attentive eyes," "fidgety fingers," "who hates standing still" and so forth.

entrepreneurial identities. In the Microsoft website official storytelling, most recently Gates is resituated from software impresario to social entrepreneur. Gates' Jan 24 2008 speech to the World Economic Forum in Davos Switzerland makes a case for "Creative Capitalism" citing Adam Smith's idea of the value of self-interest as the cure for world poverty. See Photo Series 7. In the images both entrepreneurs use their hands to express their transformation. For Gates, there is an intense grimace about the risks of social entrepreneurship, as a projected image of Gates gazes at that audience. For Branson, the expression is a smile, as Gore glances somewhat admiringly as Branson tosses a globe into the air. As Branson puts it, fun is more important than risk, in his idea of entrepreneurship:

The very idea of entrepreneurship not only conjures up thoughts about starting up businesses and building them, but also the more frightening prospect of taking risks and failing. It's the last part that puts so many people off taking a leap into the unknown and working for themselves. I have enjoyed all the challenges we have taken at Virgin, so because I'm having fun doing what I do, the risk factor takes second place.

Branson is well known for his death defying antics as a sportsman, which accentuate his daredevil business strategies (such as, making 2008 the year of the spaceship, at the press conference at the Amercian Museum of Natural History in Manhattan). **XXVI** Branson is also know for having fun, such as dressing as a bride to publicize his Virgin Bride, wedding stores. His reality TV show is titled, *The Rebel Billionaire*, an identity he cultivates.

Social entrepreneurship is woven into his antics, such as pledging \$3 billion over ten years to develop alternative fuel sources and alleviate global warming. He also opened the *Branson School of Entrepreneurship* in South Africa. As Forbes reports, "Branson didn't even believe in global warming until five years ago when he read Bjorn Lomborg's, The Skeptical Environmentalist. In typical Branson style, once he was convinced, it was full steam ahead. He created Virgin Unite, the independent charitable arm of his company, in 2004."**

For Gates (2008) 'Creative Capitalism' is a revision of capitalism to address the needs of people in the world's poorest nations. Gates "Creative Capitalism" uses market forces (self-interest among the haves) to address poor-country needs of the have-nots that he feels wealthy capitalists have ignored. Gates cites Adam Smith Wealth of Nations and 1979 book The Theory of Moral Sentiments, arguing that humans gain pleasure form taking an interest in the "fortunes of others." Gates wants to offer Microsoft software, computers, and wireless Internet products to the poor. Critics argue that the poor often lack electricity, and that it is the rule of law, health care, education and government corruption that need to be addressed.*

Microsoft is going to build products and services for the poor. There is skepticism about the potential profitability of Microsoft and others building products to sell to the poor, especially since Microsoft fierce competitive strategies has drawn legal challenges from antitrust authorities. "There's a lot of people at the bottom of the pyramid but the size of the transactions is so small it is not worth it for private business most of the time," says William Easterly, a New York University professor and former World Bank economist. Gates credits his change of outlook regarding capitalism to his trips to Africa and India, and to books by Adam Smith (1759, The Theory of Moral Sentiments). Easterly's (2006) book, *The White Man's Burden*, which critiques the failure of five decades of international aid, Prahalad (2004) *The Fortune at the Bottom of the Pyramid*, which views the world's poor as a viable consumer product market, and Paul Collier's (2007) *The Bottom Billion*, examination of how the gap in living standards between the poorest fifty countries and the rest of the world, is widening. Helping the billion people at the bottom of the pyramid living on less than a dollar a day was the central theme of his speech at the World Economic Forum in Davos. Social entrepreneurship is another way to describe what Gates calls 'creative capitalism.'

Like Gates, Sir Richard Branson (knighted by the Queen for his entrepreneurship) has made a similar change towards *social entrepreneurship*, but more in the environmental direction. February 2007, Branson (with Al Gore) encouraged 'Gaia Capitalism' with a \$25 million prize (The Virgin Earth Challenge) to come up with a way to remove greenhouse gases from the atmosphere. He also pledged \$3bn (£1.66bn) over the next 10 years to help combat global warming. The commitment is to invest 100% of all future proceeds of the Virgin Group's transportation interest into global warming solutions. Virgin Fuels is investing up to \$400m in renewable energy initiatives.*

The moves these entrepreneurs are making are ironic, given that Schumpeter saw entrepreneurial capitalism as threatened by big corporations that would dampen creative destruction with monopolistic practices. Schramm (2006: 3) puts it this way, "Schumpeter concluded that the importance of entrepreneurs would fade over time as capitalism sought predictability from governments who would plan economic activity as well as order social benefits."

IMPLICATIONS

Double-voiced discourse takes on more importance was the words of the entrepreneur must refract a wider social polyphony in visuality. Entrepreneurship has been deaf to double voiced narration and to the sophisticated use of Scoptic regimes, which we see as a significant problem as the entrepreneur becomes embedded in a more complex corporate enterprise. As a consequence their public images do not match their repositioning as heroic social entrepreneurs. There are no heroic images of the saving the world or the African Continent. Whilst they can control and author their organizational narrative sand identity they cannot control how they are portrayed visually to the public.

Our study suggests that the way images and narratives are "dialectologically organized," (Bakhtin, 1973: 356). We believe the dialectologic manufacture of entrepreneurial identity is an important area of organizational study. It is through dialectological individuation that the corporation and its narrated entrepreneur, and the societal discourse of counter-entrepreneurs become intertwined in a struggle of ideological voices. In quasi-direct discourse, an entrepreneur's direct discourse becomes hybrid with the corporate-narrator's commentary and intonations about meaning-context. In some cases this is parallel, in other instances there is a semantic interference, a form of carnivalesque resistance of one discourse to another. Both

Gates and Branson present examples of carnivalesque interference with the affirmative image of the entrepreneur by the corporate authors of entrepreneurial-identity. Quasi-direct discourse is a dialogized hybrid that can be emergent (an answer to societal or culture jam portrayal) or purposefully orchestrated by corporate authors. The double and multiple narrations presented in the unauthorized cartoons are counterstories which conflict with their new self image of their entrepreneurial identity. Their innovative use of Scoptic regimes has not led Cartoonists to reciprocate.

In the current study, Branson is more ironically narrated than is Gates at the level of institutional discourse; Branson is more likely to be a characterization that distorts the body. At the societal level, both are equally dialogized in ironic ways. However, there is less distance between institutionally narrated Branson and the societal caricatures than is manifest in images of Gates.

CONCLUSIONS

Bill Gates and Sir Richard Branson compete to be the most famous entrepreneur of this era. Yet they exhibit vastly different entrepreneurial identities. Gates and Branson went against prevailing institutional and societal standards at the time of the entrepreneurial disruption of the status quo. Over time Gates has come to be identified with the status quo of software hegemony. Branson, on the other hand, continues to leap frog into other domains, such as the recent Billionaire series or parodying the adventure genre by enlisting regular folks to take a thrilling, highly risky adventure with Branson.

We conclude that critical discourse analysis of cartoon caricatures and entrepreneurialnarratives can be extended by looking at Volosinov's (1930/1973) concept of "quasi-direct discourse" and Bakhtin's (1981) concept of "double-narration." We have tried to integrate the two concepts to show the how the speech acts (be they narrative, photo, or cartoon caricature) are speech acts in which there is a high level of dialogism (answering the commentary of other authors' texts). Microsoft and Virgin Group co-manufacture the identity of their entrepreneurial-leaders, intermingling the corporate intentionality of the images and narratives with fragments of direct discourse.

The societal discourse presented in cartoons recontextualizes these entrepreneurs. This creates a space for an important dialogue between institutional and societal interlocutors. We conclude that additional study of double speech acts of quasi-direct discourse and double narration will gain further insight into social practices on the boundary between institutional and societal discourse. To the extent that visual images and narrated images of entrepreneurs can be subjected to critical discourse analysis, we gain an important understanding of the manufacture of entrepreneurial identity. The basic idea behind the article was to show how the story-text reinforces the visual images (and vice versa). This was done using Schumpeter's two versions of entrepreneurial identity to demonstrate two very different personas, and show how they shift over time (become re-storied or re-narrated) to the social entrepreneurial identity, but maintain very different personas. Whilst Branson is obviously a Schumpetrian entrepreneur in that his version of gaia capitalism is creative destruction in a new arena, Gates retains his element of conservative traditionalism. Nevertheless, both Branson and Gates can be considered to have successfully re-storied their entrepreneurial identities as but in different ways - Branson by engaging in a re-branding towards gaia capitalism and Gates through ecophilanthropy on a gargantuan level. By the juxtapositioning of Schumpeterian differences, we make a valuable contribution. This paper offers a new method for understanding how entrepreneurs are manufactured through discourse on the organizational and societal levels and in particular it uses critical discourse analysis to further our understanding of how entrepreneurs are produced in organizational and societal discourse.

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APPENDIX – IMAGES SECTION

Photo Series 1: Gates and Branson





Photo 2: Visuality





Photo Series 3: Photo Montage on Virgin Group History page



Photo 4 Branson Photo Virgin Atlantic history page



Photo 5: Microsoft Person



Our mission is to enable people and businesses throughout the world to realize their full potential.

Photo 6 - Virgin Person

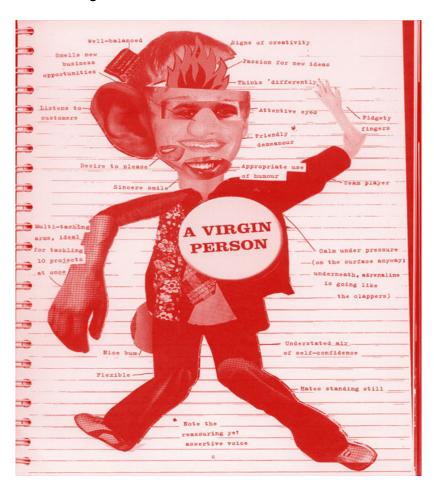


Photo Series 7 – Left -Bill Gates at 2008 Davos Meeting announcing Creative Capitalism; Right - Branson with all Gore in 2007 offering Virgin Earth Challenge Prize



Photo Series 8: Societal Photo of Branson and Gates (AskMen.com)





ⁱ Bill Gates Chairman, Microsoft Corp. Published: May 30, 2002 | Updated: July 30, 2007 http://www.microsoft.com/presspass/exec/billg/bio.mspx

http://www.virgin.com/aboutvirgin/allaboutvirgin/whosrichardbranson/default.asp

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* http://www.evancarmichael.com/Famous-Entrepreneurs/556/Launching-A-Revolution-The-Start-of-Microsoft.html

ⁱⁱ In this photo released by Virgin America, Pamela Anderson and Sir Richard Branson attend the celebration party for Virgin America's first flight from San Francisco, Ca to Las Vegas, Nevada, October 10, 2007. www.thestar.com/printArticle/266348

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^{iv} Branson Virgin Group bio photo, accessed August 20, 2004, at

^v The Billionaire (May 27, 2004) From FOX: "THE BILLIONAIRE, accessed August 21, 2004, at http://www.realitytvcalendar.com/shows/richardsbigadventure.html

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vii Scott S. Smith article in Entrepreneur Magazine - December 1999

viii http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lists_of_billionaires

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xii Shenk, David (1998-01-26). "Slamming Gates". *The New Republic*. http://davidshenk.com/webimages/THENEWREPUBLIC.PDF

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