

THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF LICENTIATE OF ENGINEERING

Entrepreneurship as a Tool for Economic Development

Experiences from Eastern Africa

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ABSTRACT

Entrepreneurship as a tool for economic development became an item on the development aid agenda in the years after World War II. After having fallen out of fashion, it returned in the 1980s, when the fallacies of other economic development interventions had become apparent. The notion that entrepreneurship is a key for economic growth is today an important part of national development strategies in both developed and developing countries. As a means of introducing a more organized approach to entrepreneurship and a model of encouraging it, business incubator initiatives are established in developing countries. Such initiatives are intended to diversify economies, commercialize technologies and to create jobs and wealth.

This thesis focuses on how entrepreneurs are supported through business incubators and discusses some implications of business incubator initiatives in developing countries. Research has previously shown that there is unclarity regarding the effectiveness of certain interventions, such as business incubators, on economic development. A deeper understanding of business incubation initiatives as means for economic development is therefore motivated. The research underlying this thesis was conducted on a single case in a village in Uganda. Here, students from Sweden aimed to establish a business incubator, starting in 2007. A study of this social entrepreneurship project was performed during 2009 and 2010. Data collection methods have included semi-structured interviews and participant observation and have been complemented by a literature study.

The thesis considers issues related to how entrepreneurship and specifically business incubation is utilized as a tool for economic development. It contributes to the literature by discussing how and under what conditions it is valuable to translate the concept of business incubation from the developed to the developing world. It furthermore suggests that mobilization of entrepreneurship may be more fruitful than attempts to create it, and posits that project initiators need awareness of the risk of falling into ethnocentric perspectives. Based on the findings, areas for possible further research are outlined and discussed. The text thus points to two other possible areas for further enquiry: first, alternative forms of business incubation and alternatives to business incubation as a tool for economic development; secondly, the relation between entrepreneurship initiatives and other activities supporting economic development. The research is aimed at contributing to the knowledge around social entrepreneurship and entrepreneurship as a tool for economic development.

Keywords: entrepreneurship, economic development, business incubation, Africa

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

This thesis is based on the following papers, referred to by Roman numerals in the text.

- I. Henricson, K & Palmås, K. 2012. The translation of an incubator: the case of the Lighthouse in Bubulo, Uganda. *Annals of Innovation and Entrepreneurship 2012*, 3:15762.

- II. Henricson Briggs, K. 2013. Perceptions of success of a social entrepreneurship initiative: a cross-cultural management approach. Submitted to *European Journal of International Management, Special issue on Internationalization of Social entrepreneurship*. An earlier version was presented at the *Nordic Academy of Management conference*, Stockholm, August 22-24, 2011

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Contents

1	Introduction	1
1.1	Background	1
1.2	Research problem.....	3
1.3	Relevance	4
1.4	Structure of the thesis.....	4
2	Conceptual discussion and theoretical framework	5
2.1	Brief overview of the entrepreneurship concept	5
2.2	Types of Entrepreneurship	6
2.2.1	Necessity and opportunity based entrepreneurship	6
2.2.2	Social entrepreneurship.....	7
2.3	Entrepreneurship and economic growth.....	8
2.4	Business Incubators.....	10
2.5	Business incubation in a regional context.....	12
2.5.1	Incubation and cross-cultural management.....	12
2.5.2	Studies of business incubation.....	13
2.6	Summary	13
3	Methodological considerations	15
3.1	Introduction	15
3.2	Case background.....	15
3.3	Ethnography and Participant observation	16
3.4	Interviews.....	17
3.5	Secondary data collection	18
3.6	Reflections on methods and my role as a researcher	20
4	Summary of Appended Papers.....	22
4.1	Paper I	22
4.2	Paper II	23
4.3	Common themes	23

5	Discussion.....	25
5.1	Contributions and suggested areas for further research.....	25
5.2	Conclusions and areas for further research	29
5.3	Ideas for future research projects.....	30
6	References.....	31

1 Introduction

It is the spring of 2013 and the World Economic Forum in Cape Town, South Africa, has just finished. It has created some interest, both in Swedish and international press and many are reflecting on the promising future of Africa. Investments are increasing rapidly and focus is on the great opportunity of conducting business in Africa. It is extremely trendy to engage in Africa and business and entrepreneurship are definitely back on the development agenda. Is the time of development aid over?

This chapter will give the background and general introduction to the research area for this thesis. The research problem will be described and the relevance of the research will be discussed before the chapter concludes with a section on the structure of the thesis.

1.1 Background

Development aid as we know it today was created after the Second World War (Smith and Nemetz, 2009). There had earlier been some temporary aid programs, but nothing similar to what is today a global billion dollar business where governments support other governments to reconstruct societies and where aid pays for schools, medicine, health care, debt relief and enterprise development. Behind the aid stand organizations from all over the world whereof some are international such as for example the United Nations and the World Bank. There are three types of aid; *humanitarian* or *emergency aid* which is aimed at various catastrophes, *charity-based aid* which is organized by charitable organizations to institutions or local people, and *systematic aid* which is payments directly to governments from other governments or institutions, such as the World Bank (Moyo, 2009). Most countries have their own aid agency. Even countries with a rather low standard of living sometimes support the poorest (Lancaster, 2008). Aid is not a new phenomenon and has been thoroughly discussed through the years. There is a clear division between those who argue that the aid of today is not enough; to be able to help the poorest people of the world we need to increase the efforts and add more resources, and those who see aid as fostering dependence, creating incentives for corruption, limiting free trade and natural business mechanisms (Moyo, 2009). Through the years the idea of how development aid should be directed has changed, often based on political and economic trends in the world. Development aid is today a huge and still growing sector, based on years of experience but still without any clear cut recipes.

The basic concept of development is that countries need economic growth because it will almost always benefit ordinary people (McMullen, 2011)¹. Development economics, the field within economics where the economic development of poor countries is researched, evolved in parallel with development aid field, in the time after the Second World War. Development economists are divided in their interpretation on what explains the reasons for slow development in developing economies, as well as potential processes and solutions to current issues. Important factors that are considered include context, history, path dependency and the role of institutions and governance (Naudé, 2011). One explanation for the lack of a unified theory could be the lack of a method to measure and evaluate the impact that certain changes, such as entrepreneurship, have on the economic development (Atherton and Hannon, 2006).

While discussing developing aid it would be natural to also define what is meant by a developing country or economy. But, there is no established convention for the designation of "developed" and

¹ Whether economic growth can be considered as development of a country is an interesting question but beyond the scope of this thesis.

"developing" countries or areas, as might be expected from the United Nations or elsewhere. However, according to the UN Statistics Division, Sweden is a developed country and for example Uganda a developing country. In the same practice the developing countries are also called Least Developed Countries (LDC) which is sometimes used because it is regarded to give a more fair comparison between countries in relation to each other (UN, 2013). In this thesis "developed" and "developing" countries will be used to denote the countries within the study. In turn, development work will be used to describe various methods and types of work within the area of development e.g. development aid and economic growth.

Although entrepreneurship as a tool for economic development was already included in the early post-war discussions together with innovations, investments and structural changes, the topic disappeared from the literature and discussions at some point in the early 1970s (Desai, 2009). According to Desai (2009), Wennekers and Thurik (1999), this can be understood as a belief of an accomplished mission, after which development work continued within other areas. It was in the 1980s when other economic development interventions failed that entrepreneurship returned to the development agenda (Desai, 2009). The development of entrepreneurial power in Western economies during the 1980s and onwards, and the subsequent success stories of entrepreneurs, led to the idea that entrepreneurship could be an important part of development strategies also in developing countries. Today, entrepreneurship is key in development aid programs (Buckley, 1997).

Today's policy discussions also focus on the result of the development activities more than ever before. Questions regarding the result of development aid and how it has managed the issues of poverty are increasing and a more united development in for example Sub-Saharan Africa is requested (Agbeibor Jr, 2006). The track record for the European development agencies is unfortunately not good (Fowler, 2000) and many of the development projects have failed to deliver (Gatune, 2010). Comparing countries with and without aid and how successful they have been, it is quite clear that it is not the amount of aid that is central for development. Moreover, it is seldom single factors such as entrepreneurship which explain success stories in development; making it even more problematic to use one blueprint version of development work (Buckley, 1997, Szirmai, 2008). Instead, development may involve mobilizing and utilizing resources and subsequently distributing them in an effective way (Gatune, 2010). Consequently, the discussion is leaning more and more towards improved quality of the development aid rather than a focus on quantity. At the same time critical voices point to the fact that the development aid sector is an industry, based on nationalistic priorities by the donors (Fowler, 2000).

One concept within economic development is the business incubator where small start-up firms are supported in their growth by expertise, networks and tools. Business incubation programs are meant to diversify economies, commercialize technologies and to create jobs and wealth (Elena, 2002). To introduce a more organized way of entrepreneurship and a model of encouraging it, business incubators are set up in developing countries. Consequently, there has been an increase of investments in science parks and incubators which also have become an international phenomenon (Phan et al., 2005).

In addition to international organizations and agencies there is also an increasing interest from the public to support people in foreign countries (Smith and Nemetz, 2009). People all over the world interested in making a change have been able to turn to *social entrepreneurship* as a tool for a new way of working outside the traditional governmental and institutional support. There are many definitions of social entrepreneurship. In this thesis a social entrepreneur will be defined as a person "acting as a change agent to create and sustain social value without being limited to resources

currently in hand” (Sharir and Lerner, 2006, p. 3). Social entrepreneurship can mean everything from not-for-profit initiatives in search for alternative funding strategies, socially responsible businesses to a means to alleviate social problems (Mair and Martí, 2006) and has clear synergies with the development agenda.

A common perception among policymakers and scholars is that innovation creates wealth and jobs at both regional and national level in advanced industrial countries. Several studies have shown that there is a positive effect of entrepreneurship on growth and development (Balamoune-Lutz, 2009) and that there is a positive correlation between the level of entrepreneurship and the growth of GDP per country, and between entrepreneurship and employment. An explanation as to why it is easy to see the advantages of entrepreneurship as an economic development intervention is the local and regional activity which creates an direct impact on the community-based economic development. If necessary, entrepreneurship can function without physical infrastructure, it addresses immediate and short-term problems and entrepreneurship and innovations lead to new start-ups which will provide new jobs and competitive products and services (Audretsch et al., 2009). In countries where a key area of concern is unemployment (Boafo-Arthur, 2003) anything that could create new jobs is certainly interesting.

However, many empirical studies also show contradictory findings of the relation between entrepreneurship and economic development (e.g. Buckley, 1997, Wennekers and Thurik, 1999, Balamoune-Lutz, 2009, Naudé, 2011) which is a relation that could be further studied. Moreover, entrepreneurship as a tool for economic development, channeled through business incubators in Sub-Saharan Africa, has not been found in the literature.

To be able to look deeper into this mixture of entrepreneurship, business incubators and social entrepreneurship the focus in this thesis will be on a specific case study. This has made it possible to collect detailed data and to get a thorough understanding of how people experience the initiatives they have been involved in. The types of development aid studied in this thesis are both charity based aid and systemic aid. Emergency aid is not included at all in this thesis.

1.2 Research problem

The objective of the current thesis is to understand the use of entrepreneurship, and specifically business incubation, as a tool for economic development. This topic can be approached from different perspectives, and there are varied findings of what entrepreneurship and business incubation can do for developing countries. Globalization and introduction of new ideas of business creation may not always be positive in the approached societies. According to Moyo (2009), the flow of international aid often weakens social capital and traditional structures. However, entrepreneurs can play an important role in development of a society, driven by their creativity to find ways to increase wealth, power and prestige (Baumol, 1990).

The purpose of this thesis is to explore several ideas within the scope of the research. The aim of the thesis is therefore twofold. First, it is supposed to contribute to our knowledge of entrepreneurship as development aid, and specifically on the use of business incubation initiatives. Second, as a licentiate thesis, it is supposed to open up additional areas that could be studied in future research for a PhD. The ambition with the thesis is to suggest areas directly related to the findings in the thesis, but also to open up for areas that could complement the current findings in further work.

The main areas of interest that will be elaborated are:

- Entrepreneurship initiatives as a part of development aid
- Business incubators as a support for entrepreneurship
- What can be learnt from the meeting between entrepreneurs in developed and developing countries?

This thesis is based on research limited to Uganda, a developing country in Eastern Africa, and Sweden, the country from which projects to increase entrepreneurship are initiated. Various concepts that will be used through the thesis are discussed and defined in chapter 2 below.

Beyond the theoretical contribution, the purpose of this thesis is also to make a practical contribution to the understanding of how entrepreneurship may be emphasized as a tool for economic development in developing countries. It especially focuses on how entrepreneurs are supported through business incubators and some implications of business incubator initiatives.

1.3 Relevance

The idea is to write about issues of entrepreneurship, social entrepreneurship and the concept of business incubation in the context of economic development. Those issues are chosen based on the current discussions within the global development community. The aim is not to evaluate business incubators but to try to understand how they can contribute and take various roles depending on the context and different development processes. As a consequence of the trends within international aid, governmental organizations, e.g. Sida in Sweden, are engaged in several programs with business incubators where they act as funding partners. This research may be relevant for Sida, other aid supporting NGOs and projects from developed countries that want to promote entrepreneurship.

My intention is to contribute to the general entrepreneurship discussion especially in the context of how the ideas around entrepreneurship are spread to developing countries. My objective is also to contribute to the discussion on how entrepreneurship could be included in development projects and what role business incubation may have in a developing country.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is a compilation thesis with a cover paper and two appended papers. In chapter 2 there is an introduction to relevant concepts and the theoretical framework for this thesis. In chapter 3 the decisions made on general methodological consideration are explained together with the empirical methods that have been used to collect primary and secondary data, both for the appended papers and the cover paper. In chapter 4, highlights from the two appended papers are summarized. This is followed by a discussion in chapter 5 that focuses on several issues related to how entrepreneurship and business incubation is utilized as a tool for economic development. The last chapter also includes a discussion on future research and a short conclusion.

2 Conceptual discussion and theoretical framework

The introduction gave a short glimpse of the area of entrepreneurship as tool for economic development. This chapter will continue with a more thorough explanation of the conceptual and theoretical framework used in this thesis. It starts with a brief history of the concept of entrepreneurship including two of the types of entrepreneurship that are relevant for discussing entrepreneurship as a tool for economic development and poverty alleviation. The concept of social entrepreneurship is introduced followed by a section on the connection between entrepreneurship and economic growth. The chapter ends with a section defining the business incubator and describing it as a tool for economic development followed by sections focusing on business incubation and the cross-cultural understanding of business incubation in Africa.

2.1 Brief overview of the entrepreneurship concept

To be able to understand if entrepreneurship is useful, important or even essential for economic development and poverty alleviation, it is necessary to define what is meant by entrepreneurship and why governments want to encourage it for economic development (Kobia and Sikalieh, 2010). There is certainly not one single definition of entrepreneurship and it can be divided into sub-groups depending on the aims and conditions for the entrepreneurship.

The conceptual framework for this thesis has been chosen with the starting point in entrepreneurship and its specific importance for economic growth. Different ways of describing empirical findings are included in this framework. The approach is to look at entrepreneurship together with its related concept, the business incubator, which is commonly used to promote entrepreneurship both in the developed and developing world.

Entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs have fascinated and intrigued many since the word entrepreneurship was coined almost three hundred years ago. Economists commonly agree that the entrepreneur has a role in economic development through the diffusion of technologies, international competitiveness and creation of new jobs (Grebel et al., 2003). Entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs have been described and defined in many different ways and there is still not one single definition.

The current definitions and meaning of the entrepreneur are sometimes divided into three intellectual branches or traditions represented by Joseph Schumpeter, T.W. Schultz and Israel Kirzner (Hébert and Link, 1989).

- Schumpeter contributed with one of the most influential definitions to the meaning of the entrepreneur (Bull and Willard, 1993, Grebel et al., 2003). His intention was to understand innovations and the economic agent who created them, which was his interpretation of an entrepreneur. His conclusion was that without entrepreneurs there would be no innovation and no dynamics or evolution. He was clear about the difference between the entrepreneur and the inventor where the entrepreneur combines already existing parts instead of creating something completely new out of nothing (Palmås, 2012). His definition of an entrepreneur: a “commercial change agent (who brings innovations to the marketplace where there is change) and who also acts beyond their limited resources” (in Christie and Honig, 2006, p. 2) is one of the most common definitions.
- Schultz, a Nobel prize Laureate and Chicago school economist, uses the theory of human capital as a starting point for his theory of the entrepreneur (Hébert and Link, 1989). Schultz argues that Schumpeter does not give the full picture of the entrepreneur and adds non-market

and market activities to his definition. He also showed that education can develop entrepreneurs connecting back to the theory of human capital (Hébert and Link, 1989).

- Kirzner argues that the entrepreneur is a person who recognizes profit opportunities and who takes action to fulfill needs or to improve inefficiencies (Hébert and Link, 1989, Bull and Willard, 1993). Learning is an important part of this process (Ripsas, 1998).

Although there is a pallet of definitions, it seems like Schumpeter's version of the entrepreneur is the most well-known and accepted (e.g. Hébert and Link, 1989, Bull and Willard, 1993, Ripsas, 1998, Grebel et al., 2003). Nevertheless, Schumpeter did not believe that entrepreneurial traits are teachable, which was something that Kirzner regarded central in his explanation of the entrepreneur (Ripsas, 1998). This has implications for the very basis of the idea that business incubation can be a potentially productive way of organizing development aid.

2.2 Types of Entrepreneurship

When discussing entrepreneurship for economic growth it is relevant to make a distinction between necessity and opportunity entrepreneurship depending on the context studied (Reynolds et al., 2002). It has for example been shown that it is only opportunity based entrepreneurship that has an effect on economic growth (Acs, 2006). A further categorization is that of social entrepreneurship which describes efforts around the world that aim to create a social change.

2.2.1 Necessity and opportunity based entrepreneurship

Necessity based entrepreneurship springs from a need to avoid unemployment rather than explore an opportunity. The need of making a living and the fact that the entrepreneur has no better option is central in this type of entrepreneurship – he or she is “pushed” into entrepreneurship (Acs, 2006). Perhaps not surprisingly, it is the most common type of entrepreneurship found in developing countries (Benzing and Chu, 2009). Necessity entrepreneurship is not considered to have any specific connection to personal characteristics, one's ability to identify opportunities, behavior or other traits, but is rather something that people are forced or pushed into to survive. Consequently, survival as an entrepreneur may be more difficult for necessity entrepreneurs due to the fact that they may not have the necessary skills to run a business (Sriram and Mersha, 2010).

An example of the importance of necessity entrepreneurship can be found in Kenya where being an entrepreneur is one of the most stable positions one can have. In addition, entrepreneurship is seen as the engine of growth despite the fact that there is a high rate of business failure in the country (Kobia and Sikalieh, 2010). Entrepreneurship is not lacking in developing countries but support structures and financial services for the small enterprise economy is a large problem (Rogerson, 2001) and makes it difficult for opportunity based entrepreneurship, described next.

Opportunity based entrepreneurship is the dominant type of entrepreneurship in developed countries (Benzing and Chu, 2009). Thus, most entrepreneurship is driven by opportunities and focuses on innovation as the main activity of the entrepreneur (Balioune-Lutz, 2009, Naudé, 2011). The entrepreneur is “pulled” into entrepreneurship because he or she wants to exploit a business opportunity. This type of entrepreneurship is therefore called opportunity entrepreneurship and it may be initiated by pull factors such as, that the new business will pay more than being employed or that it will add money to existing salary (Amit and Muller, 1995). Moreover, innovation based entrepreneurship is rarer in poor countries where lack of resources for innovation is prevalent, something that is also considered one of the main problems in Africa (Rogerson, 2001).

2.2.2 Social entrepreneurship

Whilst necessity and opportunity based entrepreneurship are prevalent in different parts of the world depending on people's living conditions, social entrepreneurship can be found everywhere. Social entrepreneurship is focused on social change (Sharir and Lerner, 2006) and can comprise both necessity and opportunity entrepreneurship. Although the concept naturally springs from entrepreneurship (Martin and Osberg, 2007), the origin of the notion social entrepreneurship can be traced back to Bill Drayton in 1980 who founded the organization Ashoka (Bornstein, 2007) which supports entrepreneurs who want to create social change. It has evolved from entrepreneurship into one of the major ideas of how entrepreneurship and innovative behavior can be combined with a business mindset within fields where the main purpose is to increase the social value and improve the situation for individuals, vulnerable groups or society. Other expressions to describe this phenomenon can be political, moral or organizational entrepreneurship (Martin and Osberg, 2007).

There is, as with entrepreneurship, not one definition of social entrepreneurship. As in many fields, the definition is based on a collective understanding of the concepts of the literature combined with the view of current practitioners (Smith and Nemetz, 2009). This thesis will use the definition from Sharir and Lerner which states that "the social entrepreneur is acting as a change agent to create and sustain social value without being limited to resources currently in hand" (Sharir and Lerner, 2006, p. 3) which is a definition mirroring the definition of an entrepreneur by Schumpeter (Christie and Honig, 2006).

This specific definition is chosen because it includes a combination of aspects that clarify why social entrepreneurship is different from other forms of entrepreneurship. Looking at the definition it starts with "acting as a change agent" which is similar to how an entrepreneur could be described according to Schumpeter above. The next part "to create and sustain social value" changes the focus from the pure emphasis on business to also include the social aspects and with an aim to make them sustainable. The last part is again similar to the entrepreneur who is not "limited to resources currently in hand". Other aspects often included are that the social entrepreneur works with social change and that the idea of the social entrepreneur is spread to inspire more people to create social change in other parts of a city, country or the world.

Usually, the motivation for a social entrepreneur depends neither on economic gain nor altruism, but rather the value of large-scale, transformational benefit that may spread to either a segment of the society or to society at large (Mair and Martí, 2006, Martin and Osberg, 2007) which is yet another motivational factor compared to necessity- or opportunity-based entrepreneurship. An entrepreneur produces and sells on a market that can afford the new products or services while the social entrepreneur works towards a market that is underserved, neglected and disadvantaged without financial means to create something similar on its own. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the social entrepreneur is uninterested in profit (Martin and Osberg, 2007). Today, most people use a broad definition where many different social initiatives are included without consideration of how they are financed (Mair and Martí, 2006). Thus social entrepreneurship should not be confused with social service provision or social activism (Martin and Osberg, 2007). Social entrepreneurship can be found both in the developed and developing world and it is especially in those contexts that the challenge of defining "social" in social entrepreneurship becomes clear (Mair and Martí, 2006).

The concept of social entrepreneurship has appeared twice on the development aid agenda. The first time was in the 1980s in conjunction with the "neo-liberal counter-revolution in development theory" (quote by Esteva (1992) in Steyaert and Dey, 2010, p.243) and then in the 1990s when development aid needed change and a more sustainable profile. During the second and current time period, previous

crises in non-governmental organizations created opportunities for a more business-like approach within development which in turn enhanced social entrepreneurship (Steyaert and Dey, 2010).

2.3 Entrepreneurship and economic growth

Social entrepreneurship has recently influenced the development agenda. However, traditional entrepreneurship remains relevant as a tool for development due to its association to economic growth. The focus in the 1960s and 1970s was primarily on demand management and income equality. The idea of entrepreneurship and economic growth came back in vogue in the 1980s and the 1990s as a response to the increasing unemployment levels in the developed world and based on an assumption among economists and politicians that entrepreneurship has a positive impact on growth of the GDP and employment (Wennekers and Thurik, 1999, Desai, 2009). However, Wennekers and Thurik discuss that this belief may not be completely based on facts or knowledge about how entrepreneurship actually could affect those parameters. The connection between economic growth and entrepreneurship can be elaborated within a variety of fields from historical views on entrepreneurship, macro-economic growth theory, industrial economics, evolutionary economics, history of economic growth and management literature on large corporate organizations and there are certainly more ways than only through small firms that entrepreneurship could increase growth (Wennekers and Thurik, 1999). Wennekers and Thurik (1999) performed a thorough investigation on the connection between entrepreneurship and economic growth. Their general conclusion was that entrepreneurship matters. Nevertheless, it is still unknown how it should be promoted or how it actually influences economic performance. The authors suggest three main fields of further research namely, measurement of entrepreneurship, determinants of entrepreneurship and impact of entrepreneurship on economic development.

Naudé (2011) makes a thorough analysis of how entrepreneurship is considered by development economists. According to his review, the general conclusion is that although entrepreneurs fulfill useful functions it is not the lack of entrepreneurship which is the binding constraint for economic development. Binding constraints are described by Naudé (2011, p. 5) as “constraints on economic growth and development which, if relieved, would have a more significant impact on promoting growth and development than other constraints”. It does not mean that entrepreneurship is not important, it can definitely contribute to a better understanding of economic development, but it should not be seen as the single solution for developing countries. Naudé’s (2011) view mirrors that of Leff (1979) twenty years earlier, who concluded that it was not the lack of entrepreneurship that affected the economic stagnation. Instead, he argued that structural macroeconomic conditions have a more central role in the economic performance of a country. Entrepreneurship can be essential for economic development, he argued, but also claimed that a lack of entrepreneurship does not necessarily affect the pace of development in most emerging economies. Whilst entrepreneurship is definitely back on the agenda today it is possible that the current fascination of entrepreneurship is as optimistic as earlier fascinations with rural and cooperative finance in the 1960s and 1970s and microfinance in the 1990s (Buckley, 1997). The entrepreneurship, small business, and management literature proposes that entrepreneurship actually only contributes to already advanced economies but not to poor, developing countries (Naudé, 2010). A similar conclusion that entrepreneurship is not significant for development is made in the economic development literature. The relation between economic development and entrepreneurship is rather unclear and difficult to analyze which could explain why it is challenging to identify the relation between entrepreneurship and economic development (Naudé, 2010).

As indicated above, entrepreneurship is not only challenging to define but also to measure. Reports on the results from entrepreneurial activities are often based on different measures which impact the analysis (Wennekers and Thurik, 1999, Desai, 2009, Naudé, 2011). Due to the fact that there is not a single technique for measuring entrepreneurship and that the details about how entrepreneurship is evaluated are sometimes vague it is difficult to interpret those studies both in relation to their contexts and in comparison to each other. Factors that influence the growth rate of a business include; which sector the business is in, age of the company, location and if the entrepreneur had some vocational training (Rogerson, 2001). Moreover, whether it is better to have a growing economy of many start-ups or to make existing businesses grow to employ more people remains open for debate (Rogerson, 2001, Rogerson, 2004).

Kshetri (2011) argues entrepreneurial talent is not lacking in developing countries, but that specific entrepreneurial and business skills which would enable small domestic enterprises to grow into larger enterprises may be missing. If the entrepreneurial process is divided into steps where the two initial steps are identifying new ideas and exploiting them, those are well represented in Africa compared to other parts of the world (Kshetri, 2011). Rogerson (2001) however argues that entrepreneurs who own more human capital in terms of education and vocational training more easily manage their businesses (Rogerson, 2001). As a consequence, several researchers want to improve economic development by providing education and skills of the workforce, which would then result in higher levels of employment (Robertson, 2003). The most common solution for development in the literature is actually education and vocational training which means that investment in higher education will be crucial for future development and diversification of economies (Robertson, 2003, Gelb et al., 2007, Kshetri, 2011). There are several contextual considerations to remember when discussing entrepreneurship and support of entrepreneurship to increase economic development in African countries. For example, the fundamental injustices in rights of education, health care and engagement in the local society are considered to be major obstacles for development (Buckley, 1997). Another aspect is that entrepreneurship and successful start-ups are a small percentage of all small enterprises that exist and that the rest of the economy is as crucial for progress (Rogerson, 2001). Also, the informal sector in Africa has previously been able to grow without interventions and may not necessarily need this for future development either (Buckley, 1997). Yet another aspect is that a one-size fits all approach to economic development is not appropriate (Audretsch et al., 2009, Naudé, 2011).

Moreover, the claim that entrepreneurial activity increases local economic development is frequently used but sometimes without further reflection on what it is based on. One example is found in an article by Bubou and Okrigwe (2011) who write about how technology-business incubators are the solution for Africa's socio-economic development, specifically in Nigeria. They argue that the Lisbon Agenda proves that the EU is behind a strategy of entrepreneurship and small businesses. Unfortunately, neither the incubators in Nigeria nor the results from the Lisbon Agenda have been successful (Adegbite, 2001, Audretsch et al., 2009, Bubou and Okrigwe, 2011) which makes this statement misleading.

In the EU, the Lisbon agenda was set in the year of 2000 as the main strategy for promotion of economic growth, job creation and international competitiveness within the union (Audretsch et al., 2009). The assessment of the outcome has, according to Audretsch et al., shown that even though an overall strategy was in place the implementation plan was lacking almost a decade after the formulation of the agenda. Following the EU strategies and initiatives seems misguided considering the development of the implementation of the entrepreneurship promotion in Europe and the

significance of the agenda should not be underestimated as an inspiration for policy changes in countries outside Europe (Audretsch et al., 2009).

Furthermore, even though the results from a survey of business incubators in Nigeria showed that tenants are still working in the incubator after 20 years, none of the business incubators are self-sustainable and the management lacks competence to support the business run in the incubators. Despite the existing flaws the recommendation was to establish more business incubators (Adegbite, 2001). The signal value of the Lisbon agenda, promoting entrepreneurship in Europe, has had impact on other countries in the world based on the perception that the Europeans set a good standard. Nevertheless, there are an increasing number of business incubators in developing countries (Adegbite, 2001) even though the question about how this strategy influences economic development in a longer perspective is yet to be answered. The following sections more thoroughly describes the business incubator and its possibilities.

2.4 Business Incubators

Business incubators were first established in the US and Europe but now exist all over the world (Meru and Struwig, 2011). Business incubation has a quite broad definition and can include several different types of organizations. Fundamentally it can be seen as the facilitation of a process of starting new small enterprises by supporting them with a collection of tools, services and knowledge. Consequently, depending on the purpose and the context people tend to include various aspects in the word incubation. In short, a business incubator is “an organization that prepares firms for the obstacles ahead” (Aaboen, 2009). According to Bergek and Norrman (2008) there are four components which dominate definitions in literature, namely:

1. Shared office space, which is rented under favorable conditions to tenants
2. A pool of shared support services to reduce overhead costs
3. Professional business support or advice (“coaching”) and
4. Network provision, internal and/or external.

These are the components of an incubator in the developed world, and do not necessarily need to be similar in the developing world, such as for example in Sub-Saharan Africa. One way of describing incubators is to divide them into public (Business Innovation Centers or University Business Incubators) and private (Corporate Business Incubators and Independent Business Incubators). Private incubators are owned either by a corporation or a private person who invests in the start-ups. In addition, there is a Virtual Incubator which excludes the office, and support new businesses through the internet (Aaboen, 2009). Another way of organizing an incubator, with support as its main activity, has been tried in for example Tanzania, called “Incubators without walls”. This incubator supports entrepreneurs with business coaches where they live, which is often in rural areas (Szogs, 2010).

Most studies are interested in the outcome of the incubators and show that the opinions differ regarding if incubation is efficient or not (Sherman, 1999, Bergek and Norrman, 2008). Interesting aspects when studying incubators may be selection process, infrastructure, business support, mediation and graduation from the incubator. Some researchers claim that there is one best practice to follow for incubators (Hackett and Dilts, 2004) while others claim that one of the more important ingredients is to design the incubator in relation to the context and surrounding conditions (Bergek and Norrman, 2008).

Akçomak (2009) lists eight points for successful business incubation in both developed and developing countries based on research conducted in India, China, Brazil and Turkey. Those eight

points include a) clear purpose, b) clear selection, entry and exit criteria, c) qualified managers, d) monitoring the tenants, e) strategic selection of services in the incubator, f) intangible services are more important than tangible, g) networking as a strategy and h) the incubator should be self-sustaining in its operations. The increase in the number of incubators all over the world has also inspired an academic debate on how and if incubators stimulate the performance of corporations, universities and economic regions (Phan et al., 2005). Thus, there are some specific conditions that should have been identified to make initial support through business incubation reasonable. Those conditions include; if the incubator can help tenants to overcome market constraints through improved access to knowledge and research; stimulate innovation and entrepreneurship; empower marginalized groups in the society; supporting an establishment process for a business and is able to offer valuable services for the tenants. Also, when it might be a strategic investment to support an incubator it is important to manage and plan the operations of the incubator carefully to decrease the drawbacks connected to them (Lalkaka, 2003). In addition, those recommendations are on a general level of business incubation lacking the deeper knowledge about the special adjustments needed for local conditions (Szogs, 2010).

Generally, it is important to decide the unit of analysis to be able to study incubators, compare them to each other and to understand how they may support entrepreneurship in developing countries. In a literature review, Phan et al. (2005) conclude that there is no systematic framework to understand science parks and incubators, and that it is difficult to measure performance of those institutions because there are problems in identifying what the performance actually is. Another literature review (Adegbite, 2001) found that business incubation stimulates entrepreneurial activity, technological innovation and adaption, and regional development and local economic activity. Although it is not clear whether business incubators impact the development of businesses or not (Meru and Struwig, 2011) they are used as a tool for economic development in almost all countries (Chandra and Fealey, 2009).

Over the years, the offer from different business incubators has developed and there are numerous techniques of working with business incubation today (Hackett and Dilts, 2004, Bergek and Norrman, 2008). It is important to remember that most incubators in both developed and developing countries are run as non-profit businesses and except for governmental support their income comes mainly from some rent and services within the incubator to the tenants (Lalkaka, 2003). Entrepreneurship is dependent on a sound business culture, education and skills, and facilitated by business incubators, venture capital and other business support programs. The obstacle for development is usually structural and if a country lacks support mechanisms, many entrepreneurs will not make it (Agbeibor Jr, 2006, McMullen, 2011).

Claims about the advantages of business incubators are easily found in the literature and most countries' governments believe that business incubators are useful for creating new ventures with the macro objective of economic development and job creation, however, it has also been shown that the environment for incubators is affected by the institutional structure and maturity of institutions in a country (Chandra and Fealey, 2009).

Critical voices discuss that business incubators are dependent on governments and expensive to run both financially and in regards of the need for business skills (Lalkaka, 2003). On the other hand, it is difficult to compare support to business incubators with traditional support to Small and Medium sized Enterprises (SME) and to be able to determine which support structure is the most expensive (Lalkaka, 1997). Business incubators per se do not create many additional jobs and the created jobs are usually quite unstable (Sherman, 1999). Business incubators are also criticized for protecting new ventures

from experiencing the real market, implying that those start-ups survive longer than they potentially should because they are not exposed to competitors and lack of customers (Lalkaka, 2003). Moreover, business incubators usually have requirements for entrepreneurs applying to become tenants and it is quite often considered fortunate if an entrepreneur has the opportunity to get support from an incubator (Andjelkovic, 2010) which makes incubators seem elitist and inaccessible for most people (Lalkaka, 2003). Additionally interesting is that incubators should be seen as a long term project and cannot be expected to make any noticeable regional impact during the first five to ten years (Atherton and Hannon, 2006).

2.5 Business incubation in a regional context

The history of business incubation in Africa began in Kenya in 1967 when the Kenya Industrial Estate was established to provide sheltered real estate services including financial and business development services (Meru and Struwig, 2011) but business incubators are still considered a quite recent phenomenon in developing countries (Elena, 2002). Claims about the successes from Western business incubators are the motivation for several developing countries to adopt this approach for their own development (Adegbite, 2001). Also in the developing world the business incubator is seen as a tool for promoting business development for start-ups (Atherton and Hannon, 2006). It is seen as support for technological innovation in particular and socio-economic development in general.

Thus, when supporting entrepreneurship it is important to understand the relationship between institutions, entrepreneurial activity and economic development and how those relate to the country and time of the support. If this relationship is understood, the country can decide how and which type of entrepreneurship it should support depending on the current economic needs (Desai, 2009). Consequently, the main obstacles are often political, economic, organizational and cultural (Lalkaka and Abetti, 1999) and the lack of robust evaluation methods of business incubators makes the actual impact difficult to measure (Atherton and Hannon, 2006). Additional obstacles of doing business in African countries are considered to be the lack of infrastructure such as electricity and poor roads (Lalkaka, 2003, Ramachandran et al., 2009).

2.5.1 Incubation and cross-cultural management

Lalkaka and Abetti (1999) mention the cultural aspect as one of the main obstacles for a country planning to support entrepreneurship. Defining culture is difficult and may be done in various ways. The influence by culture on management has been discussed in the management literature during the last 50 years (Witte, 2012) (a brief overview of the literature in cross-cultural management can be found in Paper II). Hofstede (1980) has contributed with one of the more well-known definitions of culture which he defines as a nation, group of people or an organization. According to Hofstede (1980), culture is rather difficult to change due to that it is based on the common experiences that people have collected for many years. Moreover, there are several researchers who have studied cross-cultural management within different contexts (Hofstede, 1980, Evaristo, 2003, Eglene and Dawes, 2006, Witte, 2012). Another approach to cultures can be to focus on the meeting between people. The analysis may then be performed on different levels and can include continents, historical aspects and power relations, for that specific meeting, which may enable a more context specific insight (Jackson, 2011). Reflection is important when working with cultural issues. Including reflection is a tool to avoid the large risk of focusing on cultural stereotypes, exaggerating the differences between people and including cultural biases in the interpretation of the results from management work and research (Eglene and Dawes, 2006).

To copy the concept of Western country business incubation and use it as a tool for aid in developing countries may be problematic (Lalkaka, 1997, Henricson and Palmås, 2012) due to cultural and socio-economic differences such as religious, linguistic, tribal and ethnic differences even within the same country (Sriram and Mersha, 2010). Chandra and Fealey (2009) conclude that successful business incubation certainly requires adaption to local conditions. They argue that when applying the concept as it has been developed in Europe and in the US, social and cultural differences need to be considered in particular, and a system of government, businesses, universities, trade associations, entrepreneurs, service providers and financial institutions has to be in place in general, to reach the expected results. Developing economies are affected by many factors such as context, history, path dependency and the role of institutions and governance (Naudé, 2011) and concepts from the Western-oriented management culture may not work or appear irrelevant to other cultures because of the natural fact that human behavior differs with context (Muriithi and Crawford, 2003). Societies where economic individuality has a low status have, for example, proven less likely to be successful within entrepreneurship (Buckley, 1997). Moreover, in a society where individuals can increase their status through employing a certain person, even if this person might not be the best person for productivity, the business can be greatly affected by such decisions on how work is viewed and valued (Buckley, 1997). The type of support needed from the business incubator might also differ between countries where for example challenges regarding property rights are well documented in many African countries (Rogerson, 2001).

2.5.2 Studies of business incubation

In an example from Nigeria two different types of incubators were expected to stimulate growth of small and medium companies in particular and accelerate the pace of socio-economic development in general (Adegbite, 2001). When evaluated, it was shown that all of the industrial incubators had failed to achieve their primary objectives and that the management was very poor. This is not a unique situation for Nigeria but can be seen as an example of how there are still a number of difficulties to overcome for incubators to become more efficient in their infrastructure support.

Another study looked deeper into Botswana and its attempts to create a better environment for entrepreneurs (Matenge and Razis, 2012). Despite both private and public investments in business incubators promoting entrepreneurship it has not been developed sufficiently to make people take the step and start businesses instead of applying for a white collar job. Developing this specific case of Botswana into a more general reflection on Sub-Saharan Africa, the article argues that one of the reasons for a slow development is that the initiatives are forced down on people instead of encouraging the existing entrepreneurial spirit that people have (McMullen, 2011, Matenge and Razis, 2012). This is also in line with conclusions by researchers who claim that the future of entrepreneurship in Africa needs to be in the hands of the African themselves (Kiggundu, 2002, Moyo, 2009). Alternative actions for motivation of entrepreneurship are suggested in a study based on data from Nigeria, Ghana and Kenya. The main recommendation was to work on the tax system and inheritance laws to improve the situation for entrepreneurs (Benzing and Chu, 2009).

2.6 Summary

This chapter has briefly discussed the concept of entrepreneurship and how the definition has developed, changed and is still discussed in the literature. It also gives a brief overview of social entrepreneurship, defined as entrepreneurship with the main focus on social change; increasingly popular within development aid.

The chapter has described the business incubator which is an organization that facilitates the process of starting new small enterprises by supporting them with a collection of tools, services and knowledge. In short, an organization that prepares firms for the obstacles ahead.

Business incubation in the developed world has been studied and opinions differ regarding how business incubators should be run and managed. The literature points to the fact that business incubators are used as a tool for economic development without confirmation of their impact on development of businesses in either the developed or developing world.

Similar conclusions were made in the section about entrepreneurship and economic growth where the main point was the challenge of measuring the outcome of entrepreneurial activities and consequently to compare activities to each other.

With this introduction of the main conceptual framework and discussion around some specific concepts, the next section will describe how both data for this section and the appended papers has been found and compiled. Thereafter, the appended papers will be presented in brief.

3 Methodological considerations

This chapter will review the methodological considerations behind the chosen research strategy and choice of methods for the thesis. It starts with an introduction describing the studied case. This is followed by a general description of different data collection methods which have been utilized during the fieldwork such as ethnography, participant observation and interviews. The chapter ends with a section on secondary data collection and a reflection on methods chosen and my role as a researcher.

3.1 Introduction

The aim of the research has been to get a deeper understanding of what happens when entrepreneurship is encouraged as a tool for economic development in developing countries. This has been done by studying a specific case in Eastern Africa, in a village in Uganda. The research is based on a study of this case, implemented in 2007 with continuous contact and additional projects until 2010 (Figure 1). The researcher has spent in total about one month on site in the village divided on three different occasions within one year (2009-2010) which can be translated to a micro-ethnography (Bryman and Bell, 2007).

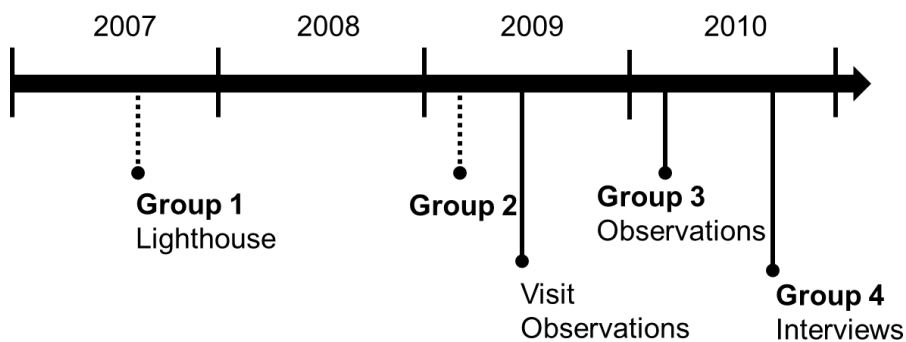


FIGURE 1 DATA COLLECTION IN UGANDA. THE RESEARCHER HAS VISITED THE VILLAGE THREE TIMES, INDICATED WITH SOLID LINES.

During the fieldwork it has been possible to add information from observations, personal relations and participation to the data collection following an intervention research method which is further explained below. The field is important for the study because that is where the “practical knowledge and theory emerges” (David, 2002, p. 15). Observations made in the field are, within this methodology, interpreted as local, contextual examples of more general phenomena. This contextual knowledge from specific cases is more valuable than predictive theories when it comes to human activities (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Nevertheless, due to the fact that the case studied will not be possible to repeat neither reliability nor validity is applicable in the same way as within positivistic research.

3.2 Case background

Students from an action-based education at a Swedish university created a project to support the development of business activities in the village. This specific education integrates entrepreneurial education with venture creation within the university (Lundqvist and Williams Middleton, 2008, Ollila and Williams-Middleton, 2011) and the social entrepreneurship project is a recurring activity at the university.

The basic idea with the project implemented in 2007 was to establish a “business incubator” (in this case a place where local entrepreneurs could rent space to start up a business), and in addition share

knowledge of entrepreneurship with the people of the village in Uganda through workshops. More specifically, the students identified a fundamental obstacle to the village's social and economic development: regular and reliable access to electricity (two years prior there was power only two to three days a week). The project thus focused on building a facility, powered by solar energy, which was then to function as a business incubator. In addition to the above, the students organized workshops in entrepreneurship during their visit in the village. The aim with those workshops was to inspire local entrepreneurs to start up new businesses with the help of the new opportunities in the business incubator.

Understanding the case described in this thesis requires a deeper understanding of the entrepreneurial culture nurtured at the Chalmers School of Entrepreneurship. Students have a mixed background both geographically and educationally and are gathered around the same perspective on entrepreneurship and the development of a knowledge based economy. The master program is one of many master programs at the Chalmers University of Technology, one of the leading universities of technology in Sweden. Within this context Chalmers School of Entrepreneurship has created a unique education where students are taught to become entrepreneurs through real venture creation. To provide different perspectives of entrepreneurship, the school project during the first year of the two-year master program adds a dimension of social entrepreneurship. Students with limited experience of entrepreneurship attend the program and have during their first year a quite uniform perspective of entrepreneurship, the perspective they are taught in the program. The second year is spent in a business incubator owned and run by the university for the students at this specific master program only. The first year students meet their older peers and see them work in the business incubator where each project from the second year has its own cubicle working as a small office.

3.3 Ethnography and Participant observation

This section will explain the connections between ethnography, participant observation and the specific intervention method introduced above. An ethnography is a written representation of a culture or selected aspects of a culture, and ties together fieldwork and culture (Van Maanen, 1988). Moreover, shorter visits in the field can nowadays also be approached as ethnography if using a broad definition such as the one by Silverman (1985) who includes all research based on observations of events and actions in natural settings, in ethnography.

The fieldwork would include living on site with the people studied to enable for the researcher to interpret how the culture potentially affects the outcome of the project. According to van Maanen (1988), the ethnography is a participant observation. He also includes physical displacement as a requirement for ethnographies. Spending from a couple of weeks to a few months in the field can also be called micro-ethnography (Bryman and Bell, 2007). Moreover, ethnography is generally based on a researcher with an explorative approach to what is studied. Consequently, theory and references are mainly utilized as a systematic tool and secondary to the empirical results (Alvesson and Sköldböck, 2009).

The learning from a specific fieldworker will always be limited to a specific context in combination with certain events that happened there and then. Therefore, the results from ethnographies are neither easy to generalize nor validate due to that particular context. Nevertheless, when researchers place themselves within the studied context it creates the most advanced form of understanding of viewpoints and behavior (Flyvbjerg, 2006). What could possibly be done to create some external validity is to compare the case with similar cases in similar contexts. Some researchers emphasize the opportunity of triangulation due to the usually extensive empirical material from the field. On the other hand it is quite complicated to find data directly supporting a contention because a variety of

methodologies are utilized in the field (Alvesson and Sköldbberg, 2009). The ethnography is shaped by both the experiences and the way they are observed but also by the writing style of the author when, later, transferring them to text. The style is important because the validity of the text is based on the credibility of the text; ultimately dependent on how the ethnographer has been able to make the story authentic and plausible (Cunliffe, 2010).

As mentioned above, ethnography is also connected to participant observation, which is both part of the field study and sometimes seen as the ethnography (Van Maanen, 1988). Participant observation is commonly used in qualitative research and is a combination of document analysis, interviewing and direct participation and observation. The main characteristics are that the researcher observes but also influences what is observed through their own participation (Flick, 2009). This is similar to the intervention method described above if the researcher is close to the case in the field study (David, 2002).

Researching in a different environment or culture than your own makes it important to include reflection on one's relation to what is researched. This may be performed via participant observation. Participant observation is a process of both how the researcher increases her access to the field and persons and, in the process of observation, where the researcher could become increasingly concrete towards the research questions. The three phases of observation are the descriptive observation, the focused observation and finally the selective observation which help the researcher to answer the research questions (Flick, 2009). As a part of ethnography, participant observations are a natural and important way of creating an in-depth understanding of a case (Mullings, 1999). Participation and observation is most suitable for the study of phenomena that involve interpersonal interactions and interpretations, are controversial, are hidden from public view or are not well understood. From participant observations it is possible to get firsthand knowledge about what happens in the organization in the right context and in real time. The drawback may be the relation to people in the organization studied and the possibility of observing unethical situations (Lee, 1999).

3.4 Interviews

Several types of interviews exist and they have different purpose depending on what kind of data we are looking for. An interview has the purpose of getting a deeper understanding of the person interviewed and also of the studied phenomena (Flick, 2009). The interviewee should be encouraged to share his or her view with the help of a structure, of what to talk about, from the interviewer. Focused interview, unstructured interview, structured interview and semi-structured interview have their own techniques and contribution to the research. Regardless of which interview is chosen, one of the more important steps is to plan and prepare the interview. All interviews will preferably be tape recorded and transcribed if possible. This is not only to remember what was said but also to remember how it was said during the interview (Flick, 2009).

A semi-structured interview follows an interview guide with questions and topics that the researcher wants to cover. Depending on the answers, the interviewer may ask questions not included in the guide and let the interviewee move between the questions in a different order than originally planned. All interviews will however have the same questions covered and asked in the same way from interviewer to interviewee. The semi-structured interview is suitable if the researcher has a fairly clear focus and if there is an idea of how the data will be analyzed. One of the more important analyses is the dilemma of interviewing in a cross-cultural setting such as in an African country. Not only ethnicity, but also gender, class and age have significant effects on the information you receive from interviewees (Mullings, 1999).

For the interviews in Uganda an interview guide, with a semi-structured approach, was utilized to allow the interviewee to elaborate on the questions and connect to related topics. During the interviews the respondents were encouraged to describe their view of the project. In total, 15 semi-structured interviews were conducted in English and one additional interview was conducted in Swedish, whereof the majority was about one hour long (Table 1). More details around the interviews can be found in Paper II.

No	Interviewee	Description
1	Local politician	Politician on a high position in the local society.
2	Local entrepreneur communication	Branch manager in an ICT company, supported by the government.
3	Solar expert	Educated solar panel expert.
4	IT-guy	Local entrepreneur within IT and related services. Member of the management group.
5	Local entrepreneur clothing	One of the entrepreneurs on the main street of the village.
6	Local entrepreneur	Local entrepreneur within secretarial services who has run his business for three years.
7	Marketing representative	Responsible for the marketing and member of the management group.
8	Local entrepreneur CD and video, partner 1	Student and local entrepreneur on the main street burning CDs and running a video library.
9	Local entrepreneur CD and video, partner 2	Student and local entrepreneur on the main street burning CDs and running a video library.
10	Coffee entrepreneur	Member of the coffee project working with Group 2 in Figure 1.
11	Water works manager	Participating in the water works project, working with Group 2 and 3 in Figure 1.
12	Water works engineer	Participating in the water works project, working with Group 2 and 3 in Figure 1.
13	Red Cross representative	Chairman of the Red Cross organization in the village. Member of the management group.
14	Treasurer	Teacher who is the treasurer in the management group. Runs a small hotel.
15	Contact person	The contact group to the Swedish students and member of the management group. Local politician.
16	Project leader	Swedish project leader who was one of the students in the student group.

TABLE 1. TABLE OF INTERVIEWEES.

3.5 Secondary data collection

The secondary data collection has mainly been the foundation for the theories described in this cover paper and their relation to the issues discussed. The aim of the literature overview was also to identify a gap in previous research to find where there is room for further contribution. Initial searches resulted in the findings of the paper “Incubators as Tools for Entrepreneurship Promotion in Developing Countries” by Akçomak (2009). Akçomak explores the field with a focus on specific country cases

from Brazil, China, India and Turkey which left other developing countries e.g. those in Africa for further investigation.

To find out more about the identified gap in the literature a systematic, multi-step search was conducted. The first search was done in EBSCO, Emerald, Scopus Social Science and Pro Quest Social Science. All articles that included the search terms “entrepreneurship”, “business incubation”, “economic development” and “Africa” in title, keywords, abstract or full text were included in the sample. The searches were delimited to only scholarly journals and gave a rather limited amount of hits. Out of the 34 hits in total only 10 articles were left when cases from other places than in Africa, other publications than journals and studies linked to academy were excluded based on reading the abstracts. Those 10 articles were sorted into themes, see Table 2.

Themes	Articles
Support to small, medium and microenterprise programs and entrepreneurs	Froumentin & Boyera (2011), Matenge & Raziz (2012), Ndabeni (2008), Rogerson (2004) Sriram & Mersha (2010)
Technology-based entrepreneurship	Bubou & Okigwe (2011)
Industrial clusters	Arif (2012)
Incubators as a tool for development	Atheron & Hannon (2006), Froumentin & Boyera (2011), Meru & Struwig (2011)
Private sector development	Osemeke (2011)

TABLE 2 ARTICLES FROM DATABASE SEARCH SORTED INTO THEMES.

To get a broader view of the field it was decided to work one step further based on Akçomak and those 10 articles from the first search. By looking through the titles of all references from Akçomak, excluding cases from other places than in Africa, other publications than journals, incubators linked to academy and exclusively technology based incubators and then reading the abstracts, another 10 articles were found that touched upon the field of business incubation in Africa. Those additional 10 articles were sorted into main themes and can be found in Table 3.

Themes	Articles
Economic growth	Wennekers & Thurik (1999)
Incubators (including case studies)	Adegibite (2001), Allen & McCluskey (1990), Becker & Gassmann (2006), Hacket & Dilts (2004a), Hacket & Dilts (2004b), Mcadam & Marlow (2007), Scaramuzzi (2002)
Entrepreneurship	Peters et al. (2004)
Method & theory	Bollingtoft & Ulhoi (2005)

TABLE 3 ARTICLE SEARCH BASED ON REFERENCE LISTS OF ARTICLES FROM PREVIOUS SEARCH, SORTED INTO MAIN THEMES.

The last step was to look through the titles of all references from the 10 articles from the database search in the first step. Abstracts were read and after excluding cases from other places than in Africa, other publications than journals, incubators linked to academy and exclusively technology based incubators another 20 articles were read whereof one was not applicable and 19 articles can be found in Table 4, sorted into their main themes.

Themes	Articles
Entrepreneurship training	Ladzani et al. (2002)
New technology development/ innovation	Feldman (1993), Oyelaran-Oyeyinka & Lal (2006)
Entrepreneurship (in Africa)	Ardagna & Lusardi (2008), Brixiova (2010), Mead (1994), Mead & Liedholm (1998), Kiggundu (2002), Olawale Olufunso (2010), Rogerson

	(2001), Sonobe et al. (2009)
Culture and entrepreneurship / motivation / culture	Baugn & Neupert (2003), Benzing & Chu (2009)
Incubation	Campbell & Allen (1987), Eshun (2009), Lalkaka & Abetti (1999), Stefanovic et al. (2008)
Industrial clusters	Martin & Sunley (2003), Mc Cormick (1999)

TABLE 4 THIRD LITERATURE SEARCH BASED ON REFERENCES FROM PREVIOUS SEARCHES, SORTED INTO MAIN THEMES

All articles were read and the literature search showed a gap in the literature when it comes to how business incubation is utilized in African countries as a tool for economic development. There is quite a lot of literature on business incubation, entrepreneurship in general and entrepreneurship connected to economic growth but the combination and research on this specific application in African countries was not found.

3.6 Reflections on methods and my role as a researcher

When approaching this research area in 2009 it sprung from my interest in combining previous experiences and knowledge with current employment focusing on academic entrepreneurship. The case chosen had a relation to the position at the university because it was students enrolled at the master program where I worked who conducted the case. The case was chosen partly based on that easily accessible and close data. Research needed to be combined with a part time job which in turn limited the opportunities to travel and stay in the field. A classic ethnography or even anthropology study would have demanded longer time periods in the field. However, with the broader definition of ethnography, including all research based on observations in natural settings, this research could possibly be considered to be ethnography or rather a micro-ethnography based on the time spend in the field. There is also a close connection to participant observation which is a natural part of ethnography and due to my close relation to the case, intervention research as it is described by David (2002).

Within development studies it is common to use an interpretative approach with the aim to answer questions about how people experience certain phenomena in a given context. In those studies there is often a close relationship between the researcher and the researched individuals (Mikkelsen, 2005). The main research strategy for this thesis has been to interview stakeholders in a single case study. While visiting the case implementation sites, participant observation, which is commonly used within qualitative research, have been used as a complement to the interviews. My role as a participant observer in the work behind this licentiate is called “observer as participant” (Lee, 1999). This means that the researcher participates in an organization while observing it without hiding the research agenda. This allowed me to come quite close to the case even though I was not actively helping out in the implementation phase. When acting as an observer as participant, friendship can occur but the researcher should not encourage it. Every visit in the village has added to the observations and has also included unstructured conversations and meetings with people.

Reflection on the research is also utilized within social science as a tool to manage this specific relationship between the researcher and the object of research. One commonly used method of studying organizations from the inside is the insider action research where the researcher also affects the organization through his or her actions as a part of the research. During this case study the organization was not purposely affected by me as a researcher, more than by my presence, and this work would not fit into the definition of insider action research. Nevertheless, I have had extensive knowledge of the case from my role as school manager for the students who executed it. One way of labeling this role would be to call it “only” insider research (Brannick and Coghlan, 2007) based on all the insider knowledge I add to the interpretation of the results. Issues that may occur from insider research are that the researcher more easily reaches informants who are similar to her and therefore

misses out on information from others. An insider researcher has the knowledge of internal jargon, can make associations based on previous experiences from the setting, and can follow up on replies in a different way to collect richer data. At the same time she may assume too much and miss opportunities to ask for clarification (Brannick and Coghlan, 2007).

While conducting this research it has been impossible for me to avoid or ignore the fact that I have a different ethnicity, am well educated and have a certain power from the ability that comes with my class and origin. Even though one would hope that colonization has passed there are distinct signs from the interviews that it is still relevant although in a different context. Interviewees talk about how trustworthy the people from the north are compared to the local citizens. A comment taking us back to the time when the Europeans colonized Africa and took the role as teaching people in Africa about civilization (Smith and Nemetz, 2009). That view upon visitors and me as a researcher has probably affected the results from interviews. In addition, I have accompanied the students and their project, my case study, which creates additional expectations on me and my person probably affecting the answers to my questions. Furthermore, the most important issue in the meeting with my interviewees may not be the differences between cultures, but what I, as a researcher, do with the information from people with different world views. Finally, even though I may interpret results as cultural based issues, it may not be the case (Jackson, 2011).

The dilemma is therefore to make interpretations from the interviews that are useful as a contribution to research. Interviewees may try to answer in accordance to what they believe is expected, however, they don't actually know what that would be. Consequently, some answers may not fit into the template of expected answers and show new perspectives of the case. Within qualitative studies, such as this case study, the purpose is not to find the one and only truth but instead to listen to different voices talking about the same event and creating a collected picture of it. If interviewees answers are affected by the different relational aspects those are included in the analysis of the answers and will be interpreted within their context.

4 Summary of Appended Papers

This licentiate thesis includes two papers that will be briefly presented below. The summaries include the purpose, background, empirical material, findings and contribution of the papers. Some common themes are identified and presented but more detailed information can be found in the full papers.

4.1 Paper I

Henricson, K. and Palmås, K. 2012. The translation of an incubator: the case of the Lighthouse in Bubulo, Uganda.

The aim of this paper was to understand the development of a social entrepreneurship project which was initiated in Sweden and conducted in Uganda. An idea is followed from its origin in Sweden to what it had transformed to during implementation in Uganda. The first objective was to explain how the original thought of establishing a business incubator had to transform based on different perspectives of objectives and interests. The second objective was to examine how different notions of entrepreneurship may have affected the outcome of the project and if those differing views ought to be considered in policy recommendations for promoting entrepreneurship through business incubation.

An increased interest around the world in social entrepreneurship and promotion of entrepreneurship in developing countries in combination with the contemporary research within the area opened up for this paper. Business incubation is often regarded as a way of promoting industrialization and start-up activities in developing countries but the research covering this field is still limited. Consequently, there is an increased interest from policy-makers and academics to study this phenomenon. In addition to that, there is a current discussion on how to describe, analyze and develop the social entrepreneurship research agenda to be more relevant and interesting for further research.

This paper is based on a case study of a project in Uganda in 2007 where a class of university students constructed a solar powered business incubator. Interviews with the management group of the business incubator and other participants of the project are included in the empirical material. The perspective of the case is a study of how the original idea, developed in Sweden, was translated into something different on site in Uganda using concepts from Actor-Network Theory to exemplify how this process developed.

As the idea was migrated from Sweden to Uganda it had to be adjusted to, and translated into, local conditions. Moreover, the visiting Swedes had to handle a variety of expectations from the local management group appointed to run the business incubator. Thus, a general conclusion is that social entrepreneurs have to be sensitive towards differences in the outcome of projects and be open for adaption. There is always a potential *translation* of the idea that ought to be anticipated by the initiators of a project. Moreover, the paper concludes that instead of introducing or creating entrepreneurship, projects similar to this can support *mobilization* of resources and by that encourage entrepreneurship. This paper also touches upon the question of if business incubation, the way it is done in the developed world, is the best way of supporting entrepreneurship in, for example, Uganda where other solutions such as “incubators without walls” may be more suitable.

The conclusions from this paper contribute to a better understanding of both private social entrepreneurship projects and how they might be run, and the discussion around business incubators as a tool for entrepreneurship and economic development in developing countries.

4.2 Paper II

Henricson Briggs, K. 2013. Perceptions of success of a social entrepreneurship initiative: a cross-cultural management approach.

The objective of this paper is to contribute to the understanding of how the different perceptions of the outcome from a social entrepreneurship project can be understood through a lens of cross-cultural management.

Entrepreneurship and cross-cultural management in developing economies, especially in Africa, is still an under-researched area despite the growing efforts of stimulating economic development through entrepreneurship. In addition, social entrepreneurship is increasingly popular and in need of more extensive research which could be done through for example critically performing, reflexivity or participating in social entrepreneurship initiatives. This paper is based on a case study of a social entrepreneurship initiative in a village in Uganda which was studied from 2007 to 2010. Data was collected during field studies and interviews.

Cross-cultural management informs this social entrepreneurship project and several of the issues within the project could be due to cultural differences and therefore potentially avoided with an increased awareness of these differences from the start of the project. The challenge is to balance the traditional view of the visitors from the north as more trustworthy, knowledgeable and in possession of more valuable ideas. The paper points at the fact that the interpretation of the results is influenced by the cross-cultural management perspective of the interpreter and easily follows the same ethnocentric pattern as was attempted to be avoided when formulating the project. Ultimately, the visitors again wish to decide the agenda and what they believe is a successful entrepreneurship initiative. A fruitful and positive project would balance cultural differences throughout the whole process including the evaluation.

Success factors and success dimensions have been studied before but the contribution from this paper is the critical perspective of who decides if the project was fruitful or not. The paper thus contributes to the discussion on how to evaluate success within social entrepreneurship, and adds to the growing literature on local perceptions of international social entrepreneurial ventures.

4.3 Common themes

Several common themes can be found in the two appended papers and those will be discussed in more detail below. An overview of in which paper the themes occur is described in Table 5 where two “x” indicates a more detailed discussion around the specific theme.

Theme	Teachable entrepreneurship	Measuring entrepreneurship	Cross-cultural Management	Business Incubation
PI	x	x	x	xx
PII	x	x	xx	x

TABLE 5. OVERVIEW OF MAIN THEMES IN THE TWO APPENDED PAPERS.

The studied case is a project run by a group of students half-way through an education in entrepreneurship. Although they might not be aware of how they have been influenced from the education they show an approach towards entrepreneurship as something teachable. This is exemplified during the project when the students held workshops in entrepreneurship to inspire and share knowledge with the local people. Their starting point is the belief that they create an opportunity for a start-up business in the solar-powered house. By taking that opportunity anyone in the local management group could become an entrepreneur if they desire. The students bring their perspective of entrepreneurship to this collaboration, which more specifically may be opportunity based entrepreneurship.

Both papers encounter the issue of measuring entrepreneurship and the challenges connected to that. To know if entrepreneurship was inspired from the visit is difficult to measure, partly because there were several entrepreneurs in the village when the students arrived. In the first paper the conclusion is that it is not the creation of entrepreneurship that should be the aim but rather the *mobilization* of existing entrepreneurship. In the second paper this issue is discussed from a cross-cultural perspective of the different ways of examining entrepreneurship and why it is important.

Cross-cultural management is discussed in Paper I as the need for adaption to local conditions. This adaption emerges as a rather important aspect of the project and its implementation. Paper II is predominantly focused on the consequences from different cultural perspectives such as the simplicity of examining a project from a single perspective thus creating an ethnocentric view of the result. The project is more thoroughly analyzed in terms of the actual result and its interpretation from two perspectives.

The cross-cultural management informs also the question about why a business incubator would be the solution for promoting entrepreneurship in this village at all. In Paper I, it turns out that the whole idea has to be adapted to the fact that local entrepreneurs are completely uninterested in sharing an office space together. The conclusion is that an alternative to a business incubator could be more suitable in this environment and something that could be looked into. This perspective is further analyzed in Paper II through the lens of cross-cultural management.

5 Discussion

The discussion in this chapter is based on the findings (outlined in chapter 4) in relation to the theoretical framework (chapter 2). As stated in the introduction, a purpose with this thesis is to study how entrepreneurship is utilized as a tool for economic development in developing countries. As entrepreneurship can include various activities the focus of this thesis has been on the use of business incubators in promoting and supporting entrepreneurship. As also stated in the introduction, a purpose with this licentiate thesis is further to both contribute to the knowledge in the field and to open up for questions that could be explored in a PhD thesis. The discussion departs from the contributions made in the two appended papers. They lead to two possible further research areas. After that, the discussion moves on to areas that could potentially inform the work for a PhD thesis. In the areas discussed here, some initial understanding has been developed through the current work, but no focused empirical work has been done to study them.

5.1 Contributions and suggested areas for further research

To be able to draw conclusions from the research, it is – as discussed in chapter 2 – important to establish what we mean when discussing entrepreneurship and why it has an important role in development (Kobia and Sikalieh, 2010). Depending on the context it is sometimes important to make a distinction between opportunity and necessity entrepreneurship (Reynolds et al., 2002). In this thesis it is the latter that has been discussed. Nevertheless, the ideas promoted by various actors tend to originate from opportunity based entrepreneurship. In addition, this thesis includes a brief introduction to social entrepreneurship, as entrepreneurial action focused on social change (Sharir and Lerner, 2006), and its relation to the development agenda. The case study in the two appended papers is based on a social entrepreneurship initiative, in the sense that the actors try to generate social development in the village studied.

Social entrepreneurship is quite a recent addition to the development agenda (Steyaert and Dey, 2010) and may have great potential through its ability to interest a different group of people for entrepreneurship and through its locally driven activities (Smith and Nemetz, 2009). Social entrepreneurship is not only a part of development or development aid but potentially takes an increasingly important role as inspiration for people who want to engage in social change, anywhere in the world. With social entrepreneurship, the field of development work has opened up for a larger audience including anyone driven by the idea of supporting people in foreign countries.

When visiting developing countries, one can easily get the impression that it is not necessarily entrepreneurship that is missing. This is in line with findings in the entrepreneurship literature (Kshetri, 2011). Instead, researchers claim that it is the lack of legal structures for property and property rights which is the real issue (De Soto, 2000, Rogerson, 2001, Osman et al., 2011). As an example, we can look at Kenya where self-employment is one of the more stable positions for the labor force although there is a high rate of business failures. People create new businesses over and over again because they have no better alternatives, discussed previously as necessity entrepreneurship (Acs, 2006). Entrepreneurship is generally seen as an important strategy for fighting poverty through employment creation and income generation (Kobia and Sikalieh, 2010) but it is not the single solution for development work (Buckley, 1997, Szirmai, 2008) and “we actually know very little about whether and how entrepreneurship either contributes or does not contribute to economic growth in developing countries” (Autio (2008) in Naudé, 2010, p. 7). One key to development is to encourage people to take initiatives for their own development (Gatune, 2010).

If entrepreneurship is encouraged through business incubation with tools to realize ideas, innovations, and progress, it could help people to change their standard of living. As developing countries do not lack entrepreneurship (Kshetri, 2011), it may be more suitable to have the approach of mobilizing, instead of teaching entrepreneurship in developing countries, as is also argued in Paper I. Instead of having the perspective of introducing or creating something new, existing driving forces and activities may be utilized for development. This also points back at the different definitions of entrepreneurship and how those may influence the approach to certain entrepreneurial initiatives. Kirzner believed (in contrast to Schumpeter) that entrepreneurial traits are teachable. This perspective was central in his understanding of the entrepreneur (Ripsas, 1998). The influence of Kirzner can be seen in the empirical case studied. The students visited the village in Uganda with the approach of entrepreneurship as being teachable. This view was fundamental in their attempt to encourage entrepreneurship by introducing the business incubator concept as a part of this specific social entrepreneurship project. Consequently, they also brought their perspective of entrepreneurship and the way it may be organized which influenced the outcome of the project. The case thus points to the additional complexities – and the potential ethnocentricity – that emerges when teachers and students of entrepreneurship come from different cultural contexts. This issue will re-occur below, in the context of Paper II.

An additional reflection on the case studied in this thesis is that it may be inapplicable to export the business and management concepts from the developed to the developing world due to differences in human behavior (Muriithi and Crawford, 2003). Because culture is a value system that changes very slowly, it is difficult to change people's behaviour by introducing a new management style, developed for (and idiosyncratic to) another context (Hofstede, 1980, Garcia-Cabrera and Garcia-Soto, 2008). From what have been discussed in this thesis, the first contribution is that *ideas around development issues and especially entrepreneurial initiatives such as business incubators may need translation in the implementation phase. It may also be more suitable to encourage entrepreneurship through mobilizing already existing driving forces instead of teaching entrepreneurship.*

As more thoroughly discussed in Paper II, international development projects in Sub-Saharan Africa have been evaluated based on success dimensions and success factors (Gow and Morss, 1988, Diallo and Thuillier, 2004, Ahsan and Gunawan, 2010), often defined with little influence from the beneficiaries. Indeed, chapter 2 highlighted the contradictory findings on whether entrepreneurial success can be measured. The paper does not attempt to answer the question of whether the project was successful or not, but rather present and discuss the different perceptions of the project and the outcome. The social entrepreneurship project studied in this thesis points at several relevant issues. Expectations and misunderstandings influenced the social entrepreneurship project and depending on whom you ask about the result you get different impressions. Even though the initial project plan was made together with representatives from both Uganda and Sweden, the outcome and evaluation of the result is easily defined by the initiators of the project, maybe as a last attempt to create the outcome they anticipated.

There are definitely opportunities of local initiatives compared to development aid performed by agencies (Smith and Nemetz, 2009) but the private initiatives are sometimes unaware of the experience and knowledge that exist from the last 50 years of development work (Moyo, 2009). More research to confirm how social entrepreneurship can be as valuable as possible seems needed (Smith and Nemetz, 2009). Research sharing is important not only for project implementation but also for NGOs and other organizations working with development (Roe, 1991). Lack of knowledge sharing from development work may lead to projects mainly based on the experience people already have, primarily based on their own cultural view. Without any further reflection, the same recommendations

for entrepreneurship in the developed world are often copied for the developing world (Szogs, 2010) which may not be suitable at all. *The second contribution relates to the perception of the outcome and how to avoid examining a project from a single perspective, creating an ethnocentric view of the results.*

This thesis focuses on the use of business incubation as a tool for economic development. Theory describes the business incubator as a supportive mechanism for entrepreneurs, preparing firms for obstacles ahead (Aaboen, 2009). It is a way of supporting entrepreneurship which exists all over the world (Meru and Struwig, 2011). It is, however, difficult to measure the performance of business incubators. One reason is that it is not specified what performance of a business incubator actually is or should be (Phan et al., 2005). Often, the criteria for success differ depending on the study (Wennekers and Thurik, 1999, Desai, 2009, Naudé, 2011). Conclusions about the business incubator as a successful strategy are sometimes based on the observation that the number of incubators are increasing (Ndabeni, 2008) or (in some examples from the literature) on inconclusive results from established business incubation initiatives (Adegbite, 2001, Bubou and Okrigwe, 2011).

The idea of supporting entrepreneurs through a business incubator often comes from countries with a developed system with additional support mechanisms both in the stage before and after the business incubation (Chandra and Fealey, 2009). Thus, expectations on a business incubator need to be in line with the context and what can be reasonable to accomplish in the setting where it is established. Moreover, regardless of where the business incubators would be established there is a lot of research showing different aspects of what is important to manage to optimize the outcome (Hackett and Dilts, 2004, Bergek and Norrman, 2008, Akçomak, 2009). The concept of establishing business incubators whilst there is a lack of competence to run them creates yet another solution for development that is destined to fail. It could also be questioned if business incubation is the right tool for developing economies based on that such organization usually supports only some, admitted, people and will never reach the whole society (Lalkaka, 2003, Andjelkovic, 2010). The key issue seems to be our understanding of the performance and evaluation of the outcome from entrepreneurial support such as business incubation.

The business incubator idea in the village in Uganda had to be translated to local conditions and could potentially be even more developed to suit the needs of the village. Existing alternatives to the traditional office-incubator are the virtual incubator (Aaboen, 2009), business incubators without walls (Szogs, 2010), and “gloCal real-virtual incubator networks” which is an attempt to combine a variety of parameters into one incubator (Carayannis and von Zedtwitz, 2005). The two first types (virtual incubator and the incubator without walls) are examples of where the incubation concept has been adjusted to certain conditions. A virtual incubator can have different methods of coaching, sometimes offering physical meetings as a complement, but is obviously dependent on a virtual connection which makes it less suitable for some developing countries. The incubator without walls on the other hand originates from the needs of a developing country and is based on that the business advisors or mentors work with the entrepreneurs where they are, often in rural areas (Szogs, 2010). Another variant, established in Botswana and South Africa, has a flexible solution where any entrepreneur is welcome during working hours to get advice, coaching, workshop time or a course in a relevant topic for the specific business of the entrepreneur (The Business Place, 2013). It is based on the premise that entrepreneurs are people with individual needs who are best encouraged through quite specific support and it does not exclude anyone as long as they are open to receive coaching. During the work with this research, entrepreneurs connected to both a physical and a virtual business incubator have, in interviews, been quite clear about the need for a physical meeting point when supported by a business incubator. A virtual incubator may work quite well but a large part of the support comes from the

network around the business incubator. This network exists for example in the more flexible solution where the entrepreneurs do not have their own office but are always welcome to pass by (The Business Place, 2013).

Further alternatives to the traditional business incubation programs can be found in the literature on the “livelihoods” approach to development work (Scoones, 2009). One such example of alternative solutions could be the concept of “farming as a business”. This is a way of supporting farmers to get a better understanding of how they can think about their farms as a business and by that make a larger profit from their harvest and in turn increase their standard of living (Berntsson et al., 2010). This activity is a combination of an incubator without walls and empowerment of the local population where farmers are getting an opportunity to learn how to develop their businesses based on their own resources. The basic education includes business knowledge and to be able to analyze your own economy and markets which is then followed by both planning and reflecting sessions as a part of the concept (Berntsson et al., 2010). Farming as a business supports entrepreneurial thinking for its specific target group, the farmers, in developing countries.

Regarding business incubation, the contribution is to open up for questions regarding *whether it is appropriate to transfer the idea from the developed to the developing world and how such a translation may be facilitated. Additionally, it would be interesting to further explore the other types of business incubators and alternative support to business incubators as a tool for economic development.*

Based on what has been discussed in this thesis, the suggestion is that there is too great an emphasis on entrepreneurship as the single strategy for development. Even if the promotion of entrepreneurship can be shown to provide positive results in some cases, this single handed focus may delay the development process due to the high expectations on entrepreneurship. Developing countries are not homogenous enough to enable one strategy for development and entrepreneurship as a concept is too vague to be used as the only method for new initiatives within development. There are different binding constraints in different countries at different time periods and entrepreneurs can definitely be utilized as a test of what kind of activities work or not in a certain country. Although a broad range of researchers (Wennekers and Thurik, 1999, Robertson, 2003, Gelb et al., 2007, Desai, 2009, Kshetri, 2011) give a quite mixed picture of what would be good for economic development there is a gap in the literature regarding the reflection on new initiatives and the development of existing tools such as the business incubator. In this thesis, the reflections are based on a limited case study where the effects of activities and changes are instant and visible. *Finally, the thesis queries if entrepreneurship initiatives taken alone are not suitable as the single solution. Then, how can they be incorporated into a system of development activities to compose a comprehensive alternative for economic development.*

Entrepreneurship has been on the economic development agenda for a long time, more or less emphasized depending on the latest trends. Promoting economic development through entrepreneurship with the false promise of actual results should certainly be avoided. Thus, the most important conclusions and message to practitioners and policy makers is that if entrepreneurship is promoted as a tool for development and if business incubation is used as a support mechanism, it should be clear what can be expected from such investments and initiatives should be taken with their limitations in mind. Moreover, initiatives need to contribute to a comprehensive system of activities and also be translated into their specific contexts.

5.2 Conclusions and areas for further research

The purpose of this thesis has been to explore several ideas within the scope of the research. The conclusion is that the starting point needs to be the local perspective and the existing activities which could then be built on for potential development of the economy. The two first points are contributions from the appended papers to our knowledge of entrepreneurship as development aid, and specifically on the use of business incubation initiatives. These contributions will be the starting point for further research:

- The translation and mobilization approach to entrepreneurship initiatives

This point emphasizes the importance of adjusting knowledge and perspectives from developed countries when introduced in developing countries. The starting point should always be the local perspective and the existing activities which could then be built on for potential development of the economy. It is not appropriate to export ideas about economic development without this reflection.

- Awareness of how different perceptions of a project may influence the outcome

Different perceptions of the outcome from the case study pointed at the relative view of the result. Awareness is important to avoid falling back into an ethnocentric perspective of management. A higher awareness would potentially open up for an outcome that could be more in line with the idea of mobilized entrepreneurship and a project driven by mutual engagement from all stakeholders.

The three following points concern the further research areas that may be covered in the PhD:

- Beyond the business incubator – alternatives and complements

Several examples of alternatives of business incubation have been presented and may be even more explored within further research. Supporting entrepreneurship may need certain building blocks which could be combined either into a business incubator or create a complementary function. Business incubators may also be more powerful if they are embedded and designed in conjunction with a system of educational efforts, financing and infrastructure and this system would be interesting to understand further.

- The role of entrepreneurship as a part of economic development

Contradictory findings in the literature point at the issue of emphasizing entrepreneurship as a single solution for economic development. Some other parameters such as education, infrastructure and institutional support are discussed and the question is really which role entrepreneurship has in the larger picture of economic development. It is important to emphasize that investments and support of entrepreneurship should be decided on with its limitations in mind.

- The role of social entrepreneurship within development aid

On a more general level it would be interesting to get a deeper understanding of the role social entrepreneurship has on the development aid agenda. One of the characteristics of social entrepreneurship is that good ideas within the area are encouraged to be spread. How does the spread of social entrepreneurship affect the trends of entrepreneurship? Has the opportunity of social entrepreneurship opened up the field for more private initiatives within development aid? Could the driving force within social entrepreneurship be utilized for an improved

development aid agenda? Finally, what makes the difference between social entrepreneurship and entrepreneurship when it comes to initiatives in foreign countries?

5.3 Ideas for future research projects

The next step of the research process is planned for August 2013 where interviews in Dar es-Salaam, Tanzania will be conducted. The purpose is to find projects, companies or organizations involved in initiatives to support entrepreneurship. They can either be business incubators or other types of support. The purpose is to compare different alternatives to business incubation and add knowledge about the role of entrepreneurship as a part of economic development. Alternatively, it may be a study of business incubators adjusted to local conditions such as an incubator without walls or other types of adjustments.

Step two is to join a trans-disciplinary research project in Kisumu, Kenya, where the findings and knowledge accumulated from this thesis may be applied in a new initiative established to create businesses around water hyacinths from Lake Victoria. The concept is to be involved from an early stage of the project to be able to influence and take initiatives for the development of the project based on previous findings. This research would also contribute to the development of alternatives to the business incubator and to the wider understanding of the role of entrepreneurship as a part of economic development.

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Paper I

The translation of an incubator: the case of the Lighthouse in Bubulo, Uganda

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This article reviews a social entrepreneurial initiative to set up a solar-powered incubator in Bubulo, Uganda, initiated by a group of Sweden-based entrepreneurship students. Using an Actor-Network Theory-informed approach, it addresses the question of how the original aims of the initiative shifted as it moved from Sweden to Uganda, securing new allies and resources. In the tracing of this movement from northern Europe to central Africa, concepts from Actor-Network Theory, such as ‘translation’ and ‘drift’, are drawn upon. Thus, the text deals with spatial aspects of social entrepreneurial projects, heeding the call from Steyaert and Dey, who list ‘spatializing’ as one of ‘nine verbs that can keep the social entrepreneurship research agenda “dangerous”’. The text thus engages in the debate on the merits of business incubation in low-income countries—a topic currently high on the international development policy agenda. The study, it is argued, prompts scholars and policy-makers to shift perspectives when evaluating what this type of initiatives achieve. Rather than ‘creating’ entrepreneurship, projects like the Lighthouse are better seen as efforts to ‘mobilize’ existing activities. Moreover, the article also raises the issue of whether the classic incubator-as-we-know-it is a suitable model for the generation of economic activity in low-income countries.

Keywords: *social entrepreneurship; entrepreneurship development; nascent entrepreneurship; business incubation; solar power; actor-network theory; translation; spatiality*

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The fostering of entrepreneurship is increasingly hailed as an effective means of helping low-income countries develop their economies. NGOs like Ashoka, as well as inter-governmental collaborations like the SEED initiative, are active proponents of this view. Moreover, actors from the university setting have joined this endeavor, coming up with various approaches to promote entrepreneurial activity in low-income countries. The paper will study one such example, namely the Lighthouse project.

The Lighthouse project was instigated by students at the Chalmers School of Entrepreneurship (CSE), which is an action-based master-level educational program, integrating entrepreneurial education with venture creation within the university (Lundqvist & Williams-Middleton, 2008; Ollila & Williams-Middleton, 2011). Aside from the creation of new ventures, in which the students work in groups, a full-class entrepreneurial project is a part of the curriculum. The overall aim of this initiative is to stimulate creativity, project management and entrepreneurial learning. Another aim is to create strong ties and motivation among the members of the class, drawing inspiration from other entrepreneurs

in the world. The project is initiated by the faculty, but the ultimate responsibility for driving the project forward rests in the students who receive support from the faculty when needed.

During the initial years of the project, it resulted in several interesting study trips to various sites that are famous for their entrepreneurial spirit: Shanghai; Silicon Valley; the Boston Metropolitan area. However, in 2006, the class of 2007 decided to add a social entrepreneurship element to the project, and this has later become one of the major purposes with the project. This decision led the students towards the endeavor of building a solar panel-equipped house in Uganda, called the Lighthouse. Situated in the village of Bubulo, close to the Kenyan border, this house was meant to be a space for the cultivation of nascent entrepreneurship (Williams-Middleton, 2010), along the lines of the ‘incubator’ model. (Hackett & Dilts, 2004; Scaramuzzi, 2002) In his study of business incubation in Uganda, Joshua Mutambi states that:

Incubators can promote innovation and accelerate industrialization through encouraging business start-ups, information and technology transfer,

commercialization of research results, and implementation of science, technology, innovation and industrial development policies. (Mutambi, 2011, p. 20)

However, while incubation grows across the world, Africa is 'lagging behind' (p. 108). Therefore, Mutambi writes, 'governments should pay attention with strong support' (p. 97) for the establishment of more incubators. Moreover, he concludes, the need further research on business incubation in 'countries like Uganda cannot be understated' (p. 108).

This article heeds this call for more empirical studies of such business incubation. More specifically, it aims to interrogate three research questions. First, how are the objectives and interests, as exhibited by actors related to a social entrepreneurial venture, translated, as the initiative travels over space and time? Second, what roles do different conceptions of entrepreneurship play, as the venture moves from high-income countries to low-income countries? Third, if it can be shown that objectives and activities of business incubation start to drift as it moves from the high-income countries to low-income countries, what does this mean for the policy-making community wishing to make business incubation the new panacea for the promotion of innovation and start-up activity?

As we shall see in the case study, the aims and outcomes of this initiative shifted significantly as it moved from Gothenburg to Bubulo. Understanding how such shifts occur may prove crucial for the wider agenda of making social entrepreneurial initiatives deliver on some of the developmental promises mentioned above. However, before delving into the details of the case of the Lighthouse, let us review some theoretical and method-related tools for capturing these developments (section two). The case study (section three) is followed by a discussion and a conclusion (sections four and five).

Literature review

A case like that of the Lighthouse can be subjected to a wide range of queries. Following previous work on social entrepreneurship, a number of themes could potentially be raised—the entrepreneurial motivations of the students, issues of project management, the social entrepreneurial role of the university, and so on. However, in this paper, we wish to add a spatial component to the understanding of social entrepreneurial ventures. More specifically, we want to explore how a project may 'drift' in terms of goals and outcomes, especially as it travels from the university setting in Gothenburg, Sweden, to the village of Bubulo, Uganda. Moreover, there are other, more 'local' spatial aspects of the project. As the Lighthouse was based on the idea of creating 'room for' entrepreneurial action, the notion of space is key to the analysis of how the project progressed.

Spatializing social entrepreneurship

In this attempt to spatialize research on social entrepreneurship, we are following Steyaert and Dey (2010), who list 'spatializing' as one of 'nine verbs that can keep the social entrepreneurship research agenda "dangerous"'. For them, social entrepreneurial action invariably implies an enactment of new spaces for life, work and collaboration. Understanding entrepreneurship, they argue, is fundamentally a matter of understanding the geographical, discursive and social spaces that harbor entrepreneurial action. Moreover, social entrepreneurship is enacted collectively, 'through the formation of networks, communities, platforms and social arenas' (p. 247). Therefore:

Research into social entrepreneurship could be increasingly based on spatial theories or theories that are able to theorize socio-spatial processes.

In this proposed 'spatial turn' of entrepreneurship research, they draw upon Steyaert and Katz (2004), who state:

The geographical dimension seems to be a growing focal point that by itself can alter the kind of studies entrepreneurship is about. [...] However, there is no self-evident geography of entrepreneurship as it is not clear what constitutes our spatial preferences in entrepreneurship research [...] (pp. 184–185)

Nevertheless, Steyaert and Dey (2010) suggest that Actor-Network Theory (ANT):

Could offer an effective approach to studying social entrepreneurial projects which are often based on innovations and *bricolage*. Such theory is also useful for describing the translation processes that transform people's practices and relationships.

The ambition to link ANT and spatiality dovetails nicely with recent work from anthropology. (Indeed, ANT is sometimes referred to as an 'anthropology of science and techniques' (Callon, 1998, p. 28), and the theoretical and methodological toolbox developed within anthropology can prove highly useful when studying entrepreneurship in a non-rich world setting.) For instance, Oppenheim (2007) tries to tease out some of the 'forgotten' spatial aspects of ANT, arguing that:

A spatialized reading might be productive of new anthropological engagements with ANT, of which a recasting of questions of space and place is only the most glaring. (p. 473)

This paper endeavors to follow the suggestion of Steyaert and Dey (2010), and deploy some concepts from the 'sociology of translation' developed by Michel Callon, Bruno Latour and others, in order to capture the spatial aspects of a social entrepreneurial venture. The aim is not so much to provide a study of the Lighthouse project

that can be labeled ‘ANT proper’. Indeed, towards the end of the 1990s, the ‘inventors’ of the perspective seemed uneasy with such a label (Latour, 1999a; Law, 1999). Rather, this paper hopes to deploy these concepts in the way that Steyaert and Dey suggest – as a means to say something about the spatial aspects of social entrepreneurial initiatives.

Translation

Within the ANT literature, there are number of case studies that explore how the social world is made and unmade through the process of translation. One early example is Michel Callon’s (1986) work on the ‘domestication’ of scallops. In this text, we get to follow three researchers who take on the project of uniting scallops, fishermen, and the scientific community in the exploration of what it is that makes scallops attach themselves to the seabed. In doing so, they present their research program as an obligatory passage point for all the actors involved: Understanding the fixating process of scallops will serve everybody’s interests.

Another case is that of physicist Frédéric Joliot, which explicates the ‘goal translations’ that he had to engage in when conducting his research on nuclear fission. (Latour, 1999b) For instance, Frédéric Joliot had to engage in a series of alliance-building measures. When he did so, the overall aims of the alliance being built were constantly re-negotiated. Thus, not only did the physicist have to deal with the enrollment of non-human actors (such as neutrons, paraffin, and deuterium) in his laboratory experiments—he also had to manage political processes enrolling human actors. These included nationalistic officials within the French Ministry of War, scientist colleagues within the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, corporate executives within Belgian Union Minière du Haut-Katanga and Norwegian Norsk Hydro, and so on. These entanglements were held together by translations that forged common goals among the allies. Though Joliot’s original goal was to be ‘first to master chain reaction’, and the Minister’s original goal was ‘national independence’, a goal translation joined the actors around the common goal of ‘a laboratory for chain reaction and future national independence’. (Latour, 1999b, pp. 80–112).

The study of translations, then, is also a study of how the interests of actors change over time, being subject to constant re-negotiations. As Michel Callon and John Law wrote in an early article, interests are simply ‘temporarily stabilized outcomes of previous processes of enrollment’. (Law & Callon, 1982, p. 622) The agency of a certain actor—be it a person or a collective of agencies—is constructed by past alliances, and is therefore at the mercy of constant Machiavellian power games. Or, as Latour, states:

One should be careful not to fix interests *a priori*; interests are ‘translated’. That is, when their goals are frustrated, actors take detours through the goals of others, resulting in a general drift, the language of one actor being substituted for the language of another. (Latour, 1999b, p. 89)

Along with ‘translation’ and ‘obligatory passage point’, this notion of ‘drift’ is of key interest for the purposes of this paper, as it captures the shifting aims and outcomes of the project. Thus, these three concepts will re-emerge in the case study.

In terms of methodology, the sociology of translation has traditionally been conducted through ethnographic or historical studies of scientific practice, thus bringing out how scientists make and unmake worlds by amassing allies. (Latour, 1987) Apart from the examples mentioned above, Latour builds his arguments from studies scientists like of Louis Pasteur (Latour, 1988) and Robert Boyle, originally studied by Shapin and Schaffer (1985) but further analyzed by Latour (1993), Haraway (1997) and Potter (2001). The original ‘angle’ of Science and Technology Studies (STS) was to construe ‘science as culture’, anthropologically studying the cultural and material practices of scientists and engineers in their laboratories. More recently, ANT has been deployed in the context of organization theory (cf. Czarniawska & Hernes, 2005).

In these stories of techno-scientific practice, the scientists and engineers are seen as the ‘primus movens’ that breathe life into the ongoing process of translation. (Callon, 1986) Applying this framework to the study of social entrepreneurial action implies a shift towards the loci of entrepreneurial action – the actor to be followed is the entrepreneurial agency (be it individual or collective). In the discussion that follows, we will get to follow the CSE team, as they ‘make and unmake worlds’ on their way from Gothenburg to Bubulo.

Methodology

The present article is, like much other work that is more or less associated with the ANT and STS traditions, based on a case study. Moreover, in line with these traditions, it is closer aligned to ethnographic renderings of economic and organizational life (cf. van Maanen, 2011), than more management-oriented case studies (cf. Yin, 2009). The empirical material has thus been gathered over the course of a four-year period, during which one of the co-authors intermittently spent time with the various actors involved over extended time periods, participating in their activities. During this time period, the co-author participated in the project as a representative from Chalmers University of Technology.

As such, this methodological approach is not likely to produce an ‘objective’ evaluation of the project—it is, very much, an insider perspective on the process.

The project was initiated in 2007, and the most recent interviews were made in the fall of 2010. While the bulk of the empirical data was collected in August 2010, it is to be understood against the backdrop of empirical data gathered during previous stays in Bubulo. (In total, the village has been visited three times, of which one by both authors, adding up to a month's fieldwork.) Along with the participative observation data, sixteen formal interviews with key actors have been conducted in Uganda and Sweden. Additional data has come from secondary sources, such as reports, films and project descriptions produced by entrepreneurial agencies.

The story of the Lighthouse

As the class of CSE07 was about to choose a suitable project for their social entrepreneurship activities, one student had received an idea by a friend of his parents; a Red Cross (RC) volunteer who would later end up becoming an important person in the development of this project. The RC volunteer had a vast experience of working in African countries, and was a member of the RC in a small town called Åmål in Sweden. Åmål, in turn, had started a community friendship with the village Bubulo, Uganda, in 2001.

In Uganda, the story of the Lighthouse starts in the board meetings of RC Bubulo. There had been discussions for quite some time about what activities should be prioritized in the area, and one of the things discussed was the development of clean water facilities. Another was the development of electric power through solar energy in the village: at the time, electricity was only available three to four days a week, about three hours at a time. Serving as a link between the citizens of Bubulo and the Swedish students, the RC volunteer thus suggested that the students ought focus on either of these two areas; solar energy or clean water supply.

Going for solar

Drawing upon the experience of the RC volunteer, the students identified a need for different social services, such as a place to charge mobile phones. Starting with an idea from the student to have a place for mobile charging under a simple roof, the alternatives boiled down to a bus or a separate house, both of which were found to be reasonable in terms of finances. Finally, it was decided, through voting, that a house would be the better alternative. This house was equipped with five solar panels and baptized the Lighthouse.

These moments of decision—when the protagonists decide on which endeavor to embark upon—can be understood as instances when a ‘radical openness’ of the project closes down somewhat. The class’ interest in doing something related to social entrepreneurship gathers pace and direction through the alliances forged with the RC volunteer, the Åmål municipality, and the RC.

In essence, this alliance provided the students with an entry point to a site for their social entrepreneurial project. In the process, the original goal is translated into something more specific. The project thus narrows down into being based in Uganda, setting up with either solar energy or water-related projects. Here, one can deploy Callon’s concept of ‘obligatory passage point’: The collaboration with the RC volunteer was tied to the program of delivering solar power solutions to the village. Already at this point, we can note how the project starts to ‘drift’, through the process of translation.

There was, one concept that guided the development of the project—that of ‘entrepreneurship’. Entrepreneurship was something which connected what the students were studying and what could also be shared with the people in the village in a way that could support local businesses. Based on their educational background, the students worked on the idea of starting an incubator with the same construction as their own incubator in Sweden. This incubator is a large open space divided into smaller offices, one for each innovation project, and the same structure was to be implemented in Uganda. Entrepreneurs from the region around Bubulo would have the opportunity to apply for a small office where they could start their business. Due to the support from the solar panels, brought by the Swedish students, it would increase the opportunities for the local entrepreneurs to have access to electricity, as well as work later hours, after sunset.

Conceptions of entrepreneurship and creativity, and how to foster it, thus play a crucial part in this story. The idea that there was to be a house, in which entrepreneurship is to prosper, is closely tied to the idea of the incubator—a notion that the students were very familiar with. As such, it seemed natural for them to replicate this idea in Bubulo. If interests are, as we saw above, ‘temporarily stabilized outcomes of previous processes of enrollment’, we can see how the experience from CSE acted through the students, leading them to work along the lines of ‘incubation-as-we-know-it’. (More about this in the discussion section.)

Interviews were conducted in Uganda, in order to find entrepreneurship-interested people that could act as board members of the Lighthouse. A group of seven people met with the students when they arrived in Uganda, introducing themselves as potential candidates for the management of the Lighthouse. The group comprised of an expert in solar energy, a teacher, members of the RC and individuals with important positions in the village of Bubulo. Together, the students thought, they seemed to be a suitable mix of skilled people which would be perfect for the management of the incubator. A few days later, this group was about to take some time to decide their different roles within the management group—a discussion which, instead of the

estimated thirty minutes, took about twenty seconds. Later on, this moment would be understood as one crucial point in the story, where the project once again changed direction. At this moment, a pre-existing structure, inherited from the village hierarchy, was installed within the management group. The composition of this group had important subsequent implications for the development of the Lighthouse.

Here, we see another drift in the goals of the project. Just as the previous forms of drift, it is to be understood as something sacrificed, on the basis of the new life generated into the project. However, in this case, we see how the previous processes of enrollment also feed in from the Bubulo locale. Both geographies—Sweden and Uganda—are to be understood as never-ending processes of translation. This also implies that power structures act from both sides: In order to keep this alliance intact, openness and non-hierarchical ideals may have to be sacrificed. Whether you view it from the Gothenburg or the Bubulo perspective, access to this collaboration is restricted.

Incubator or not?

Surprisingly, the locals immediately rejected the original incubator concept, based on their experiences of business in the village. According to them, the Lighthouse would not work as a shared-space incubator. It was believed that the local entrepreneurs would steal ideas from each other, and act as competitors instead of helping each other with the start-up businesses. Moreover, a good idea in the incubator would most likely be copied without any major changes, which consequently would lead to a house with similar businesses run by different people. In other words, entrepreneurship did not necessarily mean the same thing for the local village people and the Swedish students.

On the back of these discussions, the idea narrowed down. The Lighthouse was to become a common facility where people would be welcome to rent space, either during the dark hours, or at times when there is a power cut and therefore impossible to work. From hereon, the development of a sustainable business model was high on the agenda; the Lighthouse needed a solid foundation from which to develop and sustain by itself in the future. Finally, the Swedish group decided to implement mobile charging for a small fee as one of the facilities that the house would offer. Together with secretary services, such as typing and printing, this became the basis of the business model for the Lighthouse.

Again, we see how different notions of entrepreneurship and creativity feed into the story: In the minds of the Swedes, but not the Ugandans, entrepreneurship emerges if you put a number of able individuals into a room together, and let them share ideas. Trying to

replicate this model, the Swedish group was eager to find ways of transforming the Lighthouse into a sustainable, stand-alone entity. Interestingly, the notion of secretarial services was probably not the type of entrepreneurship envisioned by the CSE students at the outset of the project. As we shall see, it may however prove to be one of the main ways in which project has impacted the local economy.

The view from the local entrepreneur

In order to explore how an initiative like the Lighthouse can impact the local economy, let us briefly focus on one specific local entrepreneur. At the time of the project launch, the local entrepreneur was a youth leader, involved in the RC. He subsequently became one of the members of the management board, responsible for the education division in the Lighthouse—indeed, the idea of secretary services came from this entrepreneur. This entrepreneur participated in the above-mentioned workshops, and became interested in exploring new routes of enterprise. With a background as a teacher with a major in economics and a great interest in computers, he identified a potential to create his own business. While participating in the workshops, he tried to learn as much as possible, reading the business books brought by the Swedish students. Conditions changed when he was excluded from the management board in the Lighthouse. Inspired by what he learnt from the Lighthouse, and adding knowledge he picked up during its establishment, he tried various entrepreneurial ideas.

His first initiative was to sell popcorn to people watching movies in the RC building. Another initiative revolved around administrative services. One of the things he had done in the Lighthouse was to give computer training together with a friend, which he felt he had to finish even though he was no longer welcome to utilize the Lighthouse for that activity. With the help from a friend he managed to continue the course he had initiated. Then, he opened his own small shop, in a shed at the main street of Bubulo, selling mobile phone accessories and offering phone charging when there was power. When his friend, who was in charge of the computer training, moved from Bubulo, he also included that as an activity in his shop. In addition, he has also added a video library where you can rent a video for three days to watch in your home. He identified this idea when he was in Kampala and realized that ‘nobody is doing it here’, in Bubulo.

Going forward, the entrepreneur hopes to supply secretarial services, after having taken a bank loan to buy a photocopy machine. He also plans to expand the business by buying a duplicator for videos, which will make it possible to make copies of the videos to sell them instead of renting. In relation to the video endeavor,

he has helped and supported two boys who have started their own video library up the street. Moreover, he plans to collaborate with a shop across the street where another friend is an expert on phone repairs. Thus, interestingly, the activity that may have been generated by the project has ended up elsewhere than expected. Rather than enshrined within the incubator, the impacts of the initiative may be found dispersed in the village. This theme will be discussed further in the next section.

Epilogue

After the official opening of the Lighthouse, and the completion of workshops in entrepreneurship, the Swedish students left Bubulo. Upon leaving, they had an agreement with the management of reporting every half a year about the continuing activities in the Lighthouse. A small fund was left on a bank account for some small salaries, unforeseeable events, and to help the management during the start up phase.

About four years since the first group of students visited Bubulo, the Lighthouse is still in operation. The facilities offered today are the same as before; mobile phone charging and some secretary services. Due to the constant and reliable supply of electricity from the solar panels there are always customers asking for the services. On a market with many small shops offering secretarial services in Bubulo, it is the solar panels that create the competitive advantage. The business of mobile phone charging is important and widely spread in the region and, as one informant explains, ‘when power is off, you can find hundreds of phones’ in the Lighthouse. There are, of course, not hundreds of sockets installed in the house. Instead, mobile phones are arranged in queues, as they await the charging session.

Prior to the establishment of the house, phone charging constituted a problem: At times, the power grid can be switched off for two weeks. This means that today, people are traveling from far distances to charge their phones at the Lighthouse. Thus, since the students left, neither the business model nor the activities have been altered. However, management has been changed once, and a library has been established in the house by three Swedish volunteers. Consequently, the main activities based on what happened four years ago are not necessarily taking place in the physical house today.

When surveying the people who participated in the entrepreneurship workshops—as mentioned above, some left the workshop—one can discern one thing. The knowledge in entrepreneurship has spread through certain individuals, who picked up the message and then translated it into improvements of their own businesses, or into new start-ups. The local entrepreneur introduced

above states that ‘the intention of Lighthouse was knowledge’ and not to provide equipment like computers to the village. The key to success of the initiative, he says, was its ability to ‘expand the entrepreneurs’ knowledge to the community so that people can be empowered’. On a similar note, the local contact who brought together the people for the workshops states: ‘The main contribution is that people has been encouraged to do something and to do it well.’ Thus, respondents from the village seem to cite inspiration as their main take-away from the Lighthouse initiative.

Discussion and analysis

In the case study sketched above, we can see numerous examples of goal translations, which has caused the project to ‘drift’ in terms of aims and outcomes. The original idea of setting up an incubator has been substituted for something altogether different—but that is not to say that no activity has been generated. As we shall see in this discussion, this drift can be understood in spatial terms: First, in the ways in which the great distance traveled ‘did things’ to the original idea; and secondly, in the ways in which the project came to operate in a different space than the one originally imagined.

As we have seen, the project set out to create an ‘incubator-as-we-know-it’ in Bubulo. What does this notion entail? As discussed by Scaramuzzi (2002), the concept of an incubator is relatively new and therefore not consistently defined. Not only the definition but also the approach can change depending on the mandate of the incubator (for-profit or not for-profit), type of sponsorship they have (public-private-mixed) and their focus (mixed or niche). An incubator often works as a company although it does not need to have the aim for profit. The process for the incubated company usually last for two to five years before the company can move on to its own place.

The notion of place and space is picked up upon by Hackett and Dilts (2004), who define the concept of incubator-incubation as:

A business incubator is a shared office space facility that seeks to provide its incubatees with a strategic, value-adding intervention system of monitoring and business assistance. (p. 57)

In the case of the Lighthouse, this original notion of an incubator was supplemented with the ‘added extra’ component of solar power. This was initially construed as something that would secure the smooth operation of the incubator. However, as we have seen, the notion of a ‘shared office space’—four walls and a roof—within which businesses could emerge did not materialize in a fruitful way. No firms have been incubated within this

space, and capital has not accumulated within the structure.

Still, the Lighthouse may indeed have generated activity. This activity is however not to be found inside the house itself. For instance, as we have seen, the secretarial services are now dispersed in sheds on the main street, rather than inside the Lighthouse. (This is connected to the inspirational aspects of the initiative that the local entrepreneur points to.) More interestingly, though, it is the solar energy component that has turned out to be the key feature of the house. Given the fundamental role played by mobile phones in countries like Uganda, and the fact that people come from far away to charge their phones (especially during power cuts), we may venture to suggest that the Lighthouse has done something to breathe new life into the economy. Indeed, the project – i.e. the building of solar panels–has had effects, it has ‘made and unmade the world’, but those effects cannot be detected by studying the business done inside the would-be incubator. Effects on economic life are more likely to be geographically dispersed, and difficult to captured through traditional incubation metrics. To capture it, researchers would have to follow mobile phones, as they travel to Bubulo, get charged, and then facilitate a host of activities as they move around the in the area. If there is an entrepreneurship that has emerged from the incubator, it is a highly dispersed one.

One key finding in the case is how the differing conceptions about entrepreneurship and the sharing of ideas affected the project. For instance, the Ugandans did not believe in the shared space/shared ideas approach of the Swedes. Similarly, there were differing conceptions about what entrepreneurial action entails; incubator-like businesses, or selling secretarial services? Indeed, these differing conceptions of entrepreneurship seem to have been one of the key reasons for the drift of the initiative.

Finally, the case study also points to the tension between the highly immaterial impact of ‘inspiration’, on the one hand, and the highly material aspect of solar powers generating raw power to fuel mobile phones, on the other. Whereas the local entrepreneur points to the importance of inspiration, most Bubulo residents seem to be using the sheer power of the solar panels to take part in economic life. The account of the local entrepreneur seems close to that of the original aims of the CSE class–to exchange ideas, in order to promote creativity. However, at the same time, the success of the solar panels and telephone charging facilities suggest that the RC was correct in its original recommendation, pointing to the fundamental need for sheer electric power.

Conclusions

Business incubation is increasingly construed as an effective way of promoting innovation, industrialization and start-up activity in low-income countries. Among policy-makers and academics, there is now a considerable interest in empirical studies that highlight success factors as well as pitfalls when attempting to set up business incubators in such economies.

This article feeds into this discussion, presenting a case study on a social entrepreneurial initiative to set up an incubator in Bubulo, Uganda. Based on qualitative material gathered over a four-year period, the study recounts the origins of the initiative, and traces its development over space and time. It thus also heeds the intra-academic call for more spatial studies of social entrepreneurship.

The stories and arguments presented lead us towards four main conclusions. First, the story of the Lighthouse points to how space matters when investigating social entrepreneurial efforts to establish business incubators in low-income countries. As we have seen, the geographical distance that such projects travel can cause the original aims to drift, as a result of constant processes of translation. Moreover, as these original aims shift, a project may come to operate in a different space than the one originally imagined.

Secondly, the case study highlights how one of the key reasons for the project drift is different conceptions of entrepreneurship. Thus, social entrepreneurs wishing to promote ‘entrepreneurship’ in low-income countries may be well served by a great amount of sensibility towards such differences.

Thirdly, on a more policy-oriented note, the case study of the Lighthouse prompts us to shift perspectives somewhat when it comes to understanding what such initiatives achieve. Rather than ‘creating’ entrepreneurship, projects like the Lighthouse are better seen as efforts to ‘mobilize’ existing activities. This holds particularly true when it comes to efforts to foster entrepreneurship in low-income countries, which observers from high-income countries may tend to construe as lacking in economic activity.

Fourthly, in terms of policy recommendations, the case presented above leads us to imagine new ways of thinking about incubation in low-income economies. In countries like Uganda, incubators are a recent phenomenon–something that has emerged during the past decade or so. Most of those incubators are not-for-profit and funded by public resources or by different donors. Following from the argument above, the notion of ‘an incubator without walls’ (Szogs, 2010) seems to be a fruitful way of imagining how entrepreneurship is to be fostered in these settings.

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Paper II

Perceptions of success of a social entrepreneurship initiative: a cross-cultural management approach

Abstract

Entrepreneurship is often linked to economic growth and is increasingly popular as a tool for economic development. However, entrepreneurship and cross-cultural management in Africa is still an under researched area. This paper aims to contribute to the understanding of how different perceptions of a fruitful project are a key aspect in the management of social entrepreneurship projects. It reports on a Swedish social entrepreneurship initiative in Uganda which was longitudinally studied from 2007 to 2010. Data was collected during field studies and interviews. The conclusion points at the fact that the interpretation of the results is influenced by the cross-cultural management perspective of the interpreter and easily follows the same ethnocentric pattern as we try to avoid when formulating projects. Those findings could be applied in similar projects anywhere in the world.

1. Introduction

Entrepreneurship is often linked to wealth creation and economic growth of a country (Garcia-Cabrera & Garcia-Soto, 2008) an idea that was stated as early as 1776 by Adam Smith (Holcombe, 1998). With a growing interest in entrepreneurship in general (Pines et al., 2010) it is currently a popular method for economic development all over the world, supported by governments, NGOs and a variety of organizations. According to Baumol et al. (2007), it is always, regardless of the state of the economic development, beneficial for developing countries to promote entrepreneurship although these countries need to find their own way of growth and sustainability. Initiatives to increase local entrepreneurship to alleviate poverty are many in developing countries all over the world. Not only specific projects but also in collaboration with companies and the civil society sector (UNDP, 2004). Success factors, success dimensions on which projects are evaluated and the analysis of the perceptions of coordinators of international development projects in Sub-Saharan Africa have been widely discussed in the literature (Diallo and Thuillier, 2004; Gow and Morss, 1988). However, entrepreneurship and cross-cultural management in developing economies, especially in Africa, is still an under-researched area (Jackson, 2011; Kshetri, 2011) despite the growing efforts of stimulating economic development through entrepreneurship (Garcia-Cabrera & Garcia-Soto, 2008). In addition, social entrepreneurship is increasingly popular (Vasi, 2009), with an origin that could be traced back to the US in the 1980s when Bill Drayton founded Ashoka (Smith and Nemetz, 2009), and that springs from traditional theories of entrepreneurship (Martin and Osberg, 2007). The focus of social entrepreneurship is to create social change with limited resources in hand (Sharir & Lerner, 2006). Social entrepreneurship is currently a developing research field which is opening up for more critical perspectives. Steyaert and Dey (2010) suggest that social entrepreneurship research should work for a more “dangerous” research agenda including a critical, inheriting or intervening approach through for example critically performing, reflexivity or participating. It is also suggested the notion of success, both in entrepreneurship and social entrepreneurship, may need new ways of measurements based on the entrepreneurs’ personal and moral nature (Kickul et al., 2010).

Cross-cultural management is discussed further in the next section and is, in this paper, aims to be context specific for the meeting between people with different backgrounds acting within different environments and certain conditions. This paper is based on a study of a case in social entrepreneurship initiated by a group of students at a university in Sweden. The initial idea of the case was to establish a business incubator, powered by solar panels, in a village in Uganda and to share knowledge within entrepreneurship with local entrepreneurs and potential entrepreneurs. The results,

however, were different from the ambitions that the Swedish group had with the project. In order to provide a deeper understanding of how the local entrepreneurs experienced the work and outcome of the social entrepreneurship project, data was gathered mainly through interviews in Uganda. The local people in the Ugandan village were of a different opinion – they saw many important things resulting from the project. Based on field studies and interviews with the local actors regarding their view of the case, the objective of this paper is to contribute to the understanding of how the different perceptions of what a successful outcome is can be understood through a lens of cross-cultural management.

The paper starts with a theoretical background on how the outcome from an internationalisation of social entrepreneurship can be understood using a lens from cross-cultural management. Then, the research approach and chosen method is explained together with the setting of the case study. The results from the study are presented and discussed, and conclusions for research and practice are drawn.

2. Theoretical background

Scholars have discussed the notion of success in social entrepreneurship in (at least) two ways: either in terms of “critical success factors” that are deemed necessary for the operation of a socially entrepreneurial venture (Boschee, 2006) or relation to the desired outcomes and social impact of the ventures in question (Kickul et al., 2010). This article engages in the latter discussion, focusing on success in relation to various actors' evaluation of the fruitfulness of a given initiative.

Furthermore, Vasi (2009) argues that existing case studies of social entrepreneurship tend to overlook cases in which the successfulness is somewhat more ambiguous. Steyaert and Dey (2010) relate Vasi's point to the notion of context –contextualising social entrepreneurship research implies a recognition of, and a sensibility in relation to, the fact that social entrepreneurs need to adapt to the local context or culture. This article endeavours to add local perceptions of entrepreneurial success to this list, and heeds Vasi's (2009) call for stories of entrepreneurship that do not fit into the mediatised mould of success stories. In line with recent contributions to entrepreneurship studies (Akudugu, 2011; Ihua et al., 2011; Turner, 2011), the text will survey local perceptions of the fruitfulness of enterprising ventures. This material will, in turn, be analysed through the lens of cross-cultural management.

Cross-cultural research has been present in the management literature during the last 50 years (Witte, 2012) and several scholars have researched cross-cultural management in different settings (Eglene and Dawes, 2006; Evaristo, 2003; Hofstede, 1980; Witte, 2012). Defining culture is difficult and has been debated by various researchers. Hofstede has dominated the literature with his definition and work on culture as “the collective mental programming of the people in an environment”. With this definition culture is not an individual characteristic but a characteristic of a group of people with similar life experience, such as education. According to Hofstede, culture is also rather difficult to change due to that it is based on the common experiences that people have collected for many years. However, Hofstede's definition has been heavily discussed and criticized. Without reflection there is also a large risk of focusing on cultural stereotypes, exaggerating the differences between people and including cultural biases in the interpretation of the results from management work and research (Eglene & Dawes, 2006).

While studying different countries there is on one hand a wide range of additional differences, including for example power dynamics within the cross-cultural interactions, and on the other hand countries with a lot of similarities across borders. An alternative to Hofstede's cultures (nation, group of people or organization) could be to focus on the multiple interfaces between those who meet, an analysis that is made on different levels (including continents, historical aspects and power relations),

and enable a more context specific insight. Interface then becomes the point of investigation from a cross-cultural perspective while cross-cultural interaction is the actual dynamics in the relation (Jackson, 2011).

Moreover, it has been argued that because culture is a deep rooted value system that changes very slowly it is difficult to change peoples' behaviour in another culture introducing a new management style, developed and specific for another context (Garcia-Cabrera & Garcia-Soto, 2008; Hofstede, 1980). Management concepts may even be wholly or partly inapplicable in other cultures due to their strong connection to human behaviour (Muriithi & Crawford, 2002). The conclusion is that the only way of transferring management is with a mutual recognition of the cultural differences where decisions are made in correspondence with the values within the environment where they are taken (Eglene & Dawes, 2006). Consequently, the critical issue is if the operating organization or group should choose to adapt to the local culture or try to change it. If there is an interest in applying knowledge, from management work in one culture on another, it is crucial to address common issues and reflect on them to be able to make a contribution (Eglene & Dawes, 2006). Thus, this paper aims to find out how the outcome of this specific social entrepreneurship project relates to the management of the project through a lens of cross-cultural management and its different perceptions of what a fruitful project is.

3. Method

To study different perceptions of success in a social entrepreneurship project, this paper focuses on a specific case where people from different backgrounds worked together and where it was possible to follow up the result of the project after a few years.

In addition, the advantage with a case study is that it gives an opportunity to gather a richness of data and context-dependent knowledge which is valuable in the study of human activities (Flyvbjerg, 2006). The chosen case is described below.

3.1 Introduction to the case

This paper is based on a case study of a social entrepreneurship initiative in a village in Uganda. Students from an action-based education at a Swedish university created a project to support the development of business activities in the village. This specific education is integrating entrepreneurial education with venture creation within the university (Lundqvist & Williams-Middleton, 2008; Ollila & Williams-Middleton, 2011) and the social entrepreneurship project is a recurring activity at the university. Each year, the first-year students are encouraged to create their own social entrepreneurship project together as a class and they are responsible for the whole project from idea to implementation with duration of one year of studies. The intention with the project is to give the students a broader perspective of entrepreneurship and to give them the opportunity to experience how much it is possible to accomplish together as a group. In addition, they learn from working in a large project group and practice how you motivate people with different incentives to put time and effort into the project.

The basic idea with the project implemented in 2007 was to establish a "business incubator" (in this case a place where local entrepreneurs could rent space to start up a business), and in addition share knowledge of entrepreneurship with the people of the village in Uganda through workshops. More specifically, the students identified a fundamental obstacle to the village's social and economic development: regular and reliable access to electricity (two years prior there was power only two to three days a week). The project thus focused on building a facility, powered by solar energy, which was then to function as a business incubator. The business incubator, later called "The Swedish house", was powered with solar panels placed on the roof and would provide opportunity for locals to

work also during power cuts and the dark hours of the day. In addition to the above, the students organized workshops in entrepreneurship during their visit in the village. The aim with those workshops was to inspire local entrepreneurs to start up new businesses with the help of the new opportunities in the business incubator.

A management group, selected through interviews, was appointed as responsible for the daily operations in the new built house (Henricson & Palmås, 2012). This group was the main partner on site for the group of students and consequently stakeholders in the project together with the group of students from Sweden. The long-term plan, with the aim of enabling a sustainable future for the project, was for the management group to create and find opportunities to develop additional businesses. From these activities, the management group would be able to make money and then invest more resources in the same or other businesses. If successful, it would soon be possible to employ someone to manage the secretarial services, phone charging and additional businesses. From the possible profit not reinvested in the business, it was agreed that ten percent would go to a fund supporting the poorest inhabitants in the village to increase their standard of living. The village is situated in the south-east of Uganda, in a region close to the Kenyan border. Most people in the region work as small-scale farmers, producing for example green bananas (plantain), which is the staple crop of Uganda.

When arriving in the village for the implementation phase, the students realized that they would have to adjust some of the original ideas. The main issue turned out to be the inability to rent and share the common space in the Swedish house due to a general feeling that someone would be able to steal your idea. Local entrepreneurs knew that it would not work out efficiently and alternatives of how the Swedish house could be utilized were discussed with the management group. Apart from that, the plan was followed to a great extent and agreements for the long-term plan and follow up reports were signed by the leaders of the management group and the student group.

After some years, it became clear that the milestones in the long-term plan were difficult to achieve. Although a phone charging service, secretary services and TV-show broadcasts have been functioning, they are all small businesses and people still work as volunteers or with a rather low salary. There was no surplus from the business so it was not possible to share anything with the poorest inhabitants in the village as was originally planned. The communication with the group in Sweden was after implementation managed mainly through the project leader and turned out to be rather slow and more complicated than anticipated by the student group. More recently, other groups of students have visited the village and additional projects have been conducted during the years after 2007.

3.2 Data collection

This paper is based on a longitudinal study of a case implemented in 2007 with continuous contact and additional projects until 2010 (Figure 1). The researcher has spent in total about one month at site in the village divided on three different occasions within one year (2009-2010).

Insert Figure 1 here

It has been possible to add information from observations, personal relations and participation to the data following an intervention research method. One purpose of this method is to produce knowledge to facilitate action in the field which makes the field important for the study because that is where the “practical knowledge and theory emerges” (p. 15, David, 2002). Intervention research requires that the researcher is able to work at intermediate and contextual theoretical levels to be able to serve action.

Observations made in the field are, within this methodology, interpreted as local, contextual examples of more general phenomena. The interviews for this paper were conducted during the last visit in the village and were grounded in previous observations (Figure 1).

An interview guide, with a semi-structured approach, was utilized to allow the interviewee to elaborate on the questions and connect to related topics. During the interviews the respondents were encouraged to describe their view of the project. Thus, some additional questions were formulated during the interview. The interviews focused mainly on the time from the introduction of the project (by the first group of students) to the implementation and first visit in Uganda in 2007. The questions covered three phases of the project; before the visit, the implementation phase on site and after the students had left Uganda.

In total, 16 semi-structured interviews were conducted in English, whereof the majority was about one hour long (Table 1).

Insert Table 1 here

All interviews were tape-recorded. An aspect which has complicated this research is the fact that communication always was in English with unfamiliar accents for both interviewer and interviewee, which sometimes made it quite difficult to understand the answers. When listening to the interviews it is obvious that the interviewer and the interviewees at some points have difficulties understanding each other. This works both ways and is partly a language barrier and partly something else which might be expressions or context bound differences of the two countries. The choice of words and the way one expresses opinions are tightly connected to the background of individuals. Both interviewer and interviewee ask for clarification when they feel it is necessary but there may be misunderstandings in the communication.

The excerpts from interviews presented in this paper are based on the accounts of the interviewees who have told their view of this project story. Each interviewee gives his or her own view of what happened and why it happened, and together their stories create a picture of how different perspectives of the same events come together. Every story is as important to understand what we can learn from the project. In this paper the researcher has decided to use “the village” and “the region” instead of the real names to make the interviewees more anonymous.

The researcher has been an advisor and faculty representative for the students during the later stages of the case, which has provided a unique access to data and given additional information from random unstructured observations and discussions with students. Additional data has been documented, written by the students, and utilized to get a broader picture of the case. This has also enabled the researcher to follow up the case and add more data over the course of the project. The advantage of being close to the data is that it increases the possibility to use the knowledge of the group to get even more information and insights.

4. Results - Stories from the field

How, then, do the local actors perceive the initiative introduced above, and what expectations did they have? This section is based on what has been shared in the interviews. The excerpts below are from interviews with the management group in Uganda where people had different roles, here called “solar expert”, the “Red cross representative”, the “treasurer”, the “IT-guy” and the “contact person”.

All members of the management group had been selected and interviewed based on the same criteria and it will be revealed how the motivation in the group springs from a variety of reasons and how the idea of what would be accomplished was misunderstood depending on the expectations people had.

The expert on solar panels had a competence that was useful for this specific project of putting solar panels on the roof of the Swedish house and this was also one of his main reasons for applying to the management committee:

My motivation was that I was told, you know we have various companies coming in Uganda, international companies, introducing solar, solar is a new technology and they are looking for at least able technicians, to join them. So that was the time when I heard about the Swedish group that has come up with Swedish house /.../ when I heard about solar centre then you know, that's the place I'm supposed to be.

“solar expert”

The name solar-panel centre had been understood by people in the region as a shop that was about to be established, which would import solar panels and spare parts. Although there was a change in the project when the students arrived in Uganda, the students' intention was never to establish a solar panel shop.

In addition, there were expectations on the organization behind the Swedish house which influenced why people applied to take part in the project. The idea was to start the activities in the Swedish house with volunteers who, as soon as possible, would be paid from the profit made in the small business in the Swedish house but also this part was according to the interviewees misunderstood. The same man continues to talk about voluntary work:

The general feeling was that they, some of them were looking for job and a salary /.../ It looks funny it didn't come but /.../ voluntary services are difficult /.../ because no one would never want to do voluntary work...

“solar expert”

This account reflects how people hoped for a job with a salary but they do not mention the opportunity to create a business within the Swedish house which was the basic idea for creating a sustainable future for the project and also seen as an opportunity for the management. Nevertheless, not everyone had this view of the project and the Red Cross representative, who was in charge for the planning of the project, put it like this:

...I'm a social worker so I usually feel proud when I'm serving people /.../ Of course I knew [that it was voluntary work] because I participated from the very beginning /.../ when you start a project you expect to develop and give services to the people.

“Red Cross representative”

High and unrealistic expectations influenced the project. The Red Cross describes the expectations as the main challenges during the initial phase of the project. In the end of this quote the Red Cross representative mention the follow up projects, such as the water works, that classes of students (Group 2, 3 and 4 in Figure 1) have worked on after the initial project with the Swedish house:

The biggest challenge at that time was people, you see people had high expectations. /.../ you know people thought that maybe Swedish house would come with other bigger projects, like water, like work and bigger works. But eventually, their expectations was ok. Because we now have [the water works] water surplus, we have protected spring, because of the Swedish house.

“Red Cross representative”

Other accounts illustrate different aspects of shared knowledge with the students, knowledge of entrepreneurship and such things as new ideas brought to the village:

I was expecting that I should learn from them.

“solar expert”

...I expected to get some new skills... from the Swedish students because I know very well that we live in different environment. How we practice things in Uganda may not be the same, in Sweden, so I wanted to know what really happens in Sweden, how they do things and like.

“treasurer”

What motivated me was...the knowledge I was expecting, 'cause I was just fresh from campus, from university, and I felt bring this people on board, the idea...

“IT-guy”

Almost everyone interviewed had recommendations of how they believed the project could have been improved. Although the management group had been selected after interviews based on certain criteria it turned out during the project that some of the members had positions with power, as leaders for different parts of the community, compared to other people in the village and in the management group. This was a topic that came up during the interviews and many talked about the importance of the people picked for the management group and how this should be done:

Once that one has introduced the idea, then you should get to the grass root...The people who give the service, and the people who are giving you the service in return. That one has got it well, finally recognizing those five. These are the people.

“solar expert”

On the other hand while discussing entrepreneurship knowledge in Uganda all interviewees confirmed that there are people in Kampala who could give lectures in entrepreneurship. Makerere University in Kampala is as an example, involved in world-class research in various areas (Kshetri, 2011). However, it is too costly to invite local scholars and according to some interviewees, people would not necessarily listen to lecturers from Kampala in the way they listen to the visitors from Sweden, something which the treasurer explains:

Yes, that [the information in the workshops] was very new,...Ah, in Uganda there are many but,.../ The majority are selfish. So, in [the region] it is like the Swedish you are the pioneer of that, that idea of entrepreneur and calling the community to come and share with them about entrepreneur skills. I would expand what is happening in [the village] to other places. Yes, and if we have a challenge, in fact a, we pray that the idea what is initiated in[this region], should happen elsewhere, [laughter], yes, because [this region] is a small rural place, so what other rural places away from [this region] could also benefit from the same.

“treasurer”

While continuing to talk about why it is important and valuable that a Swedish group of students travel all the way to Uganda to share their knowledge within entrepreneurship, the IT guy explains something similar. He argues that he trusts the Swedish group more and that when this group comes all the way from Sweden their knowledge must be valuable. Here, he explains why he trusts information from Swedish people more than if a Ugandan lecturer had been invited to talk about entrepreneurship:

...the belief is quite different, belief in some things, if I came and told something, told my brother that this pen, is the best pen. ..He might not believe me. But if my brother heard from his... friend that this pen is the best, he would believe it...For me, I feel it's a natural instinct. /.../ From different background, different exposure, and somebody carrying knowledge all the way from Sweden to Uganda. It means that is something of value.

“IT-guy”

Another account from the main contact person on site for the project who is also a local politician gives an additional piece of the puzzle when he talks about the three major reasons why foreign projects are necessary. In this account it all boils down to basic prerequisites like funding, technical knowledge and experience sharing which stand for both economic and social values that are needed to exchange between the people in Uganda and the Swedish group:

One, is the funding. We... are not extensively stable to fund a project, fully. Then two, the industrial equipment. The industrial knowledge. Because like the Swedish house if it had evolved to buying solar plates it would have been very costly. But if we had the same industries in Uganda producing solar plates, then it would be very... affordable /.../ three is that other people coming in is an encouragement and of course additional knowledge. We can have an idea, but not sufficient knowledge to...put that idea into reality. But when other people come in you share the experiences, you share the knowledge and eventually you do something which is sensible and substantial. So that's the contribution.

“contact person”

It is important to find the right people and, sharing knowledge and experiences are perceived as valuable for the further development process of the project. Thus, it is surprising that the members of this management group themselves mention the importance of finding the right people, in a way criticizing their own work.

5. Discussion

This paper is based on a case initiated in 2007 and mainly studied until 2010. It was clear from the beginning that the original project idea had to be adjusted in the implementing phase but when the first group of students left the village it was with the belief that the long term plan would be followed and successful from their perspective. However, over the years the development was not as fast as predicted and the results from the project did not give the impact hoped for. How can this outcome be interpreted through a cross-cultural management lens? Was the outcome from the social entrepreneurship project successful, and who decided that? This section will go through what happened and look at the results from different perspectives.

5.1 Implementation phase challenges

One common challenge in project work is expectations and how they are managed. In the interviews, there were questions regarding both the expectations of the interviewee, what the interviewee thought

about others' expectations and about the students' expectations. From the accounts, there are expectations on what the Swedish house would be used for, salaries, knowledge sharing etc. Neither expectations nor misunderstandings are surprising or new in those situations and could presumably have been managed with a higher awareness of their likelihood to turn up. That awareness may come with experience and lead to improved communication and has probably more connected to previous experience than the cross-cultural aspect of it.

When asked about how the project could have been implemented differently, most interviewees have had recommendations and suggestions including time planning and procedure for the choice of the management group. Different perspectives of time are one of the basic concepts in cross-cultural communication (Mikkelsen, 2005) which is also reflected here. In addition to the time aspect, the importance of working with the right people was pointed out in the interviews. The challenge of finding the right people in a new context, in a foreign country, should neither be underestimated nor neglected and is strongly connected to the power relations within the local community. As mentioned previously, the relations of power within the management group and between the management group and others have definitely influenced alternatives, solutions and actions on short and long term in this project. It would have been a challenge to reach the grass root level after initiating collaboration with people higher up in the local hierarchy. To ask for the grass root level would maybe have been perceived as rude and inappropriate and not necessarily successful. Nevertheless, more emphasis on the right people in the management group would possibly have improved the outcome of the project.

5.2 Long term development of the project

Another perspective is added if looking into how the project and the businesses in the Swedish house have developed since the first visit in the village. The action plan for the proceeding work was developed together with the management group but a few years later the goals were not met.

There are many potential reasons why the management did not take on the challenge of developing the business and all of them could be understood through a lens of cross-cultural management. 1. The attendance by the students influenced the local partners to promise more than they knew was possible to achieve, especially with their own time constraints, working in other employments and voluntary projects. 2. The action plan may have been based on the Swedish students' way of planning a project including their experiences from Sweden creating an unrealistic plan in the Ugandan context. 3. The agreement may not have been perceived as a joint document because of lack of communication and awareness and the students never understood that. Moreover, if the management group expected to get a salary from the work with the Swedish house, it is not surprising that they did not make the kind of effort the Swedish group had expected when they left the village. The fact that the Swedes came back may have given potential hope that there would be additional funding for salaries, which in turn may have decreased the motivation to expand the business.

5.3 A fruitful outcome?

What is a fruitful social entrepreneurship project and who should decide that? According to the interviewed members of the management group this project was quite fruitful. There are physical artefacts in place, workshops within entrepreneurship have been held and there has been a valuable exchange of knowledge with Sweden. Physical artefacts such as solar panels and services like secretary work are highly valued and give the Swedish house high status in the region but at the same time it is expressed how important it would be to share more knowledge with students from Sweden. However, the overall conclusion from the interviews has been that it was a good project that has been valuable for the region.

Looking at the outcome of the project from a Swedish perspective the case was about inspiring and sharing knowledge about entrepreneurship and introducing a sustainable business in the Swedish house. When looking at the outcome, it has been difficult to find out how many people were actually inspired from the workshops and who could use the new knowledge to develop a business. The only information that was communicated through a few interviews was the diffuse statement that the knowledge had been useful. In addition, the business in the Swedish house did not develop as expected and after a few years the businesses were still run at a small scale. Depending on who we listen to we get two diverse pictures of the project. Is the perception of success in this social entrepreneurship project based on the cross-cultural management conducted in the implementing phase? The management group in Uganda had more experience from previous similar projects and may have had expectations in line with the final result. The Swedish group may have created other expectations based on their contextual background that they did not manage to share with their partners in Uganda.

In addition to the two parts of the project that are about the physical contribution and the intangible knowledge there is also a more unconscious part revealed through the interviews. Based on that the Swedish group decided to travel far, spend time and resources on their trip and to share knowledge within entrepreneurship, the knowledge was interpreted as more valuable and true. It was also described as more inspiring and trustworthy with Swedish lecturers compared to Ugandan. Although it is meant to be positive it is also a sign of how roles and stereotypes based on the ethnicity and class hierarchy are cemented.

6. Conclusions

This paper investigates a case regarding the question of how this project was influenced by the two groups involved and the cross-cultural management of the project. Diverse expectations do not necessarily depend on the geographical or cultural diversities of the project and different perceptions of time have been shown to be one of the basic concepts of cross-cultural communication (Mikkelsen, 2005). Moreover, misunderstandings due to poor communication also figures in the interviews. Cross-cultural management informs this social entrepreneurship project and these management problems could partly be due to cultural differences and therefore potentially avoided with a higher awareness from the start of the project. The challenge is to balance the traditional view of the visitors from the north as more trustworthy, knowledgeable and with more valuable ideas. If we do not challenge this role as superior we will also decide what the best and expected result from the collaboration is.

The main conclusion about if the result was fruitful or not is that if the project is studied from the Swedish perspective it may be considered as a low output project regarding exchange of ideas, entrepreneurship and development in the village. In addition, the sustainability of this initiative is doubtful. On the other hand, listening to the interviewed stakeholders without any deeper analysis of the answers, it could be seen as a quite fruitful project. It all points at the fact that the interpretation of the results is influenced by the cross-cultural management perspective of the interpreter and easily following the same ethnocentric pattern as was tried to avoid when formulating the project. Ultimately, the visitors again wish to decide the agenda and what they believe is a successful entrepreneurship initiative. A fruitful and positive project would balance cultural differences throughout the whole process including the evaluation. This conclusion could hopefully give valuable insights for future similar initiatives.

Finally, a word about the contribution of this paper and its implications for future research. Success factors and success dimensions have been studied before but the contribution from this paper is the critical perspective of who decides if the project was fruitful or not. If the aim is to collaborate around development we should also decide together if the project had a positive outcome. The paper thus

contributes to the discussion on how to evaluate success within social entrepreneurship, and adds to the growing literature on local perceptions of international social entrepreneurial ventures. Given that this paper only covers one case it would be interesting to study more cases in Africa with the same prerequisites to find out if the result would be generic.

7. References

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8. Tables and figures

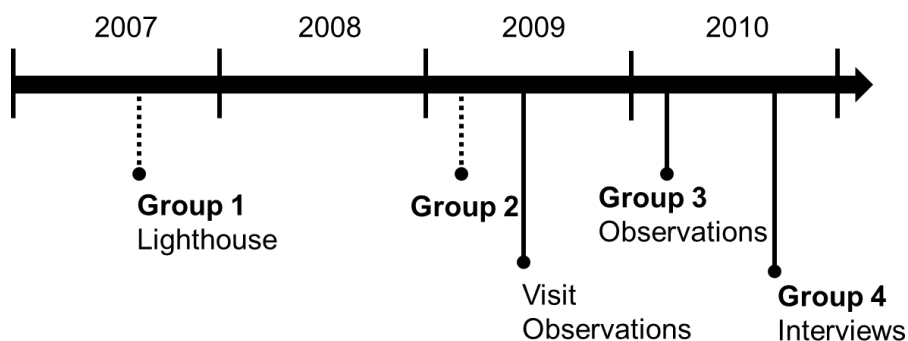


Figure 1. Data collection in Uganda. The researcher has visited the village three times, indicated with solid lines.

No	Interviewee	Description
1	Local politician	Politician on a high position in the local society.
2	Local entrepreneur communication	Branch manager in a ICT company, supported by the government.
3	Solar expert	Educated solar panel expert.
4	IT-guy	Local entrepreneur within IT and related services. Member of the management group.
5	Local entrepreneur clothing	One of the entrepreneurs on the main street of the village.
6	Local entrepreneur	Local entrepreneur within secretarial services who has run his business for

		three years.
7	Marketing representative	Responsible for the marketing and member of the management group.
8	Local entrepreneur CD and video, partner 1	Student and local entrepreneur on the main street burning CDs and running a video library.
9	Local entrepreneur CD and video, partner 2	Student and local entrepreneur on the main street burning CDs and running a video library.
10	Coffee entrepreneur	Member of the coffee project working with Group 2 in Figure 1.
11	Water works manager	Participating in the water works project, working with Group 2 and 3 in Figure 1.
12	Water works engineer	Participating in the water works project, working with Group 2 and 3 in Figure 1.
13	Red Cross representative	Chairman of the Red Cross organisation in the village. Member of the management group.
14	Treasurer	Teacher who is the treasurer in the management group. Runs a small hotel.
15	Contact person	The contact group to the Swedish students and member of the management group. Local politician.
16	Project leader	Swedish project leader who was one of the students in the student group.

Table 1. Table of interviewees.

Key words: cross-cultural management, social entrepreneurship, entrepreneurship, Africa, economic development

