



Identities and the pursuit of legitimacy: A study of black women wine industry entrepreneurs.

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Identities and the pursuit of legitimacy: A study of black women wine industry entrepreneurs

Purpose: The aim of this study is to better understand how black women utilize capital to frame their entrepreneurial identities in order to become legitimate and thus challenge institutional norms. To achieve this, the study draws on perspectives on legitimacy, identity, and capital, and focuses on the well-established wine industry in South Africa.

Design/Methodology/Approach: Using in-depth qualitative data from semi-structured interviews, this study delves into the lived experiences of nine black women entrepreneurs and three stakeholders in the South African wine industry. Such a context is unique because of the aspects of exclusion and segregation of black women. The data were supplemented with associated secondary material and were analysed using the constant comparative technique.

Findings: This study reveals dissonance, that is, a misfit, between black women's social identities and their entrepreneurial self-identities in the South African wine industry; the study uncovers that specific capital forms allow framing their identity through heroic self-description, exploiting professionalism, and enacting new roles to alter the perception of what is socially legitimate in the wine industry.

Originality and value: This study contributes to understanding by highlighting that black women entrepreneurs in the wine industry rebel against the expectation that they must fit into a predetermined role. The study highlights the relevance of legitimacy, identity, and capital theoretical perspectives to study an underexplored context and unpack how black women challenge the barriers that affect their entrepreneurial identities in their quest to become legitimate. The value of this study revolves around revealing the underexplored connection between entrepreneurial identity and legitimacy through actions taken by black women entrepreneurs when reworking the role(s) tied to their social identities. The findings suggest

1
2
3 the importance of capital, particularly cultural capital, in how black women entrepreneurs
4 become legitimate in the wine industry. Avenues for further research are offered.
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8 **Keywords:** black women entrepreneurs, social identity, entrepreneurial identity, identity work,
9 legitimacy, Bourdieu's capital, wine industry
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13 14 **1. Introduction**

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16 There is a growing interest in capturing richer aspects of women's entrepreneurship
17 (Marlow and McAdam, 2015), particularly in relation to black¹ women (Anderson and
18 Ojediran, 2022). Globally, black women are among the fastest-growing entrepreneurs' groups;
19 in South Africa alone, they are the largest micro, small, and medium enterprises segment of the
20 population, driving inclusive economic growth (IFC, 2019). Whilst prior works reveal diverse
21 challenges that black women entrepreneurs may have to overcome when establishing their
22 businesses (Knight, 2016), recent studies suggest that aspects related to legitimacy concerning
23 both their businesses and their entrepreneurial identity, that is, the embodiment of socially held
24 behavioral expectations (Radu-Lefebvre *et al.*, 2021), remain underexplored (Vershina *et al.*,
25 2020).
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39 Legitimacy – “a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are
40 desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, beliefs,
41 and definitions” (Suchman, 1995, p. 574) – offers a perspective to understand how women's
42 access to various resources, credibility, and societal approval are improved (Vershina *et al.*,
43 2020). Black women may aspire to be recognized and accepted as legitimate entrepreneurs and
44 employ diverse strategies to legitimize their businesses (Essers and Benschop, 2007; Díaz-
45 García and Welter, 2013), yet scholars suggest that they may be both covertly and overtly
46 rejected, as well as excluded, just because they are black women (Davidson *et al.*, 2010).
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58 Recent studies suggest dissonance, that is, a misfit, between their social identities – what they
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3 do in a particular context (Anderson and Warren, 2011) – and their entrepreneurial identities,
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5 painting a generally deterministic, somewhat challenging portrait of disadvantaged social
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7 identities restraining enterprise (James *et al.*, 2021). Thus, further attention to the influence of
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9 entrepreneurial identity in becoming legitimate is needed (Leitch and Harrison, 2016; Stead,
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11 2017).
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15 This study argues that prior studies have ignored how black women challenge the norms
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17 and prejudices that frame their entrepreneurial identities in achieving legitimacy (Tedmanson
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19 and Essers, 2016; Chasserio *et al.*, 2014), as their social identities may not fit well with a
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21 socially constructed, entrepreneurial, white, middle-class, male archetype that configures
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23 normative assumptions and expectations (Hamilton, 2013). Such lacunae may signal a lack of
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25 recognition for the social, cultural, and symbolic aspects (Anderson, 2015) linked to their
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27 access to, or lack of, resources and legitimacy (Dy *et al.*, 2017). A capital perspective on
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29 entrepreneurship, which relates to understanding how entrepreneurs use capital as a resource
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31 to position themselves in the world (Bourdieu, 1986), may allow understanding of how black
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33 women entrepreneurs frame themselves in a social structure of less equality in relation to other
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35 agents (Knight, 2016). Social structure allocates social identities and their social
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37 appropriateness. Similarly, capital has social origins, informed by the social structure and
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39 perhaps created by it (Dy, 2020).
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46 Considering that the operation of capital varies according to the particularities of the
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48 prevailing cultures, history, and social structures, the distribution of capital may reflect a social
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50 order, closely associated with social identity. Ergo, this study draws on Bourdieu's (1986)
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52 capital theory because it offers the opportunity to explore the interplay between structure and
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54 agency and may also explain the unique capital that individuals utilize to improve their
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56 positions; the theory also encourages simultaneous attention to the construction and
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58 maintenance of both disadvantage and privilege and captures the situatedness of identity (Tatli
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3 and Özbilgin, 2012). Indeed, examining how black women utilize capital in diverse ways to
4 frame their entrepreneurial identity in their quest to become legitimate within an established
5 industry is warranted (Ojediran and Anderson, 2020). Therefore, this study aims to better
6 understand: *How do black women utilize capital to frame their entrepreneurial identity in order*
7 *to become legitimate and challenge institutional norms?*
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15 To address the research question, this study employs a qualitative approach (Neergaard and
16 Leitch, 2015), relying on in-depth qualitative interviews conducted with nine black women
17 entrepreneurs and three stakeholders in the South African wine industry, supplemented with a
18 review of secondary materials. South Africa presents a relevant context, given its social history
19 of apartheid and black women's repression (Vink, 2019). Such a focus addresses prior calls to
20 go beyond the experiences of white and immigrant women in forming entrepreneurial
21 identities, and to look into the heterogeneity and experiences of black women as entrepreneurs
22 (Knight, 2016). The question was theoretically designed to allow the exploration of the
23 interplay between social identities and the agency that accompanies earning the entrepreneurial
24 identity in order to become legitimate. This study relies on the constant comparative method to
25 analyse data and to fine-tune subjective understandings of participants' meanings (Anderson
26 and Jack, 2015). Analysis of the data revealed how black women convert and use various forms
27 of capital – both possessed by them and available to them – to frame their entrepreneurial
28 identities in order to become legitimate, thereby altering the status quo of the established social
29 structure within the South African wine industry.
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51 This study makes several contributions. First, it contributes to expanding the conversation
52 on black women entrepreneurs' identities and legitimacy. Second, it supports the applicability
53 of Bourdieu's (1986) capital theory to contexts wherein black women are marginalized.
54 Further, it highlights the importance of cultural capital (Barrett and Vershinina, 2011) – that is,
55 the acquired competence to understand and leverage the amalgam of beliefs, values, customs,
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3 and institutions in every society– in developing *habitus*. Cultural capital equips black women
4 to operate as entrepreneurs based on their ability to fit in socially, which is crucial for gaining
5 legitimacy and shaping their identity (Vershina & Barrett, 2017). Black women in this study
6 leverage capital, particularly cultural capital, in their identity work – challenging social
7 structural norms, reframing their entrepreneurial identities, and underscoring a link to
8 institutional work – the purposive action of agents for creating, maintaining, and disrupting
9 institutions (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006) through reworking the role(s) tied to their social
10 identities.

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The article continues with the description of the theoretical framework, the context, the methodological imperatives and strategies, the empirically grounded findings, and a discussion. Subsequently, implications for practice, limitations, suggested areas of future research, and a conclusion are presented.

2. Theoretical framework

Legitimacy

Legitimacy assessments are social judgements based on feedback or acceptance from a wider audience (Fisher *et al.*, 2017). Entrepreneurship, broadly defined as a contextual, social process, is such that social and cultural dynamics are pivotal to understanding its practice (Anderson, 2015). For entrepreneurs and their enterprises to be considered legitimate, they must surmount whatever difficulties they face in their quest for social approval, desirability, and credibility (Fisher *et al.*, 2017; Vershinina *et al.*, 2020). Prior studies suggest that entrepreneurs must be different, but not radical; through their engagement with society and what they do, they form an identity that is distinctive, normatively appropriate, and equally familiar (Navis and Glynn, 2011). This suggests a paradoxical issue for black women entrepreneurs, as previous studies suggest a record of their oppression and discrimination (Davidson *et al.*, 2010), the need to fit into the established norms and culture in a particular

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3 context, and a demand to stand out as legitimate entrepreneurs (Swail and Marlow, 2018; De
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5 Clercq and Voronov, 2009).
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9 Scholars have underscored different legitimizing strategies that women utilize, including
10 (re)doing gender identities, symbolic boundary-keeping, resisting, or mimicking norms (Bruni
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12 *et al.*, 2004; Essers and Benschop, 2007; Díaz-García and Welter, 2013), explaining both the
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14 manifold ways in which women manage their identities and intersections in seeking legitimacy,
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16 and the diverse forms and strategic nature of women's identity work (Stead, 2017).
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21 Yet, Dy (2020) suggests that black women entrepreneurs' choices of legitimizing strategies
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23 may be influenced by the (dis)advantages inherent in their social structural positions. Such
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25 choices relate to category memberships such as gender, race, and social class status attached to
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27 their social identities, making their entrepreneurial engagement pervaded with power
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29 dilemmas. This suggests that to begin understanding how black women become legitimate we
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31 need to examine the interplay and relevance of social and entrepreneurial identities.
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35 *Social and entrepreneurial identities*

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38 A key social and cultural dynamic in entrepreneurship relates to social and entrepreneurial
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40 identities. An entrepreneur's self-identity centres on who the entrepreneur is, while the social
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42 identity relates to what the entrepreneur essentially does (Anderson and Warren, 2011). Archer
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44 (2000) explains social identities as the roles and relationships that individuals are committed
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46 to in society. Such identities could develop from one's unintended position at birth within
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48 society's distribution of capital, and from voluntary identification with and personification of
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50 specific social roles such as 'entrepreneur', which eventually become a part of one's self-
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52 identity (Kašperová and Kitching, 2014).
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57 Entrepreneurial identity is considered an 'umbrella construct' (Radu-Lefebvre *et al.*, 2021),
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59 deeply rooted in social orders (Williams Middleton, 2013) related to the internalization and
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3 personification of socially held behavioral expectations of an ‘entrepreneur’, dealing with
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5 logical claims to questions of: ‘who am I?’, ‘who is she?’ or ‘who are we?’. In essence,
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7 entrepreneurial identity is embedded, socially constructed by interaction, and performatively
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9 constructed (Anderson *et al.*, 2019).
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13 Social identities are focal components within various discourses that individuals refer to
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15 in their identity work (Chasserio *et al.*, 2014). For instance, within the enterprise discourse,
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17 certain social identities of ‘the entrepreneur’ exist that are constructed based on masculine
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19 social norms, which is a particular challenge for women entrepreneurs. Nonetheless, various
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21 studies highlight women’s specific experiences and the handling of different social identities
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23 in their identity work (Chasserio *et al.*, 2014; Díaz-García and Welter, 2013), stressing the
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25 dominance (Essers and Benschop, 2007), rejection (Lewis, 2013), or appropriation (Bruni *et*
26
27 *al.*, 2004) of the heroic, white, male entrepreneurial discourse by women (Hamilton, 2013). As
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29 entrepreneurial social identity is allocated by others (Anderson *et al.*, 2019), issues may arise,
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31 as agents cannot just define and label themselves as entrepreneurs and expect their narratives
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33 to be accepted and institutionalized by others (Kašperová and Kitching, 2014).
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39 Critiques about entrepreneurial identity draw attention to the normative entrepreneur as
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41 fundamentally masculine with heroic descriptions, making masculinity and heroism features
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43 of entrepreneurship that women, black women adopt in self-descriptions and align with in order
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45 to be recognized as credible entrepreneurs (Marlow and McAdam, 2015). Thus, constructing
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47 or earning a ‘fitting’ identity is focal to legitimacy achievement processes (Fisher *et al.*, 2017).
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49 It then appears reasonable to assume that the entrepreneurs are pursuing ‘fitting’ identities in
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51 order to become legitimate.
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55 Such critiques are relevant, as entrepreneurship is taking a turn towards entrepreneurial
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57 identity being fluid, yet characterized by conflicting processes (Radu-Lefebvre *et al.*, 2021),
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3 noting that women have multiple, socially constructed identities, which are relatively stable
4 but not fixed (Leitch and Harrison, 2016). These studies support the social constructionist
5 perspective in examining interactive dispositions (Williams Middleton, 2013), since it
6 accentuates the need to understand lived experiences in social, cultural, and historical contexts
7 (Berger and Luckmann, 1991). Studies following the social constructionist tradition have
8 highlighted the inherent conflict between entrepreneurial self-identity and social identity
9 (Watson, 2008; Lewis, 2013) – for instance, in research on the dissonance between
10 entrepreneurial and gendered identities (Díaz-García and Welter, 2013; Chasserio *et al.*, 2014).
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23 However, the dissonance that is compelling to us is intricate – the friction between
24 entrepreneurial self-identity and the social identity of being black women – which can be seen
25 as not ‘fittingly’ entrepreneurial. Simply put, it concerns who, what, and how black women
26 self-present as, alongside who, what, and how others identify black women as. Entrepreneurial
27 identity is relevant for this study, as it considers sensemaking and sense-giving notions; that is,
28 instead of just portraying social identities, entrepreneurial identity could be powerful, since it
29 can influence entrepreneurial action. The favorable judgement of others works to legitimize
30 entrepreneurial identity (Anderson *et al.*, 2019). The circumstantial denial or acceptance, the
31 entrepreneurial identities, and the quest for legitimacy in the practice of entrepreneurship, offer
32 a relevant framework for this study.
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46 While a woman entrepreneur’s identity can function as a proxy for a growing enterprise
47 (Swail and Marlow, 2018), women’s entrepreneurship is often associated with low monetary
48 and symbolic value, (mis)construed as a marginal entrepreneurial identity (Meliou and
49 Edwards, 2018). Yet this may overlook the approach of women entrepreneurs, based on their
50 entrepreneurial identity, to changes in cultural, legal, economic, and political norms (Ojediran
51 and Anderson, 2020). To overcome such challenges, scholars emphasize and encourage further
52 attention on what they do to legitimize their actions (Watson, 2008), and focus on the interplay
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3 of social structures and women entrepreneurs' agency, since these structures are characterized
4 in social identities as black, and as women, which trivializes their entrepreneurial identity and
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8 constrains legitimacy (Ojediran and Anderson, 2020). We focus on such items next.
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10 *Identity work and capital*

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14 A focus on what entrepreneurs (agents) do to legitimize their work and non-work
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16 actions, practices, and outcomes revolves around identity work, which comprises agents'
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18 actions in shaping self-identities and (re)authoring social identities that manifest in their
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20 relationship to others, while considering the socio-cultural restrictions of each context (Watson,
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22 2008; Chasserio *et al.*, 2014). Such a depiction highlighting actions, culture, and society
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24 suggests a complementary feature to perspectives of capital forms.
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28 Bourdieu (1986) distinguishes between four forms of capital – economic, cultural,
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30 social, and symbolic. *Economic capital* exists as monetary income and business assets
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32 convertible to money. It can be converted into cultural, social, and symbolic capital, with
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34 varying values and weights (Karataş-Özkan, 2011). *Social capital* is the totality of potential
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36 and actual resources, accessible through durable networks of relationships or support based on
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38 group membership – for instance, family, social, and professional networks (Bourdieu, 1986).
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40 Membership allows entrepreneurs to benefit from collectively held and shared capital
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42 (Anderson and Jack, 2002).
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47 Moreover, *cultural capital* refers to long-lasting dispositions, implicit and explicit culture,
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49 its know-how and *habitus*, gathered through the socialization process; it is embodied through
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51 taste, mannerisms, and style, objectified through artworks, and institutionalized through
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53 educational qualifications (Bourdieu, 1986). It is closely related to economic capital, since it
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55 takes time and resources to accrue, and is an extension of human capital, denoting the skills,
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57 training, and work experiences of entrepreneurs (Pret *et al.*, 2016). The structure and quality of
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3 an agent's cultural capital influence their social opportunities in the *field* (Bourdieu, 1986).
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5 Recognition of any of the above-mentioned types of capital can generate *symbolic capital*.
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7 Bourdieu (1986) defines symbolic capital as 'distinction,' from possessing the right types of
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9 capital to succeed in a field as per its rules. Symbolic capital is the status, prestige, and positive
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11 reputation that entrepreneurs possess in the eyes of others – objectified through recognition and
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13 awards, socially legitimized as power, prestige, and status (Vershina and Rodgers, 2020).
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18 Bourdieu (2005) posits that capital is interrelated with the concept of (institutional) *fields*
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20 (social arenas wherein individuals compete for capital to attain dominant positions) and a
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22 socially shaped *habitus* (dispositions – enduring, acquired schema of perception, thoughts, and
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24 actions), which represents the 'rules of the game'. *Habitus* revolves around an agent's
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26 dispositions to act in particular ways in certain social contexts – yet the agent is typically not
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28 consciously aware of them. For Bourdieu (1986), capital represents diverse resources – tangible
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30 and intangible – with varying significance within various *fields*, acquired (or not) in developing
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32 *habitus*. Thus, capital acts as the exchange means wherein power relations are legitimated and
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34 maintained.
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39 Bourdieu's depiction of fields and *habitus* aligns with identity work, as it homes in on the
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41 capital that black women entrepreneurs have and use in (re)crafting their entrepreneurial self-
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43 identities, and which they believe they will need to become legitimate, since through identity
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45 work – a way of dealing agentially with shaping their entrepreneurial identity – women
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47 entrepreneurs strive to be seen as legitimate by important others in order to gain access to
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49 resources and opportunities (Bjursell and Melin, 2011). Bourdieu's (1986) conception of
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51 capital, particularly cultural capital, shares identity research's interest in skills, know-how, and
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53 how one is valued by a specific group established within a milieu.
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3 Women entrepreneurs' access to and ownership of capital motivate their practice,
4 (re)establish the power structure and relations, and influence the enactment of their
5 entrepreneurial identities for legitimacy (McAdam *et al.*, 2019), since capital is a tool that
6 offers agency in their practice (Bjursell and Melin, 2011). Vershinina *et al.* (2020) note that in
7 Russia, the possession of foreign qualifications (cultural capital), work experience (human
8 capital), and access to international stakeholder networks (social capital) have enabled women
9 entrepreneurs to navigate institutional constraints that disregard their entrepreneurial identities
10 in their quest for legitimacy in high-technology industries, suggesting that black women
11 entrepreneurs could use capital as tools to exploit the possibility of agency in crafting their
12 entrepreneurial identities in order to become legitimate.
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27 However, black women entrepreneurs' social identities attached to their lack of capital
28 could influence the levels of support for legitimacy that they offer and receive within their
29 fields and communities. Both social identities and legitimacy have pivotal roles in the social
30 acceptance and embeddedness of women entrepreneurs in networks and fields (Stead, 2017).
31 Regardless of this, entrepreneurial identity, a process of 'becoming' (Giddens, 1991), can be
32 potent in women entrepreneurs' role performances and entrepreneurial behaviors in terms of
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61 In synthesizing the capital theory (Bourdieu, 1986) with established work on
62 entrepreneurial identity processes and legitimacy (Leitch and Harrison, 2016; Stead, 2017), the
63 authors theorize about identity work and black women's entrepreneurship by underscoring
64 capital forms as enabling conditions that black women utilize in different ways to frame their
65 entrepreneurial identity in order to become legitimate. The notions of capital described earlier
66 are important in this study, as Brush *et al.*, (2006) argue that women entrepreneurs circumvent
67 the liabilities attached to their social identities in acquiring capital by bootstrapping. Their
68 education/skills and social networks have been suggested as suitable to provide the basis for
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3 capital accumulation, including physical assets, organization, and economic capital (Carter *et*
4 *al.*, 2003). Black females have been noted to possess a range of capital that they choose to
5
6 utilize in creating a sense of self (Carter, 2003). Yet, further empirical evidence as to how they
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8 leverage their entrepreneurial identity and capital to become legitimate and challenge
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10 institutional norms in contexts where it can be manifested is needed. The research context is
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12 presented next.
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16 17 18 **3. Context: The South African wine industry and black women**

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20 Globally, the wine industry provides a relevant context to examine entrepreneurial
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22 dynamics, due to its associated concomitant capital, *habitus*, and practices (Brennan *et al.*,
23
24 2021; Spielmann *et al.*, 2021). In South Africa, the socio-economic impact of the wine industry
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26 is unequivocal, with an annual contribution to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in excess of US
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28 \$2.6 Billion (SAWIS, 2021).
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32 South Africa offers a relevant context for our study for several reasons. First, before the
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34 annihilation of apartheid in 1994, its wine industry was a no-go area for black women.
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36 Although the wine industry, dominated by the established white, landed, settler elites,
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38 commemorated its 360th vintage in 2018, its history and institutional structure are intricately
39
40 tied to South Africa's apartheid past. Formal institutions such as the National Party played
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42 pivotal roles; equally significant were the informal familial networks of the established settler
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44 families and how they wielded power over factors of production (Vink, 2019). Prior studies
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46 suggest that these elites, with their values encompassing patriarchal white supremacy, which
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48 was a part of their socio-cultural background, controlled commercial agriculture, particularly
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50 winemaking, using cheap black labor (Ewert and duToit, 2005). Thus, an interplay of identity,
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52 capital, independence, authority, and control over who lived and worked on the farms and in
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54 the industry characterized such contexts. Hundreds of years of colonial settlements,
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3 suppression of race and gender, and class domination have interwoven these notions into the
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5 social construction of white and black identities (Ewert and duToit, 2005).
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9 Second, the implementation of apartheid policies by the National Party in 1948, borne
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11 from agreements and pacts between the Dutch and British colonialists and the Afrikaner
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13 nationalists, sought to legitimize social and economic inequalities to further the development
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15 of Afrikaners' business interests (Vink, 2019). Apartheid, underpinned by a fundamental white
16
17 superiority assumption and based on subjective criteria such as appearance, meant that being
18
19 Afrikaans (white) denoted superiority over blacks. Appearance was largely interpreted as class
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21 (Seekings, 2008). In the wine industry, apartheid laws meant land segregation, since blacks
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23 could not lease or own land, and these laws became a foundation for the repression of black
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25 agriculture and enterprise, and the oppression of the blacks, in a bid to foster a constant supply
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27 of very cheap labor to the mines and farms (Vink, 2019), thus making a momentous mark on
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29 the labor, production, and enterprise practices within the industry (Ewert and duToit, 2005).
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35 Finally, black women were the most negatively affected by apartheid, given that they
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37 struggled with the 'triple oppression' of being 'non-white, female, and often poor' (Jaga *et al.*,
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39 2018, p.432). They were denied work access and mostly stayed in impoverished backwaters.
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41 The few city migrants were legally dependent on their employed husbands for urban residency.
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43 The race-based education system legally excluded them from employment, restricted their
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45 education to servant training, and pushed them into domestic labor. The designation of the
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47 cities as 'for whites only' and influx control rules inhibited them from engaging in the low-
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49 wage service jobs legally accessible to them. Therefore, they served their white masters as
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51 servants (Jaga *et al.*, 2018).
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57 The post-apartheid political system altered the structure of the wine industry, and in 1997,
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59 deregulation and privatisation birthed a new era. Thus, the roles and the functioning of the
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3 Koöperatiewe Wijnbouwers Vereniging van Suid-Afrika, KWV (a wine production cooperative
4 of South Africa) and other key players that became producers' cellars, wine estates, and grape
5 farms changed, while the number of private cellars increased (Vink, 2019). Yet, the industry is
6 burdened with norms and expectations that foster certain power structures and boundaries, with
7 the 'establishment' most likely to recognize those with similar attributes (Ewert and duToit,
8 2005). The new political dispensation, with its promises of affirmative action, land reforms, and
9 the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) programs to redress some of the previous wrongs,
10 paved the way for previously disadvantaged people to venture into the industry.
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22 Thus, a context in which black women who *entreprendre* as independent, first-generation,
23 wine entrepreneurs are likely to be rejected because they are black women, offers an interesting
24 milieu to explore how they may become legitimate, creative, and able to leverage capital to
25 succeed.
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32 **4. Methods**

33 To answer the research question: *How do black women utilize capital to frame their*
34 *entrepreneurial identity in order to become legitimate and challenge institutional norms?*, this
35 study's methodology is qualitative, given its appropriateness for the exploration of social
36 processes in entrepreneurial identity construction (Chasserio *et al.*, 2014). This approach
37 allows locating narratives and practices conceptually and empirically in context (Neergaard
38 and Leitch, 2015). The background data were informed from discussion and reading from
39 history sources, which offered us informed 'thick' contextual descriptions (Geertz, 1973).
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51 Considering this approach, the authors recognize the subjectivity in the observations and
52 analyses, but they ensured that the interpretations were examined in the intra-research team
53 discussions by broaching and critiquing one another's prejudices and views (Neergard and
54 Leitch, 2015). The authors understood that the questions asked shaped the data; while
55 remaining impartial, though, certain responses were inexorably triggered. This approach is
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3 prevalent in social construction, where researchers analyse interpretations of others'
4 interpretations (Anderson *et al.*, 2019). Nonetheless, this was tackled by ensuring that the
5 participants' voices were heard in the explanations.
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10 ***Sampling and data collection***

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13 The primary units of analysis were the lived experiences of black women entrepreneurs
14 (micro-level) operating wine businesses and three wine industry stakeholders in Cape Town,
15 South Africa. Accordingly, the data collection from August 2020 to February 2021 comprised
16 in-depth semi-structured interviews, which helped to capture context and actions. Due to
17 COVID-19 pandemic travel restrictions and physical distancing, the authors adapted but
18 ensured that the research quality was maintained (Tremblay *et al.*, 2021). All interviews were
19 digitally conducted, using voice over internet protocol (VoIP) mediated technologies (e.g.,
20 Zoom) as qualitative data collection tools. These allowed for real-time interaction, consisting
21 of sound and video, permitting transmission and responses to verbal and non-verbal cues, and
22 mimicking face-to-face interviews. Both the audio and video features helped establish
23 familiarity and trust with the participants (Archibald *et al.*, 2019). A virtual pilot interview was
24 conducted with the respondent Afua to contextualize the study, validate it, and ensure the
25 reliability of the interview data and methods, adding credibility to the study. The interviews
26 ranged from 62 to 173 minutes.
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46 INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE
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49 Table 1 shows the profile of the respondents and the volume of the qualitative data
50 collected. The participants were selected through purposeful sampling, because it connects the
51 sampling strategy to the purpose of the research, focuses on what people do, and permits the
52 researcher to choose participants based on their breadth of knowledge and experience of the
53 phenomenon being explored (Patton, 2015). One author knew some black women
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3 entrepreneurs in wine, so they became willing respondents and introduced us to the others.
4
5 They had been in the industry for at least ten years and had operated their wine businesses for
6
7 at least two years. The nine respondents matched these criteria, operating their wine businesses
8
9 with at least two employees. The three stakeholders were independent wine industry experts
10
11 involved in the international wine business, offering valuable data with respect to the
12
13 acceptance of black women entrepreneurs in the industry. They had been in the industry for at
14
15 least seven years. To achieve methodological rigor during the data collection, the study
16
17 followed Lincoln and Guba's (1986) recommended 'trustworthiness criteria' of credibility,
18
19 transferability, dependability, and confirmability.
20
21
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23
24

25 In line with social construction (Berger and Luckmann, 1991), the aim was not to capture
26
27 the truth but to understand how they utilize capital to contest the norms framing the enactment
28
29 of their entrepreneurial identities in order to earn legitimacy, and to elicit the stories of their
30
31 enterprise start-ups. The interviews began with the open-ended question: 'Can you tell me
32
33 about yourself, your background, and about your business?' Using plain language (Patton,
34
35 2015), initial explications were further probed with questions that allowed the respondents to
36
37 further expand on their stories, in many instances referring to critical events, which offered us
38
39 an opportunity to have a deeper appreciation of their lived experiences. The authors are mindful
40
41 that this study adds to the women recognizing and describing themselves as entrepreneurs by
42
43 discussing their entrepreneurship journeys, thus strengthening their self-identities (Lewis,
44
45 2013).
46
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49

50 The main data were the interviews, the 'field' notes developed during the virtual
51
52 interviews, plus additional data collected from the websites, media, and social media coverage
53
54 of the participants (Silverman, 2016). The interview protocol directed and stimulated
55
56 conversation, allowing them to recount their lived experiences, entrepreneurial practices, and
57
58 contexts (James *et al.*, 2021). Interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim, which
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1
2
3 generated a large volume of raw data and permitted an iterative reading and systematic analysis
4
5 of the data. Each researcher reflected on and discussed individual research experiences,
6
7 feelings, and prejudices, particularly of data gathering using web technologies. While the
8
9 experiences of one of us, a black woman who lived and studied in Cape Town, could taint the
10
11 readings of the transcripts, being critical as a team assisted in eliminating this bias.
12
13

14 15 ***Data analysis*** 16

17
18 Although the data collection process was informed by the literature and the theoretical
19
20 framework, the analysis was not inhibited by this understanding. Adopting the inductive
21
22 approach to data analysis, the collected data were filtered, the inapt ones disposed of, and vital
23
24 parts connected (Silverman, 2016). The next phase was to seek out patterns and explanations.
25
26 Utilizing the constant comparative technique (Anderson and Jack, 2015), which entails
27
28 recursive sensemaking of the data to analyse the relevant data, movement was made iteratively
29
30 between data and data, data and theory. The data were grouped according to social identity
31
32 disadvantage (rejection, marginality), respondents' approaches (heroic/norm mimicry, role
33
34 enactment), and the capital forms used. Through the process of continual comparison within
35
36 the same categories and action patterns, different themes emerged. For instance, Figure 1 shows
37
38 eight different quotes from the respondents, including the themes of non-economic capital
39
40 forms in heroic entrepreneurial self-descriptions in the recounting of their identity work.
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47 Manually, themes were compared and contrasted, and patterns and commonalities were
48
49 searched for across the respondents' experiences in order to develop superordinate categories,
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51 through three cycles of theming, noting emergent themes in the familiarizing, reading, and re-
52
53 reading of the datasets, then comparing themes with theories (Boeije, 2002). Themes and
54
55 similarity patterns were discovered and conceptually knitted to build explanations. The
56
57 iterations were largely trial and error, which continued until the team reckoned that the data
58
59 were theoretically saturated with sufficient data to establish convincing explanations that
60

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3 answered the research question, and it was improbable for further iteration to offer a better
4
5 understanding.
6
7

8 Each of the lived experiences of the participants signifies an example of their attempt to
9
10 frame their entrepreneurial self-identities in order to become legitimate. Pseudonyms have been
11
12 used to maintain the anonymity and confidentiality of the participants' identities. Through the
13
14 process, one of the authors took on the role of devil's advocate, critiquing the evolving patterns
15
16 and themes (Anderson *et al.*, 2019). The report of the findings is based on the participants'
17
18 viewpoints, with direct quotes from the virtual interviews and media sources.
19
20
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23 **5. Findings and discussion**

24 The key findings that have been analysed regarding relevant emergent themes from the
25
26 data, grounded in the literature, are presented below. Marginality and the influences of the
27
28 dissonance between the entrepreneurial self-identities and social identities of the respondents
29
30 were observed. Moreover, using Bourdieu's thinking about capital, equally noted was how the
31
32 participants have seemingly contested the norms and values that frame the enacting of their
33
34 entrepreneurial self-identities, pursuing legitimacy through their identity work. Figure 1
35
36 illustrates the ordering and the structure of the data, from the first-order codes to the aggregate
37
38 themes used in conceptualization.
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44 INSERT FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE
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46 **Non-economic capital forms in heroic self-description**

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48
49 Data analysis revealed capital as facilitating in heroic self-descriptions, which involved
50
51 acknowledging the significance of some non-economic capital forms in embracing traditional
52
53 descriptions of the heroic entrepreneur in self-identities, rooted in entrepreneurial enactment.
54
55 Having transformed the participants' investments in education into various skills, including
56
57 winemaking, institutionalized as certificates (cultural capital), and having developed some
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1
2
3 durable relationships along the way (social capital), which they draw on, convert to, and use to
4
5 increase their economic capital through generating wine sales, the respondents self-present as
6
7 being 'called' to *entreprenre* within this industry, with remarkably similar heroic motivations,
8
9 which seem to emerge from their experiences of South Africa's historical past.

10
11
12
13 Figure 1 shows that the respondents' calling appears to be accompanied by an overarching
14
15 driver for action. This has to do with impacting their social environment, making them
16
17 committed to entrepreneurship, though their business logic is different from that of a social
18
19 enterprise. Intriguingly, they seem to consider themselves as heroines for leveraging some non-
20
21 economic forms of capital in engaging in what past generations could not do by owning wine
22
23 businesses, a previously forbidden pursuit. For instance, Elena explained:

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25
26
27 *...Mandela's post-1994 call sealed it; I thought: I am well-educated, if it is not me, who else? I thought*
28 *I could do what our people had never done before, ...I started my winemaking venture...*

29
30 While the respondents' enterprises are relatively new in this over 360 years standing,
31
32 they still comfortably self-identify as entrepreneurs and willingly apply the label. Tanja, an
33
34 industry expert, remarked:

35
36
37 *This industry is driven by generational, family-owned estates, so when these women began their wine*
38 *businesses in the early 2000s, parading themselves as entrepreneurs, it was unusual, and generally*
39 *unwelcomed by the traditional businesses, who didn't instantly adopt them as entrepreneurs, but these*
40 *ladies persisted.*

41
42 The respondents feel that they have fulfilled the basic conditions, such as venture start-up, risk-
43
44 taking, and business performance in terms of wine sales, which they consider as some of the
45
46 marked characteristics of an entrepreneur, though there is no specific array of features that
47
48 define an entrepreneur (Williams Middleton, 2013). Ilo, for example, remarked:

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50
51 *...I was not into wine at all, but the wine business chose me...my training was beneficial in seeing the*
52 *opportunity, I met with the KWV people, I took a risk to venture into a business I did not know; I became*
53 *an entrepreneur that day.*

54
55 Figure 1 reveals that in recounting their various entrepreneurial actions, the respondents
56
57 describe themselves through heroic entrepreneurial identifiers of the institutionalized mythical
58
59 stereotype, established in the performance of their identity work as wine entrepreneurs.
60

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3 Interestingly, they inertly equate being black women with mental fortitude, but paradoxically,
4 they do not explicitly privilege the words female, woman, or black in the discussions of their
5 entrepreneurial identity and processes. This is because their self-identities as entrepreneurs
6 conflict with their social identities as black women, inducing exclusion. This exclusion renders
7 an awareness of the 'lucidity of the excluded' in their field (Bourdieu, 1990, p.26). Thus, they
8 ignore practices that exclude them and do not interpret themselves with regard to the
9 disadvantaged social identity of black women. Rather, they dissociate from the 'disadvantage',
10 but embrace the categorical, heroic characterizations of the entrepreneur, self-present
11 themselves as one, and lay claims to the characterizations because they agree with their internal
12 sense of self (self-identity). Liesl's comments highlighted this:

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26 *Doing this business looking like me is not easy; ...I was alienated. The Afrikaners were the winemakers,*
27 *the only ones in this business; they thought I was uneducated and would not succeed, but I persisted.*
28 *To them, I was not an entrepreneur...But I make the decisions. I take risks. I am an entrepreneur; it is*
29 *simply who I am. As the lead entrepreneur, winemaker of XXX wines, and as a black woman at that,*
30 *you don't realize how strong you are...*
31

32
33
34 Although the participants contrast in their venture creation approaches, previous job
35 experiences, numbers of years spent in the industry, degree certificates, and professional titles
36 (see Table 1), they all consider their education (cultural capital), previous job experiences
37 (human capital), and contacts within and outside of the industry (social capital) as preparatory
38 to their *entrepreneurship* and bolstering to their entrepreneurial self-identities. For instance,
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45 Elena noted:

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47
48 *...as an entrepreneur, it was gruelling when I started 18 years ago, I was considered atypical. The*
49 *unacceptance that comes with looking like me in this business was intense; they questioned my*
50 *competence to run a winery...But my education helped a great deal, especially in seeing opportunities*
51 *and taking calculated risks. Also, my connections within and outside of this industry were handy...*
52

53 Similarly, Liesl stated:

54
55 *...my winemaking degree, previous work experiences, and my professional contacts equipped me in my*
56 *situation as the lead entrepreneur, in making decisions...*
57
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3 The stories among the respondents are alike; they mentioned their struggles, including
4 prejudices and how their capabilities to operate wine businesses are strongly challenged. Not
5 to be taken seriously is a persistent experience for them. However, they note the influence of
6 non-economic capital forms in their identity work. In describing their identity work, they tend
7 to highlight their education and professional training (cultural capital) as enabling to their
8 decision-making, risk-taking, and opportunity recognition, while disengaging from their social
9 identities as black women. They activate and acknowledge the facilitating effects of capital in
10 their embrace of the normative entrepreneurs' heroic qualities, although it appears that they
11 pay heed to the dominant masculinized enterprise discourse. Largely, they seem to have
12 personified some aspects of the discourse, making it meaningful, appealing, and practically
13 empowering to them.
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29 In her narratives, Liesl emphasized predominant entrepreneurial qualities such as
30 leadership, risk-taking, and toughness. Congruent with other participants, she appeared to
31 exhibit a conforming mindset when reflecting on her encounters in attempting to grow the
32 business. While explaining her *entrepreneuring* processes, she indicated that several people
33 depend on her for their survival, reflecting her authority, responsibility, and 'heroic'
34 significance as the strong provider of wages and salaries to her employees and farm workers.
35 All but one of the respondents emphasized their heroic significance towards their employees,
36 particularly when accentuating the need for their businesses to remain a going concern.
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48 Consciously or otherwise, the participants seem to have internalized the normative
49 entrepreneur's heroic qualities and claim them as their self-identities. In a bid to challenge the
50 socio-cultural biases and the taken-for-granted beliefs about the inclusivity of black women in
51 the wine business, using their acquired knowledge in wine (cultural capital), they mimic and
52 seem to have learnt and adopted the language and behaviors of winemakers (businessmen),
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3 which are some known behaviors of the male stereotype, and seem to secure the ‘approval’ of
4
5 their employees and farm workers. For example, Ilo stated:

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7
8 *...I don't stop, I can't, and I think that is what sets me apart as an entrepreneur. They see me as an*
9 *angry black woman; I don't care as long as I make and sell my wines.*

10 Likewise, Liesl described her actions thus:

11
12 *...I become very aggressive, strong-willed, and take calculated risks. People see me as a tough black*
13 *woman, a bitch.*

14
15 The participants have developed the ‘angry black woman’, ‘iron lady’, ‘bitch’ personas and
16
17 repute that highlight these masculine conducts. Particularly, evidence suggests that they do not
18
19 perceive the ‘adopting’ of the male stereotype as negative to their self-identities, since their
20
21 specific *habitus* with dispositions of ‘how to be and how to do’ as (wine) entrepreneurs,
22
23 acquired through their relationship to the wine industry(*field*) and the incorporation of its
24
25 specific logic, aligns with this, corroborating earlier work on women’s entrepreneurial
26
27 identities (Bruni *et al.*, 2004; Essers and Benschop, 2007). They see the adopting of the male
28
29 stereotype as a good fit as long as they achieve their aims; hence, they are not dissociating from
30
31 the inherent heroism. Self-identifying with and mimicking masculine behaviors seem to be
32
33 approaches that assist the respondents in enacting perceived legitimate entrepreneurial
34
35 identities. It seems that agentic identity work is pivotal to their legitimacy processes.
36
37 Further, the lack of explicit privilege for the words woman, female, and black in their
38
39 entrepreneurial identities discussions signals a disadvantage in their subject position. However,
40
41 by leveraging their education and acquired skills (cultural capital), previous professional
42
43 experiences (human capital), and some valuable relationships (social capital) in enacting the
44
45 ‘entrepreneurial qualities,’ they seem to have obtained some semblance of self-awarded
46
47 ‘heroine status’ and tend to embrace a distinguished outlook towards being a minority in this
48
49 industry. Recounting her business commencement day experience, Ilo remarked:

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51
52 *...I was the only black and (the only) woman in a meeting of eight people.*

53
54
55 Relatedly, Betty reported:

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3 ...after ten years as the only black and female winemaker in the company, ...now, as an entrepreneur,
4 when I meet with clients in China, Japan, I find that I am the only woman and black talking and dealing
5 in that space at that moment.
6

7 The data from the respondents reveal how they have accultured, thinking with the rules of
8 the game (*habitus*) in learning and conforming to, but the wine industry (field) power dynamics
9 has set the onus on them to ‘fit in’ rather than challenge the rules of engagement, thus they
10 remain marginalized. However, in exploiting capital (resources needed for developing (or not)
11 *habitus*) – particularly cultural capital – in their identity work, and the individual adoption of
12 features of the enterprise discourse, the respondents demonstrated their ability of thinking with
13 the required *habitus* and developing their participation in the field (Bourdieu, 1986). Thus, the
14 participants are granted some active agency to (re)frame and shape the significance of their
15 entrepreneurial identities in order to become legitimate. Although Bourdieu’s (1986) capital
16 theory has been used as a framework in women’s entrepreneurship (McAdam *et al.*, 2019), less
17 has been known of its applicability in contexts where black women entrepreneurs are
18 marginalized. This finding supports the relevance of Bourdieu’s (1986) capital theory in
19 contexts where black women entrepreneurs are marginalized and expands the debates on their
20 entrepreneurial identities and legitimacy processes by foregrounding the essentialness of
21 capital, particularly cultural capital, in their identity work.
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42 The respondents’ identity work appears to be guided by the meaning they give to their
43 entrepreneurial identities, making stakeholders – including employees and clients – seem to
44 approve of and recognize them as legitimate entrepreneurs, although the ‘establishment’, the
45 incumbent members of the wine industry, did not immediately approve, suggesting that
46 entrepreneurial identities are deeply rooted in social orders (Williams Middleton, 2013).
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54 **Cultural and human capital in exploiting professionalism**

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56

57 The data analysis revealed that the participants’ self-identities as entrepreneurs are built
58 on several components, such as their professional paths, families, and communities’ areas of
59
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1
2
3 their past and present lives. Thus, their social identities are linked with the many other social
4 roles they play. However, the data suggest that they are caught in an intricate system of
5 discrimination and power relations, given that different social conditions intertwine and emerge
6 as their social identities, which work as either a disadvantage or privilege to them.
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13 While their self-identities and activities as entrepreneurs seem to influence other black
14 women, farm workers' families, and communities, their entrepreneurs' identity effects are not
15 immediately recognized by the established elites in the industry. This is because the perception
16 and presentation of the respondents completely differ from what they know of black women in
17 the industry and how they have come to know this. Their movement from being servants to
18 entrepreneurs involves a clash of *habitus* and field. Expressed differently, they have not been
19 considered to be legitimate entrepreneurial identities in the wine industry(field), which
20 highlights the conflict between the respondents' social identities and entrepreneurial self-
21 identities. For instance, Stella remarked:
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33 *Black women are servants, farmhands, and white women in the industry generally are marketers with*
34 *red lipsticks, who present bottles of wine. We did not start at that level. We began talking production*
35 *systems, value chain, governance, finance, and export arrangements – as entrepreneurs.*
36

37 Figure 1 shows the respondents' acknowledgment of skills (cultural capital) and, by
38 extension, professional experiences (human capital) as the foundation of who they are and what
39 they do as entrepreneurs. While the respondents differ in their professional expertise (see Table
40 1), they all possess competence in wine appreciation. Although they suffer from a lack of
41 legitimacy in their wine businesses, given the dissonance between their self-identities as
42 entrepreneurs and social identities as black women, evidence suggests that normative social
43 expectations produced their entrepreneurial identities, and not what they did. The respondents
44 have attempted to overturn this. Influenced by their professional paths, they exploit the strength
45 of their professionalism, acquired knowledge in wine, cultural behavior, bounded professional
46 networks, and other limited capital in their ventures. They claim their entrepreneurial identities,
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3 displaying creative entrepreneurial practices, striving to become legitimate, and concurrently
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5 driving industry-wide transformation. This expands arguments on women entrepreneurs'
6
7 identity construction (Díaz-García and Welter, 2013; Lewis, 2013) by highlighting the
8
9 importance of capital to the identity processes of black women entrepreneurs. Stella noted:

10
11
12
13 *We (a group of black women professionals in wine) came together because we really want to do business*
14 *in the wine industry...The struggle was profound when we started. They assumed we were illiterates,*
15 *and we were completely undervalued. It is this thing that a black woman can never be independent, you*
16 *cannot be your own boss...They were reluctant to deal with us. But we kept displaying our expertise as*
17 *experienced professionals, entrepreneurs who know the wine business, making it known that we are not*
18 *less than them...*

19 Stella described how twenty black women professionals in wine teamed up to start their
20
21 wine enterprise, without the huge economic capital outlay required for traditional vineyards
22
23 but leveraging their professionalism, various experiences, knowledge of the industry's value
24
25 chain (human capital), certifications in wine (cultural capital), and limited networks of durable
26
27 relationships. She mentioned their struggles with embedded bias and intense negative reactions
28
29 to their entrepreneurial identities and legitimacy. Her unusual business model offers a rich
30
31 example of professionalism in the process of earning entrepreneurial identities for legitimacy.
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36 While they have faced discrimination and the influences of the archetypal white male in
37
38 the wine business, with an unfamiliar business model they have deployed their professional
39
40 expertise (cultural capital) and, by extension, their professional experiences (human capital) in
41
42 wine analysis, marketing, finance, development, and social responsibility. They carry out their
43
44 identity work through partnering with existing cellars, bottling, and packaging firms to produce
45
46 their wines, playing a pivotal role in Fairtrade Certification, which includes the principle of
47
48 BEE, attempting to overcome social structural disadvantages tied to their social identities,
49
50 creating more visible entrepreneurial identities, and solidifying their position in the industry.
51
52 Thus far, cultural capital has received scant attention in black women's entrepreneurship
53
54 literature, regardless of its link to economic capital generation and legitimacy (McAdam *et al.*,
55
56 2019). Consequently, this study contributes to the literature by highlighting the import of
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3 cultural capital(education and skills), which offers an opportunity to learn and think with the
4
5 required *habitus* crucial for entrepreneurial legitimacy in various fields.
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8 It is interesting to note how Stella, as the lead, positioned herself to convert and employ
9
10 her entrepreneurial team members' expertise, persisting by acting 'not less than them' in
11
12 various partnerships in order to establish their venture. She remarked:
13
14

15 *In 2012, I found myself alongside these Afrikaners as a board member in one of these organizations,*
16 *exhibiting my know-how, talking, and doing (wine) business. They acknowledged the brand and could*
17 *not undervalue me as an entrepreneur; instead, they regarded me as their partner.*
18

19 Comparably, Elena's remarks below reveal how utilizing her expertise in her identity work
20
21 through launching a vintners' alliance has put her on the map, established her entrepreneurial
22
23 identity, and consolidated her position in the industry. Both Stella and Elena's examples
24
25 demonstrate that the respondents, by activating their professionalism in their identity work, are
26
27 no longer defined by their marginalized social identities. Elena said:
28
29

30
31 *...with my expertise in psychology, hydroponics production, coupled with my past experience as a*
32 *director of the government's XXX program, in 2005, I launched a vintners' alliance for black women*
33 *for developmental opportunities and to push for change. The Afrikaners did not know what to make of*
34 *me, I look like their workers, but I am an expert in many fields, including wine business management. I*
35 *launched three wines, one of which was served during President Obama's inauguration. The prominent*
36 *ZZZ family wineries of Stellenbosch acknowledged my proficiency, welcomed me, and in 2009 a formal*
37 *business partnership ensued, symbolic! Slowly, others followed.*
38

39 Evidence across various cases has highlighted that the respondents adhere to the formal
40
41 industry rules concerning legalization, but they creatively *entreprenre*, performing their
42
43 identity work, attempting to influence the structure. Thus, they accentuate the connection
44
45 between identity work and institutional work by reworking the role of servants tied to their
46
47 social identities (Lewis, 2013; Chasserio et al., 2014). The respondents described how they use
48
49 the various expertise and professional experiences they possess in claiming their
50
51 entrepreneurial identities in order to become legitimate. Clearly, their professionalism works
52
53 to their advantage. Angela, an industry stakeholder stated:
54
55

56
57 *...these black women entrepreneurs are coming up strongly in the industry. They are well-read, they*
58 *know their onions, and cannot be trifled with. They have become recognized and respected by all, and*
59 *by all, I include the industry's traditional old-timers and agencies too, though this did not happen in*
60 *the early 2000s. Once thought to be flukes, but about ten years ago or thereabouts, they emerged,*

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2
3 *breaking barriers as the first crop of black women in wine. Now, they are seen as trailblazers, a force*
4 *to be reckoned with. Their wine brands are known and are being fostered.*
5

6 Data analysis revealed that in exploiting professionalism in their wine businesses, which
7
8 are authenticated with credentials (institutionalized cultural capital), the respondents are
9
10 challenging the norms and taken-for-granted beliefs framing their entrepreneurial identities –
11
12 staking a claim, creating new legitimating beliefs, disrupting the status quo, while concurrently
13
14 slowly transforming the industry, making themselves change agents. This finding contributes
15
16 to recent debates on entrepreneurial identity process as reactive (Leitch and Harrison, 2016;
17
18 Radu-Lefebvre *et al.*, 2021). Consequently, the established actors and prominent stakeholders
19
20 are approving and gradually recognizing the respondents, or to put it more appropriately, these
21
22 black women and their businesses are earning ‘legitimate’ entrepreneurial labels.
23
24
25

26 27 **Cultural and symbolic capital in the enactment of new roles** 28

29
30 Figure 1 shows cultural capital as enabling for the respondents’ social recognition,
31
32 emanating from the utilization of capital in their identity work in enacting new roles, including
33
34 guest lecturers, mentors, enlightenment campaigners, and community saviours, which revolves
35
36 around ignoring negativities but using their entrepreneurial self-identities’ influence to engage
37
38 in other pursuits. The respondents are aware of the inherent challenges that are closely
39
40 associated with being ‘newcomers’ in this field. However, they assign them to their
41
42 marginalized (Anderson and Ojediran, 2022) or ‘disadvantaged’ social identity of being black
43
44 women and not having the ‘wine culture’, given their social background, although culture is
45
46 learned and not inherited (Chell and Adam, 1995). While the respondents are trained and have
47
48 acquired skills in wine, including wine appreciation, which socializes them into similar
49
50 worldviews to the established elites, they are not immediately recognized as legitimate,
51
52 complicating their identity work.
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3 The participants' supposed lack of wine culture (embodied cultural capital) seems to restrict
4 their capacity to fit into the field with accepted norms (*habitus*), restricting their access to the
5 social networks of the 'establishment', thus hindering the maintenance of their entrepreneurial
6 identities and status advancement with the 'establishment'. However, in their identity work,
7 they seem to accentuate what they do and downplay their social identity as black women in a
8 bid to overcome the detriments of their subject position. Anna's illustration of *who is this black*
9 *woman to be in wine business anyway?* and how she handled the overt opposition highlights
10 this notion:
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21 *Looking like me as an entrepreneur, you are treated differently in this wine world – unwanted, someone*
22 *beneath them. I once had a supplier (a farmer), who felt I should not be talking on an equal basis with*
23 *him, despite having two university degrees, and having experienced my share of hardcore, well-*
24 *recognized training in wine...It was meant to be a collaboration...,but I was not to come up with*
25 *suggestions, ideas, or inputs. I set about finding another wine farm as a partner to produce certain*
26 *wines. I met with people who didn't want me to be there; it was a tumultuous journey of disapproval*
27 *and exploitation...but I ignored all their voices...*
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31 Similar stories were found amongst the respondents about their struggles with exclusion.
32 The respondents, however, disregard their negative experiences, indignation, and disapprovals
33 of their entrepreneurial identities. Rather, they leverage their certificates (institutionalized
34 cultural capital), professional experiences (human capital), limited networks of relationships
35 (social capital), and little or no economic capital, and they 'invest' in their communities,
36 assuming new roles. Taking up new roles appears to be a part of their identity work.
37 Interestingly, they place their identity work on a pedestal, portraying it as a journey with both
38 economic results and an outcome of societal change. Nevertheless, their concept of society
39 denotes their immediate communities, as illustrated by Anna:
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51 *...my dream of creating the best possible wines is intact and drives me; I am still a certified high school*
52 *teacher, so teaching remains a part of this dream. I started my community project – the school project*
53 *to get into the space of those who fall by the wayside. Teach them, especially the females, to be*
54 *entrepreneurs and wine ambassadors. Show them how passion and tenacity have got me here. We all*
55 *need the change...in my community, I am perceived as a high achiever, a real businesswoman, and they*
56 *are proud of me...*
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60 Similarly, Betty remarked:

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3 ...black women working in vineyards and cellars are mostly uneducated but have practical experiences.
4 However, their value was never translated to them by their Afrikaner bosses. As an entrepreneur and
5 Level 5 winemaker, I started bi-monthly wine training sessions for these women in my community for
6 winemaking, confidence-building, information-sharing, and awareness-creation...now, Wine Training
7 S.A collaborate with me on this project, they recognize my competence, and they see me as a serious
8 businesswoman.
9

10 Data analysis revealed that helping others matters to the respondents. They do so by
11 utilizing their cultural capital in enacting new roles that revolve around developing other
12 disadvantaged young black females through training, developing manpower, and perpetuating
13 black women entrepreneurs in the wine industry. Thus, they creatively reject institutional
14 norms that only recognize black women as servants and disregard their entrepreneurial
15 identities. This relates to conversations on women entrepreneurs' identity work, emphasizes
16 the link between their identity work and institutional work (Lewis, 2013; Chasserio *et al.*,
17 2014), and extends the debates by accentuating capital forms as enabling conditions in black
18 women entrepreneurs' identity work. The respondents seem to participate more within their
19 various communities, increasing their local engagements, role performances, and underscoring
20 their reputation. These efforts aid them to (re)author their social identities and stay true to their
21 entrepreneurial self-identities and heroic images of their entrepreneurial selves that they present
22 to various audiences, particularly the 'establishment', over time.
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41 Notably, the respondents convert their educational qualifications and training
42 (institutionalized cultural capital) into social recognition (symbolic capital) in their new roles.
43 For example, Anna, as she relates above, describes being thoroughly rejected as an
44 entrepreneur, given her social identity. However, by using some forms of capital, especially
45 institutionalized cultural capital (certifications) in her identity work, enacting a new role of
46 community saviour cum project owner, her cultural capital is recognized, and it generates social
47 recognition, accentuating her reputation as a 'high achiever and real businesswoman.' This
48 validates her actions as an entrepreneur, enhances her reputation, and legitimizes her
49 entrepreneurial identity. Similarly, other respondents described exploiting capital – particularly
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3 cultural capital – in their identity work, enabling their social recognition in their newly enacted
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5 roles. Zion, a stakeholder, noted:

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8 *In running their businesses, through the years, these women play one role or another in their*
9 *communities. They envision it as a part of their wine businesses, helping others, giving back, increasing*
10 *confidence levels, and becoming esteemed by all; it's such a delight to see!*

11 The respondents' enactment of new roles seems to be strategic, that is, calculated, although
12 these roles vary, given differences in the respondents' personal goals. Nevertheless, these roles
13
14 tend to foster their reputation.
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18
19 Anna's identity work involves steering disadvantaged, young female students towards
20 formal education, accentuating entrepreneurial practice within the wine industry as a way of
21 gaining financial independence. With her entrepreneurial identity effects, she coaxed a
22 community high school principal into having a summer school for the students, a seemingly
23 odd activity in their milieu. She stated:

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25
26 *...I talked the principal into starting summer school; the community likes it, we are progressing, in fact,*
27 *we have been featured in the news.*

28
29 The initiative has been adjudged a welcome development by the populace and the media, thus
30 furthering her acceptance and facilitating her social recognition as the wine entrepreneur from
31 Mango township; although wine is a new alcoholic beverage to the people in the townships,
32 they represent potential markets. She has ingeniously used this to boost her repute, position
33 herself as an entrepreneur, and ensure that her entrepreneurial identity is legitimate.
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45 While performing different roles, it seems as if the respondents knowingly (or not) select
46 new audiences that support these roles and their entrepreneurial activities. They utilize the
47 influence of their institutionalized cultural capital in their identity work to involve these new
48 audiences in their projects, reinforcing their entrepreneurial identities and simultaneously
49 playing these new roles. Consequently, their entrepreneurial identities are legitimized by both
50 the institutions of higher learning that invite them as guest lecturers, and the communities and
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3 local schools that regard them as saviours, and who collaborate with them or rely on their
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5 projects. Liesl opined:

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8 *When we started, we were rejected, and not part of the club. We stood up for ourselves, got involved in*
9 *various things within and outside the industry. I can tell you things are different from when I joined the*
10 *industry 13 years ago. In 2019, I was awarded entrepreneur of the year by SASB; years ago, that was*
11 *not the case...But why do you want a seat at the table when they don't want you? Why can't you create*
12 *your own table? Create your own table. Make a change. This is what I say on Twitter, I also told the*
13 *students at the University of XXX last week when I guest lectured there...the University sees me as a*
14 *highflier.*

15
16 Likewise, Betty remarked:

17
18 *After a decade of winemaking, I won the highly prestigious Old Mutual Wine Trophy for my 2016*
19 *Sauvignon Blanc; with my wine business, I mentor young people for the SA youth development program,*
20 *they recognize my competence, and they see me as a serious businesswoman...I'm also busy working*
21 *with one of the groups– XXX, where I teach people how to appreciate the product...these are*
22 *community-based groups that get media attention and recognition.*

23
24
25 As detailed above, data analysis revealed that activities around these new roles tend to
26
27 garner media coverage that foster more symbolic capital-building opportunities for the
28
29 respondents; the media representations accentuate them as entrepreneurs, heroic figures
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31 endorsed to improve society economically. This media attention, alongside the public
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33 recognition of their qualifications (cultural capital) in their identity work, manifests as prestige
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35 and seems to generate more symbolic capital, credibility, and legitimizes their entrepreneurial
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37 identities and actions, particularly with the 'establishment'. This finding relates to debates on
38
39 symbolic capital as being facilitating (De Clercq and Voronov, 2009; Vershinina and Rodgers,
40
41 2020), which supports the contribution on capital as enabling in framing black women
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43 entrepreneurs' identities in order to become legitimate.
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50 Some of the respondents who have received winemaking recognition in the industry –
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52 including the Old Mutual Trophy Wine Awards and government enterprise awards – for
53
54 instance, the Department of Trade and Industry's South African Premier Business Awards,
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56 with awards such as 'entrepreneur of the year' or 'entrepreneur of the month', and who have
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58 been featured in both mass and internet media, appear to be more emboldened. The evidence
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3 suggests that in exploiting their budding symbolic capital alongside their media presence, the
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5 respondents speak up, rejecting businesses and transactions that do not align with good values.
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7 They rebuff condescending remarks and constraining opportunities through various social
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9 media platforms, guest lecturing engagements, and community-based groups. The accrual of
10
11 their symbolic capital enables the enactment of other critical new roles as the ‘mouthpiece’ of
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13 the downtrodden, invariably tending towards advocacy, influencing others, and gradually
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15 disrupting the status quo. The meanings they give to their entrepreneurial identities by utilizing
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17 capital in their identity work direct their actions in the enactment of these roles, which boosts
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19 their reputation and legitimizes them.
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25 **6. Conclusion**

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27 This study has focused on perspectives on identity and capital to help understand how
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29 black women entrepreneurs challenge the norms framing their entrepreneurial identities in
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31 order to become legitimate. The synthesis of Bourdieu’s (1986) capital theory with established
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33 work on identity and legitimacy as the explanatory concept, with more focus on cultural capital,
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35 as necessitated by black women entrepreneurs’ contexts to become legitimate, has offered a
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37 context-sensitive, agent-centric framework for exploring such processes.
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42 *Theoretical contributions*

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45 First and foremost, this study expands the understanding on black women entrepreneurs’
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47 identities and legitimacy by accentuating capital forms as enabling conditions in framing their
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49 entrepreneurial identities through heroic self-descriptions, exploiting professionalism, and
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51 enacting new roles, as necessitated by their social, historical, and cultural contexts, in order to
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53 become legitimate. Findings suggest that cultural, human, and symbolic capital are deployed
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55 by black women entrepreneurs in creating self-identities and aid their entrepreneurial practice
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57 to attain legitimacy (Carter, 2003; Vershinina *et al.*, 2020). Second, this study supports the
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1
2
3 applicability of Bourdieu's (1986) capital theory to contexts wherein black women are
4
5 marginalized. In terms of identity work, Bourdieu's (1986, 2005) reference to the interrelation
6
7 between capital, field, and *habitus* positions has been observed, with the *habitus* operating to
8
9 the logic of practice. By deploying cultural capital in their identity work (Watson, 2008), the
10
11 respondents display a greater sense of how to play the game, enact the *habitus* of the
12
13 'entrepreneur', challenge social structural norms of the field, (re)frame their entrepreneurial
14
15 identities, and earn the social identity (categorization) of the entrepreneur from the
16
17 'establishment.' Their entrepreneurial status has become empowering, given its ability to
18
19 influence others, making their actions a legitimate part of their self-identity. Ergo, this study
20
21 highlights the importance of cultural capital in developing and thinking with the (required)
22
23 *habitus* crucial for earning legitimacy and emphasizes the importance of capital, particularly
24
25 cultural capital, in identity work, extending black women entrepreneurs' identity process
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27 literature (Knight, 2016; Radu-Lefebvre *et al.*, 2021).
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34 In relation to entrepreneurial identity, an earned entrepreneurial identity imparts agency,
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36 and it is almost a license to effect changes. The respondents have utilized capital in their
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38 identity work, reframing their entrepreneurial identities as such, reconstructing the roles
39
40 attached to their social identities, disrupting the social structural arrangement, and striving to
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42 alter the perception of what is socially legitimate. Thus, this study underscores the link between
43
44 their identity work and institutional work (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006) through actions taken
45
46 in reworking the role(s) tied to their social identities. Taken together, the findings emphasize
47
48 the active process of earning entrepreneurial identities through identity work, the interaction
49
50 with capital, the disruption of the status quo, and their emergence as institutional entrepreneurs
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52 (David *et al.*, 2013).
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57 Lastly, in terms of legitimacy, the findings reveal that for black women entrepreneurs,
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59 becoming legitimate is not automatic, but an active process which entails fitting in while
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3 standing out (De Clercq and Voronov, 2009), being enabled by capital in their identity work
4 through heroic self-description, exploiting professionalism, and enacting new roles, as
5 necessitated by their social, historical, and cultural contexts, to acquire an earned identity,
6 which epitomizes who they are and what they do, holds a possibility of agency, and offers a
7 license to effect change.
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10 11 12 13 14 15 16 *Implications for practice and society*

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18
19 This study suggests relevant practical and policy implications. For practitioners, it sheds
20 light on the ways that women entrepreneurs should acknowledge the social structures around
21 them (Dy, 2020) as they relate to black women's social identities and their approach to
22 entrepreneurship, often in adverse contexts. The resolute desire of black women in this study
23 to develop themselves as entrepreneurs and to use some forms of capital towards that quest
24 underscores an innate motivation to discover themselves and their identity as entrepreneurs in
25 a society. Being black and a woman have been markers of both structural and historical
26 disadvantage, which has manifested in reduced access to capital and legitimacy. A fundamental
27 implication relates to how women may find themselves in a relationship with men in industries
28 that associate entrepreneurs with white males. The findings suggest that although not without
29 struggles, women who are able to develop cultural capital and think with the required *habitus*
30 may not find themselves in a situation of subordination that implies inferiority, or that
31 engenders a level of low esteem as entrepreneurs. Thus, black women entrepreneurs should not
32 dissociate from the prevailing social structure, since they may be missing out on pertinent
33 details about the origins of diverse forms of capital.
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54 For policymakers, this study provides micro-detail on how black women entrepreneurs
55 become legitimate. Thus, policymakers could use the findings of this study when designing
56 initiatives to ensure the inclusivity of black women, given their traditional level of social
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3 marginality in contexts around the world. Future policies and programs need to be more
4
5 'culture sensitive'. There is a need for deeper understanding of entrepreneurs' self-fulfilment
6
7 and social needs, as well as their values and perceptions of their environment, which would
8
9 greatly enhance the effectiveness of policy development and outcomes. Developing initiatives
10
11 that allow segregated populations to develop their entrepreneurial identity by relying on several
12
13 forms of capital (e.g., entrepreneurship education programs related to cultural and human
14
15 capital development) may help move away from focusing mostly on delivering support related
16
17 to specific types of capital (e.g., financial), which fails to consider the capacity of women to
18
19 navigate their cultural setting (Anderson and Ojediran,2022). Bourdieu's (1986) articulation of
20
21 capital was intricately connected to the concepts of field and *habitus*. Therefore, there is a need
22
23 for scholars and policymakers to focus on working with black women entrepreneurs to
24
25 understand structural issues peculiar to them in order to develop effectual capital-developing,
26
27 *habitus*-improving, and field-positioning strategies that will aid their legitimacy.
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33 *Limitations and future research*

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36 Very little research has been conducted on black women entrepreneurs. This study has few
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38 limitations, and so its findings must be interpreted with caution. First, using Bourdieu's (1986)
39
40 capital theory, only black women entrepreneurs and some industry stakeholders were
41
42 interviewed in the quest to understand how black women entrepreneurs frame their
43
44 entrepreneurial identities in order to become legitimate and challenge norms. Future research
45
46 might expand on the number and gender of participants used and expand to other contexts. The
47
48 related concepts of field and *habitus* leave scope for further studies to explore both black
49
50 women's and black men's social identities in relation to the (re)authoring of their
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52 entrepreneurial identities in this (or other similar) contexts. Such studies could both
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54 qualitatively and quantitatively examine the motivation among entrepreneurs in both urban and
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56 rural settings in South Africa and compare female and male entrepreneurs. In doing so, such
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3 studies would offer deeper insights into the interplay of social, entrepreneurial identities, and
4 legitimacy, particularly from the complex nexus of both gender and race. Second, the findings
5
6 suggest that capital, particularly cultural capital, is a facilitator in the (re)authoring of black
7
8 women entrepreneurs' identities. This study suggests the need to explore the effects of cultural
9
10 capital on the practices of entrepreneurs who move beyond the stereotypical portrayal within
11
12 an industry or sector. Qualitative studies could broaden our understanding in contexts where
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14 women have been previously discriminated against by other groups, based on their race or
15
16 gender. While the findings cannot be generalized (Davidson *et al.*, 2010) for these black
17
18 women, this study suggests that earning legitimacy can embolden and increase their morale.
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20 Future studies within the wine industry, or others where disadvantaged women may be
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22 underrepresented yet are gradually having a presence, could further explore the implications
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24 that an earned entrepreneurial identity brings.

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32 Thirdly, it would be beneficial for future research to undertake ethnographic methods to
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34 examine how the earned identity has (or not) (re)positioned them as legitimate entrepreneurs
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36 in the field (e.g., see Down and Warren, 2008), and how the (re)positioning has offered
37
38 particular understandings of what being an entrepreneur means. Future studies could adopt
39
40 diverse qualitative and quantitative methods that are seldom used in women's entrepreneurship,
41
42 such as autoethnography or oral history (Stead *et al.*, 2021), to focus on understanding how
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44 black women frame their entrepreneurial identities in order to become legitimate over time.
45
46 Such studies would aid in illuminating entrepreneurial experiences and focus on the use of
47
48 diverse methods of support. Scholars could expand on the different yet interrelated institutional
49
50 logics (e.g., cultural, market, family) that may influence the development of black women
51
52 entrepreneurs in different contexts (Ojediran and Anderson, 2020). In doing so, scholars could
53
54 further the understanding of identity processes and legitimacy in entrepreneurship, in tandem
55
56 with understanding contextual changes in society. Taken together, future studies can, building

on our findings, help elucidate not only the challenges that black women entrepreneurs face, but also how they overcome them in their pursuit of legitimacy.

Notes

1. 'black' (with a lowercase 'b') is a broad term used for the racially classified population groups: Coloureds, Indians, and Africans in Apartheid South Africa (Manzo, 1998, p.107).

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Table1: Respondents' profile and volume of qualitative data

| Respondent | Age Range | Educational Qualification | Background & Experience | Years of wine industry experience | No of years as entrepreneur | Time spent in interviews/Pages of transcripts (11 pt. font, single-spaced) |
|------------|-----------|--|---|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| Afua | 40-44 | Degree, Cert (in Wine) | Au pair; wine certification, exports, and logistics officer | 20 | 8 | 173 minutes, 30 pages |
| Ilo | 60-64 | Prof. Cert | Bookkeeping and wine marketing | 21 | 19 | 69minutes, 14pages |
| Betty | 30-34 | Degree | grapes' harvester, tasting room assistant, winemaker | 14 | 4 | 153minutes, 24 pages |
| Liesl | 30-34 | Degree | sugarcane farmer, winemaker | 13 | 4 | 73 minutes, 16 pages |
| Anna | 45-49 | Degree (2), Cert (in Wine) | English teacher | 14 | 14 | 63 minutes, 7 pages |
| Stella | 45-49 | Degree, Cert (in Wine) | Marketing and communications manager | 25 | 15 | 70 minutes, 13 pages |
| Mene | 45-49 | MBA, Grad degree | International business, Projects manager | 25 | 6 | 62minutes, 8 pages |
| Elena | 60-64 | Diploma (2), Degree (2), MSc, Cert (in wine, hydroponics production) | Nurse, midwife, senior lecturer, administrator, clinical psychologist, director of a govt establishment | 18 | 18 | 75minutes, 14 pages |
| Hilda | 45-49 | Degree | Fashion designer, cashier, truck driver, credit controller, project manager, and HR manager | 19 | 19 | 67minutes, 15 pages |
| Zion | 45-49 | Degree (Int'l Trade Relations) | Aviation, int'l consumer marketing, GM | | 10 | 63minutes, 13pages |
| Tanja | 45-49 | MBA, Degree | Marketing, international business, CEO | | 25 | 62 minutes, 9 pages |
| Angela | 50-54 | MSc, Degree | Marketing research, FMCG, education, cosmetics, spirits and wine, CEO | | 30 | 66 minutes, 15 pages |

1st order coding

2nd order theme

Aggregate theme

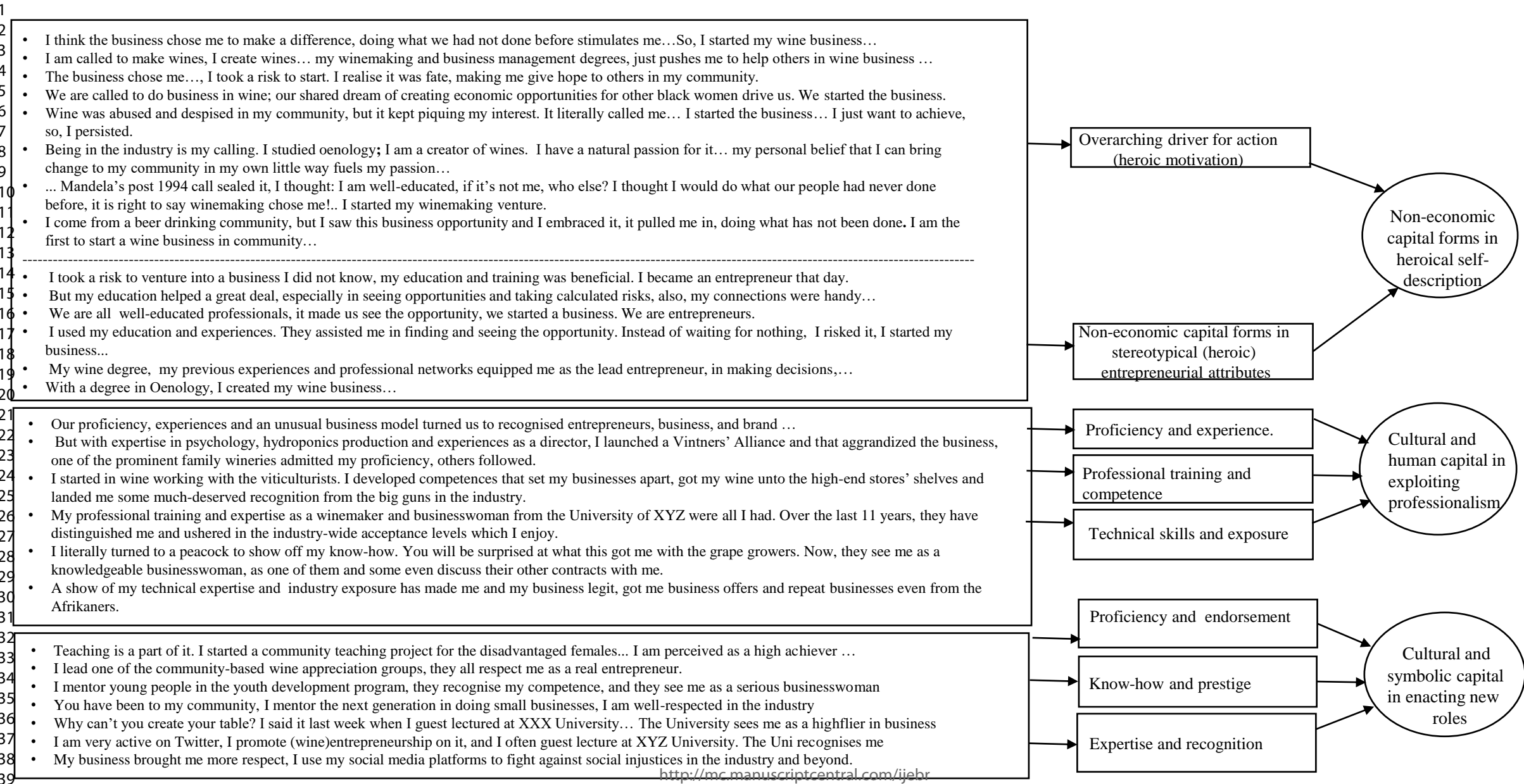


Figure 1 : Data coding structure