



Social Capital in Handicraft Clusters for Business Startup and Growth

The Case of the Luweero Handicraft
Cluster in Uganda

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ABSTRACT

The Ugandan handicraft sector offers many opportunities for research, due to the high participation of female artisans and widespread agglomeration in clusters. Social capital is present in both the women entrepreneurship, as well as the cluster literature, and promoting women's social capital is seen as crucial for overcoming resource constraints. However, it is unknown how social capital actually promotes resource acquisition of self-employed artisans, and little literature exists about handicraft clusters in developing countries. Combining women entrepreneurship, clustering and social capital offers the opportunity to investigate how social capital affects female owned businesses in clusters. Thus, this research set out to answer the question of *how women entrepreneurs in the Luweero cluster in Uganda use social capital for acquiring key cluster resources for business startup and growth*. Using a pragmatic approach, the research question is answered based on data collected during fieldwork in the Luweero handicraft cluster. The data is of qualitative nature and gathered through 12 in-depth interviews with artisans in the cluster.

The integrated framework of social capital in clusters and cluster typology revealed both differences across financial, human and physical resources, as well as among the types of social capital used for the mobilization thereof. Specifically, for financial resources, groups in the cluster do not take advantage of existing social capital, which is not true for human and physical resources, where the use of both internal and external social capital is witnessed. However, ambitious women are faced by downward leveling norms and challenges associated with building external social capital for growth. Internal or bonding social capital is identified as crucial for business startup but not sufficient for business growth, where external or bridging and linking social capital is essential for acquiring more resources for growth. The general findings and challenges are lastly used for formulating recommendations and practical implications for the growth-oriented businesses located in the cluster, as well as for an institutional supporting framework.

ACRONYMS

GEM	Global Entrepreneurship Monitor
NAWOU	National Association of Women Organizations in Uganda
OVIC	One Village Industrial Cluster
SME	Small-to-Medium Enterprise
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
UEPB	Uganda Export Promotion Board
UGX	Ugandan Shilling
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WE	Women Entrepreneur

1 INTRODUCTION

Handicraft production plays an important role in many developing countries (Barber & Krivoshlykova, 2006). Not only is the number of handicraft businesses predicted to rise, but in rural areas handicrafts have been identified as the second largest field of employment after agriculture (Konstadakopulos, 2011). Low entry barriers in terms of capital requirements, and relatively prevalent knowledge of handicraft production in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) permit this high participation (Rogerson & Sithole, 2001).

The majority of artisans are female actors within the informal economy (Lindell, 2010), who choose this sector due to the ability to work from home, hence accommodate both family and business into the daily schedule (Rogerson & Sithole, 2001). Several development organizations focus on the handicraft sector as a mean of including women in the economy (Barber & Krivoshlykova, 2006). Furthermore, the women entrepreneurship literature largely agrees that women promote family health and education of children (Della-Giusta & Phillips, 2006). Therefore the handicraft sector offers opportunities for women in developing countries to earn income and eventually to promote gender equality (Rogerson & Sithole, 2001; Mukamana, 2012; SCT, 2005). Despite the large number of women finding employment or income generating activities in the handicraft sector, this sector has been understudied and little literature exists on the dynamics and structures.

Both group formation and clustering are frequently seen in the handicraft sector (Thorp et al, 2005; McCormick, 1999). Clustering is a way of overcoming individual resource and growth constraints and fostering regional economic development (Lund-Thomsen & Nadvi, 2010; van Dijk & Sverrisson, 2003; McCormick, 1999). Thus, the opportunities for female businesses to take advantage of clustering benefits are important aspects.

Clusters are networks of actors (Waite & Williams, 2009), which are often based on socio-cultural similarities (van Dijk & Rabellotti, 1997), and trust plays an important role in the relationship within the cluster (Staber, 2007; Waite & Williams, 2009). This network is closely related to bonding social capital, as the trust embedded in the relationships facilitates transactions among cluster members (Beugelsdijk & Smulders, 2003; Sonobe & Otsuka, 2010). Therefore, a connection between the social capital and cluster concept exists, which justifies investigation. Resource acquisition through social capital in clustering might be especially important in the female-dominated

handicraft sector, since women, especially in developing countries, are more resource constrained than their male counterparts (Snyder, 2000; Della-Giusta & Phillips, 2006). Women are seen as fostering group solidarity and hence bonding social capital (Alfred, 2009), but are simultaneously restricted in their ability to network and create bridging or external social capital (Kumra & Vinnicombe, 2010).

The growing interest from a development perspective calls for a better understanding of the handicraft cluster's specific needs and possible support mechanisms for growth. As women represent the highest number of participants in the sector and are typically resource constrained (Alfred, 2009), the resource acquisition, especially through social capital, is one important aspect. To date, it is unclear how female-owned business use social capital for business startup and growth in handicraft clusters, despite the significance of not only the handicraft sector, but also clustering and social capital for development.

The Ugandan government recently discovered the handicraft sector for promoting economic development, and as a way to supplement household income for many women (SCT, 2005). For uncovering the handicraft sector's underlying dynamics, a handicraft cluster in Luweero district in Uganda with almost exclusively female members was studied. It is made up of handicraft groups, and has received training from the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) (UCSSIC, 2011). Field research was conducted during a period of three weeks in spring 2014, and included 12 interviews with members of the cluster.

1.1 RESEARCH QUESTION

Little is known about if and how resource acquisition through social capital promotes business startup and growth of female artisans, leading to the question of:

“How do women entrepreneurs in the Luweero cluster use social capital for acquiring key cluster resources for business startup and growth?”

Sub-Questions are:

What is the cluster's social capital and how are resources acquired?

What type of cluster is the Luweero cluster and what resources are necessary for business growth?

This thesis draws on Huber's (2009:164) definition of social capital as the "*resources embedded in social networks which can be potentially accessed or are actually used by individuals for actions*" and argues that "*social capital is about the resources actors are able to mobilize through relationships for certain activities*" (Huber, 2009:164). These definitions encompass the concept of resource acquisition and imply two levels of analysis, the individual and the cluster. Clusters in developing countries are defined as a geographically limited area with businesses of similar activities, which benefit from co-location (Lund-Thomsen & Nadvi, 2010a; van Dijk & Sverrisson, 2003; McCormick, 1999). Furthermore, women often participate in the handicraft sector (Rogerson & Sithole, 2001), and this sector experiences frequent agglomeration in clusters (Konstadakopulos, 2011). Social capital in clusters has generally been studied, however, the role of social capital in women-dominated clusters needs to be explored.

1.2 SCOPE AND DELIMITATIONS

The handicraft sector encompasses many products and materials with distinct characteristics of production. In the context of Uganda, different cultures exist, and diversity poses a challenge of understanding all aspects of clustering, social capital and resource acquisition. Therefore it is necessary to focus on one segment of the industry, establishing a geographical ballpark. The Luweero cluster is situated approximately 50 kilometers north of Kampala and focuses on basketry, as raw materials and basic skills for its production are fairly readily available. In the area of Luweero, many small women-owned handicraft businesses exist, which justifies the cluster and social capital literature. This rather narrow scope allowed in-depth investigation, and both individual and group interviews highlighted the structures and underlying dynamics of this particular cluster. The focus on both the individual actors and collectivity permitted investigation of collaboration and the impact of social capital on both levels.

However, this narrow scope also poses its challenges, as the findings in this cluster might not be true for other clusters. Furthermore, only investigating the micro and meso level potentially neglects the macro level institutional framework. Social capital is only one aspect of cluster research, and a study of for example collective efficiencies could have shed light on other phenomena.

As the handicraft sector has a high female participation, an analysis of gender inequality might have illuminated the phenomenon further. However, this would have required a different investigative focus and data collection

with a feminist approach. It is nevertheless acknowledged, that women have unique challenges and influences in terms of entrepreneurship and resource acquisition, and due to the focus on purely women, and not a comparison to male artisans, the feminist stance was not taken.

1.3 CASE JUSTIFICATION

Uganda was chosen as a country in SSA with significant growth and a tradition for handicraft weaving. Compared to the governments of other SSA countries (e.g. Ghana) however, the Ugandan government has not been able to promote the sector to become internationally known (SCT, 2005). The Luweero cluster is a good example due to its focus on basketry, a traditional handicraft in Central Uganda. It was chosen due to its rather long establishment and level of economic activity, as it is then possible to investigate female handicraft businesses beyond the startup stage. In 2011, Luweero was selected by UNIDO for a “One Village Industrial Cluster” (OVIC) project, which aimed at building the firms’ capacity for a new product “as a vehicle for economic growth and poverty alleviation” (UCSSIC, 2011:6). Due to the recent implementation the question of its impact and sustainable success arises, which calls for investigation of the businesses within the cluster. After implementing OVIC, the UCSSIC (2011) came to the conclusion that “the experienced [...] producers will continue to find buyers for their good quality products, also for the new ones introduced by the project.” (UCSSIC, 2011:13). Therefore, the Luweero cluster is an interesting case for studying the social capital in a female-dominated handicraft cluster in a developing country.

1.4 STRUCTURE OF THESIS

After the brief introduction of the research field and the research question, a presentation of the literature with identification of gaps and main theories will be presented. In chapter 3, the theoretical framework is developed. Subsequently, chapter 4 described the methodological framework with philosophy of science, research design, field work, and data analysis. For a better understanding of the context, chapter 5 offers a depiction of Uganda and its handicraft sector. The empirical analysis follows the theoretical part of the thesis and chapter 6 analyzes the actor-based, and collectivity level of the Luweero handicraft cluster, as well as the cluster type present. The empirical findings are discussed in chapter 7, as well as the theoretical and methodological framework used, with assessment of validity and reliability. Further areas of research are also proposed. Lastly, chapter 8 concludes and offers implications of the case.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter introduces the key theoretical concepts and not only highlights the literature's contributions, but also identifies its gaps. The concepts used are women entrepreneurship, social capital, the handicrafts sector and clusters. These are interrelated, as female artisans are often agglomerated in handicraft clusters, which use social capital.

2.1 ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Due to its long establishment, the entrepreneurship literature has received substantial input from different academic fields. The Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) defines entrepreneurship as “any attempt at new business or new venture creation, such as self-employment, a new business organization, or the expansion of an existing business, by an individual, a team of individuals, or an established business” (Bosma, Wennekers & Amorós, 2012:9 in Kelley et al, 2012). As the handicraft women are largely self-employed, they are subsequently regarded as entrepreneurs.

More prominent research fields are the economic, management, and psychological approach to entrepreneurship (Deakins & Freel, 2009; Ireland & Webb, 2007). The managerial approach to entrepreneurship focuses on the individual and company level (Castanhar et al, 2008; Deakins, Freel, 2009; Ireland & Webb, 2007), the economic approach is concerned with the impact of entrepreneurs on the economy (Ireland & Webb, 2007; Castanhar, 2008), while the psychological stream focuses on entrepreneurs' special personality traits (Ireland & Webb, 2007; Deakins & Freel, 2009; Thornton, 1999).

The aforementioned approaches vastly disregard the impact of the context (Deakins & Freel, 2009; Thornton, 1999). The sociological approach on the other hand recognizes the influence of the environment and demographic factors on entrepreneurship (Deakins & Freel, 2009; Thornton, 1999; Ireland & Webb, 2007). This thesis adopts this approach, as the environment, institutions and context have significant impact on entrepreneurship (Khanna & Palepu, 1997; Hansen & Schaumburg-Müller, 2010).

The adoption of the sociological approach is useful, as the context and especially institutional environment in developing countries is fundamentally different from developed countries (Khanna & Palepu, 1997; Hansen & Schaumburg-Müller, 2010). High rates of business ownership and self-employment are common in developing countries, and many people in Africa view entrepreneurship as worthwhile and desirable (Kelley et al, 2012; Amine & Staub, 2009). Entrepreneurs in these countries face distinct characteristics, and frameworks developed in the geographical north may not be applicable (Tracey & Phillips, 2011; Hoskisson et al, 2000; Hansen & Schaumburg-Müller, 2010). In an environment of socioeconomic complexity like developing countries, it is thus increasingly difficult to isolate the success factors for entrepreneurship and to fully understand the process.

The first distinct characteristic of developing countries is weak institutions. Most institutions in the developed world are invisible and taken for granted, but nevertheless form the rules of the game for the market and its transactions (Khanna & Palepu, 1997; Peng, 2003; Peng et al, 2009; Hoskisson et al, 2000). Market failures and imperfections arise from institutional voids, thus placing constraints and uncertainty on entrepreneurs (Hansen & Schaumburg-Müller, 2010; Khanna & Palepu, 1997). Secondly, the context in developing countries does not only differ in formal institutions such as contract enforcement, laws and formal regulations, but also informal institutions such as norms and internalized values of a society (Tracey & Phillips, 2011; Peng et al, 2009). Since institutions exert great influence on the entrepreneur, this influence changes with the differences in the institutional environment in developing countries (Ruef, 2005; Hoskisson, 2000). Thirdly, market failures also lead to higher transaction costs (Hansen & Schaumburg-Müller, 2010; Hoskisson et al, 2000). Whenever institutions that normally provide transparent information or enforce contracts are lacking, transaction costs increase significantly in terms of more uncertainty and higher costs to conduct market transactions (Hansen & Schaumburg-Müller, 2010). Therefore, entrepreneurs attempt to lower transaction costs by using social capital (Carney et al, 2008). Bonding social capital within a homogeneous group reduces transaction cost by providing legitimacy and trustworthiness (Carney et al, 2008; Khanna & Palepu, 1997).

Several strategies can be adopted to sustain in an environment of institutional voids. Entrepreneurs are dependent on leveraging their social networks and capital to overcome certain institutional voids (Carney et al, 2008; Peng, 2003). Peng (2003) argues that an environment of weak institutions will encourage entrepreneurs to engage in

networking and creation of social capital, as well as development of competitive resources to face other firms after the start-up phase.

Entrepreneurs in developing countries also face resource constraint in terms of access to financial and human resources (Hansen & Schaumburg-Müller, 2010). This is especially true for women entrepreneurs (Snyder, 2000; Della-Giusta & Phillips, 2006), and thus an important concept.

2.2 WOMEN ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Women entrepreneurship (WE) literature only emerged in the 1970s, where justification for a separate stream of research was given due to the differences between male and female start-ups (Akehurst et al, 2012). These differences are manifested in the way of doing business, working hours, and performance in profit (Stefanović & Stošić, 2012; Akehurst et al, 2012).

A frequently mentioned difference is the scale. Many scholars agree that women-owned businesses are smaller in scale, profit and employment, and less likely to grow (Deakins & Freel, 2009; Akehurst et al, 2012; Stefanović & Stošić, 2012). This in turn is linked to the type and amount of resources, such as financing, as women are more risk-averse and invest less money, which is often sourced within the social network (ibid.).

A vast amount of studies focuses on western countries, where women starting businesses are often highly educated and compared to men comprise a small portion of the overall entrepreneurial activity (Deakins & Freel, 2009; McGowan et al, 2012; Stefanović & Stošić, 2012; Della-Giusta & Phillips, 2006). However, in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) the participation rate of women in entrepreneurship is almost as high as men's (Kelley et al, 2012; Amine & Staub, 2009; Bbaale & Mpuga, 2011; Della-Giusta & Phillips, 2006). For the economic development of a country, women entrepreneurship is considered very important (Minniti & Naudé, 2010; Aramand, 2011; Amine & Staub, 2009). Economic stability is directly linked to the amount of WEs, as gender equality increases, and women enhancing livelihood by spending more on nutrition as well as education of the family (Aramand, 2011; Minniti & Naudé, 2010).

Many women in SSA are concurrently the head of household and caretaker of children, and the only income-generating person per family (Amine & Staub, 2009; Della-Giusta & Phillips, 2006). Especially in rural areas,

women work from home and are commonly self-employed (Bbaale & Mpuga, 2011; Della-Giusta & Phillips, 2006). Therefore, the family is often a reason for starting a business, and the objective is often income stabilization. Generated income is then invested in household health and education, which inhibits venture growth (Della-Giusta & Phillips, 2006; Minniti & Naudé, 2010; Snyder, 2000). Moreover, the double responsibility of the family and business, combined with high fertility rates are barriers to growth (Deakins & Freel, 2009; Della-Giusta & Phillips, 2006) (Della-Giusta & Phillips, 2006; Amine & Staub, 2009).

Apart from the double responsibility, home based businesses are further encourage due to the vast majority of the sub-Saharan population living in rural areas, depending on agriculture and living in poverty (Amine & Staub, 2009). Specifically in Uganda, Bbaale and Mpuga (2011) found that the poorer women are, the more likely they are to be self-employed or home-based (*ibid*). Most of these women are uneducated, further preventing business growth (*ibid*). Combining the rich-poor with the rural-urban dimension, they come to the conclusion that poor rural women are often under-employed and run businesses with low productivity (Bbaale & Mpuga, 2011; Della-Giusta & Phillips, 2006). A common problem is not only the lack of education but also the lack of access to financial, physical and social resources, such as training, as well as geographical isolation and the lack of information (Amine & Staub, 2009; Minniti & Naudé, 2010; Della-Giusta & Phillips, 2006).

The developing country environment poses many challenges for women entrepreneurs. On one hand, patriarchal societies still prevail in SSA, thus women can commonly not expect support from their husband or control over income allocation (Amine & Staub, 2009; Minniti & Naudé, 2010). Also, despite improvements in women rights, many face discrimination and prejudices in the local communities (Amine & Staub, 2009; Kikooma, 2011). On the other hand, also formal institutions and regulations challenge and affect mainly women, such as inheritance laws or ownership of property regulations, (Amine & Staub, 2009).

Additionally, from a socio-cultural perspective, men earn more than women (Minniti & Naudé, 2010), whereas women rely on social networks more than men, which adds the challenge of pressure from the extended family or community and peers (Della-Giusta & Phillips, 2006; Amine & Staub, 2009; Minniti & Naudé, 2010).

Women's resource constraint, as well as the reliance on network calls for a more detailed investigation of social capital.

2.3 SOCIAL CAPITAL

The social capital literature emerged, concurrently with more market-oriented development interventions, in the 1990s (Maclean, 2010). It has since gained prominence in the development literature and is seen as important for economic development (Fukuyama, 2002). Social capital is a rather intangible concept of capital, which leads to a plethora of definitions and structures. Putnam, Coleman, and Bourdieu introduced three larger concepts of social capital (Maclean, 2010; Alfred, 2009), which are presented below.

Putnam adopts a communitarian view and argues that a society functions due to social capital arising from trust and norms, which leads to collaboration and coordination (Maclean, 2010; Adler & Kwon, 2002). Opponents criticize the strictly positive association of social capital, and the failure to capture downward leveling norms through strong bonding social capital, which leads to sanctioning of individual achievement and envy (Maclean, 2010; Adler & Kwon, 2002).

Bourdieu introduced the network view, where social capital is the sum of potential or actual resources, which an actor is able to acquire with possession of a network (Adler & Kwon, 2002). Thus, social capital offers resource acquisition for personal advantage (Alfred, 2009). His view is criticized for the focus on the privileged part of society, as his concept assumes that the poor are not endowed with sufficient resources for creating social capital (ibid.).

Coleman (1988) argues that network relations offer information, which can be acquired due to trust, obligations and expectations. Trustworthiness and norms are facilitated by closure of networks, meaning that all actors of a network are connected with each other (ibid.). Coleman differs from Bourdieu as he proposes that collectivities are “a source of social capital that could offset some of the impact of socioeconomic disadvantages” (Alfred, 2009:4). However, Coleman neglects the opportunity of external links for resource acquisition (Adler & Kwon, 2002).

Different types of social capital exist, and the distinction of social capital into bonding, or internal, and bridging, or external, is important in this thesis. The former relates to group-internal and kinship ties, and the latter to group-external ties (Alfred, 2009). Bonding social capital reinforces group homogeneity and culture, and it is often seen as integral to women, due to their general ability to create group solidarity (ibid.). However, Beugelsdijk and

Smulders (2003) found bridging social capital to enhance economic growth in Europe, as opposed to bonding social capital.

Kodithuwakka and Rosa (2002) found that in a resource constrained environment, successful entrepreneurs are able to mobilize resources through their social network and overcome this constraint. Thus, social capital aids entrepreneurs in general, but the literature also highlights its significance for women. Alfred (2009) posits that women, due to the ability to create group solidarity and a shared identity, possess some bonding social capital, but are nevertheless disadvantaged in social capital accumulation. This is partially caused by women's double responsibility, which leads to limited time available for networking and building external links (Maclean, 2010; Kumra & Vinnicombe, 2010). However, in her study of women-targeted microfinance in Bolivia, Maclean (2010) found networks as beneficial for resources access.

This thesis adopts a network approach to social capital, as it is helpful for investigating the resource acquisition of women as resource constrained actors. This thesis thus draws on Bourdieu's concept of resource acquisition, and Coleman's notion of overcoming resource constraints via social capital (Kodithuwakka & Rosa, 2002).

Group formation, and the social capital present in groups, plays a vital role in empowerment of the poor and resource constrained (Thorp et al, 2005). However, social capital is not only present in normal groups, but also economic clusters. It has regularly been concluded that clustering may be a veritable way to overcome growth constraints and spur development of small firms in developing countries (Lund-Thomsen & Nadvi, 2010; van Dijk & Sverrisson, 2003; McCormick, 1999).

2.4 CLUSTERS

A cluster is defined as a spatially confined geographical area, where enterprises with similar activities are located and by co-locating ideally extract economic benefits (Lund-Thomsen, Nadvi, 2010).

Benefits from clustering are, among others, facilitation of division of labor within the cluster, emergence of institutions, as well as dissemination of information (van Dijk & Rabellotti, 1997), and better competitive power vis-à-vis larger competitors (Pedersen, 1997). Multiple authors emphasize collective efficiency as a benefit of co-location (McCormick, 1999; Pedersen, 1997; van Dijk & Rabellotti, 1997; Lund-Thomsen, 2010). Generally,

collective efficiency consists of an active and passive part, which each author terms differently. While the active part refers to joint action, the passive part consists of externalities and spillover effects, as well as agglomeration economies (McCormick, 1999; van Dijk & Rabellotti, 1997; Pedersen, 1997). Active collective efficiency encompasses inter-firm linkages and networks (McCormick, 1999), as well as process and product innovations (van Dijk & Rabellotti, 1997). Passive collective efficiency entails information spread (McCormick, 1999; van Dijk & Rabellotti, 1997), as well as reduced transaction costs in terms of transportation and communication, especially in a developing country context (Pedersen, 1997).

The classification of clusters is similarly diverse, as authors differentiate between horizontal and vertical specialization (Pedersen, 1997; van Dijk & Rabellotti, 1997; Waite & Williams, 2009), or the cluster's stage of development (van Dijk & Sverrisson, 2003; McCormick, 1999).

In his comparison of three mill clusters in SSA, Pedersen (1997) found that the necessary degree of collaboration for the emergence of collective efficiencies depends on the type of cluster (*ibid.*). In a horizontally specialized cluster, hence a cluster of similar activities, collective efficiency does not only emerge from active collaboration, but already due to customers' reduced transaction costs of reaching the market (Pedersen, 1997). McCormick (1999) distinguishes between three stages of development: Initially, clusters are laying the groundwork for industrialization, secondly industrializing clusters, and lastly complex industrial clusters (*ibid.*). For the so called groundwork clusters, market access is the main benefit from clustering due to the visibility to traders (McCormick, 1999). Low entry barriers for workers and varying skill levels restrain positive externalities from labor market pooling for groundwork clusters, and even for further developed clusters the results are mixed (*ibid.*). Thus, mere co-location or clustering does not promote collective efficiency (Pedersen, 1997; McCormick, 1999).

Pedersen's (1997) classification is useful for determining whether bonding or bridging social capital are found within the cluster. However, it is too broad to examine in detail *how* social capital is used. McCormick's (1999) stages of development are especially applicable for developing country clusters, but the categories are not differentiated enough to capture the multitude of possible cluster types in SSA. Thus, van Dijk & Sverrisson's (2003) dynamic framework of cluster typology will be applied. The stage of development and industrialization advances from the first to the last cluster type. The first type is called location cluster, where proximity of firms is

the predominant observable characteristic, and information exchange the main clustering benefit. Local market clusters are the second type where similar activities are conducted, and enterprises within the cluster benefit from easy access by customers. The third type, the local network cluster, is recognized by division of labor and collective efficiency due to emerging specialization. The innovation cluster in developing countries, the fourth type, typically uses reverse engineering to develop local innovations, which is the stage before fully-fledged industrial districts, which are rarely found in developing countries, where cooperation among firms is more formalized (ibid). This distinction allows for a detailed analysis of social capital and collaboration, and the resources necessary for transition into a next stage (ibid.).

I argue that the cluster type is directly linked to the life cycle stage of a firm, as the cluster acquires and distributes resources among the firms, which in turn grow, and, vice versa, as the firms grow the cluster transitions into a new type. Roomi (2009) shows how women-owned firms in varying life cycle stages use different types of social capital, such as e.g. women-only, mixed networks, or family networks, which is helpful in determining what social capital the Luweero cluster needs to acquire.

However, growth in SSA clusters has been limited (Pedersen, 1997; Sonobe & Otsuka, 2010). Pedersen (1997) suggests that in absence of a large-scale market the small-scale sector's growth will be limited, and only larger firms can provide the necessary access to resources and markets to overcome this situation. Sonobe and Otsuka (2010) on the other hand blame missing (imitative) innovation for the lack of growth. This calls for a better understanding of clusters in SSA and the special factors for development. Thus, the need for studying less developed (e.g. handicraft) clusters arises, to recognize their characteristics and role in the development of a region. Understanding the social capital within a cluster is one approach.

2.5 SOCIAL CAPITAL IN CLUSTERS

Underlying clusters are often socio-cultural similarities, trust, and kinship ties (van Dijk & Rabellotti, 1997; Staber, 2007), thus bonding social capital. There is abundant literature about social capital in clusters, and trust is often seen as a crucial dimension thereof (Waite & Williams, 2009). According to Sonobe and Otsuka (2010), trust reduces transaction costs, since due to proximity or kinship actors have more information about the trustworthiness

of the exchange partner. Especially in homogeneous groups, trust leads to reciprocity, meaning that an actor expects a benefit to be reciprocated by another actor (Berg, Dickhaut & McCabe, 1995). Felzensztein et al (2014) confirm trust to be an important factor in the creation of social networks, and defines trust as helping to “mitigate the uncertainty of another person’s behavior” (Felzensztein et al, 2014:500). Other authors conversely find that in horizontal clusters members distrust each other and social capital is necessary for building co-operative behavior in a cluster (Waite & Williams, 2009). Waite and Williams (2009) also conclude that social capital is an important factor for the formation of clusters and critical for success, since cooperation and collaboration evolve out of trust, which in turn leads to reciprocal benefits for actors within the cluster.

However, most studies use different dimensions of social capital to investigate certain aspects of clusters. Felzensztein et al (2014) compare clustered and non-clustered firms in Latin America in terms of joint strategic marketing and use collaboration among managers as an indicator for social capital. Waite and Williams (2009) investigate how social capital helps small-to-medium enterprises (SMEs) in Australia with export success. They conclude that firms with higher social capital have more international market exposure, and claim that high levels of social capital can overcome distrust (ibid.). However, trust is initially described as an inherent dimension of social capital, and in conclusion should always increase proportionately with an increase in social capital.

The examples illustrate the logical fallacies of the concept, since in one study joint marketing is an indicator for, and in the other joint marketing an outcome of social capital (Waite & Williams, 2009; Felzensztein et al, 2014). This is harshly criticized by both Huber (2009) and Staber (2007). While Staber (2007) does not criticize the social capital concept per se, he states that the context should play a significant role in developing the indicators for each cluster and their idiosyncrasy. Huber (2009) on the other hand disapproves of the current fuzzy definition, which leads to multiple flaws according to him.

Staber (2007) calls for a contextualized research on social capital in clusters, and defines context as “not merely an environment that enables or constrains action but a nested setting of structures and processes” (Staber, 2007:506). Thus, social capital is inextricably linked to the cluster’s context, and has the ability to impact the dependent variable (ibid.). Huber’s (2009) critique of the current use of social capital in clusters goes beyond the lack of consideration for context. Since the sociological view has gained importance, much research has been

conducted about social capital in regional clusters (ibid.). However, he criticizes the current concept as too inconsistent and a “catch-all notion involving different sorts of social concepts” (Huber, 2009:161). In detail, he disapproves of the lack of specificity leading to differing perceptions and concepts of social capital, the tautological use and bias towards positive outcomes, the neglect of the need to move away from analyzing solely the collective for understanding the underlying actor-driven social processes, as well as the inappropriate assumption of cohesive communities (Huber, 2009). For a better understanding and analysis of the phenomenon of social capital, especially when more than one level of analysis is observed, Huber proposes the “actor-based conception of social networks and social capital” (Huber, 2009:163) for overcoming these limitations, which is explained further in the theoretical framework. Huber’s (2009) framework is valuable as it specifically examines social capital in clusters, and it is possible to investigate both the individual firm, as well as the collectivity.

The criticism calls for a more context sensitive research in clusters at different stages of development, which is especially interesting in industries that are deeply embedded in the local culture and context such as the handicraft sector in Uganda.

2.6 THE HANDICRAFT SECTOR

Little literature has focused on the handicraft sector, especially in developing countries, and few authors investigate the network or social capital. However, if studies are found, these often investigate either the clustering of handicraft businesses (Konstadakopulos, 2008; Kimura, 2011), or gender implications (Rogerson & Sithole, 2001; Mukamana, 2012).

Within the first strand, Konstadakopulos (2008) and Kimura (2011) focus on handicraft clusters in Vietnam and find remarkable growth, despite the challenges these small firms face (Konstadakopulos, 2008). Both authors investigate technology diffusion, and Konstadakopulos (2008) discovers that rural areas adopt technology significantly later than firms near the city of Hanoi, while Kimura (2011) finds that village kinship networks are crucial for learning and accelerated technology diffusion.

The second strand investigates the differences between male and female artisans (Rogerson & Sithole, 2001), as well as the impact on women (Mukamana, 2012). Due to traditional skills of crafting often being passed on from

generations, and the ease of integrating production into the daily schedule, many women operate in the handicraft sector (Rogerson & Sithole, 2001). The ability to work from home partially removes restrictions from the double responsibility and allows women entrepreneurs to have flexible working hours (Rogerson & Sithole, 2001; Barber & Krivoshlykova, 2006; Minniti & Naudé, 2010). These factors, coupled with minimum necessary start-up capital, lower entry barriers and overall costs for engaging in handicraft production (Barber & Krivoshlykova, 2006). It is thus a common phenomenon that socially exposed women choose the sector of handicrafts to sustain a living or acquire additional income (Rogerson & Sithole, 2001). Many countries have therefore recognized the potential of handicraft production for the inclusion of women in the economy and eventually poverty alleviation, as well as women empowerment (Rogerson & Sithole, 2001; Mukamana, 2012). Thus, in many developing countries, the handicraft sector is the second largest field of rural employment, preceded only by agriculture (Konstadakopoulos, 2011).

In a comparative study of male and female artisans in the Mpumalanga region of South Africa, Rogerson and Sithole (2001) find major discrepancies in income, challenges, and support by associations, as female artisans earn considerably less compared to their male counterparts, and find men's products treated preferentially by associations. Thus, men in this study benefit much more from handicraft production than women (ibid.). (ibid.). However, the women rarely receive support from their husbands, many even earn the sole income for households of six persons on average, and face logistical issues such as childcare while procuring raw materials, as well as spatial distance to raw materials and lack of transportation (ibid). General challenges include lack of access to infrastructure and inadequate financing at start-up.

Despite its importance for development, the handicraft sector has not received much attention. Especially the handicraft cluster literature lacks contribution from scholars, albeit the omnipresence of cluster literature in developing countries.

From reviewing the literature it becomes clear that authors have either focused on women entrepreneurs, or clusters, or fairly advanced resource acquisition through social capital. However, how female dominated sectors like the Luweero handicraft cluster has used clustering and social capital for acquiring resources, has not been explored.

3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The following paragraphs outline the theoretical framework. To analyze how artisans in the Luweero cluster acquire resources through social capital Huber's (2009) framework of social capital and resource acquisition in clusters will be applied. Second, van Dijk and Sverrisson's (2003) dynamic framework of cluster types and their transitions will be applied to analyze the development stage of the Luweero cluster and the social capital necessary for the transition.

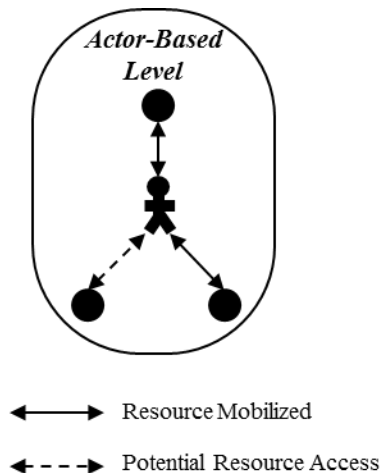
3.1 HUBER'S (2009) FRAMEWORK OF SOCIAL CAPITAL IN CLUSTERS

This paper adopts Huber's (2009) definition of network-based social capital stating that "*one can define social capital as resources embedded in social networks which can be potentially accessed or are actually used by individuals for actions*" (Huber, 2009:164). Within the framework are two levels of analysis, the actor-based level, as well as the collective level (ibid.). Both are explained in the following sections.

3.1.1 The Actor-Based Level

Within the micro or actor-based level one can find the single actor, who is embedded in a *social network*, which is endowed with *resources* that are, have been or can be mobilized. This is his or her *social capital*. In the case of this paper, the actors are the handicraft women in the cluster. They are embedded in a social network which potentially holds resources and thus social capital. Figure 1 illustrates the actor-based level.

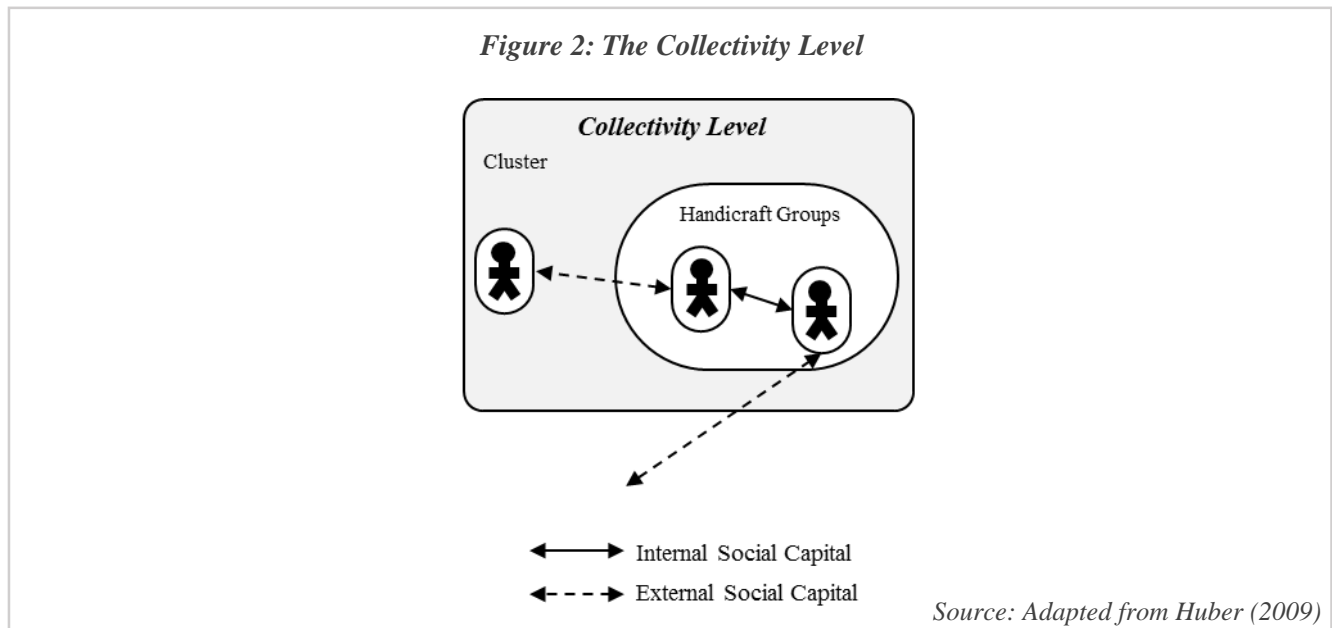
Figure 1: The Actor-Based Level



Source: Adapted from Huber (2009)

3.1.2 The Collectivity Level

Every actor is part of a wider *collectivity*, which can be a firm or a cooperative within a cluster, or the cluster itself. If an actor is employed in a firm within the cluster and the employee is the unit of analysis, the firm is the collectivity. Collectivities can be formed by employment, bonding social capital, or simply close proximity, such as a village. The collectivity's resource acquisition through internal ties is called *internal social capital*. Network connections outside the observed collectivity with potential resource acquisition form the so called *external social capital*. Thus, the overall collectivity's social capital is the internal social capital combined with the external social capital. Figure 2 depicts the collectivity level.



However, if more than one collectivity exists, Huber's (2009) framework does not offer explanations for the boundaries of external social capital. In the case of this paper, three handicraft groups exist within the cluster, thus multiple collectivities within a collectivity. It is unclear if external social capital refers to the cluster-external social capital, or to group-external but cluster-internal, or to both. The same ambiguity occurs when assessing an artisan's family network, which is per definition not group internal, but nevertheless difficult to separate from the women's resource acquisition. In this paper, all network connections, which are not part of the handicraft group, belong to external social capital. This means that group-external, but cluster-internal social capital belongs to the external

social capital, as well as an actor's family and friend's network. However, some family members are part of the handicraft groups, in which case the connection becomes group internal.

Huber (2009) calls trust, institutions, and norms collective properties that “are not part of the definition of social capital. Rather they are external factors which can influence or might be an effect of social capital” (Huber, 2009:164). In the context of developing countries however, certain norms and weak institutions are a reason for the establishment of social networks and thus for social capital (Carney et al, 2008). In this context, institutions are rather a facilitator for the creation of social networks. Trust on the other hand acts as a lubricant for the mobilization and acquisition of resources, due to its embeddedness within a network connection. Thus, trust might be used to access a resource such as financial capital, but is not an indicator for social capital. This paper adopts the concept of trust as a facilitator for social capital compared to a mere external factor, as trust is embedded in social network connections and enables resources acquisition.

3.1.3 Interplay between Levels of Analysis

As the levels are not disconnected from each other, but nested into a wider context, it is important to analyze the interplay and influence of one level to the other for an integrated analysis of social capital (Staber, 2007).

From the actor-based to the collectivity level, the contribution of the individual social capital to the cluster's internal social capital is relevant. From the collectivity level to the actor-based level, the individual entrepreneur's changes in social capital with cluster insertion are interesting. Also, if and how the actors benefit from the cluster's overall resource acquisition through social capital will be analyzed. Trust plays a role in the interplay between the actor-based and collectivity level, as it determines the degree of collaboration and sharing of resources.

3.1.4 Key Cluster Resources

To not fall into the conceptual trap of having multiple dependent variables or using social capital as a fuzzy term, Huber (2009) proposes the analysis of one or few essential cluster resources as the dependent variable and to investigate how actors in the collectivity access or acquire *key cluster resources* through internal and external social capital. Key cluster resources are “specific types of resources that are useful for specific contexts” (Huber, 2009:166), consequently those resources that are crucial for the transition of the Luweero handicraft cluster into

another type of cluster. The analysis will therefore initiate with the investigation of the resources the women utilize for handicraft production.

3.2 VAN DIJK AND SVERRISSON'S (2003) CLUSTER TYPE AND TRANSITIONS

Once the cluster's social capital and interaction is analyzed, it is possible to determine the Luweero cluster's type. Table 1 shows the different cluster types with each observable indicator, as well as the main observed benefit and technical dynamic.

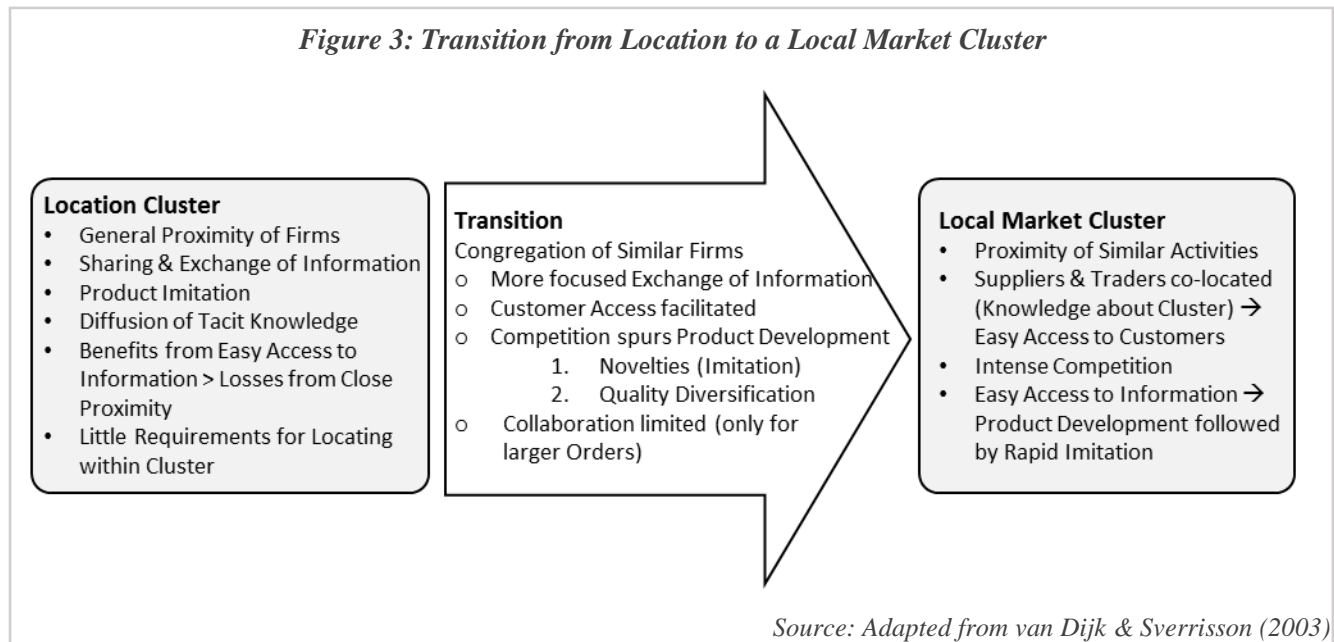
Table 1: Dynamic Typology of Clusters and their Evolution

Type or Stage	Observable Indicator	Main observed Benefit	Technical Dynamic
Location	Proximity of Firms	Information Exchange	Imitation
Local Market	Many Similar Activities	Easy Access/Competition	Product Development
Local Network	Division of Labor	Specialization	Complementarities
Innovative	Local Novelties	Adapting (e.g. Materials)	Reverse Engineering
Industrial District	Formal Cooperation increased	Collective Competition	Collective Innovation

Source: van Dijk & Sverrisson (2003)

Each type exhibits a range of characteristics, enabling its determination, and van Dijk and Sverrisson (2003) also provide necessary measures for the transition from one to another. It is desirable to move into an economically more advanced cluster type for multiple reasons. The first reason is that vertical specialization adds economic activity, and higher value added to the entire economy. The second reason is higher household income for the women due to more economic activity (ibid.). Another reason is higher collective efficiency, which emerges during the local network cluster stage (ibid.). According to van Dijk & Sverrisson (2003), to move from a location to a local market cluster (Figure 3), information sharing and focused imitation are the prime mechanisms, which can be supported by zoning, credits, and urbanization. To move from the second to the third cluster type division of labor, as well as initial mechanization and specialization are needed. This is facilitated by improved infrastructure, provision of space, as well as basic technology transfer. For advancing into an innovative cluster, specialization, competition, and enhanced inter-firm relation, as well as increased export activities are required. To progress from an innovative cluster to an industrial district collective information processing and innovation are needed (ibid.).

Figure 3: Transition from Location to a Local Market Cluster



This paper explores the Luweero cluster's type and stage of development, and analyzes the mechanisms needed for moving into a more advanced type of cluster. Huber's (2009) framework assists in understanding the underlying structures of the cluster and the actor's resource acquisition through social capital, while van Dijk and Sverrisson's (2003) framework allows to assess the stage of cluster development, as well as the necessary measures and resources needed for cluster development. Therefore, the findings from Huber's (2009) framework will be used to subsequently analyze the cluster type.

4 METHODOLOGY

This chapter concerns the methods used and underlying philosophy of science. First, the philosophy of science and research design will be explained, and subsequently the field research presented.

4.1 PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE

Researchers are explicitly or implicitly guided to a choice of methods and concepts by a philosophy of science, and the research is guided by the interpretation of meaning and reality (Bechara & Van de Ven, 2007). Research is based on an ontology and epistemology, where the former represents the researcher's perception of reality and truth, and the latter refers to the methods of conducting research (Van de Ven, 2007). The two ontological extremes are realism and nominalism. Realism is the belief that a single truth exists, whereas nominalists believe that there is no truth, as everything is created or labelled by humans who establish their own version of the truth (Easterby-Smith, 2012). Similarly, epistemology ranges from positivism to constructivism. Positivism refers to the researcher's strive to discover the truth and test a theory, where the researcher is entirely independent of the phenomenon studied and is thus able to generalize the findings, mostly through statistical significance (Potter & Lopez, 2001). Constructivist research on the other hand believes that the researcher is always part of the phenomenon examined (Easterby-Smith, 2012). These scales are continuous and many positions exist between the two extremes. This paper takes the alternative stand of pragmatism.

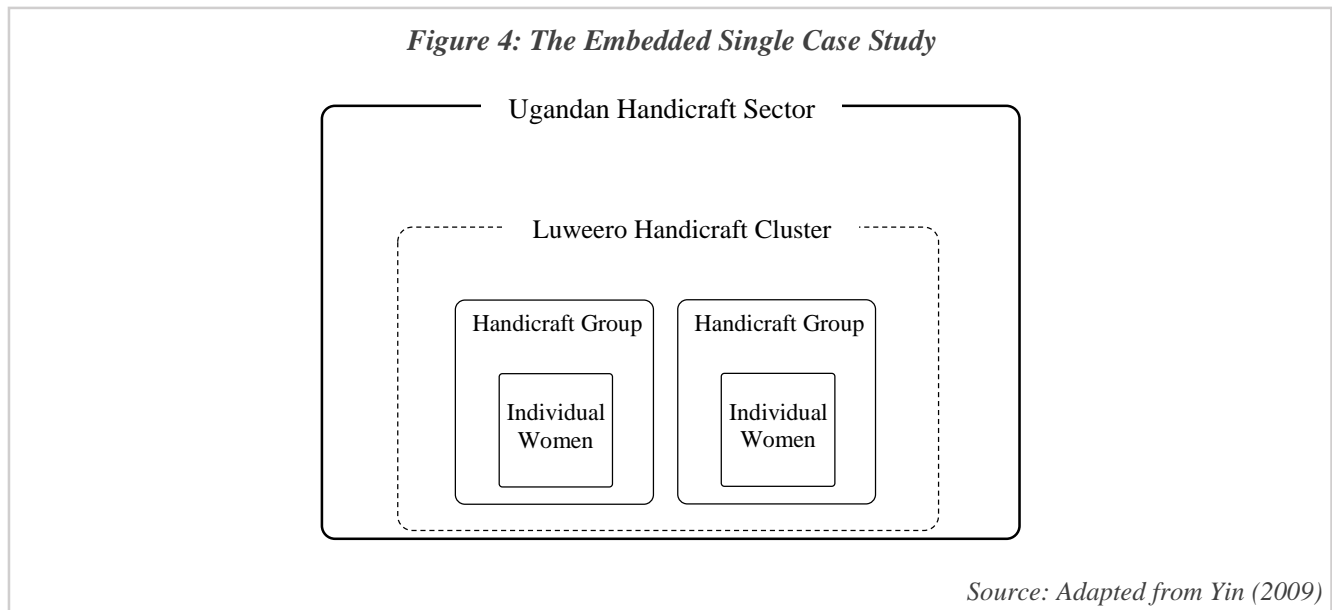
Pragmatism emerged in the early 20th century with the works of American philosophers such as Pierce and Dewey (Shields, 1998). Pragmatists take a realist stance and believe in the existence of an independent world, where conclusions can be made with adequate time (Webb, 2007). However, truth is excluded from this notion, as it is simultaneously believed that reality never reveals itself entirely (ibid.). A subjective epistemology is taken with emphasis on the interplay of knowing and doing (Bechara & Van de Ven, 2007). Pragmatism is "purposeful human inquiry" (Shields, 1998:197), and is in line with instrumentalism, which is concerned with the applicability of scientific theories for prediction (Bechara & Van de Ven, 2007). Dewey asserted that the data one collects depends on the purpose of the inquiry (Webb, 2007), and "success of theories is based on their ability to realize the goals of societal improvement and development" (Bechara & Van de Ven, 2007:57). As Dewey's pragmatism directly

addresses human needs, this study adopts his approach. According to Webb (2007), four aspects are characteristic for pragmatism, namely the above described realism, anti-skepticism, fallibilism, and rejection of apriorism and supernaturalism. Philosophical skepticism doubts that knowledge is possible, but scientific research in general denies this stand, and pragmatists argue that doubt cannot be imposed but has to be genuine (ibid.). Fallibilism denotes that no knowledge or belief, even if it is commonly accepted, is exempt from scrutiny and future testing, as they can all be possibly wrong (ibid.). Lastly, rejection of apriorism and supernaturalism means that knowledge can only be reached by natural processes (ibid.), as well as that presumptive reasons and principles are discarded (Bechara & Van de Ven, 2007). I examine the phenomenon of social capital of women in a handicraft cluster with a pragmatist lens. I am simultaneously guided by my own reference frame and realist believes, as well as the acknowledgement of the fallibility of theories used and outcomes of this research. As a priori reasons are fallible, empiric research is necessary, which is guided by the context of the cluster (Easton, 2010). A lack of existing theoretical frameworks about the observed phenomenon questions the theories' ability to guide the empirical research, and calls for a pragmatic approach with careful application and assessment of data and theories (Webb, 2007). In light of pragmatism, an exploratory case study research design coupled with triangulation through mixed methods was believed the best instrument to express the existing phenomena of the Luweero cluster in their context (Easton, 2010).

4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN – THE CASE STUDY RESEARCH

The research aimed at obtaining a “holistic understanding of complex realities and processes” (Mayoux, 2010:117-118) of the Luweero cluster, hence qualitative data was collected (Mayoux, 2010). Quantitative data was rejected, as it would not provide the necessary information due to context specific and logistical factors such as the participants' illiteracy and lack of English skills. The context and the phenomenon's complexity justify not only qualitative data collection (Mayoux, 2010), but also the case study research within the pragmatic philosophy of science (Easton, 2010). Case studies are especially valuable for in-depth insight into a particular phenomenon, and are furthermore well-suited for studying relationships (Easton, 2010). A strong advantage of the case study is its ability to accommodate different types of data, as well as to acknowledge the fallibility of commonly accepted knowledge, and is thus in line with a pragmatic philosophy (Easton, 2010; Yin, 2009).

Albeit Yin's (2009) positivist approach to case studies, his guidelines are nevertheless useful for conducting case study research, such as the identification of the unit of analysis. The Luweero handicraft cluster represents an embedded single case, which raises significance of the entire entity (the cluster), but draws attention to the subunits of analysis (handicraft groups and individual artisans), which is illustrated in Figure 4 (Yin, 2009).



For triangulation purposes, multiple sources of information are to be collected (Yin, 2009). Yin (2009) proposes six sources of evidence, of which documentation, direct observations, and interviews were used in this case. Interviews entail individual interviews, group interviews, as well as key informants (Yin, 2009; McGregor, 2010). Prior to field work, documentation assisted in identifying a cluster in Uganda, and was used for the triangulation of data, while during field work, informal direct observations of the working place, the collaboration and interaction occurred (Yin, 2009).

4.3 FIELD WORK

Field work was conducted throughout three weeks in the Luweero handicraft cluster, located in Matugga and Bombo, north of Kampala.

4.3.1 Data Collection (Interviews)

During field work, the cluster was visited four times. First, for receiving a general overview of the group and conducting a preliminary interview, the next time for focus group interviews and one individual interview. On the third day, individual interviews were conducted, while during the fourth time initial findings were presented to the chairperson, who in turn gave feedback on these findings. In qualitative research methods and case studies, interviews are an essential method for collecting data (Yin, 2009). The objective of conducting qualitative interviews is to collect information about people and their worldviews in connection to a phenomenon studied (Kvale, 2007), which adheres to the subjective epistemology (Bechara & Van de Ven, 2007). Due to the ability to investigate the interviewee's motivations, processes and structures, interviews provide the best mean for answering the research question (Willis, 2010).

Picture 1: Left: Focus Group Interview with Nubian Group in Bombo; Right: Social and Resource Mapping with Nubian Group



Source: Own Pictures

For a holistic understanding it is necessary to gather data from different angles, hence multiple types of interviews were employed. Table 2 provides a summary of the interviews conducted throughout the field work. Throughout the visits and interviews, the chairperson Sarah Nakalyowa explained the cluster's background, situation and organization, and added information when something was left unclear. Furthermore, she also provided access to the artisans in Luweero.

This is typically the role of a key informant and gatekeeper (Willis, 2010; Yin, 2009; Mayoux, 2010). A common drawback of gatekeepers is the power to select certain interviewees to lead the data into a certain direction (Willis, 2010). However, the interviewees spanned all age groups, income levels, as well as membership duration, and the diversity of participants reduces this concern significantly.

Table 2: Overview of Interviews

	Interview Type	Name	Location	Position (if applicable)
1	Preliminary Interview, Guided Conversation, semi-structured	Mpuliziganya Crafts Development Group, mostly with Sarah Nakalyowa	Matugga, St. John's Church	Key Informant, Chairperson & Association Leader
2	Focus Group	Nubian Group	Bombo Road, In front of Group's Craft Shop	Group within Association
3	Focus Group	Kiti Women's Development Group	Near Matugga, in leader's house	Group within Association
4	Individual, semi-structured	Justine Mubiru	Her house in Matugga	Treasurer
5	Individual, semi-structured	Margareth Kiwanuka	Her house in Matugga	Secretary
6	Individual, semi-structured	Irene Naganjo	Her house in Matugga	Retired
7	Individual, semi-structured	Margareth Nyanzi	Irene Naganjo's House	
8	Individual, semi-structured	Jackeline Nakagwe	Irene Naganjo's House	
9	Individual, semi-structured	Catherine Nakafeero	Her house in Matugga	
10	Individual, semi-structured	Deborah Namitala	Catherine Nakafeero's House	
11	Individual, semi-structured	Justine Nandawule	Her house in Matugga	
12	Feedback	Sarah Nakalyowa, Mary Nantoza	Matugga, St. John's Church	Key Informant, Chairperson & Association Leader

Focus group interviews offer valuable and plentiful data, as well as insights into the structures and underlying processes (Lloyd-Evans, 2010), and were deployed in the beginning of the field work (Picture 1). Ideally, focus groups are discussions where the interviewer acts as a moderator rather than an inquisitor since it is then possible to observe the group behavior, beliefs and interactions (ibid.). All interviews contained participatory elements, which aim at active participant involvement in the research (Beazley & Ennew, 2010). Resource and social mapping, as well as resource ranking were employed (Picture 1 and 2). However, as the artisans did not actively participate in research question formulation and data analysis, the methods were of interactive, rather than participatory, nature (ibid.). Resource and network maps were drawn by the groups and interviewees while being

asked questions about the social interaction and resource acquisition. For the resource ranking, every participant placed a pebble on the most valued resource. These methods gave insights into the women's own perceptions of resources¹.

Despite the passiveness of the discussion, the mapping significantly loosened the atmosphere during the interview and the subsequent conversation was livelier. This increased the ability to observe the social interactions among the group (Lloyd-Evans, 2010; Beazley & Ennew, 2010). A common problem in focus group research is high respect for the elders (Lloyd-Evans, 2010). During one focus group interview, the age difference posed a threat to an open discussion, due to the young members' reluctance to speak up in the presence of older members, and thus only answered reluctantly when directly asked.

The majority of the interviews consisted of semi-structured, in-depth interviews with open-ended questions (Willis, 2010). The interviews followed the topics of interest, namely (a) business background and motivation, (2) resource acquisition, (3) innovation and collaboration with the cluster (4) social network, but left the interviewee space to guide the interview and point the interviewer into new directions by expressing own thoughts (Willis, 2010). Unless factual data was collected, open-ended questions were posed to avoid interview bias, "where the process of conducting an interview might influence the responses given" (Easterby-Smith, 2012:130).

As it is an ethical practice to present the final report to the researched (Scheyvens & Storey, 2003), a feedback session was conducted. Not only were the initial findings presented to the key informant, but she also commented and gave additional information she thought was missing. She also used the absence of other members to state her open opinion. The purpose of the feedback session was to provide the cluster with recommendations for action.

All interviews were conducted either at the interviewee's homes, or locations they were familiar with and regularly frequented. This not only helped the artisans to continue their daily routine throughout the interview, but also made direct observations of living conditions and family interactions possible (Willis, 2010).

¹ See Appendix D

Thus, applying different types of interviews was appropriate for the qualitative case study research design and gave multiple angles on the phenomenon (Yin, 2009).

4.3.2 Research Assistant and Interpreter

In Central Uganda, Luganda is the second official language next to English, which is spoken by local people, as well as many other Ugandans (CIA, 2014). However, English is not spoken by everyone, and especially not by the rural population (ibid.). Thus, the data was collected with help from a Ugandan research assistant, who was not only fluent in Luganda but also understood the local culture (Bujra, 2010). She communicated with the participants and translated the answers, and helped in understanding the local culture.

Picture 2: Left: Social and Resource Mapping with Kiti Group; Right: Resource Ranking with Kiti Group



Source: Own Pictures

Prior to the research, the assistant was introduced to the research and topics, therefore understood the research well. Her formal education with a university degree helped her connecting the academic questions to the actual research situation. Beneficial for the research was her general interest in the topic, as well as fascination for the women's stories. This, as well as her openly admitted enthusiasm for the women's products, reduced the potential distance caused by the education and social difference (Bujra, 2010). The handicraft women were open and welcoming, since the local research assistant was able to communicate in a proper and respectful manner (ibid.). Thus, apart from Luganda skills, the research assistant gave information about unknown customs and did not simply translate the answers, but also explain what certain expressions meant.

However, a challenge is the research assistant's possibility to make own interpretations (Burja, 2010). Since she was familiar with the local customs and also the research questions, it is crucial to keep in mind that she might have left out information she deemed irrelevant to the researcher and drew her own conclusions (ibid.).

Although the use of an interpreter involves challenges, the overall experience was positive, due to the valuable insights into the local culture as well as the immediate trust the women exhibited towards us.

4.4 DATA ANALYSIS

Except for the feedback session, the interviews were tape recorded, and the research assistant's translations transcribed². As there were no intentions to analyze speech, I refrained from exact punctuation, to limit the excessive amount of time associated with the transcription of interviews (Seidman, 1998; Gibbs, 2007). Transcribing assisted in listening carefully to the answers, and cross-checking them with the field notes taken did not only help remembering the situation, but also gave a good overview of the data collected.

Following the transcription, coding was possible (Gibbs, 2007). Coding involves finding relevant passages of text that essentially describe the same phenomenon or idea, and subsequently indexing and categorizing these (ibid.). Repeated reading and listening enabled me to find codes describing similar topics, which included codes such as "money from the husband". The descriptive codes were subsequently categorized into broader concepts, and for a higher level of data analysis, analytical codes need to be established and interpreted with care, as some passages give fairly little evidence (ibid.). These analytical codes are guided by the framework and theory of the thesis and can be either concept- or data-driven (ibid.). Concept-driven codes are guided by the predefined literature or framework, whereas data-driven codes stem from the text only (ibid.). Due to the exploratory nature of the research, both methods were used iteratively, as initially the data dictated the codes, which were subsequently guided by theoretical concepts. This was repeated many times for the development of a solid framework. However, codes were handwritten on the printed interview transcriptions, and no codebook or other documentation used.

² The interviews can be found in Appendix A.

4.5 ETHICAL PRACTICES IN CONDUCTING FIELD WORK

In light of the developing country context, some remarks need to be made about ethical considerations taken before and throughout field work. Especially, building relationships with the research participants and “ensuring that the research will not have negative implications for the participants” (Scheyvens et al, 2003:142) are important reflections to be made (ibid.). According to Brydon (2010), considerations that need to be taken prior to conducting field work are especially those of context specific nature, which entails for example the dress code. The dress code was important, especially outside urban centers, to show respect for the women’s culture and knowledge, as well as to be respected as a young researcher.

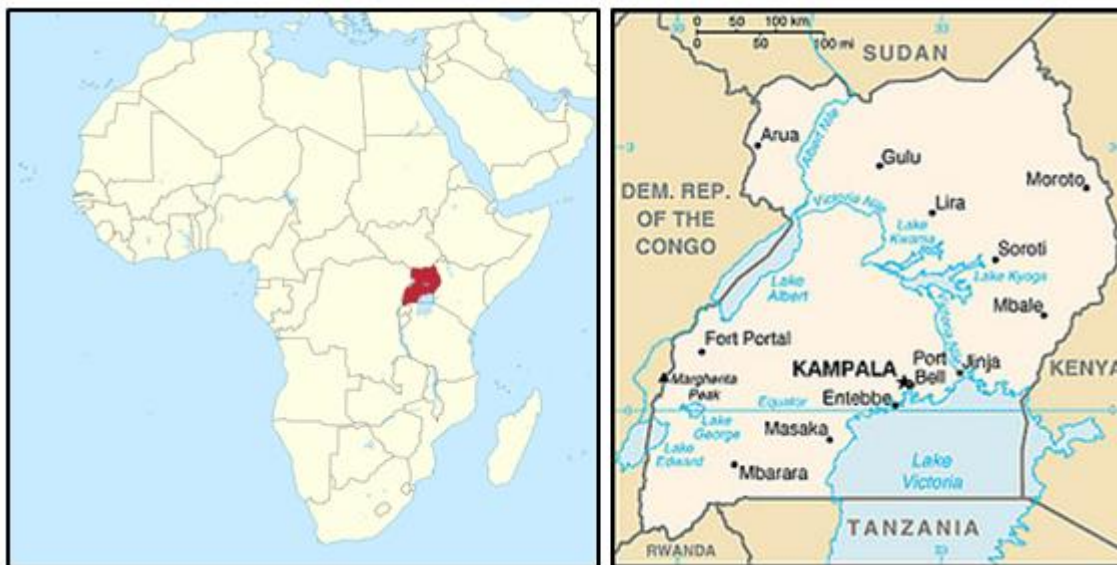
According to Brydon (2010), prior to interviewing informed consent has to be given by the participant. Thus, before every interview the research purpose and topic were explained and the interview only started with consent from the interviewee. Following the interviews, the possibility was given to ask questions or make remarks.

Power relations between the researcher and the participants are another ethical consideration crucial to conducting field research in developing countries (Scheyvens et al, 2003; Brydon, 2010). I am aware of the power relations that might have impacted the research, as both the research assistant as well as I am from a different social and educational background in contrast to the artisans. However, by following to the dress code, and generally considering the context we attempted to minimize this power gap and establish a positive relationship with the women (ibid.). As a contribution to the group and association, as well as an acknowledgment, a fairly large order of baskets was placed, and many smaller baskets bought from different artisans throughout the interviews.

5 THE CONTEXT – UGANDA, THE PEARL OF AFRICA

This chapter aims to give an overview of the research context, and provides information about Uganda in general, the situation of WEs, as well as the Ugandan handicraft sector.

Figure 5: Maps of Uganda (Left: Uganda in Africa; Right: Uganda)



Source: Left: [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Uganda_in_Africa_\(-mini_map_-rivers\).svg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Uganda_in_Africa_(-mini_map_-rivers).svg),
Right: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/graphics/maps/large/ug-map.gif>

5.1 HISTORY AND FACTS

The Republic of Uganda is a landlocked country in East Africa, with borders to Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo, and South Sudan. With a population of approximately 36 million it is significantly smaller, not only in size, but also population, than its principal trading partner Kenya. After independence, Uganda suffered from a series of dictators and civil wars, such as Milton Obote (1966-1971, and 1980-1985) and Idi Amin (1971-1979), who did not only oppress and persecute its people, but by expelling the Asians, whose businesses drove the economy, also tremendously destroyed economic activity (Langevang et al, 2012). Peace only arose when the National Resistance Movement (NRM) under current president Yoweri Museveni (1986-) took power. However, he did not succeed in appeasing all parts of the country, and the Northern regions were severely

threatened and suppressed by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and their infamous leader Joseph Kony. In 2008, a ceasefire was agreed upon, and peace slowly established in the North, bringing the country on the way to recovery (Dagne, 2011).

After Museveni took power in 1986 the country's economy grew continuously (Evers & Walter, 2001). The agricultural sector, which at first primarily produced crops for home supply, turned to the cash economy for growth. To the present day is agriculture the major economic activity and coffee accounts for the majority of exports (ibid). For the international community, Uganda also gained importance due to the achievements in meeting the Millennium Development Goals (Bbaale & Mpuge, 2011). Due to the discovery and planned exploitation of oil in the western part of the country, which will account for a larger source of government funding the next years, the country gained more independence from the international community (CIA, 2014).

5.2 WOMEN AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN UGANDA

The participation of women in the armed conflict lead to the recognition of women on a political level, and the country approaches gender equality (Snyder, 2000). Simultaneously, the conflict also made it necessary for women to provide for the household while the husband had either fled or disappeared, which gave rise to female entrepreneurship, as women started their own business or took over their husband's (ibid.). Remarkably, women contribute a large number to the entrepreneurial activity, and cover the vast majority of agricultural labor, as well as dominate the private sector SMEs (ibid.). However, the equality advancements women made on a political level, are not present on the economic level (Snyder, 2000; Kikooma, 2011).

Generally, women first and foremost participate in the agricultural sector, as growing crops for home use is considered female work (Evers & Walters, 2001). Even if women participate in the cultivation of crops for export, their priorities lie with taking care of the family, limiting their time for other economic activities, and with an average fertility rate of 6 children per woman (CIA, 2014), this task can be quite time consuming (ibid.).

Within the economically active female population, more than 88% are either self-employed or unpaid family workers, which explains a growing governmental interest in this area (Stevenson & St-Onge, 2005). Despite the number of enterprises owned by women, these rarely grow beyond the self-employed or micro enterprise stage,

for which a combination of market failures and discrimination in terms of for example access to training or information, is responsible (ibid.). Obstacles for growth are the possession of fewer assets and difficulties in accessing productive resources compared to male entrepreneurs (Snyder, 2000). The majority of women is active in the informal sector, which further poses unique challenges, but simultaneously contribute significantly to the GDP of Uganda due to the high representation in the agricultural sector and small businesses (ibid.). One of the sectors with high female participation and low entry barriers is the Ugandan handicraft sector (SCT, 2005).

5.3 HANDICRAFT SECTOR IN UGANDA

The handicraft sector encompasses all handmade, traditional products such as basketry, pottery, beads, textiles, or wood craft, and constitutes one of the non-agricultural industries with high women participation in Uganda (SCT, 2005). Albeit its potential for export and poverty alleviation, the Ugandan Export Promotion Board (UEPB) had until recently not given this sector much attention (ibid.). Since 2008, handicraft production for export is recognized in the Uganda National Export Strategy Paper, and objectives of support include development in terms of increase in income levels, as well as human resource and capacity building for scale and quality diversification (Ministry of Tourism Trade and Industry, 2007). The UEPB, driven by concerns for gender equality, also acknowledges the Ugandan handicraft sector's potential for employment and income generation, especially for women (SCT, 2005).

According to Mukamana (2012), employment in the handicraft sector significantly helps Ugandan women in overcoming economic, social and political disadvantages at the household and community level, and is important for the creation of sustainable livelihoods of rural women. Hence, the handicraft sector witnesses growing participation in Uganda (Barber & Krivoshlykova, 2006; Ministry of Tourism Trade and Industry, 2007). As part of national policies and development interventions, associations such as the National Association of Women Organizations in Uganda (NAWOU), a non-governmental umbrella organization for women organizations, have adapted their programs to include the enhancement of the handicraft sector (Mukamana, 2012). These associations offer training in skills and expertise, as well as local and international market access (ibid.). In her study, Mukamana (2012) found a steep increase in income for the artisans, which eventually increased their decision making power.

However, participants in the handicraft sector are faced by a number of challenges. The challenges for female artisans in Uganda encompass a lack of support from the spouse, high rates of HIV/AIDS, and the climate change, which hinders raw material processing (Mukamana, 2012). Organizations in the handicraft sector face language barriers and a declining exchange rate (ibid.). Further inhibiting the development of the handicraft sector are production and marketing constraints (SCT, 2005). The former entail limited access to raw materials with an inadequate supply system, minimal to no access to capital and finance, in terms of poor transportation infrastructure, insufficient market information, as well as a lack of marketing support (ibid.). Furthermore, the sector is characterized by low design and quality, lack of specialization, and inadequate skills and vocational training (ibid.). Nevertheless, women actively seek participation in this sector due to availability of skills and the possibility for financial independence, and it is therefore necessary to understand the underlying structures and find mechanism to enhance the development of this sector.

6 DATA ANALYSIS

In the analysis chapter, first the Luweero handicraft cluster and its characteristics are described. Then, the collected data will be analyzed and juxtaposed with the concepts and theories used. Specifically, key cluster resources will be identified, and subsequently the actor-based level analyzed in terms of individual resource acquisition. Later, the collectivity level social capital will be examined. Subsequently, the interplay of the two levels of analysis will be assessed and the cluster type analyzed in light of social capital.

6.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LUWEERO HANDICRAFT CLUSTER

The Luweero cluster is spread over different villages surrounding Matugga and Bombo (Picture 3 left), and produces basketry, hence products with the highest demand abroad, from banana fiber, raffia and papyrus straws (SCT, 2005).

Picture 3: Left: Map of Region North of Kampala with Matugga and Bombo (highlighted); Central Top: Baganda Women weaving Raffia Baskets in Matugga; Central Bottom: Typical Baganda Baskets from Raffia and Banana Fiber; Right: Typical Nubian Products from Papyrus



Source: Left: Own Illustration from Google Maps; Rest: Own Pictures

Banana fiber originates from banana tree leaves, and raffia is derived from a type of palm tree (Tropical Island Products, 2014). Papyrus straws are attained from the papyrus reed found in swamps and waters in Africa (ibid.). Banana fiber, papyrus and raffia leaves are dried and then used for basket or mat weaving with a technique called coiling (Gayou, 2014). For traditional raffia baskets the women use a number of banana fiber straws, wrap the raffia around this so called coil, and use a needle to fix the raffia to the banana fiber. The raffia is typically colored and thus depicts the designs. Pictures 3 show different products and women weaving in the traditional coiling technique. As household cultivation of banana is common due to its significance in Ugandan diet, the necessary banana fiber is sourced from their own gardens. The cluster consists of four groups with approximately 30 to 40 members each, of which three were interviewed (the Mpuliziganya, the Kiti, and the Nubian group). Sarah Nakalyowa founded the first group, Mpuliziganya, in 1993, when she married into the town of Matugga and found many women producing similar items. The groups are registered as a cooperative with NAWOU. Apart from three Baganda³ groups, one Nubian group exists with different traditions in handicraft production in terms of designs and raw materials. The Nubian group's products differ from the other groups', as papyrus is used instead of banana leaves and raffia (UCCSIC, 2011).

The United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) selected the cluster as an implementation site for the One Village Industrial Cluster (OVIC) Project, which was conducted between February 2010 and December 2011 (UCSSIC, 2011). With OVIC, the artisans received training in basket weaving skills, diversification in other products from the same materials, as well as soft skills such as group formation and some accounting skills (ibid.).

All groups appoint a chairperson, a vice chairperson, a treasurer, a coordinator, and a secretary, who are the so called group leaders. According to the Mpuliziganya group's bylaws, these leaders are elected every two years, however, leadership has not changed since the establishment of the group. Group members pay a yearly membership fee of 5000 UGX⁴, and new members twice as much for the first year. This money is used for loans to existing members and lending initial capital to new members, who cannot afford to buy the materials themselves.

³ Ethnic group in Central Uganda (<http://global.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/225157/Ganda>)

⁴ around 1.5€

The Nubian group does not offer loans for new members, but the artisans voluntarily contribute raw materials as a gift for the new member.

On Fridays, the leaders go to the market in Kampala to buy raw materials on Owino market, and to sell the baskets. The cluster principally sells to Uganda Craft 2000 Ltd, a Kampala-based fair trade association and exporter of handicrafts to Europe, North America and Australia. The products are frequently made for a special order, thus the designs are given by the customer. Throughout the training by several organizations (NAWOU, UNIDO, Uganda Craft 2000 Ltd.), the women were taught to be creative in terms of basket designs and color combinations. The underlying idea is differentiation for competitiveness in the market. Nevertheless, the artisans produce similar designs, patterns, and products with little specialization or differentiation.

After introducing the Luweero cluster and its characteristics, we now turn to the resources, their acquisition by the actor and collectivity, as well as the cluster type and the necessary key cluster resources to progress into another cluster type.

6.2 KEY CLUSTER RESOURCES

The key cluster resources are analyzed through the women entrepreneur's perception of what the most important resources are.

Table 3: Resource Ranking

	Interview N°	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Total
Financial Resources	1st Choice	1	1	1	1					1		5
	2nd Choice		3			1	1		1		1	7
Physical Resources	1st Choice		1				1				1	3
	2nd Choice	6	1	1				1				9
Human Resources	1st Choice	5	3			1		1	1			11
	2nd Choice		1		1					1		3

Source: Own Data; Interview Numbers refer to Table 2: Overview of Interviews

During the resource ranking, the women chose among financial, physical, and human resources as the most and second most important resource for their business. As all resources are interconnected and equally needed for basket production, the ranking shows prioritization of resources only. Table 3 illustrates the individual choices, as

well as the total. The ranking shows no clear winner in terms of importance. Nevertheless, human resources are, with 11 votes, indicated as the most important resource, followed by financial resources with 5 votes, and lastly physical resources with 3.

What exactly are financial, human or physical resources according to the women? Financial resources entail initial and working capital, typically coined “financial support” by the women. Training and skills related to weaving, such as designs and quality, were emphasized more than business training and education. This does not mean that business skills are not crucial for the businesses, but rather shows the lack of knowledge about what business skills entail, since only few women received any kind of business training. Physical resources apart from those related to basket weaving, such as water wells or firewood, were disregarded by the women and taken for granted, despite the fact that the majority of households does not have running water or electricity. Consequently, basket weaving related raw materials are considered the key physical resources in this thesis.

It is possible to draw parallels between the ranking and the women’s perception about the availability of a resource. Combining the emphasis on skills and training in the resource ranking, with the permanent concern for new designs, this can be interpreted as a perceived lack of skills and information about designs. In contrast, albeit raw materials are crucial for the production of baskets, the availability thereof is seemingly not a challenge. None of the women complained about a lack of raw materials, but only about rising prices and weather conditions, which together with the lower score in the resource ranking indicates a perceived abundance of raw materials.

To summarize, financial resources in terms of initial and working capital, human resources encompassing technique, and designs, as well as raw materials such as raffia, banana fiber, papyrus or dyes emerge as key resources for the Luweero cluster.

For analyzing the resource acquisition through social capital for startup and growth, the resources are separated into initial and recurring (e.g. initial capital and working capital).

6.3 ACTOR-BASED LEVEL

The analysis of the actor-based level explores the individual resource acquisition through social capital in the Luweero cluster.

6.3.1 The Actors' Acquisition of Resources through Social Capital

The following part explores the artisans' individual resource acquisition through the social network, hence the potential and mobilized social capital. The key cluster resources of financial, human, and physical resources will be analyzed. Generally, it is possible to distinguish between the acquisition *without social capital*, the acquisition through the *family network*, the *group network* and the acquisition through *other networks*.

6.3.1.1 Financial Resources

This section explores the financial resource acquisition in terms of initial and working capital.

The acquisition of *initial capital without leveraging the social network* is possible due to low initial costs associated with entering the handicraft production (SCT, 2005). It is thus common among the artisans to raise initial capital from own resources. The majority sold crops from their own garden, such as jackfruits, or livestock, such as goats. Others used their workforce for earning and saving money. The chairperson explained that many members worked in other villagers' gardens for earning initial capital. Several artisans also took advantage of their former businesses for acquiring the necessary capital, such as savings from a kiosk⁵. The use of resources at hand is illustrated by the case of Justine Mubiru, the 53-year-old treasurer, who started the business prior to group formation. She possessed skills due to family traditions and combined two of her resources at hand, banana fiber and labor, to produce and sell a basket which yielded the initial capital. She was inspired by an investor who saw her house decorated with small baskets she had produced for home use, and was asked to produce larger baskets.

Leveraging the *family network* and hence using *bonding social capital* is another common form of initial capital acquisition. Here, the husband played an important role, which became especially clear during the focus group interviews. Only few used other family relations, such as Jackeline Nakagwe, who acquired initial capital from

⁵ A kiosk in the Ugandan context is a small shed where basic foodstuffs and other necessary items are sold

her relative: “It is my grandma who inspired me to join the group and she is the same person who gave me the initial capital.” (Interview 8).

The last method for acquiring social capital, *other networks*, is rarely used, despite all artisan’s opportunity to acquire a group loan for initial capital. An example is Margaret Kiwanuka, 52 and married, who acquired a private loan from Justine Mubiru, since her garden does not produce enough to sell and her husband does not support her financially due to disapproving of the handicraft ambitions. Justine’s longer established business allowed her to diversify into e.g. dairy production and enabled her to offer loans for initial capital to the members when the group was formed.

Two findings stand out; first, the women indicate a clear preference for either no or bonding social capital when acquiring initial capital, notwithstanding the possibility to receive a group loan or leverage other community network ties, and second, the notion that Ugandan husbands generally do not support their wives financially in their business (Synder, 2000; Mukamana, 2012) cannot be confirmed for Luweero.

It is very rare that the women do *not use social capital* for the acquisition of ***working capital***. An example is Deborah Namitala, 37 with one child and recently widowed, one of the few who only acquires working capital through social capital in emergencies. She rather produces and sells gravel in the stone quarry than asking her network for money, and only uses the group loans as a last resort. This shows that she predominantly foregoes social capital, and rarely uses *bonding* social capital for acquiring working capital through the group.

In terms of *family networks*, the majority receives financial support from the husband. Many artisans who did not need financial support for initial capital now acquire working capital through him. If unable to receive working capital from the husband, the women typically turn to other family members. Margaret Kiwanuka for example turns to her daughter, the family member she trusts most, for financial support.

With the family incapable of providing working capital, the artisans turn to specific group members. The *group network* is often the last mean for acquiring working capital. Family networks are favored for mobilizing working capital through social capital and if this potential social capital cannot be mobilized the women attempt to source capital privately from group members, instead of taking a group loan. As an example, Margaret Kiwanuka only turns to the treasurer for working capital, if her daughter is unable to help.

However, the group nonetheless acts as a safety net, and the membership fee is used for preventing women from going through bankruptcy. According to Catherine Nakafeero, the artisans occasionally attempt to create baskets with new designs, but if unable to sell these, they do not possess enough funds to buy raw materials. In this situation the women help each other financially and lend money for the purchase of raw materials. Thus, obtaining working capital from the group is possible, and many state that they feel financially supported by the group, but rarely to never realize this opportunity. Therefore it is theoretically possible to mobilize working capital through the group's network, it is just rarely the case if the artisans can find another source.

To make the importance of social capital evident, we turn to the example of Deborah Namitala. As she sold her own kiosk, she did not rely on a third person for initial capital. However, despite her connections within the Mpuliziganya group, Deborah is challenged by a lack of working capital. She sells gravel instead of acquiring working capital through her social network. It is worth noting however, that in a situation of lacking raw materials, she does not mind asking for raw materials. The reluctance to acquire resources through social capital hence only applies to financial resources. Thus, a stigma or a bad reputation seems to be connected to being in debt with non-family members.

Deborah has a small social network and thus limited social capital, as her husband recently passed away and her family is located far away. Concurrently, her social relations with embedded financial resources are aware of Deborah's small network for the potential obtaining of funds, if she is unable to repay loans, and she mentions that "there is a lot of doubt" (Interview 10) whether she will pay back. Knowing this, Deborah pursued handicrafts for building *bonding social capital* with the women of the community more than for the sake of the business. This phenomenon is similar to Maclean's (2010) finding in Bolivia, where many women joined microfinance groups purely for the acquisition of bonding social capital. Uncertainty about the loan repayment is also caused by a lack of trust, since trust facilitates the exchange of resources by reducing uncertainty (Felzensztein et al, 2014). This furthermore shows how trust is not interchangeable with social capital, since Deborah is indeed connected to other people in the community, such as neighbors, who could hypothetically lend her money. However, with lack of trust, leveraging this network connection and obtaining working capital becomes virtually impossible. Hence, trust is facilitating the step from a potential to a mobilized resource.

Since group loans have a, rather low, interest rate of 10%⁶, they can be seen as more formal compared to borrowing from friends and family. In a study of borrowing behavior in South East Asia, Johar and Rammohan (2011) show that especially women are averse to taking loans from formal institutions and rely on family networks for obtaining capital. This is only feasible, if capital requirements are relatively low due to the often small amounts of financial capital available in the network (ibid.). Low capital requirements are characteristic for the handicraft sector and capital mobilization through family network hence feasible for the women in Luweero. Johar and Rammohan (2011) also show that women not only borrow from family and friends due to reluctance of being formally in debt, but also due to little administrative efforts necessary. Thus, both the reluctance to incur debts and the accessibility of family networks play a role and in the case of Luweero.

Overall, even though the potential social capital is rather large, financial resources are rarely mobilized through other than family networks.

6.3.1.2 *Human Resources*

This section explores the women's acquisition of initial and additional skills for the production of baskets for the export markets. It is necessary to distinguish between *basic weaving skills* and *initial skills* in this context. Even though the production of baskets is very common in Luweero, and weaving skills are typically passed on from generation to generation within families, these skills are not enough for the production of high quality baskets for export, and thus considered *basic skills*.

Knowledge about the production of high quality baskets is not widespread within families, since it entails skills about designs and colors, and thus *initial skills* need to be acquired when entering the business. *Additional skills* refer to new skills in terms of techniques or designs. An example is Margaret Nanyanzi, who produced baskets while attending school. Albeit her prior *basic skills*, she was unable to weave complex colored baskets, and had to acquire the *initial skills* for the production of high quality baskets for export.

It is rarely possible that women teach themselves how to produce high quality baskets, which enhances the importance of the social network. The only case where an artisan was taught by the family and developed the

⁶ Appendix B: Mpuliziganya Group Bylaws

necessary skills herself is Justine Mubiru, who started producing for export by experimentation with colors and designs, before the groups were founded.

The most common mean of acquiring initial skills is by group insertion (*group network*), as new members acquire initial skills through training by group members. It is interesting to note that artisans copy the way they acquired initial skills and apply it to a new member. This can be seen in the case of Catherine Nakafeero, who acquired initial skills through Sarah Nakaloywa, who gave her the learning materials⁷ and showed her how to create the base of the basket. Catherine then finished the basket at home with sporadic help. Catherine applied this method in turn to Deborah Namitala, as she gave her the learning materials and taught her how to weave baskets. Therefore, initial skills are frequently acquired through the group network, and hence mobilized through social capital.

Few artisans use *other networks* for the acquisition of initial skills. Justine Nadawule, 37, is one artisan who depended on her (group-external) network for acquiring skills, as she only recently joined the Mpuliziganya group. For initial skills, a friend introduced her to an artisan, through whom she acquired the skills. She also attempted to join a handicraft group her relatives are part of, but was denied membership. This shows how Justine actively sought access to skills through her social network before entering the group.

Often, indirect connections are mobilized for acquiring skills and multiple tried before being able to acquire initial skills. The example of Justine above shows how she was only able to meet the artisan through a friend, and hence used an indirect, or second degree, connection. Even if the women are connected to others who possess the resources, they are not always able to tap these. This activation of multiple relations and active seeking of skills demonstrates the importance of social networks for the acquisition of initial skills.

Concerning ***additional skills and current designs***, the entrepreneurs use multiple sources.

All artisans in the Luweero cluster primarily claim to invent their own designs through creativity (*no social capital*). As the women were taught to “be creative” (Interview 1) to differentiate themselves from other handicraft producers, they therefore attempt to design unique baskets. However, these baskets regularly do not match the international markets’ taste, and thus the women need to acquire new skills and designs from external sources.

⁷ Leftover materials from production of a previous order and thus of lower quality

Especially the group leaders do not use social capital for new designs. They are exposed to new products and special designs at the market in Kampala or acquire them through Uganda Craft 2000 Ltd.

The majority of women depends on the *group network (bonding social capital)* for the acquisition of additional skills, as only the group leaders have regular access to additional skills and new designs.

Other networks are also important, as additional skills are typically embedded therein (e.g. the organizations). Since the last training was completed in December 2011 (OVIC), members of the cluster before 2012 acquired new skills through external training. Members who joined the groups past this date have not received external training and depend on the skills of group members (*bonding social capital*), as well as their own creativity (*no social capital*). Due to its group-external nature, the training constitutes *bridging social capital*. The relatively long implementation for OVIC suggests an in-depth training (UCSSIC, 2011). However, the women assured that it lasted for three days and only briefly encompassed accounting skills (Interview 1). This external training is the women's only possibility to acquire business skills, and the superficial training explains the cluster's lack thereof.

Without group membership, artisans rely on *other networks* for acquiring additional skills. For example, through interaction with market actors, Justine Nandawule was exposed to new designs and products, similarly to the group leaders in Luweero. Simultaneously, the artisan she acquired initial skills from was also her main customer, thus she had an interest in teaching Justine new skills, techniques and designs to be able to buy up-to-date products. Justine therefore did not only use own resources, but also leveraged her social network.

Trust plays a key role in the acquisition of skills, as especially designs are an important resource for the competitiveness of the groups. The women are therefore protective of their designs and reluctant to teach artisans their newest designs without group or cluster affiliation through community membership or relations to a group member. With this affiliation, potential new members pass the implicit screening process, which is typically applied in the microfinance concept (Thorp et al, 2005; Johar & Rammohan, 2011), as it lowers uncertainty about the new member's behavior and increases trust, leading to knowledge sharing. This trust is a result of bonding social capital within the group. Bonding social capital is built on similar backgrounds, such as community ties, or interaction in other network, such as at church, and creates homogeneity in the group (Adler & Kwon, 2002).

Furthermore, within the group the women have interacted for a long time and successfully completed many transactions, which “mitigates the uncertainty of another person’s behavior” (Felzensztein et al, 2014:500).

The artisans do not only need to trust each other within the groups, but also the leaders to be attentive to new designs and pass them on to the members. This trust is on one hand given due to bonding social capital from group membership, but on the other hand due to the leaders’ special role, as they are typically endowed with more resources than the average group member, e.g. the treasurer owns more financial capital. During the individual interviews, many artisans named a leader as a person they trust most with business concerns. However, the average group member does not only trust the leaders but is often also dependent on their (access to) resources, and could not acquire resources such as additional skills by herself.

The scarcity of human resources, as well as the significance of unique designs validate the perceived importance of human resources by the artisans. Formal institutions for acquiring training and new skills are rare, therefore women largely depend on social networks. For additional skills, the entrepreneurs do not solely rely on their own creativity (*no social capital*), but also mobilize either their connections to market actors or the group leaders (*bonding social capital*), as well as external organizations (*bridging social capital*).

6.3.1.3 Physical Resources

This section explores the actors’ raw materials acquisition. Banana fiber are part of both initial and recurring raw materials, but not analyzed on the actor-based level, as they are easily accessible in the quantities necessary. First, the initial raw materials are analyzed, and subsequently other recurring raw materials.

If the artisans did not acquire *initial raw materials* from their own garden (*no social capital*), they mobilized potential social capital through the *group network*. Examples are both Margaret Nanyanzi and Jackeline Nakagwe, who acquired raw materials with their initial capital through the leaders. The group members traditionally purchase the necessary raw materials for new members with their initial capital, which creates a win-win situation for both, as it facilitates the startup phase for multiple reasons. Firstly, since the group leaders can buy materials in bulk on Fridays, the materials are cheaper for the new members. Secondly, the leaders know which materials are needed and where to procure these best. Lastly, quality plays a crucial role, and by buying the materials for the new

member the leaders ensure the production of high quality baskets. This win-win situation does not only apply to initial, but also recurring raw materials.

Necessary *recurring materials* (apart from banana fiber) are acquired at the market by the group leaders, and all other women acquire the materials through mobilizing social capital with them. This shows the dependence on the few leaders, who need to acquire the right amount, quality and types of raw materials for the entire group. Not only do the women obtain raw materials on Fridays from the leaders, but also use their general *group network* for acquiring recurring materials during the week in case of shortage.

By acquiring raw materials through *another network*, other members are not as dependent on the group leaders. Justine Mubiru's husband, for example, occasionally purchases necessary materials for her.

In the acquisition of non-banana fiber materials, a certain amount of trust is necessary. As only leaders have access, as well as due to the absence of contracts, both sides need to trust each other for the success of such arm's length transactions. The group members without access need to trust the leaders to purchase sufficient and desired materials, and the leaders with access need to trust the other artisans to pay for the materials upon return. However, due to the leaders' access to raw materials and the difficulties associated with individually establishing the supply, they have a higher bargaining power vis-à-vis the group members without access, as they know that the latter are required to pay for the materials if they want more raw materials in the future.

Overall, the women use their social networks for acquiring some of the necessary raw materials. Banana fiber is predominantly sourced from the artisans' own gardens, thus no social capital is needed. Others source banana fiber either from relatives or group members (*bonding social capital*). The leaders have access to other materials, and the actors consequently need to mobilize social capital with the former (*bonding social capital*) to acquire them.

6.3.2 Sub-Conclusion of the Actor-Based Level

Once the actor-based level is analyzed it becomes clear that the use of social capital is different for each resource and artisan.

For *financial resources*, the artisans mobilize either own resources or the family network, rather than accessing the more formal group loan. In emergencies and if family loans are unavailable, many women seek financial support from group members privately. Hence, social capital is rarely mobilized beyond strong bonding social capital. Here, trust as a facilitator for social capital becomes evident. If trust is not embedded in the interaction with other actors, they are most likely to decline a request for a loan. As the family network rarely provides more than small amounts of working capital, the artisans will experience difficulties to expand their business and invest in technology, unless they exploit their social capital.

Due to the scarcity of the resource, social capital is frequently mobilized for the acquisition of *skills and designs*. Both *bonding and bridging social capital* are used to find connections in the network with the resource embedded. Therefore, many artisans acquire skills only via indirect network connections. Without trust, the acquisition of skills would however not be possible, as these designs are only shared with entrepreneurs they trust, which is more likely through group or cluster insertion due to the screening process compared to individuals without such affiliation.

For *physical resources*, the women partially depend on social capital, as banana fiber is predominantly sourced in the artisans' own gardens (*no social capital*). Only the group leaders have access to other raw materials, and the women mobilize their social capital to acquire them. Trust plays a crucial role, as the group members trust the leaders to obtain the desired materials from the leaders, and the leaders trust the members to receive the money for the materials.

6.4 COLLECTIVITY LEVEL

This section addresses the cluster's social capital on collectivity level. After the collaboration within the cluster is explored, follows an analysis of the cluster's internal and external social capital.

6.4.1 Collaboration in the Luweero Cluster

The group members individually produce the baskets, but each group jointly markets the finished products, and purchases raw materials. Yet, the three groups operate independently in terms of production and marketing. If banana fiber quantities needed are larger than the amount that can be obtained from the artisans' own garden, the Mpuliziganya and Kiti group purchase from an external source in bulk.

On Fridays, the Mpuliziganya group congregates, the women receive the revenues from last week's sale, and immediately afterwards buy the raw materials necessary for next week's production. Each artisan produces individually, meaning that they buy their own raw materials and receive money solely for the baskets sold on the market. Similarly, the Kiti group buys raw materials in bulk for the entire group, but in their case all members pay an equal share. Afterwards each group dyes the materials together for receiving a uniform and clear color.

Interaction across groups does not happen often, and even though a joint association was formed two years ago, no official meetings are held. During the feedback session it came to light that the association only gathers with all groups if visitors are announced. Especially the Nubian group is fairly disconnected from the other groups, not only in products, as different materials and designs are used, but also in cooperative mindset. Besides, the group is very proud of its perceived higher talent ("it's a born talent", Interview 2) and thoroughly protects its products when members of different groups accidentally meet to prevent imitation. This challenges cooperation among the groups in the association.

With an understanding of the cooperation, the next section analyzes the internal social capital.

6.4.2 Internal Social Capital for the Acquisition of Key Cluster Resources

Internal social capital is the social capital embedded in a collectivity, which both the artisans and collectivity can potentially draw on for acquiring resources. Not only is the *potential social capital* important, hence the sum of all individual resource endowments, combined with the resources embedded in the group-internal connections, but also the group's ability to mobilize the resources for collective use, hence the *mobilized social capital*.

6.4.2.1 Financial Resources

The combination of the actors' financial resource endowments and the collectivity level availability of funds form the potential internal social capital. Naturally, not all women are able or willing to contribute financial resources, but especially the leaders contribute these to the group. For example, due to her prior diversification into dairy, the treasurer is able to offer personal, interest-free loans, which the secretary mobilized. The loan belongs to the collectivity level, as she offers it to all group members rather than an individual artisan.

On group level, all groups' mandatory yearly membership fee makes group loans to members available. The fee is thus mobilized by the group on collectivity level. The fee can also be used for the purchase of machinery or technology for improved production, the opening of a group shop or other facilities that contribute to group or cluster development. As the group loan is only accessible by members, it belongs to the collectivity level internal social capital. The loans are reluctantly mobilized by some members, and only in absence of family lending. This is true for all groups within the cluster.

The groups however differ in their collectivity level spending. The Mpuliziganya group does not spend the available funds on means to spur business growth, such as machinery or facilities. According to the chairperson, a group shop is desired by few ambitious members, but the majority is unwilling to invest in such project. This shows that a strong focus on collective goals can have negative implications for business growth, although some artisans have the potential to grow and expand beyond the current business stage. Here, sanctioning individual achievements actually hinders mobilization and taking advantage of the resources available. The negative side of strong bonding social capital has thoroughly been discussed in the literature, as it is found to suppress individual success and ambition (Adler & Kwon, 2002; Portes, 2000; Maclean, 2010). The Mpuliziganya group exhibits these

downward leveling norms, and despite the abundance of potential internal social capital, financial resources are not mobilized on collectivity level.

This is not true for the Nubian group, as it jointly operates a craft shop. The group not only uses joint funding for the shop, but also to vertically diversify. Due to their connections to the Kenyan market⁸, the group is able to import dyes for coloring raw materials. The procurement thereof requires an initial investment on group level for travel expenses and upfront payments. The joint craft shop and import of dyes show that the Nubian group mobilizes the internal social capital of financial resources on group level.

In terms of collaboration, the UCSSIC (2011) mentions that all groups planned to open a joint craft shop with help from external funding. However, this has not happened and most groups showed no interest in collaboration for spending funds on a shop. The same report also stated that the groups had jointly rented the sales outlet in Bombo. This does not seem to be the case three years later, since the other groups do not have access to the shop, also due to the distance from Matugga and their lack of cooperative behavior.

Overall, financial resources are available for all groups both on an individual and collectivity level. Individually, the group loan is rarely mobilized, which is consistent with the findings from the actor-based level. The Nubian group mobilizes necessary financial resources on collectivity level for a craft shop in Bombo and vertical diversification.

6.4.2.2 Human Resources

The group members can draw on each other's skills and creativity, which are also shared within the group and thus mobilized.

Ideas about new products or designs are immediately disseminated by the artisans, but only within their own group. This is true for both the Mpuliziganya and Kiti group, but not necessarily the Nubian group.

The Mpuliziganya group differs in terms of collaboration for quality control. For further analysis, the interaction among the women needs to be revisited. Group internally, the artisans color materials together, and share knowledge and ideas about new designs. Orders are frequently placed for the entire group instead of an individual

⁸ More detailed in 6.4.1 External Social Capital for the Acquisition of Key Cluster Resources

artisan, and in case of an urgent order, the group members each choose a part of the order easiest for them to complete. If an order includes an unknown design, the women gather and jointly attempt to weave it. The collaboration shows a focus on quality control and maintenance of a reputation. Dyeing raw materials together for reaching a uniform color, as well as teaching each other current techniques and designs assures compliance with the customer's standard, hence on group level the individual artisans' knowledge is combined for quality control and competitiveness in the market. Furthermore, by ensuring that every member knows the current techniques, and dividing an order into parts that are easy to finish for each artisan, punctual order delivery is warranted. These measures lead to customer retention and less order rejection. This means that on group level the potential human resources are mobilized for assuring quality and timely completion of the baskets, leading to continuous receiving of orders.

This is only possible through bonding social capital and trust embedded in the network, combined with low group-internal competitiveness. All three factors lead to cooperative behavior and the sharing of skills, since the members do not protect ideas group-internally and know that designs are not revealed to external artisans. Furthermore, the actors are aware of their individual inability to complete an entire order. However, despite the trust embedded in the relationships, the baskets are nonetheless checked before the sale, to ensure that all baskets meet the required standards.

Inasmuch as the Nubian group resembles the Mpuliziganya group, it differs in sharing ideas. Although sharing general skills, the artisans in the Nubian group are very protective of their intellectual property and do not even want own group members to copy the exact design. Nevertheless, as the group uses common facilities for basket production, designs are rapidly mobilized by other artisans. However, according to the chairperson, the Nubian group rarely complies with the customer's specifications in terms of quality and delivery time, which leads to order rejection. Therefore, even with the mobilization of individual artisans' skills on group level, no quality assurance mechanism is in place as compared to the Mpuliziganya group.

The lack of trust within the Nubian group leads to a reluctance of design and idea exchange, which leads to poorer quality due to isolated production without quality control or adherence to customers' standards. Thus, the

entrepreneurs' overconfidence, protection of designs, as well as lack of trust lead to an underutilization of human resources, albeit the existing potential social capital.

To summarize, bonding social capital in all groups leads to sharing of general skills, but other factors such as high trust and low group-internal competitiveness enable quality assurance.

6.4.2.3 Physical Resources

The artisans are generally endowed with banana fiber, and group leaders have access to other raw materials at the market, which are mobilized by the former and thus part of the internal social capital.

On collectivity level, the individual resource endowments can be used for improved joint dyeing, as well as common sourcing and storage of raw materials for optimized procurement. All groups purchase necessary materials in bulk and take advantage of lower prices. The Kiti group does not only purchase raw materials together, but each member also pays an equal share for unrestricted access to them. All groups simultaneously ensure that the materials' quality is according to the standards, also by providing new members with the correct raw materials⁹. Thus, by trusting the leaders to procure the desired raw materials (*bonding social capital*), their quality is assured on group level. Quality is also the major reason for jointly processing raw materials, such as coloring raffia. By mobilizing all knowledge about the dyeing process on group level, the groups ensure best results.

Overall, both on the individual and group level, the groups take advantage of the individual resource endowments, and jointly purchase other materials for lower prices and a common quality standard.

6.4.3 Sub-Conclusion Internal Social Capital

Does the cluster mobilize the internal social capital for key cluster resource acquisition? There is no clear answer to this question, as the degree of collaboration and resource mobilization varies. Generally, the Mpuliziganya group is able to mobilize its human resources to control the quality of the products. However, financial resources are, both on group and individual level, not fully mobilized due to downward leveling norms. The Nubian group on the other hand is able to mobilize its financial resources from its artisans on collectivity level (e.g. craft shop).

⁹ See 6.3.1.3 Physical Resources

On the other hand, it encounters difficulties in mobilizing human resources for quality assurance and punctual production of orders.

6.4.1 External Social Capital for the Acquisition of Key Cluster Resources

External social capital entails resources the group accesses (*potential social capital*) or mobilizes (*mobilized social capital*) outside the group-internal network.

6.4.1.1 Financial Resources

Network relations for potentially acquiring financial resources are available. All groups own savings accounts at the local bank and are thus somewhat connected to a formal financial institution. Furthermore, Uganda Crafts 2000 Ltd. is theoretically able to supply the groups with an advance or other forms of financial support. The association is connected to NAWOU, who has the ability to channel funds towards the Luweero cluster. Lastly, the groups within the cluster have the potential to acquire loans from each other. However, none of the groups have mobilized this social capital. Nevertheless, the cluster rarely and unfrequently receives donations, which are exclusively used on group or cluster level for training and other group investments.

The question arises, which level of analysis would take a loan – an individual or the group as an entity. If multiple individuals took group loans, this somewhat resembles the group lending structure of microfinance institutions, where the borrowers make sure the loan is paid back (Maclean, 2010). However, the actors in Luweero are not willing to take loans and hence the group as an entity, or the association is considered. However, even though the groups are registered cooperatives and part of an association, the women who are part of the groups operate in the informal economy and own small businesses, which means low collateral on group level. These factors inhibit the possibility of borrowing money as a group. It seems that neither microfinance, nor formal financial institutions can be used for acquiring financial capital, as the association is too large for the former, but simultaneously too small and unorganized for the latter. This is a common phenomenon SMEs experience in developing countries, and is known as the missing middle (Beck, 2007).

The inability to access loans is not surprising, as the groups are run by women, who additionally possess little English skills and education (Snyder, 2000; Roomi, 2009; Amine & Staub, 2009). Social capital is seen as a mean for women to overcome these restrictions (Brush et al, 2002), which is however not the case in Luweero. This has several reasons and implications. Firstly, the women have more internal, or bonding, social capital than external, or bridging, social capital. Alfred (2009) posits that women are typically endowed with the ability to promote bonding social capital. However, they are disadvantaged in the general accumulation of social capital. Women generally know of the necessity to network and build social capital, but this is inhibited by family responsibilities and resulting time constraints (Kumra & Vinnicombe, 2010). Thus, albeit linking social capital to organizations exists, resources are difficult to mobilize.

A second reason is the women's reluctance to be indebted with actors outside the family network (Johar & Rammohan, 2011), which is projected onto the collectivity level.

Another reason is downward leveling norms in groups, where ambitious members either adhere to the low productivity in the group or leave (Portes, 2000; Maclean, 2010). Leaving the group is not an option, since the group members are part of the same community and would lose all social capital if they left the group. These downward leveling norms similarly lead to a reluctance to acquire a bank loan by the broad member base.

These reasons all inhibit the mobilization of financial resources.

6.4.1.2 Human Resources

Few individual women are able to externally acquire initial and additional skills, and most training of skills happens internally through the group. Thus, individual connections to external teachers are rare.

On collectivity level, the groups all possess relations to each other. Although the Mpuliziganya and Kiti group rarely interact, they generally exchange skills, designs and ideas. If an order is too large for one group, the other group is asked for help with the basket production. For ensuring the same quality in both groups, they need to teach each other. The two groups have more bonding social capital, as they are located closer to each other than the Nubian group, produce the same products, have the same ethnic background, and are therefore more homogeneous, resulting in more trust.

Furthermore, all groups are connected to external organizations. The Nubian group is additionally connected to an institution in Kenya and the Makerere University in Kampala. The human resources embedded in these connections are and have been mobilized.

The Mpuliziganya group additionally established a connection to another handicraft group in a town called Maganjo, who bought designs from each other for acquiring new skills. This collaboration took place before other groups in the cluster were formed. The Mpuliziganya group was therefore dependent on finding additional skills from other sources to advance their own skills, as no organization had approached them yet. When the group was founded in 1993, NAWOU had just been formed and the handicraft sector was not considered for support. Therefore the Mpuliziganya group's solution was collaboration with another group to acquire skills. However, the connection ended after some years, presumably when better sources for training were found. Actively sharing designs calls for a considerable amount of trust between the groups. As designs are the core element of the group's competitiveness, they had to consider a trade-off between competitiveness and innovation, as revealing too much leads to imitation of all distinctive designs, and revealing too little to low innovativeness. As long as the resource is scarce, group- and even cluster-external acquisition of skills is common and social capital mobilized. Generally, all groups attempt to mobilize as much external social capital as possible.

It is however questionable, how reciprocal the connections with the external organizations are. The cluster did not actively forge these bonds, but it was the organizations who approached the cluster for training due to its visibility (McCormick, 1999). This top down approach implies a unilateral resource provision from organizations to artisans, as they cannot simply ask for more training. Still, the established connection is valuable for visibility and credibility for potential customers. This unilaterality shows that these links are so called weak ties, as opposed to strong ties (Santarelli & Tran, 2013; Adler & Kwon, 2002). Santarelli & Tran (2013) studied the interplay of human and social capital, and found that weak ties bring more benefits and resources, which are typically not embedded in strong ties. Similarly, the connections can also be seen as linking social capital, as they are very difficult to obtain, and the organizations rather formal, as well as endowed with more resources (Woolcock, 1998). The concept of weak ties and linking social capital show both the importance of the links to external organizations, but also the difficulties to mobilize resources.

The ability to acquire resources from external organizations shows the difference between the individual and group level. Even if all entrepreneurs were located within the cluster, but pursued a handicraft business individually, their visibility would be much lower compared to the group or entire cluster. It is well known in the study of networks and clusters that a connected group of entrepreneurs achieves more than the sum of its individuals (Roomi, 2009). Therefore, the Luweero cluster attracts institutions, customers, and potentially suppliers.

6.4.1.3 Physical Resources

Raw materials are sourced externally at the market in Kampala, but no detailed information about the supplier or the connection was given.

On collectivity level, the Mpuliziganya group is connected to a supplier in Kapeka, where large quantities of banana fiber for extensive orders are purchased. The Kiti group is similarly linked to a supplier of banana fiber in the town of Buwambo, and the Nubian group to several markets in Kampala, Jinja, Mbale, and even Kenya. The Mpuliziganya group differs slightly, as it only purchases banana fiber externally if the internal supply thereof is not sufficient. As the group does not have abundant financial resources or the possibility to store raw materials, this infrequent supply of banana fibers is a good solution and enabled by trust embedded in long-term connections (Beugelsdijk & Smulders, 2003).

Little collaboration is evident within the cluster, as the Kiti and Mpuliziganya group collaborate only in emergency situations. Through connections to actors in the Kenyan market, the Nubian group imports necessary dyes. These dyes are needed by all groups, but due to the lack of collaboration, the other groups have to acquire these in Kampala, instead of purchasing them directly from the Nubian group within the cluster. This emphasizes the Nubian group's distance, not only due to spatial remoteness, but also lack of bonding social capital, as it differs in ethnic background and products from the other groups.

6.4.2 Sub-Conclusion External Social Capital

The groups have few external links, and the majority is forged on group level due to higher visibility, such as connections to organizations for training. These few links are generally leveraged and social capital is mobilized for the acquisition of human and physical resources. Financial Resources are an exception, as despite the existing

connections to multiple organizations, no social capital is mobilized for the acquisition of a bank loan or loan in any sense.

6.5 INTERPLAY BETWEEN LEVELS OF ANALYSIS

As it is necessary to not only study the levels of analysis separately, these are now integrated and their interplay analyzed.

For financial resources, collectivity insertion does not make a difference due to the preference of family networks. The artisans nevertheless benefit from access to the group loan. For human resources on the other hand, collectivity insertion is important and the actors benefit in terms of visibility, information exchange and consulting. As individual artisans, the women are largely invisible for organizations, but due to the collectivity's higher visibility gain access to additional skills. Information exchange is another benefit, as the cluster is a hub for continuous updates of information on skills, prices, designs, or quality. In terms of consulting, artisans gain access to business knowledge of other members (e.g. the chairperson), as many artisans named the leaders as people they trust most with business concerns. Benefits of collectivity insertion also encompass raw materials. The women are unable to buy raw materials in bulk as individuals and thus profit from lower prices. Simultaneously, the actors benefit from consistent quality of materials, as well as colors, which assures quality of the finished products. Another advantage is the possibility to ask group members for raw materials in case of shortage. Thus, the actors benefit from collectivity insertion by increased social capital. One example is Deborah Namitala, whose predominant reason for collectivity insertion was gaining social capital. This goes in hand with women entrepreneurs' focus on business stabilization rather than growth, to ensure investments in family health, education, etc. (Della-Giusta & Phillips, 2006).

There are however also negative sides to cluster insertion. Downward levelling norms stemming from strong bonding social capital within the groups limit the actor's ability to individual business growth. Furthermore,

baskets are first and foremost produced for order within the collectivity, which restrains the artisan's innovativeness and individuality.

The actors' individual contribution to the cluster has been analyzed in the internal social capital. Actors generally contribute and share skills, raw materials, and information, but in terms of financial resources for collective use and investments in long-term projects, only the membership fee is paid. The cluster also benefits in terms of voice and advocacy with every new member.

The next section explores the type of cluster the Luweero cluster is. If it is known at what stage the cluster currently is and what resources are needed to promote business and cluster development, the women can channel their efforts towards the acquisition thereof.

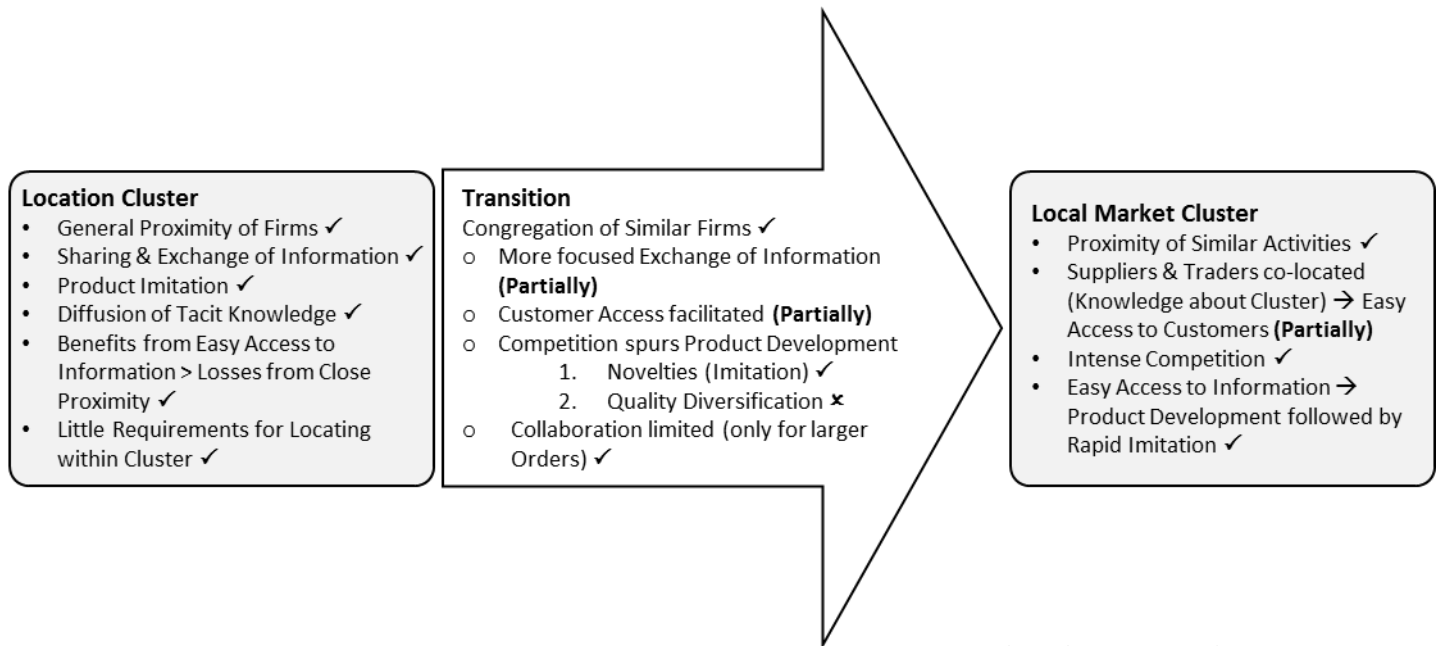
6.6 WHAT TYPE OF CLUSTER IS THE LUWEERO HANDICRAFT CLUSTER?

This section addresses the cluster's type and its possibility to move into another type of cluster, by exploring its characteristics.

As a horizontal cluster without noteworthy specialization, the Luweero cluster is at an economic development stage below local network clusters (van Dijk & Sverrisson, 2003).

According to van Dijk and Sverrisson (2003), location clusters are exceedingly rare and nowadays predominantly found in poor rural areas. The location cluster is just briefly touched upon below, as the Luweero cluster operates for many years and produces similar items with similar activities and is thus at least a location cluster (Figure 6). These clusters are characterized by a general proximity of firms with rapid dissemination of ideas, thus product imitation is the "main technological dynamic" (van Dijk & Sverrisson, 2003:188), as well as benefits from clustering are greater than losses from close proximity. Lastly, there are little requirements to join the cluster. Due to not only proximity and visibility of designs, but also active sharing of ideas within the groups, knowledge and

Figure 6: Assessment of the Luweero Cluster's Type



Source: Adapted from van Dijk & Sverrisson (2003)

information is rapidly disseminated. Resulting from higher visibility of the cluster, it receives more orders than individual artisans, thus it is beneficial to locate within the cluster.

For local market clusters, “*similar* activities and outlets, which cater mostly for similar customers” (van Dijk & Sverrisson, 2003:189) are the main component. The main benefit goes beyond access to information and includes access to customers (*ibid.*), as the latter visit the cluster to place orders. However, suppliers are not located nearby, since group leaders need to travel to acquire raw materials. Intense competition is observed within local market clusters due to the similarity of activities (*ibid.*). In Luweero, the artisans do not compete for orders, but even share them within and partially across groups. However, the Nubian group is very competitive towards the other groups. Thus, competition exists across groups, as opposed to group-internally. As the main criteria are fulfilled, the Luweero cluster is a local market cluster. It is nevertheless interesting to see which transition criteria are fulfilled.

As the research is not of longitudinal nature, it is difficult to give more than a snapshot of the current situation. It is however possible to state whether certain steps have been taken already. The transition is triggered by the emergence of similar activities, which leads to different factors (van Dijk & Sverrisson, 2003). The first is a more

focused exchange of information and imitation. Due to artisans also interacting privately, general information exchange is hardly focused, but imitation is focused on baskets and certain techniques. The second factor has been explored before, as it concerns access of customers and suppliers (ibid.). For competitiveness, the artisans attempt to create new designs and differentiate in color, pattern, as well as product. These novelties are intentionally shared among the group and through exposure imitated by other groups in the cluster. However, there is little, and especially no intentional, diversification of quality. Apart from adherence to customers' quality standards, the women do not want to specialize in a certain basket or quality. As the cluster collaborates not only for larger orders, but also for common marketing of the products, the fourth factor is fulfilled, hence the Luweero cluster has not fully undergone the transition yet, but only minor criteria are missing.

For becoming a local network cluster, initial specialization and division of labor need to emerge, and with the appropriate skills the cluster could leapfrog into the higher cluster type.

From the cluster type, it is possible to derive the firms' life cycle stage. According to Roomi's (2009) framework, the majority of firms in Luweero operate at existence to survival level. This means that they are looking for customers to be able to survive and generate enough profits (ibid.). During the survival stage, the social capital embedded in women-only networks is very important, however, mixed-gender networks are crucial for access to more resources for business growth (Roomi, 2009). The women in Luweero are only part of the women-dominated cluster, or other women-focused groups such as NAWOU. This aids in the startup phase, as other women in the group know obstacles and solutions, and are able to offer support (ibid.). However, many businesses, and hence the entire cluster, do not move beyond these women-only groups and therefore also rarely beyond survival stage of the business life cycle. This is directly connected to women's limited access to resources (Amine & Staub, 2009; Minniti & Naudé, 2010; Della-Giusta & Phillips, 2006) and more bonding, instead of bridging social capital (Alfred, 2009). As the business grows, more and more resources, especially human, are needed, which can often only be acquired through bridging social capital, as opposed to bonding social capital embedded in women networks (Roomi, 2009). Projected onto the cluster level, this shows that between individual artisans and the location cluster, internal social capital is needed to create trust for resource acquisition and collaboration. In this transition, women-only networks play a vital role in the support and facilitation of resource acquisition in the startup phase of the businesses (Roomi, 2009). To move into a local market cluster, internal social capital is still

crucial, but some external ties are necessary for more resources (Beugelsdijk & Smulders, 2003). Over time, some groups advanced to strategically using social capital for assurance of quality and customer retention. Here, some external social capital played a role. To advance into a local network cluster, more human resources are necessary, which can be acquired through external social capital, such as the training organizations. These links, as well as mixed-gender networks are necessary for the cluster to develop initial division of labor and specialization. Thus, in the past, the cluster used predominantly internal, or bonding, and little external, or bridging, social capital to acquire resources and advance from a location to a local market cluster. For moving into the stage of a local network cluster, more external social capital is necessary. This is somewhat in line with Beugelsdijk and Smulders (2003), who claim that bridging social capital enhances general economic growth. However, it is never advisable to have only external social capital, as the cluster is built on internal social capital, which ensures collaboration (Alder & Kwon, 2002).

Thus, for business growth, the artisans need to acquire skills for specialization and creation of higher value added economic activities. Presently, the cluster or the groups are connected to few external organizations, which might be able to offer additional skills, but growing the network, especially outside the women-only networks, seems to be necessary.

6.7 SUB-CONCLUSION OF ANALYSIS

What is the cluster's social capital and how are resources acquired? All groups mobilize some of the members' resources from the actor-based to the collectivity level, and whereas human and physical resources are fairly similar in all groups, they differ in financial resources, apart from the membership fee. The Mpuliziganya group does not mobilize financial resources. The disability to take advantage of the potential social capital is due to an interplay of multiple factors on both levels. If actors obtain loans from within the group or cluster, it is purely on actor-based level, as official loans are not desired. On the collectivity level, the problem of the missing middle inhibits access to finance (Beck, 2007). Furthermore, downward leveling norms hinder acquisition of financial resources. The Nubian group is similarly restricted in accessing financial resources on collectivity level through external social capital. However, the group differs in its ambition to invest into long term projects such as a group shop and the import of dyes from Kenya, and mobilizes existing internal social capital. Therefore, the difference

between the groups is not the social capital or resource access itself, but the mobilization of capital from the actor-based level.

The underutilization of social capital cannot simply be explained by factors such as trust, or lack of bridging social capital. An explanation offers the phenomenon of membership for bonding social capital rather than access to resources (Maclean, 2010), as well as focus on business stabilization (Della-Giusta & Phillips, 2006), which can lead to the members' satisfaction with the status quo and lack of ambition.

Within the cluster, the groups do not collaborate in terms of financial resources. Although a common craft shop was planned, this collaboration never materialized. One reason could be the lack of trust embedded in these cross-group relations, and insufficient bonding social capital. However, especially the Kiti and Mpuliziganya group have a similar ethnic and socio-demographic background and collaborate for acquisition of human resources, which shows that social capital is not explanatory enough for this phenomenon.

As the women perceive human resources to be the most important, social capital is frequently mobilized for its acquisition. However, there are differences in how the groups use social capital. In the Mpuliziganya group, internal social capital assures quality, and a high level of group-internal trust is associated with the sharing of designs. The group also collaborates with the Kiti group in terms of sharing skills and helping with the completion of an order. The Nubian group also perceives human resources to be most important, but despite the existing bonding social capital no quality assurance is implemented, due to perceived higher talent and lack of trust. Thus, groups with higher trust and active collaboration assure quality and are generally more successful in terms of customer retention.

All groups attempt to acquire more knowledge and skills for the production of baskets, which is crucial for the competitiveness and continuity of orders. The groups have links to external organizations, which provide them with valuable training and information. However, additional skills are not easily accessible, as the connections constitute weak ties and linking social capital (Santarelli & Tran, 2013; Adler & Kwon, 2002). This shows that these established links are not necessarily reciprocal, but nevertheless crucial for growth.

Due to the possession of some raw materials, these do not need to be acquired through social capital. However, on actor-based level, social capital is crucial for the acquisition of other materials, as only leaders purchase these. The

trust embedded in the relationships facilitates this acquisition, as the leaders trust the members to pay for raw materials, and the members trust the leaders to purchase the right materials. With the collective acquisition of raw materials, the leaders also assure quality. Therefore, internal or bonding social capital is the main driver for the acquisition of raw materials. External social capital is mobilized for the acquisition of several raw materials, whereas all groups have established different connections. The Mpuliziganya and Kiti group established external links with banana fiber suppliers, and trust governs this long term relationship. The Nubian group is linked to the Kenyan market and imports dyes.

The analysis of both actor-based and collectivity level social capital shows that the women and the association benefit from clustering. The individual actors gain access to social capital and a broad knowledge base crucial for business success, and the cluster gains bargaining power with every member. This synergy effect leads to the ability to mobilize resources on collectivity level, which are passed on to the actor-based level. The cluster has a higher visibility, and is known by customers and suppliers, compared to the individual actor. On the collectivity level, the association can forge external, bridging and linking bonds with actors who provide resources such as training, and the members are subsequently able to mobilize these. Again, there is a negative side to this, as women with initial resource endowments need to consider a trade-off between access to new resources and benefits, such as additional skills and continuous orders, and their individual business success, without experiencing downward leveling norms (Portes, 2000; Maclean, 2010)

The analysis shows that for scarce but desired resources such as skills and designs, more external and bridging social capital is used. As women, bonding social capital is easier to obtain than bridging or linking, due to their household responsibilities and limited time available for networking (Alfred, 2009; Kumra & Vinnicombe, 2010). With limited resources in terms of time and capital it is therefore crucial to focus on acquisition of these resources and network connections that are prerequisite for business growth. The Luweero cluster is not just a location cluster of simple co-located businesses, but a local market cluster with similar agglomerated activities. For becoming a local network cluster, more division of labor and specialization is necessary by means of acquiring additional human resources in terms of skills and knowledge. This specialization is entirely absent and little vertical integration exists in the cluster today. Thus, the women need to focus on acquiring skills for specialization, which can are typically found in external organizations (*bridging and linking social capital*).

7 DISCUSSION

This section answers the research question, discusses and evaluates the findings, subsequently also in context of theories applied, and assesses the validity and reliability of the methodological framework used.

Prior to answering the research question of

“How do women entrepreneurs in the Luweero cluster use social capital for acquiring key cluster resources for business startup and growth?”,

the sub-questions need to be answered.

7.1 EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

What is the cluster’s social capital and how are resources acquired? The cluster is predominantly endowed with internal social capital and some external social capital. Human and Physical resources are actively sought and mobilized through social capital. Financial resources fall out of this pattern, as social capital on collectivity level is not mobilized, albeit its availability. More successful groups used internal social capital and trust embedded in the network for quality assurance and customer retention, while less thriving groups distrusted each other more, leading to less collaboration, resulting in lack of quality and tardiness in order completion. Downward leveling norms due to strong bonding social capital keep many ambitious women from pursuing business growth. However, these entrepreneurs are nevertheless dependent on and benefit from the group’s internal social capital.

What type of cluster is the Luweero cluster and what resources are necessary for economic growth? The Luweero cluster is currently a local market cluster. It moved from a location to a local market cluster by acquiring important resources through mainly internal, as well as some external social capital. Presently it acquires enough resources for maintaining the cluster’s current type of economic development, and takes advantage of existing social capital. For moving into the local network cluster type, more external social capital is necessary for acquisition of additional human resources, such as weaving and business skills.

Now it is possible to turn to the research question of *how the women entrepreneurs of the Luweero cluster acquire resources through social capital for business startup and growth*. The data revealed that the artisans on actor-

based level, as well as the groups on collectivity use predominantly internal, or bonding, social capital for acquiring physical, human, and financial resources necessary for handicraft production. External, or bridging, social capital is exclusively used by the groups on collectivity level or their leaders, and solely for the acquisition of human and physical resources. Still, these resources are mobilized by the members of the group, who consequently benefit from external social capital on collectivity level. Thus, the artisans benefit from cluster insertion by increased access to resources through increased social capital. Thus is especially true for human resources, such as skills, hence resources necessary for business growth.

The cluster actively uses social capital for acquiring resources necessary for remaining in the current economic activity and business life cycle stage. For business growth, as well as growth of the entire cluster, especially human resources are necessary, which are predominantly embedded in external social capital. The artisans with growth ambitions are however constrained in the accumulation thereof, firstly due to downward leveling norms within the group, and secondly, as women due to the challenges associated with time consuming activity of networking (Alfred, 2009; Kumra & Vinnicombe, 2010).

Therefore, internal social capital is important but not sufficient for business growth, but crucial for business startup. The study of the Luweero cluster shows that group formation through homogeneous groups facilitates business startup by access to resources and knowledge embedded in women-only networks (Roomi, 2009), but eventually hinders firms with growth ambitions, as more external social capital is needed. The artisans with growth potential are simultaneously dependent on the collectivity's internal social capital and ability to accumulate resources externally, as well as on actor-based level are restricted in their ability to grow their network with external social capital. Women with the ambition to grow are thus trapped between the necessary internal capital of the group, which they are dependent on due to the business and community networks' overlap, and their ability to grow, as they are simultaneously unable to individually acquire more external social capital.

7.2 FINDINGS AND THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The following section assesses the usefulness of the applied theoretical framework.

An integrated theoretical framework was constructed, consisting of Huber's (2009) framework of social capital in clusters, and van Dijk and Sverrisson's (2003) framework of cluster types and their transition. With the integrated framework, the underlying resource acquisition through social capital in the Luweero cluster, and how the artisans use this social capital for business startup and growth was investigated.

Huber's (2009) definition of social capital as "*resources embedded in social networks which can be potentially accessed or are actually used by individuals for actions*" (Huber, 2009:164), deemed appropriate for the analysis of resources acquisition in clusters. The separation into both the actor-based and collectivity level, as well as internal and external social capital proved useful for assessing the underlying structures of the individual actors, as well as the collectivities. It showed that the actors and collectivity create a synergy for acquiring resources and the actors benefit from cluster insertion in terms of access to internal and external social capital. The distinction of internal and external social capital enabled analysis of collaboration within the cluster and its collectivities, as well as the links created to other actors and collectivities. There are however several flaws in the framework, which need to be addressed. The first is the narrow definition of social capital in attempting to overcome the fuzziness of the concept. Albeit the ability to purely separate internal and external social capital, this fails to capture the whole underlying dynamic, especially in the context of a women-only cluster. Therefore, the notion of bonding and bridging social capital was included to overcome this limitation and explain phenomena such as downward leveling norms and strong group cohesion (Maclean, 2010). There are obvious similarities of internal and bonding, as well as external and bridging social capital, however, the internal-external dichotomy is unable to explain interactions or the lack thereof within the groups.

The second is the concept's inability to explain *why* resources through social capital are potentially accessed, but not mobilized, or *how* they are mobilized. Here, Huber (2009) mentions external factors such as norms or trust, but does not elaborate. Thus, in the case of the Luweero cluster, trust was, alongside the gendered norms of social capital, one of the main explanations for resource acquisition through social capital and the collaborations found within the groups, hence should play a more prominent role within the framework.

Furthermore, as Huber (2009) created the framework for fairly developed clusters in developed countries, which often focus on one crucial resource, he proposes the analysis of only one main key cluster resource for avoiding multiple dependent variables. However, at a fairly low cluster stage all resources are necessary and interrelated. Therefore, the women's crucial resources were analyzed, resulting in a broadened framework and hence a less focused analysis. This left important resources such as business skills unexplored, which were never mentioned by the women and are largely absent, but are nevertheless important for the cluster. Another unexplored aspect is the underutilization of social capital for acquisition of financial capital, which cannot simply be explained by absence of trust, as the actors generally trust each other, or lack of bridging social capital, as they are indeed linked to financial institutions. However, this phenomenon is not captured by the framework and thus outside the scope of this paper. Therefore, the framework is valuable for analyzing the general role of social capital in resource acquisition, but needs to be complemented with other concepts.

Due to Huber (2009)'s framework focusing on developed countries, van Dijk and Sverrisson's (2003) framework for determining the cluster stage and transition was used. Clustering is beneficial due to the close proximity of similar firms, which potentially leads to collective efficiencies (McCormick, 1999; Lund-Thomsen, Nadvi, 2010). This framework was especially useful in determining the type of cluster studied, as it focuses on clusters at multiple stages of economic activity in developing countries. It clearly assisted in showing that the often underestimated handicraft clusters of the South are actually capable of some economic development (Pedersen, 1997; Sonobe & Otsuka, 2010). The framework revealed that the cluster is not just a location or local market cluster with low collaboration, but the women actively exchange information and attract customers due to clustering, and hence as a horizontally specialized cluster already exhibit some collective efficiencies (Pedersen, 1997). As a horizontally specialized cluster, the members take advantage of reduced transaction costs in terms of acquisition of market information and raw materials, and customers reduce transaction costs of searching for potential basket producers. However, collective efficiencies are limited and with transition into a local network cluster, these are likely enhanced due to emerging specialization (van Dijk & Sverrisson, 2003; Pedersen, 1997).

Clusters with predominantly female entrepreneurs pose unique challenges, which the framework is not able to capture. The women in the Luweero cluster do not distinguish between business and community networks, hence the two spheres are mixed and influence the cluster in an exceptional way. Often, members of the handicraft group

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are also community members, meaning that a conflict with the handicraft group also leads to conflicts within the community. They are therefore not only dependent on the internal social capital particularly in the startup phase, but also need to consider their action in the context of the general community. This is directly connected to trust, as a breach of trust in the business sphere also leads to a reduction in trust in the community sphere. The phenomenon needs to be placed into the wider context of Uganda, where especially women are embedded in their context, and family and community ties are very important (Snyder, 2000). Furthermore, WEs are generally more risk-averse in business questions, as they typically use their income for household hygiene such as health and education of the family, more so in countries of weak institutions (Snyder, 2000; Deakins & Freel, 2009; Akehurst et al, 2012). Therefore, the context clearly governs the women's ability and willingness to grow, and to regard the wishes of the community. Within the cluster type framework, this phenomenon is not considered and calls for additional gendered and institutional context analysis, which is not possible within the scope of the research at hand. Here, Pedersen's (1997) and McCormick's (1999) detailed studies of collective efficiencies might be able to shed light on these issues.

The cluster type is directly connected with Roomi's (2009) study of female businesses' life cycle stages. Studying the life cycle stage and the social capital used for moving into the next stage deemed useful for determining the social capital utilized in the transition from location to local market, and potential transition from local market to local network cluster. This allowed a more in-depth study of the resources necessary for moving into the next cluster type and highlighted the limited growth potential of women-only networks (Roomi, 2009).

This thesis contributes to the literature the finding that albeit social capital is important for business startup, group formation and too much internal social capital can actually trap ambitious artisans between dependence on the community and cluster, and the need to create external social capital for growth. This happens even though the groups in Luweero were formed in a bottom-up approach. However, strong bonding social capital in groups has negative implications, and ambitious women are forced to conform to the group due to downward leveling norms. The groups formed in the Luweero cluster in Uganda include many women who did not have access to resources before, and are thus important for starting a business which supplements the household income. Thorp et al (2005) see group formation as a way of "enabling the members to reach their goals" (Thorp et al, 2005:907), and a method for income generation out of poverty. However, the study does not investigate the next stage of business

development. This study in contrast shows how bonding social capital in the initial phase is important for business startup, but detrimental for further growth of the business. As women, they are restricted in their ability to network and therefore have difficulties acquiring more social capital, and hence are restricted in business growth (Alfred, 2009; Kumra & Vinnicombe, 2010). Therefore, clustering and internal social capital are not the solution for business growth, unless this is complemented by the creation of external social capital, ideally through mixed-gender networks with more resources embedded (Roomi, 2009).

7.3 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY OF THE THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

After critically reviewing the theories and concepts used, this section designates the validity and reliability of methods deployed.

Exploratory research was on one hand possible due to prior knowledge about the handicraft sector in Uganda, but on the other hand also necessary due to little academic research about women dominated clusters and the social capital in low growth clusters. Prior knowledge, as well as documentation and research found on the general issue, allowed the pre-selection of few theoretical concepts and the creation of an interview guide. The exploratory nature enabled a description of these concepts in the context of the Luweero handicraft cluster, and to explain the phenomena with the theories used. However, it also posed unique challenges. As no framework was chosen prior to research, data collection was rather broad, and included multiple interrelated concepts, such as clusters and social capital. This plurality of theories can also be seen throughout the analysis, as the framework chosen needed to be filled with appropriate theories. However, one needs to consider the trade-off between explaining phenomena in detail and increasing fuzziness of the analytical framework, if multiple theories are used.

The pragmatic stance allowed the creation of a theoretical framework emerging from the data, the context observed, as well as the theories connected to the findings. Choosing a rather broad framework enabled the accommodation of multiple concepts and the context, which assisted in finding the Luweero cluster's "truth" from a realist ontology, with simultaneous attempt to consider the participants' own believes of concepts. With a positivist approach, this flexibility would not have been possible, and contextual factors might have been overlooked. As a pragmatist, I also acknowledge the fallibility of theories used, and thus critically reflected upon

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the notion of especially entrepreneurship, social capital, and clusters in the context of Uganda. At the same time I recognize that the understanding of these concepts would have been deepened with knowledge of the local language and a long-term stay within the cluster.

The importance of the context, as well as the use of a case study design justified the collection of qualitative data. As little information about concepts and the cluster itself was available prior to research, semi-structured interviews proved to be the best method for collecting in-depth, rich knowledge about the cluster and context. Questions about the businesses' history gave valuable insights on the path dependency and development of the cluster and its firms. The interviews were facilitated by the chairperson, who acted as the key informant and gatekeeper. She thus influenced the data collection by selecting members to interview and her presence in many. However, as the data collected was not of sensitive nature and critical towards the group in general, the influence was marginal. Nevertheless, not only interviewing members, but also other stakeholders such as suppliers or customers would have given a more holistic understanding of the phenomena. Furthermore, more time availability of both myself and the research assistant would have benefited towards a better interactive or participatory element of the research.

I now turn to the assessment of the validity and reliability of the case study method and data. Albeit typically used for positivist research designs, some general guidelines should be followed. The meaning of the concepts depends on the nature of data collected, and the philosophy of science. The case study method was in accordance with the realist ontology taken, as it is mainly exploratory and especially appropriate for the examination of networks (Riege, 2003).

Validity concerns the accuracy of chosen methods and findings in representing the phenomenon studied, while reliability concerns the consistency of these methods and findings (Easterby-Smith, 2012). Construct validity refers to the un-biased and rational interpretation of data, and is referred to as objectivity in positivist research (Riege, 2003). To ensure construct validity, multiple sources were consulted and used in triangulation, and a chain of evidence maintained by sufficient references to the data. Furthermore, background information in terms of context and delimitations were given.

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To ensure internal validity or credibility (Riege, 2003), explanations of phenomena were substantiated with theory. The similarities and differences of subunits of analysis were pointed out, combined with attempts to explain these patterns by referring to both data and concepts. Generally, the constant interplay with concepts used and the exploratory nature supported internal validity.

External validity or transferability is called generalizability in positivist designs (Riege, 2003). However, a distinct feature of case studies is the trade-off between the aim to generalize the findings and the particularities of the case, as it is studied because of certain features that occur only in this very case, which limits the ability to make generalizations (Stake, 2000). Furthermore, as the phenomena are embedded in the context of the Ugandan handicraft sector, generalizability is only possible to a certain extent. However, as findings are generally connected with theory, some central arguments can be generalized. One concerns the acquisition of financial resources, as both the case of the Luweero cluster show reluctance for acquiring capital outside the family and friends' network, as well as prior research. Another generalization is that of bonding social capital substantially aiding women in starting a business, but (*ceteris paribus*) not sufficing for subsequent business growth.

Reliability or dependability concerns the consistency of the data and the probability of other researchers to obtain the same results when exactly replicating the design (Riege, 2003). For reliability, all tape-recorded interviews were transcribed and cross-checked with the notes taken during the interview and field visits. The feedback interview with the chairperson increased reliability, as the initial findings were presented to her, and verified or rejected with her knowledge. However, to ensure more reliability, follow up interviews and availability of the interviewees would have been of help, which was difficult due to the distance after the fieldwork. Furthermore, the chairperson's absence during the interviews might have led to different answers from the interviewees' side, but the collection of non-sensitive data minimizes this concern. I also acknowledge that I applied my own reference frame to the research and thus the findings are, despite the attempt to assure validity and reliability, fallible.

7.4 FUTURE RESEARCH

The lack of literature and complexity of the phenomena studied call for future research. Due to the complex theoretical framework and concepts, several notions were left unexplored. Generally, the handicraft sector in developing countries calls for an in-depth investigation of its potential for development and the influencing factors. Secondly, women-dominated clusters are largely unexplored and offer a multitude of gendered studies. Thirdly, by investigating the field of social capital in location or local market clusters, researchers and practitioners would gain insight on the mechanisms that foster and hinder development.

As multiple resources were analyzed, further research has the potential to unveil the mechanisms and impacts of each resource in-depth. Specifically, further research could examine the unique role of financial capital and the factors and institutions influencing the women's reluctance to acquire this outside the family network. Some indications were made, but the phenomenon's complexity is outside the scope of this thesis. The exploration of resource endowment and acquisition also substantiates the possibility for inquiring the Luweero cluster from a resource-based perspective, especially the differences and similarities of more or less successful handicraft women.

A feminist approach to the data would further enlighten the case. This thesis does not neglect, but neither focus on the special role of the artisans as women, as well as gender inequality, and further studies have potential to shed light on the matter. This is also true for the institutional environment, as it was considered within the context of this study, but has a major influence on the phenomenon and calls for an in-depth analysis.

Lastly, from an entrepreneurial view, the women's motivations and aspirations were investigated but only partially useful for the chosen theoretical framework. However, the findings suggest further research, as none of the women started the business for so called necessity reasons. Furthermore, many artisans aspired business diversification rather than intensification, which gives a good reason for investigation (women) entrepreneurs in this context.

8 CONCLUSION

The aim of this paper was to investigate the influence of social capital for resources acquisition in women-dominated clusters on business startup and growth. An integrated framework of internal and external social capital in clusters (Huber, 2009) and the dynamic typology of clusters (van Dijk & Sverrisson, 2003) was used to answer the research question. Due to the exploratory approach, the framework was developed from a continuous interplay of data and concepts. Data was based on twelve in-depth interviews with handicraft women in the Luweero cluster in Uganda, which revealed the artisans' utilization of social capital for the acquisition of financial, human, and physical resources.

Overall, the findings suggest that internal social capital is crucial for business startup and the cluster formation process, whereas external social capital is essential for subsequent business growth, as well as for advancing into another type of cluster. To move from the current stage as a local market into a local network cluster, not more external social capital, but also emerging vertical specialization is necessary. The negative side of social capital becomes evident, as artisans with growth potential are sanctioned by the group's lack of ambition and focus on business stabilization. Nevertheless, all artisans benefit from cluster insertion, as the internal or bonding social capital embedded in the women-only cluster is valuable for startup, and due to the collectivity's higher visibility, which attracts actors such as customers or organizations for training.

The data revealed a clear difference in the use of social capital for certain resources. For initial and working capital, the women rely on their closest network connections, hence strong bonding social capital, despite the availability of other bonding, as well as external social capital. This is not the case for human or physical resources, where external network connections are actively sought for the acquisition of training, skills, and materials. This is especially true for scarce human resources. Generally however, the women possess more internal than external social capital, limiting their ability to grow.

How social capital affects female-owned business in clusters is not only important in the case of Luweero, but also for other clusters at the same stage of economic activities. Despite the difficulties in generalizing, as the Luweero handicraft cluster is embedded in a unique context, some arguments can be placed into a wider perspective. Firstly,

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the need for internal or bonding social capital, which is often embedded in women-only networks, helps female-owned businesses overcome obstacles uniquely faced by them (Roomi, 2009). Secondly, it has been argued that (a) group formation is a way out of poverty (Thorp et al, 2005), and that (b) bridging social capital spurs economic and business growth (Beugelsdijk & Smulders, 2003; Alfred, 2009). This paper emphasizes the significance of bridging social capital for the step after group formation into business growth. Purely grouping artisans and establishing internal social capital does not necessarily lead to business and economic growth, which is not only true for the case of Luweero.

Concluding, this research shows the significance of social capital for self-employed female entrepreneurs, and which type of social capital plays a role in startup and business growth. With this knowledge, a targeted approach towards creation of internal and external social capital for women's businesses is possible. The exploratory and pragmatic methodology allowed the identification of important concepts influencing the acquisition of resources through social capital, such as trust and the gendered structure of social capital.

8.1 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the research, practical recommendations can be made. This is not straightforward, as many different factors influence the phenomena studied on different analytical and societal levels, such as the women's general preference for business stabilization rather than business growth. Nevertheless, it is assumed that some women have growth ambitions.

The creation of not only internal social capital, but especially external social capital is important for business growth and more economic activity within the cluster. On actor-based level, ambitious women are quite restricted in their ability to acquire external social capital. However, on collectivity level, the groups as an association can foster active collaboration among growth oriented artisans, across groups and clusters. This needs to be conducted with caution, as the women are simultaneously dependent on the internal social capital within the group. Despite its formal registration as an association, the Luweero cluster does not take advantage of the possibilities an association offers, such as the ability to nurture networking with other handicraft associations or organizations, especially mixed-gender networks. For the realization of a valuable handicraft association with collective agency,

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the groups need to appoint a person to manage it more actively compared to the status quo. If the association shifts its inward-focus on the artisans' welfare to a broader perspective, it is able to establish resource-rich connections and to fill certain institutional voids itself (Lindell, 2010).

Another level above, the local (governmental) institutions could assist in linking the cluster to other governmental organizations for training or mixed-gender networks with necessary resources embedded. For the cluster to become more economically active, more specialization needs to emerge, and suppliers should locate close by. A more vertical specialization is difficult to achieve by the cluster itself, but calls for a local institutional incentive structure.

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APPENDIX

Appendix A: Interview Transcriptions

Appendix B: Mpuliziganya Group Bylaws

Appendix C: Interview Questions

Appendix D: Examples of Resource Ranking and Mapping

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTIONS

Interview 1: 24.05.2014 – Mpuliziganya Crafts Development Group, Matugga

With Sarah Nakalyowa, her daughter Mary Sarah Nantoza, and few artisans

General Information and Notes before Recording:

- The group gets an order with design and color
- What matters most is the quality, size, shape and design to be able to produce an order
- The dying of the banana fiber happens together in order to get a uniform color
- If a women in the group brings something that diverts from the ordered quality and design it will be rejected
- If a woman gets an order with a design she does not know, she has to come to the group to learn the design
- The price of a basket depends on the design and the amount of dyes
- Information about the group
 - o Three subgroups in Mpuliziganya (Meaning “people who are decent to each other”)
 - o Sarah is the chairman of the whole group and head of Group A
 - o The treasurer is head of Group B
 - o The vice-president is head of Group C
 - o The same person of each subgroup goes to the market with finished products and buys the raw materials before coming back to Matugga
- Sarah brings banana leaves
 - o Shows how to cut up the stem to let it dry in the sun
 - o Available in abundance because also used for cooking and growing bananas in their gardens
- Sarah hopes to teach women how to make baskets, other than making them herself

Asking about daily tasks to Mary

- In the morning she washes herself, does a bit of digging in the field and takes the animals grazing
- Around 9am-12noon
 - o She weaves and then prepares lunch
- From 2pm until it is dark
 - o Continues weaving
- Thursdays she weaves all day

Recording:

Jane: What happens is her breaking down her activities. So Sunday, she wakes up in the morning, prepares for church the morning service and then she comes out at 10am. Then after 10, she prepares lunch for the family, then late in the evening she goes back to check on her friends, to have a conversation, then after she comes back to prepare for the next week. So we're going to hear what happens on Monday.

Jane: Okay on Monday, ..., what happens on Monday, when she wakes up and she has an order that is *so* urgent, she has to finish it, we think the minimum specific time, she doesn't go to the garden, she just wakes up direct and starts the work. And that one happens when the order is *so* urgent, maybe for introduction, you know in Africa we have these introduction ceremonies, the decoration ceremonies, people want their baskets. Weaving immediate time, she doesn't go the garden, yes.

Jane: In the morning, at 9, she breaks for breakfast.

Christina: Until 9?

Jane: Yes, see from morning....

Christina: If it's a very urgent order

Jane: If it's very urgent she starts the work very early in the morning, then breaks at 9 for breakfast.

Jane: Okay, eh after breaking off for... for her tea, then she comes back immediately after tea she

comes back. And then she continues up to midday for lunch.

Jane: Okay, so what happens, when the kids are going to school, so she becomes the only responsible for the family. As she breaks for lunch, she has to prepare – she also has animals, so she also has to look after the animals, feed them, prepare for lunch, catering for the children. After they come back they have to find something ready.

Jane: Okay, what happens... When she breaks off to prepare lunch midday, because she has a lot of tasks to look at, she is the only person, the kids are going to school, so it goes from midday up 3 preparing for home, catering for animals, and do all the washing of the dishes. Then after 3, from 3 o'clock till evening she's for weaving the baskets.

Christina: This is also when it's a very urgent order. That's when she gets up really early.

Jane: Yeah Yeah!

Jane: So, what happens on Friday, she wakes up at, eh, 4am to prepare herself. [Sarah talking in Luganda] Okay, so, eh, after preparing... eh, what happens in her preparation on Friday, she wakes up very early, and say that 4am, to prepare her handicrafts that are finished, so she goes to the main road, to get to the taxi, so that they can drop her...

Christina: She walks....

Jane: Yeah, to the main road. She only walks when the things are few. And [mumbling between Christina and Jane] when there are many, she calls for the motorcycle ride... yeah, for the boda... to help her, till they drop her to the same place. And then she takes off to town, for the market.

Jane: So after she makes her sale, she goes to Owino Market to buy all her raw materials, including the dyes. Specifically these ones (Points at Raffia). But these ones of the banana leaves she asks her group members to buy them here.

Christina: The dyes? Or the banana fibers...

Jane: Yes, the banana fibers, they get them from here

Christina: So she buys the raffia and the dyes...

Jane: ...from town and she brings it. But she does not buy them for herself. She buys for the whole group, including other few things she needs for her home.

Christina: For the three groups?

Jane: Yeah! [Asking Sarah in Luganda].. So, she goes with her, her... there is three more groups in the whole group... So all the leaders, the treasurer, the president, and the vice, they all go on Friday to shop the materials for their groups. She shops for her group, the treasurer shops for her group, then the vice also shops for her group..... They are many, one person can't shop alone.

Jane: What happens, when she comes back that same Friday, the leaders, the three people, they find that these people (points at the group) have brought water, they have made the fire, for making the dyes.

Christina: So Friday is the dying day...

Jane: On Friday is a dying day... still they do marketing, then packets of raw materials, dying of the materials in the evening. But they don't dye in groups staying far away from them, they have to do it from nearer. Such that in case her green color is not clear, she will go to the neighbors, saying my green color is not well, what happened? They want to maintain the consistency of the product.

Christina: So they dye together.

Jane: But in a group, they dye in a group but near them. So let's say that you are there and I'm also here with my group...

Christina: A, B, C group

Jane: A, B, C group...

Christina: They are still near but they dye for themselves.

Jane: Yes, for themselves. Making comparisons, how has yours come out, how is mine looking, the consistency, and which one is the most perfect. To maintain the consistency of their product.

Jane: So what happens, still we're on Friday. But on Friday, eh, she, after making the sales, she brings back the money, because she has to pay the workers. That same Friday evening, after

they finish dying their materials, what what, preparing everything, they share their salary. Everyone gets their pay. They're paying them on what she has done.

Isaac: How many men are in the group?

Jane (asking Sarah): Only one man! There is only one man...

Christina: He also weaves baskets?

Jane: Yeah. [Sarah speaking Luganda]. I will be ashamed... How will my friends see me weaving baskets?

Christina: It's women's work...

Jane: Yes, women's work! So Friday, there is taking things in the market for selling, they sell them, that same Friday they buy the materials, that same Friday they have to dye the materials, that same Friday they have to pay. ... I think we're done with Friday...

Jane: What happens on Saturday... She wakes up at 8 in the morning, she goes in the garden. She does some digging. She goes to the garden to dig, after digging she comes back to do the washing of clothes, eh, after washing clothes in case maybe the friend or the relative and they didn't go to the burial or they didn't check on them, that same Saturday she'll have to go and console them. Then after she comes back and tries to make some baskets.

Jane: Of somewhere where we were breaking off, eh, when she has an order that is so urgent. So what she's saying is that she will actually try to get someone to help her do the digging in the garden, while she is here busy making the baskets.

Isaac: In an event like Friday that they get paid, that you take your products and you take them there, and there they tell you they pay in two weeks' time...

Jane: So what happens, these people take their products to Uganda Crafts and it's a sure deal so whatever they take they pay them. It is once in a while that they don't receive the money for the products that they are taking. But even if they come back and tell the members to be

patient and they receive the money. In most cases they are always paid what they have taken.

Christina: It would be interesting to know about the general challenges that the women face, not related to business, but general.

Jane: The main challenge is, eh, when the order is finished. There is no more order. Nobody making an order. Nobody is telling them that, oh, please, would you please make [mumbling] a basket for us.

Jane: Sickness... Sickness of one of the members.

Jane: Or a child... of one of the members. In case one is sick, an order is affected.

Christina: So their own sickness or the sickness of a child.

Jane: Both, of their own or when a child is sick, the mother has to take care of the child. Automatically she will not come.

Jane: So what happens... The challenge comes to weather. When it's *so* rainy... when it rains a lot, she's giving an example of these baskets, it needs to be as clean as possible. But if it overrains the materials will be dirty. The sunshine is not enough to assure that the things are in a cool weather, to maintain the cleanliness of the basket. And when it is *so* dry, the materials break, every time they try to make the baskets the materials are breaking. And she was saying that one of their customers gave them this order and because of the weather they were really unable to make it and I think the buyer was really upset and never made any other order again.

Jane: There is... There is this issue of price fluctuation. Every time when they go to purchase the materials they are buying them at a high price. But after they come and they make their baskets they take them to the market, these people just tells them that oh, the dollar has declined, we can't buy at this price. They have to buy at that low rate and yet they bought the materials at the very high price. That is quite challenging.

Christina: Eh, but it's not problem, maybe you know, kids like that you don't have time for all the things you need to do in one day, that there is not enough time or that you're trying to get your kids into school....

Jane: She is still bringing things up... But let me ask

Jane: Actually, these are quite academic challenges.

These group members are young ladies. So what happens after they train them, they got the knowledge of how to make the basket, they get married. So who will be left - nobody.

Jane: You know, eh, culture. There is this culture that whoever weaves the baskets is of low class, has no integrity, has no knowledge, so there is that stigma that matches the try to train people or try to get many people in their association, someone to uplift I can't be categorized as someone who has no knowledge or is of low class or so... It's very hard for them to hunt for people to come in their group. Because of that culture among them.

Christina: But what are then the motivations why many of them still join the groups. I mean there are quite some many...

Jane: So are we done with challenges?

Christina: Maybe the women themselves could tell us maybe their main challenge they have in their everyday life.

Jane: So we will get them from each individual.

Jane: Her personal challenge is, she is the only person responsible for her family (Sarah).

Christina: How many kids does she have, or how many persons is she responsible for?

Jane: 5

Jane: She is saying that sometimes it's quite challenging when orders are done and she needs money. That there are no more orders anywhere. Quite challenging... They have [windy microphone] to look after people.

Jane: Sometimes they can spend over a week if someone is not feeling okay and not feeling better, so you end up finishing the whole week nothing done.

Jane: Sure.... This is really important. Eh, sometimes she can spent... she can dedicate all her time making the baskets and they take it to the market but they don't buy it. She has given all her attention, all her time, all her effort but at reaching the market they don't buy it.

Jane: General, when the order is done....

Jane: She is saying that it is quite challenging... she is the sole person to the family so it's quite challenging when the order is done and remember what she gets it serves to feed the family. And it is not enough to make any savings. So when the order is done and, she has not any other job, this is the only job that she has, so when there are no orders it is quite difficult to manage her life.

Jane: Yeah, when the order is done, she is still a student, and this is where she gets the money for her tuition and other functional things, so when the order is done, she can't afford to make the requirements for the school, and she is also highlighting about the weather. It is really difficult when the weather, when the sunshine is too much they can't make anything, the materials are so hard, they break after every time.

Jane: The raw material people they are not converting in dollar, so whether it is high for them they sell the raw materials according to what they feel they should, it should be the price. But when it comes to taking the products to the market, then they bring in the dollar concept, that the dollar is low so we can't afford to buy it [at that higher price]

Christina: Want to know about the resources

Jane: So we start with the capital resources...

Mary: When we come back with the raw materials every person has to buy the raw materials. So before you use up [unclear] you first have to buy the raw materials. That is the first thing we do....

Jane: So to buy the first raw materials you have sell a goat or what? Where does the first money come from?

Jane: A this is eh... [Sarah talking] ... What happens is that these beautiful ladies here, eh, they help themselves. They get their capital among themselves... Some they go dig for other people so that they can get money they bring in the group to go buy the materials.

Christina: So they dig for another group member?

Jane: No, any other person

Christina: Any other person?

Jane: For them their major reason is to get money to buy the resources.

Christina: So they can save enough money by digging for other people?

Jane: Yes, yeah. They dig for other people, they come, that's how they start. Yeah, for other people get money for buying the materials.

Christina: And then they're not members yet? Members of the group...

Jane: After they come with the money they are. So they come with an idea that this is what we wanted to do but what about money? So they decided to gather themselves and me, I will dig for any other person that I will find who will agree to give me a job, you do the same then after they bring the money, they go buy the materials.

Christina: Here for the group

Jane: For the group... But the person who joins them or who joined them after they had established their group they sacrifice to buy for the person the materials.

Christina: So, they are an established group and someone new comes in who doesn't have the money so they buy for that person on credit.

Jane: Exactly.

Christina: Okay.

Jane: So they use their resources to buy for the new member the materials. [Christina taking notes]... They buy for her everything!

Christina: So the needle, the razor...

Jane: The knives... All these materials that you see...

Jane: You remember that organization on that paper? The United Nations something something (UNIDO)?

Christina: Yes.

Jane: It was them, who trained them.

Christina: Okay, so UNIDO trained them.

Jane: Yes, they trained them. But apart from that they just depend on their own. There is no one else behind them.

Christina: Perfect, so what... if there's a scenario where they don't have enough orders or the price fluctuates and they can't buy enough raw materials, do they talk to the other groups?

Jane: Oh good, let me ask that.

Jane: So what happens, actually she is saying that there is not extreme situations where the orders are completely not there, though it happens it might happen within few days. But a scenario where she is given an order and the raw materials are not there, or the materials are few, they always go to other groups to get the materials.

Christina: So on physical materials we know that the raw materials come from the market....

Jane: They come from the market and their own garden...

Christina: And eh, so we're missing the human capital... She already told us that UNIDO trained them right? Do they have other skills and how did they develop their skills?

Jane: Apart from UNIDO?

Christina: Yes, and before that...

Jane: Eh, she came from "Ethiana" to this area at an early stage, but when she was at "Ethiana" she used to make the table mats. But when she came here she found people weaving the baskets, but it was only individual places.

Christina: So she knew how to make table mats

Jane: She knew how to make the table mats... So when she came here she found people weaving the baskets and other things made out of the same materials, like the sitting mats. So what she did, she came up with an idea, of making a group that made the baskets and mats in a group, other than an individual level.... And what I know about this part of the country, of Uganda, they have... there is that inert skill in

them that a child grows up knowing at least how to make the mats, how to make a basket, all that. Imagine she had the idea to form the group other than on an individual level.

Christina: And where did she get the.... Not skills, but you know you need knowledge to be able to group people and to guide people, and to organize them.

Jane: It was all her idea

Christina: So she had all the skills already.... And how did the skills, I mean there is different designs, how did they learn how to make the designs?

Jane: Have you heard of NAWOU? (When Sarah asked her)

Christina: Yes.

Jane: So what happened, she... she worked with that organization...

Christina: NAWOU?

Jane: Yes, that organization, she worked with that organization first, but they used to task them to be creative. They didn't come and told them oh today we're going to do this and this design but no, go and be creative. Come up with your designs, make it we shall see. That's how their

creativity got evolved. So from the NAWOU, then Uganda Crafts, then UNIDO. That are the people that used to send them to go and eh, make their own designs, be creative, differentiate themselves from other groups. So these designs they just come from themselves. Not from outside...

Christina: What is their hopes for the future?

Jane: Ehh, as a group they say that... She is trying to give a reason... That in the most cases these people have other activities, besides them that allow them to go generate some money in case the baskets are not there. But what they hope that... their hope for the future is that if they get people who write about them, who publish them – this is the Mpuliziganya Group, they are making baskets – they're involved in these designs, they're doing several of them, they're going to concentrate only on making baskets and other materials and other things other than having other activities outside

Christina: So they wish to produce only baskets... They love it so much

Jane: Yes, they really love it!

and you cannot sell it immediately, there is not an order...

Christina: It goes slowly and you cannot sell it immediately....

Jane: No

Jane: So to her, she's saying that generally the business also not bad neither good. What happens, people who make an order, they say that they want 10 baskets or handcraft activities, but they want it in a week and things of handicraft you need to take like three orders... eh... three weeks before, so that someone can weave something that makes out so nice and so good...

Christina: So the quality...

Jane: The quality! But they do not make them within limited time

Christina: I would like to know the motivations... The reasons for starting a business

Jane: What happens, they saw handicrafts as a job...

Interview 2: 29.05.2014 - Nubian Group Craft Shop Bombo Interview

With 7 women including Sarah

General Information:

- The one with the key for the shop broke her leg and is transferred to Mulago Hospital, so the shop is locked. Interview happens in front of the shop.

Christina: First, I would really like to know how your businesses are going, how your handicraft weaving is coming along, how... yeah... Just in general

Jane: Okay, generally how the business is going?

Jane: She is saying that in general, the business is not so bad neither good. As you're doing handicrafts, you're using the needle the what, so it goes slowly, you can't finish it in a day

Christina: As a job?

Jane: As a job. As their main job. That's why it's even situated alongside the road. So they see it as an activity where they get money to educate their children. They even have their children at university and the source of money to educate their children out of the handicrafts. So they saw it as a job. Something that can generate income for them.

Christina: So it's income generation...

Jane: Yes, it's income generation. That's why it's situation just alongside the road. That everyone can easily see it. It matters that people in the villages don't look see them as unemployed

Jane: Do you want to hear from someone else?

Christina: Yes, if they have other reasons...

Jane: Apparently, the motivation... It's the same idea! They see it as a job.

Christina: And why handicrafts? And not anything else?

Jane: Why handicrafts? And not anything else?

Christina: Yeah, I mean if it's an income generation – why handicrafts and not opening or distributing their crops?

Jane: Why crafts? It's a talent. Yes. It's a talent from generations, their ancestors, their grand grand grand grand grandparents. It's a talent in them, and they keep exploiting and exploring it, more and more and more. Yes. It's just a born talent in them. Yeah. So they decided to just make a group and keep their talent.

Christina: Can I ask about their situation in the community, you know like the role as women?

[Another woman arrives with raw materials – looking at them and talking]

Jane: So we ask them the situation in the community?

Christina: Yes, as women... Like their roles in the community. They have a lot of ways they can change things, you know, just in general.

Jane: Generally, are we asking about the community or their roles?

Christina: It's just –I kind of want to know what role they have in the community... [Truck passing by] So just their situation in the community, if they can decide things, if they are respected, you know...

Jane: Okay, yes I see.

Jane: So, what happens... eh... it's a born talent in them but they have inspired other people, even these ones who don't know... They come to them and learn how to make crafts and things.

Christina: So they're respected?

Jane: Yes, they're respected. For their talent. Yes, some people who don't know but they really love to know, so they train them and they start making handicrafts.

Jane: She says in this community, some people they love their handicrafts, so they come they take it and say they pay but they never appear to pay their money.

Christina: So they take crafts but they never come back to pay?

Jane: They don't come back to pay!

Jane: Eh, some people they come and ask about 10 baskets or what but they never come back to pay. So they just give them all the orders for long and long but never pay back.

Christina: Okay.

Jane: Okay, what happens in the society – the ladies try to mobilize other women, come to visit [truck noise], they try to call them “come on, come on”, let's keep busy but the women are generally lazy. They do not like working so they just remain in their house doing nothing. Yeah, that's how it is in their society.

Christina: The first map is the network, so people they interact with in, you know, their everyday life, like the neighbors, the church members, and things like that. Eh, the group members. Just drawing, as a group opinion, who they think they interact with.

Jane: And the second?

Christina: The second map is about the resources.
Let's do the first one first and then, eh,
explain.

Jane: Yeah. What goes in the middle?

Christina: Maybe the group members but however
they want to do it.

Jane: This is about the interaction.

Christina: Yes, the interaction and the network. So you
could draw a family for family or houses next
to each other for neighbors, things like that.

[Mapping]

Christina: Can I ask about an idea? You know, an idea
about a new design, or a new product, if
there's anything new, how does it spread?
You know, if there is one woman from them
getting an idea, or one of those groups, how
does it work? – maybe with arrows.... You
know you draw with arrows how it goes, in
this map.

Jane: So what are the questions?

Christina: Oh, so the question is.... I want to know
about ideas. About new designs, new colors,
new products, any idea, eh, related to crafts.
Where does it originate? Where does it come
from? From their crafts? Do they get ideas
themselves? And then what happens, how
does it spread? Do they, you know, talk to
other people about it or do they try to keep it
to themselves or what happens with an idea?
And we make them draw that in the map.

Jane: Okay, these people are naturally talented. Every
time they sit down they have many different
designs in mind. All the ladies are tasked to
be creative. They don't wait to be told "do
this design, do this design". Every time it's a
task to be creative. Even if they make an order
of 10 baskets, they task themselves to produce
them in different colors and different designs
without going out and ask for the design. The
ideas come from themselves, unless someone
comes and says "I want this specific design",
yes.

Christina: Do they see new designs at the market they
really like and they take them back then? Or

what happens when other groups see their
design, maybe at the market, or weaving here
when they pass by, what happens then?

Jane: Okay, what happens... It's very difficult to copy
from them. Everyday they're creative. What
happens, if someone comes back... eh... if
someone makes an order and has a design...
No! if someone sees something at the market
they try to make it but not just a copy, they
don't produce exactly what they saw, at least
they see a design and try to twist it at least a
little, make it a little bit different. Even
though they got the idea from someone else
they don't produce the same thing. And
maybe also, if someone comes with a design
"I want my basket in this design", that's how
they get something out of their heads or if
someone came with already a design made.

Christina: Okay, so sometimes they get ideas from
themselves from the group...

Jane: Mostly the get ideas from themselves

Christina: Maybe they get an order with a different
design and sometimes they see it somewhere
else. But does it happen that other groups
produce exactly the same?

Jane: No!

Christina: Is there like a code of conduct? Are they not
allowed to produce? Because there is many
baskets that look very similar!

Jane: They're not allowed! Though it may look similar
it's not the same thing.

Christina: Do they talk about ideas? Among the
group? With like design or I really want to
produce maybe even a different product, ehm,
does that happen?

Jane: Okay, what happens, they don't share! They
don't share because they have to be unique
and creative to compete in the market. So they
say that you produce your basket... I'm just
making an example between you and I... If
you produce green, I say oh! Christina made
her basket in this color, mine will be white!
They don't share the ideas, because they're
looking at being competitive in the market, so

they don't share ideas. They're just creative among themselves. What I think is what I just said, that I produce a basket but I don't share it out.

[Resource Ranking]

Christina: And if it's possible if I could see where the resources come from, like the talent, yeah, they could just draw a hand or something, where the skills come from, where the different resources come from. Where do they get the mainly the financial capital, especially the initial capital?

Jane: Where...? [pointing at the map]

Christina: Yes, location on the map.

Jane: One by one, start with financial resources.

Christina: Yes, with initial capital. Where they get it from. And they can just place the money wherever.

Christina: You can also draw new things in the map.

One woman: I want to try.

Jane: For her, she is saying that she has a kiosk, where they sell [noise], onions, so they kept their money, as her, she gets their money, she goes to purchase the materials, to start up.

Christina: Okay, so she got it from a kiosk, okay.

Jane: She talked to the husband, and he said yes.

Christina: So from home, from her family. Do you have kids?

Woman: Yes

Jane: For her, she has jackfruit trees, so when she gets them she sells them, as such it gives money from the jackfruit trees, so she gets money to buy the things.

Jane: She has an avocado tree, so that's where she gets her money. She also cultivates maize, when it's ready she sells it to get money and then buys the materials. She has two sources.

Jane: Okay, she cultivates cassava, sweet potatoes, and maize.

Jane: This one (Raffia-looking material), they get it from a certain swamp here.

Jane: For this, you have to go to Mbale or Jinja

Christina: The dye??

Jane: Not the dye, this material!

Christina: What is it?

Jane: It's called Disi. (And no one knows what it is.... Type of papyrus most likely)

Christina: Then we have the skills and education left.

Woman: We have certificates!

Christina: You have certificates, oh wow! Where did you get that?

Woman: They went up to Kenya. Even they get a certificate from Makerere University.

Jane: She has forgotten the certificate guy that came here to train them, the offered them the training, she went up to Kenya. Kisiki University they went to check the things they make out of soil, what what, soil crafted things, then, but the real training was in Kenyatta University. For her training. She also went to Makerere University for the same training.

Christina: So they had some skills already?

Jane: Yeah. They were accompanied by three lecturers.

Christina: Do they also train each other?

Jane: Yes, they do train. Okay, she's saying after their training they come and teach others. That's why they even say that they have tried to mobilize people, those that don't have the talent and tried to show them this is how we go about our product and they also make it. Yes, they do share the knowledge, among the group and outside the group.

Christina: Okay, I think now just some pros and cons of being in this group.

Jane: It helps them to learn how to share ideas, knowledge, their training, and that.

Jane: There is that interest around to do more. Yes, that's also motivation.

Christina: So as a group they're more motivated than...

Jane: Yes!

Christina: ...individually.

Jane: They learn how to manage time. They have to timetable themselves, that in the morning I have to wake up, do A B C, but exactly at 10,

after that I have to meet with my group members to do the orders. Another thing she is saying is that [translation again]. There is that, how should we call it, favorable or positive competition, that when I finish mine, you think oh she finished, now I also have to work hard, that hard working. Because you all want to have your things done in time so there is that hard work and you don't want to be the one behind.

Jane: Okay, so what happens, the disadvantages is when the orders are done. It's quite difficult for them to manage. Sometimes people come and they order for what, a 100 baskets, then they leave all the necessary details what they want their baskets to look like but when they come back then they start saying oh, I want these, I want this, I want this, they choose about 10 and leave the rest, even though they made the order. And what happens is that they have nowhere to sell them.

Christina: Okay so there is nothing negative about being in this group. So how many women are in the group?

Jane: 35

Christina: What happens if someone wants to join the group but doesn't have anything?

Jane: They share. So you want to join the group, they divide the materials up among themselves, she decides to give you black, she gives you green, she gives you red, she gives you the other color then you make your basket. When you sell, the money you get you start with that.

Christina: Okay, and at some point she pays back?

Jane: No, they don't pay back. They voluntarily give it to you.

Christina: Do they also train that new member if she doesn't have skills?

Jane: They train. That's why they were putting almost alllll their stones here. When you come you have no idea then you're sitting down they give you this. When you're starting, you start with this white color. They train you.

Christina: And it's for them the most important resource.

Jane: Yes. They train people who don't know anything.

Christina: Last question. Hopes for the future. Hopes and aspirations for the future.

Jane: She hopes to save about 100000UGX

Christina: For something specific?

Jane: She hopes to save more money to educate her children but out of the craft

Jane: She also hopes to take her child to driving school, in two years ahead.

Jane: She hopes to educate her children outside of business

Jane: She hopes to have her personal crafts shop. She hopes to own her personal crafts shop or to be exporting them to Nairobi.

Jane: Her aspiration is that (matters???) she will be working here in a group but she hopes to own a personal shop and put there her child, as the child is now selling also here in the group, continuing to weave the baskets.

Christina: So she also hopes to have a shop.

Jane: This one hopes to have her personal shop but she would be weaving out of the group, and she wants to have a personal shop at the same time be in the group.

Interview 3: 29.05.2014 - Kiti Women's Development Group near Matugga

With 5 women including Sarah

Christina: I would like to know your motivations for starting the handicraft business

Jane: The motivation part. It's something that is a talent.
You can't lose it, you always have it in you.
Nobody can take it away from you.

Christina: So you can't lose it.

Jane: Yes, and she says that all the time you have capital.
It is something you can sell all the time. And she is saying that it really supports the children in their education. Even when the money is not there, every day they have orders.

Jane: It's something that keeps them busy, they don't spend time talking this and that and there is that hard work that it creates. And it's keeping them busy. And it gets them what she needs in case she wants to buy something she has the money and doesn't need for the man to be there and ask I need this now.

Jane: We continue with the challenges. [...] The materials are so expensive. Very expensive. And they don't have the money that can buy a lot of course.

Christina: So it is cheaper to buy in bulk.

Jane: Yes.

Jane: I was asking them if they face the competition issues sometimes you know products there are different people, crafts people making the same thing, whether this is a challenge but they're saying that no. They're saying they don't face that. They put a lot of time and concentration to make sure that they produce something that is so good that it will sell. These are the natural colors. They get grass, they boil grass and that is the color they get from the grass, originally from here, they don't buy that color.

Christina: For green or for every color.

Jane: For that green color.

Christina: And these they also get from Owino market?

Jane and Sarah: Yes! Those two, they are natural.

Jane: The Nubians they go to Nairobi to get the colors and sell them, nobody else. They have the monopoly in the market in Owino. The Nubians. They import them from Kenya and sell them in Owino Market.

Jane: Sometimes things don't move very fast and they bring them to the market and they're not bought

as quickly as they hoped. But still they have the chance that people explain to them why they don't buy the baskets. [...] or it is rough so it becomes an investigation.

Christina: Do they have ideas always or do they also see ideas somewhere else? So where it originates.

Jane: Some people come for... they come to make the orders and they already have their designs, what they want their basket to look like, so for example they will come with their designs and say I want my basket to look like this. And then those ones who do not have any idea they just tell them please be creative.

Christina: Okay. But things like the picture frame. Those are new things right? Do they come from here? Or did people tell them? That picture frame, it's a whole new product. Did they come up with it?

Jane: There was also training from UNIDO. This was UNIDO.

Christina: But have they shared it with any other group?

Jane: UNIDO trained them all together.

Christina: But do they have ideas for new products? Or do they get ideas for new products?

Jane: They get ideas but they share them among themselves. But they don't share. When someone gets an idea and really creates something she doesn't pass on. She keeps it to herself.

Christina: So in general, how do they cooperate? Do they share raw materials? Or is it just sharing of designs? Or ideas sometimes? Or is there even more cooperation?

Jane: Okay, their materials, they say that they need this type of material. She says that it's costing 50000 so each contributes, they divide the money among themselves and each one contributes an equal share.

Christina: And then they just take whatever they need?

Jane: Yes. They buy materials together.

Christina: Equal share?

Jane: They equally share the costs.

[Resource Ranking]

Jane: (Talking about the man who randomly joined) He puts his stone with money, because he says that

whether you have the materials, you have the skills, you have the talent – without money, you can't make it. So he's going for here. (The man put the first on money and the second on raw materials, Jane put hers on financial for the first as well).

49:07 – 57:44

Christina: Let's talk about the initial capital.

Jane: For her, she got the money from her (group leader), she gave her the money to start up.

Jane: She got the money from her as well. And she (leader) got it from her husband.

Jane: She is saying that she had goats, and she sold them to get her initial capital.

Jane: They get this one (banana fiber) from Buwambo.

Christina: And all of their raw materials come from there?

Jane: The rest they get from Owino Market.

Christina: And the training and the skills? Where did that come from?

Jane: Okay, UNIDO and their chairperson.

Christina: (to Sarah) Okay, so you trained them!

Sarah: Yes!

Christina: So what are the pros and cons of the group?

Jane: They get money to pay for school fees, medication, and actually all the domestic issues.

Christina: But indirectly right? From selling the handicrafts....

Jane: Yes, this money is from the handicrafts.

Christina: Any other pros for producing in a group as opposed to individually?

Jane: Hmm, decorating the house.

Christina: And specifically as opposed to producing by yourself? Is there any advantages they see?

Jane: (The man said this) It brings unity among the women in the community.

Christina: Does this lead to more voice and power?

Jane: Yeah sure. Even the ladies come to listen to themselves more and more. Address their matters of concern more and more.

Jane: Women Empowerment! Because when they go to the market, they all stand and defend their baskets that this is how I do it, this is where I get

the materials and other issues that they find in the market.

Jane: (the man again) There is that hard work, and the situation instead of maybe someone going to talk, make more mingling, they get tied to concentrate on their baskets.

Christina: Any negative aspects?

Jane: She says that it's so tiresome. Because to produce a nice basket you have to take it alllll your time.

Jane: (the man again) Sometimes when they spend all their time making the baskets then the people come back and say ah, we're not taking them, they're just playing around with the baskets the made an order of and they end up taking a few instead of taking all the order that they made.

Christina: Hopes and Aspirations?

Jane: They hope to see people coming up to train them.

Christina: To train them in skills?

Jane: Yes.

Christina: Or also business?

Jane: No, handicraft skills.

Jane: Expansion in experience.

Christina: Expansion also maybe in other areas?

Jane: Hm, also expansion in production.

Christina: Anything else? Any other hopes, where they see themselves in 5 years?

Jane: Okay, expansion in orders.

Interview 4: 29.05.2014 – Justine Mubiru

Age: 53 Married: Yes, with husband Children: 8 (2 boys, 6 girls) & grandchildren

Christina: How is the business going?

Jane: The business is really nice. It has helped her educate the children, not just the husband is there but there is many things that are private, that she needs to buy for herself, so there is no need to go and ask the man that I need money for this. At least she gets money from her basket sales to buy anything that is private for her.

Christina: What were the motivations or was there maybe a critical event that triggered the business?

Jane: Okay, I want you to listen to this whole story which inspired her. She grew up in her family,

they used to make small baskets, small baskets. As a culture when the elders come the put some coffee seeds for them to chew. So she grew up making those small baskets, when she got married to this area, she made these small round baskets that decorated her whole house. So, she said an investor came in here and she was really surprised to see the whole house decorated with these things so she asked her “do you know how to make these?”, she said yes, I can make it, so she made some trays, made of this, so they took them to the market but she made them in the colors that the people who wanted to buy didn’t want. They didn’t want that color. So, but again, by then she had to depend on the husband, but when these people bought one basket she just went direct to buy the materials, colors, all the things that she needed, she came and made some baskets that those people really wanted. So she realized that oh, it’s not only the husband that can buy things in the house. That’s how she just entered into the business.

Christina: Okay, so that’s how she started the business. What, eh, where did the raw materials come from? The first raw materials that she made the trays with?

Jane: Okay, those trays she had the materials from her banana plantation. She cut them herself. [Showing of materials and talking about raffia and banana fiber]. So the first trays she made them from the banana.

Christina: Just banana?

Jane: Yes, from her own garden.

Christina: So in all natural color? No dyes?

Jane: All natural color. But when she took them... So when she took the natural colors to town for marketing the lady only bought one. The rest she said that they’re not the color that she wanted. So out of that one basket she went direct to buy the colors and all this. That’s how she started.

Christina: So you knew how to weave baskets and trays, so the skills were already there?

Jane: Yes. Did you want to learn more?

Christina: Oh, just where the skills from. From her hometown? I mean she grew up learning, right?

Jane: It’s an inborn talent in their home. They used to gather girls to teach them how to make baskets, sell and get some little money to buy maybe [xxx], or something small that they wanted. So when she got here, they realized that people loved baskets. So they shifted from making them only for the home, they started the business.

Christina: Okay. How is the business running now? Do you sell a lot of baskets?

Jane: If she’s selling a lot of baskets?

Jane: What happens, she’s a leader, she’s a leader of the group. So she makes three big baskets, like these ones, three in a week. So she makes three in a week. So what happens, her other members they, you know now, what happens they do it as a group, so she do not sell as an individual. So for her as an individual she makes three. But other people make about three or four, depending on the size and the design. So if he makes three, she waits for other members to bring what they have made, so that one contributes to how much they should sell per week.

Christina: Do they sell together and share the money equally or do they... how does it work? Or everyone gets what they produced?

Jane: Okay, what happens, they sell, they collect their baskets and they give them to her as a leader to take to the market. It’s a group selling under their leader, and when the money comes back, they divide the money up according to how many basket someone has made. If you made five, you get according to the money that is there in five baskets. If you made two, you’ll get that amount.

Christina: Okay, can you see a difference from the beginning, are you producing more now or is it not growing but staying the same size? How many baskets and how much money you get.

Jane: The evolution from the start?

Christina: Is it growing, money wise? Or you know...

Jane: What happens, she says there is a difference. A big difference. She started this business in baskets in 1991. Up to now. She says that in quantity, there is a change. She started with the small baskets but as she gained more experience she is now making big baskets, but she started making small baskets but she is now making big baskets. And then, another change, money wise. Some time back, those baskets they used to be at 2000, sometimes 1500, but now 10000, 8000, you see, there is an increase in...

Christina: But the raw material price also changed?

Jane: Also... Something else, the change that is the order. Those days she says they could just go to the market, maybe you made there a purple basket and tomorrow you go and you don't see it, so you say oh, maybe they like purple! You come and make in a purple color. But now they do things according to the order.

Christina: Earlier more observing what people want.

Jane: Before, it was based on observation what people bought.

Christina: And now it's made for order?

Jane: Yes. It's more of order.

Christina: With the price change, did also the raw material price increase?

Jane: Okay, it also went high.

Christina: Like, equally?

Jane: Basket price higher, material lower.

Christina: So the basket price increased more than the raw material price.

Jane: Though there is an increase in the raw material. (Drawing in notebook)

Christina: Can you tell me anything about yourself? Like name, married, something like that?

Jane: Name?

Christina: And age group? If she is married and has kids, anything about herself.

Jane: Name is Justine Mubiru

Jane: 53.

Christina: She is married and has a husband? I think we heard that before.

Jane: Yes, she is married and the husband is still alive.

Christina: And how many kids?

Jane: Wow, she has kids and grandchildren. 8 children, 2 boys and the rest are girls.

Christina: What does a typical day look like for you?

Now every day of the week like Sarah did but just in general what you do when you get up. Not special days but work days. Generally the whole day.

Jane: Okay, what happens, she has two options for her day. Option 1 when the kids are going to school: She wakes up, prepares them, makes tea for them, and they go to school. So when, after the kids go to school, she goes to the garden. She goes to the garden, exactly 10am she is out of the garden. She comes back to prepare lunch. So after lunch she sits to make her baskets. From lunchtime till 6 she is for baskets, and then after she leaves to go to prepare supper. That is her day when the kids are going to school. So when the kids are not going to school, she wakes up to go to the garden. [Justine talks some more] Oh, we have two more, we're going to change. Okay, when the kids are not going to school she just wakes up to go to the garden, and she comes back direct to make the baskets. Another option, when the sun is too hot, she doesn't go to dig, she only concentrates on the baskets. And when they give her an order she still do not go to the garden.

Christina: That's option 4?

Jane: She only concentrates on the baskets. And she says when it's too hot and now she is not going to the garden that is when she produces more baskets. Because she has a lot of time to concentrate.

Christina: Who takes care of the garden then?

Jane: When she's not going to the garden, she employs people, she pays people to go to dig for her. But still she also goes an hour to go and take care of the garden.

Christina: Does anyone in the family also produce handicrafts or owns a handicraft business? Maybe also before her?

Jane: No, there is nobody, they just make for home use. But they don't sell. At her home, where she came from.

Christina: Is her family now involved in the business?

Jane: Her own children?

Christina: Yes, also maybe her extended family, any family member, are they involved, helping her?

Jane: Only her children.

Christina: Only her children help her?

Jane: Yes.

Christina: And her husband supports her?

Jane: The husband helps her to look after the garden, the cows, but he doesn't weave the baskets.

Christina: No no no, but maybe mentally supporting?

Jane: Yes, he do. Yes, he gives her support to look after the garden, maybe she has her materials out she is not around, the rain comes, he will look after the materials. Sometimes if she's here and the husband has been outside there he hears somebody saying that oh, I have the basket materials here, he buys them and brings her.

Christina: How the collaboration with the other women in the group is? Do they just weave together or do they give each other any other kind of support? Or if there's a special bond between the women.

Jane: Their collaboration in the group, especially when it comes to color making. They come together as a group, they do the dying in a group. Not that this one will do it at home, this one... No, they say today, it's a day for making the colors so they all gather together and they do it as a group, so they can come out with one color. Also, if one of their members is lacking something or wants to come up with something but she is not having the material or the money, they contribute for her. So what happens in the group let's say that she is now making this basket and the materials are not enough and the basket ends somewhere here, she will send a kid that goes to Sarah to give you such and such materials, I finish my basket, maybe we shall sort it out. They help each other whenever there is a need. So what happens also if they receive an order and one of their members is not having any money, they buy for her all the necessary materials to make the basket, so when the basket is done they take

it for sale, then remove the money that they bought for material and what is the balance they give it to her as her capital.

Christina: Okay, is there any interaction with the other groups that are located around?

Jane: For the baskets?

Christina: For the business.

Jane: For these and business.

Christina: Maybe, raw materials, ideas, orders, maybe they receive a huge order and they can't make it themselves, is there any interaction?

Jane: So the interaction, we're looking at Mpuliziganya group, the Nubian group, those ones we met in Bombo, and Kiti development group, there is more interaction between Mpuliziganya here and Kiti women. When the order comes, if it is, if it involves a lot of baskets, these people they call them when they receive this order, go and make this amount of baskets. Which is not the case with the Nubian group.

Christina: They produce different things.

Jane: They produce different things and they don't use this materials. They use different materials and they're so mean in sharing their ideas, so she is saying that sometimes when they come maybe with their baskets that is looking nice and they say oh, let me have a look at it, no, they will turn to hide it. Yes, they're not sharing ideas.

Christina: It would be nice to know about the specialization. Do you specialize in any products or designs, like big baskets, small baskets, designs, things like that?

Jane: As a group they don't have specialization. They don't have any specialization as a group. Because these are the people who do any order that comes across. But if it's not an order an individual can say oh, me I'm not making big baskets, I'll be making the small ones. There is only specialization on individual basis. But as a group, no, there is no specialization. And also, when the order, the need an order urgently, every person picks what is easy for her to complete fast. If I see that this is complicated for me I'll leave it to you. I'll say okay Christina,

you take that, me I'll take this, to finish it in time.

Christina: How does she get new ideas for products or designs?

Jane: What happens, people make an order with a design. So what happens if they tell them that this is the design that they have given us, so they come, maybe the leader comes with an order, and they all gather together - that this is the basket. Each individual starts to make the basket while copying from this design that they have been given. If that is not the case, if the order has not assigned, they just create their own designs. They first draw and see what happens if I put this in a basket, will it look nice, so they encourage creativity.

Christina: So who in this map do you trust most?

Jane: She trusts her neighbor most. And another neighbor, who is in the business

Christina: If you need help with your business, who do you talk to?

Jane: These two, who also own a business

Christina: If you have a personal problem, who do you go to?

Jane: Her husband.

Christina: The resource question we can't map but ask maybe. Which ones are the most important resources? (Map)

Christina: If she ever needs more resources than she has, who would she go to?

Jane: These two group members, for all of the resources.

Christina: What are your ambitions and hopes for the future, for the business especially?

Jane: They expect or hope to be producing more baskets. She hopes to be having more people in the group.

Christina: The people she employs to dig when she's busy making baskets, is this neighbors or friends or any people she knows, or any random people?

Jane: As long as you have the money you can get anyone to dig.

Christina: So there is not a special person she employs.

Jane: No.

Christina: Maybe she has more hopes?

Jane: They hope to be independent family wise so that they can influence other women to be making money other than all the time asking from their husbands. And they also hope to train more people how to make baskets.

Interview 5: 05.06.2014 – Margaret Kiwanuka

Age: 52 Married: Yes, with husband Children: 5 (youngest is 18 years old)

Christina: Are you the secretary?

Jane: Yes, she's the secretary.

Christina: Can you tell me anything about your business?
Anything that pops into your mind about your business.

Jane: Her, he's is saying that business first originated from the chairperson's idea of making a group.

Christina: Before that there was no business?

Jane: No, there was not. After the group they used to go to NAWOU, so after there they went to there to see the procedures of how to register their group as a cooperative. Cooperative or association, as the other kind. It was first called Basoka Kwayula.

Christina: What does that mean?

Jane: Crawling.

Christina: Crawling?

Jane: As you see the baby crawling. It is the business that is starting slowly, it has, it moves step by step. So after there it was their name of the group when they were still coming up as a group.

Christina: That was 20 years ago.

Jane: This was the name of their group when they had just joined together. But a time came when one of the members of parliament visited them and they were thinking of registering their group

into an association. So the MP gave them the idea of getting rid of this name to Mpuliziganya name.

Christina: And that's the name of the group, not the association.

Jane: Yes. That is the name of the group, not of the association. And for her she says that the business is a source of her daily income, because she earns weekly, she has the income to take some of her kids to school, though they have not gone so far, but at least they reach somewhere and it's where she gets money weekly for home use. Not only to depend on the man. And she sees the craft as a job. It is something of a job, but it keeps her working harder and harder to make a living.

Christina: What were your motivations to join the group? When Sarah came up to you, why did you join?

Jane: She says that at first there used to be a group of two people actually from one family and they used to make baskets but it was difficult to access them and ask them how to make baskets in case someone wants to learn and it was not easy to ask whether they could sell baskets, so when the idea of joining the group came she was so happy that she was going to learn how to make the baskets and also to get her own money for the daily expenses without suffering to ask money from people. So it's mainly for learning how to make quality baskets and independence.

Christina: So, how did you start up the business, with what skills or capital or raw materials, the beginnings, how she started up the business.

Jane: Okay, at the beginning, they were not many. And what she says, that one of the members in the group was so happy for the idea of joining the ladies together, and for her she had the skills which was not the case to her, she didn't have that much skills to make the baskets, so that lady offered her the training of how to make the baskets.

Christina: How many were they in the beginning?

Jane: They were 8. And she says that when it comes to capital, do you remember the treasurer? The

lady we interviewed when we left, she is the treasurer, she says that for her she had cows and she offered them money for materials so they could pay back after they sell the baskets.

Christina: So, eh Justine right?

Jane: Yes, she offered them money for their beginning and they paid back after selling the baskets.

Christina: And she had money from...

Jane: The cows. She had money from the cows. Actually the map, she showed the place of the cow. That's where she got the money to lend to the friends.

Christina: And then they could buy the raw materials from that money.

Jane: Yes.

Christina: What about business skills, did you have any idea about how to run a business in the beginning?

Jane: Okay, she had the writing skills. And she stopped in second senior two. So the group members agreed to appoint her as the secretary.

Christina: Because she knew how to write.

Jane: Exactly.

Jane: Okay, she says that they're not so good in bookkeeping. She can write but there is still that problem with bookkeeping due to either no or limited training. They just do it the way they think is right.

Christina: How well does your business run now?

Jane: Okay, some time back she says when she was still young she could make a lot of baskets that means a lot of money and now as she gets aged the number of baskets has declined. She makes two in a week and she used to make four in a week. And remember they earn according to what they have made, so the income has declined compared to what she made when she was young.

Christina: Can you tell me a bit about yourself, I know your name but anything else?

Jane: She's 52. Has five kids. The youngest one is 18 years. She's married and the husband is still alive.

Christina: Okay.

Jane. She wants to tell us something [...]. The great challenge to her is when there is few or no orders and she says that right now she only has an order of one basket so that means totally that she will have little money and she says that when the orders are few or they're not there she is totally poor, because she has nowhere to dig, the place is too small, she can't cultivate a lot to get for the family. She says that's a great challenge to her.

Christina: Is there anyone else in the family who produces handicrafts? Or runs a handicraft business?

Jane: Totally nobody makes baskets in her family. She comes from Bombo and she only learned how to make baskets when she got married to this area of Matugga.

Christina: How is her family now involved in the business? The husband and the children, do they help, do they support?

Jane: The husband does not help her at all. From the side of the husband she does not get any support because she says that the man has a culture that making baskets at night brings poverty so he totally performs nothing. But also her daughter, who the mother to the outside kids, she also makes baskets and also the grandchild helps her in making baskets. The daughter makes for herself, the grandchild helps her.

Christina: So there is people in her family making baskets.

Jane: And I see this culture norm as a challenge to her. Don't you think so?

Christina: Yes, definitely.

Christina: Who do you trust most of the people?

Jane: Mostly the mother to these children.

Christina: So her daughter.

Jane: Yes.

Christina: If she needs help with the business, if you have business problems, who do you go to or who do you talk to? Generally, not just group members.

Jane: Her daughter. Generally her daughter is the first person to approach for her. So when she says

that she don't have anything, she goes to the treasurer.

Christina: If the daughter doesn't have anything.

Jane: Yes, she goes to the treasurer. If the daughter says she has no money to help her the next option is their treasurer.

Christina: So the resources, where did the raw materials, the financial and the skills come from (in the map)?

Jane: At first, you see those banana things, she used to get them from her own garden. In the beginning. But now they buy them from a little bit distance.

Christina: Why?

Jane: I have to ask that [...]. At first you know they were few and making few baskets, when they had not, she used to get the materials from her own garden when she had not joined the group and they were few and now that they make baskets according to the order their farms can't produce enough materials for them so they made a contract with another lady from Kapeka market who always buys for them the materials from banana fibers and brings for them. So their shift was due to the increase in number of baskets.

Christina: And the financial was the cows?

Jane: This is the neighbor where she got the first financial resource, the treasurer.

Christina: But she was also part of the group?

Jane: Yes, and that where she got her first capital to start.

Christina: Okay.

Christina: So, how is your collaboration with the other group members? In terms of everything

Jane: She says in her business especially on Fridays after these people takes the baskets for selling they bring back the dye so their work is to make sure to get the firewood, fetch water and they make the coloring of the materials together.

Christina: Anything new? Is there anything we haven't heard?

Jane: Another thing in their group especially when they're receiving visitors, the way we came, she doesn't handle it as an individual, she calls everybody. They become one to attend to the visitor. And also, they have this every time they

get money from a donor, who gives them money, they specifically lend it out to members for buying materials or whoever comes new and doesn't have materials they borrow money from there but still they have to pay it back.

Christina: But what do they do with that money then?

Jane: Their money is there for people who don't have materials, they make sure that they don't go through the bankrupt situations.

Christina: What about people outside of the group, is there any interaction or collaboration?

Jane: They don't have any other groups around them. They also get some assistance from the neighbors, especially borrowing money to fix their emergencies.

Christina: Direct neighbors or her neighbors?

Jane: Her neighbors, but not on a daily basis. Once in a while.

Christina: What are your aspirations or hopes for the future?

Jane: She hopes to open up a different business. She wishes to start a black book business, a business of producing black books. But she will remain in the handicraft business.

Christina: So she wants to open a business but someone else should run it?

Jane: Yes. She also wants to expand on her pig project.

Jane: She hopes the family to be part of the handicraft business.

Jane: She also hopes to get money from the basket business to buy her own plot of land.

Christina: Is there anything else she wants to tell me? Do you have any questions?

Jane: She says this thing about, there is this organization called "send a cow", they brought them cows but she is saying that she managed to, of course when they bring the cow they have to pay the transportation costs, the cow is free but they pay for the transportation costs. But she says that her money for transportation costs was out of the baskets.

Christina: So she has a cow?

Jane: It was some time ago in 1993.

Interview 6: 05.06.2014 – Irene Naganjago

Age: 75+ Married: widowed Children: 7 + grandchildren

Jane: She doesn't weave the baskets but she is one of the members.

Christina: But she weaved before.

Jane: She used to do before. An age factor. One of the very first members from the beginning.

Christina: Can you tell me a bit about the business you used to have, about the basket weaving?

Jane: The business was good. We're now reporting something in the past. It used to be good. And they were expanding after every year. And she feels happy when they make sales and they give her some money.

Christina: So she still gets part of the profit?

Jane: Yeah! Yes, they give her money as a member. Because she has maintained the loyalty to their group.

Christina: What were your motivations to join the group?

Jane: She saw it as an employment opportunity, and a source of getting weekly income. She's a widow, and this is how she survives with her grandchildren.

Christina: What were the challenges you had during the business?

Jane: When they make baskets and there is no one to buy them. That means all the materials are wasted.

Jane: When the materials, this ones that they get out of the banana leaves, when they're insufficient where they get them, it delays their orders.

Christina: So, about the beginnings of the enterprise, how she started?

Jane: Okay, at first she didn't have the skills, so she went to her, they were about three people that made the baskets.

Christina: She went to Sarah?

Jane: Yeah, they were about three people, her and other two that showed her how to make the baskets.

Christina: So three people showed her how to make baskets!

Jane: Yes! So after there she had a garden of sweet potatoes, so she sold the sweet potatoes, got the money and bought the materials to settle in the

business. And by then she started with 3000UGX.

Christina: Wow, that's not much.

Jane: Yeah, but it was quite a lot during those days.

Christina: How did the weaving skills, but also the business skills, evolve?

Jane: She says their evolvement they started as three people, so in the process of making other members also loved to be part of the group. So they started joining slowly, slowly, slowly, from three people, now they're 30.

Christina: And now about the skills and the business?

Jane: At the beginning, this is how they started. Just making these plain, simple designs but there are other groups outside [asking about the group]. At first this is what they used to make but there is another group in Maganjo, so this group in Maganjo, they liked their basket and they were also making things that were totally different from here, so as they buy this they used to also buy from them and they copy the designs. That's how the designs originated. Buying from other people and trying to create something that is a little bit similar but not quite exactly.

Christina: But they didn't just exchange baskets, they actually bought them.

Jane: They bought them, yes.

Christina: And then they taught themselves how to make them?

Jane: Yes, they put them in the center, then everyone is tasked to try to make the same or try to make something that is either similar or [xxxx].

Christina: What changes did you witness over time from the beginning? In business terms like in numbers of sales, costs, anything that changed from the beginning until she stopped.

Jane: The movement in the business, she has talked about the raw materials. Some time back at the beginning it was at a cheap price but now it is a bit costly. Then there is also an increment in sales. Compared to the beginning there is an increase in the quantity of baskets. There is also increase in speed.

Christina: In weaving speed?

Jane: Yes, in weaving speed.

Christina: So people get more skilled?

Jane: Yes, sure.

Christina: So, did you ever get new ideas? About new products, new designs?

Jane: The idea originates from just her brain, she's just creative.

Christina: That's one of her ideas? (Piece of craft)

Jane: This one what happens when she was at the early stage, when she was still okay without the eye problem, she used to make the other mats and the other designs that we saw with the other members. But now, that she has the issues with her eyes these are the baskets that she makes because she uses that big needle. It doesn't disturb her, so she has someone who buys them. But the creativity comes from herself.

Christina: And what happens when she has an idea for a new design. How does it go around? Does she teach the women right away or does she keep it to herself?

Jane: She shares it.

Christina: Immediately?

Jane: Yes.

Christina: With the group? Or also outside of the group?

Jane: With the group.

Christina: And with that group in Maganjo that was just in the beginning?

Jane: Maganjo was a group at the beginning and it's not their group.

Christina: Yeah, I know but that group still exists?

Jane: Yeah, they are still there.

Christina: So after a while it stopped with the exchange of buying.

Jane: It has stopped, they don't buy their baskets anymore. So the sharing is between the Mpulizigangya group.

Christina: This group and not the association?

Jane: They also share with, you remember the Kiti group? They also share with that group. They share among M groul and Kiti group.

Christina: Now, can you tell me anything about yourself?

Jane: Naganjago, Irene.

Jane: She's maybe 75 or over (laughing)

Jane: She's a widow

Christina: How long?

Jane: 10 years.

Christina: And probably many kids.

Jane: 7 children with grandchildren.

Christina: And she takes care of the grandchildren.

Jane: Yes.

Christina: Does anyone else in your family produce handicrafts?

Jane: Her family, where she was born, nobody makes the baskets. But the children that she has produced, she has a daughter and a grandchild that make the baskets.

Christina: Do you think you influenced the daughter and the grandchild into making handicrafts? Or was it a completely independent decision?

Jane: She influenced them.

Christina: What did she tell them, why they should start handicrafts?

Jane: The issue is they don't have jobs, so instead of just sitting she advised them to at least be making baskets to sell and get some little money.

Christina: How was her family involved in the business while she was still making handicrafts?

Jane: When she was still in the business the husband used to help her with money, especially when the baskets for orders have not yet been sold and they don't have any more money to buy the materials. The children they used to help to take the baskets to the stage. Also sometimes they used to take them to sell and they brought the money back and sometimes they used to bring her some designs. When they saw that there was a design, they bring it for her.

Christina: Did she get any help from the neighbors when she was really busy or from any other one, when she was really busy weaving the baskets and not able to pursue all the daily tasks?

Jane: No, nobody helped.

Christina: When she thinks about her neighbors, her network, who she trusts most?

Christina: No, let's ask first who does she talk to on a daily basis, interact with generally?

Jane: Interaction: Neighbors.

Christina: Who of the people she interacts with, or the ones that are around her does she trust most?

Jane: To that she's quiet. She says she has no trust.

Christina: So not even her family, not even her kids.

Jane: No.

Christina: When she needed help with the business, who did she talk to?

Jane: Fellow members in the group.

Christina: Specific ones?

Jane: Anybody who she thinks has the resources.

Christina: What about personal life. When she ever experience problems with her personal life, everything that's not connected to the business, who did she go to?

Jane: She says she talks to herself. She doesn't like spreading her concerns to other people. She likes keeping her own secrets.

[Resource ranking]

Christina: Let's put it differently now: What were her hopes for her business when she started? And how did they come true? Did any of the dreams actually happen?

Jane: She had the hope of getting money to make expenses on her own and it came true.

Jane: She had the hope to buy a sowing machine but it didn't come to pass.

Christina: From the savings?

Jane: Yes, from the savings, but it didn't come to pass.

Jane: After she failed to buy the sowing machine she diverted her resources to buying cows and she has them out now and she says she still has the hope of making money to survive. She doesn't make the baskets but she makes those mats. Those big mats to survive.

Christina: Last question: Anything you would have done differently now that she looks back on the business?

Jane: She says that she wished she could have built her own house. Where she lives now is not her own house. Then she also thinks that if she was still making the baskets she would have diverted to making bags, handbags, and also making these belts for tying Gomes.

Interview 7: 05.06.2014 – Margaret Nyanzi

Age: 35 Married: yes Children: 4

Christina: Let's talk about your business.

Jane: Yeah, this is the business that helps her to get daily income, support her children to go to school, and all domestic activities.

Christina: What were your motivations to join the group? And why you started the business?

Jane: She used to see her friends making basket, getting money, by then she had nothing at all she was doing so just was interested in also to join and be part of the whole weekly wage.

Christina: Did she make baskets before she joined the group?

Jane: She used to make these ones, the big one, when she was still at school but after school she didn't make any more baskets till she joined the group.

Christina: What are the challenges that you face? Daily and in the business?

Jane: When the orders are not bought. It ties all the money to buy more raw materials.

Jane: When the orders are done, when there are no more orders.

Christina: What were the beginnings of the business, how did you start your business?

Jane: The grandma that was just here, she is her mother in law. So she, actually she is the one who advised her to start making the baskets and she gave her the initial capital.

Christina: What about the skills, and also business skills?

Jane: She really came in the group when she was so naive. She didn't know how to make the baskets. These colored ones she didn't know anything, so it was the group members who taught her how to make the baskets. She learned from the group actually.

Christina: In every skill there was?

Jane: Yes, just the group. She has not gone to any institution, it's just within the group.

Christina: Where does she get the banana fiber from?

Jane: They have those banana ones, she gets those from her own garden. But in the other materials...

Christina: ...from Owino Market.

Jane: Yes.

Christina: Okay, so I don't really understand who gets the banana leaves from the woman they have a contract with.

Jane: That one happens when they have when the order is big. And when they're making on personal business, actually she is explaining her initial materials.

Christina: Okay, initially.

Jane: So now, every time, of course she and her, they're in the same group, so when the order is big they just purchase the banana fibers from the other side.

Christina: How is the business going now?

Jane: Okay, in the beginning when she had just joined, she had no experience in speed, so she could only actually make one basket, so the income was very low. But as by now, she is experienced, she can make different sizes and she has that experience in speed, she makes a lot of baskets and that means her income has also increased.

Christina: Anything else?

Jane: At the beginning the price for baskets was low but now they sell it at good price. And by then there were no orders, now they get orders every now and then.

Christina: More orders.

Jane: Yes.

Christina: Can you tell me anything about yourself?

Jane: 35 years, Nanyanzi Margareth. She is married with 4 children.

Christina: And the husband is around?

Jane: The husband is around.

Christina: What does a typical day look like for you, any typical day?

Jane: For her, whether there is an order or there is not, in the morning she first goes to the garden, after she comes back she prepares lunch and other domestic activities then after she settles for basket weaving.

Christina: Until it's dark?

Jane: She starts at 2 to make the baskets and breaks of at 6. And then, when they have orders after dinner she again resumes to weaving, but if not she just goes direct to bed.

Christina: How is your family involved in the business?

Jane: The children are still so young so there is nothing they can help, but the husband helps her with financial support.

Jane: She's the only person in her family who makes the baskets.

Christina: So in this map, who do you trust most?

Jane: She trusts the vice chairperson most.

Christina: Is she a personal friend?

Jane: Yes, group and also friend.

Christina: If you need help with your business, who would you talk to?

Jane: The same person.

Christina: What about personal problems?

Jane: Her mother in law.

Christina: So where does, the initial and the recurring capital, where does it come from?

Jane: She sold her basket, remember she found her when she was already in the group? She sold some of her baskets and she gave her the initial capital. (Her mother in law)

Christina: What if she needs more money for e.g. raw materials?

Jane: She says still here (on the map).

Christina: What about her husband, she also said he would help her.

Jane: From the husband and the mother in law.

Jane: The needles, she gets the needles from the vice chairperson.

Jane: Sometimes when she doesn't have and she has something that is urgent, that's where she goes.

Christina: So the colors?

Jane: If she doesn't have enough colors she comes there. (Vice chairperson)

Christina: The skills she got from the group.

Jane: Yeah, she has not gone for training outside.

Christina: Do you wish to specialize in any product or any design? Or are you specializing in any design?

Jane: It depends on her bosses, what they bring for her that's what she goes with, she has no specialization.

Christina: So, the boss is the chairperson?

Jane: Actually the bosses are the people who brings the order. They say this is what we want, this is how we want it, so they make according to order.

Christina: Does she at any time collaborate with people outside or the group?

Jane: Only her group.

Christina: Hopes and aspirations?

Jane: She hopes to make some savings out of the baskets to buy some cows. Also to educate her children.

Christina: Further, or is she already paying for education?

Jane: Yes, further.

Christina: Why cows?

Jane: Majorly she says a cow because it's multipurpose. It produces, they get milk from it, they can sell it, they can drink it, they can sell the young ones, so it generates a lot of money.

Christina: Does she also want to pursue handicraft at the same time, expand the business?

Jane: No, not possible, because she do not have enough resources.

Christina: So, but would she like to expand?

Jane: No, she just loves to be in a group.

Christina: She said she cannot expand the business due to resources.

Jane: But still, even if she gets the resources, she loves to be in this group.

Christina: What resources would she need?

Jane: Needles and color.

Interview 8: 05.06.2014 – Jackeline Nakagwe

Age: 24 Married: no Children: 1

Jane: She has been in the business for 4 years and she says the business is good. It helps her to get daily income for survival.

Jane: She has one child, and she's not married.

Christina: What were your motivations for starting the business and joining the group?

Jane: Okay, source of income, creates friendship both within and outside especially with those who have come like us.

Christina: What are the challenges on the other hand?
Both business and personal?

Jane: When the weaving of the baskets is not according to the standard. They always bring back, they bring them back and that means she won't get any money.

Christina: So when her baskets don't have the standard and the quality?

Jane: Yes. When she makes few she also gets little money compared to someone who has made a lot.

Jane: Individually, she is challenged with limited income to buy her things on a daily basis.

Christina: Can you tell me anything about the beginnings of the business?

Jane: It's the grandma who inspired her to join the group and she's the same person who gave her the initial capital.

Christina: Same as before. Same person as well.

Jane: Same person.

Christina: Why did she get the initial capital from her grandmother and not from the group, since they have money for people without initial capital?

Jane: She's the person who is always there to help her so she finds it easy to get to her and tell her what she thinks she needs.

Christina: What skills and business skills did you have in the beginning?

Jane: She didn't know, she just learn from within.

Christina: From the group?

Jane: From the group. She didn't go for any training outside, just from the group.

Christina: What about raw materials in the beginning?
And needles, any physical resources.

Jane: Okay, at the beginning she needed the needles, all this, I don't know what they call this, the colors, the banana fiber, things, but her grandma bought all of it apart from the needles. She bought the needles herself.

Christina: Her grandma gave her the initial capital or did she buy her the raw materials for her?

Jane: She gave her the money and then the group members went to buy the materials.

Christina: How is your business running now and how did it change over time?

Jane: She has gained experience both in speed and design which she didn't have in the beginning. She has also, there is an increase in the number of baskets. She used to make one in a week but now she makes several of them. Yeah, and there is an increase in her profits that she gets out of her baskets.

Christina: Can she tell us anything about herself?

Jane: 24, not married.

Christina: What does a typical day look like for you?

Jane: She wakes up in the morning to go to the garden come back make lunch and then she starts weaving. So when she has an order she also weaves at night when she has no order there is no weaving at night.

Christina: Is there anyone in her family, sisters, parents, who produce handicrafts?

Jane: Her grandma and her cousins.

Christina: Is she close to them and do they talk about the business?

Jane: They do talk about the business. And they also make for business, not for home use.

Christina: Are they part of the group?

Jane: Yes, they are.

Christina: Is anyone involved in her business from the family?

Jane: In terms of support?

Christina: Yes.

Jane: No, apart from her grandma, nobody else.

Jane: Who does she trust most generally?

Christina: Yes.

Jane: Her grandmother, she is putting her there. And where does she go first for business questions?

Christina: Yes.

Jane: Vice chairperson for the raw materials and advice.

Christina: What about her personal life?

Jane: Grandmother.

Christina: Have we met the Vice chairperson?

Jane: No.

Christina: How do you learn any new skills? Or any new designs or business skills?

Jane: The vice chairperson.

Christina: For what?

Jane: Designs.

Christina: What about collaboration? Does she know anyone in other groups or talk to them?

Jane: She is group centered, no collaboration.

Christina: Her aspirations and hopes?

Jane: She expects to be generating more money within 5 years and more years to come.

Jane: She hopes to start another business in the years to come.

Christina: Where do you think you get the resources for that business and what business would it be?

Jane: A Salon, because she also knows how to plaid hair. She expects to get savings from here to get the equipment for the salon.

Christina: So she does not want to pursue handicrafts?

Jane: No!

Christina: What about other people? Who would she go to to open the business? For advice, you know when it gets closer to materializing the salon? Who would she go to for advice, does she know anyone who knows anything about running a salon or a business that's not handicrafts?

Jane: Her aunt has a salon.

Christina: And she would ask her?

Jane: Yes, she would ask her for the information.

Christina: Also for money?

Jane: She expects her savings to be big enough to begin.

Christina: Any others?

Jane: No.

Interview 9: 05.06.2014 – Catherine Nakafeero

Age: 44 Married: yes, with husband Children: 10

Christina: Tell me something about your business.

Jane: Okay, she sees her business as a job, source of income, and support for daily expenses without waiting to depend on the husband.

Christina: What were the motivations to start the business and to join the group?

Jane: Desire to create friendship. Generation of income to support her children's education.

Jane: She sees it as a source of independence. She gives an example: She had a child that was transferred to Mulago Hospital for medication but she managed to buy all the medicine through the making of the baskets. She got the money from the baskets to pay all the hospital bills, without asking the man, the man was dealing with other children, she was also the other side helping the other child in the hospital.

Christina: What are the challenges you're facing? Personal and business.

Jane: An increase in the costs of materials, she saying that the prices of materials are mostly increasing after every now and then but the selling price of the basket is always as usual. There is no increase in it. So they spend a lot on materials but they don't get a lot from the baskets.

Jane: When there is no order. She was explaining the fact of either low or no order, of course they make their money in the group. They have made an order over ten baskets that means by chance one person has to make only one basket. So you don't generate a lot out of one basket. So when there is low orders or no orders not everybody gets the chance to make a basket.

Jane: There are some orders that are really complicated. It requires a lot of creativity, a lot of time, but is still after they just earn the same money, there is nothing special about the price of the finished basket.

Christina: How did you start the business?

Jane: 11 years in the group. Now, the chair person met her in church. She didn't have an idea about how to make baskets.

Christina: So from meeting the chair person at church, they started talking?

Jane: Actually, their pastor advised them to look for jobs. And then the chair person said, oh me I do have jobs, all ladies who are interested come to my home. So she and other ladies went the chair person's place. And for her she says as she

reached there she picked for her all the necessary materials that she needed.

Christina: The chair person?

Jane: The chair person gave her all the materials, she only told her how to start, how to make this round part. But the rest she used to make them from her, she goes back to ask whether she's right or wrong. And that's the same design she started with.

Christina: So she didn't know how to make baskets?

Jane: No, not at all.

Jane: After, she also went to Wobulenzi, and UNIDO support for the training. Actually it was UNIDO who programmed for the training, yeah in a place called Wobulenzi.

Christina: Could she have bought the materials herself?

Jane: So, she gave her materials to learn how to make the baskets. So the same baskets that she made she went and sold them.

Christina: Herself and not through the group?

Jane: Herself. At a very cheap price. So the money she got was her initial capital. So she came back and gave it to the chair person who went to town to bring her the good materials. That is how she started the business in the group.

Christina: How is the business going now?

Jane: At the beginning she wasn't that focused and hard-working, she could make only one basket but right now the speed has increased, she makes about 10 baskets a week when she decides to make them. The income generation has also increased because they sell more but somewhere somehow sometimes they make many baskets and they buy a few of them that means they have to sell something else to buy the materials again.

Christina: Sell something else?

Jane: Yeah, anything that they have or they go to the savings that they have made. But for them they see that when they make sales they buy materials from the sales they have made so when the orders are not bought that means that they have to go to their savings.

Christina: Do they not go to anyone to ask for a loan if they don't have enough money?

Jane: What happens, you know we're making individual interviews, so sometimes not all the baskets of everyone will use the market. They make in a group, they sell in a group. So remember creativity is among themselves. So sometimes someone maybe creative toward something that is not marketable. So if hers are not of that demand and they come back, yet their friends have sold theirs, they will borrow her the money.

Christina: Is anyone else in the family producing handicrafts?

Jane: Her sister also makes baskets.

Christina: Is she in the same group?

Jane: No, she is very far away. And then her children also make baskets, and they're in the same group.

Christina: All of her children?

Jane: 4

Christina: Apart from the children who weave the baskets, how is the rest of the family supporting her or involved in the business?

Jane: When the orders are not bought and she has no money sometimes the husband gives her financial support. Then, her sons they're the ones who go to buy this kind of material that is made of banana.

Christina: Every time?

Jane: All the time, every time she makes the baskets, that's where she goes for materials. Do you remember the place they go to when they have a lot of orders? Same place.

Christina: Who do you trust most in the map?

Jane: Husband.

Christina: If you need help with your business, who do you talk to?

Jane: First her husband, second group members.

Christina: Also for advice?

Jane: Advice, financial support, and then the group.

Christina: Does her husband run a business? Does he know anything or why does she talk to him? Because of the trust?

Jane: He's a driver. But he's such a kind person that every time she runs short of money he's the first person she'll go to and he's always providing so in case he's not having also that's when she goes to the group members.

Christina: And then with personal problems?

Jane: Husband.

Christina: The UNIDO training, was it only skills in crafting or was it also business skills?

Jane: They taught them about creativity, diversity through the business so they told me to make baskets but also to make bags like these ones and then probably mats and also how to make expenses. How to handle money.

Christina: So, only baskets and a little accounting. Did that training help? Was it useful?

Jane: Their training was so helpful. After the training she was only making baskets but she's able to make handbags also and mats. Possibly, it improved on her communication skills. She used to find difficulties in talking.

Christina: Now, that you know how to make all those things would you like to specialize in one of those and only sell one of these and diversify so you know, being different from the other group members while still being in the group?

Jane: She loves to do all, she doesn't specialize.

Christina: Hopes and Aspirations?

Jane: She loves to keep cattle, buy some cows. But still she would remain in the group.

Christina: Still produce handicraft at the same time.

Jane: Yes.

Christina: What is keeping her from doing that?

Jane: Capital is not enough.

Jane: They'd love to have their own shop.

Christina: They or she?

Jane: She just thinks it would be nice to have a group shop. So whatever they produce they just put into their own shop?

Christina: And what is keeping them from doing that?

Jane: Capital, because they have to pay for rent, have to pay for someone else who knows [...]

Christina: Anything else?

Jane: She hopes to make more savings to work her house. Paintings, etc.

Interview 10: 05.06.2014 – Deborah Namitala

Age: 37 Married: widowed – recently lost husband in boda boda crash Children: 1

Jane: She sees her business as a source of self-employment. Then generation of income, sustainability on family, especially her children because she lost the husband. So as her somebody was not studying, as much as people think is not for low class people but she is able to look after the family.

Christina: So she is now able to bring the kids to school.

Jane: Yes, her kids are going to school, out of the savings made from the baskets.

Christina: What were your motivations to start handicrafts?

Jane: Creation of ideas that was her motivation to enter the group, especially associating with mature old women

Christina: With what?

Jane: Mature and old women, then also freedom of work because nobody is going to chase her that you've gone in go back home, she can always make baskets on her own. Creation of friendship and unity, or togetherness.

Christina: And the challenges?

Jane: The work is so tiresome. The work is so demanding, it causes chest pain, back pain, and yet the prices are not that high so it brings something good.

Jane: If the orders are done, she has nowhere else to generate money. High costs of raw materials and long distance in bringing them.

Christina: Can you tell me how you started, or about the beginnings of the business?

Jane: Okay, now, she's started her weaving from this same place, this house. This lady called her and asked her if she could join making of the baskets, because the conditions she was in were not good.

Christina: So Catherine asked her...

Jane: Yes, to join the weaving group. So she gave her the learning materials and she also then after she didn't come back to continue with the weaving, she was having a small kiosk that she was operating, and after Catherine went back and tried to persuade her to join the group, so she accepted, got the capital from the kiosk, brought the money to her, and she also took the money to the group, they bought the materials and brought them here and then that's how she started the weaving business.

Christina: And why did you choose the handicrafts over the kiosk?

Jane: The kiosk was not bringing in money that is sufficient to look after the family compared to the basket business.

Christina: Did she only start handicraft because Catherine asked her, or why did she start handicraft specifically?

Jane: Do you remember the other basket we saw, the older lady made, she used to make that type of baskets but when Catherine asked her to do these ones she accepted, after all she gave her the learning materials. So, she had the passion but she didn't know how to make these kinds of baskets.

Christina: And Catherine taught her?

Jane: Yes.

Christina: How is the business going now, also compared to before?

Jane: Changing experience, right now she has that speed that she can make several baskets compared to when she had just joined the group. The income also has increased compared to the first stage when she joined the group. And also the baskets the number of baskets that they're making has tremendously changed.

Christina: Into more.

Jane: Yes.

Christina: Could she tell me anything about herself?

Jane: 37, 1 kid. Only one.

Christina: Is anyone else in your family producing handicraft?

Jane: Her aunt.

Christina: Did that influence her?

Jane: No, she didn't influence her, for her she just joined, looking for where she can get money.

Christina: But her aunt making handicrafts didn't influence her at all?

Jane: No, because she didn't know how to make the baskets before.

Christina: But sometimes when you see someone making the baskets you think I wish I could make that.

Jane: Yes.

Christina: So it didn't influence her decision to make handicrafts?

Jane: Her aunt, no, she didn't influence anything in her.

Christina: Is her family somehow involved or supports her in her business?

Jane: The baby is too young, nobody helps, she is on her own.

Christina: Who do you trust most? Generally.

Jane: Catherine.

Christina: If you need help with your business, who do you go to?

Jane: Mostly she says that sometimes when she's not having money, she goes to the gravel area, to make the stones, sells them and gets the money.

Christina: So she doesn't necessarily go to anyone?

Jane: Yeah.

Christina: Why?

Jane: Sometimes people are not having the money or if they having there is that doubt that if I happen to give her the money how is she going to pay me back? There is a lot of doubt. People doubt a lot that she may not pay them back so she says that she's going to make her own money.

Christina: But she could not get a credit from the group?

Jane: They can give but she doesn't like borrowing much from the group.

Christina: What about raw materials? If what she has is not enough?

Jane: Catherine.

Christina: What about personal issues?

Jane: In most cases she just leaves it like that. And handles it personally.

Christina: In most cases or in all cases?

Christina: Where do you get new ideas for new designs?

Jane: Their chairperson. Those leaders of group A, B, C, actually when they go for the training and come back they train them the different styles.

Christina: Do you sometimes actively go out and look at baskets, if you can see something interesting?

Jane: Just within.

Christina: Hopes and aspirations?

Jane: She hopes to get savings from her baskets, buy a plot of land and build her own house.

Christina: Is she renting now?

Jane: Catherine gave her somewhere to sleep.

Jane: That she gets her child into the university. And also to make the parties, celebrating and appreciating the people who have been standing behind her, those ones who have been supporting her in the situation she is in?

Christina: And who supported her the most?

Jane: Chairperson, Catherine.

Jane: She hopes that the business will expand, she hopes to expand the craft business and also open up a shop that is bigger but still remain in the group.

Christina: What does she think she needs in skills and resources to be able to open up a shop, or to expand the business?

Jane: Money. She needs money.

Christina: So she knows how to run a shop.

Jane: Yes, because she once had a kiosk.

Interview 11: 05.06.2014 – Justine Nandawule

Age: 37 Married: yes Children: 5

Christina: Can you tell us anything about your business?

Jane: This is her employment. A place where she's used to be having a permanent job on her site at the same time where she generates money for her survival.

Jane: So at first, she has this passion or she had the passion from her mother, her mother used to make baskets and she was getting money out of it. So she also thought of doing the same thing. And she says before that she was breaking the stones from the other side of the town, remember? And she says it was so tiresome, and so hectic, so a friend of hers came up to her look

this, there is someone who teaches people how to make baskets, if you're willing come and learn, you'll be okay and that's how they joined it.

Christina: So she wanted to follow in her mom's footsteps.

Jane: Yes, but the other work she was doing was so tiresome.

Christina: How exactly did you start the handicraft business?

Jane: At first her mom was making the baskets so she already knew something about the baskets. So the last money she made out of the stones she went and bought materials. So there was a lady, who she said right now she shifted, someone directing her to that lady to teach her how to make good baskets, so the money she earned from the stones she went and bought materials and then went back to the same lady who taught her how to make good baskets.

Christina: Was that lady a part of the group?

Jane: No, and by then she was not even in the group, she was just on her own. So she started making for individuals someone could say okay make me one basket, she could make them and just put them alongside the road so until she learned how to make good baskets, that's when Sarah met her and asked her to join the group.

Christina: What benefits does she see from joining the group vs. the individual sales in the beginning?

Jane: In a group there is sharing of costs, the share costs in a group, which is not the case when you're alone. She also says this was in terms of transportation. They have one person to take as many baskets as possible.

Jane: Exposure.

Christina: As an individual?

Jane: Yes, more exposure as an individual, because you have to make your own baskets you have to take them you have to meet so and so, whoever made the order, so there is exposure but in a group only one person takes them.

Christina: So exposure in terms of seeing what's on the market or also being seen.

Jane: Yes, you'll see what's on the market, you'll get in personal contact with your customers.

Christina: How does the business run now compared to before and how it changed when she joined the group?

Jane: She's four month old in the group. She also says that in her four months' time in this group there is increment in the number of baskets, she finds full support from group members.

Christina: In terms of what?

Jane: Mixing of colors, financial support.

Christina: Why did she not voluntarily join the group? Sarah asked her right? Why did she not come up to her and ask to be part of the group?

Jane: At first she had asked to join a certain group that didn't allow her to do so, don't know why, then a friend on the other side in Kiti told her, no we have a group, then she brought her to Sarah.

Jane: They didn't have any reason why.

Christina: Was the group close by?

Jane: It was a bit far. She was just explaining the distance of the group, they were a bit far and they were kind of relatives to her, which was meant give her the job, so she saw the relatives first but they didn't give her the chance of joining them.

Christina: What does a typical day look like for you?

Jane: She wakes up in the morning, prepares the kids to go to school, after she sets to prepare for her lunch, what she's going to eat, then by 9 she starts weaving the baskets. When it reaches 11 o'clock or noon she leaves the weaving to prepare lunch after she leaves the food on the charcoal stove she comes back again while the food is cooking. So after she finishes she will wait for the kids to come from school then they have lunch together at around 1 or 2. Then she's back at 3 and weaves until 6.

Christina: How is your family involved in the business?

Jane: The husband helps her to bring those banana materials, and sometimes he also helps her with some financial support. And the daughter helps her in weaving, her firstborn.

Christina: In this map, who do you trust most?

Jane: Her husband.

Christina: And in terms of business? Financial, raw materials, advice.

Jane: The chairperson, advice and financial sometimes.

Christina: And for personal issues?

Jane: She said the husband.

Christina: Before you joined the group, did you ever collaborate with any other handicraft women?

Jane: Yes, she used to go to some group members, to have an interaction about baskets.

Christina: Outside of the group?

Jane: When she had not joined the group.

Christina: About ideas or designs?

Jane: Both.

Christina: Where did you get new ideas for designs, before you joined the group?

Jane: Where she used to take the baskets for selling. She says the idea of bringing the baskets, the lady used to call them, the gather, then shows them the different designs that she has. Or the different designs that she has already bought. So a group of people who are going to this road, she gives them one basket to go and learn from it. Then other who are on the other side, she also gives a basket to learn from it, that's how she started learning the different ideas and designs.

Christina: At the market?

Jane: Yes, the real person who used to buy, the women they used to take all the baskets for is the same lady who taught them different designs. Because they were specifically making for her.

Christina: Her aspirations and hopes.

Jane: She hopes to gather money from the baskets and buy her own plot of land.

Jane: She hopes to see the business expanding to as many baskets as possible.

Christina: Does she know what steps are necessary to expand the business?

Jane: She hoped to be, she says she hopes to be working on daily basis. No resting. Month after month, day after day, to see that they are only concentrating on the baskets.

APPENDIX B: THE MPULIZIGANYA GROUP'S BYLAWS

MPULIZIGANYA CRAFTS DEVELOPMENT GROUP.

LOCATION: *church of wyaanda*
Kiryagonja L.C.1, Parish Matugga, Gombe Sub county 'Wakiso district.
Tel: 0782092739 / 0774335535

WOMEN GROUP.

THE GROUP WAS STARTED IN 1993.

OBJECTIVES OF THE GROUP.

- ❖ Practicing crafts, getting markets to sell our crafts and other products produced by our fellow women, fighting against unemployment, borrowing & getting loans, rearing, purchasing goods or products from villages, getting knowledge or advise in the things we do or practice.
- ❖ To improve sanitation in our community
- ❖ Working together as a group and getting views from different members.
- ❖ To be known in the country plus our work we do put into practice.
- ❖ Working together with other groups in order to get new ideas that can help our group.

GROUP MEMBERS

- A. Twenty (20)
- B. To become a member 1. An old one pays (5000) five thousand
2. New one pays (10,000) ten thousand.
- C. One or a person has to refresh her self every year.
- D. A person to become a member she should be having one (1) or two (2) people besides
- E. Getting markets where to sell our products.

LEADERS AND THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES

A. CHAIR PERSON.

- i. Co-ordinates members or monitors members to do the duties of the group
- ii. Co-ordinates members to come for meetings
- iii. Creates and looks for ways of getting money that can help the group.

B. VICE CHAIRPERSON

Does the same work as the chairperson especially when the chairperson is absent.

C. SECRETARY.

- i. Organizes and calls meeting

MPULIZIGANYA CRAFTS
DEVELOPMENT GROUP

KIRYAGONJA L.C.1 MATUGGA,
GOMBE SUB COUNTY WAKISO
DISTRICT TEL : 0782092738 /
0774335535.



- ii. Keeps records of the group
- iii. Writes or records for the group
- iv. Reads the view that has been put across or passed by members.

D. TREASURER

- i. Keeps money of the group.
- ii. Takes care for the expenditure of the money
- iii. Keeps the books where the money of the group is recorded.

E. CO-ORDINATOR

- i. Broadcasts or scatters news of the group
- ii. Searches news for the group / looks for news.
- iii. The executive will be meeting on the first Saturday of every month and the general meeting on the last Saturday of every month.

THE MONEY OF THE GROUP COMES FROM

- i. Membership
- ii. Sponsorship
- iii. Jobs or products of the group

EXPENDITURE OF THE MONEY

- i. We shall borrow money and it will be done in the group
- ii. When a member borrows money of the group, she will return after five month (5)
- iii. A member is required or responsible to leave a rate of 10% as a profit.
- iv. If a member fails to pay back the money, she will be given a letter once demanding for the money borrowed to her
- v. Each member is responsible for the money of the group.
- vi. We shall borrow a member who will fulfill terms and conditions of the group.
- vii. Each member is responsible or required to save 2000/= each month.

KEEPING OF MONEY

- i. Chairperson, secretary, treasury are the ones responsible for the withdrawing of money from the bank (two of them)
- ii. Small amount of money should be kept by a cashier or treasurer and it should not proceed fifty thousand (50,000)
- iii. Each person or member should take the money into the bank

LEADERSHIP

- i. Should be changed every after two years (2)
- ii. Command or laws should be changed basing on change in the world or country or the development of the group.

DROPOUT OF A MEMBER

- i. A member who want to leave or dropout of group, she must leave it in records in order to be dismissed by the members.

- iii. A member will be mistrusted if she fails to fulfill the laws or terms and conditions agreed upon
 - Like bad manners as mentioned below;
 - i. Scattering sacred things of a group.
 - ii. Undermining the group / leaders.
 - iii. Using Volga languages / backbiting.
 - iv. Failure to pay the agreed payments of a group.

CONDITIONS / PRECAUTIONS

- a) Late comers will pay 500/= (five hundred)
- b) Roomer-mongers will pay 2000/= as fine
- c) One who will undermine / disobey the group leaders will be made to pay 1000/= (one thousand (as fine)

A PROBLEM ON A MEMBER

A member who will happen to get a problem like losing a father, a child, a mother plus the husband a member will pay 1000/= as condoles but if a member is the one who has died, a group member is responsible to pay 2000/= (two thousand) for condoles.

MISUNDERSTANDINGS IN THE GROUP

Misunderstandings will be taken in the L.C together with the advisers.

END OF A YEAR

- Each member will get profits basing on how much she has been paying or basing on the payments she has made.
- There will be counting of books to know the inflow and outflow of money of that year
- A member who may want to dropout from the group that is to say changing from one place to another or vulnerable. She waits until the year-end for easy collection of data.

WE WHO HAVE DONE OR MADE THIS CONSTITUTION; WE SHALL FULFILL ALL WHAT HAS BEEN PASSED.

NO	NAME	SIGNATURE
1.	NAKALYOWA SARAH	Nakalyowa Sarah
2.	BETTY KAWEEESA	Betty Kaweesa
3.	MARGRET NAKALYOWA	Margret Nakalyowa
4.	VICTORIA NALWOGA	Victoria Nalwoga
5.	JUSTINE NAKALYOWA	Justine Nakalyowa
6.	IRENE NAKANJAKO	Irene Nakanjako
7.	DEBORAH NAMITALA	Deborah Namitala
8.	CATHERINE NAKAFERO	Catherine Nakafero
9.	CHRISTINE NAKAYE	Christine Nakaye

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Organization

1. General Information
 - a. Tell me the story of this cluster
 - b. How did it change over time?
 - c. Tell me about the production of the handicrafts
 - d. What are the women's challenges? (In Business and Community)
 - e. How do you as an association or organization overcome these?
 - f. Tell me about the future?
2. Goals of Clustering and Training
 - a. Tell me about the training and grouping of the women
 - b. Tell me about the interaction among the producers and their exchange
 - c. How are the networks in the cluster?
 - d. Tell me about the products and innovations
3. Social Capital
 - a. Tell me about the interaction within the group/community/family
 - b. Tell me about the interaction with other groups/communities
 - c. Tell me about your interaction with the women
 - i. Exports?
4. Resources
 - a. Tell me about the situation with raw materials
 - b. Tell me about the financial situation of the women
 - c. Tell me about their education
 - d. What resources do you think are most important and which ones are lacking?

Focus Group Interview

1. Business
 - a. Tell me about the situation of the group or a typical working day
 - b. Motivations and Challenges
 - i. Good and Bad Sides of handicraft production
2. Role of Women
 - a. Tell me about your situation in the community / family
 - b. What does a typical day look like
3. Networks and Cluster
 - a. Map out the network in the group / outside of the group
 - i. With paper and pen drawing family, production group, etc
 - ii. Find out who interacts with whom most
 - b. Draw in the map what happens with an idea
 - i. Who gets idea?
 - ii. How does it disseminate
 - c. Tell me about your cooperation and production
4. Resources

- a. Tell me step by step what happens when you receive an order or want to produce a piece of craft
- b. Ranking of the most important resources
- c. Mapping of where you get the resources
- d. What does the association do?
- 5. Associations
 - a. Who is a member and a non-member and reasons
 - b. Tell me about the association

In-Depth Interview with Individual Handicraft women

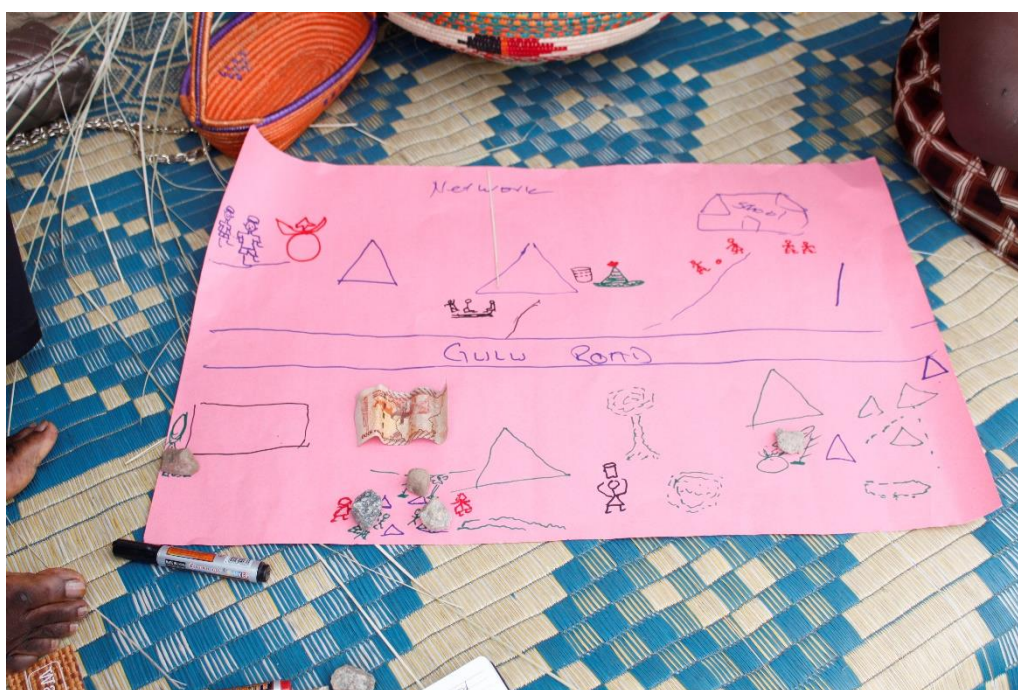
- 1. Business
 - a. Tell me about your business
 - b. Tell me about your motivations or a critical event that triggered the business
 - c. Tell me about the beginnings of your enterprise
 - i. What skills / capital / raw materials did you have?
 - ii. Who did you ask for this if you did not have it?
 - d. How did your business evolve?
- 2. Personal
 - a. Tell me about yourself
 - b. What does a typical day look like for you?
 - c. Tell me about your role models?
 - i. Does anyone in the family produce handicrafts?
 - d. Tell me about your family's involvement in your business
- 3. Resources
 - a. Map out the resources you have
 - i. Which ones are the most important?
 - ii. Which resources did you have in the beginning?
 - iii. How did this change over time?
 - iv. Where did you get your resources from?
- 4. Social Capital
 - a. Who do interact with daily?
 - b. Draw out your network
 - i. Who do you trust most?
 - ii. Who owns a handicraft business?
 - iii. If you need help with your business, who do you talk to and who do you ask for help?
 - iv. If you have personal problems who do you go to?
- 5. Cluster
 - a. Do you work together with the other women?
 - b. Do you specialize in a certain product or technique or do you know anyone who does that?
 - c. How do you learn new skills?
 - d. Do you get new ideas?
 - e. What happens if anyone has a new product?
- 6. Aspirations

APPENDIX D: EXAMPLES OF RESOURCE RANKING AND MAPPING

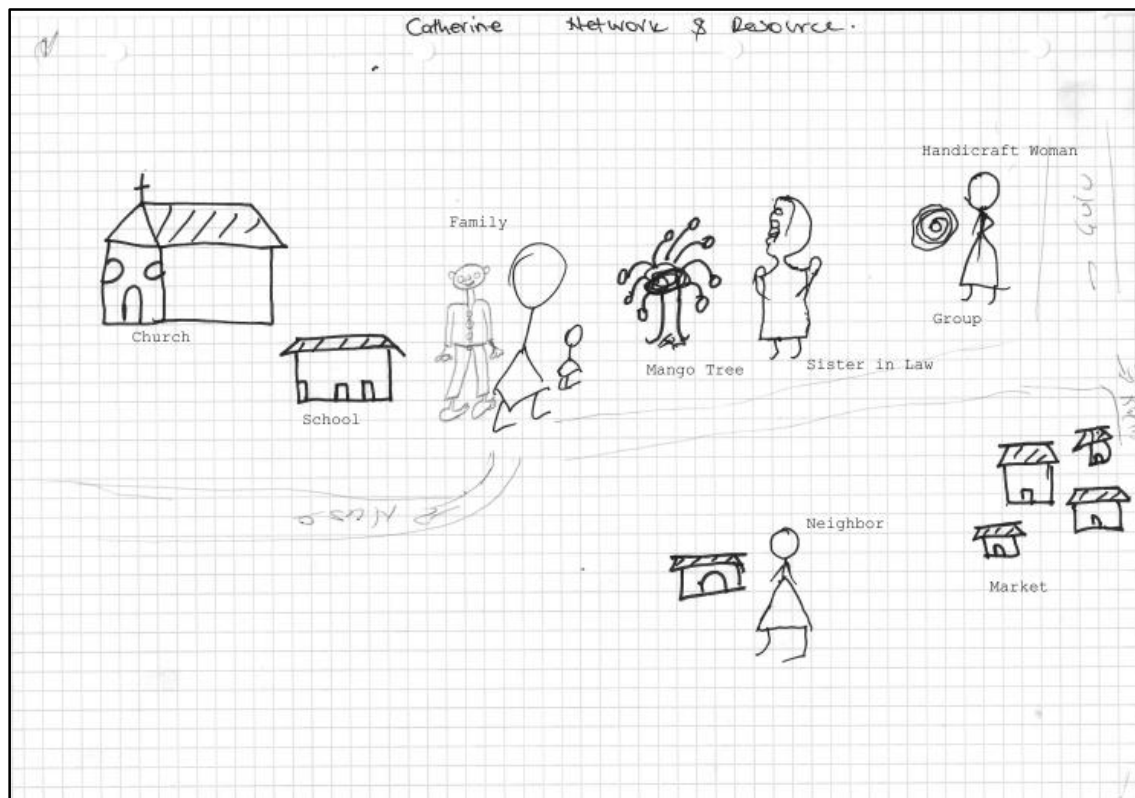
1. Kiti Group Resource Ranking:



2. Nubian Group Resource Mapping:



3. Catherine Nakafeero Resource and Social Mapping



4. Margaret Kiwanuka Resource and Social Mapping:

