Entrepreneurial identity formation-in-practice

Immigrant women entrepreneurs' lived practices and experiences within gender, ethnicity and class relations

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Istanbul, 15 November 2015

Huriye Yeröz Aygören

Abstract

This dissertation, comprising four appended papers, examines what entrepreneurs actually do in order to manage the intrinsic social complexity pertaining to relations of power and culture involved in entrepreneurial undertakings. The studies share the common interest in probing into the ways in which fundamental social divisions and conflicts, namely gender, ethnicity and class are inscribed into the entrepreneurs through the organization of difference (Ashcraft, 2012) and how these shape and are shaped by the identity construction processes of individual entrepreneurs. The thesis provides an empirical account of entrepreneurial identity formation and its implications on shaping differential degree and the forms of entrepreneurial agency exerted by entrepreneurs by drawing on two sets of empirical materials generated through life story narratives of seventeen immigrant women entrepreneurs and some particular family business members with Turkish origin, in their involvement with entrepreneurial practices in Sweden. In overall, the thesis approximates to the notion of the individual entrepreneur in identity terms. Three major theoretical approaches, including practice theory, identity work and the feminist intersectionality framework, lay the groundwork for thinking about the relational and contextual foundation of the individual and associated identity construction processes in traversing the contexts at different temporal and spatial scales, namely individual, organizational, familial and societal.

The thesis responds to the call for relational analysis examining the entanglement of material and symbolic resources and practices to draw a more rounded picture of entrepreneurship (Tatli, Vassilopoulou, Özbilgin, Forson, & Slutskaya, 2014). It adds to this debate by highlighting the identification processes of entrepreneurs, especially of those who have been historically and relatively marginalized in their societies. This thesis connects with studies emphasizing the socio-culturally constructed, relational and contextual nature of entrepreneurship and contributes to bridging the gap between two bifurcated streams of research in entrepreneurship-constructionist approaches, e.g., discursive/ narrative accounts with practice based perspectives. I emphasize the importance of considering both complex identification processes for the benefit of practice-based analysis and material practices and resources to the greater advantage of constructionist accounts. Throughout my thesis, I suggest that the discursive and material aspects of agency and structures are inseparable. In entrepreneurship, it is imperative to transcend symbolic and material boundaries. This way, the thesis provides complementary insights to cultural studies of entrepreneurship which emphasize access either to material or cultural representations.

My first contribution concerns the generation of rich empirical accounts of immigrant women entrepreneurs in the particular context of migration

encompassing the two cultural scenes of Turkey, where the immigrants came from, and Sweden, where they live and enterprise. The studies in the thesis demonstrate that immigrant women entrepreneurs and immigrant family members have used creative agency to sustain their struggles of entrepreneurial identity formation and capital accumulation and have effected social change in different terms. By combining two streams of inquiries, which have usually been undertaken separately, studying cultural representations and what an entrepreneur would do with these representations with a focus on identity formations, the thesis contributes to the reflexive entrepreneurship scholarship by examining the entrepreneurs' own responses to hegemonic discourses where a complex set of negotiations and diverse forms of entrepreneurship could be drawn. This forms my second contribution. Finally, the analysis also leads to a discussion of processual issues, which amount to the relative advantage (privilege) and disadvantage (marginalization) in the field of entrepreneurship. My studies suggest that inequalities do not have a static and spatial position but are a dynamic and accumulated process that defines access, mobility and investment across different fields of activities made possible by the diverse histories and practices of entrepreneurs and relevant constituents.

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1 Introduction

This book, being about work…It is about search for daily meaning as well as daily bread, for recognition as well as cash, for astonishment rather than torpor; in short, for a sort of life rather than Monday to Friday sort of dying (Terkel, 1974, p.xi)

When Avtar Brah and Ann Phoenix (2004, p. 77) brought one of the earliest identity struggles to our attention by quoting the poignant speech "Ain't I a Woman" by the black activist Sojourner Truth at the Women's Rights Convention in 1851, they made us think about questions of identity, making it possible to consider social actions in terms of a plurality of experiences, histories and constituencies (Ahmed, Castada, Fortier, & Sheller, 2003), but, more importantly, they showed us that identity was something unfixed and continuously changed the relationships of culture and power in the intersecting relations of social hierarchies (Hurtado, 1989; Ybema et al., 2009).

> *"Well, children, where there is so much racket, there must be something out of kilter, I think between the Negroes of the South and the women of the North - all talking about rights--the white men will be in a fix pretty soon. However, what's all this talking about? That man over there says that women need to be helped into carriages, and lifted over ditches, and to have the best place everywhere. Nobody helps me any best place. And ain't I a woman? Look at me! Look at my arm. I have plowed (sic), I have planted and I have gathered into barns. And no man could head me. And ain't I a woman? I could work as much, and eat as much as any man--when I could get it--and bear the lash as well! And ain't I a woman? I have borne children and seen most of them sold into slavery, and when I cried out with a mother's grief, none but Jesus heard me. And ain't I a woman? ..."*

In her speech, Sojourner Truth asked white women and all men, regardless of their color, as a matter of their identity, what it meant to be a woman? How would the answer change with the identity of the person being asked? How would different experiences form different contexts of being a woman?

These diverse encounters and the collisions between experiences create the struggles over identity, differences and agency within the contemporary idea of entrepreneurship (Calás, Smircich, & Bourne, 2009; Calás, Smircich, Tienari, & Ellehave, 2010) that this thesis aims to highlight and further develop with critical insights. My ambition is to contribute diverse contexts and the complex practical experiences of entrepreneurs to further discussions by highlighting and

examining life stories of particular group of immigrant women entrepreneurs and family business members. My research highlights a group of Swedish immigrant women entrepreneurs (IWE) and an immigrant family business with Turkish origin who have been differentiated based on their ethnicity, their gender and their class-based practices and experiences.

These groups provide not only rich material for understanding how constructed identities and differences enable the study of diffuse enterprising activities but also insight into how diverse people experience and practice entrepreneurship as well as shape today's world under the shared conditions of globalization and transnationalism (Calás, et al., 2010; Ozkazanc-Pan, 2009).

My interest, as Cohen and Musson (2000) spelled out, lies in examining the ways people who call themselves entrepreneurs practice and experience entrepreneurship rather than defining and discussing notions of entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs in a unitary way. This thesis contributes to understanding entrepreneurship in-depth as a diverse phenomenon that emerges from the actual practices and narratives of entrepreneurs. Accordingly, my approach is closer to a processual and contextual understanding of entrepreneurship (Hjorth, Holt, & Steyaert, 2015), akin to the increasingly adopted concept of 'entrepreneuring' beset by difference (Berglund & Tillmar, 2015; Gherardi, 2015). Entrepreneuring, as Bengt Johannisson (2011, p. 137) suggests, can be defined as an "ongoing practice of creatively organizing people and resources according to opportunity." In this light, the context, be it economic, social, or cultural, guides entrepreneurial concerns but much less so how it is practiced. Because, as Law (1994) suggests, "though contexts pattern problems and problem solutions, the construction of those problems and problem solutions are part of what ordering modes are about." In my research, I emphasize gender, ethnicity and class as a few of those fundamental ordering modes that help us understand and connect diverse temporal and spatial contexts, as well as the different identities those contexts shape.

As a result, throughout this study, I privilege the notion of difference and analyze diverse responses by delineating a more dynamic, balanced and relational conceptualization of agency within the relations of culture and power. As Du Gay (1995) suggested, I hold the view that workings of enterprise culture should not simply be seen as located within a system of power but also in a system of meaning. In these terms, I take agency as a matter of action, characteristic of the change that mediates entrepreneurship processes through the realities that are transformed and the relations of culture and power that are enacted (Grossberg, 1996). Despite the fact that the relations of culture and power are often entangled, I use a heuristic understanding of agency and focus on issues of culture (meaning) and issues of power separately and together (Ortner, 1997; 2001). While a meaning-driven approach to agency endorses the actor's point of

view as a source and effect of culture, agency as an empowerment involves both a source and effect of power.

To that end, I draw on several context-based theoretical approaches, including practice theory, identity work and the feminist intersectionality framework, that enable analysis beyond contextualization and demonstrate the intertwined relationship between the micro and macro processes involved in entrepreneurship practices. This additional analysis is what management (Bamberger, 2008) and entrepreneurship scholarship (Anderson, Dodd, & Jack, 2012; Bruyat & Julien, 2001; Tatli, Vassilopoulou, Özbilgin, Forson, & Slutskaya, 2014) increasingly call for.

Taking an interdisciplinary perspective, I aim to develop empirical and theoretical insights regarding entrepreneurial identity by paying greater attention to the dynamic and relational notions of difference and agency. My thesis thus aims to explain how entrepreneurial identity is constructed and continuously be reproduced by the diversity of responses to social hierarchies, such as gender, ethnicity and class, by accessing available cultural representations, material resources and capital.

With this aim, my study connects with studies emphasizing the socio-culturally constructed, relational and contextual nature of entrepreneurship and contributes to bridging the gap between two bifurcated streams of research in entrepreneurship-constructionist approaches, e.g., discursive/ narrative accounts with practice based perspectives. I emphasize the importance of considering both complex identification processes for the benefit of practice-based analysis and material practices and resources to the greater advantage of constructionist accounts. Throughout my thesis, I suggest that the discursive and material aspects of agency and structures are inseparable. In entrepreneurship, it is imperative to transcend symbolic and material boundaries. My research contributes to entrepreneurship studies by providing a more nuanced understanding of the individual in terms of identity through an empirical analysis of entrepreneurial identity formation-in-practice within gender, ethnicity and class relations.

1.1 Critical Reading of the Literature

As in social theory (Campbell, 2009; Fuchs, 2001), in entrepreneurship studies, there is also a tendency to assume that entrepreneurs have 'agency' (Rindova, Barry, & Ketchen, 2009), but they largely remain silent on the degree to which such agency is employed by entrepreneurs (Tatli et al., 2014). Emerging entrepreneurship in-practice studies have moved from a purely rational-cognitive and/or structural vision towards working on the dynamism and interdependencies between embodied agents and institutional structures which are manifested in the different strategies and degrees of agency exercised by entrepreneurs (Tatli et al., 2014). These studies note the entanglement of material

and cultural/symbolic processes in the power-laden field of entrepreneurship (De Clercq & Honig, 2011; De Clercq & Voronov, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c). Nevertheless, many studies emphasize the economic, political and social structures of (dis)advantage and provide a determinist perspective, which lacks an explanation of how these forces work at the level of identity and subject formation both as a result and a precondition for entrepreneurial agency formation (see Karataş-Özkan & Chell, 2013). Very few empirical analyses focus on examining the identity struggles that bring about differential advantages and disadvantages for the practitioners and the entrepreneurship practice itself (Drakopoulou-Dodd, McDonald, McElwee, & Smith, 2014; Goss, Jones, Betta, & Latham, 2011).

On the other hand, when focusing on the multiplicity of social relations that position entrepreneurial subjects, whether it is gender, ethnicity, generation, or age, constructionist approaches increasingly recognize that these social complexities do not dissolve into the tenuous category of 'entrepreneur' (Ainsworth & Hardy, 2008; Down & Reveley, 2004; Phillips, Tracey, & Karra, 2013; Pio & Essers, 2014; Verduijn, Dey, Tedmanson, & Essers, 2014; Verduijn & Essers, 2013). Instead, as Watson (2009) suggests, exploring the relative significance of entrepreneurial activity in the construction of identity should be approached as a matter of scholarly enquiry. This analysis is especially important, given the individualized discourse of entrepreneurship and the prevailing tendency to focus on commonalities in work experience in the name of entrepreneurial identity (Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001; Martens, Jennings, & Jennings, 2007; Navis & Glynn, 2011) and to largely ignore or de-emphasize differences, particularly those pertaining to power relations and 'structural' inequalities.

Asserting the socio-politically embedded nature of entrepreneurship, feminist perspectives have begun to understand how an entrepreneur's understanding of their own identity and position could motivate or discourage them to take certain actions. The main tenet of such work is that it demonstrated creative and productive aspects inherent in entrepreneurial agency to understand how, when faced with difference and social complexity, an entrepreneur responds in unanticipated and creative ways to block, maintain or facilitate social change in a context of the entrepreneurship field (Calás, Smircich, & Bourne, 2009; Essers, Doorewaard, & Benschop, 2013a; Goss et al., 2011; Nadin, 2007; Pio & Essers, 2014). These insights have directed my research into inquiring how immigrant women entrepreneurs have used creative agency to sustain their struggles of entrepreneurial identity formation and capital accumulation and have effected social change.

These perspectives have generated many valuable insights, drawing largely on post-structuralist accounts of subject formation; they also too easily undermine an interpretive perspective on particular dimensions of embodied identity. Informed by post-identity theories and the tendency to avoid an essentializing account of gender identities, the agency of women and men entrepreneurs is

regarded as a 'discursive abstraction' instead of the socio-culturally mediated capacity of embodied subjects. These accounts implicitly refer to the importance of agency in the construction of diverse identities and heterogeneity of power, nevertheless they do not fully account for the possibilities and limits of entrepreneurial agency formation. Hence, despite the fact that constructionist perspectives often touch material dimensions of power, understanding the ways in which the symbolic aspects of identity construction are reflected through material power structures is not sufficiently developed.

Therefore, while constructionist perspectives note the multiplicity and instability of symbolic structures, overemphasis on the symbolic dimension of identity formation might risk exaggerating the emancipatory effects of entrepreneurial practices. This overemphasis is especially crucial for marginalized groups such as women and/or ethnic entrepreneurs who live with the difficulties of material reality (Anderson & Miller, 2003) in addition to symbolic struggles (Imas, Wilson, & Weston, 2012). The literature increasingly notes the need for analysis examining the entanglement of material and symbolic resources and practices to draw a big picture of entrepreneurship (Pret, Shaw, & Dodd, 2015). However, highlighting the identification processes of people who have been historically marginalized in their societies provides deeper insight into how differential degrees of agency and legitimacy are granted and exercised by diverse groups earning their living through entrepreneurship.

Moreover, the emphasis on the strategic and conscious processes of reflexive identity formation tends to 'romanticize resistance' as Abu-Lughod (1990) terms it, by interpreting these responses either as signs of the futility of power systems or of the creativity and plasticity of the entrepreneurs in their refusal to be subordinated. In this way, these accounts tend to underestimate more enduring and reactive aspects of identity. In other words, the economic, political and social dimensions of gender and ethnic inequality should not be ignored, which Spivak (2012) would call the "the fetish of identity".

1.2 Research Approach and Associated Research Questions

There is a need for further elaboration regarding the nature of the relationships among culture, power, agency and the limits of agency for any particular category of actors. It is my intention to investigate how the relationships among culture, power and agency are construed in the identity construction processes. This would enable a better understanding of agency. Indeed, I seek to draw a more productive theorization of agency in consideration of material relations that goes beyond familiar dualisms such as domination versus resistance or signification versus resignification.

To theoretically infer agency as a more active capacity, the analysis must focus on the particular ways in which material and symbolic relations are mediated through agency with a particular focus on the processes of identity formation (Putnam, 2015). Following the arguments raised by Hardy and Thomas (2015), in this study, I focus on some of the discursive effects of materialities and the material effects of discourse, with a particular emphasis on identification processes.

Allowing for greater ambiguities and dissonances in the way that women and men occupy social positions would lead to better accounting for the conditions under which reflexive agency emerges and entrepreneurial identity is formed because, even if the individual is reflexively aware of the existing self-refashioning possibilities (Berglund, 2008), such awareness might not readily lead the individual to demand that change. Thus, to fully account for identity formation, we need to consider the whole process before and after the point of reflexive awareness. Such a consideration would require materialities such as socio-economic resources and opportunities in which individual entrepreneurs have different levels of access in addition to the limits posed by the enactment of particular social perspectives, life trajectories, individual or collective experiences. Intersectionality contributes to this debate as the enactment of a particular social perspective is often engrained in the intersectional workings of gender, class and ethnicity.

To that end, I draw on several context-based theoretical approaches, including practice theory, identity work and the feminist intersectionality framework. I aim to contribute to entrepreneurship studies by showing how we could go beyond the contextualization that management (Bamberger, 2008) and entrepreneurship scholarship (Anderson, Dodd, & Jack, 2012; Bruyat & Julien, 2001; Tatli et al., 2014) increasingly call for that demonstrate the intertwined relations between the micro and macro processes involved in entrepreneurship practices.

These theories suggest that even if individuals occupy the center stage (Alvesson, Ashcraft, & Thomas,2008), they follow the entrepreneurial practices resting on ongoing, inherently relational interactions shaped by wider institutional contexts (Alvesson, Ashcraft, & Thomas,2008; Bourdieu, 1990, 2000; Fowler, 2000; Tatli et al., 2014; Wacquant, 1996). In combination, these frameworks lay the groundwork for thinking about the relational foundation of entrepreneurship that traverse the contexts at different scales, namely individual, organizational, familial and societal (Forson, Özbilgin, Ozturk, & Tatli, 2014; Tatli et al., 2014; Watson, 2008, 2009, 2011).

To remedy the power-driven conceptualization of agency, I closely follow the Bourdieusian framework on embodiment, which insists on the temporal construction of agency and actively connects embodiment with social practices, where individuals are conceptualized as social agents rather than subjects. Bourdieusian scholars suggest that to correctly account for the construction of diverse (entrepreneurial) identities, we need to carefully consider deep-rooted

dimensions of social existence, referring to the complex exercise of power upon embodied subjects (Adkins & Skeggs, 2004; Lawler, 2004; McNay, 1999, 2013; Reay, 2004). The concept of habitus- together with forms of capital and field, drawing an inherent connection between subjectivity and power, provides a way to examine aspects of embodied agency in the context of the power-laden field of entrepreneurship practices. Particularly, the focus on embodied dispositions that make up the habitus is central to understanding the potential limits and resistance to the formation of agency.

In conceptualizing agency within issues of meaning (culture), I draw on cultural studies, including the feminist intersectionality framework, identity work and several Bourdieusian inspired cultural approaches. For all types of inquiries, I draw on the concept of 'experience' and interpret these experiences by focusing on different aspects of meaning-making and negotiating enterprise by paying particular attention to sources, means and forms of responses with concepts such as 'habitats of meaning,' 'agency of intentions,' and 'forms of 'identity work.' These concepts call for reaching beyond the so-called totalizing discourses by suggesting that there are diverse ways of rearranging the world of entrepreneurship.

To expand the discussion around such processes, I divide agency into two basic dimensions: 1) one that addresses participation issues, i.e., moving into particular site(s) of activity and power; and 2) one that pertains to belonging issues, i.e., belonging to a particular site(s) of activity in an effective manner to employ its powers (Grossberg, 1996).

Accordingly, starting from the non-essentializing and relational theorization of difference, the purpose of my thesis is to provide an empirical account of entrepreneurial identity formation and its implications on shaping differential degree and the forms of entrepreneurial agency exerted by entrepreneurs in their involvement with entrepreneurial practices. Thus, I aim to offer a relational and dynamic conceptualization of entrepreneurial identity formation as continuously re-produced in entrepreneurial responses regarding social positions through belonging and access to cultural representations, resources and capital by pursuing the following research questions:

RQ1: What types of constraints and opportunities do the participant Immigrant Women Entrepreneurs and family business members have when starting their entrepreneurship process?

RQ2: Whether and in what ways entrepreneurship can become a position of power for Immigrant Women Entrepreneurs and family business members so that they maintain or transform categories, boundaries and hierarchies.

1.3 Intended Contributions

With my thesis, I intend to contribute to entrepreneurship studies in both empirical and theoretical ways. In this introduction chapter, I intend to

summarize my fundamental contributions very briefly. I discuss intended contributions more fully in the final chapter of the Kappa.

My first contribution concerns the generation of rich accounts of immigrant women entrepreneurs in the particular context of migration encompassing the two cultural scenes of Turkey, where the immigrants came from, and Sweden, where they live and enterprise. Second, I employ a framework based on an understanding of a society 'as a differentiated and historically located formation' to explore the nature of social interactions and the theorization of individual entrepreneurs in relation to entrepreneurship discourse and structural power relations. This framework paves the way for considering the ways social divisions and conflicts are inscribed into the entrepreneurs through the organization of difference (Ashcraft, 2012) and how these limit or enable the individual entrepreneurs' agency, actions and identity formation (Tatli et al., 2014).

The analysis also leads to a discussion of processual issues, which amount to the relative advantage (privilege) and disadvantage (marginalization) in the field of entrepreneurship. Therefore, inequalities do not have a static and spatial position but are a dynamic and accumulated process that defines access, mobility and investment across different fields of activities made possible by the diverse histories and practices of entrepreneurs and relevant constituents.

Finally, I recognize that entrepreneurship theory itself is located in and shaped by ongoing identity struggles while constantly changing in response to transnational movements of bodies, knowledge and capital. Van Burg and Romme (2014) note the presence of diverse paradigmatic approaches in researching entrepreneurship and suggest that in creating the future of entrepreneurship, these contradictory worldviews should not be reconciled but that there should be spaces built for communication and collaboration between different research streams as well as practice and theory. Consistent with Van Burg and Romme's suggestion (2014), this thesis wholeheartedly believes in the power of communication to create bridges to connect rather than divide analytical imagination regarding entrepreneurship and works towards this end in drawing upon a diverse body of interdisciplinary literature and perspectives.

1.4 Outline of the Thesis

Chapter 2 provides a theoretical framework around the four fundamental concepts: identity, difference, agency and inequality. The first part of the chapter highlights different perspectives and discussions involving these concepts in the context of entrepreneurship, including immigrant and women entrepreneurship, as well as family business, whenever relevant. The second part of the chapter introduces the three theoretical frameworks that framed this research. Here, I provide a general introduction of the feminist intersectionality theory, the Bourdieusian practice-based perspective and the identity work framework. I discuss their particular strength and weaknesses in terms of my research project.

While feminist theory in general and the intersectionality perspective in particular provided great inspiration for conducting my research with women who are positioned at the intersectional relations of gender, ethnicity and class, it also proved to be a viable methodological approach to carefully delineate how the participants are relatively positioned as historically and socio-culturally constructed products of intersectional relations. With the identity framework, I could delve deeper into the material and explore the complex processes of identity formation and management. Practice theory, in turn, expanded the relatively underdeveloped scene of material and discursive (non-material) practices in the identity struggles of participants. Practice theory also encouraged the shift in perspective from interpretive to a more critical stance. In summary, by combining these three lenses, I was able to tap into richer and more generative avenues of identity construction processes and their implications for the participants' lives and entrepreneurship practice and theory in general than are available otherwise.

The theoretical introduction is followed by a methodological chapter that sets forth the processes and elaborates on how the thesis is produced. I start by providing a background scene, where I briefly introduce the immigrant entrepreneurs with Turkish origin, and providing additional insights regarding why the research is concerned with these people, as well as who they are, where they come from and how their journeys might be structuring their future prospects. The remainder of the methodological chapter includes an introduction of the methodological approaches and tools I applied in generating and analyzing empirical materials by reflecting upon my own involvement in knowledge production processes. Throughout this chapter I aim to include wider debates in connection with my own epistemological engagements, regarding the experience, the interpretation, and the researchers' responsibility and accountability. Feminist epistemologies provide a frame for such discussions. In the last section of this chapter, I will also introduce the four papers included in this compilation thesis before delving into the deeper discussions of this thesis.

The first part of the thesis (Cover Story: Kappa) ends with a discussion of the particular contributions the dissertation work addresses. The implications section is specifically designed to propose future research. The discussions concern not only empirical but also methodological and theoretical insights derived from the studies. Here, I highlight discussions and issues as informed by identity work, practice theory and feminist theory and convey messages to relevant research fields, such as entrepreneurship and its sub streams of immigrant and women entrepreneurship, as well as family business literature. The second part of the thesis comprises four appended papers.

2 Theoretical-Framework: Identity, Difference, Agency and (In)equality

Building on and contributing to the growing literature on embedded, differentiated, and culturally constituted experiences of organizations and entrepreneurship, the papers collected in this thesis have a shared interest in the processes of entrepreneurial identity construction examining four principal and interrelated topics: identity, difference, agency, inequality.

2.1 Identity, Difference, Agency and Inequality in Entrepreneurship Studies

Management scholars have increasingly embraced a critical view of occupational identities. For example, Ashcraft suggested that occupations encapsulate the historical representations of certain groups and work is to a large extent known to be associated with certain bodies (Ashcraft, 2012). In a similar vein, entrepreneurship scholars have called for critically examining the fundamental assumptions informing theory, research and practice of entrepreneurship (Ainsworth & Hardy, 2008; Essers & Benschop, 2009; Jones & Spicer, 2005; Ogbor, 2000; Verduijn et al., 2014; Verduijn & Essers, 2013). Respectively, they have challenged the allegedly universal and neutral portrayal of entrepreneurial action as an 'individualistic' economic activity. Research has increasingly shown that entrepreneurial processes prove to be far more complex when entrepreneurship encounters one or several intersecting social differences such as age, gender, ethnicity, class, sexuality, disability and so on. By primarily attending to the socio-cultural embeddedness of entrepreneurship, research has explored how this seemingly neutral and rational activity simultaneously directs many entrepreneurs to submit to normative power hierarchies be it gendered, ethnocentric, classed, ageist, sexist and other subtexts of entrepreneurship (Ahl, 2006; Ainsworth & Hardy, 2008; Bruni, Gherardi, & Poggio, 2004a; Essers, Benschop, & Doorewaard, 2010; Gill, 2014; Ogbor, 2000; Pio & Essers, 2014; Rehn, Brännback, Carsrud, & Lindahl, 2013). Previously obscured questions such as identity, subjectivity, difference, and agency come to the fore.

Indeed, shifting the focus to processes, these approaches have opened up a whole new way of making the dynamic workings of objective power relations

and cultural processes visible, thus encouraging our understanding of the socio-cultural basis of inequalities (Brah, 1991) and conditions of possibilities for social change (Calás et al., 2009) unfolding through entrepreneurial practices.

By bringing the unrepresented others into the theoretical scene, critical examination greatly contributes to the democratization of the entrepreneurial genre. Moreover, it is equally important to remember the relationality of or in other words a relative positioning of these groups within social space. Therefore, I emphasize throughout my work that theorization of identity, difference and agency first and foremost must consider the relationship in which a particular group stands instead of drawing on a content of certain groups' values or behaviors as internally determined cultural distinctions (Bottero & Irwin, 2003). As Young (1997) argued "individuals are not positioned as social group members because they have common identities or interests that distinguish them entirely from others. Rather, social positioning of group differentiation gives to individuals some shared perspectives on social life." Such a nuanced understanding of difference is what I will be pursuing throughout my thesis under the concept of 'social perspective.'

Extending such a theorization of social difference as a mechanism for drawing distinctions rather than originating from inherent group characteristics with a greater emphasis on ethnic, class and gender relations, I sought to follow a non-essentialist approach towards questions of identity, difference and also belongingness. I observed that such an essentialism runs arguably more subtly in theorization and empirical analysis of ethnicities than of gender and class (Jones & Ram, 2007).

Building on feminist perspectives, I acknowledge that class, gender and race not only provide meaning to individuals as identity markers but are also among the most pervasive and persistent structural relations of inequality and hierarchy in the modern world. Therefore, these shared experiences and perspectives must be examined in terms of their potential for generating and maintaining differential relations of power, resource allocation and normative hegemony in entrepreneurship. Apparently, these structures function not only in organizing identity boundaries: 'inclusionary/exclusionary boundaries that differentiate between self and other' and normative hegemonies: 'what is normal and what is not' as entrepreneurship scholars have curiously tackled before but also resource allocation and distribution patterns: 'who is entitled to certain resources' and 'who is not' (Acker, 2006a; Anderson & Miller, 2003; Anthias, 2001; Gill, 2014; Knight, 2014; Yuval-Davis, 2006b). This is arguably very central for entrepreneurship compared to many other forms of work discussed in organization and management scholarship. This is because entrepreneurship more often requires mobility between different fields of activity where the publicity of the entrepreneurial self-performance (Cohen & Musson, 2000) includes struggles to access a variety of resources of value, namely symbolic, cultural, social and economic (Aldrich & Fiol, 1994; De Clercq & Voronov, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c; Kim, Aldrich, & Keister, 2006).

Accordingly, in this thesis, I address a range of places: individual, family, organization and society and I consider differential identities, cultural and material investments/distinctions and social struggles at work in daily practices of entrepreneurship. The research conducted in this study concerns migrant women and members of the immigrant family business as entrepreneurs. I start from the premise that the sense of self and identity is tightly linked to how entrepreneurs think about and engage in their work highlighting that self-identity and understanding affect agency and respectively individual entrepreneur's willingness to consider particular forms of action over others or even prefer inaction (Watson, 2008, 2009).

Social forces impacting all individuals in any given context in the same way is an underlying assumption of much of the research in entrepreneurship. The social is approached as if it is something 'outside' the individual or 'context'. For instance, established cultural perspectives taking a narrative turn or emerging accounts of practice theory perspectives in entrepreneurship scholarship have developed greater insights on the socio-culturally mediated nature of entrepreneurial activities, especially by discussing the legitimacy gaining processes in entrepreneurship (Aldrich & Fiol, 1994; De Clercq & Voronov, 2009c; Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001). More importantly, they have provided the links between entrepreneurial agency and power by discussing the nature and effect of acquiring legitimacy as responses to paradoxical demands - 'legitimate distinctiveness' of a specific game in the entrepreneurship field (Navis & Glynn, 2011). Yet, they assume agency is a skill (Nentwich, Ozbilgin, & Tatli, 2013) or a resource in the body of disembodied and ahistorical notions of an individual who can artfully navigate between relations of exchange and culture. In other words, even though entrepreneurs are seen as embedded within cultural repertoires of the specific field, they are also granted an unboundedly reflexive and skillful capacity in transgressing the liability of newness or smallness.

In this way, fundamental social processes, e.g. legitimacy, have been primarily examined regarding 'what' claim is made rather than 'who' makes it (Nentwich et al., 2013). As most of these accounts have eschewed the view of the social organized around major social divisions and inequalities of class, race, ethnicity, gender (Ashcraft, 2012; 2011; Rennstam & Ashcraft, 2012), they therefore have also ignored the important aspects in relation to conflict and complexity generated by (often intersecting axes of) identification (Adib & Guerrier, 2003; Essers & Benschop, 2009; Essers, et al., 2010; 2013a; Pio & Essers, 2014).

In efforts directed towards understanding the creative dimension of agency, classical entrepreneurship studies have largely conceived of agency in the body of disembedded and disembodied subjects derived from masculinist abstraction of male agency (Bourne & Calás, 2012). Usually taking a Foucauldian perspective, researchers have revealed how dominant identity forms, usually in the form of masculinities have been reproduced through exclusion and vilification of women's entrepreneurship and women's subjective experiences (Ahl, 2004; Bruni, Gherardi, & Poggio, 2004b). They helped us to move from the universal

category of 'entrepreneurial identity' to diverse forms of identities of entrepreneurs (Lewis, 2014). Nevertheless, they have not openly discussed the theory of agency or conditions of possibilities for women's differential degree of agency which could be set forth in a particular circumstance. In other words, how these structural relations operate at the level of identity (Hamilton, 2014) and daily life has been less explored (Steyaert & Katz, 2004). This analysis is especially important given the individualized discourse of entrepreneurship which largely ignores or flatten outs inequalities of recognition and materiality and with my studies I sought to make them uneven, roughen them at times, complicate them and emphasize.

Increasingly, feminist entrepreneurship scholars interested in identity construction have demonstrated that various social and discursive positions do not act upon subjects in a fairly deterministic way but rather individual entrepreneurs have found it important to play their part well (Bruni et al., 2004a; Cohen & Musson, 2000; Essers & Benschop, 2007; 2009; Essers, et al., 2010; 2013a; Gartner, 2007; Lewis, 2006; 2014; Nadin, 2007). These accounts, to a great extent, are concerned with gender and ethnicity as enabling or disabling access and legitimacy conditions. Studies have reasonably focused on relatively marginalized groups and sought to bring them to the fore of the debates of recognition as deserving equal treatment in both practice and theory of entrepreneurship. This line of research has also clearly demonstrated the lack of a discussion of power in gendered discourses in organizing entrepreneurial activity (Essers & Benschop, 2007). By combining two streams of inquiries which have usually been undertaken separately, studying cultural representations and what an entrepreneur would do with these representations in different forms of identity work, they have opened up a whole new space for reflexive scholarship by examining the entrepreneurs' own responses to hegemonic discourses where a complex set of negotiations and diverse forms of entrepreneurship could be drawn (Lewis, 2006; 2014; Rehn et al., 2013; Verduijn & Essers, 2013).

Following these insights in my works, I implemented more active and complex conceptualization of entrepreneurial agency in order to be able to actively manage the often discontinuous, overlapping and conflicting relations of culture and power set forth by a differentiated socio-cultural order. I implemented 'feminist intersectionality' and 'identity work' frameworks in order to identify and examine the discursive sources and processes of identity construction.

In my thesis I also argued that the questions of identity and difference should focus on differentiated social practices and negotiations by specifying the nature of claims made in terms of recognition and/or resources which arise from different social locations. I suggested that specifying the nature of negotiations would be important as research thus far has granted primacy to negotiations towards recognition as a key point of struggle (Essers & Benschop, 2007; 2009; Essers, et al., 2010) and resource claims have been considered less as different sides of the same coin in entrepreneurship studies. Therefore, I sought to extend

the views including the material basis of such struggles drawing on practice-based perspectives and feminist studies that are equally concerned with the questions of materiality, culture and power relations.

My study was concerned with how constructions of social difference equally influence both material inequalities and inequalities of recognition with a focus on experiential and lived practices of entrepreneurship. I aimed to examine what entrepreneurs actually do in order to manage the intrinsic social complexity pertaining to relations of power and culture involved in entrepreneurial undertakings (Anderson, et al., 2012; De Clercq & Honig, 2011; De Clercq & Voronov, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c; Drori, Honig, & Wright, 2009; Forson et al., 2014; Tatli et al., 2014). The parallel examination of these dimensions indeed provided interesting insights on the major assumptions underpinning entrepreneurship research. In this way, I sought to provide complementary insights to cultural studies of entrepreneurship which emphasize access either to material or cultural representations.

The cultural studies which focus on the resource claims sought to provide better explanations in leveraging and configuring extant (and supposedly scarce) resources by assuming that resources stand at an equal distance from entrepreneurial agents and social positions and the identification processes of those are not implicated in entrepreneurial resource endowment and mobilization practices. Following Aldrich and Fiol's (1994) influential insights, 'cultural entrepreneurship' accounts blending strategic resource-based views with institutional theory perspectives extended resource acquisition processes in entrepreneurship by arguing for the crucial role of cultural processes. Cultural processes not only played a key role in mediating resource acquisition and development processes but also in shaping the meaning-making aspects of undertakings for organizations. They suggested that the formation of entrepreneurial identities and associated legitimacy gaining performance are implicated through resource endowment struggles at every stage of entrepreneurship undertakings, but notably so at the very ambiguous and non-linear emergent phases of enterprise venturing (De Clercq & Voronov, 2009b, 2009c; Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001; Martens et al., 2007; Navis & Glynn, 2011). More recently, practice-based perspectives have extended these insights with a distinct focus on relations of power and associated reproduction and change potentialities carried out through daily entrepreneurial practices in the presence of struggles revolving around the acquisition and definition of symbolic and material forms of capital (De Clercq & Voronov, 2009c; Johannisson, 2014; Light & Dana, 2013; Patel & Conklin, 2009; Terjesen & Elam, 2009).

However, while these perspectives have greatly enriched the understanding of entrepreneurship as a socio-culturally embedded process, there yet remain issues in terms of exhibiting the full complexity and dynamism inherent to entrepreneurial activities in relation to agency and structural influences as well as their interdependencies. For example, cultural entrepreneurship perspectives by focusing on the processes and strategies at the firm level and practice

perspectives by exclusively attending to the interactions manifested at exchange relations have paid little attention to the ways the multiplicity of negotiations, identifications and agency of individual and groups of entrepreneurs are implicated in those processes.

Implicit in these accounts is the limited view of agency and reflexive awareness either assumed as equally available to all entrepreneurs or to those who have access to the right sort of capitals and are equally eager to deploy and develop those irrespective of their positions and position takings within which they are embedded. For example, as similarly observed in organization studies (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008), the relationships between the attitudes, choices and actions of entrepreneurs and their social origins and trajectories have been rarely considered. Thus, although awareness remains, these accounts have rarely examined the issue of the formation of agency in a historical context in response to hierarchies of social positions such as those constructed along gender, ethnicity, class as well as at their intersections (Anderson & Miller, 2003; Essers & Benschop, 2007; Gill, 2014).

I took pains to indicate some of the ways in which the social is central to entrepreneurs' identities as a necessary corrective to the emergent body of cultural and practice-based perspectives in entrepreneurship which assume and treat the social as either interactional or at a meso rather than macro level (De Clercq & Honig, 2011; De Clercq & Voronov, 2009a, 2009c). One of my concerns in this study was to use entrepreneurs' identity construction processes to demonstrate the importance of macro-micro interaction and the importance of macro-social issues in shaping entrepreneurial actions (Essers & Benschop, 2007; 2009; Watson, 2008, 2009).

Mainstream entrepreneurship theories have tended to level out the diverse contexts and complex practical and lived experiences of entrepreneurs; for instance, issues encountered by the woman entrepreneur living in a rural village of Bangladesh and also by the Ivy League graduate who has a brokerage business on Wall-Street are approached more or less in the same way.

Organizational scholars have become reflexive on such issues concerning adequacy of organization studies embracing diverse contexts and subjectivities (Calás, 1992; Glynn & Dacin, 2000; Konrad, Pringle, & Prasad, 2006) as well as researchers' (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009; Clegg & Hardy, 2006) and research-communities' (Hardy, Phillips, & Clegg, 2001) responsibility in knowledge production processes. They further argued that established accounts may be more equipped in dealing with the latter cases (high-(tech)-profile entrepreneur) than the former (Bangladeshi woman) (Konrad et al., 2006; Mir, Mir, & Wong, 2006). Entrepreneurship research has provided rich material for understanding how such quite diverse and heterogeneous groups of people would comprise today's world under shared conditions of globalization and transnationalism (Calás, et al., 2010; Ozkazanc-Pan, 2009) as well as how constructed identities and differences would enable studying diffuse enterprising activities.

Respectively, I argued for a greater specification of entrepreneurial action and underlying conditions under which different degrees of agency and choice are possibly put forward by the entrepreneurs in their engagements with entrepreneurial action and practices (Forson et al., 2014; Nentwich et al., 2013; Tatli et al., 2014).

2.1.1 (Dis)Connections around Identity, Agency and Contexts of Gendered and Immigrant Entrepreneurs

The identity question has not been thoroughly taken up as a focused inquiry within the entrepreneurship discipline until very recently. Classical accounts have elaborated upon the subject of entrepreneurship in the midst of macro socio-economic restructuring demonstrating to us how this discursive subject was a constitutive element of socio-economic transformations, such as in classical writings of Weber (2002) in the "spirit of capitalism," of Simmel's (1950) in "the stranger" and of Du Gay's (1995) contemporary writings on "entrepreneurial governance." Contemporary entrepreneurship writing has approached this critical question in different modalities starting with a generic entrepreneur and entrepreneurial practice within the discourse of a rational agent as 'homo economicus' and later calling for more nuanced understandings of the agent, structure as well as the relationship between them by pointing out the immediacy of cultural and political aspects (Goss et al., 2011; Jones & Spicer, 2005; Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001; Tatli et al., 2014; Tedmanson, Verduyn, Essers, & Gartner, 2012; Verduijn et al., 2014; Verduijn & Essers, 2013).

At some periods and to a large extent still, the agency of entrepreneurs has either been equated with a great man's 'free will' or the agency was completely absent in favor of an economic outcome related to structural inquiries. The dominant subject of the entrepreneurship literature, thanks to Schumpeter who provided us with a rich array of cultural symbols and a language to understand the entrepreneur, has been of a man building a great empire for himself by chasing after his animal spirit. Hence devoid of their socio-cultural contexts, entrepreneurs were usually portrayed as self-made subjects (Berglund & Johansson, 2007) holding great power to exert influence around their societies especially in economic terms. Locating agency within the mental processes of particular entrepreneurs, hence taking it as a synonym of free will, these approaches however have largely undermined the socio-cultural formation of agency. The role of society and culture in shaping human intentions, beliefs and culture have either not been attended to or only been given lip service.

The notion of contextual differences has been a great opening in bringing spatial sensibilities into research focus (Welter, 2011) and entrepreneurship research (Zahra, 2007). Contextualizing entrepreneurship research is concerned with granting authority to displaced places and times by attracting attention to diverse and unusual places and times and their particularities (Brush, de Bruin, &

Welter, 2009; Hjorth, Johannisson, & Steyaert, 2003; Hughes, Jennings, Brush, Carter, & Welter, 2012; Steyaert & Katz, 2004; Welter, 2011). Yet, a lack of attention to subjective dimensions underlying many accounts is an issue. As Brah (1996) suggested, contextual awareness by itself does not guarantee experiential homogeneity since the same context may produce different collective histories, differentiating or linking personal biographies through contingent properties. It is only by connecting subjects to their contexts that we are able to examine the nature of agentic possibilities-opportunities and constraints open to particular entrepreneurial identities who almost always make sense of those in relation to their historical, social and cultural conditions and positioning and in turn particular meanings they attach to them (Bruni et al., 2004a).

With women's entrepreneurship, the link between subjects and contexts of entrepreneurship was brought back to the research arena. Yet, there was no overt questioning of the agency of women rather a call for a recognition of women's agency which was not appreciated widely. Researchers have called for new directions in entrepreneurship research (Ahl, 2006; Brush et al., 2009; Mirchandani, 1999) mainly by asking two fundamentally different questions. One is more instrumental and the other more critical, however in practice it is not always easy to disentangle these two approaches. One side saw women's entrepreneurship worthy of studying because reported figures were showing a tremendous rise in women's entrepreneurship all around the world and women's contribution to innovation, job and wealth creation in economies were immense but hardly studied. Here the question was "what would be researching women bring to entrepreneurship?" (De Bruin, Brush, & Welter, 2007). Respectively, women's entrepreneurial orientations (Gupta, Turban, Wasti, & Sikdar, 2009) and practices (García & Welter, 2013) due to their different sex and gender roles such as their different socialization and motherhood duties might be important to consider and eventually need to be inserted into entrepreneurship research (Brush et al., 2009; De Bruin, Brush, & Welter, 2006; De Bruin et al., 2007; Hughes, et al., 2012). While this line of research has contributed to understanding the barriers faced by enterprising women and ways to intervene to halt them (Calás, Smircich, 1996; 2006; Calás, Smircich, & Bourne, 2007), in line mainly with liberal feminism philosophy, the researchers were concerned with gender equity rather than gender justice (Ahl, 2004; 2006).

Recent attempts have problematized the very framing of difference based on the dichotomous notion of gender as male and female within this line of research. Because this line of research has shortsightedly problematized the differences as binary constructs, as a result, the category woman is assumed to be a member of a giant collective sharing the same experience of oppression in the same way and in every context, prior to the analysis. This focus has also brought an unproblematized notion to the category of man by assuming a generic universal master dominating women all over the world. Thus, women are allowed to have different experiences to the extent that they are different from men (Ahl, 2004). But man as a subject has not received any research effort either (Bowman, 2007).

For critical accounts, on the other hand it was more about being reflexive in our research efforts so that taking entrepreneurship research towards emancipatory ends as gendered power relations was not the focus within the discourses on women entrepreneurship (Essers & Benschop, 2007). So the question they asked was "What would happen, theoretically and analytically, if the focus of the literature were reframed from entrepreneurship as an economic activity with possible social change outcomes to entrepreneurship as a social change activity with a variety of possible outcomes?" (Calás et al., 2009, p. 553). One of the first aims of this project was deconstructing the generic subject of entrepreneurship and later including repressed/oppressed subjects as well as displaced socio-economic spaces into research terrain (Hjorth, et al., 2003; Rehn & Taalas, 2004; Steyaert & Katz, 2004).

Indeed, the research on women's entrepreneurship immensely contributed to our understanding of entrepreneurship and provided critical insights. For example, scholars have questioned: the absence of women in research designs (Hurley, 1999)and popular media (Achtenhagen & Welter, 2011; Baker, Aldrich, & Nina, 1997)symbolic reproduction of masculine identities not only in the body of the (fe)male entrepreneur (Ahl, 2004; Bruni et al., 2004a) but also in gendered entrepreneurial orientations/perceptions (Gupta, et al., 2009; Langowitz & Minniti, 2007); vicious-circle of structural and hierarchical division of labor sustained through gendering entrepreneurship as a man's only business (Blake & Hanson, 2005; Bourne & Calás, 2012). Women's entrepreneurship is now considered to be experiencing its adolescence stage (Hughes, Jennings et al., 2012). Scholars have started to talk about envisioning independent 'feminist theorizing of entrepreneurship' (Neergaard, Frederiksen, & Marlow, 2011) to call for 'pluralist ontologies and epistemologies' (Calás et al., 2009) and to adopt unorthodox methodologies which have been discredited in normative accounts of women's entrepreneurship in particular and entrepreneurship research in general (Marlow, 2014).

The major issue I am primarily concerned with is a predominant view of reducing diverse identities into its one dimensional only forms (Acker, 2006b; Styhre & Eriksson-Zetterquist, 2008). As a result, complex, conjointly sustaining and conflicting processes remain to rupture lives of research subjects and research projects. "Focusing on one category almost inevitably obscure and oversimplify other interpenetrating realities" as suggested by Joan Acker (2006a, p. 442). In this theorization, the entrepreneurship subject became only conceivable to the extent that he or she is gendered. From here, the theorization of difference often did not incorporate the other axis of differences - race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, religion, disability, age and so on (Knight, 2014). This approach bracketed the ambition of telling 'herstory' separate and outside of 'his-story' (Mohanty, 1995) eventually reproducing accounts through which women are almost always positioned in opposition to men and are portrayed as void of agency disregarding their intersecting contexts (Essers & Benschop, 2007; Essers et al., 2010; Pio & Essers, 2014).

Indeed, women and men entrepreneurs confront very different realities on the basis of how gendered, racialized, ethicized or class(ed) the organization of work at their disposal is as well as in their encounters within networks of funding bodies, suppliers, customers, state offices and many other work organizations involved in their type of work. This highly dispersed nature of entrepreneurial activity is very important to consider in the particular context of women's and migrants' businesses embedded within quite diverse institutional spheres often simultaneously (Brah, 1991; Kloosterman & Rath, 2001).

This one dimensional approach has also been adopted for the analysis of immigrant entrepreneurship, irrespective of the scale, be it operating at community, national or transnational scales, immigrant entrepreneurs are assumed to be predominantly relating to others on the basis of a common ethnic origin (Hedberg & Pettersson, 2012). Ethno-cultural approaches have relied on group identification of their internally shared behaviors and have transported these ideas to transnational entrepreneurship (Carmichael, Drori, & Honig, 2010; Drori et al., 2009). The major question asked within this literature has been "how do co-ethnics operate across national boundaries" instead of what forms of networks are formed above and besides those of ethnicity?" (Anthias, 2012, 2013). Indeed, the literature assumes and reproduces this mythical understanding suggesting that entrepreneurs belonging to disadvantaged groups such as ethnic minorities form their identities in relation to their specific minority status (Rehn et al., 2013) and can only develop a competitive advantage in relation to their specific disadvantaged position (De Clercq & Honig, 2011).

Yet, several accounts taking a socio-cultural perspective have demonstrated that many entrepreneurs are needed to develop distinct ethnic identities when they enter into the domain of entrepreneurship but not prior to that due to experienced resource constraints in a broader societal context (Jones & Ram, 2007; Pécoud, 2004) and that their access to resources are further circumscribed by other hierarchies within these networks, such as gender, position within the network, etc. (Anthias, 2007). This one-dimensional approach to social categories is also seen in place based assumptions which are mostly reflected in immigrant entrepreneurship where their individual and group biographies and trajectories often cut across different geographical scales (Anthias, 2012; Hannerz, 1996; Vertovec, 2001; Yuval-Davis, 2006a; 2010).

The experiences and choices of migrants usually exceed the neatly framed research expectations (Kelly & Lusis, 2006). Migration experience is unique in two ways. First, it creates a disruption of relatively stable life trajectories but also opens up a practical and experiential space for starting anew as this disruption causes a greater reflexivity on the migrants' side to re-construct meaningful lives including making sense of one's own and others' identity, differences, life situations and discursive and material conditions (Erel, 2007). For instance, studies have shown that while migration interrupts steady accumulation and valuation of capital, it also opens up ways for adopting complex strategies (Essers & Benschop, 2007; 2009; Essers et al., 2010; 2013a) drawing upon broader

cultural and material reservoirs and enables going over manifold constraints singular local contexts can pose (Erel, 2010; 2012; Erel & Lutz, 2012; Nowicka, 2013). On the negative side, studies have pointed out a prevailing challenge of overcoming the historically accumulated 'negative' image of migrant actors, running through a particular discourse of 'stranger as a danger' which is a boundary making mechanisms between native and immigrant populations (Ahmed, 2000; Ahmed et al., 2003; Yuval-Davis, 2006a).

Immigrants' access to resources is often regulated and controlled by powerful social agents and institutions who legitimated their own characteristics and inscribed those into the resources and appropriate identities; the differences migrant pose is oftentimes categorized by these actors as deviations, immorality or negative characteristics. Yet, self-employment comes into view as a desirable life making project for many migrants where they can use their own class and other types of resources usually downplayed at national levels and to further upward mobility (Sanders & Nee, 1996). Even in the absence of such normalized assessments or judgments, such as in the case of migrants' life style, the migrants nevertheless go through intense identity work processes especially in making sense of their own and others' social positioning and identities in terms required in daily life sociality (Oliver & O'Reilly, 2010). The migration context is thus one of these illustrative spaces where the claims towards multiplicity, fluidity and emergent nature of identities can best be studied (Brah, 1991).

My research brings a group of entrepreneurs - immigrant and women entrepreneurs - to the fore who are differentiated not only based on their ethnicity but also in their gender and class-based experiences. I attend to categories as emergent and situated rather than pre-established realities as commonly experienced by (Tatli & Özbilgin, 2012). Further, incorporating different experiences and identities would not only help to democratize entrepreneurship research (Steyaert & Katz, 2004) by including silent masses and displaced social and cultural geographies, but also may lead to the reinterpretation of theories themselves. That perspective might articulate how entrepreneurial practices bring about and in turn are influenced by intersecting differences which may in no way be similar to those inequalities and opportunities we already heard about.

The way the question of gender, ethnicity and class difference is tackled within the entrepreneurship discipline may open up possibilities beyond those of binaries, particularly around men and women (Barrett, 1987; Felski, 1997) and on the basis of a natural/psychological (Nicholson, 1994) or sociological (Mohanty, 1988) communality such as immigrant vs. native or poor vs. rich. Otherwise a narrow understanding of difference and unity readily brings us to an ahistorical notion of the 'sameness of entrepreneurs' struggles' overshadowing the meanings and relations of power in formation of entrepreneurial agency and identities. A non-essentializing intersectional approach offers an analysis which approaches groups such as women, immigrants and the poor not as a whole group with "already constituted" experiences and contributes to reformulating

questions of agency, history and differential struggles from wherever the location of that knowledge could come (Mohanty, 1995).

2.2 Overview of Theories Adopted in the Thesis Work

I primarily drew upon three major frameworks: identity work, practice theory and feminist theory. All these frameworks share the same premises of being contextual and social constructionist approaches, i.e. in their treatment of research subjects and objects, as adopting a nuanced understanding of difference as relational and emerging from social differentiation as well as their attention to intertwined and intimate traffic between agency and structure. While feminist theory is an overarching framework that I adopted throughout all the pieces contained in this thesis, I specifically put it into use in the first paper where the responses of entrepreneurs to difference within the realm of discourse is examined. Again being particularly attentive to the discursive realm in the first paper, I adopted the identity work framework in studying the individual identity construction in the family business context. In the last two papers, I extended the discursive realm to include the material specificities of entrepreneurs' responses to pertinent differences. To that end, I largely adopted the practice perspective of Pierre Bourdieu and feminist practice based perspectives. Below I introduce these three frameworks around the main discussions of identity, agency, difference and inequality.

2.2.1 Identity Work Perspective

Alvesson and Willmott (2002) suggested that under the precarious conditions and processes of late modernity, the question of self-identity construction gains significance for the subjects. It proves to be an important research topic for organization researchers since the old mechanistic bureaucratic control mechanisms are replaced with techniques targeting workers' insides - the hopes, fears, and aspirations instead of their behaviors directly. They suggest that increasingly, organizational control relies on cultural media of 'identity regulation' which refers to a variety of discursive practices aiming to shape processes of identity formation and transformation.

On the sides of workers, responses render ongoing efforts in the form of "identity work" which authors have defined as "forming, repairing, maintaining, strengthening or revising the constructions that are productive of a precarious sense of coherence and distinctiveness" (p. 626). Identity work is what all individuals make who have some degree of existential concern and urge (Cavarero & Kottman, 2000; Ricoeur & Blamey, 1995; Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003). It is the effort of the self to endure or maintain a familiar level of emotional

stimulation against shifting discourses set by socially constructed truths regarding what is normal, rational and sound. However, acute tensions, life transitions, specific events and encounters may invoke the agent's greater awareness and induce more concerted efforts for identity work. In contrast identity work may be suspended for a while due to access to identity-securing positions and routines (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003).

However, neither identity work nor identity regulation may be bounded with an organizational context (Essers, Doorewaard, & Benschop, 2013b), nor does the identity regulation only come to terms with organizational control (Collinson, 2003; Creed, DeJordy, & Lok, 2010; Gotsi, Andriopoulos, Lewis, & Ingram, 2010). Similarly drawing on this insight, Essers et al. (2013b) aptly demonstrated how migrant women entrepreneurs responded to identity regulating discourses originating from their families and concerning their family ties. Similar studies have shown the deeply intertwined notions of family and business in entrepreneurial undertakings while also explicating how gender and ethnicity deeply structure the relations and responses among relevant constituencies.

More importantly, they have analytically delineated ways that entrepreneurial subjects have responded to identity regulating sources in a variety of ways in working out their identities. Such responses in no way guarantee that the targets will only comply with the aims of those who/which exert power in some ways. Subjects may resist, comply or selectively respond to those controls in relation to their specific temporal and spatial context (Collinson, 2003; Essers et al., 2013b). Thus resistance or submission as the two extreme poles of responses may well shift according to subjects' contingencies and their awareness of their contexts (Kondo, 1990) and choices. For example, as Collins (1994) suggested, the consciousness of being at the bottom may be a hallmark of the subjects even though they may not have not overtly acted upon it due to the sake of self-protection.

These readings make it clear that subjects' responses towards identity regulating mechanisms can change according to the subjects' perception of their choices - their consciousness of themselves as well as their position in society. Therefore, while they suggest how important it is to study people's own experiences, this also reminds us again how equally important it is not to lose sight of the material and discursive structures in which individuals claim identities. Therefore, heterogeneous discourses of enterprise, profession, gender and ethnicity may be important, nevertheless they are received and interpreted in the specific and complex variety of contexts that individuals move through in their everyday lives (Burr, 2003; Staunæs, 2003; Watson, 2009). As Zanoni and Jensses (2007) observed, the organizational focus (level) may well be extended or even halted in favor of broader societal contexts if informed by empirical materials.

These insights have been strikingly clear but less pronounced in the family business research. This is because when business and family life is concerned, often sharp distinctions are drawn between family and business spheres. Life in

homes and family firms draw on the discourse of participatory belonging and self-fulfillment. However feminist studies have shown that this belonging and connectedness is never given and in no way beyond power. For instance, studies on gendered organization of work have documented how primacy of public (primarily space of waged-work) is sustained over domestic life (Acker, 1973, 1990; 2006; Ferber & Nelson, 2009; Folbre, 1994; Glucksmann, 1995) through concrete practices embodied in feminine and masculine tasks and behaviors (Blake & Hanson, 2005; Bourne & Calás, 2012; Bruni et al., 2004a) which have often resulted in re-gendering public and private spaces (Bourne & Calás, 2012). In this light any idealization of family or communitarian sentiments in family firms seems highly open to debates and empirical investigation (Kondo, 1990). Identity work, regarding its effect, is a very useful framework for examining different contexts of organizing, especially because it may help to complicate deep seated historical divisions as such and direct us towards studying a variety of other issues entrepreneurs face when navigating between particular boundaries and hierarchies be it discursive or material. This makes researchers more alert to the context as it comes to be configured in daily practices and experiences of individuals in a variety of ways. Yet, the persistent focus on the discursive undermines the dimensions of materiality as to be virtually dismissed and limits the research possibilities further (Hardy & Thomas, 2015; Putnam, 2015). For instance in one of these rare studies, Zanoni and Jenssen (2007) highlighted the material basis of identity regulation in addition to that of discursive practices in their study of migrant workers' diversity management practices and argued that the material dimension was just as important as discursive for identity construction works; for instance their study showed how the Christian calendar was an important medium for identity regulation and associated responses for non-Christian workers.

Following these insights, below I introduce the practice perspective which enables analysis of practices in relation to identity construction within more pronounced aspects of materiality in addition to that of discursive as well as traversing different and nested contexts.

2.2.2 Practice-Based Perspectives

Entrepreneurship scholars have increasingly raised renewed interests in reclaiming and rethinking about their subjects and objects of study from the constructionist and contextual perspectives. Aligned with this agenda, practice-based perspectives have increasingly been applied to shed more light on social and situated activities and actors involved in entrepreneurship practices (Spinosa, Flores, & Dreyfus, 1997).

Although practice theories vary, especially in their treatment of organizational practices and individual actions, nevertheless they draw parallels in theorizing about the social world and its manifestations, in particular by reformulating the old age dichotomies such as individual vs. structure, subjective vs. objective

(King, 2000), reproduction vs. transformation (Nentwich et al., 2013; Tatli et al., 2014), micro vs. macro (Chia & Holt, 2006) and acknowledging the process, bodily involvement, relationality and historicity in constituting social life (Schatzki, 1997).

In reference to Schatzki (2001, p. 2), practices are "embodied, materially mediated arrays of human activity centrally organized around shared practical understanding." Relationality, on the other hand refers to the methodological preference conferred to relationships and actions through which entities acquire their meaning/identities (Chia & Holt, 2006). Relationality thus supports the view of the social in its situated context which is engendered through intertwined relations between action, agency and structure. One of the most crucial aspects of relational perspectives for the sake of my study, as I briefly touched on before is that it shows us how differential degrees of agency and choice are worked out by relatively positioned entrepreneurs in their struggles to engage with and shape the conditions of possibilities around themselves. The relational approach responds to calls for overcoming the agency and structure divide in entrepreneurship and showing the flows between these two domains emerging through daily entrepreneurial practices.

Entrepreneurship in-practice marked the passage of moving from purely rational-cognitive and/or structural visions towards studying dynamism and interdependencies between embodied agency and institutional structures which are manifested in different strategies and degrees of agency exercised by entrepreneurs. Yet very little empirical analysis has focused on examining entrepreneurial practices which brings about differential advantages and disadvantages for the practitioners and the social practice itself (Anderson et al., 2012; Forson et al., 2014; Tatli et al., 2014). Moreover, while much of the cultural theory adopted by entrepreneurship scholars limits social behavior with explicit culture and discursive consciousness, strong practice theories, such as Bourdieu's help with theorizing situations where embodiment as well as habitual implementation of skills and habits becomes problematic but may also open up a space for creating new capitals and developing novel individual and group strategies such as the case of entrepreneurship, especially in transition, emerging contexts, international, transnational, immigrant and women entrepreneurship.

My focus should reflect the central methodological insights first moving from purely rational-cognitive and/or structural visions towards studying dynamism and interdependencies between embodied agency and institutional structures. Thus, I conceive of individual or organizational identities alike as coming about as a result of a field of relationships/practices. Second, I aimed to show the dynamism and interrelations between agency and structure as ultimately produced through the bundles of practices guided by dispositions of a particular habitus. In other words, I considered entrepreneurs' practices as micro-level social sites in which the events, meaning and entities constitute one another. Third, I understood practices as articulated in different strategies and degrees of agency exercised by entrepreneurs.

2.2.2.1 Bourdieusian Practice Perspective

Among the social theories of practice, the practice theory developed by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu has been increasingly adopted by management and organization studies (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008; Özbilgin & Tatli, 2005; Sieweke, 2014) as well as entrepreneurship scholars (Drakopoulou-Dodd et al., 2014; Forson et al., 2014; Tatli et al., 2014). These scholars in common have argued that entrepreneurial actions need to be considered broadly as a means towards maintaining and legitimating the entrepreneurs' social positions beyond those of fulfilling direct business goals and objectives (De Clercq & Voronov, 2009c).

In my thesis I use Bourdieu's relational approach firstly because it provides a theoretical tool through which the relationality between different levels can be captured, e.g. between levels of individual, organizational/familial and social context. Second, his key concepts, field, capital and habitus, help us to grasp the very mundane but complex nature of practices as each concept captures both the agency and structure dimensions and that enacted through flow of cultural, material and power differentials (Özbilgin & Tatli, 2005; Tatli et al., 2014). This includes a balanced view taken towards conditions of possibilities and impossibilities for instance in terms of reproduction and transformation, stability and change, order and freedom, etc. which entrepreneurship researchers have underexplored.

Conceptualizing the role of culture with a Bourdieusian framework provides room for how entrepreneurial contexts shape the agents' practices and in turn how entrepreneurial agents understand the fields they are embedded in. The nature of this interaction explains how certain practices emerge in relation to cultural viewpoints and material resources beyond providing descriptive accounts on cultural viewpoints and values (Spigel, 2013). Accordingly, the analytic examination needs to attend first to identifying cultural practices that are considered valuable, by whom and the implications of this for the persons and groups who are not involved in such practices and who are consequently directed to devalue and revalue their own forms of cultural practices (Prieur & Savage, 2011) what Bourdieu calls symbolic violence.

Bourdieu theorizes the social world as set of fields each of which is organized by structural relations of power, resource allocation and normative hegemony (Young, 1989). As people move through social spaces (fields), they increase their overall value through acquisition, conversion and valorization of capitals (economic, cultural, social and symbolic). Those capitals accrued over time are incorporated into the body so that they become habituated - 'the habitus' (Skeggs, 2004b). This theorization explains first the source of relative regularity in social action as a product of a match between implicit dispositions (habitus) and external structures (fields) (Bourdieu (1990) as well as how people who stand on different sides of structural relations have differing understandings of those relations and their impacts, such as living in particular relation to the capital (Skeggs & Loveday, 2012), privilege and disadvantage (Hurtado, 1989).

The interaction between habitus, fields and forms of capital then engenders the logic of practice (Lizardo & Strand, 2010).

2.2.2.1.1 Forms of Capital

Different forms of capital are both resources that equip their holders with necessary powers but also function as stakes in these social struggles among agents. Accordingly, entrepreneurship scholars have increasingly called for more research concerning the complex power infused processes between entrepreneurial actors and how they are able to acquire, develop and retain control over the resources and capital most imperative to them (Spigel, 2013). The role of capital acquisition and conversion processes in entrepreneurial start-up and legitimation expands understandings of entrepreneurship as a socio-cultural and politically embedded phenomenon (De Clercq & Voronov, 2009c).

In this way, capitals allow for the accumulation of (dis)advantages within fields and their convertibility between the fields (Prieur & Savage, 2011). The entrepreneurial field is thus an arena for power struggles over the distribution and legitimate definition of the different forms of capital. Moreover, the convertibility of capital from one form to another (Bennett & Silva, 2011) and institutionalization of the transmission (Goldthorpe, 2007) are at the heart of Pierre Bourdieu's theorizing which captures the scattered but interconnected processes of inequality creation and maintenance across fields, thus sustaining the stratification patterns in societies. This is also where entrepreneurship studies have paid very little attention.

Organizational (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008) and entrepreneurship researchers (De Clercq & Voronov, 2009c) have dedicated scholarly attention usually to economic, social and human capital, however cultural and symbolic capital have received scant attention. Entrepreneurship scholars have increasingly called for more studies to understand developing and controlling different forms of capital, especially those of cultural and symbolic capital among entrepreneurial actors thus enabling analysis into the complex power relations in practices of entrepreneurship (De Clercq & Voronov, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c; Light & Dana, 2013; Spigel, 2013).

Cultural capital is a broader concept that goes far beyond the rational choice of human capital theory in three ways. First, cultural capital is a bundle of embodied capacities that is acquired through socialization as a socially transmitted legacy (Bennett & Silva, 2011) and second it takes into account symbolic profits as equally important as economic profits yielded by cultural capital (Lamont & Lareau, 1988). Cultural capital is thus embodied in individual agents' dispositions (habitus) and skills that in turn provides access to and mobility between its objectified forms of cultural products and institutional forms of ultimately educational credentials and qualifications as well as social settings (Goldthorpe, 2007).

Cultural capital differs from economic capital as its accumulation and transfer require considerable investment of time (Goldthorpe, 2007) which necessarily

delineates between those who can afford or cannot do (Mustafa Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008). Yet, this paradox often remains hidden since despite cultural capital being mainly developed and transferred within the family, it is usually approached as if it is an achievement of the person who holds it (Wacquant, 1996). Thus, cultural capital concerns a person's whole life history and the experience (Lamont & Lareau, 1988). and movement across different social fields beyond those of established network ties usually captured with cross-sectional analysis (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008).

Transmission of cultural capital is also what largely forms the individual habitus in its embodied expression. This is where the Bourdieusian notion of habitus formation acquired exclusively within the family and a class context critically takes a more predictable and irreversible process than a conventional understanding of socialization (Bennett & Silva, 2011; Goldthorpe, 2007; Silva, 2005). Since cultural capital is a way of legitimating social differences, the culture of those who govern appears most distinctive, thus transmits a class signal which in turn shapes an individual's life chances and reproduces established class structure. Thus, cultural capital is a key mechanism which guarantees the established unequal distribution of such social power and privilege (Goldthorpe, 2007). Theorized in a Bourdieusian way, cultural capital captures first the deep seated power dynamics in organizations and entrepreneurship which have been relatively understudied (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008) but also makes entrepreneurship a relevant societal site where inheritance of social (dis)advantages is legitimized. Thus it is as relevant as economic capital (Townley, 2014).

2.2.2.1.2 Identity, Agency and Structure: Field and Habitus

Bourdieu takes a distinct historical approach both towards structure as contextualized in the rules of the game in the fields and towards agency as embodied in the socio-culturally patterned matrix of preferences and orientations that constitute habitus (Townley, 2014). 'Ontological correspondence,' a Durkhemian insight, is a great key to explaining this dynamic bridge between the structure and agent as well as the nature of this relationship (Wacquant, 1996). How entrepreneurs, living in different socio-cultural worlds come to perceive and realize (or not) the capacities they are endowed with is an important question one cannot account for only through objectivist typologies of power differentials. For Bourdieu, practical cognition of individuals is central because social strategies are not mere products of structural constraints and opportunities but necessarily entail the subjective intentions and active projections of the agents. Therefore, the entrepreneurs often craft their strategies in relation to their understanding of the rules of the game, that is in what ways they make meaning out of the rules in what we usually call an intuitive way of finding within a given situation instead of planned, rational cost benefit analysis (Gorton, 2000).

Applying Bourdieu's framework expands the contextualization of entrepreneurship specifying temporal and spatial dimensions (Tatli et al., 2014).

For example, by focusing on the flows and movements across translocal, transnational contexts, Bourdieusian scholars have shown that social positioning now can range from being embedded in a single space, to navigating between countries and intersecting in a transnational social space (Nowicka, 2013). The metaphorical treatment of the different forms of capital and habitus help to explain how and why these characteristically different forms of resources with origins in different places and locations generate the power relations between entrepreneurs and other social constituents that regulate access to resources in local or transnational spheres and interact in a way that create (in)equalities (Plüss, 2013). These frameworks draw parallels with the intersectionality approach which is similarly concerned with understanding the dynamism of different resource characteristics that create inequalities and privileges (Plüss, 2013).

2.2.2 1.3 Inequality Processes

Bourdieu's framework provides a dynamic processual and temporal view of the questions of inequality by emphasizing the cumulative and convertible nature of different forms of capital through interactive relations between social parties over time (Savage, Warde, & Devine, 2005). Capitals should be conceived not as entities that are used and mobilized within and across fields but rather they take the form of profits and disadvantages that become central to understanding the centrality of this translation beyond a specific field under study such that through accumulating power via certain resources, whether or not they can be transferred into other fields, can we make sense of societal inequalities (Savage et al., 2005). By analyzing the capacity of certain resources to accumulate, store and maintain advantages, important sources of inequalities can be illustrated. Moreover, positioning of entrepreneurs in a social space, which Bourdieu calls social class, entails that the distinctions and divisions among relative groups not only circulate around economic access but also cultural and symbolic access (Lawler, 2004). This analysis is especially important given the individualized discourse of entrepreneurship which overlooks the importance of intertwinement of recognition and materiality claims which can and cannot be transferred and translated from/to different field(s) of practices.

2.2.3 Feminist Perspectives

Intriguing questions of identity, difference and (in)equality are long lasting debates in the context of organizing. For example, feminist studies in general and feminist organization studies in particular, workplace diversity studies and critical management scholars, as well as many others have devoted focused disciplinary attention to researching these notions on their own as well as in their relationships. As a political project seeking social change, questions of difference have been central to feminist theorization (Ang, 2003; Barrett, 1987; Brah, 1991;

Bredström, 2003; Calás & Smircich, 1996; 2006; Felski, 1997; Maynard, 2001; West & Fenstermaker, 1995). These studies have illustrated the very constructed nature of concepts of diversity and associated questions of identity and difference as travelling concepts in need of translation wherever they are adopted (Calás, Holgersson, & Smircich, 2009). For example, differences could be conceptualized as the individual characteristics of people in endless ways but differences may only concern certain demographic groups (Zanoni & Janssens, Nkomo & Cox, 1996; 2004). Most importantly, critical diversity studies have shown how practicing diversity and difference in society and in organizations are worked out within power relations and therefore, claims to diversity and difference as inherently good or bad things should be interpreted in their contextual and constructed nature. In order to study inequalities, one needs to start by unpacking the constructed nature of differences and diversities at play (Barrett & Burgess, 2008; Ostendorp & Steyaert, 2009; Zanoni & Janssens, 2004; Zanoni, Janssens, Benschop, & Nkomo, 2010). For clarity, how we conceptualize 'difference' and 'identity' and accordingly unpacking inequalities then may guide us in ways to better achieve social justice (Brah, 1991).

2.2.3.1 Feminist Intersectionality Perspective

My research project on identity construction of immigrant women entrepreneurs is to a great extent inspired and shaped by the major questions feminist intersectionality scholars have posed and tools they provided. For that reason, in the following paragraphs first I will introduce a definition of intersectionalities and major discussions and insights provided by the key scholars.

Activist critics who problematized the normalization of their experiences for the sake of group unity opened up a new era in feminist theorizing and politics. Since the 70s, concerned feminists have stimulated enormous discussions and challenged the established paradigm of feminist theory as well as its political undertakings. The overarching political concept of 'global sisterhood' assuming shared identity and a common oppression for women has been attacked due to its failure to take into account the differences fashioned by history, location, class, racialization, nationality, sexuality, and so on as well as relations of power that designate those differential categories of women (Butler, 2002; Lykke, 2010). Respectively, the basic feminist tenet of what it means to be a woman has been continuously revisited by attending to historical circumstances (Brah & Phoenix, 2013) where politics of location (Mohanty, 1988, 1995) and the epistemological claim of situated knowledge (Haraway,1988) have been at the heart of this new theorizing. Either with their forced silence or with their active participation into those discussions, black female (Collins, 1994; Bell Hooks, 2000), post-colonial (Spivak, 1999; Yegenoglu, 1998) and third world women (Mohanty, 1988; 1995) as "subaltern subjects" were and still have been the revolutionary objects and subjects of those heated debates. Indeed, reflexively attending to gender, sex and women questions, feminist critics, such as Butler (2002), have radically problematized the very existence of a particular category of women by

simultaneously demonstrating how heterosexual, white, middle class feminism's privileged interpretation of the meaning of women's liberation as a 'legitimate' and 'normal' claim is not 'normal' at all. With these accounts, the generic woman is stripped away from its universal and fix meaning, understood as opposite of and inferior to man, but rather is resignified as a diversity of subjects, equally valued to each other and to men (Lykke, 2010).

The contemporary feminist accounts have posed critical questions and research agendas regarding what constitutes differences and respective identities, how inherently relational such social relations/categories are that shape those different identities, and whether oppressed subjects are void of agency by pointing out certain directions which are open to feminists in imagining diverse futures.

Intersectionality has been one theoretical response to the questions of identity, difference, agency and how to theorize about different and often intersecting forms of social inequality (Walby, 2009; Winker & Degele, 2011). In the literature, there are plenty of definitions offered to conceive of intersectionalities, for example as intersecting social divisions, social positionings, identity markers, categories of difference or differentiation, categories of subordination, power axes, etc. Among those, the definition provided by feminist theoretician Nina Lykke (2010) provides a good working definition which places the most important conceptual and methodological insights into the approach provisions: a theoretical and methodological approach to conceive of power differentials and normativities and thus a tool which may put into use how political resistances vis-à-vis power differentials and normativities are constructed around a denotation of categorizations and identity markers, and even further how individual subjects negotiate social relations built upon relations of power and circumstances in which they are embedded.

Consensus emerged among all those scholars that intersectionalities of class, race, ethnicity and gender, etc. should be conceived as mutually constituted and studied as a lived experience and as practices in historically specific contexts. They more or less have agreed on the fact that life situations women and men encounter are not simply the sum of independent divisions of gender, race, ethnicity and class (Acker, 2006a; Maynard, 2001). All those divisions are produced and reproduced within everyday (West & Fenstermaker, 1995), historically and locally varying processes (Mohanty, 1988, 1995). However, how to give concrete meaning to metaphors is still problematic.

Intersectionality literature surprisingly has shown little interest in defining what is meant by basic social categories such as gender, ethnicity and class. However, I find it very crucial for my project to set working definitions of such concepts from the very beginning although I am aware that all those basic concepts are still being debated in disparate literatures and defining them is highly problematic, especially that of class. In my project, I will draw on the definitions provided by Joan Acker (2006a, 2006b) in her writings on "class questions and feminist answers" (2006a) and "inequality regimes" (2006b). She suggests that

when understanding differences between people in a variety of global situations, we are urgently in need of rethinking social life from perspectives of men and women positioned outside and inside the 'relations of ruling.'

For Acker, gender, race/ethnicity and class are each basic principles of social organization which almost always involve unequal social power and material resources. Departing from the centrality of social divisions in producing social inequalities, she defined gender, race and ethnicity and class as follows:

'Gender' is a socially constructed and widespread pattern of difference produced through practices and representations that justify such patterns in terms of advantage and disadvantage, work and reward, emotion and sexuality, image and identity, between female and male that result in social categories of women and men.

'Race' is also socially and politically constructed around physical appearances and designations of skin color, in particular via historical processes of colonization, slavery, war and migration. Race relations work through mechanisms of exclusion, domination and exploitation. Regarding race and ethnicity relation, she suggests ethnicity is often related with race and is based on cultural and language conventions, however, ethnicity does not always involve inequalities. However, both processes of race and ethnicity are primarily about drawing boundary distinctions (Rattansi & Phoenix, 2005) and emergent in their nature (Hall, 1996) depending on the relational construction of the concepts, e.g., class at respective politics of location (Ortner, 1998). For instance, the scholars in the US and in the UK have adopted the concept of race in reference to issues surrounding black communities, whereas the concept of ethnicity is usually in reference to all non-black communities, such as Irish, Jewish, Polish, etc. In my studies, I preferred 'ethnicity' over race in order to draw parallels with extant entrepreneurship scholarship in Europe (Essers, 2009; Verduijn & Essers, 2013) since this would not pose a conceptual difficulty in terms of the approach I adopted as both concepts pertain to boundary drawing mechanisms.

'Class' is a socially constructed and processual notion which arises from practices and relations that institute the production and distribution of the means of survival. Class signifies economic and cultural power inequalities (Bourdieu, 1984) structured by production, market and occupational systems. While production and redistribution span paid and unpaid domains, relations of class are enmeshed not only within bureaucratic processes but also within personal and intimate ties for example within families or informal networks.

First, it was Kimberley Crenshaw (1991), a black legal theorist, who in her now seminal essay "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color" devised the term intersectionality. By that, she underlined its importance in articulating not only experiences of certain groups crystalized at the intersection of different categories of subordination but also gave importance to categories regarding how power is assembled around certain categories and often exercised in relation to and against each other. As she suggested, categories exist just because we attach particular values to them

and because they create and support certain social hierarchies. This was clear in the black women's experiences of domestic violence as Crenshaw demonstrated. Her account made it very clear how domestic violence experienced by black women and other colored minority women were often curtailed from being politicized due to concerns of keeping the integrity of the racialized community of people of color; that is to say not to add up to the already slanted public image of those communities. On the other hand, the political efforts of feminists regarding violence against women usually have tended to ignore minority women's experiences or at best attend to those only as quantities which may magnify the problem in order to gain white support for domestic violence programs. In both cases, the experiences and identities of women of color were of no relevance either to concerns of feminists or to anti-racists because those women's experiences were simply the unique product of intersecting categories of gender and racism but could not be commensurable to any of those. In sum, she was very clear about how attending to particular groups' experiences as an intersectional phenomenon not only helps to humanize the experiences of particular groups (of women or otherwise) by making those realities worth telling but also helps to make the processes of (in)subordination articulated in its structural, representational and political dimensions.

Even if Crenshaw has brought analytic systematicity within the concept of intersectionality, the contemporary insights of black and third world women's writing (and also tellings) provided to all of feminist research and politics have been path breaking. These writings, like Bell Hook's (1989) offered a radical critique against either/or dualism as the fundamental ideological device of domination in western society. Because keeping binaries intact was to assume they are universal and ahistorical constructs, it helped to obscure how historically specific socioeconomic, cultural and economic conditions foregrounded the bases through which those differences gained their significance (Brah, 1996, 2003).

The black feminist writers persistently shed new light on interactive processes of oppression and domination achieved at the intersecting categories of difference and by doing so they also showed how threatening articulating such experiences could be to the dominant ideologies and to their underlying assumptions For example Collins (1994) argued that stereotypical images of black women as an aggressive woman and a strong mother serve as defining what good woman and mother are not since these qualities have been in deep contradiction with patriarchal definitions of femininity and family power relations that were previously constructed on the basis of white women and patriarchal conception of family relations. In this way, she suggested they threaten the very basis of normative orders whether it be experienced at the institutional level or in daily practices of women and men (Patricia Hill Collins, 1998).

Though relationality can be seen as the most significant message black writers have offered, equally important to mention is their insistence not only on the possibility of agency (Collins, 1986, 2001) - though it may be very covert and

disparately practiced - but also on not losing sight of the social structures that produce social locations in which individuals claim identities (Collins, 1999). In a parallel vein, taking third world women's experiences as a starting point for theorization of difference, Mohanty (1988, 1995) argued against the postmodern studies of subjectivity and identity on two grounds: first for undermining the recognition of category of race in order to make the category of gender visible and for creating discourses of diversity and pluralism which are founded in apolitical and most of the time individualized identity politics. The effect she argued is that "historical interconnection is transformed into questions of discrete and separate histories (or even herstories) and into questions of identity politics" (Mohanty, 1995, p. 69). Departing from those concerns, she proposed a new understanding of difference as an experience centered on 'locating political agency' and also on 'historicizing.' She suggested these alternative approaches are vital in order to combat the assumed 'universality of gendered oppression and struggles' as problematically assumed by the feminists. Like Bell Hooks, she also attracted attention towards the key mechanism of naturalizing analytic categories which makes it work. This intervention is of great importance for practical, theoretical as well as methodological pursuits. Feminist analysis which involves the study of cross national, racial, and ethnic boundaries might easily be trapped and produce and reproduce difference in particular ways often despite being contrary to their purposes.

With intersectionality, feminists live out a historical commitment made to the common identity of women and men first as a gendered subject and living with differences proliferated at the junctions of those very categories of differences implicated not only in wo(men)'s different experiences, subjectivities and identities (Nira Yuval-Davis, 2006b) but also in social relations foregrounding those differences (Brah, 1991; Brah & Phoenix, 2004). More significantly, once articulated, lived experiences and intersectional positionings become resources for subjective change (Mohanty, 1995; Stone-Mediatore, 1998) and coalition building efforts (Matsuda, 1990; Mohanty, 1995).

Among a plethora of attempts, Leslie McCall (2014) in her review of intersectionality literature argued there is yet no certainty regarding whether intersectionality should be restricted to understanding individual experiences, in theorizing identity, or whether it should be conceived as of a feature of socio-cultural structures. Moreover, it is not yet very clear whether intersectionality is a theory of a marginalized subjectivity or if it claims to be a generalized theory of identity. If the latter, Jennifer Nash (2008) argued scholarly investigation needs to be opening up the black box of predominant or privileged identities since like all other identities, these identities are constructed at the intersections of relations of power. If it is a theory of marginalized subjectivity on the other hand, then intersectionality research needs to explain how subjects might strategically mobilize or not mobilize particular aspects of their identities under particular conditions. For example, how does it differ if I say 'I am a black immigrant

woman or an immigrant woman who is black' under particular conditions (Jordan-Zachery, 2007).

2.2.3.2 Practice-Based Feminist Perspectives

Feminist Bourdieusian scholars have greatly expanded feminist theorizing, especially the traditional understanding of class as a location in the labor market by emphasizing the changing nature of class processes as experienced within cultural and symbolic configurations and domains as well as the formation of identities along those lines (Reay, 1997a; Skeggs, 1997). Feminists have highlighted that in the presence of great socio-economic transformations, e.g. globalization, migration and in a period of growing inequalities, women's differential access to economic, social, cultural and symbolic resources have differential effects on their lives (Acker, 1990; 2006a; 2006). Thus, the research focusing only on the ways gender, ethnicity, age enter into daily lives of women and men needs to consider economic in addition to social cultural and symbolic dimensions.

Bourdieusian feminist perspective shares the anti-essentialist and constructionist premises in that the category woman does not have any essence and that category woman is a constructed definition. Yet, Bourdieusian perspective takes a more powerful political stance compared to constructionist approaches also arguing for the importance of showing the particular social interests at stake in this arbitrarily imposed definition and construction of the category women or also on other social categories (Lawler, 1999; 2004; Moi, 1991; Skeggs, 1991; 1997; 2014).

They suggest that gender brings about different symbolic power in different contexts, times and through life stages. Therefore, women's, and also men's value, should be evaluated in relation to other symbolic and material capital one has at their disposal. In other words, supposedly negative capital associated with being a female decrease in relation to amounts of other forms of symbolic capital held. For instance, Toril Moi (1991) argued that femaleness may even be elevated from a problem situation to an advantage, or sometimes it even may have a negligible effect in the presence of exceptionally high symbolic capital.

Besides the concept of capital, feminist Bourdieusian scholars have also provided a deeper understanding of specifying the differential impacts of gendered contexts on women's lives. By paying particular attention to the variation in gendered fields (contexts), e.g. different forms of patriarchy, Deniz Kandiyoti (1988) for instance not only problematized the supposedly abstract and universal notion of patriarchy, but also demonstrated how women's strategizing and engagements are shaped in accordance with the rules of the game in a certain gendered field. On the other hand, Bourdieusian insights on understanding how gender relations are sustained through (im)mobility among different fields are very helpful. For instance, Bourdieu suggested that, the role of women as a symbolic manager of the family readily translates into the working life where women take up positions responsible with presentation, reception and

hospitality (Bourdieu, 2001, p.99-100 in Silva, 2005) and women and men have historically held different positionings and accordingly held different approaches towards cultural and economic capital accumulation (DiMaggio, 2004; Mohr & DiMaggio, 1995). These insights have been reflected in and increasingly transferred into the domain of entrepreneurship research. The scholars highlighted the relevance of the Bourdieusian framework in assisting feminist analysis by emphasizing women's unequal positioning in the labor market and society at large as well as asymmetric access and convertibility (mobilization) of resources by women and men. For instance, Shaw et al. (2009) in their analysis of the relationship between gender and entrepreneurial capital on firm performance suggested that women's and men's differential access and valuation of capital impact the differential firm performance for which earlier research could not account. Karataş-Özkan and Chell (2013) on the other hand provided important insights by showing how the individualized habitus of women academics together with the gendered field of academic entrepreneurship limits possibilities for women to enter into the field of entrepreneurship. In taking a rarely considered context of entrepreneurial masculinity into focus, Bowman (2007) for instance showed how entrepreneurial masculinity in practice is lived out as a course of great dissonance between the egalitarian family field and masculine entrepreneurial demands (habitus) in Australia.

Yet, Bourdieu's theory has also been critically examined by the feminist perspectives. Feminists have questioned Bourdieu's understanding of human action as a strategic imperative such that it is materialized in capital accumulation and exchange just for the sake of gaining advantage or elevating one's social position. Feminist accounts have argued against that theorization which leaves no room for those motivations which cannot fit into the domains of exchange and instrumentality, such as exchange of care, emotions, and all those values that are required for simple sociality (Adkins & Skeggs, 2004; Huppatz, 2009; Skeggs, 2014).

2.3 Summarizing the Theoretical Inclinations

My research brings immigrant women entrepreneurs' and immigrant family business members' identity struggles to the fore in order to better account for the individual within the intertwined relations of micro to macro influences and inequalities. I thus sought to blend my theoretical aspirations with my passion for incorporating different experiences and identities. I did so not only to help democratize entrepreneurship research (Steyaert & Katz, 2004), but also to inquire into the limits of the theories I adopted in my studies.

In order to provide greater insights on entrepreneurial identity construction processes within intersecting relations of gender, ethnicity and class, feminist perspectives in general and feminist intersectionality perspective in particular provide very useful guideposts due to their capacity for examining women

focused experiences in depth (Beverley Skeggs, 1997). Feminist theory therefore is an overarching framework that runs through my thesis primarily in shaping methodological underpinnings of the thesis. That perspective can articulate how entrepreneurial practices bring about and in turn are influenced by intersecting differences which may in no way be similar to those inequalities and opportunities we already heard about. It also provides very relevant tools to examine the particular context of migration as one of these illustrative spaces where the claims of multiplicity, fluidity and emergent nature of identities can be best studied (Brah, 1991).

Through iterative reading of the available literature and empirical material, I also recognized the need to implement more active and complex conceptualization of entrepreneurial agency as a capacity to be able to actively manage the often discontinuous, overlapping and conflicting relations of culture and power set forth by a differentiated socio-cultural order. To that end, in my studies, I implemented 'feminist intersectionality' and 'identity work' frameworks in order to identify and examine the diverse discursive sources and processes of identity construction in subjects' responses to identity regulation mechanisms in their everyday encounters. While identity work framework recognizes the diversity in individuals' responses, nevertheless many of the studies conducted explicitly limited their scope within organizational boundaries. There are yet a few studies which inquired into gendered, ethnocentric, classed or other societal forces in identity works of individuals (Brown, 2014). Feminist studies and Bourdieusian practice-based perspectives therefore provide more nuanced connections between identification processes and societal positioning or difference categories in identification processes.

In view of that, I examined the questions of identity and difference within entrepreneurs' differentiated social practices and negotiations by specifying the nature of claims made in terms of recognition and/or resources which arise from different social locations. Yet, identity work framework and much of the feminist perspectives, in particular in the field of entrepreneurship and family business, are less equipped with specifying the diverse nature of negotiations but privilege recognition as a key point of struggle (Essers & Benschop, 2007; Caroline Essers & Benschop, 2009; Essers, et al., 2010). Bourdieusian practice-based perspectives and feminist Bourdieusian studies in turn provide extended views including the material basis of such struggles enabling deeper analysis of culture and power relations.

The Bourdieusian practice perspective in general provides more pronounced theoretical tools inquiring into the context and individual relation through solid concepts capturing both the agency and structure like a field, habitus and metaphors of different forms of capital. Bourdieu's relational approach also opens up the relationality between different levels, e.g. between levels of individual, organizational/familial and social context. dimensions which come to be configured in daily practices and experiences of individuals in a variety of ways (Özbilgin & Tatli, 2005; Tatli et al., 2014). This includes a balanced view

regarding the realization of agentic capacities, or conditions of possibilities, and impossibilities for instance thinking further in terms of reproduction and transformation, stability and change, order and freedom, etc. that have been underexplored by entrepreneurship researchers. Especially, the metaphor of cultural capital enables an analysis of deep seated power dynamics in organizations and entrepreneurship which is relatively understudied (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008) but also makes entrepreneurship a relevant societal site where inheritance of social (dis)advantages is exercised. Thus, it clearly supports my overall ambition in seeing entrepreneurship as a social change phenomenon besides that of much emphasized economic struggles in the literature (Townley, 2014).

In this way, I conjointly used a practice-based perspective with feminist intersectionality insights regarding their shared concerns on understanding the dynamism of different resource characteristics that create inequalities and privileges (Plüss, 2013). Even if they do not use the explicit label of intersectionality, many Bourdieusian feminist authors conceive of social categories not simply as the sum of independent divisions of gender, race, ethnicity and class. Instead, this common wisdom which I adopt through my methodological engagements understands women's experiences as lived relations occurring in historically and locally varying contexts. Accordingly, in my analysis I have privileged the emic approach when identifying and later analyzing the categories of difference as emergent and situated in the context under question (Ahu Tatli & Özbilgin, 2012).

Yet, Bourdieusian capital theory, especially when blended with feminist sensitivities encounters problematic assumptions regarding understanding of human action as a strategic imperative (Adkins & Skeggs, 2004; Huppatz, 2009; Skeggs, 2014). Through my reading of practice-based entrepreneurship literature, I have recognized the need to be more careful in that regard, because I realize that many accounts that have adopted Bourdieusian practice theory implement Bourdieu's problematic insights on capital accumulation and exchange just for the sake of gaining advantage or elevating one's social position. This awareness in turn provides a greater chance to inquire into the limits of particular theories and to embrace interdisciplinary sources for inspiration, analysis and interpretation of empirical material.

Equipped with these insights, I hope to draw more colorful pictures of immigrant women entrepreneurs and immigrant family business members as practically experienced in the particular context of migration in Swedish society. This interdisciplinary approach I hope will enable a deeper understanding of the ways class, ethnicity and gender differently and commonly enter into the lives of the entrepreneurs and the field of entrepreneurship. After outlining the theoretical underpinnings of my studies, next I outline my methodological choices and engagements which are partially inspired and informed by my theoretical choices as I briefly discussed here.

3 Methodology

This section introduces the processes through which I arrived at this research text. I start by presenting the historical contexts and subjects of the study and continue by reflecting upon the particular approach to knowledge production processes that I adopted. This part includes deeper reflections on the epistemological underpinnings of my research. It leads into the following parts by shaping the research motivations and research design; processes of material generation; reading and interpretation of the various texts, with life stories being the major source. It finally presents brief reflections on the writing-up process. The methodology chapter ends with an overview of four articles as the major products of all these processes and provides an entry point into the discussions and conclusions chapter of the thesis.

3.1 Historical Contexts and Subjects of the Study

The discussion advanced in this thesis is based on the life stories of immigrant entrepreneurs of Turkish descent, who are engaged in entrepreneurial activities in Sweden. The first group comprises seventeen women entrepreneurs and the second group consists of members of an immigrant family business.

In Sweden, immigrants enjoy equal access to social welfare benefits. Nevertheless, despite the political commitment to full integration and comprehensive state support programs in labor market access and other areas, immigrants struggle with unequal treatment in housing, employment rates, wage differentials, occupational segregation, and subordinated mobility compared with native Swedish people.

Often sharing close living quarters, immigrants from Latin America, the Middle East, and Africa, with their diverse national, class, and religious backgrounds, take on a collective identity as immigrants or foreigners (Pred, 1997). The image of the immigrant woman as a passive and culturally bounded subject, as Ålund and Maktutredningen (1988) argue, is a collective identity attributed to all immigrant women and is accompanied by a plethora of other negative and backward connotations, which are, indeed, a problem that must be faced (Knocke, 1999). Immigrant women in Sweden are generally assumed to be uneducated; to have no prior work experience; to have a poor command of Swedish; to be oppressed by their husbands, fathers, and male relatives; and to be isolated, almost like prisoners within their own homes. What is significant about such stereotypes is that the immigrant woman in Sweden has become a gendered signifier of traditional and patriarchal cultures, in direct opposition to

the modern, free, and gender-equal Swedish society (Keskinen, Tuori, Irni, & Mulinari, 2009; Mulinari, 2008). As Sweden has become a gender-equal state, unequal gender representations of immigrants with social problems (Trondman, 2006) have increasingly become more prominent (Towns, 2002) in the media (Bredström, 2003) and in everyday discourse (Trondman, 2006).

The term "Turk" is most often used to symbolize immigrants who come from very distant, non-European cultures and religious backgrounds (Westin, 2003). In other words, "Turks" are seen as ethnic others. However, the Turkish immigrant community is highly diverse, as immigration to Sweden has attracted not only uneducated and working-class laborers but also highly educated, elite, civic movement leaders and diverse ethnic groups seeking refuge (Behtoui, 2013). For example, the participants include both well-educated women and well-educated men of similar ages who were actively involved in civic movements in Turkey and migrated to Sweden in the aftermath of a military coup in the 1980s. However, participants are also from the groups of men and women and their families who arrived in Sweden after the 1970s as labor migrants. Finally, the identity of people from Turkey is a highly peculiar case influenced by the radical restructuring of the society in the mid-1920s. Established in 1923, the Turkish Republic took a very different route from its ancestor, the Ottoman Empire. Religion and ethnic heterogeneity, the basic governmental modes of the Ottoman Empire, were replaced with progressive, Western institutions and values in a modern nation state (Robins, 1996). That change had a great impact on the diverse identity claims that people could make. Moreover, gender, or rather the construction of the Turkish woman as a modern face of the new nation, was fundamental to this restructuring project (Arat, 2000; Kandiyoti & Kandiyoti, 1987). Women were supported by the state to gain a higher education and take part in the public/occupational sphere together with men (Durakbasa & Ilyasoglu, 2001). Thus, my research recognizes this heterogeneity and strives to give voices to immigrant women entrepreneurs, thereby opening up a space for them to speak for themselves.

3.2 Epistemological Approach to Knowledge Production

In this section, I will discuss my research project approach, which is based on the constructionist feminist epistemology and ontology. I believe that my choice of this particular research topic itself articulates my crucial involvement in generating knowledge for a certain group of people or specific subjects. Besides, my involvement is focused on making connections with other knowledgeable subjects who are similarly positioned. It is to connect different forms of situated knowledge that I conduct this feminist research.

In my research, the notion of experience, interpretation, and personal narratives takes the center stage. Below, I will present the way in which these concepts are discussed primarily within the feminist literature and articulate my own position and vision within these discussions.

3.2.1 Experience, Interpretation, and Contextualization

My research in general draws upon the anti-positivist and anti-functionalist paradigms in understanding the social world and knowledge production as an epistemological and ontological engagement. Sharing a common perspective of interpretive research, my interest lies in understanding individuals' subjective experiences and questioning the claims of objectivity of knowledge (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). I take a critical perspective to attend to deeper issues concerning meaning and power in the organization of work and entrepreneurship by acknowledging not only diverse epistemologies but also diverse interests and politics in moving beyond the functionalist and managerialist approaches (Okhuysen et al., 2013).

I support the idea that all types of knowledge production systems involving the philosophies engaged with scientific questions need to be read within their contextual specificities; even the strong objectivist strands, like logical empiricism, have come to be produced in and taken their significance from contextual circumstances that were creating harm and misery for humanity.

One of the strongest critiques of the processes of knowledge production appeared relatively recently, stemming from Thomas Kuhn's (1996) paradigmatic work on the structure of scientific revolutions in 1970 and later from Feyerabend (1999), whose ideas open up science into social analysis by rejecting the assertion that science is a paradigm of rationality. Subsequently, scholars of the sociology of scientific knowledge undertook influential inquiries and produced insights regarding the socio-culturally constructed notion of scientific knowledge. However, they rarely developed gender-aware studies until the second wave of feminism (Wajcman, 1991). Since then, scientific knowledge as patriarchal knowledge has been rejected, and a new science based on women's interests (values) has been desired and developed.

Feminists like Donna Haraway (1988) and Sandra Harding (1986), standing in the murky field of constructionism, have taken up the question of science and provocatively asked "whose science and whose knowledge" are those that claim the ultimate truth. Donna Haraway, for example, boldly suggests that: "the only people who end up actually believing and acting on the ideological doctrines of disembodied scientific objectivity are non-scientists and a few trusted philosophers." I believe that the provocative intervention of feminists is important in two ways. First, they pose a critical challenge to the objectivist epistemological standpoints, from which knowledge is imagined to be free from the messy practice and particular context in which it is created, and second, they underline that the role of institutional power involved in knowledge production

processes moves. In these terms, the word objectivity has taken on a different meaning. Objectivity in that sense has turned out to be nothing more than articulating one's situatedness and hence a partial perspective from which "seeing" is limited to where one stands. To put it succinctly, a prerequisite for objectivity is eventually to take subjectivity into account, including the situated experiences and the role of the researcher as well as the participants.

The notion of experience has moved a long way within feminist journeys. Starting with consciousness-raising groups of radical feminists in the mid-1970s, women have taken ownership of the representation of their own experiences. Here, social experiences have been understood as experiences of subordination and women have been constructed as political subjects. The motto "personal is public" has been the hallmark of the articulation of women's shared experiences as a collective and public issue. Mulinari and Sandell (1999) refer to this as "experience as woman."

Since the 1980s, a radical critique within the feminist movement has questioned the very basis of this collective experience of global sisterhood. It argues for "experience(s) of women" as opposed to experience of common subordination (ibid.). These critics argue that women's experiences are gendered as much as they are embodied in class, race, sexuality, and so on. Moreover, feminist scholars have been complicit in producing unequal power relations between their research subjects and themselves, because the experience of women as claimed in feminist theory was actually the experience of white, middle-class, heterosexual women.

To deal with such issues, feminists have increasingly implemented postmodern world views to think of gender(s) and difference(s) in more fluid and post-structural ways. Mulinari and Sandell (1999) call this era "experience as texts." In this period, from the 1990s onwards, rising postmodernism has been of great help in directing attention from the collective experiences of political subjects to the understanding of subjectivities. It has contributed in several crucial ways: by exploring the language, the notion of discourse, the problematization of difference, and the analytical practice of deconstruction. Here, experiences are understood as being always locally and situationally constructed, and they are only interpreted as an effect of discourse.

One of the main representatives of those accounts, the feminist political scientist Joan Scott (1991), suggests experience to be a way of exploring how difference is constituted and how it works through and constitutes subjects who see and act in the world. She suggests that "it is not simply individuals who have experience but instead subjects who are constituted through experience will be what matters" (Scott, 1991, p. 797). Thus, even if an experience might seem to be unique to the person having it, nonetheless further questioning the constructed nature of experience, how subjects are constituted as different, and how a person's vision is structured, then this very same experience becomes something to be explained. These selves who have experiences, Scott claims, are formed through discursive practices. As a result, stories of marginalized people's

experiences redraw the assumptions about identities, differences, and autonomous subjects that underlie the available discourses (Stone-Mediatore, 1998). Aligned with this perspective, then, my interest lies less in making immigrant entrepreneurs' experiences visible but rather in interpreting them.

However, several important contentions related to such perspectives remain. Despite this critique, postcolonial critics still write experience-based texts, such as those by Gloria Anzaldua (1999), Bell Hooks (1981; 1984; 2000), and Chandra Mohanty (1988), and those texts play a central role in expressing the contradictions of contemporary capitalist democracies (Stone-Mediatore, 1998). Here, my thinking develops through their lines of argument regarding the adequacy of postmodern accounts for considering experience in articulating the capacity of human agency (D. Mulinari & Sandell, 1999) and as a main resource to see and act differently (Mohanty, 1995; Stone-Mediatore, 1998). Experience itself can then be a resource of resistance or the application of oppositional discourses and critical reflection to confront and renarrate the complex power relations that constitute experience.

It works because the subjects, even if they are placed in particular subject positions by the available discourse, implement and find their way around those discourses individually (Staunæs, 2003). The experience of not fitting within the assigned boundaries of identities formulated in hegemonic discourses and the experience made by those defined as "Other" are crucial resources to bridge our internal strife with structural inequalities and "differentness" (Goffman, 1963).

Dorthe Staunaes's (2003) empirical work is an astonishing example of how primary school children with an immigrant background realize discourses of gender and race differently from their native counterparts to resist their disadvantageous situation creatively and create trouble for others through their troubled position. What follows is also a possibility for the articulation of individual experiences in collective identities and in structures of domination (D. Mulinari & Neergaard, 2005; Stone-Mediatore, 1998). The remarkable insight that Mulinari and Sandell (1999) provide is that, being an Other, crossing and exhausting boundaries might not necessarily be a struggle against the tides. Rather, we can move with pleasure. Indeed, the possibility of more inclusive scholarship (Zack, 2005), providing some insights into the possibilities of living and working together in a socio-cultural milieu beset by difference, is the central motivation of my research.

This readily brings us to the issue of interpretation, the question of incommensurability, and the truth claims. I hold the position that there is no determinate hierarchy of interpretations, as they are constructed (Resnick & Wolff, 2001) and translated (Czarniawska, 1998) within a variety of different discourses and practices. It is just that some interpretations hold more legitimacy than others (Beverley Skeggs, 1997). As Resnick and Wolff (2001) delightfully suggested, "Texts and words are like everything else: complex, open to multiple readings, culturally and politically negotiable and transformable. We may create temporary discursive fixings, but these are always susceptible to destabilization

by other formulations and interpretations. No ultimate arbiter exists to determine the 'truth' of our understanding."

3.3 Research Motivations and the Emergent Research Design

My central research orientation draws a parallel with the recent critical calls to extend the boundaries of entrepreneurship by adopting non-positivist and more diverse epistemological and ontological positions beyond the traditional methodological preferences (Calás et al., 2009; Suddaby, Bruton, & Si, 2015). Increasingly diverse streams of entrepreneurship scholarship call for relaxing researchers' predefined expectations and analytical commitments towards more explorative (Kyrö, Hägg, & Peltonen, 2013), innovative (Gartner, 2007), and reflexive research approaches (Goss et al., 2011) to understand how entrepreneurs act within the situation in question, what meaning they ascribe to their actions, and what concerns them in the way in which they figure out "what is going on here" (Anderson, et al., 2012). In this way, entrepreneurship practices embracing the multiplicity of forms and complex situations that entrepreneurs face in their engagements with entrepreneurial actions would be articulated.

However, what is much less pronounced in such accounts is the discussion of reflexive awareness regarding the ways in which researchers enact and intervene in research processes. Chris Steyaert (2011) raises an important issue regarding the performative and participative dimension of methodological engagement on the side of researchers. Indeed, a handful of critical reflections, usually attending to symmetric and asymmetric social positioning and the distance between researcher and participants, demonstrate insightfully that researchers' participation in research processes greatly shapes the generation of knowledge in particular ways. The research shows that the empirical material generation is not bound by normative boundaries within scholarship but rather emerges at the junction of the biographical histories of the participants (Katila, 2010) and the particular research orientation taken (Essers, 2009), as well as within the material arrangements in the research sites (Fletcher, 2002).

As a researcher, I am positioned within different disciplinary practices, institutions, and dominant paradigms as well as being relationally positioned within all these spheres. Inspired by these reflexive approaches, I see research in organization studies and entrepreneurship as a socio-cultural practice with the help of feminist theorizing, which necessarily involves reflecting upon my own experience of research. Such perspectives have readily informed my research in several ways. First, it concerns the importance of my own involvement regarding the topic of my research, which I see as having developed from my research education and biographical experience. Second, it extends to choosing consistent methodologies aligned with this constructionist viewpoint, which responsibly

concerns bringing forward the participants' subjectivities formed within their lived experiences. Accordingly, I seek to share the research process by integrating reflections on how I inhabited the subject position of researcher, sometimes with great struggles but also with excitement (Mulinari & Sandell, 1999). However, there is no direct correspondence between our circumstances and how we think about them, as our positions do not rigidly determine who we are and what we do but position us relatively among intersecting coordinates of research and other fields (Skeggs, 1997).

3.3.1 Choice of a Research Topic

My desire to carry out such a study comes from my personally developed sensitivities towards experiencing differences and the capacity to respond by making sense of one's self. From the very beginning of the research process, even before I had started to look for a research topic, I was passionate about make my own experiences part of my research efforts by thinking biographically, historically, and critically. In the spirit of Wright Mill's classical concept of "sociological imagination" (Watson, 2011), I frame my studies by attending to major issues for the public in connection with individuals' private troubles, including myself as a researcher. I hold the view that my life experience would give greater depth and substance to the issues with which I am concerned as a research problem (Huberman & Miles, 2002). Practicing research, as I see it, demands deep questions to be teased out regarding who one is and where one wants to see oneself in the future. That is where a researcher's contribution is likely to be addressed. Being passionate enough, I interpret this process not only as a career path for myself but rather as my individual responsibility towards the global village in which we live. Respectively, I have sought to listen to entrepreneurs who tell their own stories rather than focusing upon story-telling processes (Steyaert, 2007) plotted along individual and global interdependencies. I hoped that some of their stories would share familiar experiential contexts and perspectives (Young, 1989) as I articulated as being significant for myself.

In general terms, I would say that my personal context enabled me to think about how different worlds may relate to each other and eventually how individuals cannot avoid responding to the actualities of life, sometimes with pleasure but sometimes painfully (Mulinari & Sandell, 1999). I think that one thing has been particularly important in encountering such diversities. That is moving around different contexts both in working and in everyday life. The first context that I need to mention is entrepreneurship. I was born to self-employed parents for whom enterprising was a means of survival. With them, I experienced entrepreneurship as including failures and struggles but also as a source of family honor, self, and social standing. During these days, I met many new people who entered and departed from our lives, leaving sometimes very trivial and sometimes very deep traces and impressions (Ahmed, 2004). For instance, my father used to bring to our home his young apprentices, who usually

came from small towns and villages to learn craftsmanship in the town and needed a place to stay until they had settled. There were usually such people, whom we did not know properly, at home. Vivid among my memories from those days is my confusion when my father stood as security for someone who needed to engage in business and then failed to pay his debts, and all those institutional executions invaded the smooth running of family life. Indeed, entrepreneurship as I experienced it is more about life making than risk taking (Fletcher, 2010) and it is so intimately social, cultural, and individual at the same time that such rigid boundaries between so-called different entities, as we call "the level of analysis," may only work in the life of research, but perhaps not even there (Calás et al., 2009). I believe that family, business, home, and away are so often nested together, especially in the emergent phases, which usually take the shape of a small business activity, an activity of millions of small business owners worldwide (Fournier & Lightfoot, 1997; Kondo, 1990).

Besides, being born into an extended immigrant family developed my sensibility towards different cultures and contexts. Since my early childhood, I have experienced the impacts of migration on my life as a special situation demanding a continuous effort to switch between and understand diverse world views (Vertovec, 2001).

Later on, after my graduation from university, I had to confront myself as a gendered subject, a woman engineer. Those years deeply affected my approach to myself, other people, and societal norms and rules. I was to see clearly that our lives in general and our working lives in particular are deeply embedded within gendered norms and practices (Calás & Smircich, 1989; Calás & Smircich, 2006; Ely & Padavic, 2007). My engineering career in particular, from the first to the last day, was mainly determined not by what I had achieved or performed but by the fact that I was a woman in a men's business (Faulkner, 2001). That meant, for example, that though I could be an engineering manager, the highest level that one can reach in one's early thirties, I could not have any decision-making power or progress further than that title (Cooper Jackson, 2001). More importantly, being a woman also meant arranging safe conditions for having a family life and children (Collins, 1994). However, that was not possible due to my extremely heavy working conditions and traveling. Those very fundamental issues, as many other professional women friends of mine had also confronted, indeed prompted me think about the kind of future that I wanted for myself and for my family. Then, I turned to my long-term dream of teaching and researching and resigned from my professional career after working for eight years. Those enriching experiences still accompany me, as a woman who is studying for her PhD study and living in Sweden, and shape me and more importantly my research efforts.

3.3.2 Arriving at Research Objects and Subjects

Having reflected on these qualities and experiences, I decided to conduct my PhD research on the gender and ethnic constructions and practices of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs in Sweden. In conducting my interviews, I chose to focus on the stories of immigrant entrepreneurs with Turkish descent for several reasons, explained below.

First and most importantly, having the same nationality would enable me and my research participants to talk to each other in our shared native language. The second issue concerns their occupational situations. In Sweden, people from Turkey are mainly involved in entrepreneurial activities. They are one of the three largest groups who engage with entrepreneurship (Nutek, 2007). In 2009, when I started my research education, 20 percent of the total employed people were self-employed and 77 percent worked in small businesses; only 3 percent were employed in joint stock companies (SCB, 2012).

The third point concerns their highly heterogeneous composition, because the groups would provide highly different conjectural circumstances of their arrival in Sweden in addition to their class, gender, and ethnic background. For example, the participants were both well-educated women of similar ages who were actively involved in civic movements in Turkey and migrated to Sweden in the aftermath of a military coup in the 1980s and women who arrived in Sweden after the 1970s as labor migrants. Finally, the identity of people from Turkey is a highly peculiar case influenced by the radical restructuring of the society in the mid-1920s. Established in 1923, the Turkish Republic took a very different route from its ancestor, the Ottoman Empire. Religion and ethnic heterogeneity, the basic governmental modes of the Ottoman Empire, were replaced with progressive, Western institutions and values in a modern nation state (Robins, 1996). That had a great impact on the diverse identity claims that people can make. Moreover, gender, or rather the construction of the Turkish woman as a modern face of the new nation, was fundamental to this restructuring project, which some call "state feminism" (White, 2003). In that respect, the image of Turkish women, which mostly involve women from the middle class and an urban background, also poses great opportunities for studying different subject positions and identities on the basis of the class and gender positioning that women individually and in relation to men can take up. For those reasons, I assumed that the participants might have been articulating diverse and boundary-crossing identity work, which would also vary on the ethnicity, race, and gender axes.

I took this decision in 2009, without really being aware of the inherently relational foundations of the research process (Dutton & Dukerich, 2006). My first task was to search for contacts that could help me to access entrepreneurs. I, with my husband's help, identified several potential contacts, which provided me with information on several entrepreneurs and even introduced me to them. At that time, I interviewed four male entrepreneurs and a woman entrepreneur

with Turkish descent. However, my search for more participants proved to be very ineffective. Looking back, I can see the possible effects of the relational social positioning of my contacts on the search for more and more entrepreneurs from Turkey. Basically, I suspect that the very notions that I am interested in studying, which are gender, ethnicity, and class, might have interfered with and determined the faith of my research process, firstly because these contacts were my husband's co-ethnic acquaintances who were referred by his friends in Turkey. They were Kurdish men who came to Sweden as political refugees mainly claiming political and public discrimination in Turkey following the military coup. They were mostly resident in Stockholm and knew each other well but not many women and majority ethnic Turkish entrepreneurs from Turkey. They generously offered me their time and friendship as I was able to visit their workplaces and listen to their life stories for six to nine hours. Nevertheless, I had only contacted a few entrepreneurs from the Kurdish community. After waiting for some months, I realized that waiting too long might harm my study rather than developing it; I then considered changing my research topic.

With this idea in my mind, I turned to societal entrepreneurship, regarding which I had been taking part in a research project in my capacity as a PhD student reviewing the literature (Aygören, 2014). I accordingly prepared a draft research proposal. During that period, I came across the opportunity to study one social venture, which aimed to collapse stereotypical gender roles by creating children's books. That was quite an amazing project, during which I held several interviews with the founder and researched other empirical facts and material, including many children's books. Nevertheless, by that time, I realized that I may not be able to conduct this study because of my limited knowledge of Swedish, since the company was actively engaged in creating social change and to that end participating in important occasions like book fairs and discussion forums as well as trying to influence public opinion through different social media. In this case, I tried several technological possibilities to bypass my weakness in the Swedish language. However, it became very apparent that language is a complex phenomenon that entails cultural and societal signification processes with which one needs to be engaged for long years to grasp the meanings conveyed and communicated. Indeed, I was interested in the socio-cultural and contextual aspects of entrepreneurship, and language and culture were thus intrinsically linked. I again turned to my first choice in my first phase of searching for a research topic. This time, without being guided by personal contacts, I used web resources and called many people who I had not met before in the hope of reaching as many women entrepreneurs from Turkey as possible.

3.3.3 Making Theoretical and Methodological Choices

My primary socialization into social science research prior to my PhD study in Sweden was stamped by unorthodox writings on the sociology of knowledge and science and technology studies. I was very keen to adopt major theoretical frameworks, for example actor network theory (ANT), for my research here in this institution. However, I was also puzzled. ANT and I have a history. I was socialized within ANT but felt unease regarding where to place myself comfortably within the classified paradigm doctrines. I experimented by writing two course papers drawing on ANT, "Reading Strategy as a Translation Process" and "Technology Question in Feminism and Feminism Question in Technology." Nevertheless, I found out that the world view that ANT proposed was seen as very exotic but nevertheless as lacking institutional support. It was also due to the reluctance of ANT to deal with the question of subjectivity (Braidotti, 2006) that I reoriented myself towards more legitimate grounds. I then decided that, once I had obtained my degree, I would start a project synthesizing these two streams.

Nevertheless, as I see it now, I think I took the baggage of ANT with me as a backbone understanding that is nevertheless buried deeply in my present efforts. I committed to translating the basic tenets of ANT into more legitimate grounds in management/entrepreneurship; for example, I was indeed interested in the interface between order and disorder and examining how disorder is made ordered (Law, 2004) and talking about matters of concern rather than matters of fact (Latour, 2004). Along with the emphasis on non-humans as actors in ANT, I subsequently focused on the people who are seen as less than human, such as immigrants, women, the working class, and so on, and on showing their agency with narrative and discursive approaches. I also translated ANT's main tenets, these of heterogeneity and precariousness (Law, 1994), with the question of difference and diversity in entrepreneurship. Indeed, after becoming more familiar with the theoretical field in organization and entrepreneurship studies concerning subjectivities and identities and after writing my first two papers, I then seriously considered including materialities in my research through feminist and Bourdieusian studies to show the influence of material associations, because many enriching and deeper discussions were privileging the discursive practices and downplaying the importance of materialities (Anthias, 2001; Orlikowski & Scott, 2015; Putnam, 2015). This dimension was especially lacking in discussions of entrepreneurship and in particular of immigrant women entrepreneurs' agency.

With this history behind me, I turned to the material-generating phase, some of the aspects of which I discuss below.

At the beginning of my interviews, I informed the interviewees about my research and the particular aspects that I wanted to consider. Despite that, many participants wanted to know specifically what I wanted to hear from them. That

was quite an interesting response to which I would like to pay some attention. In general, I interpret it as the first phase of the empirical material-generating phase.

The interviews helped me in first making sense of the gendered, ethno-cultural, and class-based dimensions of entrepreneurial practice and more importantly they showed me the particularities of the migration context. In that context, through my participants' experiences and from listening to their stories, I saw how they were simultaneously present in several spatial and temporal senses as very fragmented and multiple identities and they were crossing different fields and negotiating multiple, often intersecting, social locations.

The empirical context helped me to see how entrepreneurship practice is conducted, including paid and unpaid activities as well as those connecting the two. Indeed, I was convinced that I would either need a different conceptualization of economic activity or use this as problematizing what I have read or learned about the very nature of entrepreneurial practices. Indeed, I decided to use feminist theories and theories of identity, as well as the cultural sociology of Pierre Bourdieu, all of which take into account economic issues as much as cultural, social, and power-driven issues. Besides, all of these theoretical perspectives would allow me to connect the women's private experiences as part of the public experience with transforming and reproductive effects. In this way, I could conceive entrepreneurship as being composed of all those other dimensions of life besides economic, showing ways to make sense of my empirical material and later to process it analytically to interpret women's experiences (Scott, 1991).

Indeed, I could have interrogated my readings on what constitutes entrepreneurship through these lenses. I used these theories to help me to determine what was happening in women's lives as well as during the research process. However, most of the theories adopted in entrepreneurship research do not seem to work at the level of lived, practical experiences; hence, I needed to contextualize these theories in light of my empirical material and my methodological inclination by borrowing from other disciplines (Zahra, 2007). Skeggs (1997) argues that some theories have more practical adequacy in relation to the subjects and objects of studies. For instance, feminist theory, by focusing primarily on women's lives and power, is more relevant to studying women's lives than many others, which do not take women and men as the focal entry points in theorization. This was my experience. I respectively read and applied the feminist intersectionality framework to be able to probe women's identification and agency construction processes more deeply, cross-cutting all the four papers. However, in my first paper, I adopted a more pronounced intersectional approach (Yuval-Davis, 2006a) by hoping to downplay the very "absent" image of immigrant women's agency represented through the discourse of victimization. Later, in examining processual identity construction in the context of family businesses, I applied the identity work framework (Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003). By fiddling with the empirical material generated with immigrant women entrepreneurs, I continuously questioned the explanatory

power and adequacy of these frameworks, especially concerning the issues of "discursive abstraction" privileged in most of these theoretical approaches, which I then found myself in reading cultural sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's and his feminist followers' works, regarding all of which I provide a broader and deeper discussion in a separate section.

After outlining my research motivations and emergent research design concerning the choices I made with regard to the research topic, research subjects, and theoretical frameworks, I now turn to introducing the material generation processes.

3.4 Empirical Material Generation Processes

3.4.1 Empirical Characteristics of the Study with Family Business Members

> *I came to Sweden in 1963. Sema was 2 years old … She was crying after me when I had left. I was a dressmaker. I had put my labor into this job for 20 years. However, as a tailor we could not afford our life. I was producing two jackets a week, but when I got my money on Saturday, nothing was left by Monday … I had friends who migrated to Germany so I decided to migrate; in those days nobody around us was aware of that opportunity. After two years, my wife said to me, "either you come back here or take me there! So I took her here." We were settled in the capital city of Sweden, Stockholm, but thought of living in Sweden as a transitory phase and after making some money, we would have gone back to Turkey. We have been here since then* … (Father of the immigrant family business, personal communication, 2012)

While I was searching for Turkish-origin women entrepreneurs, I asked my colleagues and Turkish graduate students. They all directed me to one person, Sema; they said she was a very successful woman entrepreneur as well as being a very nice person. From my Swedish colleagues' point of view, she was a person with a big heart, and for the young students, she was a little authoritarian but a loving sister. The students became acquainted with her through her younger brother Mehmet, who was like a big brother to them in Sweden by acting as a first contact in the case of emergency and by offering part-time jobs at his food shop. My colleagues, on the other hand, knew her through the city's women entrepreneurship projects and as the owner of a prestigious place where the city's important gatherings take place.

Indeed, through one of my friends, a graduate student at the university, we had the chance to meet at her place following my appointment request. After talking for a while, I mentioned my hardship in not being able to access or find

women entrepreneurs due to my limited contact with the Turkish community. She said that I would not find her at such gatherings because she would never attend. They are not for her. I became very curious; however, since it was our first meeting, I decided not to enquire further. Later, we met several times, at least once a week, at one of her places or downtown for a coffee. By this time, it had become apparent that she had a very complex relationship with her family, not only concerning their private lives but also in their working lives, as they had several family-run businesses in the town. My puzzlement grew further when meeting other people from her family and their relationships: her children, her husband, her brothers, her sisters-in-law, her father, her mother, and diverse people around her. At the time, I was not aware that I was conducting "ethnography by default" (Skeggs, 1997), as I was mostly hanging around with different members of the family and participating in different events held at their houses or businesses.

My meeting with Sema's husband and older brother, however, happened quite by chance. During the first months of my PhD study, we held a PhD course that attracted several international students, whom I took with me to the green area in which their events business is located. After we had ordered our coffees and moved to the pay desk, an extremely well-dressed middle-aged man smiled gently at us and, in quite a distanced fashion, said "enjoy your coffee" in Turkish (since I was talking on the phone). I was quite surprised by that first encounter, probably because I often used to see migrant men back stage at a restaurant or wearing a smock.

Among those people, the ones I met least in person were her mother and her father. I met her mother perhaps three times at big family gatherings. However, every time I went to Sema's workplace, I could not avoid looking at the photographs of three women taken in the late 1960s, one of which showed Sema's mother and her three aunties. Such photographs of women with their carefully dressed hair and bodies are hallmarks of the image of modern women in the 1960s. She was indeed a mother and a wife, although she worked for her whole life. When they migrated to Sweden, her father and mother worked in factories, cleaned the offices, and raised their children together.

I met the youngest of the family members on several occasions, mostly when I visited their workplaces; I saw them working part-time. Three of Sema and Ender's children, aged 28, 21, and 19 today, said to me that they did not want to Take over the family businesses. Despite them referring to different reasons and justifying themselves on quite different grounds, none of them seemed to be interested in taking over the business.

I was so inspired by their points of views and responses to the complexities involved in family and business lives that I wondered whether I could conduct research around them. I was a little uncomfortable as it could be interpreted as interchanging instrumental engagements with friendship. However, they all welcomed me as a researcher and a friend to the extended family. During the period between 2009 and December 2013, I continued my research efforts at

several of their places, on important occasions and during casual chats. I have been known to attend work at their businesses and become a kind of objective arbiter in their conflicts, such as during divorce and ownership restructuring processes. However, I carried out independent life story interviews with family members, on which I based my article. This was mainly about my concern about being consistent with the methodological framework that I used in different papers, three of which were based upon life story interviews that I held with women entrepreneurs. However, my material generation process in this particular setting was more akin to ethnography, or quasi-ethnography as Watson (2011) calls it, than to life story interviews.

3.4.2 Empirical Characteristics of the Study with Immigrant Women Entrepreneurs

In parallel, I continued to search for immigrant women entrepreneurs with a Turkish background. A young Turkish man, who orchestrates the efforts for networking Turkish business women and men, helped me greatly. This informal gatekeeper provided me with access to my participants, who knew and trusted him. This opportunity was very timely. I was quite far behind the institutional expectations and I decided to start the material collection process with my baby, who was then four months old, and with the support of my husband. I reached around ten women entrepreneurs, many of whom were enterprising and living in Stockholm, the capital of Sweden. Regarding the number of life stories that would be enough, like Barley (2006), I supposed that there was no magic number. I continued with my material generation efforts by asking women to refer to me other women entrepreneurs whom they knew, and this effort yielded twelve more entrepreneurs, seven of whom I interviewed. I saved all the others to approach in the second phase, as I might contact them while my analysis was maturing and whenever I saw the need to attend to some deeper issues by the time my analysis matured. Most of my respondents seemed to be happy for me to contact them whenever I needed, and I have been in regular contact with more than half of my participants during this last phase of my writing in 2015. The main descriptions of the women included in my research are summarized in the table below.

Table 1. Main characteristics of immigrant women entrepreneurs

Life- Story Narrator	Migration history	Age at the time of migration (the year of migration)	Education: occupation prior to starting up	The Year of Start-up	Field of Entrepreneuring
Leyla	Labor	2 years old (1968)	University: university student and elderly care taker	1988	Human resource consultancy
Ceren	Lifestyle	2 years old (1968)	High school: financial accountant and elderly care taker	2006	Elderly care
Ayla	Political	28 years old (1983)	University: dentist	1995	Dentistry
Senay	Labor	0 years old (born: 1981, migration: 1974)	High school: beautician and elderly care taker	2011	Beauty and personal care
Guler	Political	26 years old (1973)	University: psychologist and TV program producer	2004	Educational consultancy
Merve	Labor	2 years old (1973)	High school: hairdresser	1990	Hairdresser
Nalan	Lifestyle	6 years old (1973)	High school: cook	2007	Knitting ware shop
Ramize	Political	23 years old (1982)	University: nurse	1996	Translation
Nejla	Labor	0 years old (born: 1979, migration: 1977)	High school: nurse and elderly care taker	2004	Beauty and personal care
Mine	Political	28 years old (1980)	University: dentist	1996	Health and personal care
Nurten	Labor	10 years old (1966)	University: social service officer	2010	Wine trading

Zeynep	Labor	0 years old (born: 1989, migration: 1966	University student	2009	Event organizing
Selin	Lifestyle	22 years old (2002)	High school: dancer	2008	Restaurant–café–bar
Sema	Labor	3 years old (1963)	High school: public service officer	1991	Restaurant–café–bar
Muge	Lifestyle	32 years old (2010)	University: marketing consultant	2010	Marketing consultancy
Hatis	Labor	0 years old (born: 1983 migration: 1999)	High school: housekeeper	2005	Restaurant–café–bar
Aysen	Labor	2 years old (1963)	Secondary school: housekeeper	1993	Restaurant–café–bar

There appeared to be clear differences in women's migration experience, as some women who followed their father or brother migrated to Sweden at much younger ages, varying between two and seven, but the women who migrated as political refugees reported their age of migration as mid-twenties. These two groups also show distinct demographic differences in terms of their level of education, the kind of professional work that they engaged in prior to venturing, and their family background. All the women except two have been earning their living through running their own businesses and the majority operate in sectors considered to be typical women and/or immigrant women job sectors in Sweden (Hedberg, 2009).

3.4.3 *Engagement with Material Generation Processes: Fascination and Immersion versus Concerns and Dilemmas*

Now I want to turn to the material-generating processes, which I see as a critical part of this important and long journey. First are the material arrangements. I had to be very careful in planning my visits, as I hardly knew Stockholm and people in Sweden are usually extremely prompt in terms of appointed meeting times as well as because I had to breastfeed my baby in the middle of the day. I plan to write about this process in more detail in a separate work; however, suffice it to say here that as much as my participants, my method of involvement greatly shaped the generation of empirical material.

I was experiencing gender and migration as "lived relations" not simply in terms of picking up the available discourses and making them my own to adjust to my situation but rather to be able to take actions in the midst of the contradictory practices and discourses marking my experiences (McNay, 1999). For instance, taking such a small baby into such heavy scheduling made me very nervous, as I felt regretful in case I was prioritizing my own project over taking care of him. On the other hand, I had to deal with institutional pressures, as I had to catch up with my timeline due to lost time in my search for contacts and a research topic, as I introduced above. Obviously, none of this was my sole responsibility; the institutional and organizational contexts were rather organizing my path. Nevertheless, articulating my resonance in this way simply provided no relief, as I was a doctoral student, mother, and wife as well as struggling to build a life in Sweden with my husband, who is a highly educated professional, a lawyer, who had long been unemployed in Sweden.

As a result, my interest in gendered, ethno-cultural, and classed subjects were so intersected with my participants that I found myself being deeply attentive to their stories and issues but also intervening and participating in the life story generation process in a similar sense to what Chris Steyaert (2011) calls the "politics of method" in entrepreneurship research. However, on the side, I was concerned about the limits of this border-crossing regarding the nature of my responsibility as a researcher (Rhodes & Brown, 2005). For instance, some of the interviews turned out to be discussions between us, reminding me of Ruth Behar's (2003) ethnographically very rich account of feminist writing, "Translated Women: Crossing Borders with Esperanza's Story," rather than me listening carefully to my respondents to be able to record more of what they were saying. I knew that the researcher's involvement in the research process is one of the most classical hallmarks of the qualitative research tradition (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005), yet every time I returned after meeting participants, I had very confusing and ambivalent feelings and thoughts.

My first dilemma concerned the unease that I felt in taking on the role of a disciplined researcher. Indeed, what I could offer was not sterilized facts and discussions representing social life as it is but rather a storyline, its plot emerging as creative co-construction (Watson, 2000) between me and my participants with embodied and diverse histories (Essers, 2009). However, I was also not able to see the degree to which I should become involved or assume responsibility as a researcher (Rhodes & Brown, 2005). In these first days, my first concern was about not being able to collect as much as I could, since my later writing would be extracted from these passages, and failing to collect material in an appropriate way would reduce the quality of the empirical material and result in wrong interpretations of the experiences of women. I was even worried about my image as a researcher in my participants' eyes, because I sometimes asked very silly questions to make sure that I was recording everything correctly and shared my own opinions generously on the subject matter, which a serious researcher would not do. I imagined a serious researcher as someone who sees no issue in

authorizing herself to her participants, usually by developing conscious strategies signaling her legitimate position by keeping a social distance (Bourdieu, 1984), such as the unspoken rules and conventions in interview settings, such as taking notes silently, remaining indifferent towards the questions that the interviewees ask her, avoiding becoming involved in ongoing discussions, and perhaps even the way in which she dresses up and speaks to the participants. I did not even have glasses!

Indeed, thanks to thousands of feminist writings and especially Caroline Esser's (2009) invaluable writing on those mostly feminist dilemmas concerning "power," "emotions," and "social locations," I am now able to see all those experiences not only as rich reservoirs but also as an inherent part of the research process that one should problematize and take further. I can now take a clear stand on my writings adopting a feminist standpoint. First, this concerns my responsibility and authority in the process. I hold the view that, even though our subjectivities are co-constructed in the research process, my presence actually weighed more because it was indeed me who decided what was more worthy of knowing and writing (Skeggs, 1997). Second, the interviewees accounts were also partial due to my selection of certain parts over others (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008). I was also to translate their accounts into representations in the text, since so many of the embodied expressions and emotions are lost in translation (Lutz, 2011).

All these concerns point out the important and critical debate that Pullen and Rhodes (2005) took up regarding the fictional and non-fictional, as drawing boundaries around different paradigms of research makes the research practice subject to ethical and validity claims. I assume responsibility by clarifying my stance in this debate. Particularly, my writing seeks to describe the process as transparently as possible to my readers and assume a shared responsibility for enacting the social in a particular way, engaging with certain methodological and theoretical choices within the interpretive paradigm (Leitch, Hill, & Harrison, 2009). Thus, I acknowledge the partiality of my research and the taking into account of subjectivity for the objectivity of my research (Skeggs, 1997).

3.5 Reading, Examining, and Interpreting Empirical Materials: Life Stories, Identities, and Narrative Accounts

There are different reasons for my decision to focus on the personal narratives of my participants in the form of life stories. It is mainly because personal narratives provide original insights into the unique forms of describing reality (Stivers, 1993); that is, personal stories are spaces in which the individual and the

social meet (Riessman, 2008). Consequently, life story methods draw not only on what happened but also, and more importantly, on how people make sense of what is happening or may happen (Erel, 2007) through articulation of their experiences and, indeed, themselves (Brah, 1991). As such, narratives told through life stories are attempts to present the self as a coherent and proper subject who endures (Linde, 1993). Lived experience elaborated through life stories does not figure as any essentialist category; on the contrary, it provides an account of personal movements around the available discursive resources (Søndergaard, 2002; Staunæs, 2003) and becomes a resource for seeing and indeed acting differently (Mohanty, 1995; Stone-Mediatore, 1998).

Narrative accounts are therefore not just the personal dictum of the storytellers. An identity of the self, glazed in the story, is formed by the relations of her appearance to others in the world, since a person, in narrating herself, always explores and creates the relation of self with the world that can appear to others (Ricoeur, 1991; Ricoeur & Blamey, 1995). The self is depicted by the narrative in relation to others in this theorization. In "Oneself as another," Paul Ricoeur (1995) theorizes identity as a dialectic between the self's narrative imagination and the commitment made by the subject who has been responsible for caring for others or complying with others' expectations (1995, p. 168). Accordingly, the selfhood of oneself "implies otherness to such an intimate degree that one cannot be thought of without the other, that instead passes into the other" (1995, p. 3). Thus, he signifies another to self not only as that of comparing (oneself similar to another) but eventually as that of an intimation (oneself inasmuch as being other). But how does that process actually work?

3.5.1 Life Story Narratives as Sources of Empirical Material: What Life Stories May Tell and Complicate

The critical step in the narrative conceptualization of identity is taken when one passes from the action towards the character who performs the action in the narrative, suggests Ricoeur (1995). A narrative category is turned into a category of the character when characters themselves become plots. When there is nothing to be emplotted, the loss of identity of the character means a crisis of the configuration and closure of the narrative. Narrative identity is thus a response to its nothingness. More strikingly, he adds, the most dramatic transformations of personal identity pass through the severe trial of this nothingness of identity. In such moments of extreme misery, the self can be imagined as saying "I can try anything," but the muted discourse replies "everything is possible but not everything is beneficial." It is here, at this breaking point, that the "act of promising" turns into a delicate agreement: "I can try anything, to be sure, but 'here is where I stand!" (Ricoeur & Blamey, 1995, p. 168). Calling this moment, a "secret break" Ricoeur (1991; Ricoeur & Blamey,

1995) indeed shows that narrative identity is endlessly constructed socially as well as personally.

In this way, stories are always unique, relational, and unfinished acts of telling (Hall & Du Gay, 1996) and strive for unity even in the case of a person suffering from acute amnesia, in which the subject cannot recall her memory of the past, but, interestingly, she can tell a unique story of her own (Cavarero & Kottman, 2000).

The conceptualization of identity as a narrative will be very central to the way in which I will approach and analyze the life/stories of the (migrant) participants within their "uniqueness" and "unity," just because any life story being told is not exceptional but "unique" in the sense that it is constitutively interlaced with many others. Thus, the uniqueness of the narratives provided will be looked upon as their lived experience (Brah, 1996), which will be explained (Scott, 1991).

On the other hand, it poses "unity" because the protagonist in the story is "insubstitutable" and the insubstitutability of the subject persists throughout her existence. However, that does not deny that, in a life story, the qualities of the protagonist are also narrated. Here, the life stories can provide interesting materials for sociological and historical analysis (Cavarero & Kottman, 2000) because the storyteller refers to "what" someone was or is. As one of my interviewees put it: "I am a political refugee." Here, the tale turns the protagonist into a type or character and we can see the various identities through which the same protagonist is authorized. However, even though the process of storying the life and the self is a crucial means of constructing identity, the stories are always limited by the cultural repertoires accessible by certain persons and groups situated in certain socio-cultural contexts, thus enabling some stories to be told but others not to be told in specific contexts. In this way, argues Erel (2007), life stories are an important viewpoint for rendering the links between subjectivity and social structures discernible.

When analyzing the stories of immigrant women and men, such links between the ways in which they construct their subjectivities in relation to social structures will be the main focus of my analysis. The literature tells us that there are many emancipatory drives involved in telling stories as well as in analyzing and sharing those stories of marginal people. However, critical dangers also exist.

First of all, they provide material that may have not been fully located or recorded elsewhere. Crucial to my project, through life stories, the influence of social structures on people's lives, which cannot be derived from structural data themselves, might be articulated. Therefore, the (auto)biographies of marginalized people have the potential to challenge the underlying gendered, racialized, ethno-cultural, and classed assumptions of an ideal subject of (auto)biography.

More importantly, they may manifest structures of exclusion, relations of power, and counter acts that quantitative data may not reveal. As such, it is through the life story approach that we can delve into diverse life aspects of the storytellers, which are not narrowed down by particular events or aspects and

hence theorize the intersectional structures of power run through gender, race, ethnicity, class, and so on. In this way, life stories are great keys opening the black boxes of the first processual dynamics of migrant lives, such as considering the development of new and differential hierarchies opted for and out of established migrant and host communities, and second they enable the fallacy of stereotypical images to be seen, such as backward migrant women or uncivilized men. Simply, it provides a link between "the migrant agent and the structure of society" (Lutz, 1995, p. 314).

Indeed, these insights may question the theorization grounding migration legislation for further actions or gendered and racialized stereotypes influencing migrants' lives. For example, the popular migrant image as well as some studies still assume that migration to a Western country and the living and working conditions that women migrants experience there form their first encounter with modernity or even further the first opportunity granted to migrant women to work outside the home (Brah, 1993). From here follows the hasty conclusion that European societies provide a completely new opportunity for liberation for those migrants. Such deceptive insights, once informing the legislative and societal practices, might not heal but complicate those peoples' lives and increase their vulnerabilities.

Migrant women's and men's life stories can also be understood as potentially swarming the existing power relations, as the migrants produce alternative accounts of themselves and contest the firm positioning in which dominant discourses and practices place them, even if, to the extent of the power that the migrants hold in their sway, the biographies should be read as if shedding light on relations of power. Erel (2007) suggests that narrative constructions of self in life stories complexly intertwine the dominant and resistant discourses on "who I am," and by telling their life stories, the migrant women contribute to building "imagined communities," as Benedict Anderson (2006) coins the term. Thus, shifting the identity constructions of the participants both constructs and critically questions collective identities. In my analysis, I pursue this important insight to examine the ways in which the participants in my studies reproduced and challenged the available identity markers.

Similarly, Plummer (2001) underlines the relation between the wider cultural and social conventions of storytelling, experience, and collective identities and the role of a public or audience. In exemplifying his argument by referring to gay and lesbian community-building efforts and the role played by life stories, he suggests that the coming-out stories told by lesbian and gay people not only make the repressed experiences worth telling but also form the collective identities around such groups by creating their own scripts of storytelling. As such, the scripts should also be read regarding their effects not only on developing a sense of "we" but also on disciplining and normalizing the experiences to be told further in different ways, for example by limiting certain choices on which the story can be built, for example heterosexual desires or the relationships that gays or lesbians might be pursuing. These voices from the bottom nevertheless might

simply be boiled down a priori into "collective stories," as Plummer (2001, p. 90) strikingly puts it: "more marginal voices (…) speak not just of themselves but of and for 'others' in the world. The autobiographies 'from below' hence work to create a different sense of autobiographical form, one where consciousness of self becomes more of a collective exploration than just a private one."

Though people "from below" articulate the collective experiences of marginalized identities and in this way democratize the genre itself and give a voice to silent narratives (Steedman, 1987), they also run the risk of unifying experiences by neglecting the complexities and diversity involved in subjects' experiences. In particular, in their efforts to challenge the dominant white, European, male, bourgeois subjectivity, accounts have deepened the division between dominant individuals and marginalized communities as if "white people have psyches while black people have community" (Lewis, 1996, p. 25). On the flip side, telling confessional life stories might also bring the risk of reducing structural positioning to independent individual identities. For example, attracting attention to the proliferation of dramatic confessional life stories that marginal women broadcast in the US media, Patricia Hill Collins (1986, 1999) importantly warns us about the importance of being attentive to the underlying context of life stories. She suggests that unless we read those women's life stories within a particular context of American competitive individualism, we may easily skip to the conclusion that all social problems can be solved by working on oneself. Thus, instead of creating yet one more dichotomy of individual and collective, it would be better to see individuality and collectivity as partial standpoints that are integrated into every (auto)biographical telling (Erel, 2007). This point is extremely important in examinations of agency. There is a risk of focusing solely on the stereotypical representation of migrant women as vulnerable persons within the hierarchies of the migrant and native community and interpreting all their responses as circumscribed by the relation to predefined powerful "others" (Ahmed, 2000). This kind of approach readily invades analysis, leaving no room to examine the migrant women's lives themselves, including their desires, intentions, and life projections informed by their socio-cultural locations, as well as the possibilities of relating to others with care and compassion, as feminist and ethnographic discussions have made clear (Ortner, Anzaldúa & Saldívar-Hull, 1999; Comaroff & Comaroff, 1991; Nandy, 1989; 2001).

3.5.2 How to Read and Examine Life Story Narratives

The ways in which life stories can be read are plentiful (Group, 1989; Maynard & Purvis, 1994). In the following paragraphs, I will outline the specific aspects on which I will focus while reading the life stories produced by immigrant entrepreneurs. First, I will highlight the importance of the underlying context and, respectively, I will discuss the methodological tools that will help to incorporate those sensitivities into my analyses. My methodological approach is

readily visible from the theoretical frameworks on which I draw (Bourdieu, 1990; Kondo, 1990; Lykke, 2010; Watson, 2009; Yuval-Davis, 2006a), within which I attend to the issues of structure, culture, and agency simultaneously and without privileging one over another. This stance is arguably very relevant to any group but also to heterogeneous groups that stand on the verge of intersecting categories of social difference, like immigrant women entrepreneurs in my studies.

First and foremost, the telling of life stories is a truly social and cultural process. The teller, listener, and interpreter of the story all take part; however, the story changes or takes a different meaning according to the role, positioning, and intentions of the audience. It may take a different meaning, such as the story of asking for financial support to start up a small business, if it is told to a bank official or state social services or to the father or husband or otherwise to a researcher, and so on. The nature of those responses surely affects the subjects in quite different ways. Thus, life story methods articulate not only the identities of the storyteller but also their relations with the audience to which they are speaking. Taking this quality as a central feature of the construction of narrative accounts, Linde (1993) argues that the process of creating coherence is both social and individual in its nature. It is social because for the participants to perform as competent members of their culture, they should create a coherent story; if this does not happen, the speaker becomes the subject of criticism or corrected by the person to whom the story is being told. As much as it is social, creating coherence also involves the personal demands that we make on ourselves. These demands emerge from our desires to understand our lives as coherent, as making sense, and as the history of a "proper person." This demand usually emerges when a new event occurs and we cannot know how to form it into a narrative because it does not comfortably fit into our life story in its present form. The subject crumbles with this new experience until she somehow makes the new event appropriate to the ongoing story or changes the story to accommodate the new happening, as most migrants are often confronted.

In addition to the social and personal demand for coherence, even though the coherence of a text results from the conditions in which it is created and in turn negotiated, there lies a cultural premise for any such negotiation, argues Linde (1993). This cultural basis informing social negotiations consists of "coherence systems," as she conceptualizes. Coherence systems can be a "common sense" that all competent members of the society are assumed to share the same beliefs and assumptions or that there can be more special coherence systems: expert knowledge that a speaker may choose to engage.

However, migrant women and men are asserted through several central discourses built into expert knowledge, such as immigration, residence, employment, welfare, and so on. Unfortunately, there is no guarantee that the migrants' subjectivities will be recognized and represented as they experience them; nonetheless, those claims of whatever kind on the migrant have overwhelming discursive and material influences on their assertions. Erel (2007)

suggests that this expert knowledge forms a powerful intertext in conversing with the women's own stories that are told as well, as they often function in surveying and controlling the women's legitimacy. Techniques of self-narration and identity formation are informed and elaborated through expert knowledge. For migrants, this practice often gives way to a hidden demand to justify why they are here, when they are going back, and what entitlements they receive. Thus, the migrant subject's experiences may often be drawn from the requests to legitimate their presence, their demands, and their rights to participate, which may feel like an intrusion to intimate self-knowledge.

3.5.3 Analytical Tools and Ways of Examination

Accordingly, my project does not readily assume from the beginning that enterprising subjects form a coherent group in which they manifest their belonging with specific locations and terms; rather, this project aims to open up a space for heterogeneity and diversity. Throughout listening, sharing, and analyzing the texts in which the migrant subjects construct their identity, I tried to be attentive not necessarily only in relation to specific binary categories but also in relation to their degree and intensity of attachments to collective groupings and social categories, because I recognized that even if some may be similarly positioned along the intersecting lines of the power axis and subject to similar enforced normativities, the way in which they understand and make sense of those discourses might draw upon quite different experiences.

Therefore, equating membership with group identity may run the risk of essentializing the individual identities and normalizing their experiences by prioritizing certain types or aspects of identity over others. For example, being a woman may not necessarily equate to being an immigrant woman. Such separation would productively illuminate what makes some subjects under certain conditions identify with or not identify with certain identity groupings, beyond casting the social location as social fate. The second point concerns the situated subject and her situated imagination (Stoetzler & Yuval-Davis, 2002), knowledge, and visions (Haraway, 1988). The stories of all subjects, even if their life story may not manifest them explicitly, are formed through their situated views of the world and influenced by their particular locations.

When analyzing the stories of migrant entrepreneurs, I approach them as stories of difference and indifference. I draw upon the concept of belonging – feeling at home, as described by Yuval-Davis (2006a; 2010) – and its three main components: (1) social location, (2) identifications and emotional attachments; and (3) ethical and political values. In further examining the identification processes, I rely on the twin concepts of identification and dis-identification (Beverley Skeggs, 1997; Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003).

To include the two ideas in my material, I am inspired by the concept of narrative as social practice. Such an approach locates storytelling within different contexts, ranging from local to cultural and structural practices, and makes them

the key aspects of analysis (de Fina, 2008; De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008). This position acknowledges that we live in discourses but that life appears differently to each of us (Bacchi, 2005) because the same discourses are realized individually (Søndergaard, 2002). I also draw from the concept of positioning. As May (2000) suggests, a study of positioning allows for the observation of the different social locations in which individuals find themselves and the resources that they either can or cannot mobilize.

Departing from this kind of imagining of identities, I take identities, along with Yuval-Davis (2010), as "narratives, stories that people tell themselves and others about who they are and who they are not, as well as who and how they would like to/should be" (p. 266). Thus, how migrant entrepreneurs construct boundaries around the self and non-self is a central concern of the study. How do they do it, and which mechanisms are involved in those processes? Departing from the framework that I have been outlining, the theoretical consensus has emerged as follows. Identities are relational; however, as Yuval Davis (2010) highlights, this relationality can take diverse natures; this is crucial to any theorization and empirical analysis of identity, of manifested belongings, and of the boundaries constructed around it. Accordingly, Yuval Davis (2010) outlines four generic relations of the self and non-self, entailing different implications: "me" and "us"; "me"/ "us" and "them"; "me"/ "us" and "others"; and "me" and the transversal "us"/ "them." This relational identity basis obviously runs through mechanisms of excluding and including. This process does not occur mutually but mainly depends on the power positionality and normative values of the social actors as well as on their emotional and cognitive identifications. What comes next then is to describe briefly what those generic relationalities imply. The first, "me" and "us," demonstrates a sense of belonging that is accompanied by feelings of being very familiar, like feeling at home or feeling secure. That kind of drawing boundaries of the self assumes the presence of a permeable boundary between "self" and "us," which is imagined as including rather than excluding. The second modality, "me"/ "us" and "them," is a characteristic of situations in which severe conflicts are addressed and by which the individual's fortune is perceived. The individual attaches a tight bond between herself and her membership of a particular grouping in opposition to those who are identified as "them," such as is experienced in war or dictated by hegemonic discourses of identity. The third one – "me"/ "us" and many "others" – refers to situations and experiences in which the identity boundaries between us and them can become mundane and accepted, such as "friendly enemies," as coined by Chantal Mouffe as being fundamental to the functioning of democracies. As such, this relationality concerns those experiences that we face in discourses on the minutiae of life. The last one, "me" and the transversal "us"/ "them," imagines boundaries across borders and specific boundaries of membership and entails claims to solidarity based on common emancipatory values and ideals. Here, the situated knowledge and associated visions accompanying that situated standpoint

is what the individuals care most about and this imagination leads to dialogues among people in different situations.

3.6 Writing-Up Process

I wrote four different articles and the connecting piece, "Kappa", in different places and at different times, as I shared in some of their living histories above. The process as I experienced it has been truly iterative and relational, probably like all other researchers' experience. I still think about how I could have found better or deeper ways to generate material, to read and interpret it, and to write about it. However, during the peer-review process, I saw that my writing is just a start and it endlessly keeps breathing every time I or someone else reads these texts and thinks about the issues concerned. In that sense, I could talk about this process for days, yet translating this experience into text was a unique experience. On one side, it allowed me to develop my skill for telling more with fewer words and concepts, and on the other side, it showed me how hard it is to incorporate into the academic text the many affects and emotions that my participants conveyed during our encounters, such as their joy, regret, pride, and shame. Below, I would like to make a few comments about the preliminary writing-up process and conclude with a few final remarks on the writing-up process.

3.6.1 Preliminary Writing-Up and Generating Empirical Material in Tandem

Among those life stories to which I listened, I found two women's enterprising efforts to be very interesting in terms of their positioning within a similar axis of categories. With the two narratives at hand, I wanted to become familiar with the writing process. Currently, they were both involved in enterprising activities but had reached an age at which they were questioning where they wanted to spend the rest of their lives. They were both very educated and politically conscious women who were involved in the feminist and Marxist movements in Turkey before they fled to Sweden. I then widened my research through historical materials and the contacts that they mentioned in the interviews. For example, one of them mentioned the feminist association in Turkey, "foundation of progressive women," of which she was a member and for which she was convicted. I read books and found women in Turkey who shared similar experiences in that regard. The two women also pointed out another woman who arrived at around the same time and in similar conditions. I held a separate interview with her and recorded her accounts of approaching entrepreneurship. I started my analysis with those three interesting stories and the historical contexts of their migration rationale and saw how they experienced the differences and inequalities in their lives as well as what it meant for their sense

of identity and daily activities. However, although I only included two women who had been practicing entrepreneurship, the third woman's story was very helpful in making sense and drawing a plot of their life trajectories. Later, I conducted interviews with two other women who migrated to Sweden as political refugees.

I also undertook similar research to gain a deeper understanding of the historical background and socio-cultural and material conditions of women who migrated to Sweden as labor migrants by following their fathers or brothers. I read extensively to understand the different constructions of Turkish women (Arat, 2000; Kandiyoti, 1977; 2003) and to draw some patterns between the differentiated gender, ethnicity/nationality, labor market, and family norms in Sweden and in Turkey (Engelbrektsson, 1978; Hirdman, 2002; Liljeström & Özdalga, 2002) from the perspectives of writers from both Turkey and Sweden and covering recent and older accounts.

I also included statistical knowledge largely drawn from the National Statistical Bureaus of Sweden and Turkey. Despite not explicitly drawing on those sources in writing up my articles, this research provided a strong contextual ground on which I framed and structured my analysis and interpretations (Pratt, 2009).

3.6.2 Final Remarks on the Writing-Up Process

In my writing up process, I sought to use ethnographically inspired structuring and writing rather than implementing conventional styles of writing. This approach emerged from my concerns regarding the emphasis on native representations in the framing and writing process. To that end, I adopted the particular ethnographical methodology "critical documentary ethnography" developed by Sherry Ortner (2002). For instance, I took much longer quotes reflecting different points of views of the participants on exactly the same (in the family business paper) or close issues (in the rest of the papers). In this way, I expected to draw greater effect out of the life story interviews by letting the reader hear the participants speak in their own words, styles, and voices. I tried to avoid interrupting quotes as much as possible to allow their inter-reverberation. My approach as I see it now, however, materialized most in the paper in which I study the family business members. In the other papers, even though I attempted to write it in the same way, my attempts were mostly curtailed due to a mismatch between the space limits and the scope of the research, as many reviewers suggested shortening my quotes since they were far too long.

After saying all this, I would also like to reflect on my approach to authorship. Even now, when I sit and write by myself, I am surrounded by my books, many articles and arguments produced by real authors, and comments made my supervisors and friends. I am also very thankful for my functioning brain, body, and computer, which usually helped me during this period. Without all these, I would not even have been able to generate ideas for a research proposal and later

to translate all those ideas into a research text. Authorship is indeed a genuinely collaborative effort in which spaces, times, bodies with mental and affective faculties, and all sorts of objects, including concepts, are so densely associated and entangled that disassociating the author from this network becomes hardly possible. However, the writer is also a main agent who acts to extract all those concepts from their own media and translate them in particular ways to build a complex text.

3.7 Overview of the Papers Included in the Thesis

Through careful reading of two women's life stories, the first paper probes into the meaning-making aspects of entrepreneurial agency by highlighting its emergent and socio-culturally conditioned/mediated nature. The paper shows that while movement around a social space is certainly shaped by cultural and structural constraints and controlling, this does not simply produce victimization or the loss of agency in non-privileged subjects, but entails much more complex and varied negotiations with equally multiple social outcomes. The paper studies the diverse ways in which two immigrant women entrepreneurs responded to their emergent differential positioning and how they reflexively took up, experienced, and resisted through processes of differentiation in their capacity to dissent with the available social and subject positions. Indeed, responding to many views that locate women, especially immigrant women, as passive victims of global processes, I rather take them as agents who actively engage with the unfolding realities of life (Smith, 2005), which take different forms and meanings according to each individual's own projects. For instance, this study shows that even sharing very similar socio-economic and discursive resources, and having been located relatively very closely in social space, the two women's lived experiences of arriving at entrepreneurship as well as managing their businesses turned out to be very different. Here, I call for moving beyond the concept of identity when taken at an individual level and recognize that a person's identity is his or her own, though it is actively crafted in relation to social categories of difference (Young, 1997). Simply, I reflect on the need to be reflexive in adopting the concept of identity at the collective level (group, social, etc.) as it sometimes tells too little but also too much according to the context in question, as Brubaker and Cooper (2000) aptly suggest. Therefore, to examine women's relative identities, the study rather privileges the notion of difference and its implications for conditioning and consequences for agency through the multidimensional concept of (un)belonging (Yuval-Davis, 2006a). This approach helps to avoid a streamlined and naturalized understanding of gendered "identity politics" and rather emphasizes the need for contextualization of social perspective, including

women's social location, individuals' differential degree and nature of (dis)identification, as well as their transversal values.

Following the first paper, which demonstrates that the greatest movements often occur within the self, the second paper follows up the feminist motto "private is public" and aims to extend the negotiated and meaning-centered dimension of entrepreneurial identity and agency including home and family as causal and informal scenes that have mostly been kept out of sight as contexts of entrepreneurship as well as family businesses (Steyaert & Hjorth, 2007; Steyaert & Katz, 2004; Welter, 2011). The particular focus is on individual identity formation as worked out primarily within intersecting relations of gender and ethnicity in an immigrant family business context. Similar to the first paper, here too I come to recognize that individual identities and entrepreneurial agency are worked out differently (Alvesson et al., 2008; Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003); nevertheless, possible configurations and elements of identity work are often generated within the terms of larger discursive and material fields (Kondo, 1990; Yuval-Davis, 2006a; 2010), as these provide generative possibilities and set the limit to the individual's capacities of understanding and actions. Accordingly, the aim was to tackle the limited and essentialist conceptualization of gender by reducing the diverse differences among women and among men into one of a kind occurring between a generic man and a generic woman (Calás et al., 2009; Hamilton, 2013a; Hanson & Blake, 2009; Lewis, 2014). To capture the gendered and ethno-cultural dynamics of entrepreneurship within the family business context, the primary concern was with such arguments revolving around men as universal oppressors and women who experience oppression universally in the same way and to the same degree. Instead, I approach gender relations practiced along contextual and emergent forms of femininity and masculinity in situ rather than attributing universally available prescriptive behavioral patterns to men's and women's roles and positions (Hamilton, 2013a; Lewis, 2006). Besides, the paper sought to expand this inquiry further by including ethnicity and its intersectionality with gender, demonstrating how these two discursive fields become the key to providing meaning-making habitats (Hannerz, 1996) for the individuals in navigating between individual, family, and business in the dynamic context of transnational imagination of entrepreneurship and businesses. Indeed, the distinctive role of the family added another layer of complexity to the understanding of the individuals' identity at work organizations given that the nature and forms of both the family (Ferree, 2010) and the work are increasingly transformed, blurring the divide between private and public even more (Okhuysen et al., 2013; Ramarajan & Reid, 2013).

While the first two papers focus on the meaning-making aspects of agency formation in the socio-cultural dimension of entrepreneurship and show that entrepreneurs' responses are influenced by their differential access to a system of representation and feed back into processes of differentiation, the third and fourth papers focus more on the entrepreneurial agency formation embedded

within the material and practical context of entrepreneurship by focusing on cultural and symbolic configurations of class and power relations. I follow the basic Bourdieusian argument suggesting that to understand the reproduction of inequalities, we need to attend to the symbolic struggles around capital accumulation processes. The metaphors of capital provide the overarching framework that informs last two papers within the thesis. I chose this framework over the feminist intersectionality and identity work frameworks adopted in the first two papers because it allows for the grasping of contradictions and cultural and other forms of investment across spatial and temporal contexts. It is especially useful to map out the critical role of disruptions and continuum along capital accumulation processes both as constraining and as facilitating entrepreneurship opportunities for particular groups of immigrant women entrepreneurs. The framework is also very helpful in identifying the interests of particular groups.

The third paper takes the fundamental insight of practice theorists as documented rich ethnographies showing that people are embedded not only within the worlds of meaning but also in material conditions (Ortner, 1995). As the feminist Bourdieusian theorist Louis MacNay (1999) highlights, this research also demonstrates this sharp reality of life that reflexivity alone – understood as discursive mastery – if not backed up with the necessary resources would not bring a choice but only the painful awareness of the lack of it. Having been concerned about the lack of discussions on cultural capital, which would provide a distorted impression that individual entrepreneurs, if motivated enough, can create an empire from scratch (Anderson & Miller, 2003; Gill, 2014), in this paper, I show how the different forms of cultural capital formation and the (dis)abilities of conversion and legitimation help to theorize the conditions of possibilities for exercising differential degrees of agency under which access, legitimacy, and the mobilization of capital are possible. In particular, examining the struggles around access to and legitimation of cultural formation, that is, if and how cultural capital is converted into symbolic capital, tells us a great deal about the generation, maintenance, and breaking of inequalities and systemic disempowerment, simply challenging the idea that individualized resources, when supported with institutional arrangements, would create a positive environment for all entrepreneurship. I show that the cultural formation of entrepreneurs and exchange relations forms the fundamental material basis of entrepreneurship and leads to either reproducing or changing the inequalities within the field of entrepreneurship and society at large. More importantly, by focusing on the cultural investments of IWE, the study avoids categorizing entrepreneurship as a condition that is distinct from the practical work of entrepreneurs but finds ways to link "context" and "subject" by considering long-standing categories of difference and relationality addressed in feminism and the practice-based perspective of Pierre Bourdieu.

In the fourth paper, I emphasize the power dimension incorporating resistance as one modality of agency. The paper emphasizes a sense of struggle

and resistance in the cultural scene of entrepreneurship. I discuss the intertwined relations between power and resistance based on the concept of struggle. I demonstrate how immigrant women entrepreneurs respond to intersecting forces of gender, ethnicity, and class through two main forms of agency, being agency of power and agency of intentions. Entrepreneurs use certain tactics creatively to empower themselves to bring value and meaning to their lives and those of others. The paper shows that meaning superseded issues of power in the daily interactions of the women mainly because the purpose and meaning were especially significant in enacting entrepreneurial opportunities. Immigrant women entrepreneurs from different backgrounds, social positioning, and life trajectories applied different agency forms and tactics in relation to their source of struggles.

The paper puts forward the need for further elaboration regarding the nature of the relationships between power and agency and inquiries into the limits to agency for any particular category of actors. It is my contention that the way in which the relation between power and agency is construed in the identity construction processes has in effect limited the understanding of individual agency and the power of entrepreneurship at large as oscillating between moments of determinism and moments of voluntarism. Instead, I seek to draw a more productive theorization of agency in consideration of the material relations by which symbolic norms are mediated that reaches beyond familiar dualisms such as domination versus resistance or signification versus resignification. Mulinari and Sandell (1999) suggest that those who cross and exhaust boundaries might not necessarily experience the process as a struggle against the tides, rather that people can move with pleasure. Indeed, disentangling some pieces of such contradictory and exciting struggles from their context and translating them into a research context (Zack, 2005) is a central contribution of my research project, which is presented as such in this research paper.

4 Discussions and Conclusions

I observed through my studies that the academics, policy makers and lending bodies who occupy positions of power have not merely produced modern entrepreneurialism. Rather, they inform most interpretations of entrepreneurship. Accordingly, I became passionate about giving voices to entrepreneurs themselves and about entrepreneurs' constructions of entrepreneurship.

Accordingly, in this thesis, I aim to offer a dynamic, relational and more balanced conceptualization of entrepreneurial identity formation as continuously re-produced in the diverse responses of entrepreneurs to social positions through access and claim belongingness to cultural representations and resources/capital. My research, at the outset, assumes the multiplicity of such responses and seeks to give voices to diverse experiences of immigrant women entrepreneurs and family business members, thereby enabling them to speak for themselves.

Mapping major epistemological stances in organization studies around three major cognitive interests—1) managerialist-functionalist, 2) practical-hermeneutic-interpretive and 3) critical-emancipatory, Alvesson et al., (2008)—suggest that identity researchers need to illuminate productive tensions and the potential alliances around such major philosophical stances to advance meta-theoretical development in identity research. In doing so, in my thesis, I adopt a transparent approach and remain close to the major assumptions and interests of interpretive and critical research philosophies. In response to this important call, I endeavor to clearly articulate and to reflect upon the epistemological underpinnings of my research within the multidisciplinary and multiperspectival field of identity throughout my research design, analysis and writing processes.

In particular, I am inspired by the ethnographic approach, and I draw upon Sherry Ortner's insights (2011; 2005), even if not in the sense of adopting conventional ethnographic methodologies. Ortner (1995, pp. 173-174) suggests that the "ethnographic perspective in a minimal sense means the attempt to understand another life world using the self—as much of it as possible—as the instrument of knowing. It is first and foremost a commitment to what Geertz has called 'thickness' to producing understanding through richness, texture, and detail, rather than parsimony, refinement and elegance."

By delineating the epistemological underpinnings of my study in interpretivist and critical terms, I seek to add new insights to several streams of research taking a processual and contextual perspective. My research is inspired by and aims to communicate with organization studies, particularly with entrepreneurship and family business researchers adopting identity work, practice theory and feminist perspectives.

As I outlined in the introduction, I see my particular contributions at the intersection of two major points. First, I intended to contribute to

entrepreneurship and family business studies on deepening the understanding of a society "as a differentiated and historically located formation" (Bourdieu, 1984; Giddens, 1979). This contribution serves to explore not only the nature of social interactions but more importantly the theorization of individual entrepreneurs in relation to the workings of dominant discourses in entrepreneurship and family business and of structural power relations that are interlinked to the intersectionality of social hierarchies (gender, ethnicity, class).

Accordingly, this approach allows for considering the ways in which social divisions and conflicts are inscribed into the entrepreneurial/organizational selves through the organization of differences (Ashcraft, 2012) and how these limit or enable individual entrepreneurs' agency, actions and identity formations (Tatli et al., 2014).

In the following, the analyses shift towards discussions around processual issues that amount to relative advantage (privilege) and disadvantage (marginalization) in the field of entrepreneurship. This processual stance views inequalities not as occupying a static and spatial position but as a dynamic and accumulated process defining access, mobility and the possibilities of investment across different field of activities. That is made possible by the intersection of diverse histories and practices of entrepreneurs and relevant constituents of society, such as labor markets, diffuse governmental bodies, media, financial organizations, and education systems.

In these terms, my interests greatly dovetail with the emerging stream of critical entrepreneurship studies in promoting and "extending the boundaries of entrepreneurship as a social change" phenomenon (Calás et al., 2009; Steyaert & Hjorth, 2007). Indeed, shifting the focus into processes, my studies help make visible the dynamic workings of objective power relations and cultural processes, thereby developing our understanding of the socio-cultural basis of the inequalities and conditions of the possibilities for social change that unfold through entrepreneurial practices.

I hold the view that these questions associated with identity/difference, agency, context and (in)equality might be powerfully addressed by combining the insights of identity work (Alvesson, 2010; Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Brown, 2014; Essers et al., 2013a; Lutgen-Sandvik, 2008; Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003; Watson, 2008), practice-based perspectives (Bourdieu, 1990; De Certeau, Jameson, & Lovitt, 1980; De Clercq & Voronov, 2009c; Forson et al., 2014; Nicolini, 2009, 2013; Özbilgin & Tatli, 2005; Reckwitz, 2002; Schatzki, 1997; Tatli et al., 2014), and feminist theory perspectives (Acker, 2006; Ahl, 2006; Calás et al., 2009; Calás & Smircich, 2006; Haraway, 1988; McNay, 2013; Mohanty, 1995; Mulinari & Sandell, 1999; Reay, 1997b; Skeggs, 1997; Yuval-Davis, 2006b) due to their central focus on the reproduction and transformation potentialities involved in social practices and strategies. Accordingly, I selectively adopt these theories into organizing the contexts of entrepreneurship and family business as fields/sites of diverse social practices (Bruni et al., 2004a; De Clercq & Voronov, 2009c; Schatzki, 2005; Spinosa et al., 1997). To better articulate my key points,

below, I frame my discussions around three major theoretical frameworks: feminist perspectives; identity work and practice-based perspectives, as adopted in entrepreneurship; and family business studies.

Starting from a non-essentialist and non-reductionist understanding of identity construction, paying greater attention to the agentic capacity of individuals, I disclose the relational and rich texture of entrepreneurship and family business in identity terms. In examining the identification processes, I privilege the notion of difference because I primarily aim to avoid not only essentializing but also amplifying the pertinent group differences in the analysis of individual identity. I observe both of these tendencies, particularly in thinking through the concept of ethnicity, which runs so subtly through many accounts of immigrant entrepreneurship (Jones & Ram, 2007). In terms of gender, this tendency has been debated by emergent feminist perspectives in entrepreneurship (Ahl, 2006; Hamilton, 2013a; Kenny & Fotaki, 2015; Lewis, 2006, 2014). Feminist perspectives in a handful of studies have challenged encapsulating gender relations in the presence and embodiment of women as a predefined group and have emphasized the situatedness of women's experiences. Recent attempts have brought to the fore discussions where such views are materialized through introducing diverse forms of femininities (Lewis, 2014) and intersectionalities (Essers & Benschop, 2007; Essers et al., 2013a; Pio & Essers, 2014). However, essentializing and magnifying gender differences is common in the field of family business studies. To my knowledge, this particular aspect of the discussion is not valid for questions of class because there is very limited discussion involving the concept of class in both the family business (for exception see Mulholland, 2003) and entrepreneurship literature (for exceptional accounts see Anderson & Miller, 2003; Gill, 2014; Knight, 2014).

Placing the theorization of the individual entrepreneur at the center in terms of entrepreneurial identity, the identity-work framework greatly enables the analysis of individual identities because it is actively and continuously workable (Alvesson et al., 2008; Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003; Ybema et al., 2009) instead of being fixed; it is not fully coherent but multiple, fragmented (Brown, 2014) and fluid.

The identity-work perspective provides a more balanced theorization by which an analysis can account for various types of sources and means of struggles. In particular, the identity-work framework provides greater insights for entrepreneurship and family business research areas 1) by balancing an overly negative view of agency, 2) by balancing an overly positive view of agency, 3) by broadening the sources and means of identification, 4) by delineating temporal and contextual specificities of identity construction, and finally 5) by providing a focused analysis on an individual level, where intimate micro and macro relations can be analyzed.

By primarily attending to the socio-cultural embeddedness of entrepreneurship, research has explored the ways in which this seemingly neutral and rational activity simultaneously directs many entrepreneurs to submit into

normative power hierarchies, be they gendered, ethnocentric, classed, ageist, sexist or other subtexts of entrepreneurship (Ahl, 2006; Ainsworth & Hardy, 2008; Bruni et al., 2004a; Essers, Benschop, & Doorewaard, 2010; Gill, 2014; Ogbor, 2000; Pio & Essers, 2014; Rehn et al., 2013). Those marginalized categories of entrepreneurs subdue their differences in terms of their status as women, their status as LGBT, their age, their ethnicity, or their disabilities and conform to normative expectations of society. Previously obscured questions such as identity, subjectivity, differences, and agency come to the fore. Focusing on the multiplicity of social relations positioning entrepreneurial subjects, constructionist approaches have increasingly recognized that these social complexities do not dissolve into the tenuous category of 'entrepreneur' and do not generate insights into the complexities of diverse experiences (Ainsworth & Hardy, 2008; Down & Reveley, 2004; Phillips et al., 2013; Pio & Essers, 2014; Verduijn et al., 2014; Verduijn & Essers, 2013).

This recognition has been crucial for challenging the seemingly neutral and individualized discourse of entrepreneurship, as presented in many mainstream entrepreneurship studies. Even in cultural entrepreneurship and strategic narrative accounts where entrepreneurial identity has been an inquiry of focus, the major concern has been on commonalities in the work experience (Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001; Martens et al., 2007; Navis & Glynn, 2011). As a result, a variety of differences, particularly those pertaining to the issues of power relations and agency, have been eliminated from research, and 'structural' inequalities are therefore flattened out.

Similarly, family business studies—where the majority of researchers draw upon managerialist approaches (Fletcher, 2013), particularly social identity theory—contain not only a static idealization of identity as a rigidly stable and coherent state but also an overly depersonalized view of family business members, where family business members are seen as an embodiment of the 'in-group-prototypes' (Shepherd & Haynie, 2009). This view has greatly undermined the agency of family business members and displaced inquiries towards processes of identification, where each individual works out his or her identities in relation to different identity regulations and other sources of struggles (Ainsworth & Cox, 2003). In other words, only the roles and expectations of the fields of family and business have been legitimate sources of identity construction; other sources and macro socio-cultural influences, such as gender (Hamilton, 2006, 2013b), ethnicity, class (Mulholland, 2003) and their intersections (Kondo, 1990) have been less so. More importantly, even in more nuanced accounts of identity in family business, identity construction and management are usually portrayed as free from struggles (Klein, 2008) and negotiations (Knapp, Smith, Kreiner, Sundaramurthy, & Barton, 2013; Reay, 2009; Shepherd & Haynie, 2009; Sundaramurthy & Kreiner, 2008). The literature thus provides either an overly unlimited or an extremely limited agentic capacity of individuals.

As such, family business as a research field has been shown to be a fertile ground for identity-work scholarship in showing how different contexts and

recurring influences in the daily life of individuals have distinct effects on the way identity is worked out (Watson, 2009). My research contributes to family business studies in the following important ways: By inquiring into the individual in identity terms, my study seeks to expand the understanding of the individual in the family business as deserving both conceptual and empirical attention (Habbershon, Williams, & MacMillan, 2003). One of the major contributions of the study is the demonstration of the importance of considering the individual and his or her relationship to the oft-discussed dimensions of family and business as a standalone site of inquiry, particularly in the first generation (Astrachan, 2003), and the start-up dynamics of family enterprising (Aldrich & Cliff, 2003). My study, for instance, demonstrates that family, as a particular site of identity work in addition to a business, has in effect intensified and complexified the identity work of individuals, particularly in the early stages of entrepreneurship and following the break-up of a family. This occurs because in drawing upon a shared understanding of the family's privacy, the members try to solve their issues without involving third parties, such as friends and non-family members in the family business. They seek remedies either in themselves or in negotiations with each other, where the source of identity regulation and the source of identity work greatly overlap (Essers et al., 2013a) as unlikely experienced in non-family business organizations (Lutgen-Sandvik, 2008). Following a family break-up, the members are still not completely independent of the family as an institution because they are entangled within established relations, such as with suppliers, buyers, and customers, whom tend to see them as members of a family business. Established relationships as such bring forward not only the need to further study the processes of how individuals work their identities in such intensely embedded work and family contexts but also how they re-structure their identities, which takes as much time and effort when either the family or the business dissolves.

However, the major point the study aims to make is to demonstrate the possible sources of identity work beyond those of direct influences stemming from family and business interactions. Macro-societal influences, such as gender and ethnicity, emerged, proving to be major sources of identity work for the individuals in our study. A further analysis of gender and ethnicity in the context of family business responds to the calls for a sustained focus on relations of gender (Collins et al., 2014) and ethnicity (Gupta, 2013) as major sources of meaning making for individuals but even more so as boundary-drawing habitats where intense negotiations take place. As such, the study greatly objects to the understanding of gender and ethnicity as biologically and sociologically determined constructs (variables); rather, it sees these as useful tools to probe into the diversity and contextuality of family businesses (Miller, Breton-Miller, & Lester, 2011; Welter, 2011; Wright, Chrisman, Chua, & Steier, 2014) and entrepreneurship amidst complex socio-economic and cultural transformations of family (Ferree, 2010) and working lives (Okhuysen et al., 2013). This perspective, in turn, provides additional inputs to management and organization studies by empirically demonstrating the influence of non-work identities at work

(Ramarajan & Reid, 2013) and the sustained image of public (work) and private (family and domestic) realms that feminists have long been arguing against (Acker, 1990; Bourne & Calás, 2012).

Thus, researchers taking identity-work perspectives, such as Watson (2009), have called for exploring the relative significance of entrepreneurial and occupational activity in the construction of identity as a matter of scholarly enquiry. Such researchers argue that to a greater extent, identity is a subject of choice, but there are also always powers acting upon individuals. An individual is therefore neither totally victimized by nor independent of these sources of struggle (Alvesson, 2010).

Inspired by these important insights, I recognize through my reading of the entrepreneurship literature that women and immigrant entrepreneurship literature has been busy addressing the question of how to help women and immigrants remove structural barriers (Carter, Mwaura, Ram, Trehan, & Jones, 2015). Structural barriers have indeed greatly affected the type of work in which women and immigrant entrepreneurs engage. Nevertheless, this scholarly attention has not equally led to growing curiosity on 'what immigrant and women entrepreneurs actually do' (Anderson et al., 2012) or 'what they want to do in practicing entrepreneurship'. I believe that such asymmetric attention, contrary to intentions, put immigrants and women at risk as people who were not supposed to have agency and further marginalizes their diverse experiences as homogenous groups.

This lack of interest in agency is also compounded by a methodological convention, particularly in case of immigrant entrepreneurship because immigrant entrepreneurs' lives and identity constructions prior to their migration have been less attended than their identity and other struggles in host countries (Anthias, 2013). Taking a life-story (or a biographical) approach to some extent enables the articulation of diverse identity constructions prior to migration, and it allows for seeing how these identities are worked out following diverse migration experiences. which often remain hardly attended but are of upmost importance in understanding different migration experiences (Apitzsch & Kontos, 2003) and immigrant entrepreneurship experiences (Anthias & Cederberg, 2009; Apitzsch, 2003) and identities.

In view of the above and what follows, I aim to show that women and men entrepreneurs, or occupants of any social positions, continuously reproduce the meaning of the subject positions through their differential and complex responses, taking diverse forms of identification. I suggest this insight is timely and particularly relevant for emerging streams of practice perspectives in entrepreneurship and studies of entrepreneuring, which largely disregard the question of identity and agency and associated processes of identification. I hold the view that although current practice-based and entrepreneuring studies assume a great space of play for individuals in the acts of entrepreneurship, they largely assume a rather static and homogenous social position, identity and agency for the individual entrepreneur within legitimate hierarchies of economic

(De Clercq & Voronov, 2009c; Rindova et al., 2009), socio-cultural and other exchanges (Daniel Hjorth, Holt, & Steyaert, 2015). I see the need for devoting further conceptual and empirical efforts to the theorization of individual entrepreneur and context relations to articulate more complex and varied negotiations occurring in mundane undertakings of entrepreneurship by paying attention to processes of identification.

In responding to this major issue, by drawing on feminist and practice theory insights, my studies note the importance of paying attention to daily life as a critical site of research (Steyaert & Katz, 2004). Accordingly, I suggest that when entrepreneurship is conceived as part of daily life, every practical site can become a marker. A practical sense of the game of entrepreneurship and its stakes involves both an orientation towards and capability of practicing entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurs in my study have adopted various strategies and tactics in accordance with their own positioning (relative power) in hierarchical relations in the field of entrepreneurship as part of their engagement with entrepreneurship (De Certeau, 1998; De Certeau et al., 1980).

As such, my study shows that demarcating entrepreneurship practices from the business context leaves many remarkable objects and subjects of entrepreneurship invisible. Instead, my studies argue for extending the scope by paying greater attention to the flows and connections between entrepreneurship and other fields of practice (Nicolini, 2009), such as education, finance, family, and the domestic and public spheres, in the biographies and life trajectories of entrepreneurs (Bourdieu, 1984; Weininger, 2005).

Such a view extends the boundaries of entrepreneurship as being just about life itself, organized in terms of culturally constructed projects that imbue life with meaning and purpose in a broader sense (Ortner, 2001; Steyaert & Hjorth, 2008). The focus is a deeper concern with socio-culturally constituted projects, intentions, and desires that reproduce and emerge from social locations and subjectivities that are differently positioned rather than ambitious (Rindova et al., 2009) or passionate entrepreneurs (Cardon, Wincent, Singh, & Drnovsek, 2009) or entirely mundane everyday practices that run through with little reflexivity.

This positioning will also have a clear connection with the emerging stream of entrepreneurship-gendering studies, where the practical endowments of entrepreneurship and social hierarchies such as gender are seen as intimately intertwined and continuously reproduced. However, my studies take one step further and demonstrate that entrepreneurship not only is gendered and gendering (Berglund & Tillmar, 2015; García & Welter, 2013; Gherardi, 2015) but also involves other social differences, such as ethno-culturalized and ethno-culturing, classed and classing. This is also where I acknowledge the power of taking intersectionality as an analytical tool in examining diversity within the hierarchical unity of a particular social group in practicing entrepreneurship within daily life encounters.

My studies thus contribute to the emerging stream of entrepreneurship studies that adopt feminist intersectionality perspectives by demonstrating the

underestimated influence of intersecting forces of ethnicity and class, in addition to the widely examined and discussed field of gender (Anderson & Miller, 2003; Essers et al., 2010; Gill, 2014; Knight, 2014). My studies share many of the insights provided in a handful of such studies and draws greater inspiration from Essers and colleagues' (2009; 2007; 2013a; 2014; 2013) works on immigrant women entrepreneurs (IWE) originating from Turkey and enterprising in the Netherlands. Accordingly, in my analysis, I explored how major forms of identification-identification and dis-identification shape the participant entrepreneurs' responses. I suggest that although there may exist an asymmetric power relation between various types of entrepreneurs and the hegemonic discursive space of entrepreneurship, people tend to respond creatively.

My studies on immigrant women entrepreneurs operating in Sweden also acknowledge that entrepreneurs' responses range between the acceptance of and the resistance to imposed cultural representations, including skillfully combining and bending available discourses to the degree of relevance for their identities. The authors demonstrated diverse responses of entrepreneurs as forms of identity works that are situationally generated and can be drawn by the same entrepreneur in different places and times. Although I acknowledge the infinite ways of the interpretative capacity of individuals (Mumby, 2005) and the open-ended nature of life itself (Kondo, 1990), my analysis disqualifies this relatively unbounded reflexive capacity of entrepreneurs in the way of abstracting discourses and the greater instability of cultural signifiers of gender and ethnicity. Rather, in my studies, I find consistent patterns between the life trajectory and history of individuals (habitus), the resources at their disposal and the forms of responses they generate towards certain social positioning in entrepreneurship.

In other words, I realize that to a considerable degree, examples of constructionist frameworks recognize the source of dissonance experienced by a particular group of entrepreneurs as a response to privileged subject positions, e.g., the energetic white man as a heroic figurehead of capitalism. However, my analysis goes one step further and demonstrates that the dissonance experienced by my participants is articulated as struggles experienced through lived practices rather than the availability of a multiplicity of cultural representations available to take (McNay, 1999). Therefore, they are able or unable to navigate intersecting discourses. The experiences and responses of women suggest that although women are able to creatively respond to dominant societal discourses (Cohen & Musson, 2000; Essers & Benschop, 2007; Essers et al., 2013a), there remain important limits to break free and to identify ways out as they see fit in navigating available discourses. My analysis yields more complex and occasionally ambivalent responses towards social positions and capitalist work practices. Thus, my research provides rather ambivalent and paradoxical insights regarding how to interpret most women's embracement of entrepreneurship with ease and joy.

One interpretation that I hold is that for those who are located at identity boundaries where the social difference is drawn against the 'normalized subject'

of entrepreneurship, there may be limited chances for symbolic challenges because almost all the women in my study embraced entrepreneurship to combat the societal representations forced upon them (Skeggs & Loveday, 2012). This point contradicts many studies of entrepreneurship where women involuntarily either accept or try to go around the masculine, ethnocentric and classed subtext of entrepreneurship.

As such, the participants in my studies frame their struggles not only in terms of recognition issues, thus struggling against available cultural representations of immigrant women as framed, but also in accessing certain material and non-material sources of capital, such as knowledge, certificates, driving licenses, laser machines, prestigious villas in a location with either the ethnic majority or ethnic kin, office locations, money, goods and books, which can be put into use and converted into material and symbolic/cultural resources/capital. One of the overlooked dimensions of difference, social class relations, brought forward the important role of material basis and the effects of discursive practices. Therefore, my study bridges the gap between the material and non-material aspects of entrepreneurial identity formation in a powerful way by demonstrating conversions between different sources of capital and their institutionalization. Here, I see the need to reiterate my point regarding my particular contribution to entrepreneurship scholarship in general and practice-based entrepreneurship scholarship in particular, which examine individual capital forms, such as human capital, social capital (Davidsson & Honig, 2003; Jack, 2005; Jack & Anderson, 2002), cultural capital (De Clercq & Voronov, 2009a; Light & Dana, 2013) and symbolic capital (De Clercq & Voronov, 2009a). These authors have increasingly manifested the layered realities in entrepreneurship by probing the role of different forms of capital, processes of capital acquisition and roles of different forms of capital in performing successful entrepreneurship. Accumulated research in this area indeed casts doubts on the privilege attributed to economic capital, which reduces many complexities into one-dimensional struggles. Accordingly, researchers who usually take practice-based perspectives extend their inquiries into other forms of material and nonmaterial capital (De Clercq & Voronov, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c). Recently, the scope of the research expanded into exploring the major logic of capital accumulation, i.e., examining processes of capital conversion (Pret et al., 2015). It is at this major point that I see one of my major contributions to the literature: adding greater insights in terms of not only exhibiting the processual nature of capital-accumulation processes, as realized through capital conversions and institutionalization, but also showing that such processes are greatly shaped by entrepreneurs' identity struggles informed by their social positions and identities.

For example, women with higher education and an established background seek to pass as valuable people in Swedish society by advancing their professional knowledge, either supplementing with a Swedish degree or building up a new knowledge base in entering into entrepreneurship. Women who have a lower-level education and come from working-class families, by contrast, improve

themselves through collecting public certificates of competence/skill development and, more strikingly, by divorcing from their husbands who proved to be sources of dissonance in what the women wanted to be. Nearly all hybrid women entrepreneurs adopted two different ethnic names interchangeably and emphasized the need to be accent-free immigrants. They were careful in choosing housing and places of business away from immigrant-intensive residential areas when they had the chance. However, a few participants were also planning to quit their enterprising efforts due to struggling with issues that were not directly informed by the available subject positions in the field of entrepreneurship but rather were due to material struggles.

In this way, my studies extend the valuable insights of constructionists and practice-based perspectives in entrepreneurship by emphasizing the importance of differentiating between the nature of claims made towards recognition and materialities. Regarding recognition, for instance, as women with a middle-class history framed their claims as insubordination by openly claiming the right to be recognized, the women with a working-class history had been struggling against the refusal of recognition. The hybrid women, usually with working-class families, had no such recognition claims. This differentiated claim to recognition is indeed greatly reflected in what entrepreneurship meant to these different groups. For instance, women with middle-class histories did not see their efforts as pertaining to what 'real' entrepreneurship could be about. Instead, they interpreted entrepreneurship as a way of providing a respectful social status that was not as easily accessible to them as it was to their Swedish counterparts who had a higher education and professional background. In these women's view, entrepreneurship simply was an alternative to socially degraded jobs open to immigrant women, such as baby-sitters, care workers or housekeepers. For the hybrid women, entrepreneurship was just a source of pride because they had an intimate link with their novel business practices and themselves. However, they had no open claim for recognition on ethnic or gendered grounds. When directly asked, they all denied the representations of their positioning as immigrant women. Rather, they reflected upon their positioning as immigrant women as a positive source of identity by which they were able to claim belongingness to two cultural dispositions and practices, and when necessary, they were able to shift between those skillfully, similarly to the 'cosmopolitan identities' described by Pecaoud (2004) in his analysis of immigrant entrepreneurs in Germany. Indeed, hybridized habitus helped them include themselves in a positively valued social category. Nevertheless, they were also amongst the ones who told stories of how they were surprised with others' positioning of themselves in strange ways, such as being denied labor market opportunities, receiving comments about their skin and hair color by being denied a position of a very successful entrepreneur.

For the women with working-class histories, entrepreneurship rather involved securing a relatively respectful social status not in terms of job possibilities—they had worked or were working as care-workers and so on—but in terms of securing an autonomous, individual space relieved from contradictory

practices of femininity between what is expected by their community/families and social life in Sweden. Their recognition claims were a response to their cultural representation as immigrant women, too; however, their sense of identity was formed in dis-identifying the cultural representation of immigrant women in Sweden. Their narratives accounted for what they aspired towards, i.e., a cultural representation available to cosmopolitan identities enjoyed by the hybrid women. Nevertheless, due to their lack of cultural capital, they were not able to claim that position. In that sense, particularly by providing material capital to be able to buy such a respectful position, entrepreneurship played a key role in developing what they wanted not to be and aspired to a third position available to those who have successfully passed as assimilated immigrant women. To that end, they spent effort improving their bodies with plastic surgeries, visiting faraway places and mingling with unknown cultures. However, they occupied their position with greater unease and doubt, unlike hybrid women and similarly to women with middle-class histories who were troubled by their ethnic positioning. Their stories were centered on lacking: lacking higher education, lacking a proper accent, lacking money and family support, lacking respectful husbands and/or fathers and lacking recognition as individuals in their own right. Being women who owned and managed their own enterprise was therefore a way to partially fill this sense of lacking and longing for a position they may never attain.

My studies thus help provide a more nuanced understanding than merely locating entrepreneurship in a 'diabolic world of power' (Bruni et al., 2004b) or a 'liberating world of resistance' (Scott et al., 2012). On the one hand, entrepreneurship has been a helping hand for correcting the representational denigration of migrant women: Migrant women can convert their cultural capital into symbolic capital to gain other capitals and to ensure material security and discursive relief. Thus, entrepreneurship provides a ground for revaluing delegitimized cultural resources and the emergence of alternative cultural formations. For example, women in my study were able to capitalize upon native languages or certain caring practices by turning them into valuable assets. These convertible assets, in turn, provided both economic and symbolic profits to their holders when traded. In other words, they conferred power. However, this did not simply mean that all cultural resources, even if they were convertible into economic or social capital, were conferring symbolic capital to all women. The social positioning of women within gender, ethnicity and class relations greatly mediate the legitimation processes and thus provide a symbolic power to their holders in differential degrees.

The same goes for the whole idea of entrepreneurship, where the enterprising activities of the women carried a differential value according to the context in which the socio-cultural and economic exchange relations took place. For example, even if the women in the first paper were endowed with similar cultural resources prior to migration, their cultural baggage showed that their cultural capital-accumulation strategies brought about different outcomes in terms of symbolic and economic capital. The woman who served immigrant clientele was

seen as a role model to the minority ethnic community and achieved financial stability, whereas the one who served primarily ethnic-majority customers had struggled to survive and to authorizing herself and her knowledge. By contrast, the women entrepreneurs who initially tapped into the native languages of the unemployed stay-at-home women and further developed their cultural capital by professionalizing their cultural resource as translators helped transform the conditions of possibility at this context. Thus, even if the institutionalization of cultural capital takes more time and effort, this example shows that it is not impossible, although it is conditioned by institutional environment.

I am aware of and partly include more focused post-structural understandings of gendered identities as nonsingular and inherently shifting in relation to the situation and context. However, much of my work also emphasizes the construction of identities in a closer interaction with gendered, ethnocentric and classed norms and institutions. Starting from this premise, I also acknowledge the fact that although women can take on and experience diverse gendered identities as they move in social spaces within daily life, women from a range of social locations may share a common experience of being discriminated against based on shared gendered, ethnocentric and classed norms (Hanson & Blake, 2009; Smith, 2005). For example, in my research, I put a greater emphasis on the multiplicity of experiences of women and members of an immigrant family business; however, I come to the conclusion that immigrant women were bound to their field of venturing as mirroring the gendered labor market segmentation in Sweden (Holmquist & Sundin, 1988) and were more confined in their labor-market choices (Hedberg, 2009). Their experiences reflect the structural predicaments faced by women entrepreneurs in Sweden: They usually take part in women-dominated service sectors where low education and low profit margins are common, such as hairdressing, personal and health care, and social services, e.g., interpretation services. Moreover, they share a common destiny with women coming from West Asia, where their gains from entrepreneurship are lower compared to other immigrant women entrepreneurs coming from western countries (Hedberg, 2009). In this regard, my studies encourage further investigations regarding the extent of the resilience of gender order occurring in the intersectional context of migration and entrepreneurship in Sweden (Sköld & Tillmar, 2015). My studies follow up the need for further examining the underexplored contexts of immigrant women entrepreneurship in Sweden (Hedberg & Pettersson, 2012; Pettersson & Hedberg, 2013) as a fertile ground where the intersecting forces of ethnicity and class provide intriguing experiential and practical implications for entrepreneurs/hip, in addition to those of established field of gender inquiries (De los Reyes & Mulinari, 2005; Alsos, Ljunggren, Pettersson, & Lindberg, 2013). For instance, my examination on class and gendered identities shows that class and gender, as socio-culturally and historically mediated constructs, are so intersected that women exhibit different forms of femininities, and accordingly, their struggles take different shapes. For instance, women from working class families and with rigid gender norms find

their social position to be inferior and to have less legitimacy. They try to overcome this ambivalent and contradictory experience by approximating to more legitimate gender norms prevailing in the context of Sweden. Women coming from middle- and upper middle-class families did not report any troubling experience in gendered terms, and they practiced femininity in similar ways as their Swedish counterparts. Although empirical material pinpoints diverse experiences and motivations, one of the most remarkable differences concerned working class women's struggles in breaking free from the male domination that stemmed from their families, such as their husbands and fathers. The women were transformed into liberated women, similar to average women in Sweden. Subsequently, they spent greater effort sustaining this state by protecting the social distance between their male customers, competitors in their industry/market and close kin in entrepreneuring. In turn, for women from middle- and upper-class families, marrying or divorcing was just an individual choice, and they did not mention any struggles in managing their relationships with other men, kin or otherwise. Thus, my studies elaborate on the importance of contextual awareness and highlighting contextual specificities by adopting an intersectional approach to women's entrepreneurship in the particular context of Sweden and migration. I hope this paper in turn contributes to the gender and entrepreneurship research field in general and to the 'gendering of entrepreneuring' research stream in particular by introducing diverse femininities into discussions (Gherardi, 2015).

In the final analysis, driven by the readings of IWEs' and immigrant family business members' life stories, my overall argument in this thesis is that efforts on contextualizing entrepreneurship, particularly an entrepreneurial identity and agency, requires contextualization of 'social perspectives'. Those social perspectives have emerged from the lived experiences and practices of entrepreneurs constituted within particular material and discursive relations, which in turn have produced differential degree of agency, social positioning and identity across gender, ethnicity and class relations. I demonstrate that there are multiple organizing contexts of entrepreneurship and family business because they take different meanings for different social agents. However, rather than being arbitrary, this difference is socially constructed, and how it is experienced and practiced shows particular commonalities among entrepreneurs who have/share contextualized social perspectives acquired through longstanding experiences under particular material and socio-cultural conditions pertaining to relations of class, gender and ethnicity.

4.1 Concluding Remarks

My research shows that entrepreneurship as an organizing context of work is a productive terrain to examine the power of difference as a major ordering mode that spans organizational boundaries. It first sheds light on how the notion of work as a spatially and temporarily distributed activity is produced and reproduced on the basis of organization of differences, and helps address the age-old question of how occupational segregation emerges and is sustained as many workplace studies bound their 'work'-related inquiries within the demarcated boundaries of the organizations and interactions held within (Ashcraft, 2011).

The motivation of my thesis draws many parallels between the major feminist tenets of persistently arguing and working towards that "feminism, as a movement and a theoretical position, is about a serious engagement with the possibilities for transforming inequalities, about connecting women's struggles in different places, about mobilizing across cultural and national borders, and about building solidarity among women" (Nagar, Lawson, McDowell, & Hanson, 2002, p. 259). Talking about entrepreneurial praxis would involve shifting the unit of analysis from discrete individual, firm, local, regional and national entities to relations and processes across all these levels (Forson et al., 2014). This relational view provides a new lens with which to conceive of the nature of resources by suggesting that gender, ethnicity and class serve to enable or disable access to resources and more powerful positions and that resources themselves may be structurally organized along these lines (Ortner, 2002). This is one of the major points where I aim to extend critical accounts within the entrepreneurship literature by drawing on the practice-based insights of Pierre Bourdieu and his fellow scholars.

I aim to contribute to the extant constructionist perspectives in entrepreneurship studies, which have examined the micro-politics of entrepreneurship and aptly demonstrated that identification processes are central to entrepreneurial actions and that entrepreneurial identities are continuously (re)produced as agentic responses to entrepreneurs' social positions through negotiating discursive and material relations in the particular context(s) of entrepreneurship. Taking these insights further, I suggest that the conceptualization of identity construction merely as a process of symbolic identification, as is usually theorized, overlooks how identity is mediated in embodied practices and material resources. I draw attention to the condition of possibilities of differential degrees of agency exercised in relation to not only discursive but also material practices and their interrelationship as primarily informed by entrepreneurs' embodied and embedded experiences across different fields of activity.

My study makes a contribution as an experiential and practical account of differences that allow entrepreneurs to explore and reflect upon their own

experiences and as to use experience as the main resource to see and act differently. First, the women were highly aware of their societal positioning as immigrants. Accordingly, they developed strategies that allowed them, at times, to obey and play with the 'rules of the game'. As Collins (1986, 1998, 2001) argues, agency put into action comes from the awareness of being in a disadvantaged position. Therefore, decisions were occasionally made at the expense of their vulnerability. Indeed, these decisions did not linearly lead to resistance, and the women did not see themselves as victims. This approach leads me to the conclusion that there is a continuous intertwined relationship between power and resistance that also entails a continuous mutual tension affecting the immigrant women entrepreneurs as both the subject and object of this relationship from time to time. My research provides an empirical account of dialectic power-resistance relationship, thus contributing to the further elaboration of the under-discussed concept of 'struggle' to explain the dialectical power-resistance relationship and the established orders in which they are embedded. The interpretive stance exemplified in much of the identity work and practice perspectives enabled me to examine and to convey the thickness and complexity of the experiences of otherwise underrepresented groups. Practice-based perspectives also hinted at the power struggles occurring within the context of entrepreneurship, which may not be unique to the context of immigrant women entrepreneurs but arguably is fundamental to entrepreneurial experience itself across diverse contexts (Jones & Murtola, 2012; Jones & Spicer, 2005; Steyaert & Katz, 2004; Tedmanson et al., 2012; Verduijn et al., 2014; Verduijn & Essers, 2013).

Entrepreneurship studies have also problematized neutrality/objectivity in master narratives by articulating the narrative silence through bringing up counter-narratives as alternative public narratives. Choosing narratives to express multiple subjectivities is a deliberate way of rejecting the neutrality and appearance of objectivity typically embedded in master narratives. For instance, critical perspectives rightly elaborate upon individualization as a key part of entrepreneurial ideology and myth (Jones & Murtola, 2012; Rehn et al., 2013; Verduijn & Essers, 2013) and object against the individual entrepreneur's functioning as a sole claimant on value (Jones & Murtola, 2012). Though sharing this critique, my study provides a space for further discussing the stubbornly persistent narrative of the individual as an emperor of her own destiny and life as indicative of its embeddedness not only in institutional practices but also in the individual di/visioning of entrepreneurship. By unpacking the meaning-making aspects of entrepreneurship, my studies show that individuality granted by the entrepreneurship discourse is indeed what my participants sought to attain rather than denying it. Accordingly, I suggest that the fact that this particular narrative remains powerful despite tantamount evidence on the collective nature of entrepreneurial activities indicates not only its historical embeddedness (Ahl, 2006) but also its importance in the maintenance of coherent identity for a particular individual or a group of entrepreneurs (Lewis, 2006). I observe that the

foundational character of this narrative to articulate coherent identity is not as recognized in constructionist accounts of entrepreneurship.

In that sense, the participants in my studies greatly resemble what Jones and Spicer (2005) call 'sublime object' (subjects) of entrepreneurship', in which one's desire of what to be is strongly related to the vogue discourse of enterprise culture. However, my analysis addresses the recent calls for articulating the link between the sociological conditions and ontological strivings under which this sublime object reproduces itself in particular contexts (Kenny & Scriver, 2012). I show that this 'sublime object of entrepreneurship' is sustained through social agents of entrepreneurship, whose struggle in the way of sorting their lives and themselves transforms the meaning boundaries of enterprising and gives it some sort of meaning.

The differences experienced by women entrepreneurs elucidate a crucial point regarding lived relations between (in)equality and difference, which holds positive and negative connotations. Moreover, the experiences of difference are also shaped by the spatial and temporal specificities of the particular contexts. Explaining difference as an experience shaped by the politics of location (Haraway, 1988; Mohanty, 1995) and as a historical phenomenon (Scott, 1991) demonstrates how different subject formations (Brah, 1993, 1996, 2003) are continuously achieved. By encouraging individual voices to narrate their own stories of the difference in and experiences of immigration in the context of entrepreneurship, in this study, I also aim to avoid over-culturalized constructions of immigrant entrepreneurship. As suggested throughout the thesis, lived experience is much more differentiated, and emphasizing differences at the expense of shared phenomena would risk developing entrepreneurship in an area where notions of nationalism and ethnic identities matter most. My research, notably, finds that the exchange of care is as important as the exchange of other material and cultural capital and resources. By doing so, my findings support feminist approaches arguing against Bourdieu's overly instrumental and strategic motivations underlying human action (Adkins & Skeggs, 2004; Huppatz, 2009; Skeggs, 2014).

However, I hope I have avoided such an amplification of difference and cultural determinism by presenting the complexity of lived practices and relations, not only concerning their modes of relation in terms of power hierarchies but also encompassing caring and compassionate orientation towards others (Kenny & Fotaki, 2015)

Future studies may address the nature and forms of struggles involving different forms of power, such as age, sexuality, and disability, to shed light on the complexity of diverse groups' entrepreneurship experience. Further research might examine the different and more ambivalent forms of entrepreneurs' struggles by adopting nuanced analytical processes of positioning, such as passing, improvement or dissimulation beyond poles of (dis)identification, which I adopt in this study. Life stories as sources of empirical material are shown to

be important tools where such a nuanced understanding of lived experiences and practices can be articulated. (Essers, 2009).

Future studies may attend to different social-difference categories as either habitats of meaning or power hierarchies, including, e.g., age, social class, race, sexuality and disability, which may provide insights to develop a more contextualized and socio-culturally informed analysis of entrepreneurship and family businesses. Furthermore, in this study, I examine relationships that create differences within the contexts of migration and working life and within the structures of gender, race and ethnicity. However, as de los Reyes (2001) suggests, what categorizes and differentiates might be studied by focusing on particular relationships occurring in diverse context-based or structural relationships and involving relations within the psychosocial sphere. Accordingly, construction and the lived experiences of difference as an analytical lens in itself may be taken to identify new research topics and questions with or without respect to (in)equality-production processes.

In addition to life-story narratives, which focus on retrospective meaning making, future research might adopt interactional and relational perspectives to explore differences as social processes in situ that involve different actors, spaces and times.

The empirical material is generated in one country, namely Sweden and with a group of people migrated from the same country –Turkey with a small group of entrepreneurs and family business members. The study in that sense is limited only with insights generated through the sampled group of entrepreneurs. Therefore, rather than providing generalizable findings, the study rather provides some new perspectives into contextuality and situatedness of the entrepreneurial experiences and struggles which might be expanded to other immigrant and immigrant women entrepreneurs' identity formation struggles. In the case of family business research, this issue might be more pressing. Despite limitations, the study offers a number or implications for further research possibilities involving other ethnic groups in Sweden or comparative studies.

A few points that emerge from this study might also address policy-making efforts in relation to immigrant entrepreneurship in Sweden. Two important insights concern rethinking the narrowly designed policies that specifically address immigrant entrepreneurship that are within the framework of economic integration and based on particular societal categories identified as primary. Those two approaches, despite helping groups integrate into societies, may complicate or strengthen pre-existing inequalities shaped through particular modes of differentiation. For example, given the diversity within the category of immigrant women, more differential policy initiatives could be developed. To that end, an intersectional approach to policy making might provide a useful entry point. In supporting migrants' employment opportunities through entrepreneurship, business-development policies are favored. However, unless combined with policies that aim to develop, e.g., would-be entrepreneurs' skills, professional competences and networking opportunities by taking into account

entrepreneurs' particular social perspectives, such policies may prove ineffective (Mason, 2003). Finally, policies that tend to see immigrant entrepreneurship as a way out of unemployment may remain blind to inequalities (re)produced within the practice of entrepreneurship, which may not be less important than inequalities addressed within the workplace-diversity policy streams.

Finally, there a clear emancipatory angle underlies my studies. I believe the circulation and consumption of cultural texts such as this study may help with growing engagements of emergent bodies and groups concerned with similar matters (Callon & Rabeharisoa, 2008). I hope this study offers possible answers to the age-old issue of 'ethics of difference' as recently raised by organization and management scholars (Pullen & Rhodes, 2013, 2015) and identifies 'how we can live and work together in a society beset by difference' (Kenny & Fotaki, 2015) by translating insights from the differentiated field of entrepreneurship.

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Collection of Papers

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"People Like Us": Experiencing Difference in the Working Life of Immigrant Women
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Paper 2
Gender, Ethnicity and Identity Work in the Family Business
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I

"PEOPLE LIKE US": EXPERIENCING DIFFERENCE IN THE WORKING LIFE OF IMMIGRANT WOMEN

Huriye Yeröz Aygören & Monika Wilinska

ABSTRACT

The main aim of this article is to research the lived experience of difference. In this article, the authors are interested in the field of working life in the context of entrepreneurship among Turkish women in Sweden. The article is based on the stories of two immigrant women entrepreneurs who reflect upon their experience of working life in the context of migration to Sweden. These two stories provide a ground for a discussion regarding the responding to and re-making of difference by individual subjects. The authors' analysis is grounded in discursive approaches to narratives, particularly in the positioning analysis. In their discussion, the authors focus on the field of work to discuss the changing conditions that affect and are affected by particular constructions of difference in a migration context. In this, the authors present how difference is experienced and put into use differently by the individuals, even under very similar descriptive categories of difference. This article contributes with an experiential account of difference. It favors the notion of lived experiences within the intersecting structures in the analysis of complex interactions between structures, agents, times and spaces. It demonstrates the importance of attending to spatial, temporal, structural and subjective dimensions of difference.

"People Like Us": Experiencing Difference in the Working Life of Immigrant Women

Huriye Yeröz Aygören & Monika Wilinska

Introduction

"There might be things you want to hear, definitely?" Ayla1 replied to an invitation to narrate her personal story of entrepreneurial activity. Ayla was a Turkish woman, living in Sweden and running a private dentistry practice. We were interested in research on inequalities. What did we want to hear? Sharing the experience of migration and having lived in Sweden for several years, we could anticipate a story about cultural differences and perhaps discrimination, inequality and injustice. Indeed, immigrants in Sweden, despite the political commitment to full integration and comprehensive state support programs in labor market access and other areas, suffer greatly from unequal employment rates, wage differentials, occupational segregation and subordinated mobility compared to native Swedes. We could imagine the story of difference that almost always invites power contestation and leads to inequalities. We could have easily written about those issues, thus repeating the story of oppressive structures that produce marginalized or resisting subjects. However, we chose not to.

Instead, we decided to focus on the lived experience of difference as narrated by our interviewees. We chose to confront the actualities of life (Smith, 2005) and to listen carefully to stories that included various temporal and spatial dimensions. Such a perspective allows for moving beyond the victimhood discourse found in studies of inequality and difference. On the one hand, such a perspective recognizes the plethora of stigmatizing mechanisms and practices; on the other hand, it allows for understanding people who respond differently to such occurrences and actively engaging in the process of de-stigmatization (Bursell, 2011; Fleming, Lamont, & Welburn, 2011; Lamont, 2009). Therefore, we chose to speak with our interviewees in a variety of situations in social and physical environments that take different forms and meanings according to each individual's own projects (Young, 2005). These projects are, however, far from stable and finished; instead, they are contingent on changing living conditions in which people make decisions and choices. This definition of projects stems from

[1] A fictional name

the acknowledgment of the role of human agency, which can be understood as a "temporarily constructed engagement by actors of different structural environments" that responds and/or (re)produces structures created in particular times and spaces (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998). In the case of immigrants, these projects are simultaneously influenced by sometimes-contradictory spaces and times.

In this article, we are interested in the working lives and entrepreneurial activities of Turkish women in Sweden. We focus on choices that immigrant Turkish women have made in relation to their occupational activities and the meanings these choices have in their everyday lives and to their sense of identity. The discussion advanced in this article is based on two life stories of Turkish immigrant women, Ayla and Mine, who engage in entrepreneurial activities in Sweden. Their stories are part of a larger ongoing study2 on the experience of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurship in Sweden. We chose to focus on the stories of Ayla and Mine here because the story of their arrival as well as structural conditions in Sweden was the same; for instance, the institutional contexts concerning migration and occupational opportunities. In addition, their class and professional backgrounds were very similar. They were both well-educated women of similar ages who were actively involved in civic movements in Turkey and migrated to Sweden in the aftermath of a military coup in the 1980s. However, their life stories turned out very differently. In professional sense, although they both began with a degree in dentistry, only Ayla pursue her career in that direction by establishing a private dentistry clinic, while Mine started-up a health care retail and service store and initiated a new career path. descent

We approach these women from an intersectional perspective, viewing them as agents who are operating within structures of gender, ethnicity, and class in the context of migration and working life. Our aim is to demonstrate how their different lives came about and what meaning was ascribed to these differences by our interviewees. Our focus on two stories expresses our interest in opening and complicating the category of immigrant women; using Halkier (2011), we apply the practice of "zooming" by going in depth instead of breadth. Similar to what Bell's (1999) account articulated, zooming into the two life stories may demonstrate that even sharing similar structural and discursive resources within a particular temporal and spatial context, their lived experiences can become so different. This way, we bring the subject of working immigrant woman to the front.

[2] The first author has been studying immigrant entrepreneurship in Sweden since 2008 towards completing her PhD dissertation project in Business Administration at Jönköping International Business School in Sweden. The empirical materials are generated with participation of groups of men and women entrepreneurs with Turkey descent including different ethnic groups, for example Turks and Kurds from Turkey. The interviews were taken individually and took between two to four hours and were conducted at places designated by the interviewees.

Working Life and Immigrant Women in Sweden

In the case of Sweden, immigrants enjoy equal access to social welfare benefits. However, the working life of an immigrant in Sweden may be troublesome, particularly when migrating from a non-Western country, when one's religion is of the "wrong" type (Agerström & Rooth, 2009; Rooth, 2010), and when one's name is difficult to pronounce or sounds "too strange" (Carlsson & Rooth, 2007). Immigrants in Sweden are employed three times less than native citizens (Ekberg & Hammarstedt, 2002; Valenta & Bunar, 2010). This situation applies to both female and male immigrants, particularly those coming from non-Western countries that similarly experience such labor market positioning. However, immigrant women are worse off if they have higher education levels. These highly educated women coming from non-Western countries experience twice as much unemployment as do native women with similar educational backgrounds (Rubin et al., 2008). It has been very apparent that labor markets somehow disfavor immigrants and that structural actions to remedy the issue are necessary (Valenta & Bunar, 2010) beyond those actions the immigrants themselves take, such as changing their names to Swedish-sounding names (Arai & Thoursie, 2009; Bursell, 2011)

Under such circumstances, immigrant entrepreneurship has been regarded as one of the safest and most efficient paths to societal integration for immigrants. However, recent studies demonstrate that this view must be reconsidered and reexamined. Recognizing the disadvantageous situation of immigrant entrepreneurs as compared to employed immigrants and to native Swedes in terms of, for example, their much lower earnings and business failures leading to unemployment, such a focus on entrepreneurship as an integration strategy may transform into other forms of discrimination and marginalization (Hjerm, 2010). However, once the focus is broadened and immigrant entrepreneurship is approached not only as a matter of labor market integration but also as an innovative and societal work practice leading to social change (Calás, Smircich, & Bourne, 2009), its emancipatory properties may then come into view (Rindova & Ketchen, 2009). For example, in the hands of immigrants, entrepreneurship may be a tool to overcome and transform structural obstacles and provide self-esteem, respect and social status (Kupferberg, 2003). More importantly, entrepreneurship becomes a positive tool in fighting racial and ethnic discrimination (Gonzales-Gonzales et al., 2011).

However, immigrant women's entrepreneurship has largely remained absent in research (Essers, 2009; Morokvasic, 1991). While women's entrepreneurship has been studied by feminist researchers, immigrants' entrepreneurship has been mainly discussed in the context of ethnic business disciplines (Apitzsch & Kontos, 2003). Studies focused on immigrant women's entrepreneurship demonstrates how these women's enterprising efforts show divergent

characteristics with those of typical immigrant businesses (Morokvasic, 1991). Although their efforts have been considerably influenced by societal stereotypes surrounding images of immigrant women, the entrepreneurship of these women has been a means of challenging those racial and ethnocentric discriminations (Gonzales-Gonzales et al., 2011) and path towards independence (Kupferberg, 2003; Morokvasic, 1991). Of particular importance, immigrant women's entrepreneurship has elucidated often repressed, non-economic dimensions, while governing rules have not only been conceived based on economic terms but are also ingrained in societal, cultural and political spaces. These studies have demonstrated, for example, how gender, ethnicity and religion together form unique subjects (Essers et al., 2010) and transform established norms (Essers & Benschop, 2007) through entrepreneurship (Essers et al., 2010) and how immigrant women entrepreneurs are adept at developing strategies to negotiate established norms, rules and discursive images (Essers & Benschop, 2009). Indeed, their involvement emphasizes the active agency that immigrant women are often regarded as lacking (Apitzsch & Kontos, 2003).

This image of the immigrant woman as a passive and culturally bounded subject, argue Ålund and Maktutredningen (1988), is a collective identity attributed to all immigrant women and is accompanied by a plethora of other negative and backward connotations, which are, indeed, a problem with which to be dealt (Knocke, 1999). Immigrant women in Sweden are generally assumed to be uneducated; have no prior work experience; have a poor command of Swedish; to be oppressed by their husbands, fathers and male relatives; and to be isolated, almost like prisoners within their own homes. What is significant about such stereotypes is that the immigrant woman in Sweden becomes a gendered signifier of traditional and patriarchal cultures in direct opposition to the modern, free and gender-equal Swedish society (Keskinen et al., 2009; Mulinari, 2008). As Sweden becomes a gender-equal state, unequal gender representations of immigrants with social problems (Trondman, 2006) have increasingly become more prominent (Towns, 2002) in the media (Bredström, 2003) and in everyday discourse (Trondman, 2006).

Often sharing close living quarters, immigrants from Latin America, the Middle East and Africa, with their diverse national, class and religious backgrounds, take on a collective immigrant or foreigner identity (Pred, 1997). However, this anonymity, which essentializes both women's and men's identities and emphasizes particular cultural differences, has contributed to disinterestedness and hindered awareness of the discrimination and structural obstacles that may be differently experienced by immigrant women and men and through gendered relations (Knocke, 1999). Thus, these views help mute issues of poverty, institutional racism and exclusion (Keskinen et al., 2009; Mulinari, 2008; Mulinari & Neergaard, 2005) and prevent women from realizing their limitations as well as their opportunities and resources (Ålund & Maktutredningen, 1988; Ålund & Schierup, 1991). Turkish immigrants, and Turkish women in particular, are no exception but are even much more

significantly stigmatized (Westin, 2003). The term "Turk" is most often used to symbolize immigrants who come from very distant, non-European cultures and religious backgrounds. These "Turks" are ethnic others. However, the Turkish immigrant community is highly diverse, as immigration to Sweden has attracted not only uneducated and working class labor workers but also highly educated, elite civic movement leaders and also diverse ethnic groups seeking refuge. More interestingly, the issue of women in Turkey is highly peculiar. Since the establishment of new republican state after 1920s', women are constructed to become a modern face of new Turkey (White, 2003) and thereby given support to get higher education and take part in the public/occupational sphere together with men (Durakbasa & Ilyasoglu, 2001). Thus, our research recognizes those heterogeneities and strives to give a voice to immigrant women entrepreneurs, thereby enabling them to speak for themselves.

Life Stories and Lived Experience: Methodological Approach

Personal narratives provide original insight into the unique forms of describing reality (Stivers, 1993); that is, personal stories are spaces where the individual and the social meet (Riessman, 2008). Consequently, life story methods not only draw on what happened but also, and more importantly, how people make sense of what is happening or may happen (Erel, 2007) through articulation of their experiences and, indeed, themselves (Brah, 1991). Lived experience does not figure as any essentialist category; on the contrary, it provides an account of personal movements around available discursive resources (Søndergaard, 2002; Staunæs, 2003) and becomes a resource for seeing and indeed acting differently (Mohanty, 1995; Stone-Mediatore, 1998).

In attending to life stories, we were interested both in their structure and content. On the one hand, we paid a particular attention to the type of events and persons that appeared in the story; on the other hand, we were also interested in the ways in which these different elements were brought up in the story. We apply a socially-oriented approach to narrative research that conceives of narratives as types of discourse originating from the particular social conditions of a given location and culture (Jones, 2002; Langellier, 1989). When stories are (re)created, the meaning of local culture and levels of organizational embeddedness come to the forefront (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000). The analytical focus is thus narrative embeddedness and the environment (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009) in which stories are told, and not an investigation of actual events.

In narrative research, it is common to work with very limited number of cases, and many great examples of narrative research are based on stories told by only one person (see Chase, 2007). However, what distinguishes such research is its

emphasis on the meaning of a broader context in attending to personal stories. In re-mapping personal stories of Ayla and Mine, we will engage in a discussion deeply embedded in surrounding structures and connecting the personal with the historical.

When analyzing the stories of Ayla and Mine, we approached them as stories of difference and in difference. We drew upon the concept of belonging -feeling at home, as described by Yuval-Davis (2006a; 2010) and its three main components: (1) social location, (2) identifications and emotional attachments and (3) ethical and political values. Social location refers to differential power axis of difference, for example, gender, race and ethnicity; identifications and emotional attachments are individuals' own identification regarding who one is and where one belongs and 'ethical and political values' are judgmental accounts by which people assess their own and others' belonging. This framework provides sensibilities towards importance of differentiating between 'belongings' as suggested and 'politics of belongings' which is a politicized project of belonging of certain collectivities. In order to avoid streamlined and naturalized manifestations of difference which is often worked out through 'politics of belonging' the approach fundamentally takes an intersectional approach. For instance, the approach suggests that social categories are meaningful only if approached in intersectional way. This is one of the most important insights informing our study where we open up the concrete category of woman, or rather the migrant woman by attending to intersectional social locations as well as subjects' varying degree and nature of attachments to certain collectivities.

In the final point, the approach makes manifest the underlying features informing migrant women's choices as to why they identify with some people or locations but not with some others. However, our intention was not only to identify the homes but also the non-homes. In other words, we found it equally important to analyze the notions of belonging and unbelonging discussed by Christensen (2009). Here, we draw on the concept of unbelonging beside the concept of belonging in order to articulate with what and whom the subjects draw boundaries against and non-identify with. With this approach, we anticipate, we may better articulate the boundary construction and maintenance work involved in subjects' making sense and accordingly developing strategic responses in relation to unidentified others. To include the two ideas in our material, we were inspired by the concept of narrative as social practice. Such an approach locates storytelling within different contexts, ranging from local to cultural and structural practices and makes them the key aspects of analysis (de Fina, 2008; De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008). This position acknowledges that we live in discourses but that life appears differently to each of us (Bacchi, 2005) because the same discourses are realized individually (Søndergaard, 2002). We also drew from the concept of positioning. As May (2000) suggests, a study of positioning allows for observing different social locations in which individuals find themselves and the resources that they either can or cannot mobilize. In positioning analysis, this phenomenon is acknowledged by introducing two

separate concepts, being positioned and positioning, which respectively indicate the societal constructions forced on oneself and on self-positioning (Bamberg, 1997, 2004). Positional analysis aims to extrapolate the subject's self-constructions against the normative discourses (ibid.). These constructions, however, occur in the context of particular times and spaces. Recognizing the constitutive aspect of time and space for narratives (Baynham, 2003), we aimed to show the times and spaces in which different positions were constructed and referred to. The following analysis is organized into four analytically derived themes: early experience of difference, difference in difference, difference in making and difference remains.

Early experience of difference

A story of immigration begins with the moment of immigration, explaining how and why the decision to leave the home country was made. As noted above, the 1980s was a turbulent time in Turkey's history, and both Ayla and Mine were engaged oppositional activists who eventually fled the country to seek asylum. However, that moment triggered different reactions and stories for these two women. Ayla began her story in the following way:

> *I came when I was 28 years old. Now I am 56. Uhmmm… coming here… I didn't have to come. I had the possibility of not coming here. I had overcome my legal problems somehow, I mean, I didn't have to leave the country, but my husband was here. Especially a father and a child relationship, uhm of course the man I am in love with, etc. It was mandatory, coming here.*

For Mine, the decision to leave her country was not something she intended or chose but something she needed to do, as she expresses:

> *I was not considering getting out of country, I was saying, even if I go to a jail, I will stay here and not to go away. I came to Germany temporarily for a women's meeting, we came also a little bit in disguised ways, I mean. I came to Germany. They took my husband and one of our very close friends, and that friend was murdered under the (custody) of the police and I couldn't go back to Turkey. After that, the way back to Turkey was closed.*

For both women, the decision to leave Turkey was triggered by the conditions in which they lived, and they did not choose to migrate. However, despite this common justification, what both stories differently construct is the ways in which the authors position themselves. That is, for Ayla, the narrative addressed the dominant discourse of immigration in Sweden that positions the immigrant as inferior and desperately in need of leaving for somewhere better; therefore, she highlighted the fact that she "didn't have to come". For Mine, however, such a constructed image of the immigrant did not affect her story. Rather, what was

significant for her was demonstrating the oppressive conditions in Turkey that forced her to flee. The two stories began with two geographies: Ayla foregrounded her story in Sweden, and Mine placed herself, or rather where things began, in Turkey, assuming different protagonists who may only make sense in their contextual/spatial realities. Ayla was a loving woman and caring mother, but Mine, who was patriotic and fought hard to develop her land, had to retreat. The power of structure was determinate in Mine's decision but was of no concern for Ayla. From the very beginning, Ayla makes an effort to emphasize her own agency over the structural aspects of her situation.

Although space and time in Turkey gain relevance in only one of the stories, as we could observe in the developing material, both Ayla and Mine actively use these themes in their efforts to position themselves as exceptional and not belonging to the category of ordinary immigrants.

> *Life in Turkey is much more cumbersome, especially for people like us it is harder, I did the right thing in that sense. First of all, Sweden is one of the most advanced countries in terms of social and economic (conditions). Everyone living here, especially the women as well as, and especially, the children are very lucky. They have many rights… (Ayla)*

As the excerpt above shows, Ayla obscures her belongingness to any specific group of people in her home country by transposing herself in the phrase "people like us". Although she employed this phrase several times during her storytelling, she did not elaborate on the meaning of this expression. Indirectly, however, she was referring to the category of people who, in many ways, are better than her fellow citizens. The phrase she used was, therefore, constructed against the Turkish background, and according to Ayla, Turkey could not provide for people like her. In her story, Sweden appeared as such a country, and she mentioned social and economic rights and democratic values as characteristics of Sweden that attract "people like us". Notably, Ayla uses "here" to refer to Sweden, thereby presenting Sweden as a space to which she belongs.

The explanation of the expression "people like us" can be found in Mine's story. She describes this category as including highly educated, professional women with urban backgrounds:

> *We came, a couple of dentists, we were three women I guess. (…) Uhmmm. I studied in Istanbul, I lived in Istanbul, actually I grew up in Istanbul. I am a child of a family originally from Diyarbakir. (…) We are people who studied natural sciences.*

These women, usually from middle- and upper-middle-class (Kandiyoti & Kandiyoti, 1987) enjoyed full-fledged privileges in terms of access to higher education, particularly in the natural sciences, have been progressive and modern face of Turkey (White, 2003), as our two participants refer to. Mine invents many more resources to provide an account of how things were "over there", that is, in Turkey. Contrary to Ayla's efforts to show how well she fits into the space of

Sweden, Mine devotes more time to describing the unique characteristics of the group that, in her opinion, should be accepted and welcomed by everyone.

Difference in difference

Being different was experienced quite differently by these two women in the early settlement years, particularly while they were determining the professional opportunities available to them. These early experiences were the crux of their stories and were where their life stories seemed to take different turns depending on the different responses they gave regarding the issues of occupational degrees and experience recognition in Sweden:

> *I worked in Turkey too as a dentist (…). But it did not count here. My degree was not accepted here. I have been, for that reason, here in the Karolinska Institute 3 years. I have 3 years of education; I graduated from here as well. I got the Swedish degree. (Ayla)*

Ayla does not problematize the requirements posed by Swedish authorities and the long-term educational investment attached to such the requirements. For Mine, the issue was more complicated because the requirements simply cast too many questions on her sense of identity and belongingness. On many instances, she drew upon discursive resources related to her education to position herself in a specific way. She mobilized exactly the same resources to fight conditions that according to her were unjust.

> *Why study the same thing, the same science in a different language (…) I took that as an insult, right? The same thing over and over… Because I studied natural sciences, the person here studied the same thing too. Perhaps you can take complementary courses to get to know the names of technical devices and appliances or professional terms or if you quit your job a long time ago but should be continuing your profession. (Mine)*

Therefore, the demand to repeat studies, as framed by Swedish regulations, does not make sense to Mine. She believes her professional knowledge pertains to the natural sciences, which apply universally and are objective.

Continuing to rely on the universality of the natural sciences, Mine actively argues that professional knowledge is not merely something that is used to make life sustainable or to allow for social mobilization, as Ayla interprets it; rather, this knowledge is, to a large extent, what makes a person, according to Mine. Here, these women reflect different attitudes about their professional identities. While Ayla stresses her belongingness to the occupational category of dentistry, Mine identifies herself foremost with holders of a certain academic degree.

The women took different paths due to their dramatically different stances towards their professional identities. After obtaining her dentistry degree in Sweden, Ayla began to look for a position in a public dental clinic. At the same time, Mine became the shareholder of a private clinic run by dentists of Turkish

origin. In their narratives, we see that these women were not so differently situated and, again, needed to respond to the similar contextual/structural challenges ahead of them. This time, the challenge concerned how to move on:

> *I wanted to work for the state, I didn't intend to work privately, I was obliged to work privately because at that period… I mean there was no need for dentists, especially in Stockholm there was no open position. My child was small so that it was hard to travel out of Stockholm, my husband's work situation…. Uhmmm… When I look back again, I see and capture that point: the biggest problem in Sweden is to consider the stranger[3] as a stranger, never accepts you as one from itself, I mean in those days when I was looking for a job, being a foreigner was a disadvantage for me. Anyways, after all we started to work privately, since that day I've been working privately. (Ayla)*

> *…I was ahead of them in knowledge and experience but since I didn't have a Swedish degree, I was done… Uhhmm… I looked and thought and once I saw that I can't stand it, my psychology couldn't handle that at that time I decided to start that job. (Mine)*

Both women experienced discrimination in the labor market. However, their stories portrayed this discrimination differently. For Ayla, being discriminated against on based on being an immigrant comes into view through deeper reflection after rationalizing not being able to work in the public sector as she had intended. First, she gives an account of the shortage of locations for dentists to practice and then completes her story by discussing the situation of immigrants in Sweden, the reality of a mother taking care of her children, and the attractiveness of the city.

In Mine's story, discrimination becomes apparent from the very first instance when she began to work at a dental clinic with other Turkish dentists. The discrimination she experienced was not due to the image of being a foreigner or an immigrant dentist in Swedish society but was rather due to not complying with Swedish standards, as she was working with other immigrants and lacked a Swedish dentistry degree. Indeed, for both women, establishing their own businesses meant breaking free of discrimination, within either Swedish or Turkish organizational life in Sweden.

More so, becoming an entrepreneur was about survival for Mine, which was the same situation experienced by all other immigrants:

> *Such a degree of double standards cannot be ...then we bought these shops, we bought our own businesses, I mean we went to the banks and had loans, I mean not being (a kind of servant) at their doors, not to be a baby-sitter or a cleaning person. The situation*

[3] The word stranger is used to preserve its original use. In Turkish, instead of immigrants or refugees, the word "strangers" is often used in interchangeable ways.

is the same for many strangers (immigrants). (…) That is my thing (situation), I mean. In order to survive.

Here, Mine questions the romanticized image of entrepreneurship in immigrant communities. As previously noted, the decision to establish her own business became a matter of making a living and is more often forced than voluntarily chosen. However, diverse external forces, such as personal pride, family situations, and positions available at the time, exist. For example, we can speculate that Mine could have stayed at the dental clinic for several more years and worked towards a promotion or obtaining a better position because she had not been an employee but rather a shareholder. Similarly, Ayla could have moved to another city and found an open position. Such scenarios may be more complicated or simplified. However, an individual's unique position remains important. In her description, Mine also mentions typical jobs for immigrant women, such as babysitting and cleaning, that she hoped to avoid by starting her own business. Ayla made the same point when she summarized her choice in the following way:

What would I do if I didn't do this job. I would go and babysit or like, etc.

Both women were escaping the structural discrimination that was not only directed towards immigrants but also towards immigrant women in particular. As enlightened and well-educated women, they did not want to conform to such a reality. Thus, their realities exceed the contingencies of life in the present and concern themselves as subjects narrating and temporalizing their entire lives.

Difference in making

The life stories of Ayla and Mine in Sweden oscillate between different positions, categories and social groups, ethnic and otherwise. They each view these issues differently and position themselves differently towards them. In the previous sections, we observed how Ayla and Mine presented the difficult experiences they encountered. However, in our research, we found other instances in which both Ayla and Mine were quite proactive and innovative in utilizing various resources to achieve particular purposes.

One such clear instance occurred when Mine applied for a bank loan to start her business. Through her awareness of her position that as an immigrant, she would need further justification for her eligibility, she invited the bank officer to her home to demonstrate her potential worthiness to receive the loan and, in turn, her trustworthiness to pay it back:

I said to her that before saying yes or no to me, come to my place to see where I live what I eat, perhaps I live in a paper box (…) the decorations at your home, your books, many other things signal that. I look around when I go in somewhere, I mean.

The strategy she developed intended to move between the boundaries of the public and private, which is not a common practice when requesting a bank loan. She utilized the rigid and cold characterization of institutional organizations and re-interpreted this characterization to serve her purposes. Living in an affluent residential area in Stockholm and owning a well-decorated villa, she chose to use her home space to justify her eligibility for the loan. Using her home as an argument in her favor, she relied on both gender and class positions that are valued in Swedish society. That is, "villa" is one of the three Vs – the others being Volvo and Vovve (dog) – for which all Swedes used to strive. In addition, the home is considered to be a woman's common space, whether for those working in a bank or for would-be entrepreneurs.

In Ayla's story, her Turkishness provided her with many resources that she employed in her working life:

> *The Swedes' understanding of work and behaviors as a society is rather different than in Turkish society, I mean we have more temperament, we are closer, we initiate conversation, people become more satisfied here or wherever they go in Turkey. The Swedes are rather different; for that reason, I was preferred. I mean, I experienced the advantage of having a Turkish character.*

Being Turkish enabled Ayla to attract more customers and to successfully run her business. She used personal characteristics, such as warmth, patience and flexibility that are attributed to her cultural background. At the same time, she positions Swedes at the opposite pole from Turks in terms of friendliness and responsiveness to clients. However, her difference from Swedish characteristics does not mean that she only identified with her Turkish compatriots in Sweden. Although she benefited from a privileged status in the community, she saw herself as someone who was rather different:

> *Therefore, for people coming from such a society, ladies like me, who studied at the university, working and recognized is very pleasant, that is a very good thing on behalf of the Turkish society, (…), we also become a good model for our society. I hear about that a lot. First of all, I heard that a lot: Any how nice, our people can make this job too, I assume they are quite oppressed.*

However, this difference that comes with the image of a middle-class woman who is educated and practices a traditionally highly recognized profession meant that she was distant from the average individual in the Turkish community in Sweden. The phrase "how nice, our people can make this job" strikingly expresses that the admiration conveyed by the Turkish community was equated with the oppressed situation of a community in which members do not have sufficient resources to oppose or resist existing oppressive structures, which was contrary to her experience. Although she recalls the phrase "our people" being used by the Turkish community, this collective identity is certainly not something with which she feels a sense of belonging.

Differences remain

Mine limits her life to the space of her shop; it becomes one of the important "borderland" geographies she inhabits:

> *Therefore, it is green like that, and the forest figure, wood on the wall and the color affects the person very much. It feels as if I am out of this passage although I am within. As If I work somewhere else.*

What she created within the four walls of her enterprise serves as her everyday utopic geography. The nature scenery calms, brings peace and provides shelter; it is a space in which she can indulge herself. She ascribes a therapeutic meaning to her workplace; it is much more than a source of income for her. As she clearly expressed at the beginning of our conversation, she is "tired of Sweden", and she dreams of being in other places. The "somewhere else" is not here, but is it in Turkey?

> *If it were now, I would certainly return to Turkey. I went to Turkey, from my family too… My family is rich, they were a financially established family, but I couldn't see enough support from them. Uhhmm (because) I had escaped, gone out of the country, we were branded as leftists, became a political refugee, etc. Since I haven't felt the support of my siblings and my family, uhhmmm…*

Mine's story of trying to return to her country and not being welcomed by her family indicates that the "somewhere else" is not Turkey. Her own words express this poignant situation and articulate that discussions of refugee status should not only be limited to the receiving end but have many more implications depending on where one comes from. For Mine, Turkey remained as simply an imaginary bridge that she already walked over and left behind.

Ayla, on the contrary, comes to terms with the situation:

> *Uhmmmm now when I go forward from now and look back to today and ask myself if I did the right thing by coming here… I did the right thing.*

Perhaps the choice to come to Sweden was not the wisest, but she tries to reconcile her decision with her new reality. She remembers her past and she is aware of the places from which she came, which causes her to state that her choice to leave Turkey was correct. However, it is not a very firm statement. She tries to convince herself and her audience of this choice by demonstrating her achievements:

> *I have not had economic problems. I have overcome them. I have a patient reputation, I have a network, I have been a recognized person in the professional sense.*

In terms of her professional career, she has been successful. In Mine's case, there is also acknowledgement of her success, but it comes at a price:

> *First of all, compared to the Swedish shops, I sold cheaper. (…) I still do that, because I am a stranger and me to come to me... it takes too much time for the Swede to come to you, in order for them to not avoid coming to you.*

As an entrepreneur, Mine is very much aware of the possible strategies open to her. Nevertheless, being able to develop strategies, that is, to ingeniously be aware of her environment and calculate the possibilities, does not help her to overcome the difference she experiences as an immigrant entrepreneur. Indeed, her strategy is constructed on the very fact that she is not only an entrepreneur but also an immigrant entrepreneur.

Concluding remarks

The aim of this study was to research the lived experience of difference as narrated by our interviewees who, from the outside, could be perceived as being very similar. However, we can observe how the lived experience of difference was constructed within the context of working life and how it related to structural and cultural environments. Although the stories of Ayla and Mine are similar, their stories differ, and each woman presented a unique account of experiencing difference. In their stories, we could identify different strategies used to manage changing living conditions and realities of discrimination in the labor market. We also observed how different categories employed by both women describe similar events.

Our study makes a contribution as an experiential account of difference that allowed Ayla and Mine to explore and reflect upon their own experiences as well as to use experience as the main resource to see and act differently. First, both women were very aware of their societal positioning as immigrants. Accordingly, they developed strategies that allowed them, at times, to obey and play with the 'rules of the game'. As Collins (1986, 1998, 2001) argues, agency put into action comes from the awareness of being in a disadvantaged position. Therefore, decisions were, at times, made at the expense of their vulnerability, as was demonstrated in the case of Mine's selling cheap. Indeed, these decisions did not linearly lead to resistance nor did the women see themselves as victims.

The differences experienced by the two women elucidate a crucial point regarding experiential correlations between (in)equality and difference. The experiential accounts hold positive and negative connotations. Moreover, the experiences of difference were also shaped by the spatial and temporal specificities of the particular contexts. For example, while both Ayla and Mine construct their past experiences of difference as highly educated professional women before immigration as mostly steady, their accounts of difference in the

present time and place are precarious and open to change. Their professional and educational resources are often questioned by diverse entities, such as the Swedish higher education authorities, the Turkish community or even their employees or customers. As we demonstrated, the women interpreted the situations differently. Their educational backgrounds, though equally valuable before their immigration, caused problems for both women after their immigration. In both stories, the normalizing process of professional qualification created critical implications on their professional and personal lives. When responding to this event, both women use the same resource differently and their strategic responses shaped their lives differently. Mine, as an unlicensed dentist in Sweden re-oriented her career several times. Ayla continued with the same occupational practice in Sweden following her career in Turkey.

Thus, explaining difference as an experience shaped by the politics of location (Haraway, 1988; Mohanty, 1995) and as a historical phenomenon (Scott, 1991) demonstrates how different subject formations (Brah, 1993, 1996, 2003) are continuously achieved. By encouraging individual voices to narrate their own stories of difference and experiences of immigration in the context of labor markets, in this study, we aimed to avoid over-culturalized constructions of immigrant entrepreneurs. As we suggested, lived experience is much more differentiated, and emphasizing differences at the expense of shared phenomena would risk developing entrepreneurship in an area where notions of nationalism and ethnic identities matter most. However, we hoped to avoid downplaying the influence of structural forces in shaping lived experiences.

However, our study is limited in its scope while focusing on two women's stories within a particular context of migration and working life. Although, this has provided a focused attention to how subject formation and experience are worked out, this limited focus may also suggest that there might be variety of other experiences we were not able to draw on. Further research may account for broader arrays of formation of differences and their influences on particular subject constructions and corresponding strategic responses developed by the women migrant entrepreneurs. Further, in our study, we attended to relationships which create differences within the contexts of migration and working life and within the structures of gender, race and ethnicity. However, as De los Reyes (2001) suggests, what categorizes and differentiates might be studied by focusing on particular relationships occurring at diverse context-based or structural relationships as well as involving relations within psycho-social sphere. Accordingly, construction and lived-experiences of difference as an analytical lens in itself may be taken to identify new research topics and questions in relation to (in)equality production processes. In line with those and emerged from our analysis is that future studies might study, for example different contextual relationships associated with individual's life courses such as age, parenthood, marriage, etc. In addition to life story narratives which focus on retrospective meaning making, future research might take interactional and

relational perspective to explore differences as social processes in situ that involve different actors, spaces and times.

A few points emerged from our study might also address policy making efforts in relation to immigrant entrepreneurship in Sweden. Two important insights concern rethinking the narrowly designed policies which specifically address immigrant entrepreneurship within the frame of economic integration and based on particular societal categories identified as primary. Those two approaches, while helping groups in integrating to societies, however may complicate or strengthen already existing inequalities shaped through particular modes of differentiation. For example, given the diversity within the category of immigrant women, more differential policy initiatives could be developed. To that end, intersectional approach to policy making might potentially provide a useful entry point. In supporting migrants' employment opportunities through entrepreneurship, business development policies are favored. However, such policies unless combined with societal policies, for instance policies aiming to develop would-be entrepreneurs' skills, professional competences and networking opportunities may prove to be ineffective (Mason, 2003)

Finally, policies which tend to see immigrant entrepreneurship as a way out of unemployment may remain blind to inequalities (re)produced within the practice of entrepreneurship which may not be less important than inequalities addressed within the workplace diversity policy streams.

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Paper 2
Gender, Ethnicity and Identity Work in the Family Business

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GENDER, ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY WORK IN THE FAMILY BUSINESS

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ABSTRACT

We study how family business members form and manage their individual identities in a family business context attending both to individual and societal circumstances. We depart from the understanding that the institutions of family and business are mediums by which diverse individual and social identities are mutually enacted, formed and continuously worked out. In order to bring in a combination of important individual and societal influences and processes we draw on identity work framework with a particular focus on two specific habitats of meaning; gender and ethnicity. We show that formation and management of plural identities take a distinctive form, and that the two habitats of meaning - gender and ethnicity - prove to be fundamental in organizing and performing in the family business context.

Gender, Ethnicity and Identity Work in the Family Business

Huriye Yeröz Aygören & Mattias Nordqvist

Introduction

Research has shown that creating a better understanding of identity processes is an appropriate way to address central theoretical and practical issues in the family business field (Dawson & Hjorth, 2012; Fletcher, 2002b; Klein, 2008; Miller et al., 2011; Shepherd & Haynie, 2009; Zellweger, Eddleston, & Kellermanns, 2010). General management studies on identity have approached the topic in different ways based on their primary interest in organizational identity and performance taking a managerialist perspective, or on individuals' identity processes in organizational settings taking an interpretive perspective (Alvesson et al., 2008).

Rooted largely in functionalist assumptions of stability and determinism, the dominant managerialist approach sees identity as an enduring essence. That is, individuals and organizations alike can have stable, singular and cohesive identities. In contrast, interpretive approaches view identities as emerging, multiple and temporary. Interpretive identity research suggests that individuals engage in processes of identity work and negotiate with the different terrains they face when they participate in their daily organizational and family lives. Recent literature shows that the managerialist approach on identity is dominant in both general management and family business literatures. However, for at least three reasons more research is needed that uses an interpretive lens (e.g., Alvesson et al., 2008; Watson, 2008).

First, the lack of interpretive approaches on identity is a problem in the current literature because major social and economic transformations influence the conditions and structure of work and family life (Aldrich & Cliff, 2003; Beck, 1992; Beck, Beck-Gernsheim, Ritter, & Wiebel, 1995) with impact on how individuals adjust and transform their daily lives and their sense of being (Collinson, 2003; Sennett, 2011). Second, individuals in family businesses are assumed to passively conform to universal templates of individual behaviour which provide prescriptions for acceptable social behaviour in the family and business contexts (e.g. Shepherd and Haynie, 2009). This view limits the possibilities of a dynamic understanding of individual identity processes in the

family business context. A more dynamic understanding is possible through an interpretive lens that focuses more on the meaning-making and the negotiated nature of individual identity processes.

Third, for family businesses, the importance of understanding the formation and role of individual identity is evident from the perspective of the 'familiness' framework introduced by Habbershon et al. (2003). Here, the development of a family business is related to the interactions between the family, the firm and the individuals. The notion of individual identities is integrated into the view of the family business as a system and it is important e.g. in relation to succession processes (Klein, 2008; Milton, 2008), strategic decision making (Miller et al., 2011), and managing boundaries between family and business (Knapp et al., 2013; Sundaramurthy & Kreiner, 2008). From this perspective, the unique advantage or disadvantage of a specific family firm is influenced by identity processes at the individual level (Habbershon et al., 2003; James, Jennings, & Breitkreuz, 2012), and not simply the organizational level.

Our purpose is to deepen the understanding of identity processes in organizational settings and, in particular, how individuals' identities emerge and evolve in a family business context. We take an interpretive approach on two temporally and contextually embedded life stories with a focus on the start-up and growth of a first generation family business, including the owners' concerns for succession. This way we combine the general need for more interpretive research on identity processes in management and family business studies with increasing calls for research on first generation family businesses (Astrachan, 2003) and family start-up dynamics (Aldrich & Cliff, 2003). Investigating married couples with children who start and run businesses provides a relevant empirical context for studying identity processes in family business (Fletcher, 2014). We define family business as a family start-up where a couple found and run their venture together, typically but not necessarily, with involvement from children and/or other family members.

Theoretically, we draw on an identity work framework (Acker, 1990; Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Kreiner, Hollensbe, & Sheep, 2006; Watson, 2008, 2009) and the notion 'habitat of meaning' (Golbert, 2001; Hannerz, 2002). In our study, two specific habitats of meaning emerged as important in relation to the identity work; gender and ethnicity. These were the most central in the life stories of the two owner-managers in order to understand how they worked with their identity, especially as we observed how gender and ethnicity intersected with the specific social terrains of both family and business in the individual family members' identity work (Essers et al., 2013a).

Our research contributes to the literature in several ways. In comparison with previous family business research, we place greater emphasis on the dynamic nature of identity processes in organizational settings and in particular the active role that individuals play in constructing their identity through specific daily life identity work processes in relation to both the family and the firm. Here, we demonstrate the unique context of the family business compared to the non-

family business through a focus on identity work processes. We also heed the call to bring forward the less studied family and individuals sides of family businesses compared to the organizational and business side (James et al., 2012). Further, we uncover the gendered and ethnic processes involved in the individuals' identity work in family business start-up, growth and exit. Highlighting the intersecting nature of gender and ethnic relations, this study avoids to decontextualize the diverse forms and settings of family businesses where family and business are seen as homogenous constructs (Howorth, Rose, Hamilton, & Westhead, 2010; Melin & Nordqvist, 2007). We add to the literature regarding how relations of gender are constitutive (Hamilton, 2013a, 2013b; Mulholland, 2003) and negotiated features of family businesses (Al-Dajani, Bika, & Swail, Forthcoming; Fletcher, 2014). In relation to ethnicity, we bring in the issue of migration, which allows us to problematize identity work of individual family business members further since taking one ready-to-wear model provided in one particular cultural context as relevant might prove to be difficult in another setting (Gupta, 2013). Finally, we offer an empirical contribution as we draw on lived experiences from two family business members as represented in their life stories. This is important because life stories of married couples with children and extended kin provides rich empirical context for studying sources and processes of identity work in family firms (Hedberg & Danes, 2012), and entails natural empirical ground for interpretive approaches (Fletcher, 2014), which are still rare in family business inquiry (Reay & Zhang, 2014).

The identity work framework and 'habitats of meaning'

Identity work is about the activities that individuals actively and continuously engage in as they form, repair, maintain, strengthen or revise their identities in social contexts (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002, p. 626). All individuals who have any existential concern do identity work (Cavarero & Kottman, 2000; Ricoeur & Blamey, 1995; Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003) since it is the effort of an individual to create a coherent, authentic and unique identity (Watson, 2008). Because identity work involves the discursive articulation of an ongoing performance between social references and self-definition (Alvesson et al., 2008), the life transitions, specific events and encounters that an individual experiences may invoke greater awareness and induce more concerted efforts for identity work. Thus, in contrast to the dominant approach to identity in the family business literature, where identity is typically seen as a fixed and abiding essence, the identity work framework allows us to put emphasis on the evolving and context sensitive aspects of individual identity work.

Further, we consider that individuals identify and relate to a range of 'habitats of meaning' (Golbert, 2001; Hannerz, 2002) as they engage in identity work.

These spheres or habitats, offer symbolic resources for individuals to create meaning of the world around them and give both possibilities and limitations for their identity work (Golbert, 2001; Hannerz, 2002). Habitats of meaning refer to spheres that can be associated with both work and non-work, such as gender and ethnicity, which are in focus in this article. Each habitat of meaning may prove to be salient at a particular place, time and for some people but not others (Thrift, 1999). They may also be intersecting, which shape how habitats of meanings are negotiated and acted upon by individuals as they actively and continuously work out their identity in relation to others and as historically and socially embedded beings (Ashcraft, 2013; Ely & Padavic, 2007; Ybema et al., 2009). We recognize that notions of family and business themselves can take different meanings to different people at particular times (Hamilton, 2013a; Kondo, 1990).

Identities can, for instance, emerge in plural forms in the context of family business as informed by variety of identities such as gender: being a woman or a man of a particular kind, being a mother or a father, and as ethnicity: being a transnational migrants living in more than one culture and nation.

Methods

We adopt an interpretive approach that seeks to examine emergent and situated identity work as embedded in a particular place and time (Fletcher, 2014). We investigate through life stories how family owner-managers resist or comply with certain identity categories as habitats of meaning through mechanisms of 'identification' and 'dis-identification' (e.g., Elsbach & Bhattacharya, 2001; Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003). In attending to the two life stories of Sema and Ender, as we call them, we were interested both in their structure and content. On the one hand, we particularly tracked the type of events and persons that appeared in the story; on the other hand, we paid attention to the ways in which these different elements were assembled in the story. The analytical focus is thus biographical embeddedness and the context (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009) in which stories are told, rather than examination of what actually happened. As common in narrative research working with a limited number of cases (e.g., McGregor & Holmes, 1999), we bring forward the life stories of the two individuals by going into the meaning of family and socio-cultural contexts.

To allow for the required depth in understanding the small sample was purposive in the sense that we searched for individuals who were involved in starting and growing a family firm, while also being willing to share experiences and sense-making from this process. Several potential respondents were approached, but few were willing to give the access we needed to conduct an in-depth and longitudinal study. Some who did grant access were entrepreneurs without family influence. For this reason, we selected Sema and Ender primarily because of accessibility to be able to empirically study the theoretical phenomenon we were interested in (c.f. Koerner, 2014).

Through the phase of generating empirical material, the first author had contact with family members by following them over four years in several of their work places, at their homes separately and together. We followed their joys and struggles in their efforts of sorting out themselves, their family and their businesses both in their daily lives as well as in important occasions such as through divorces and ownership changes, etc. We interviewed their children, Sema's younger brother and his wife, as well as Sema's father. The life stories were told, and interviews made, in Turkish as the native language of Sema and Ender and later transcribed by the first author into English.

Analysing the empirical material, we took a grounded perspective (Bryant & Charmaz, 2010; Glaser, ,1967; Pidgeon, 1996). The initial coding schemes were first developed on the basis of the material instead of following an identity work framework. Identifying the codes that emerged from the material, the process was inspired by positional analysis which relies on two separate concepts; being positioned and positioning. These two concepts helped to distinguish between the societal constructions forced on oneself and on self-positioning (Bamberg, 1997, 2004). We aimed to present the members' stories following temporal lines and places in which different positions were constructed and referred to. For example, we attended events of firm start up, growth and future plans in a subsequent order. At this phase, we identified the significance of 'gender' and 'ethnicity' as major habitats of meanings the participants drew on in articulating themselves in their identity work.

The analysis then focused on the ways in which family business members negotiated the habitats of meanings in relation to their distinctive notions of family and business in working out their identities. Here, we found that identity work was made around four themes, which we labelled: making sense of family identity, making sense of business identity, articulating plural identities and, re-structuring plural identities.

Further analyzing these themes, we found they related to the more temporal stages of family business start-up, growth and decline. To relate our increased level of analysis about identity work to the temporal development of the family firm therefore, we relabeled the themes in the following way: 1) 'Starting Up: Making Sense of Who I am in relation to Who we are at Home' 2) 'Opportunity Recognition: Making Sense of Who I am in relation to Who we are at Work' 3) 'Family Business Growth: Articulating Who I am (not) and Who we are (not)' 4) 'Family Business Dissolvement: Restructuring Who I am(not) and Who we are (not)'. We acknowledge that such a stage model may ignore many nuances and differences in experiences among the individuals and the family as a group. But it also has explanatory power in illustrating how identity work processes as long-term experiences can be organized into analytically generalized understanding (Lutgen-Sandvik, 2008; Yin, 2014)

Below, we visualize the analysis by exploring first what specific discourses around gender and ethnicity are enacted as the basis for Sema's and Ender's identity work. Before presenting stories, we first introduce the focus individuals

within the study: Sema and Ender. Sema's life story starts with her migrating to Sweden from Turkey when she was four years old. Sema moved with her mother to join her father Ali, who migrated to Sweden as a factory worker in late 60s. In Sweden they had two other boys, Mustafa and Okan. When Sema was in her mid-20s she met and married Ender in Turkey. They both originate from the same city in the southern Turkey which is known for its entrepreneurial culture. Ender has a university degree and used to work as a professional adviser to the Ministry of Education in Turkey. He comes from a relatively wealthy and educated family. Following their marriage, Ender migrated to Sweden to be with Sema. They had three children.

Starting Up: Making Sense of Who I am in relation to Who we are at Home

The first event that revealed Sema's and Ender's identity work and how they made sense of their life stories was the decision to start up a business. Both Sema and Ender place this decision within the context of family life; yet, the way they fill the story with meaning differs.

They start their business activities when they find a small kiosk in a small industrial town. The family business they start up becomes a laboratory where not only they learn how to operate it but also where their identities are gradually moulded with continuous identity work. None of them was previously involved in small business although Sema was more familiar due to her family's previous business. Their life stories show that the business accelerates intense identity work for both, though in different forms.

Sema	Ender
The business started with Ender who came from Turkey…I looked (at possibilities). He didn't have a possibility to find a job in this country neither had he the personality to work in a factory. It is because of my husband; otherwise I don't think I would start. What I knew was food business coming from my family; all foreigners were in food	*Some friends did their graduate studies and lived abroad in the USA and in Germany. Actually my purpose was to do my graduate study here in Sweden. I collected all my university degree credentials and submitted. But it took too long. I couldn't wait; I had to work because we were expecting a child. It was due to bread winning, and also because I came here by my own choice. I am not like some people who have been living here for long years but still do not work*

business. The business kept my marriage up.	*and claim social support. I never asked nor applied for such a support from none.*

For both of them, the decision to start up a business was informed by the family situation. They thought about their business as an important element of their family life. However, when explaining the situation in detail, different constructions related to the intersecting gender and ethnicity emerges. Sema speaks from the position of a wife who decides to follow her husband. To her, it is all about keeping the marriage; it is the marriage that makes her enter into an activity that she would have otherwise avoided. On the other hand, it is her and not Ender who has relevant experience in the food business they enter. In this way, Sema integrates into her narrative a story of a family business which she has been part of. In her story, we observe how two family businesses come together; yet, she makes an effort to maintain her individual identity and to separate her "new family" business from the old one.

For Ender, migration to Sweden emerges as the key point around which he builds his identity. He strongly "dis-identifies" himself with the stereotypical image of a migrant who comes to Sweden because he did not have better conditions and professional prospects in his own country. Therefore, he makes it clear that coming to Sweden was his own choice. The picture of dependent and unqualified migrant does not find a place in the narration of his identity. Setting up a business works as a way of separating himself from an identity he does not want to be associated with. This move is coupled with his strong sense of being a male breadwinner. In this, the family orientation of his story differs from that of Sema. Ender speaks as a head of the family. Although indirectly bringing the wife to the story ("we"), he mainly presents himself as a father.

Their life stories show that the business accelerates intense identity work for both, though in different forms. Ender had a professional expert position prior to his migration to Sweden. He thus experiences a dissonance between his professional self-identity with that of the migrant man who cannot continue on the same path and even stigmatized with the stereotypical image of migrant who is dependent on social welfare. However, starting up a business support him in transforming this troubled identity category with that of gender. He becomes much more comfortable with the situation; in fact, it is the business that boosts his identity as the head of family; to him, it becomes a confirmation that he can provide for his wife and children. Sema develops different attitudes and with time, she finds the idea of family business particularly disturbing to her identity. She realizes that contrary to her initial thoughts, the family business is actually threatening her family and relationship with Ender as she used to have a life and a work of her own. She identifies the need to be on her own, and decides to take a part-time job in a refugee camp as a translator.

Opportunity Recognition: Making Sense of Who I am in relation to Who we are at Work

Although the business provided considerable degree of economic capital and status to the family, Sema and Ender sell their kiosk and start a grilled chicken shop in another town. Sema and Ender provide strikingly different accounts about how that opportunity came about. In their engagement with the business, they do identity work differently around the business, shaped at the intersection of their gendered and ethnic identities: one's identity orienting towards the entrepreneurial and another's to the professional and managerial contexts.

Sema	Ender
Sometimes I took the kids with me to go downtown, dropping by the video renting shop and chatting with the owner about other shop owners, new openings, and bankruptcies. I got to know what was happening in the city. One day when we were in the car to visit my family I saw that a big hamburger chain was opening just beside the local hamburger shop. I knew that the man running the local shop had just opened borrowing 4.000.000 SEK from the bank. I felt sorry for him. I thought he needed to change his offering. It suddenly came to me that there was no shop offering grilled chicken in the city. There was an always long queue to buy a chicken. He should have done that! I wanted to tell him what to do, but I thought it may not be appropriate. Time passed and he did not seize the opportunity. I shared the idea with my husband and people around me.	*After returning to the city where we lived, I bought a small shop and later I sold it, because we had other plans. Travelling to Turkey by car we passed by grilled chicken shops, but there was no such a shop in Sweden. Our family loved chicken, I was going to the market to buy a chicken and it was taking long time waiting in the queue. We thought why not having such a shop here. In Europe, for a migrant to participate into economy, either you have to discover something new or to serve with very high quality. In European countries, in Sweden or elsewhere, the migrants cannot be successful if they do what the natives do. Our success…my wife also contributed a lot; she knows Swedish very well, she was managing contacts with municipal and health authorities. But the business, how to develop and grow was usually my job. We had a very good partnership.*

The medium of the new family venture provided Sema and Ender resources to craft their identities around the business and what kind of business person

they thought they were. For instance, emergent in Sema's account is the type of opportunity which is found through local networks and by relating to the others. Being a person who could skillfully exchange familiar cultural codes and symbols, Sema was adept at communicating with people in the city which she knew, and even relate to them as if they were friends embedded in the same locality. However, to Ender, the opening of a grilled chicken shop naturally followed the family's long-term plan. This may compensate for his realization that he was a migrant and as a migrant he had to face different type of situations. In this part of his narrative, he does not resist the identity of a migrant; yet, clearly, he acknowledges that the group of migrants he belongs to is working migrants, repairing his migrant identity as a self-employed migrant who make it against all odds. Ender in this phase reconciled his ethnic identity in contrast to the migrants who are dependent on a social welfare as he first made sense. Gradually, the focus of his narrative shifts towards his managerial skills. This serves to elevate his own position. Interestingly, he speaks of his wife and her role in the business; yet, he tends to value his own contributions as more important. What we can observe in their identity work here, is a tension and/or rivalry growing between two individuals tied by both marriage and business commitments. As their story progresses, it becomes more evident that the notion of a family business is far from problem free. Indeed, the business aspect of their family venture provided Sema and Ender with many opportunities to construct their identities as business owners. The below excerpts from their narratives show the general attitude and approach they took towards this identity.

Sema	Ender
Ender says he has principles; I say you don't have the luxury to have principles. This is a service business! You cannot close the shop at 19.00 just because you want to watch a football game. You cannot reject the customer just because she wants a customized sandwich. If you don't innovate on your offerings nobody may come again. Everything has its own ritual, you learn the laws from scratch, how to make a sandwich, make phone calls. You need to have a proper language, without swearing and know how to behave in the society and be modest.	*I used to come to the shop at 10 o'clock. I come before the employees come, I look around and I order the goods, I do all by myself. I work here until noon. Later I go to the gym just in the opposite corner, I work out there and come back here, I continue working on various things, manage paper works etc. and later I go home.* *I hired people who I knew but since they were not so efficient they had to leave. I usually find my employees through employment office and later I invite them to work here for a week and see if they are good. I pay them for the temporary placement. I am*

I don't play. This is not a theatre, because whatever you do turn to yourself, turn to your identity, I am committed here with my identity. All Swedish businesses, from the plumber to whoever I made business with remember me in a positive way. Therefore, next time I turn to them they help me without any doubt. You develop a network for yourself and this network both may keep you up or block you on the way.

usually very good at managing relationships with employees even after they leave. They still talk to me and greet me. When I arrive, my employees, usually girls, say "Brother Ender welcome! Would you like to have a cup of coffee?" I respond with great respect and say "thank you darling". They all work for me; they are my sisters.

Ender's narrative brings in several elements of a rational and disciplined self that is associated the image of management. A close reading of the narratives shows that being prompt, such as coming earlier than everyone as well as handling important tasks by himself is necessary to maintain control at the workplace and over the employees in general. This way Ender works to differentiate between the immigrant family business owner and the general professional manager who cares about efficiency more than the reciprocity with kin as many ethnic and small businesses do (Fernández-Kelly & Konczal, 2005; Jones and Ram, 2007). For instance, he finds human resources from the employment office instead of through ethnic community and fair wages instead of abusing new migrants' labor with temporary placement; However, the nature of the family business adds a different dimension to the employer-employee relationships. The family structure is evoked to account for his good rapport with employees. Although, we can interpret female employees as figures which help to set his maleness and later link all those qualities to dominant discourse of the male manager; Ender desexualizes his relationships by invoking the identities of siblings. In this way, he gives an example of how the family business is used to do identity work by building on both worlds: family and business.

Ender's emphasis on efficiency and keeping the things in their own place is contradicting with the nature of the service business according to Sema. She thinks, in the service sector, one needs to sacrifice her personal principles and leisure in favor of the business More importantly, she does not tend to position those in hierarchical ways but rather in a flat scheme of small world networks. In order to carry on she admits she needs support from a plumber as much as from the municipality. Contrary to Sema, for Ender the work boundary is drawn around the physical walls of the business and careful effort is needed to maintain this border (Powell, 2003).

Family Business Growth: Articulating Who I am (not) and Who we are (not)!

The first grilled chicken shop taught the married couple different lessons in the way of sorting themselves out in a particular way and it continued with a steady growth of their family business. They opened three new shops, two cafeterias and a big restaurant. However, the success in terms of business growth did not secure the happiness in the family life. Quite the contrary, the couple experienced intense tensions and quarrels in this period.

Sema

After selling the second shop for a high prize, I stayed at home and then my husband's disappointing incidence (referring to spousal loyalty) happened. I pitied myself; I just looked at the walls long time. Later I saw that If I don't stand up, nobody will help me out. I said, Sema! Stand up and keep moving. I opened the third grilled chicken shop just after the forth. At the time my brother was working in a factory and my parents' situation was not so good. I wanted to help them and started up with my brother. My father provided the start-up capital. However, we had long quarrels with Ender about the partnership with my brother. I was tired and I included Ender as well, however with one condition, I said my older brother will also take a share, so I divided the property into four.

Ender

We bought a new shop, the third one. Sema said that, let's take my younger brother as a partner, I said ok since he was jobless. As we started up, she said, your share or my share doesn't count as different shareholding. Therefore, this shop can be shared only between me and my younger brother. I said, if there is no difference between you and me, and then I and your younger brother can share the business. Only the men can own it. Then our quarrels started. I said why share the business this way. She replied: I cannot make you the boss of my family! I said Sema look! we built up this business together, we shared the business idea, we worked together, and we struggled together. If your father wants to start up a business for his son, he can do that under a different name. You, your father, your brother can be partners, but please do not involve me. I won't put any money. She didn't accept. I didn't raise my voice further since I saw that we may end up with breaking up. Then we became four shareholders, she included her older brother as well.

Following the opening of the second shop, Sema and Ender needed additional support and Sema's extended family (sibling and parents) entered into the scene. For Sema, her family's involvement is justified on terms of family respect as she needed to provide to her extended family due to temporary hardship. In contrary, Ender perceived their entry as a threat and narrated about Sema's family's unethical behavior toward using company income as their own personal incomes. This and Sema's effort to cover or even defend that situation is where Ender sees a deep conflict starting that eventually destroyed the family and the business.

Indeed, Sema and Ender experienced deep disruptions to their existential security where they lost beliefs about each other. They both interpreted the situation as unjust and the responsibility had to be carried by them. There was no-one else who they can put the blame into except the family. At this period, the tensions around the extended family of Sema functioned as a boundary making device for both Sema and Ender. Sema approximated her extended family and at the same time put a distance between her own family (represented by her husband) and the business. For Ender the extended family of Sema is 'othered' as a way of trying to save the integration of his own nucleus family and business.

Sema's account provides an important point regarding the timing of this action. After her disappointing experience, she felt helpless and insecure. In order to regain equilibrium, she forced Ender to include her extended family on the basis of the threat that they could end up with divorcing if he does not agree. This time it was her brother and her father who entered the scene as she believed she needed support from a male guardian to carry on. Once she realized that she could not get help from anyone in resolving the conflict but herself, she articulated her identities profoundly in professional terms. Indeed, the family's business provided her an independent space she could stand on without pressing gendered demands on who to be.

Family Business Dissolution: Restructuring Who I am (not) and Who we are (not)!

Soon after the destructing conflict, Sema and Ender broke up, and they divided the businesses including shares and management with Sema's brothers and her father. Sema and Ender also shared the custody of their three children. The next part brings in their future projections about the family, the business and succession.

Sema	Ender
What keep me moving in life are my children and my work. Despite my efforts, I have not been recognized by my family or my husband. If I had a different environment or if we had been more similar it would have been different. This is what I could do by myself. I leave this but I have to know I can have similar possibilities for enterprising. If I open up a shop somewhere in the world, in Africa or in Istanbul, it will be a small business, with my conditions, my knowledge. This is my life philosophy, it is my identity! However for my children, if they want it I give it to them. But I don't want my children to take over the businesses. The business is so corrosive. They can't have a normal family life. Their children would fall asleep at 8.00 pm but they would not be there. It gives, but it takes more than it gives. If this was a manufacturing firm, I would love them to take over.	*We built up something gorgeous and new. Our brains are working very well together. Sema is a good, hard-working and smart woman, especially very good at managing contacts. I know how a business should be run and the contact with employees. We had a good partnership. Sometimes I worked 15-16 hours a day. Unfortunately due to the people who drained us, we couldn't grow. I could move on but my older son doesn't want. The younger son works here sometimes. If they send me a signal, I can leave it to my sons. However they don't seem to want. It is enough for me; I don't want to do this with anyone else. I have acquired all this knowledge but I feel loneliness. After a while I will retire and have a good retirement wage and I can sell the shop and get leisure money. My sons seem to be able to stand on their own. I don't care about the business anymore. I am looking for a potential wife. It is enough; time is up for a new life!*

At this stage, both Ender and Sema were tired of working hard. Perhaps not so much for working long hours but for working hard to be able to respond to the conflicting expectations of the family involvement in the business, which is related to different discursive sources of gender and ethnic norms. Cutting off the family dimension from her life, Sema's dream is to do business wherever she sees opportunities. Being an entrepreneur is her lifetime project. Ender on the other hand does not set his projection around the business but as a man who needs a new wife, and a family life. He does not want to continue with his business beyond the normal retirement age. Business is not his life time project. His life time project is keeping up as the head of the family, and as a husband.

The couple's projection of a succession process is intimately gendered and is linked with different definitions of family. Sema and Ender put different emphasis on the importance of either both emotional bonds and the care or of the endurance of the family institution. In Sema's account, despite building up some material wealth, she thinks the conditions in service sector is rough and requires sacrificing a healthy family life. She interprets the family business by centering it around the notion of business as she experienced it as a migrant and with its potential threat to the family life. Accordingly, she thinks a family succession is unlikely. Sema does not want her children to take over the business in order to protect the family life she frames around care and compassion. However, even after divorcing, they kept the familiness of the family business intact aligned with the concerns around the established business and family relations. For example, none of them wants to take a 'stranger' to the family business for partnering and growing further even if through marriage. Moreover, all the businesses work with the same suppliers and the customers still see them as operating a family business.

Ender would like his sons to take over his business but does not mention the possibility of his daughter to take over although the three children are in the same age range. For him the business is a family matter and needs a head who is a male. Ender wants his sons to take over the business to ensure the family succession. The cultural definition of family informs Ender's intentions as it does to Sema. However, for Ender it is the corporate understanding of family as a group of owners requiring succession which is what matters most.

The children's narratives reflect what their parents think regarding them taking over the business. Their views are informed by experiencing closer contact with one of their parents. Berna does not want to take over the business despite her regularly working in the shops together with her parents. One reason is that she sees the business distracting her mother's quality of life. She often sees her mother either very tired after work or even depressed. Berna does not want to be unhappy as her mother. The sons say that 'they don't want to be like them', seeing the businesses as a dead end and "a business for migrants", even if they are happy with the material wealth provided by their parents. Perhaps the family business, where their parents had to devote so much of their time, is experienced as strong rival for their parents' attention. Hasan poignantly expressed his opinion by recalling her childhood:

> *When I was a child, in the weekends where everyone has a free time, I used to call my friends. Unfortunately, all were busy with doing plans with their family, but I had my parents who were always at work. Either I had to stay at home alone with no friends and parents, or I had to go to their workplaces to see them. This kind of life kills the family life and childhood and for my future I want a family more than any other thing, certainly not a family business!*

Discussion

In this article, our purpose was to deepen the understanding of identity processes in organizational settings and, in particular, how individuals' identities emerge and evolve in a family business context. Focusing on individuals' identity, we extend knowledge of identity work processes by shedding light on the intense and simultaneous traffic occurring between family, work and individuals' own spaces. The interpretive approach opens up the dynamic and complex nature of identity work processes regarding the boundaries between family and business settings through a close study of the systemic interactions between individuals, the family and a business (Habbershon et al., 2003).

The life stories show identity work in a family business setting differs from a non-family work setting., In a non-family work setting, people deal mostly with their managers as source of identity regulation. However, as we have seen in the life stories, in the family business loved ones are the source of identity regulation. This makes the identity work different even paradoxical. For instance, Lutgen-Sandvik (2008) found that people who are involved in intense identity work avoid turning to family members when they do identity work in their work setting. Only in a restructuring phase do they turn to their families for support. Our study shows that nowhere in the life stories did Sema and Ender turn to co-workers or other people in different types of identity work; in particular sense making, reconciling and processing loss. Rather, they avoided discussing family issues with colleagues and even friends to keep what happened in the family in the family.

The two life stories also demonstrate the character of the individual identity work in a family business context. The starting up and opportunity identification phase show intense identity work where large efforts were spent on making sense of multiple identities and a variety of social resources, including the family (Miller et al., 2011). The family influence also provides negative effects and limited emotional resources for the individuals as they engage in identity work in contrast to non-family business work contexts. Indeed, building on Lutgen-Sandvik (2008), the intense period of making sense of and navigating among multiple identities complicated the growth and succession phases either because the individuals complied with the family expectations and norms more readily, or because they thought that the dissonance they experienced can be dealt with through quick remedial identity work tactics. Moreover, the life stories show that family involvement is a strong regulating force for individual identity work even after divorcing, as people have to find ways to sustain the family and business and transform their work and non-work identities accordingly.

New insights also emerge regarding how individual identity work is related to two habitats of meaning: gender and ethnicity. The life stories uncover how struggles to keep the family and the family business intact are influenced by how gender and ethnicity are interpreted and enacted selectively by the members in

their efforts of dealing with themselves as individuals with coherent and distinctive identities.

The identity works of Sema and Ender respectively emerge from socio-cultural circumstances where their individual identities are not gender or ethnically neutral. For example, unlike Sema, business for Ender was the key to keep his gendered identity work. The discourse of the professional manager, which itself is quite gendered (Collinson & Hearn, 1996; Connell, 2005; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005), provided him a source where he blended family and business in order to master and control conditions and people around. Further, he dis-identified himself as a migrant. For him 'being a good man' meant to be a progressive and highly educated man who supports his wife's working outside (Arat, 1998a, 1998b). For Sema, being a wife (provided another paradoxical source of identity work. she believed 'being the good wife' does not necessarily imply 'being a good woman' but it includes "being a working woman'. She could be responsible and at the same time have an independent individual space and time for herself free from the family (Elvin-Nowak & Thomsson, 2001). Ethnicity and migration, unlike for Ender, was not so much problematized by Sema. She complied with a good migrant image as a woman with no problem to comply with Swedish norms and adapt at exchanging cultural codes, much thanks to her early childhood growing up with a Turkish family and Swedish teachers. Thus, in making sense of who they were or were not, the couple tried to keep family and business separate or made remedial repair works in adjusting themselves to the demands and conditions (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002).

The life stories show how making hard choices interplay with individual identity work. Building on Essers, et al., (2013) the identity work in the family business became experienced as conflicting between the two individuals when different norms and demands were increasingly threatening their sense of beings. In relation to both gender and ethnicity, Sema refused 'the good woman image' as stemming from her family by breaking up and Ender wanted to consciously maintain 'a good man discourse' by trying to protect his family unity. In the last phase of restructuring, they decidedly drew on discourses around either business or family without feeling obliged to blend those two, because their temporary relief has not lived long. The couple ended up with divorcing, and exiting the business. With this dissolution they aimed to create authentic selves along the norms of good womanness and manliness. The regulating norms of 'being a good woman' and 'being a good man' thus inflicted with gender and ethnicity as habitats of meaning in the family business context.

After both the business and the family had been lost, Ender and Sema still relied on the medium of the family business as the main source for their identity work. In re-structuring phase it has become clear that different notions of family have been effectively informing the particular individual identity work. For Sema it became a place of emotional attachment and care. For Ender the family meant continuity through the succession, both of the business and of the family along the gendered labor of division (Kondo, 1990). Indeed, family business is

conceived as long as it served either to the family happiness (for Sema) or family endurance (for Ender). This shows how different interpretations of the family and respectively the business can inform different visions of the family business succession and continuity.

Two methodological limitations concern our sample. The sample is small and the researchers' closeness to the respondents may create bias. These are common issues with interpretive research that strives to study a social phenomenon closely, over time and through in-depth interaction with people. Building trust and mutual respect with our respondents was considered essential in order to be able to collect high-quality empirical material (Fletcher, 2002a). In this way, the fact that the studied individuals and one of the authors got to know each other should mainly be seen as an advantage in terms of the veracity and completeness of the life-stories reproduced (Essers, 2009). Despite limitations, the study offers a number or implications for research.

Implications

Our interpretive study approaches individual identity work in the family business context by focusing on the role of gender and ethnicity, as habitats of meaning experienced in intersecting ways (Calás et al., 2010; Crenshaw, 1991; Holvino, 2008). This way, identity is dynamically constructed as self-identity in relation to wider societal and cultural influences (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Koerner, 2014; Watson, 2008). For instance, the two focused owner managers in the study identified themselves as migrant woman entrepreneur and migrant man manager at some instances but as family business entrepreneur or manager at others, instead of relying on one universal category of woman or man or migrant woman and man as fixed. Therefore, concentrating on the identity work of individual family business members our study extends the understanding of relations of gender and ethnicity in family business contexts, and heed the call for more knowledge about the family and individual sides of identity in family businesses compared to the business side (James et al., 2012).

Previous research made it clear that women are either invisible or at best secondary to family business (Hamilton, 2006; Jimenez, 2009; Mulholland, 2003; Sharma, 2004). For instance, it has often been said that although wives' labor is essential to sustain the business, they are considered as not-working (Cole, 1997; Danes & Olson, 2003). While family business research has presented the problem area around gender relations, our study takes a step further and show how gender relations are worked out and the gender inequalities constructed and experienced. We thus go beyond the previous typical framing of gender relations as biologically determined positions embodied by men and women (Nicholson, 1994) and propose that in addition to focusing on "women in family business", scholars should focus on "gender relations within the family firm", and how these relations are related to the ways individual family business members do

identity work. As Hamilton (2013a) argues, in the family business literature and in the management literature in general, whenever the family and work life is examined with a gender lens, researchers tend to conceptualize these life spheres as conflicting because the starting point is the woman's motherhood and housekeeping duties (rather than work life). Hamilton (2013a) therefore calls for research that goes beyond the fairly simplistic and dualistic work-family balance issue, which only serves to reproduce the established notions of universal womanhood. Here, our study shows that the interpretive approach to individuals' identity work gives a more complex and dynamic way of understanding the role of gender in dealing with work-family balance issues in the family business context.

The study also reveals the role of immigrantship where identity work based on ethnicity as habitat of meaning is salient but often intersects with other identity categories as family business members do their identity work. We recognize that as gender has been imagined to the degree of woman's physical presence, ethnicity is often considered in the body of immigrant enterprises. Studies have demonstrated the important role of family involvement in migrant businesses, particularly in showing the distinctive nature of social and economic capital formation in ethnic communities (Danes, Lee, Stafford, & Heck, 2008; Ram & Holliday, 1993; Sanders & Nee, 1996). Paradoxically, those studies on the side also bourgeoned the understanding of ethnicity as a bounded group entity rather than a boundary forming factor that is negotiated in everyday life (Barth, 1970; Jones & Ram, 2007) and used as a habitat of meaning in identity work. This way, intra-group hierarchies, such as those emerging at the intersection of gender, family and business identities have been left unarticulated.

Extending these insights, our study shows the role of relations of family business members for identity work in two ways. First, it provides insights as a way to understand the attempts immigrant families to negotiate their migrant identity in relation to their decisions to start and jointly manage several family ventures. Second, the study provides an understanding of the role of ethnicity in the family members' relation to each other and their individual decisions and future aspirations. Indeed, the life stories show that not only children, but also parents and siblings play an important role in these identity work processes. The two owner-managers in our study spent considerable efforts to integrate as well as distance themselves from these close kin to work out their individual (family and business) identities (Karra, Tracey, & Phillips, 2006). They experienced both pros and cons with involving other family members as formally employed or owners of the firm. All those insights indicate the need to take into consideration the particular context and situated relations in each family business. Thus, how they are embedded in a particular context and family relations shape how they see and act upon new entrepreneurial and growth opportunities (Aldrich & Cliff, 2003; Cramton, 1993; Welter, 2011). The study hence gives new insights regarding the mutual impact of the family and the business for the identity of

individual family business members (Knapp et al., 2013; Shepherd & Haynie, 2009).

Finally, this study has methodological implications for family business inquiry. Our interpretive approach takes the point of departure in everyday situations of actors and concentrates on lived and relational experiences as represented in life stories. This is also the natural empirical ground for interpretive inquiry to identity work and family business (Fletcher, 2014). Because this type of research still is rare in the family business literature, this article represents an important example of how such research can be conducted and reported in order to extend our knowledge about a relevant phenomenon.

Conclusion

In this article, the analysis of two life stories shows how family business members do identity work in relation to both family and business and how, through the two habitats of meaning in focus, gender and ethnicity, they construct their identities. Further research may attend to different habitats of meaning such as including age, social class, race, sexuality and disability which may provide insights in order to develop more contextualized and socio-culturally informed analysis of family businesses.

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Paper 3
Entrepreneurial Capital Development Processes within Gender, Ethnicity and Class Relations: A Practice-based Perspective

Huriye Yeröz Aygören

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ENTREPRENEURIAL CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES WITHIN GENDER, ETHNICITY AND CLASS RELATIONS: A PRACTICE-BASED PERSPECTIVE

Huriye Yeröz Aygören

ABSTRACT

In this study, I discuss the ways in which a diverse body of entrepreneurs, especially those who are historically disadvantaged and have scarce legitimate resources, strategize and negotiate being the 'right sort of entrepreneur' as a party in culturally constituted social class relations. To that end, I approach cultural and symbolic capital acquisition and conversion processes as inherent elements of entrepreneurs' everyday coping practices, as experienced by seventeen immigrant women entrepreneurs in Sweden. I offer a class analysis by paying attention to the intersectionality of ethnicity and gender in relational terms to better articulate the interdependence between the material and cultural and symbolic configurations of power relations and the ways entrepreneurs rework them.

Capital Development Processes within Gender, Ethnicity and Class Relations: A Practice-based Perspective

Huriye Yeröz Aygören

Introduction

Immigrant woman entrepreneurs have increasingly appeared in the practice and theory of entrepreneurship. They have been studied extensively through the lenses of gender and ethnicity (Aygören & Wilinska, 2013; Essers & Benschop, 2007, 2009; Essers, et al., 2010; Essers, et al., 2013a; Essers & Tedmanson, 2014; Pio & Essers, 2014; Verduijn, et al., 2014; Verduijn & Essers, 2013). The current study brings immigrant women entrepreneurs to the fore of the debate by differentiating them on the basis of not only gender and ethnicity but also class positions, as well as the intersections of these factors. My major interest lies in the workings of class in the supposedly classless scene of entrepreneurship (Gill, 2014). I seek to examine how entrepreneurs experience class oftentimes even without talking about it and how they implicitly talk about it through their diverse cultural formations.

The entrepreneurial field is an arena for power struggles over the distribution and legitimate definition of different forms of capital. Unpacking these power struggles, organizational (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008) and entrepreneurship researchers (De Clercq & Voronov, 2009c) have usually dedicated scholarly attention to economic, social and human capital, while cultural and symbolic capital has received scant attention. However, entrepreneurship scholars have increasingly called for attention to underexplored relations of power by inquiring into the role of cultural and symbolic capital both as significant resources and stakes involved in particular entrepreneurship practices and contexts (Anderson, et al., 2012; De Clercq & Honig, 2011; De Clercq & Voronov, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c; Drori, et al., 2009; Forson, et al., 2014; Tatli, et al., 2014).

For example, in several studies, De Clercq and Colleagues (2011; 2009a, 2009b, 2009c) argue for the immediacy of cultural and symbolic capital in examining not only the socio-culturally embedded but also power-imbued nature of entrepreneurship, including constructing entrepreneurial legitimacy, developing and retaining control over resources and effecting or inhibiting

change in the field of entrepreneurship. Focusing solely on cultural capital, Light and Dana (2013), however, demonstrated the primacy of cultural capital over the much-discussed concept of social capital and called for a greater attention to cultural capital as grounds on which the mobilization of social capital could be activated or not. As such, these studies argue that power in entrepreneurship originates not only from controlling economic power but necessarily from the cultural and symbolic capital that is closely associated with the founders' social positioning within the hierarchical positioning of entrepreneurs. However, these perspectives, which partially adopted practice theory, did not theorize individual entrepreneurs from the embodied perspective and, more importantly, the complexity involved in differential identification processes of entrepreneurs. However, a handful of studies taking a feminist perspective have demonstrated the centrality of social positioning of entrepreneurs in areas such as gender (Shaw, et al., 2009), as well as the interdependency between the embodied entrepreneurs and the rules of the game in certain fields of entrepreneurship (Karataş-Özkan & Chell, 2013) in examining the potentiality of entrepreneurship to elevate the social position of entrepreneurs and to challenge entrenched inequalities.

Thus, although researchers have strongly highlighted the likely impacts of these crucial and subtle types of capital on entrepreneurship, a deeper understanding of the forms of cultural and symbolic capital is much needed for at least two reasons. First, current understanding limits the research scope due to understanding of cultural capital as a state of endowment rather than considering ongoing processes of acquisition, conversion and institutionalization within socio-cultural and dynamic contexts. Second, and more importantly, cultural and symbolic capital and acquisition and conversion processes have not been considered significant elements of the functioning of class processes through legitimating social differences and reproducing inequalities, for which an original Bourdieusian approach persistently argued (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008).

Consequently, how a diverse body of entrepreneurs dealing with unequal conditions and capital development processes (Anderson & Miller, 2003; Fletschner & Carter, 2008) leads to various social outcomes (Calás, et al., 2009) has not yet attracted the deserved scholarly attention.

Therefore, I seek to examine the ways in which a diverse body of entrepreneurs, especially those who are historically disadvantaged and have scarce legitimate resources, strategize and negotiate being the 'right sort of entrepreneur' as a party within social class relations. To that end, my approach focuses primarily on cultural and symbolic capital acquisition and conversion processes as inherent elements of the everyday coping practices experienced by immigrant woman entrepreneurs (IWE hereafter).

In addressing this overall aim, I draw on the class analysis offered by cultural sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and focus on the multilayered relationships between different constituencies manifested in IWE's entrepreneurial capital development and associated legitimacy-gaining practices (Anderson, et al., 2012;

De Clercq & Honig, 2011; De Clercq & Voronov, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c; Drori, et al., 2009; Forson, et al., 2014; Tatli, et al., 2014). I hold the view that the capital framework and feminist readings of Bourdieusian practice theory offer a way to address the limitations of existing research and key issues of how to address diverse societal categories of differences reflected in the cultural and symbolic configuration of social class positioning in entrepreneurial practices (Drakopoulou-Dodd, et al., 2014; Forson, et al., 2014; Tatli, et al., 2014). Bourdieu (1986) viewed capital as a social relation. In his view, social relations in general, and relations of cultural production in particular, are as important as economic relations because the unequal distribution of cultural and social resources are critical to understanding society and social phenomena (Townley, 2014). In my study, Bourdieu's approach influenced several significant points in which I claim particular contributions to the extant entrepreneurship literature.

First, I pay particular attention not only to different forms of cultural and symbolic capital endowments (De Clercq & Voronov, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c; Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008) but also to less-pronounced processes of capital formation and conversion that function as the major logic of capital. I demonstrate through these processes that capital comes to be both the main sources and stakes of power in the context of organizing (Özbilgin & Tatli, 2005) and enterprising (Tatli, et al., 2014). Moreover, I approach both forms of capital as emergent and purely contextual resources, in contrast to extant views in which the legitimate representations of such capital appear to denote a universal currency (Forson, et al., 2014; Tatli, et al., 2014). This is the main area in which I make a particular theoretical contribution to the field.

Second, entrepreneurship studies examining the ways in which class, intertwined with gender and ethnicity, enters into entrepreneurs' lives are relatively scarce (Anderson & Miller, 2003; De Clercq & Voronov, 2009c; Karataş-Özkan & Chell, 2013). In particular, in the entrepreneurship literature, as well as in organization studies (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008), the relationships between the agency and actions of entrepreneurs and their social origins and trajectories have been rarely considered (Anderson & Miller, 2003; Caroline Essers & Benschop, 2007; Gill, 2014; Shaw, et al., 2009). Focusing on the habitus-embodied dispositions of individuals and the institutional environment (the field) they encounter on the level of capital acquisition and development practice (Lizardo & Strand, 2010), my study offers primarily a class analysis by paying attention to the intersectionality of ethnicity and gender in relational terms, with the aim of better articulating the interdependence between the material and cultural/symbolic configurations of power relations (Hardy & Thomas, 2015) and the ways entrepreneurs rework them (Anderson & Miller, 2003). Thus, the study aims at advancing knowledge by emphasizing the cultural formation of social class in structuring material (in)equalities and hierarchies between social positions (Acker, 2006a, 2006b; Ortner, 1998, 2002) and shaping identities and societal representations (Lawler, 1999; 2005; Reay, 2004; Skeggs, 1997, 2004a; Skeggs & Loveday, 2012).

Therefore, I pose the following research question in this study: How does class shape capital development (sites of investments) and legitimacy claims (sites of distinctions) for IWE? In order to address this research question, I draw on empirical insights generated through in-depth and extended interviews, listening to the life stories of 17 IWE with Turkish backgrounds who lived and established enterprises in Sweden. I focus on the life stories of IWE to capture cultural and symbolic capital that spans a person's whole life trajectory and the experience (Lamont & Lareau, 1988) and movement across different social fields (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008).

I structure my paper as follows. The first part focuses on setting the theoretical framework, which not only unpacks relevant entrepreneurship literature but also situates my paper vis-a-vis Bourdieu's theory of practice and the relevant entrepreneurship literature. I then proceed by introducing my methodological approach and tools used for material generation and analysis. These parts pave the way for a discussion on the legitimacy-gaining activities of IWE, which are imbued with their capital accumulation and conversion practices and their struggle to ultimately gain power. I conclude with a discussion on the theoretical contributions the study offers.

Theoretical Framework: Bourdieusian Practice Theory, Resource & Capital Development Approaches and Entrepreneurship

Entrepreneurship studies have increasingly focused on the social, discursive and material effects of social class underpinning entrepreneurial processes (Anderson & Miller, 2003; Gill, 2014; Knight, 2014). As one of the earliest accounts, Schumpeter, for example, suggested that "class members behave towards one another in a fashion characteristically different from their conduct towards members of other classes. They are in closer association with one another; they understand one another better; they work more readily in concert; they close ranks and erect barriers against the outside; they look out into the same segment of the world, with the same eyes, from the same viewpoint, in the same direction" (Schumpeter, 1951, p.107). Despite having been suspended for a long time, class analysis has recently been revived within entrepreneurship studies. For instance, Gill (2014) exhibited the implicit and contradictory logic of entrepreneurial discourse underpinned by class in the US. She argued that while entrepreneurial success was examined in terms of individualized resources, their collective and historical transfer mechanisms were ignored. This way, class, as a discourse, operated as if entrepreneurship were open to everyone, yet only a few of those who entered were rewarded. In a similar vein, Anderson and Miller (2003) showed in an empirical study conducted in the UK that entrepreneurs who came

from established family and class backgrounds had better chances of acquiring the necessary resources and developing those further than those who came from modest social origins. In turn, these factors lead to differentiated growth and profitability prospects for these businesses in relation to their founders' classed positions in the social strata. Taking a gender lens, studies have also examined how women's access to certain classed resources, especially cultural capital, brought about different experiences in networking opportunities (DiMaggio, 2004), opportunity recognition (Karataş-Özkan & Chell, 2013), business ownership and performance among women entrepreneurs (Fletschner & Carter, 2008; Shaw, et al., 2009).

Expanding these insights, I draw on Bourdieusian class analysis and feminist readings of Bourdieu, adopting concepts such as field, habitus and forms of capital. Bourdieusian theorization explains the source of relative regularity in social action as a product of a match between implicit dispositions (habitus) and external structures (fields) (Bourdieu, 1990, 2000), as well as how people who stand on different sides of structural relations, i.e., advantage and disadvantage, would have a different understanding of those relations and their impacts (Hurtado, 1989; Young, 1989).

Field is "a set of objective, historical relations between positions anchored in certain forms of power (or capital)" (Wacquant in Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 16), which can be imagined much like market behavior structured by exchange and competition (Moi, 1991). As people move through social fields, they increase their overall value through the acquisition, conversion and valorization of capital (economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital). Bourdieu (2008) defined economic capital as income, wealth, financial heritance, and monetary assets; social capital as resources based on connections and group membership and generated through relationships; and cultural capital in three different forms: a) Embodied state: long-lasting dispositions of mind and body b) Objectified state: cultural goods and c) Institutionalized state: educational qualifications. Finally, he defines symbolic capital as the form different types of capital would take once they were perceived and recognized as legitimate. The logic of capital functions as a result of its convertibility. Each form of capital can be converted into another form of capital (Bourdieu, 2008; Wacquant, 1996). The metaphors of the field and forms of capital carry great power to explain the interactions between social position and capital development processes and, in turn, recursively shape the possible positions taken by the entrepreneurs. The Bourdieusian capital framework is thus very much nuanced in comprehending not only the notion of class but also that of class mobility. Particularly, the introduction of symbolic capital enables a contextual and dynamic analysis of which certain forms of capital have higher currency in which specific networks or fields (Nowicka, 2013; Van den Berg, 2011). Among major forms of capital, cultural capital is the most critical because its accumulation and convertibility are the most difficult to achieve due to longer time periods required to acquire and transfer it (Mohr & DiMaggio, 1995; Prieur & Savage, 2013). Cultural capital is usually invested to

maximize one's upward mobility and convert it into symbolic capital, e.g., legitimacy and prestige (Lamont & Lareau, 1988). This point differentiates cultural capital from the concept of human capital, where the gains from cultural capital are usually limited in economic terms and do not consider symbolic profits (Lamont & Lareau, 1988). Bourdieu suggests that for this reason, power relations are instituted majorly through controlling cultural capital accumulation and conversion processes, as the contemporary education system is the exemplary one (Bourdieu, 2008). Cultural capital not only involves institutionalized forms such as formal education but also the cultural know-how about how things and systems work and a sense of taste so that people might fit into the local structure of status and reputation (Ortner, 2002).

It is clear that possessing a legitimate form of cultural capital has direct implications on an individual entrepreneur's sense or ability to fit in socially. Entrepreneurship endows certain contexts either negatively or positively (Baumol, 1996) because constructing appropriate cultural capital consumes more effort and time and is not easily accessible by all entrepreneurs (Terjesen & Elam, 2009) in all contexts (Light & Dana, 2013). De Clercq and colleagues (2011; 2009a, 2009b, 2009c), among several others, identified the distinctive roles of cultural and symbolic capital endowments in capturing the power relations embedded in entrepreneurship. Cultural capital, with its capacity to access and mobilize the institutions and cultural products of a society, is necessary to comply with the established field arrangements. However, symbolic capital, with its capacity to impose certain definitions of the practice or organization of the field upon other field participants, allows for distinction from the established field arrangements by signaling the introduction of new combinations. Consequently, De Clercq and colleagues argued that social exchange propelled by cultural and symbolic capital allows a deeper understanding of the possibilities of reproduction and transformation within the entrepreneurial field. Considering the particular context of migration, studies have also shown how the processes of cultural resource acquisition and conversion proceed in more complex ways than the less-disrupted contexts (Erel, 2010). In the case of entrepreneurship, studies focused on transnational and global context demonstrated the distinctive role of cultural resources and worldviews in creating entrepreneurial opportunities (Carmichael, et al., 2010; Drori, et al., 2009; Terjesen & Elam, 2009). However, no attention has been paid to everyday competences that are very basic and often taken for granted, such as cultural know-how and certain tastes correctly constructed upon linguistic and behavioral performances in the context (De Certeau, 1998; Lutz, 2011; Ortner, 2002).

Moreover, studies have taken an undifferentiated view towards what is social and what is a social agent. For example, research adopting a gender focus with regard to cultural capital is very scant, yet this topic's importance is well discussed in sociological accounts (DiMaggio, 2004). For instance, DiMaggio argued that social practices have historically occurred in different fields and that different forms of capital have had different values for men and women. As such, women

utilized their cultural capital usually in the domestic field for acquiring husbands and transmitting this culture to their children. On the other hand, men used their cultural capital mostly for attaining educational and occupational qualifications. Although women have increasingly moved into paid-working lives, because they are to the role of symbolic capital manager of the family, they have found themselves mostly in jobs that require them to be involved in "presentation and representation, reception and hospitality," similar to the domestic field (Silva, 2005). Second, middle-class women's educational achievement has historically been far more advanced than their occupational attainment relative to middle-class men. Thus, women with middle-class histories might likely invest more in the accumulation of cultural capital (Mohr & DiMaggio, 1995).

These examples indicate how cultural formations indeed make the experience of new firm formation very different for many entrepreneurs compared to the rational subject of entrepreneurship, where the entrepreneur is assumed to have a greater control over accessing and garnering the necessary resources. I suggest that this is also where the concept of habitus provides likely directions regarding the deployment of different strategies of capital development and legitimacy-gaining processes without explicitly determining them (Al Ariss & Syed, 2011; Özbilgin & Tatli, 2005). Bourdieu describes habitus "as a system of dispositions… (that) makes possible the… production of …thoughts, perceptions and actions". These schemes enable actors to make sense of their specific situations and associated elements as meaningful and to follow a course of action that is appropriate to the context (Wacquant, 2014). According to Bourdieu's framework (2000), major characteristics capable of characterizing habitus include social origin, education, qualifications, etc. There is a dialectic interaction between a habitus and a field as well. Habitus enables actors to move across different social contexts relatively easily in conditioned ways (2014). For instance, habitus remains ineffective to the extent that the action situation moves away from its original constituent conditions (Lahire, 2003). I depart from the premise that structurally organized social positions such as gender, class and ethnicity provide the relations through which forms of capital are organized and valued (Skeggs, 1997). Gender, ethnicity and class not only shape our social position and habitus but also consequently impact the access and valuation of different forms of capital (King, 2000; Lizardo, 2004; McNay, 1999; Reay, 2004).

The interaction between the three major concepts, field, capital and entrepreneurs' habitus, indeed influences the ability to recognize oneself and others as (il)legitimate entrepreneurs and develop proper strategies accordingly.

In distinguishing between the salience of class, gender and ethnicity and their intersection, I take gender and ethnicity as a combinatory social category, each one of which infiltrates and influences every other category (Moi, 1991). Insofar as gender or ethnicity is considered, the capital at stake is the symbolic capital relevant for the particular field of investigation (Miller, 2014). For example, Bourdieu (1984, p. 382), in differentiating between the hierarchical significance of social difference markers, suggests that the higher one moves up in the social

(class) hierarchy, the less marked the gender differentiation. However, studies show that gender is more pronounced in the context of migration and migrant labor, especially in the service sector (Dyer, McDowell, & Batnitzky, 2010).

Accordingly, in my analysis, womanhood and immigrantship appear as socially constructed categories that carry different amounts of symbolic capital in different contexts/fields and at various times. I seek to show through empirical analysis how symbolic capital (Moi, 1991), which is attached to certain gendered (femininity) and/or ethno-cultural habitus (Skeggs, 1997) (immigrantship), changes in relation to the amount of other forms of capital held.

Indeed, shifting the focus to processes, I seek to illuminate some of the workings of cultural processes and objective power relations as elements of class processes and therefore encourage our understanding of the socio-cultural basis of inequalities (Brah, 1991) and conditions of possibilities for social change (Calás, et al., 2009) that unfold through entrepreneurial practices. My research therefore draws upon Bourdieu's central methodological approach and aims to integrate "...into a single model the analysis of the experience and the analysis of the objective structures that make this experience possible" (Bourdieu, 1988, p. 782).

Methodological Approach & Tools

Regarding methodology, Bourdieu relentlessly objected to research projects in which precision and a limited focus have been favored in lieu of comprehensiveness (Reay, 2004). Aligned with this, I draw on life story interviews in order to "access a richer understanding of the complexities of lived experience which can throw light on broader socio-cultural structures and processes" (O'Neill et al., 2002, p. 70). In particular, I approach life stories as keys to open the black boxes of the processual dynamics of IWEs' lives, as each life story provides a link between "the migrant agent and the structure of society" (Lutz, 1995, p. 314).

Because the Bourdieusian terminology is unique in many ways, I first needed to translate the Bourdieusian conceptual framework habitus, field and forms of capital into the reading of life stories. Among the three central concepts, due to its plasticity and richness, the concept of habitus has proven to be the most intriguing element of empirical analysis (Reay, 2004). However, as Bourdieusian scholars often emphasized, in this study, the concept provided a methodological pathway (Wacquant, 1996). After iterative and parallel readings of the life story literature and Bourdieusian accounts on habitus, I concluded that what is commonsensically referred to as a 'lived experience' in life story accounts corresponds to the concept of habitus because both concepts refer to a process of signification and a practice of making sense while connecting the past with the present (Brah 1991; Brah 1996; Brah and Phoenix 2004). For the other two

concepts, field and forms of capital, I relied on definitions and descriptions offered by the Bourdieusian framework.

Table 1. Main characteristics of immigrant women entrepreneurs

Life- Story Narrator	Migration history	Age at the time of migration (the year of migration)	Education: occupation prior to starting up	The Year of Start-up	Field of Entrepreneuring
Leyla	Labor	2 years old (1968)	University: university student and elderly care taker	1988	Human resource consultancy
Ceren	Lifestyle	2 years old (1968)	High school: financial accountant and elderly care taker	2006	Elderly care
Ayla	Political	28 years old (1983)	University: dentist	1995	Dentistry
Senay	Labor	0 years old (born: 1981, migration: 1974)	High school: beautician and elderly care taker	2011	Beauty and personal care
Guler	Political	26 years old (1973)	University: psychologist and TV program producer	2004	Educational consultancy
Merve	Labor	2 years old (1973)	High school: hairdresser	1990	Hairdresser
Nalan	Lifestyle	6 years old (1973)	High school: cook	2007	Knitting ware shop
Ramize	Political	23 years old (1982)	University: nurse	1996	Translation
Nejla	Labor	0 years old (born: 1979, migration: 1977)	High school: nurse and elderly care taker	2004	Beauty and personal care
Mine	Political	28 years old (1980)	University: dentist	1996	Health and personal care
Nurten	Labor	10 years old (1966)	University: social service officer	2010	Wine trading

Zeynep	Labor	0 years old (born: 1989, migration: 1966	University student	2009	Event organizing
Selin	Lifestyle	22 years old (2002)	High school: dancer	2008	Restaurant–café–bar
Sema	Labor	3 years old (1963)	High school: public service officer	1991	Restaurant–café–bar
Muge	Lifestyle	32 years old (2010)	University: marketing consultant	2010	Marketing consultancy
Hatis	Labor	0 years old (born: 1983 migration: 1999)	High school: housekeeper	2005	Restaurant–café–bar
Aysen	Labor	2 years old (1963)	Secondary school: housekeeper	1993	Restaurant–café–bar

The empirical material is generated by listening to the life stories of seventeen women who migrated from Turkey to Sweden for different reasons. The selection of an immigrant community with a Turkish background is purposive because immigration to Sweden attracted not only less-educated and working class labor workers in the late 1960s but also highly educated, elite civic movement leaders following the military coup in the 1980s, which reflects diverse ethnic groups seeking refuge in scattered periods. Such a diverse community also allows us to consider specific constructions of personhood given gender, ethnicity and class before migrating; these constructions remain hardly attended but are of upmost importance in understanding different migration experiences (Anthias, 2013). The main characteristics of the IWE in the study are summarized below:

I was able to access the women entrepreneurs by searching contacts via the Ethnic and Business Association and personal networks. Then, through snowballing, I was able to access several other women entrepreneurs who migrated from Turkey and were in the process of or had already established their ventures in Sweden as solo entrepreneurs. My search yielded seventeen participants with whom we carried out life story interviews. All interviews were undertaken between November 2011 and December 2012 at women's workplaces or homes, according to their own preferences. The interviews were conducted in Turkish, which was the native language of the interviewees, and I then translated them into English. I combined life story materials with non-participant observations of entrepreneurship practices in several of women's

businesses located in three different cities: Stockholm, Goteborg and Jonkoping. I also attended by-invitation-only networking and special events organized by women during this period.

In reading the life stories, I attended to both structural and cultural readings of life stories as termed by popular memory groups (Group, 1989; Maynard & Purvis, 1994). In making a structural reading, I first identified the saliency of certain social structures, and with cultural readings, in turn, I sought to read the particular influence of those experiences on people's structural lives, i.e., how subjects made sense of, and thereby produced meaning from, their experiences. These two readings are obviously mutually constitutive aspects that I noted in analyzing and interpreting empirical material; however, the main focus of analysis is the cultural readings of IWE.

In assessing the life stories of the IWE, I first drew from the positioning analysis. A study of positioning allowed for observation of different social locations in which entrepreneurs found themselves and the resources that they either could or could not mobilize in the way of articulating the subject's self-constructions upon normative discourses (Bamberg, 1997, 2004; Davies & Harré, 1990). From this point, the analysis took several steps. In the first step, I examined the criteria used by the women to denote class position and classed practices. Here, I drew on sociological accounts of class relations and identities and, in particular, entrepreneurship studies on the major ways in which the class discourse was represented and enacted by the entrepreneurs. Gill (2014) suggests that the discourse of entrepreneurialism runs over three major classed pillars: 1) entrepreneurs as workers vs. owners, 2) entrepreneurs taking actions and creating innovations, and 3) entrepreneurs being able to recognize and capitalize upon opportunities. This framing was useful, as this conceptualization not only drew upon a classical Marxist definition of class position within the relations of production but also extended classical insights by paying particular attention to major discursive elements of entrepreneurship that emphasize innovation and opportunity recognition. In applying this framework to analyzing my materials, I attended primarily to the stories of individual women entrepreneurs positioning themselves within the relations of work and labor prior to their enterprising and, through their enterprising efforts, differentiating, for instance, between necessary vs. surplus labor; worker (employee) vs. owner (employer, capitalist); exploitation vs. a group's taking advantage of others, etc. I collected stories around innovation and opportunities as well. These elements relate to capital. However, because this framework provided necessary guideposts in examining the ways IWEs relate to capital, there was a need to explicate further the forms of capital upon which women drew in making sense of their entrepreneurship practices and lives, given the cultural and material resources available to them.

As Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1984) himself and subsequent accounts (Townley, 2014) rightly insisted, class relations are not confined within the occupational or production domains. Instead, class relations concern more of a cultural exchange than a labor exchange, in contrast to how this concept was once framed (Skeggs,

2014). Therefore, in my analysis, I continued extracting all narrative accounts referring to different forms of resources, capital acquisition and conversion practices in which the women claimed ownership or investment. For instance, I not only paid attention to narratives in which women positioned themselves as employees or owners of the businesses but also to accounts in which women brought forward forms of proprietary acquisitions, such as buying a house. Accordingly, in the second round, I was able to note the historical context of capital accumulation processes by clearly delineating the constitutive aspect of time and space for narratives (Baynham, 2003). The analysis was twofold. First, I took account of the continuum and disruptions experienced for each form of capital and by each entrepreneur prior to and after the migration event in order to draw parallels with the 'disrupted habitus' (Lawler, 1999) or disrupted life trajectories of entrepreneurs. The analysis then shed light on the complex processes of capital accumulation and valuation of certain forms of capital and their impact on immigrants' life trajectories, specifically on the entrepreneurship experience.

Following this, I focused on particular events and social locations both prior to and succeeding opportunity recognition and firm start-up activities in particular ways. I focused on particular vignettes referring to the ways to utilize and (de)value forms of capital by entrepreneurs to determine the chances and forms of opportunity search, enactment and exploitation processes (Downing, 2005).

At this stage of material analysis, I realized that the micro-theoretical approach of Bourdieu greatly appealed to my research, which took a feminist perspective, because it encouraged working with research texts involving quite messy and ordinary details of everyday life, which could then be connected to a social analysis of power (Moi, 1991). The stories showed clear patterns along with specific cultural and material resources accessible to IWEs, which situated them within certain relations of power and socio-cultural positioning. A closer reading of the rich material then brought forward the significance of gender, ethnicity and social class for IWEs, albeit in varying degrees and ways. I then examined what makes some women entrepreneurs under certain conditions identify with certain identity groupings (Brah, 1993, 1996; Brah & Phoenix, 2004) through mechanisms of identification, passing, improving, dissimulation and dis-identification (e.g., Elsbach & Bhattacharya, 2001; Skeggs, 1997; Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003). Then, I looked for major characteristics of habitus in identifying social origin, education, and qualifications of entrepreneurs. Moreover, I attended to phrases signaling habitual engagements and dispositions such as "I/We used to do/be something". Life stories then demonstrated the ways IWE relationally defined and, in turn, contested being the right kind of entrepreneur through their constructed habitus and forms of capital within the rules of the game in the specific field of entrepreneurship.

Respectively, my analysis yielded three distinct habitus that emerged from life story narratives. I labeled these as 1) Woman Migrants 2) Migrant Women 3)

Hybrid Women. In the next chapter, I will represent some of the women's complex experiences and, in turn, the differential degrees of choice and agency they could exercise, by adopting the Bourdieusian practice theory perspective.

Introducing IWEs: Connecting Individual with Collective Histories of Gender, Ethnicity and Class

Below, I introduce IWE's habitus considering the intersection of class habitus with gender and ethnicity in the context of migration. My study brought forward three distinctive habitus of women corresponding to particular collective visions and divisions.

Migrant women. These women come from established families with urban backgrounds. Although migration disrupted some of the capital they had before, they nevertheless have higher economic, social and cultural capital than women with working class backgrounds. Their migration was the product of modernization projects that started in 1920s with a newly founded Turkish Republic in which women were positioned as equals to men in both private and public domains (White, 2004). However, this ideal construct – 'the daughters of republic' – was accessible to women who came mostly from middle- and upper-class families (Arat, 1998b; Ozbay, 1999). Before migrating to Sweden in the 1980s, most of them already had higher education and worked as professionals. This background provided migrant women entrepreneurs with a legitimate authority position as political activists from which to speak not only for themselves but also primarily for others prior to their migration. Paradoxically, however, the order-conscious dispositions developed throughout their fighting for a different social order in Turkey has forced them into exile as political refugees. All the women said that they chose Sweden primarily because of it represents having achieved democratic social order. Therefore, in Sweden, these migrants had many more resources on which to draw and, respectively, to define themselves. Interestingly, in this group of interviews, gender relations were mentioned only in passing, as if they were not very relevant to their experience of themselves and to their lives as migrants.

Women migrants. These women came from working or lower class families and migrated primarily from rural areas or small towns in central and southern Anatolia. In those families, the women's lives were organized on the basis of patriarchal cultural codes that limited women's movement between private and public spheres (Arat, 1998a; İncirlioğlu, 1998). Their essential place was the family, and they were socialized first primarily as daughters and later as wives and mothers (Arat, 1998b; Erman, 1998; Kandiyoti & Kandiyoti, 1987).

All these women worked following their compulsory education in Sweden. Nevertheless, protecting family honor and their femininity remained essential to living a respectful life and to being a respectful woman. Central to their femininity, then, was their sense of sexuality, as well as cultural mechanisms, such as arranged marriages with close kin made at early ages. Marriage, for them, was the key arena in which they could trade their femininity and gain status and respectability in their communities. At the same time, marriages made at early ages resulted in eroding all kinds of capital accumulation processes, whether economic, social or cultural.

Hybrid Women. Hybrid women, similar to woman migrants, came to Sweden to join their fathers or brothers who came to Sweden to join the workforce in the early 1970s. They usually migrated from urban areas, and their migration rationale did not always follow the familiar immigrant narrative of breadwinning. Like migrant women, they came from families in which the women's position was not subordinate and the economic wealth of the family was steady and established. Nevertheless, neither were their families highly educated nor did they have gendered disruptions due to the migration experience. Upon their arrival at a very early age, some pursued higher education routes, while others did not. However, they initially mingled with the Turkish community of migrant workers at the time.

Sites of Investment: Narrative Accounts on Capital Acquisition and Conversion Processes with a Particular Focus on Forms of Cultural Capital

Most of the IWE in this study claimed that they started from scratch, despite the fact that almost all the women worked prior to their entrepreneurial careers. The capital development practices of these women were closely associated with their social class positioning. In realizing their opportunities, various forms of capital played a central role in women's lives in general and in entrepreneurial efforts in particular. Therefore, in the following captions, I shed light on the ways through which IWE acquired, used, accumulated and converted various forms of capital, with a particular focus on cultural capital movements.

Cultural Capital in Institutional Forms

Education in the form of institutionalized cultural capital was one of the key mechanisms that functioned as both enabling and curtailing women's capital accumulation process. Women from different class positions realized capital

conversions as affecting career choices and life chances, which became explicit not only in cases of migrant women entrepreneurs with higher education degrees (Al Ariss & Syed, 2011) but also for the rest in general terms (Riaño & Baghdadi, 2007).

Migrant women who claimed to be progressive intellectuals in their country, drawing on their cultural resources before migration, experienced conditions in which they were deprived of such resources and identities and developed various strategies both for claiming recognition and for creating their lives on the basis of their classed resources accordingly, including formal education and professional experience.

Mine, like many other highly educated women, was not able to use her cultural resources, a university degree and professional experience earned in Turkey. However, unlike several of her peers who repeated a higher education degree in Sweden, she refused to do so because the national requirements simply casted too many doubts on her sense of self and on whether she could afford such resistance:

> *Why study the same thing, the same science in a different language (…) I took that as an insult, right? The same thing over and over… Because I studied natural (medical) sciences, the person here studied the same thing too. Perhaps you can take complementary courses to get to know the names of technical devices and appliances or professional terms or if you have quit your job a long time ago but should be continuing your profession.* (Mine)

Following her objection to obtain dentistry education in Sweden, Mine became a shareholder of a private clinic run by dentists of Turkish origin. However, while her economic capital and work experience provided her with initial access, it proved to be insufficient in attempting to gain a legitimate position in her occupational life. This experience, which was materialized as a psychological discomfort in her body, greatly determined her future route as an immigrant person.

> *I was ahead of them in knowledge and experience, but because I didn't have a Swedish degree, I was done… Uhhmm… I looked and thought and once I saw that I couldn't stand it, my psychology couldn't handle that at that time, I decided to start my own business.*

Contrary to highly educated migrant women's experiences, women from working-class families had more heterogeneous educational and professional experiences. Some hybrid women *obtained a university* degree and professional work experience in Sweden. Several others who got married at early ages limited their educational journeys when they graduated from the obligatory education. Education as an allocative mechanism in legitimating and defining the value of the cultural capital of migrant women was set as a prerequisite not only for paid

or highly qualified jobs but also for almost any field in which women without a university degree started their own businesses. Without being able to hold or mobilize higher educational resources, the women took the second route, i.e., the lifelong learning opportunities available to them.

Occupational certificates have been utilized to legitimate women's practical competence. These women without higher education in Sweden recalled how important it was to have a certain certificate to legitimate their skills, thus claiming expertise in a given field was recognized as having some symbolic value. These women were able to start over within a relatively shorter period of investment and at affordable costs compared to investments made in higher education opportunities.

However, most of the time, their decisions to carry on were not based on desiring something consciously decided, chosen among others or deliberated upon certain ends. Their habitus greatly shaped the array of choices upon which they could draw. For instance, they consistently said they knew that they would be working as a beautician, as a hairdresser or in the food sector, etc.

Senay, a beautician, provided a very reflective account on how she ended up with her occupation based on the possibilities open to her as a result of her social and family origin and how this background continuously shaped the practice of certain activities over others as she differentiated *the ethno-cultural division:*

> *Why do I like body creams, etc…. I have never thought of being a lawyer, economist or doctor, etc. Actually, here in Sweden, there are all kinds of possibilities, they even give you money if you get higher education. However, we did not because there was no such support from the families, no support, there was also no one like that among people with whom we have been socializing, no role models…Perhaps you may ask me now whether the teachers at school said anything, right? That is true, perhaps they did say something, but during my high school education, there was a segregation between the Swedish and, uhmmmm, for example, our Turkish girls used to sit together in the classroom, we did not mingle with the Swedish students, neither did they with us. They did not want to because we could not live the life they did, for instance, they could go out after school and have fun, drink, etc, but we could not do such things.*

These women had similar and relatively limited material conditions as a result of coming from working-class families. In that respect, the gain from the certificates meant even more because these education programs often took a year or more and cost a lot more than what the women could afford. They developed different strategies for buying their educational credentials. Senay's story began with an exemplary case of much-cited ethnic solidarity followed by less-cited ethnic hierarchies and (ab)use of such ethnic ties (Anthias & Cederberg, 2009)

> *My cousin encouraged me to become a beautician because she knew me and my talent since my childhood. Once she asked me why I didn't consider that, I said to her that I thought about it, however, I needed to go to a private school to get*

> *a certificate, which would have cost something like 80,000 SEK. I do not want to get a bank loan. She said to me that I could start working for her and that she could pay for me. Later, she took it off monthly from my salary. I went to the school for 15 months. Unfortunately, things did not go well with my cousin, she did not pay my salary after a while. I started up my own business just to show my tenacity at work, that I could do it by myself, too.*

Thus, this narrative, similar to many others in the empirical material, demonstrates both a bright side and a dark side of social capital utilization and conversion to cultural capital at the intersection of ethnicity, class and gender.

Although the women conceived certificates primarily as a means to attain practical results, they also mentioned them as the most important form of exchange to acquire other forms of cultural and social capital with higher symbolic value.

> *During this period of getting my certificate, I got to know people. They were all Swedish, and they were residents of this region; I was 24 years old, and I learned this region, the Swedish language all at this late age. I educated myself. Now, all my customers love me, for example, when I moved here, all my former customers followed me. Actually, I was raised here in Sweden, but it felt like living in a bird cage, and just like when you free it, she would fly everywhere to look around, the beauty school meant that to me. I had friends; I started to follow movies with English subtitles, step by step I learned. I made friends, I talked to people* (Senay).

Knowing their lack of qualifications and restricted options, these women made a realistic assessment of which to choose among the options to them (Skeggs, 1997). The choices and decisions of the IWE in their entrepreneurship experiences and life paths were very much related to the class attributes to which they belonged. Although they had the opportunity to transform their cultural capital to a higher level, they resisted this possibility, feeling bound by the limitations of their positions at the time.

However, interestingly, although all these women were acutely aware of their class positions, they did not talk explicitly about them. Interpreting Mine's account below, it is clear that she claims a higher class positioning on the basis of her cultural capital baggage, expert knowledge built within higher education and middle classed habitus. However, her definition of *class primarily referred to material wealth, positioning people as poor and rich, and she brought forward the cultural representation of the classed subject in maintaining her argument.*

> *People coming here…still the same thing happens…people who have a certain level of mindset and education come here...it is important that a person serves her/his need to have similar cultural and educational capital… At that period, it was more like that, a job elite people do, I mean.*

Q: You mean people coming from higher classes become your customers?

N: No, I don't think it is about class, people with ragged clothes come here as well, but they usually have a certain level of education and an understanding about caring about themselves!

For women migrants with working-class family histories, talking about higher education credentials sometimes prompted them to defend their situation, as they removed themselves from higher education opportunities. Their narratives made it clear that they were unable to consider this option not only due to the limits posed by particular gendered habitus but also by contradicting and often forcefully demanded practical life arrangements, such as early marriages and parenthood and socio-cultural and related material responsibilities.

For example, Nejla, in a reflexive moment in an interview encounter, referred to the 'frivolous' opinions of some 'naïve' people who attributed a greater value to higher education credentials, which indeed might open up better job opportunities, and was quick to turn this inquiry into an opportunity to defend her situation. She first returned to the interviewer, me, as a researcher, as if expecting validation, but immediately twisted her position in the opposite direction by emphasizing her authority and *independence over her ideas:*

If you were to hire a person, would you prefer someone with a higher education degree or someone who already started up and managed her own business successfully? Of course you would choose the second!

Cultural Capital in Embodied and Objectified Forms

Apart from the institutionalized forms of cultural capital, the main cultural resources on which IWEs drew were quite often contextual. These forms of capital were key to claiming membership in certain networks. Two forms of contextual knowledge (Rennstam & Ashcraft, 2013) as cultural capital emerged as more salient in women's entrepreneurial progress. The first relates to embodied cultural resources, such as language-evoking shared meanings and values and particular kinds of mannerisms constructed within the interactive context under question. The second refers to objectified cultural capital, which represents and mediates legitimate cultural capital as embodied in objects.

Language, as one of the fundamental systems of distinction and resource allocation, as Bourdieu (1991) suggested, was the most crucial cultural resource to be converted to symbolic capital for all the women. However, the symbolic value of language to the IWE seemed to be related to women's sense of classed positions.

For example, for woman migrants, competence in the Swedish language has been a great concern. The women provided long accounts on how they saw themselves fit or not, for instance. Almost all confessed with embarrassment that they had accents. In contrary, migrant and hybrid women approached Swedish in rather instrumental ways. Migrant women, for example, clearly expressed that their use of Swedish would no way be comparable to that of the natives, yet they had no issues about that. Hybrid women, on the other hand, despite their proficiency in utilizing this form of cultural capital, were indirectly reminded of their distinct social positions as non-natives. They thought good Swedish was important in all aspects of their work lives. As Ceren said,

> *I usually contact people by phone, and this becomes especially important in marketing. Because I speak perfect Swedish, I had no problem. Whenever people with whom I have talked before on the phone come to see me, however, they become a bit surprised because of my brownish skin complexion. Nevertheless, no one ever asked me where I came from, but instead, where my ancestors came from.*

Although the Swedish language proved to be a major standard that provided access to relatively higher positions of power, women entrepreneurs provided rich insights regarding how access to certain languages was useful only if the distinctions between languages corresponded to divisions in the social fields to which they were applied (Hanks, 2005). Cultural resources then acted as a device for a symbolic boundary for many of them in practicing entrepreneurship among different constituencies (Bourdieu, 1991). This held true both for Swedish and for two primary native languages of IWE: Turkish and Kurdish.

For instance, native languages opened up some unexpected opportunities for new opportunities, resources and customers. For instance, Ramize's business is quite exemplary in terms of how language, as sticky cultural capital that can be used only on interpersonal levels, can be turned into great economic capital if institutionalized.

Ramize came to Sweden with political refugee husband. At her nursing job at the hospital, she used to help patients with Turkish or Kurdish origin as a voluntary translator. After losing her job following the economic crisis, she started up a translation company as a beneficiary to a European Union Project at her locality in which the biggest portion of the immigrant population resided. Her initial cultural capital was seventeen unemployed immigrant women who had never worked in paid jobs before, but each of whom spoke different native languages besides Swedish.

Ramize is an illustrative case among other IWE who put a great emphasis on her life story and reflected on their strategic choice of placing their business in the 'right' areas. She could tap into immigrant women's native languages as a basis for cultural capital to her business and her proximity to the local municipality, which granted further access to new resources and social connections (capital).

The narratives brought up the interesting topic of the choice of place of housing, which precedes the choice of business place. Locality, as a form of sociality, could thus bring the most wanted crucial cultural and social capital to women. In turn, they could either convert this capital into economic value or not in accordance with their growth stories.

While Ramize's business served mostly patients with immigrant backgrounds, Leyla, on the other hand, as a hybrid woman who grew up within two cultures and who received higher education in Sweden among an ethnically diverse student body, did not differentiate between the customers whom she would serve. She set up her first company while she was studying computer science at the University when she and several other students with immigrant backgrounds could not find internships at companies. In order to continue with her education, she set up an IT company and hired all these students in the same situation. After this successful venture experience, she moved to Stockholm, and drawing on the authorizing power of her Swedish and English language knowledge, she set up an employment company for international and migrant clientele in which languages beside Swedish can be put to use.

> *We started with translating English manuals to Swedish for big IT companies. Later, I founded many different businesses across diverse areas, such as taxi companies, social entrepreneurship, and so on, where I tried to tap into my double reservoir and match the linguistic and otherwise human competencies whenever possible.*

However, language has never been a sufficient cultural resource in itself. In order for the language to work, it needs to be backed up with other forms of cultural capital specific to the context. Communicative skills would enable the production of distinct interactive experiences that require bringing all embodied faculties together, namely, practical know-how and proper mannerisms acquired through ongoing practice (Rennstam & Ashcraft, 2013, p. 11).

Nalan, a knitware shop owner, said,

> *Once one knows about enterprising, that is, how to talk to people and how to sell, then there are no more problems. I am confident with my language, I have grown up here, I understand their jokes, I, through my mother, also used to follow the fashions so that I can respond to my customers' questions easily.*

Nurten, being in the process of starting up her business in non-alcoholic wine retailing, expressed that her major struggle was initiating and developing contacts. After being denied access to co-ethnic social capital, she entered several global business networks. She explained that in getting prepared for such meetings, it was crucial to become aware and to skillfully apply the cultural resources available and to exchange signs of status in order to connect with others who might have helped her find new markets:

> *There are visible and invisible rules, such as proper dress and arriving to meetings on time…for example, if you cannot present yourself in 10 minutes, your business there is over, access is denied.*

By the term "visible rules", she refers to considerable membership fees, and by "invisible rules", she refers to signs of respect in Swedish business networks and society. Thus, by using her economic and cultural capital, she hopes to gain access to valuable contacts who might help her widen her sales.

Likewise, Mine developed a rather unusual strategy to justify her eligibility for loan to the bank officer by drawing on her house, which she bought by selling her apartment in Istanbul, Turkey. At present, she utilizes it as legitimate cultural capital:

> *I said to her that before saying yes or no to me, come to my place to see where I live, what I eat, perhaps I live in a paper box (…) the decorations in your home, your books, many other things signal that. I look around when I go in somewhere, I mean.*

In order to use her house as an argument in her favor to acquire a bank loan, she relied primarily on class position, referring to the three V's Swedish strived for, i.e., Villa, Volvo and Vovve (the dog). Ayla's way of communicating with patients by associating herself with being Turkish provided her with many resources:

> *The Swedish people's understanding of work and their behavior as a society are rather different than those in Turkish society. I mean, we have more temperament, we are closer, we initiate conversation, people become more satisfied here or wherever they go in Turkey. The Swedish are rather different; for that reason, I was preferred.*

Entrepreneurs' narratives brought up diverse situations, socio-cultural and economic experiences that were generated and sustained by having a mutual sense of familiarity. In order for the entrepreneurs to be able to perform publicly, they needed to enact some sort of similar habitus that was materialized through different forms of cultural capital with a high symbolic value in a given context (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 141).

Sites of Distinction: Matter of Concerns and Imagined Futures

Apart from showing the ways cultural capital is acquired and converted, the above quotes show how gender, ethnicity and class act as the principles of division regulating the particular entrepreneurial field along classed, gendered and ethnic lines. These very same lines also work to generate practices and sites of

distinction on the basis of principles of vision. One such site is capitalizing upon caretaking.

Matter of Concerns: Caring Capital vs. Economic Capital

Almost all women in this study, except migrant women, regardless of their level of education, mentioned that they have been involved in caretaking jobs. Migrant women, however, saw paid caretaking work almost as an insult to their sense of being. However, caretaking as an attitudinal form of cultural capital was integral to their work practices. These women deployed practices where the affective aspects of their jobs were favored based on rational calculations (Nadin, 2007). They claimed distinctions in terms of downplaying their profit motive, sparing extra time to be attentive and to be good listeners for their customers, usually under the banner of professional ethics. Ayla reflects such an approach:

> *I don't bother people in economic issues, I don't ask for cash, or immediately after taking off my gloves, I don't rush into preparing an invoice, such things are rather odd for me. Of course, such things are important. They (the patients) say it to me. The most important thing for me is that the person coming here with pain should leave here without pain. I don't see a person coming here as money, never, ever…*

Similarly, hybrid women saw problems associated with dispositions privileging money over ethics of care. They all criticized ruthless, rational entrepreneurialism and dehumanizing work.

> *My previous job was really good, I used to work at a well-known multinational company as a purchasing specialist for 20 years, and later, I had to take some extra jobs at elderly care following my divorce with four children. My sisters and people around me did not really like my decision. However, I believed in something. When I was working with the elderly, I was felt very sad because when my job ended, I felt like I was not able to give them what I could. I mean, as caretakers, we were assigned rigid timeslots, and our bosses encouraged us to make it in a hurry, going in and going out, and that was not very good at all. I don't have a grandmother or grandfather, yet I have grown up in a family where respect and care for the elderly was part of our social tissue (Ceren).*

Experiencing precarious life conditions at very young ages, woman migrants, in contrast, hardly posed their concerns in such terms, for instance, disregarding the importance of money or allocating time to be more attentive to and caring for their customers. Instead, as Nejla presents below, they saw no need to dispel the importance of money for themselves, even placing it at the center of motivating their entrepreneurial efforts:

> *Why would anyone do that job if they think they can't earn good money!*

However, good money is arguably a very relative term implied by one's class and ethnic positioning in a given society. For instance, Sema believes the monetary expectations of migrants like them compared to those of the natives are relatively much lower and circumscribed not by money but rather by stereotypical classed representations and the identities conferred to them.

> *We don't make calculations like a Swedish entrepreneur would, for example, we don't aim to make one million SEK when we start up our business, we just want to work with honor, I mean survive without being dependent on social welfare and have a place to work.*

Imagined Futures

As Collins (1986, 1998, 2001) argues, agency put into action comes from the awareness of being in a disadvantaged position. However, reflexive awareness is always bound with the person's perception of their possibilities; the probability of success a person can imagine is linked with the requirement of the field and mobilizable resources. The possible future women imagine seems to be greatly influenced by the IWEs' lived practices within class relations at the intersection of gender and ethnicity. For instance, hybrid women, whose life trajectories were less disrupted due to ethno-cultural and gendered expectations, were able to imagine and navigate more freely among seemingly contradictory logics of practices. Entrepreneurship was a voluntary choice that helped them to make the kind of future they sought rather than being an option in the absence of other preferences. As Ceren's excerpt explicitly indicates, for instance, the logic of care and the logic of capital were not considered rival perspectives, but rather complimentary ones, fuelling each other in the long term.

> *We said if we start, we will not do it in this way. Even if we stay there for half an hour, we will take an extra 5 minutes to have a chat with them. I mean, when I look into a person's eyes, I do not want to see their sadness; I want them to look at me happily. That has been our philosophy. That is why we have grown up so fast. I saw that if I do it in a good way, I can grow, too. Because If you enter something in monetary terms, it has no future but failure because when a person wants more and more money, they fail to see important aspects of their job, perhaps they can earn in the short term but not in the longer term.*

However, for migrant women, entrepreneurship was a means to be able to claim a space for themselves in their new country. Accordingly, striving to overcome lower symbolic capital, which was usually associated with their inferior ethno-cultural positioning, has been a recurring theme for those women. Hybrid women, however, cited membership in Swedish society on the basis of their entrepreneurial endeavors. They generated various examples regarding how hardworking, innovative and good citizens they were.

I kept working with honor and never manipulated the market. Later, after me, a few small firms emerged, and they harmed the market…I actually developed human resources for the market and I raised those people for my competitors, too; actually, I took quite a large burden from the municipalities…Migrants, of whom 90% were getting social support, became qualified translators (Ramize).

The women painstakingly brought forward their contributions, often downgraded in reference to their Swedish counterparts. They simply wanted to pass as respectful business people, which was largely available to the native people in the current context. Ramize provides such an account in explaining her disappointment with the expressions used by the Swedish authorities while presenting her with a businessperson of the year award. She said,

They just looked at my 13 years of working life, my being a woman with four children and being a migrant. For example, the ministry of trade and even the King said a couple of things. They said, they could not be as successful in another country as I was. These criteria were enough to them, but they were not interested in what I achieved until 2008, 90% of the things I did, they didn't know…It takes a lot of energy and courage….

Mine refused to acquire the institutional cultural capital recognized in Sweden, while allegedly, her classed habitus collided with her customers, and her ethnic origin added up to her economic vulnerability; this refusal placed her at the lower end of class positioning in society:

Compared to the Swedish shops, I sold more cheaply…I cut the price, I mean, I lowered the margin quite a lot in order to attract customers here, still I do that… Look, I still do that because I am a stranger and it takes too much time for the Swedish to come to you; I mean, I have black hair. We do not have a notion of global(ized) cultures in practice, yet…I have discounts here, for that reason, they come to me, not all the customers come, to my knowledge. My shop is getting smaller and smaller with every economic crisis.

In contrast to Mine's experience, for Ayla, who complied with national requirements and acquired a Swedish degree, the business provided not only material stability and wealth but also reputation and recognition among the migrant community.

I am now quite established in financial respects, and I became a well-known practitioner in my area. However, I did not purposively work for it, I think I became a good role model to the young Turks here, and for the older, perhaps I helped them lower their feelings of inferiority.

For working-class women, striving to be distinctive was an ongoing effort, too. However, they did not report any special effort such as that middle-class women exerted to overcome their positions as migrants. For them,

entrepreneurship was "to be able to stand up on their own". This phrase was used by almost all women having similar societal positioning. They were rather more interested in what their businesses provided to them because, for most of them, the business provided autonomy to be able to live and make their own decisions, primarily with money and recognition, which was not as available to many of them in the past.

Coming from families who were not able to inherit cultural valuables and who were displaced from their own communities by going against the cultural rules, such as by divorcing, those women experienced entrepreneurship as a way to help themselves and to improve themselves: their homes, their bodies, their appearances, and, most importantly, their knowledge of who they wanted to become. One such reification occurred when they talked about travelling. To many of them, travelling was a distinctive achievement, perhaps a means for proving individuality and knowledge of other lives they could borrow and make their own. More importantly, it was a legitimate taste within Swedish society that served as a delicate sign of class mobility for the women that they could purchase. Nermin, a beautician, similar to the other women, expressed her enthusiasm in this regard.

> *I want to experience different things, I want to feel different tastes, and smells, I mean, the more I know, the better for me because I love life…By travelling, I don't mean walking around. I want to know the world, become familiar with the world. For example, I went to Italy, the UK, Mauritius Islands, and …*

However, the interviewees did not hold high expectations of their businesses for the future. Perhaps they were acutely aware of their future prospects; for example, they knew that they could not be rich as a result of whatever they did for a living. Accordingly, they seemed to be enjoying the present within the limits of the standards they set for themselves.

In August, I will go to Las Vegas…It will be costly, in terms of purchasing clothing, etc., but who knows, perhaps I will come back as a rich person! I want to try my chance there (Nermin).

"Being able to stand up on my own" was indeed a very intriguing expression. The women from lower-working-class backgrounds seemed not to be in a position to claim a place neither in their country nor in their community where they grew up due to their very low cultural capital. Neither did they have other forms of capital to offset the disadvantage stemming from their intersecting positions of ethnicity, class and gender, compared to other IWE. Other women openly claimed recognition on the basis of their relatively heavier cultural baggage.

Discussion and Conclusions

Although from very early on, I clearly expressed my interest in listening the interviewees' life stories as IWE and thus expected women to talk about their struggles or successes in relation to their fundamental positioning as gendered and classed immigrant subjects, what emerged from their general talk was quite intriguing. The most interesting pattern was the complete absence of class talk. However, by applying a Bourdieusian framework in order to delineate the different vocabularies women used to describe their life stories, my study was able to demonstrate how class, even without being explicitly mentioned, has actually been central to women's migration and entrepreneurship experiences. My analysis yielded thick descriptions on the cultural configuration of class and its accumulation and conversion processes. The following analysis focused on forms of valorization and the impact of the cultural capital on the participants, which was converted mostly into symbolic capital. As excerpts would imply, each woman was very much aware of the possible strategies open to them. Accordingly, they developed strategies by ingeniously navigating their environments and calculating their possibilities according to where they stood in relation to others. Their legitimizing strategies are thus constructed on the very fact that they were not simply entrepreneurs.

Far from being in command of their individual resources, many women's ability to use and convert their economic, cultural and social resources depended on how the boundaries and content of the field of specific capital were drawn (Umut Erel, 2010). Respectively, the women made different choices circumscribed by differential access and legitimacy provided by their unique resources, whether economic, social or cultural. As a result, they acquired, used, converted and lost their capital. For example, in utilizing their cultural resources, such as educational credentials and different languages, communicative resources and skills, women claimed legitimacy neither from simply investing in certain forms of capital nor from their best intentions (De Clercq & Voronov, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c). Instead, all drew on the particular field to which they thought they could have access and claimed legitimacy on the basis of their habitus and the capital at their disposal (Hanks, 2005; Karataş-Özkan & Chell, 2013).

Accordingly, my study adds new insights on the role of cultural capital and symbolic capital in entrepreneurship in several ways. First, similar to Karatas and Chell's study (2013), my study shows that cultural capital plays a crucial role in the formation of individual habitus, which accordingly shapes, facilitates and inhibits access to entrepreneurship well before entrepreneurs enter into the game of entrepreneurship. For instance, migrant women and women migrants whose habitus were disrupted due to structural and cultural requirements found entrepreneurship to be a major source of income and recognition and reflexively stepped into entrepreneurship in order to cope with the situations in which they have found themselves. The relatively stable socialization of hybrid women, on

the other hand, provided windows for recognizing particular entrepreneurial opportunities, rather than relying on entrepreneurship to signify a life option. In addition, being relatively positioned in the different points of class position in the social strata, they showed greater variety in responding to their circumstances and a wide array of resources regarding what to do and who to be (Bourdieu, 1990). Second, the study showed the importance of considering entrepreneurs' capital formation strategies as influenced largely by their habitus (Al Ariss & Syed, 2011). However, all the women, even in varying levels, assumed the position of a capital-accruing subject, as Bourdieusian capital theory assumed (Bourdieu, 2008). Nevertheless, the women differed in their cultural capital acquisition and conversion dispositions. For instance, migrant women, even sometimes resisting national requirements relentlessly moved on with their efforts to accumulate institutional cultural capital deemed valuable in the context. Women migrants, on the other hand, did not consider capital accumulation as a strategic imperative. Therefore, they were wary of accumulating capital unless it would serve practical functions, such as occupational certificates.

However, the habitus alone would not be sufficient to determine capital development strategies. As such, women migrants' cases demonstrated that in order to keep accumulating necessary cultural capital, one also needs material resources to purchase the time and money required, as cultural capital accumulation takes a long time and a lot of effort (Lamont & Lareau, 1988; Prieur & Savage, 2013). In this regard, the study not only shows the importance of being endowed with pertinent types of cultural capital but also attends to contextual and processual nature of capital accumulation and conversion.

In this respect, this study extends the extant arguments on the importance of cultural and symbolic capital for entrepreneurship. For instance, the study challenges a relatively decontextualized approach in discussing different forms of cultural capital as legitimate resources in entrepreneurship, e.g., an MBA degree, an exclusive office building, etc. (De Clercq & Voronov, 2009a). Instead, the IWE in this study drew upon heterogeneous forms of cultural capital that could have symbolic currency in a given context and time. For example, they utilized their credentials, houses, knowledge of different languages, certain mannerisms and attitudes in order to be able to claim symbolic capital. Moreover, drawing on Light and Dana (2013) and Nelson et al. (2013), the study supports understanding the role of cultural capital not only in forming the entrepreneurial habitus but also in creating new social relations and maintaining the established contacts. This study further extends the key argument raised by Light and Dana, as cultural capital proved to function as a powerful gatekeeper to claiming membership in various networks.

This way, IWE introduced suppressed varieties into exchange relations in the dominant context and reinforce their standing and currency (Erel & Lutz, 2012). However, their strategies found limited maneuvering space in areas where institutionalization of the field has been rather strong, such as in the area of education and the conduct of professional practice. They arguably enjoyed more

freedom in enacting diverse opportunities aligned with their habitus and life trajectories to the degree that their cultural and symbolic capital were put into use.

As such, I argue for a deeper focus, especially on paying attention to the relation between cultural and symbolic capital conversion as an ongoing struggle among the constituents in the field of entrepreneurship in particular, but more importantly, reflecting the embeddedness of the field within gender, ethnicity and class relations. Bourdieu (Tatli, et al., 2014) argues that a group of people located in dominant positions develop strategies to maintain the extant configuration of power relations, whereas people in subordinated positions develop strategies to subvert positions of power. My analysis corresponds to and highlights the importance of taking into account not only relations of class but also of gender and ethnicity.

For instance, the women who have positions at relatively higher ends of the class strata, that is, migrant and hybrid women with higher education, developed strategies to challenge the supremacy of the Swedish language and certain capitalist work practices as their class positions intertwined greatly with their positions as minority ethnicities when practicing entrepreneurship. They also resisted practicing in favor of capital's interests usually in the name of public patriarchy. The opportunities they recognized varied along challenging instrumental, rational actions suppressing affection and compassion at work.

On the other hand, the woman migrants who found themselves at lower ends of the class distribution did not attempt to challenge the supremacy of classed subject positions. They were rather more interested in setting themselves free from the authority of contradictory relations where they experienced great dissonance in negotiating their identities according to two very different forms of femininity. While the Swedish context appeared to construct women and men as relatively more independent and equal in the domestic field and many other fields, the indigenous context appeared to construct women within relatively interdependent patriarchal exchange relations. Accordingly, the women from working-class families claimed to stand for a capital-accruing subject themselves, rather than for helping men to play games with their bodies (Lovell, 2000).

This study thus shows how the important aspects of individual entrepreneurial habitus are founded on particular collective histories and consequently transformed or sustained. The collective histories mediated through individual habitus thus provided a foundational bedrock that is accordingly reworked through women's enterprising practices and relational agency. For instance, IWE's stories showed examples of a great dissonance originating from their classed habitus. Their struggles were illustrative of reflexive accounts showing how individuals would create remedies when habitus and field did not fit.

Bourdieu (2000) argues, within habitus as a system of dispositions, to be and to do is a potentiality; a desire to be, which, in a certain way, seeks to create the conditions of its fulfillment and therefore to create the conditions most favorable

to what it is. Throughout the analysis, entrepreneurship responses and actions, albeit conditioned, appeared to grant a potentiality that could produce a state of the social world that is capable of giving to some acquired disposition the possibility and opportunity to be actualized. The IWE indeed resisted becoming human capital for patriarchal, ethnocentric or capitalist interests. They all tried to create an environment in which they could feel at home and happy not only for themselves but also for others who were caught up in a familiar environment (Bourdieu, 2000).

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Paper 4
Bridging the Gap between Resistance and Power through Agency: An Empirical Study of Immigrant Woman Entrepreneurs' 'Struggle'

Huriye Yeröz Aygören

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4

BRIDGING THE GAP BETWEEN RESISTANCE AND POWER THROUGH AGENCY: AN EMPIRICAL STUDY OF IMMIGRANT WOMAN ENTREPRENEURS' 'STRUGGLE'

Huriye Yeröz Aygören

ABSTRACT

In this paper I discuss the intertwined relations between power and resistance based on the concept of struggle. Drawing on life story narratives of seventeen Turkish origin immigrant woman entrepreneurs venturing in Sweden, I demonstrate the results of my research on how entrepreneurs respond to intersecting forces of gender, ethnicity and class through two main forms of agency: agency of power and agency of intentions. I show that the entrepreneurs used certain tactics creatively to empower themselves to bring value and meaning to their lives.

Bridging the Gap between Resistance and Power through Agency: An Empirical Study of Immigrant Woman Entrepreneurs' 'Struggle'

Introduction

Increasing attention has been given to the complex and dynamic relationship between power and resistance in the organization and management fields (Fleming & Spicer, 2008; Martí & Fernández, 2013; Mumby, 2005). Scholars argue against the widely established dichotomist approach to the power and resistance relationship, which provides a strict and narrow description of the contrast between the "diabolic world of power" and the "liberated world of resistance" (Fleming & Spicer, 2008). They suggest that resistance and power are "transversal, iterative and adaptive responses to each other" (Hardy & Thomas, 2014) and are manifested in the form of overt or subtle actions (Fleming & Sewell, 2002). Mumby (2005, p. 23) opens up the possibility to discuss agency by defining resistance as "an effort to engage in some form of praxis-individual or collective, routine or organized actions in the context of established social patterns and structures". The main aim of my paper is to understand the complexity of the relationship between power and resistance by examining the concept of agency, including both the power and meaning perspectives (Ortner, 2001). I start from the premises that workings of enterprise culture should be viewed as located not only within a system of power but also within a system of meaning (Du Gay, 1999; Fournier & Grey, 2000) because the hegemonic form(s)s and elements of enterprise culture not only greatly shape the opportunities available to entrepreneurs (Ahl, 2006; Ainsworth & Hardy, 2008) but also provide meaning to people's lives (Pio & Essers, 2014; Tomlinson & Colgan, 2014).

I apply a micro-level approach to examine a group of immigrant woman entrepreneurs' (IWE's) individual struggles, through which the effects of situated relations of power and culture are most evident (Thomas & Davies, 2005), following the important insight that the "articulations of selfhood' have been central in woman entrepreneurs' engagement in entrepreneurship discourse (Essers & Benschop, 2007). To highlight the situatedness of resistance and power relations in a given context, I adopt the practice-based definition of agency as the "socio-culturally mediated capacity to act" (Ahearn, 2001).

Thus, this study contributes to critical perspectives in the management and entrepreneurship literature by applying an ethnographical perspective privileging the native's point of view (Ortner, 2001; Watson, 2011). This perspective shows how the issues of power and resistance are interpreted to understand the socio-cultural construction of agency in the context of entrepreneurship (Kondo, 1990).

I adopt the concept of 'struggle' to scrutinize and explain the dialectical power-resistance relationship among the IWE and the established orders in which they are embedded (Fleming & Spicer, 2008). Considering a similar notion of struggle in an examination of the persistent presence of gender inequality, MacLeod (1992, p. 534) demonstrates a more complex and ambiguous style of struggle in which women "accept, accommodate, ignore, resist, or protest, sometimes all at the same time". This paper furthers this discussion by presenting a mind-stretching approach to how IWE found themselves in a socially complex situation impacted by gender, ethnicity, class and entrepreneurship (power) and how they empowered themselves and others to re-work these relations (resistance and agency).

Berger and Luckman's (1991) social constructionist lens has been used to explain the links and connectedness between self, project and their sociocultural context in the entrepreneurship literature (Anderson et al., 2012; Downing, 2005; Fletcher, 2006). I seek to follow the same path and exclusively focus on the mundane daily practices of entrepreneurs (Steyaert & Katz, 2004), which is where entrepreneurship emerges as a result of the intimate connection between the individual and context (Spedale & Watson, 2014). The findings of this research contribute to this perspective by presenting the everyday struggle of IWE as a more obvious element of entrepreneurship than the IWE's private practices (Bourne & Calás, 2012; García & Welter, 2013). I demonstrate that meaning superseded issues of power for all IWE examined. This was mainly because the purpose and meaning were especially significant in entrepreneurial opportunity enactment processes (Clarke & Holt, 2010) and in building and sustaining legitimacy through entrepreneurial actions (Essers et al., 2010; Essers et al., 2013a). This is linked to their entrepreneurial identity formation (Essers & Benschop, 2007; Mallett & Wapshott, 2015) and the various types of power struggles that they experience.

I also extend this conversation using a critical lens by which entrepreneurship translates into an ethical-political field of power (Calás et al., Ahl, 2006; 2009) and resistance (Essers et al., 2013a; Lewis, 2006) without emphasizing either dominating (Bruni et al., 2004b) or liberating (Scott et al., 2012) processes and effects of entrepreneurship. Criticizing the dualistic approach, feminist perspectives demonstrate that issues of meaning are central to the power-resistance relationship (Pio & Essers, 2014). Thus, many of the social complexities that entrepreneurs face in the gendered and ethno-cultural contexts of entrepreneurship have come to the fore (Verduijn & Essers, 2013). However, this relationship has been exclusively framed in terms of discursive engagements

and practices, and the literature has not approached the theorization of identity and difference from an embodied perspective (Kenny & Fotaki, 2015). Analyses that consider both the discursive and material basis and effects in understanding embodied relations of power and resistance in the context of organizing are very rare but increasingly called for (Hardy & Thomas, 2015).

Therefore, I pose the question "How do entrepreneurs struggle with difference(s) given the discursive/symbolic and material resources available to them?" as the overarching research question in this particular study. I delve into the contextualization of entrepreneurship, power and resistance. As the findings of this research reveal, entrepreneurship is much more an everyday strategy/tactic on the public scene than a private activity. Thus, it becomes obvious that entrepreneurship can have a major impact on entrepreneurs by reconnecting and repositioning them through different forms of agency in their struggles. More importantly, I show how and why such struggles take place by closely focusing on the ways in which embodied entrepreneurs identify or do not identify with certain identity markers and ethical and practical concerns.

The first part of this paper focuses on presenting the theoretical framework. This part not only unpacks the relevant entrepreneurship literature but also situates its content vis a vis ethnographic and organizational accounts on power, resistance and agency. The paper then introduces the methodological approach and tools used to generate and analyze the material. These parts pave the way for a discussion on IWE's specific encounters of 'struggle' materialized through 'strategy & tactics' and 'agency' in relation to power. The paper concludes by presenting the theoretical contributions that the study offers.

Power, Resistance and Forms of Agency in Entrepreneurship

Understanding the individual, the project (Bruyat & Julien, 2001) and the social context (Spedale & Watson, 2014) as well as the link between them (A. R. Anderson et al., 2012) is the major prerequisite for understanding how entrepreneurial action emerges. Spedale and Watson (2014) argue that entrepreneurship emerges at the junction of individual life orientations and conflicting institutional logics prevailing in the context under question. Such a co-constructive approach allows us to look beyond what is actual and grasp the relation between the entrepreneur, context and different socioeconomic settings (Watson, 2008). Increasing attention has been paid to this connection, its importance in understanding the nature and impacts of contextuality (Welter, 2011) and the multilayered and relational complexity (Anderson et al., 2012; Tatli et al., 2014) of entrepreneurship. However, we know little about the nature of this connection, especially from a perspective of the intersectionality of the

different social hierarchy rankings of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship practices.

I argue for greater clarity in thinking through this connection, as growing evidence notes that the experiences of entrepreneurship differ according to the entrepreneur's position within the ranks of social hierarchies. Thus, the iconic subject of enterprise discourse, the heroic white man with his unambiguously rational and instrumental dispositions, has been greatly scrutinized and criticized by diverse streams of entrepreneurship scholarship (Ahl, 2006; Bourne & Calás, 2012; Bruni et al., 2004a; Brush et al., 2009; Calás et al., 2009; Calás, Smircich, & Bourne, 2007; Ogbor, 2000; Rehn et al., 2013; Verduijn & Essers, 2013). IWE are one example of groups that increasingly appear in the practice and theory of entrepreneurship.

I seek to extend this scope by paying greater attention to the flows and connections between entrepreneurship and other fields of practice (Nicolini, 2009), such as education, finance, domestic and public spheres, etc., through the biographies of IWE. I focus on examining the points of encounter between the enterprise discourse with certain connotations and persons with specific embodied histories and resources. Thus, the paper aims to articulate diverse practices in which discursive and material are inextricably associated (Hardy & Thomas, 2014).

At this point, my argument leads to the thorny issue of relations between the hegemonic form(s) of enterprise and the meta-narrative of enterprise, which aims to provide meaning to people's lives and greatly shapes the opportunities available to actors (Du Gay, 1995, 2000; Fournier & Grey, 1999). Although they recognize the force of meta-narratives in framing the degree of interpretive flexibility, organization scholars emphasize the open-ended nature of meaning (Mumby, 2005) and of life itself (Kondo, 1990). Accordingly, I view official or academic enterprise discourse as stimulating the processes of production and negotiation of meaning (Lewis, 2014) and desires (Fenwick, 2002) rather than totalizing and monopolizing effects (Cohen & Musson, 2000)

In other words, I contend that enterprise discourse, at the point where it meets up with already existing cultural practices, produces a variety of articulations that the formal discourse cannot envisage and block (Du Gay, 1995; Fournier & Grey, 1999; Kondo, 1990). As De Certeau argues, discourses live to the extent that people can make them their own through appropriating and re-appropriating them (Mumby, 2005). However, this process is not immune to the relations of power (Hardy & Thomas, 2015). As De Certeau (1980) argues, tactics (an art of the weak) of acting on the discourse is not in external opposition to power but, rather, integral to power.

It is very important to explain resistance and power dynamics in relation to the concept of agency in entrepreneurship (Goss, Jones, Betta, & Latham, 2011). Arguing against the traditional view that non-acceptance equals resistance, recent studies (McDermott, Fitzgerald, & Buchanan, 2013) demonstrate how agents promote change by reacting, translating and contributing to it rather than

rejecting it. I view women as playing an active part in what goes beyond polarized views of subordination versus resistance, victimization versus acceptance, dystopia versus utopia, etc., which flattens out the complexity of contexts, subjects and forms of agency (Calás, et al., 2009; Verduijn, et al., 2014). This also enables examinations of the ways in which entrepreneurship connects with broader hierarchical and dominant relations and, in turn, is associated with entrepreneurs' own desires (Fenwick, 2002) and projects in life (Spedale & Watson, 2014). Agencies for IWE that attempt to fit into established normative hierarchies provide a greater understanding of the cultural/symbolic contexts of power and resistance relations, which are closely associated with entrepreneurs' own desires (Fenwick, 2002), life orientations (Spedale & Watson, 2014) and embodied individual histories (Aygören & Wilinska, 2013).

I draw on ethnographic accounts, specifically on Sherry Ortner's (1995, 1997, 2001) studies on agency construction within relations of power and culture, to explain how IWE became part of a 'struggle' on the basis of the two modalities of agency: agency of power and agency of intentions. According to Ortner, agency of power is synonymous with the forms of power, which enable people to act on their own, influence others and retain some sense of control in their lives. It is relevant for both resistance and domination. Both parties, although asymmetrically, attempt to impose their own forms of power on each other. However, this view is especially useful for attributing agency to the supposedly weak, as their struggle involves neither falling down before power nor resisting it (Fleming & Spicer, 2008; Mumby, 2005) but, rather, finding ways to both recognize its force and shape it for their own purposes (De Certeau, 1998; Kondo, 1990)

Agency of intentions contrasts agency of power by articulating projects, purposes and desires based on culture and orientations taken toward different others. Differences in social categories and hierarchies of power produce distinctive intentionalities, i.e., culturally constituted desires and projects fulfilling meaning and purpose in life. Thus, agency of intention emerges from co-habited and relational space, including what Kenny and Fotaki (2015) term as 'compassionate borderspaces' where subjects relate to others with openness, care, and compassion and affect precedes instrumental and rational dispositions. To capture this relational space, my study digs deeper into women's struggles by drawing on their major motivations and aspirations, which are not only confined to their concerns about elevating their social positioning. I focus on women's own views, which greatly pose their assumed unequal position (Huault, Perret, & Spicer, 2012) as triggering their entrepreneurial actions and focus on their concerns to make the world a better space for themselves and others (Hedberg & Pettersson, 2012; Pettersson & Hedberg, 2013).

Ortner delicately recognizes and distinguishes the agency of intentions from the rigid power resistance relationship. However, in practice, they are not often separable. Most current research on resistance accepts this as an ambiguous and indeterminate notion in organizational discursive practices (Mumby, 2005). If a

certain identity is imposed on participants in an organization, it is likely that this imposition will cause ambivalence because actors draw on many different discursive resources in expressing themselves (Brown & Humphreys, 2006). Such ambiguity, in turn, leads to a 'struggle' among the actors involved in the power-resistance relationship. However, the concept of struggle, as this study emphasizes, necessarily involves materiality in addition to discursive practices and their inter-workings (Anthias, 2001; Putnam, 2015). Thus, I aim to explore what lies behind and beyond discursive representations (McNay, 2013) in relating to others (Kenny & Fotaki, 2015). I focus on the relationship between materiality and discourse, as suggested by Hardy and Thomas (2015), to examine ways of materializing discourse and discursive effects of materiality on struggles revealed through different practices. Indeed, investigating ordinary struggles in entrepreneurship sheds light on the devalued practices of the common life, which account for the new types of relationships and alternative visions and spaces of life (Fletcher, 2006; Kenny & Fotaki, 2015; Steyaert & Katz, 2004).

De Certeau's two distinctive concepts, 'tactics' and 'strategies', aid in further operationalizing the relatively broad and intriguing concepts of agency, as discussed, and make the concepts amenable to our research inquiry. This enables us to combine the issues of power and resistance in understanding the cultural construction of agency.

De Certeau (1984: xix) calls "a strategy the calculus of force-relationships which becomes possible when a subject of will and power (a proprietor, an enterprise, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated from an environment. A strategy assumes a place that can be circumscribed as proper and thus serve as the basis for generating relations with an exterior distinct from it (competitors, adversaries, clienteles, targets, or objects of research). A tactic insinuates itself into the other's place, fragmentarily, without taking it over in its entirety, without being able to keep it at a distance. It has at its disposal no base where it can capitalize on its advantages, prepare its expansions, and secure independence with respect to circumstances."

Based on the above considerations, my study strives to understand the everyday strategies and tactics of IWE in relation to material and non-material sources of influence and circumstances.

Methodological Approach

I draw on life story narratives to "access a richer understanding of the complexities of lived experience, which can throw light on broader socio-cultural structures and processes" (O'Neill et al., 2002, p. 70) and migrants' agency (Lutz, 1995). My analysis uses the notions of lived experience and personal narratives as major analytical tools in generating, making sense of and examining the life stories of IWE. My approach to the notion of experience follows major tenets of feminist intersectional theory, in which manifold feminist perspectives,

including post-structuralist, transnational and socialist paradigms, share the same basic epistemological assumptions and perspectives that highlight that women's experiences are gendered and embodied in class, race/ethnicity, sexuality and so on. At the same time, my approach recognizes a local and contextual construction (Brah & Phoenix, 2004; Holvino, 2010).

Empirical material is generated through listening to the life stories of IWE who migrated from Turkey to Sweden for different reasons. I searched for IWE via ethnic and business association networks operating nationwide. This search yielded seventeen candidates, and I carried out life story interviews with these candidates between November 2011 and December 2012 at their workplaces or homes. I conducted the interviews in Turkish because this was the native language of the interviewees and then transcribed them into English. The life story interviews typically took at least two hours, but some lasted up to six hours or even more, especially when the stories were told at women's businesses. This was partly because although women preferred to be interviewed outside of peak times, some intrusions occurred due to phone calls and unexpected family members, friends and customers. In addition, I preferred to spend some time at the women's workplaces to familiarize myself with the women's work settings. I repeated the visits when I observed a further need to support the material analysis. Thus, life story materials were combined with non-participant observations of entrepreneurship practices in several of the women's businesses. I also attended by-invitation-only networking and special events organized by the women during this period.

There are clear differences in women's migration experiences, as some women who followed their father or brother migrated to Sweden at much younger ages, such between two and seven years, but the women who migrated as political refugees reported that they migrated in their mid-20s. These two groups also showed distinct demographic differences in terms of their level of education, type of professional work they engaged in prior to venturing and their family backgrounds.

All the women except two had been earning their living by running their own businesses, and the majority operated in sectors considered to be typical job sectors for women and/or migrant women in Sweden (Hedberg, 2009). The characteristics of the IWE included in my research are summarized in the table below.

Table 1. Main characteristics of immigrant women entrepreneurs

Life- Story Narrator	Migration history	Age at the time of migration (the year of migration)	Education: occupation prior to starting up	The Year of Start-up	Field of Entrepreneuring
Leyla	Labor	2 years old (1968)	University: university student and elderly care taker	1988	Human resource consultancy
Ceren	Lifestyle	2 years old (1968)	High school: financial accountant and elderly care taker	2006	Elderly care
Ayla	Political	28 years old (1983)	University: dentist	1995	Dentistry
Senay	Labor	0 years old (born: 1981, migration: 1974)	High school: beautician and elderly care taker	2011	Beauty and personal care
Guler	Political	26 years old (1973)	University: psychologist and TV program producer	2004	Educational consultancy
Merve	Labor	2 years old (1973)	High school: hairdresser	1990	Hairdresser
Nalan	Lifestyle	6 years old (1973)	High school: cook	2007	Knitting ware shop
Ramize	Political	23 years old (1982)	University: nurse	1996	Translation
Nejla	Labor	0 years old (born: 1979, migration: 1977)	High school: nurse and elderly care taker	2004	Beauty and personal care
Mine	Political	28 years old (1980)	University: dentist	1996	Health and personal care
Nurten	Labor	10 years old (1966)	University: social service officer	2010	Wine trading

Zeynep	Labor	0 years old (born: 1989, migration: 1966	University student	2009	Event organizing
Selin	Lifestyle	22 years old (2002)	High school: dancer	2008	Restaurant–café–bar
Sema	Labor	3 years old (1963)	High school: public service officer	1991	Restaurant–café–bar
Muge	Lifestyle	32 years old (2010)	University: marketing consultant	2010	Marketing consultancy
Hatis	Labor	0 years old (born: 1983 migration: 1999)	High school: housekeeper	2005	Restaurant–café–bar
Aysen	Labor	2 years old (1963)	Secondary school: housekeeper	1993	Restaurant–café–bar

After collecting the life stories of seventeen IWE, I first conducted a positioning analysis. A study of positioning allows one to observe the different social locations of individuals and resources. In the first step, I attended particular events both prior to and following opportunity recognition and enterprising activities while recognizing the constitutive aspect of time and space for narratives (Baynham, 2003). I was able to see emerging patterns pertaining to distinct perspectives in relation to some shared perspectives founded upon individuals' similar historical experiences of material and socio-cultural contexts prior to and following the migration experience. A closer reading of the rich material demonstrated the significance of gender, ethnicity, class and entrepreneurship for IWE, albeit in varying degrees and ways. (Yuval-Davis, 2006a). Through iterative reading of empirical material and literature on immigrant, women and immigrant women entrepreneurship with a greater focus on how gender, ethnicity and class entered into the lives of the IWE, I recognized the need to expand my readings to the situated and intersectional construction of womanhood in the country of origin, Turkey, and in the host country, Sweden. I searched archival and web resources such as statistical sources documenting the characteristics of immigrant populations and anecdotal resources such as social media networks providing insights into women's family characteristics and political involvement in the early 80s and their association with particular networks prior to their migration (Pervan, 2013). I supplemented these insights with Swedish and Turkish researchers' writings on Turkish immigrant groups' historical experiences in Sweden (Engelbrektsson, 1978). I assumed the role of a co-narrator from the start of the study and in constructing, reading and

examining the text. Based on the generated text, I concluded that fact that I am from the same ethnic origin and am of the same gender had an unforeseen effect on how the women formalized their life story, as many reflections included phrases such as 'as you already know' (Pio, 2007).

However, I took greater care to avoid equating social categories with social grouping (Yuval-Davis 2010), as I recognized the potential effect of intersecting power hierarchies that shape persons' life chances differently and, in turn, result in qualitatively different experiences (Holvino, 2010; Skeggs, 2004a); situated imaginations (Haraway, 1988; Stoetzler & Yuval-Davis, 2002) and ways of relating to others (Skeggs, 2014). I then examined why some women entrepreneurs under certain conditions identify or do not identify with certain identities/social positionings (Brah & Phoenix, 2004) and with certain ethical stances and practices (Kenny & Fotaki, 2015) through mechanisms of 'identification' and 'dis-identification' (Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003).

My analysis yielded socio-culturally differentiated groups of IWE on the basis of identification and dis-identification. The relations of power and corresponding forms of responses may well differ in nature. Gender, ethnicity, and market are depicted to be main forces the women in the study resisted such relations. These relations are described in further detail below in the three-fold classification of the IWE based on their experience within shared cultural and material conditions.

The first group of women represent political refugee women from established families with urban backgrounds. Before migrating to Sweden in the early 80s, following the military coup in Turkey, most of them already had higher education and worked as professionals. They are the product of modernization projects in Turkey, in which women were positioned as equal to men in both the private and public domains (White, 2004). Although migration disrupted some of the resources they had acquired, they had higher economic, social and cultural resources compared to women with working-class backgrounds. Therefore, in Sweden, they had more resources to utilize and to help define themselves. The objective, structural circumstances of the labor market, together with the women's dispositions toward equality and autonomy in professional life, determine their choices. This group of women spoke of gender relations only in passing as if these relations were not very relevant to the women's experience of themselves and entrepreneurship practices. However, they spoke extensively about another category, immigrantship.

The second group of women come from working- or lower-class families and typically migrated from rural areas or small towns in Turkey to Sweden in the 70s to enter the labor force. In those families, the women's lives are organized on the basis of patriarchal cultural codes, which limit women's movement between private and public spheres (Kandiyoti, 1977). Their essential place is with the family, and they are primarily socialized first as daughters and then as wives and mothers (Erman, 2001). The women in this study had always worked following their compulsory education in Sweden. Nevertheless, protecting family honor

and their sexuality remained essential to having a respectful life and being respectful women (Baştuğ, 2002). Their sense of sexuality and cultural mechanisms such as arranged marriages with close kin that were made at early ages were central to their femininity. At the same time, their marriages arranged at early ages eroded all types of capital accumulation processes, including economic, social and cultural processes. It was not particularly surprising that the empirical material was overly occupied by stories concerning gender relations. In their accounts, the women typically told stories about how much they differed from other migrant women and provided accounts of their differences by opposing other woman migrants' practices and who they were.

Between these two groups, lies a group of women who came to Sweden at very early ages to join their fathers or brothers in the early 70s as workers. Similar to the highly educated, urban, middle-class women, they came from families in which the women's position is not subordinate and the economic wealth of the family is steady and established. Nevertheless, their families were not highly educated and upon their arrivals at very early ages, some pursued higher education routes but some did not. They typically drew boundaries around the ethical concerns differentiating them from other immigrants and drew on the hybridized cultural capital stemming from their family cultures informed by Turkey and their early socialization informed by Sweden's cultural context. For instance, different from the two groups discussed above, these women adopted and used both Turkish and Swedish names. Their family's cultural heritage shaped their identity, although they did not abide by the more rigid gendered norms of the Turkish community with rural origins.

Above, I introduced the participants. I now proceed to a thorough discussion of the findings of my research.

Immigrant Woman Entrepreneurs Struggling with Social Complexity and Bridging the Gap through Agency

To trace which strategies and tactics (De Certeau, 1986, 1998) of agency are used by IWE to overcome the dominating forces, I believe that it is important to first examine how gender and ethnicity connotations differ across women vis a vis their shared and contextualized perspectives founded on particular collective histories. Below, I examine three main tactics used by IWE. These important tactics are reworked through women's actual enterprising practices and different forms of agency.

Struggling with Gender and Class

The narratives of women with working-class histories show that they initially engage in entrepreneurship primarily to resist indigenous patriarchy and class inequalities. They feel an urge to resist their prevailing conditions to achieve a change in their social status but still conceive that they are bound by their inherent social, cultural or economic capital/resources.

They are realistic and aware of the opportunities available to them as women coming from working-class families (Skeggs, 1997). They knew that they would work as a beautician, hairdresser or similar occupation when they first began entrepreneuring. They had not even imagined attending a university. Merve says:

> *Since the hairdressing fit me very well, I have never considered higher education. Here, in order to be a hairdresser, you do not need to attend a university.*

For these entrepreneurs, participating in competence development programs was a common tactic (Abbasian & Yazdanfar, 2015). Prior to starting her business, Nese learned that she had to obtain a certificate as a beautician:

> *A certificate is necessary because otherwise you may burn the peoples' skin, or in case you burn them, you need to know how to handle the situation. It was to assure my customers that I knew what I was doing because I had a certificate (Nese).*

The working environment places pressure on the operator to have expertise in the beauty business so that she does not harm the prospective clients. Nese recognizes the necessity and reacts by acquiring the license to comply with the market's demand. In other words, by not resisting the market force, she focuses on securing her business.

Wrestling alone for long years also determined their strategies regarding who to ask for help and, more importantly, who not to ask, especially at the early emergent phase of venturing, such as obtaining financial support, etc. Many other women in this study reported that they did not get any help from close friends, family or relatives to start up their venture, and only a few of them applied for a bank loan by showing their houses as collateral. They typically used money they had already saved, primarily through working at elderly home care jobs. Accordingly, these women developed distinct strategies in relation to economic resources because such economic freedom meant securing their independence, especially from the patriarchal structures they were under.

> *I did not need any help; I did not ask anyone for financial help, not even my father. Why would I do that? If I did, they would claim some sense of ownership on what I have been doing, on my achievement! (Nese)*

It is observed that they used their savings as a tactic to establish a business to sever their sense of financial dependency on men.

Reflecting on her future, Senay, similar to several others, is not sure if she will continue with her entrepreneurship career. She seems to feel confident about her knowledge of how things work, and this awareness makes her somewhat weary of her limited chances circumscribed by her gendered and class-based resources:

> *I am not sure If I will go on with this occupation in the long term...If you want to do this job, you need to have your own place, at least 60-70 sq2 with two rooms, a beautiful waiting area, two armchairs, that costs at least 1 million SEK. I think I would rather have a family, children of my own, because I am tired of giving care.*

While talking about her future plans, Nese, in contrast to Senay, saw entrepreneurship as a crucial means of liberating herself, and even she wished to involve her sister and her friends in her business so that they could grow closer. While she expects very optimistic economic, cultural and symbolic returns from entrepreneurship compared to her employed position as a dental nurse and cashier prior to her enterprising, her excerpt below tells more about the limits of these optimistic returns.

> *I am very excited about my next trip! I, together with one of my friends, will go to Las Vegas next August. I know dressing up, flight ticket etc. will cost a lot, but who knows, I can come back from Las Vegas as a rich person!*

Similar to a few other striking vignettes, the above excerpt provides very intriguing insights. The entrepreneur's hope of returning as a rich person makes the task of interpretation even more ambiguous. One of my interpretations is parallel to Pierre Bourdieu's interpretation and puzzlement when he talks about the unlimited hope that people with limited resources have for their children's future, for instance, their hope that their children can become doctors, lawyers, etc. even if they have great difficulties in maintaining daily subsistence. Nese and many other women immigrant entrepreneurs, especially from Western Asia, including Turkey, Iran and Iraq (Hedberg, 2009), reported that they earn more money than they did as wage employees because they established their own businesses and that they could now afford to visit faraway places, take holidays, etc. Nevertheless, they also seem aware that their material prospects as entrepreneurs would not bring them from 'rags to riches' (Gill, 2014), and they see their chances of becoming rich by gambling in Las Vegas as much higher.

They all said that they wanted to try entrepreneurship to prove to themselves and others that they could do it, irrespective of the performance of the business – to prove that they could manage or run something by themselves. Entrepreneurship was an important instrument by which they could tell the world that they could make something meaningful and something that would fulfill the purpose of their life despite their very limited material and symbolic resources.

While the class positioning of women from working-class families seems to be relatively elevated through entrepreneurial practice, the empirical material

provides another set of interesting insights into women's struggles surrounding their class positioning in Sweden.

Struggling with Ethnicity and Class

The women's narratives show that they practice entrepreneurship to produce a social world where majority and minority ethnics are equally valuable. Education as an allocative mechanism in legitimating and defining the class position of immigrant women was viewed as a prerequisite not only for paid or highly qualified jobs but also most fields in which the woman entrepreneurs started their own businesses. As in Willis's (1977) seminal study on working-class kids' dispositions toward capital accumulation, working-class women's dispositions toward accumulating occupational competence was circumscribed in relation to the relevance of such competence to practical ends. The highly educated women, by contrast, accumulated cultural resources regardless of the existence of market pressure on that front. It was a strategic imperative for them to maintain their position and sense of being.

When starting up their business, these women used the resources afforded them by their middle-class origins in a tactical way to enhance their economic power. As an example, Mine persuaded lenders by inviting the bank officer to her house.

> *I said to her that she was right if she asked me why a person in this age could not have an established occupational status. I replied 'you know; we all have gone through very traumatic experiences before coming here'. Therefore, I said to her that before saying yes or no to me, come to my place to see where I live, what I eat, perhaps I live in a paper box (…) the decorations at your home, your books, many other things signal that. I look around when I go in somewhere, I mean.*

At the outset, Mine enacts the established discourse of a refugee with 'post-traumatic' damage (Mulinari, 2009) to convince the bank officer. However, while she signals her own discomfort regarding her unestablished positioning in Sweden as a refugee, she then maneuvers and positively differentiates herself from others with similar embodied skills, cultural background and familiar cultural settings. She uses this discourse to ameliorate her own downgraded position in the eye of the person holding a position of authority, which she had held prior to her migration.

Mine compensates her disadvantageous position stemming from her ethnicity with that of her educational background, which she could utilize in entrepreneuring.

> *People who have a certain level of education come here…it is important that a person who serves them have a similar cultural capital. At first, they didn't accept me since I*

was an immigrant. I went out and built my knowledge base, I learned new therapies, and compared to Swedish shops, I sold cheaper.

According to Ayla's story, her way of communicating with her customers who she associates with Turkishness provided her with many resources that she employed:

I experienced the advantage of having a Turkish character. Even people with Turkish origin who were born here and who have no problem with the Swedish come to my office. They say they feel at home. They talk to me a lot. They use me almost like a psychologist from whom they can get professional advice. If I knew this potential before I got my degree as a dentist in Sweden, I would have certainly had a psychology degree!

Similar to Mine, Ayla first positions herself as an immigrant who has something in common with her customers. She is quick to note, however, that her customers, rather than herself, feel at ease with coming together in the symbolic icon of home. Then, she repositions herself from being a host to an expert who provides professional services and, more importantly, who is authorized to do so. However, despite acknowledging that the Turkish community is her major clientele and that her cultural resources have played a key role in sustaining her customer base, her life story profiling her encounters with her clientele carries traces of how she expends effort to manage a social distance and even feels uncomfortable as an immigrants' only professional (dentist), which diminishes her authoritative position provided by her professional/occupational status.

Neither women from working-class families nor those from the middle class have claimed expertise and, accordingly, tapped into the cultural resources of their native contexts. Women with such resources disregard their class position but use their hybrid resources/capital to combat their disadvantages and to pursue their own projects (Essers & Benschop, 2007). For instance, refusing the dominance of the Swedish language in the job market, some use transnational business as a tactic to overcome their disadvantaged positioning. For example, Leyla set up her first company while she was studying at the university as a tactic to overcome the internship difficulties she and several of her classmates with foreign backgrounds experienced. For several years now, she has run an employment company for international and migrant clientele; thus, her foreign languages and skills can be put to use. She presents her tactic of avoiding power-dominant cultural forms in her own words as follows:

Lately, I sent a group of unemployed engineers in Sweden with Iraqi origins to work in Iraq for a Swedish multinational company, and I just found an Indian company for a woman who cannot speak Swedish properly, but she can communicate and work through her Indian language. (Leyla)

Their struggle mainly concerned compensating for their disadvantage arising from their ethno-cultural positioning by attempting to enhance their class positions through practicing certain strategies and tactics in enterprising.

Struggling with Capitalist Work Ethics and Practices

Entrepreneurship is used to resist unethical market forces, specifically by a group of women who do not position themselves around rigid gender, class and ethno-cultural boundaries but, rather, emphasize their early socialization with two cultural fields, which enabled them to tap into resources from both cultures. Although they come from different social conditions and have different experiences, these women generally have a quite distinct perspective in terms of bridging worlds by drawing on multi-cultural contexts.

This group of entrepreneurs' narratives elicited a strong reflexive awareness of how the moral aspects of work could have been suppressed by instrumental orientations and practices. This understanding led them to pursue certain tactics to address such suppression while starting up their business, as revealed in Ceren's story below.

> *I used to work at an established multinational company as a purchasing specialist for 20 years, and later I had to take some extra jobs at elderly care prior to my venturing, as I was a divorcee with four children. While I was taking on elderly care jobs, I felt very uncomfortable with my bosses' views on how to take care of the elderly. They forced us to finish our jobs in tightly scheduled sessions almost like a machine, go in and go out... I, however, believed in something. I wanted the elderly whom I took care of to be happy. I said, and I still say the same thing to my employees, that once you finished your duty, sit beside people and spare some extra time chatting with them and showing them that we really care about them. That became my philosophy.*

Their experiences greatly resemble those of other immigrant women entrepreneurs in Sweden from diverse countries who have dissenting opinions regarding how to take care of people who need care. Pettersson and Hedberg (2012; 2013), for instance, highlight that immigrant women entrepreneurs in the particular context of care sectors in Sweden seldom operate within ethnic economies but, rather, serve multi-cultural clientele. However, the significant finding, which this study also supports, is the observation regarding the emergence of ethnic identities of care, which is a major tactic that women put into use within labor markets segregated along gender and racial lines. Thus, while women's entrepreneurship in this area shows promising potential to transform the routine work practices and what is considered care work, the women are also subjugated because this work is greatly ethno-culturalized due to immigrants' heavy involvement in this sector. However, delving into everyday encounters opens the door to much more varied and nuanced narratives of people who crisscross the rigid hierarchical boundaries. This, in turn, highlights

the potential for countering difference-based narratives by showing how people can cross over differences and build alliances through empathy (Bamberg & Andrews, 2004) and care (Skeggs, 2014). For instance, Sema tells the following story about starting up her own business:

> *Birgit (the former owner of the business) used to work here for 35 years. Then, she had health problems, and she decided to sell her business. The night before the transfer, I could not sleep, as I imagined the abyss she can fall down... Next day, when she took the key and was just about to hand it over to me, I held her hand and said that this key should stay at your disposal until the day we sell this place, when this happens, we can together leave the keys.*

Through these actions, Sema relates to Birgit in 'compassionate borderlands', as Kenny and Fotaki (2015) termed, rather than using a more individualistic approach. However, similar to many other women in this study, she did not feel a need to hide the help she got from Birgit in the following years, especially in the early years of the business. Sema's compassion was not a tactic but obviously opened up unexpected alliances between people who, at first, might appear to be standing at different sides of power relations.

Some also struggled with the systemic pressure they placed on themselves to continuously accumulate competences and skills, which can be termed as 'human capital', and because of the gendered demand arising from their family responsibilities. For Nalan, entrepreneurship has been one way to end this struggle.

> *I had got tired from all those trainings and competence development workshops going on in working life. I could hardly have time to enjoy myself as a woman. One day, following the quarrel at work and a pain in my arm, I said to my husband that I will start up my knitting ware shop where women like me can come and buy stuff, as there were no knitting businesses around. Then, the heated debate started. My husband told me that one entrepreneur is enough in one family. I said no! I want to do it for myself. As a wife and mother I did all and you just came over here to rest or go out together. Now, it is my turn! I have money and all else I need. Indeed, I was able to start this knitting shop by hoping that other women like myself could heal from the duties forced upon us in the family and at workplaces and enjoy ourselves as women.*

In this way, they could tackle overly instrumental dispositions embedded in work practices, such as privileging money over other human qualities, capital accumulation over leisure or sustaining the public-private divide. They also criticized ruthless, rational entrepreneurialism, and dehumanizing work while claiming justice and respect for disadvantaged groups on the basis of unconditioned openness to unknown others (Kenny & Fotaki, 2015). However, they did so without denying the importance of the material basis of their struggles, which often is not considered when women's unique experiences are examined and recounted in academic accounts.

Discussion

I employ the concept of struggle to explain the power-resistance relationship between the sampled IWE and where they come from and found themselves. Although such orders cause these women to resist and break free by founding their own businesses, the women then tend to pursue their own paths based on their own specific (individual) biographies. My research revealed that IWE manage the complex and interactive relationship between power and resistance through agency. They entangle different variants of power and resistance in a dynamic interface to determine the strategies and tactics to use in their entrepreneurial experience.

In this study, I also maintained that it would be more advantageous to consider resistance in its broad definition rather than the traditional, narrow definition explained in critical scholarship because resistance can take the form of overt or subtle actions against power (Fleming & Spicer, 2008; Hardy & Thomas, 2014). IWE take the second, subtler approach through their strong "articulations of selfhood" in their engagements with power in entrepreneurship discourse (Essers & Benschop, 2007; Essers et al., 2010; Verduijn & Essers, 2013).

Drawing on the ethnographic perspective of Ortner (2011; 1995, 1997, 2001, 2002), I analyzed how the issues of power and meaning are combined in an understanding of the cultural construction of agency and resistance in the context of organizing in entrepreneurship.

The IWE who participated in the study exhibited agency of power and agency of intentions in reconnecting and repositioning themselves in the face of particular struggles concerning their positioning in social hierarchies and their ethical concerns. Their migration and entrepreneurial experiences were strongly shaped by women's socio-culturally constructed class locations prior to migration. Their stories greatly differed in regards to their major concerns (Huault, Perret, & Spicer, 2012).

While the women struggling with gender and class as well as ethnicity and class sought meaning around the agency of power by trying to exert influence on others and taking control of their lives by relaxing social hierarchies (Essers & Benschop, 2007; Essers et al., 2013a), women struggling with capitalist work practices and ethics primarily sought meaning around the agency of intentions by rejecting capitalist work practices, which suppresses the 'ethics of difference' on the basis of relating to others pre-reflectively (Kenny & Fotaki, 2015).

The stories of women who struggled with gender and class show that entrepreneurship provided a rock to stand on without male supremacy. Accordingly, women claimed to be seen as capital-accruing subjects rather than as helping their men play games over their bodies (Lovell, 2000).

For the women who struggled more with ethnicity, the issue was autonomy and recognition of professional practice, as they arrived at Sweden with a heavy

cultural background, including higher education, professional experience and communicative knowledge. For ethically driven women, the suppression of moral aspects of work under the instrumental orientations proved to be repressive; thus, they all wanted to be a part of solutions based on their specific individual histories. Although these women typically came from working families, some were able to tap into higher education opportunities, and even if they were not able to obtain such education, they were able to tap into both the Swedish and Turkish cultural contexts. Being positioned in the middle of the strata, they showed greater variety in responding to their circumstances and a wide array of resources on who to be. They resisted practicing capitalism "as we knew it" (Gibson-Graham, 2008). Thus, they recognized that opportunities varied along challenging instrumental, rational action suppressing affect and compassion at work, as Cennet's case exemplified. Furthermore, in different vignettes, they complained about demanding working hours, developing oneself through continuous education, limited time for leisure, and working hard for many years.

The IWE who participated in this study are in a struggle to liberate themselves by resisting the sources of power affecting their engagement with everyday life caused by gender, ethnicity or class issues. However, feeling bound by the very same issues, they typically spontaneously became the subject of their resistance. Their ability to develop tactics, that is, to ingeniously be aware of their environments and calculate the possibilities, does not necessarily help them fully overcome the differentiation they experience. 'Migrant women' with middle-class histories recounted their troubled positions as immigrant entrepreneurs, and 'women migrants' of working-class backgrounds kept improving themselves as woman entrepreneurs. Reflexive awareness is always bound up with the person's perception of her possibilities; the probability of success a person can imagine is linked with the requirements of the field and her own resources (Skeggs, 1997). The IWE's tactics were constructed around the fact that they are not only entrepreneurs. Different relations of gender, ethnicity, class and entrepreneurship involving women caused them to have different 'rules of the game' (Kandiyoti, 1988).

As shown in the examined social perspectives of IWE in this study, interestingly, emancipation is the driving force that caused most of them to start their own business. Many of these women stated that they feel or would like to see themselves elevated through the activity of entrepreneurship. However, the notion of emancipation is not solely circumscribed by the power exercised within social hierarchies, for example, as a vehicle for social integration (Abbasian & Bildt, 2009) or economic (Scott et al., 2012) and social improvement (Datta & Gailey, 2012) that impacts entrepreneurs' own empowerment, as studies on empowerment typically conclude. Rather, it also concerns the open orientation of care and compassion toward unknown others (Kenny & Fotaki, 2015). For example, one of the women became an entrepreneur due to lack of a proper and ethical practice of treatment in a business that cared for elderly people. She

established her own company in this sector and liberated herself. I observed that she then continued her struggle by industrializing her ethical care policy in her business and training each and every employee to show their affectionate care and attention to their customer by literally "looking them in their eyes". In this context, IWE regard entrepreneurship as a means of "new openings for more liberating forms of individual and collective existence" without denying the effects of power relations (Verduijn et al., 2014). The study thus supports the concept of emancipation in which entrepreneurship is regarded as a means of "new openings for more liberating forms of individual and collective existence" (Verduijn et al., 2014). However, the study also noted instances in which women's experiences and practices led them to subdue their gendered, ethno-cultural and classed identity to conform to norms of society and to be able to authorize themselves in the eyes of those who grant legitimacy.

Implications and Concluding Remarks

In this research, I sought new insights into the ways in which IWE responded to the available representations of entrepreneurship, gender, ethnicity and class. IWE from different backgrounds, social positioning and life trajectories applied different agency roles or tactics to respond to the pressures of the established power. The ethnographic perspective, with its emphasis on meaning, enabled an analysis in which agency and resistance acted as socio-cultural enactment beyond the individualistic approaches (Watson, 2011). In other words, such an approach helped articulate agency and resistance as part of socio-cultural constructions.

Thus, this study contributes to the entrepreneurship literature first by displaying how the investigation of ordinary life experience can identify entrepreneurship as part of the social scene beyond the individual tactics used to attain economic gains (Steyaert & Katz, 2004). This is especially important for IWE's practices, as the constructionist approaches pay less attention to the individual (Hughes et al., 2012) and his/her embodied nature. This study contributes to that by approaching the individuals not only as embedded within socio-cultural contexts but also embodying them. Thus, the study further explicates the nature of a connection between individual, organization and socio-cultural contexts (Fletcher, 2006; Spedale & Watson, 2014).

Accordingly, I showed that although entrepreneurs act as figureheads of capitalism in many classical accounts of entrepreneurship (Williams & Nadin, 2013) and entrepreneurship is a powerful, and even a totalizing, discourse, entrepreneurs find ways to rearrange the established relations beyond the discursive frames of entrepreneurship (Cohen & Musson, 2000). Despite being exposed to different dominant structures, gender, ethnicity, class and entrepreneurship, the women found something in entrepreneurship to give purpose and meaning to their lives (Essers et al., 2013a). This analysis is in line with studies that examined the discursive construction of the professional

identities of IWE. I extend their insights into the nature of tactics as primarily defined around discursive resources. I add the immediacy of historical and material dimensions involved in discursive struggles and their interplay.

This approach draws me to the conclusion that there is a continuous intertwined relationship between power and resistance, which also entails a continuous mutual tension affecting the IWE as both the subjects and objects of this relationship. Thus, the study provides an empirical analysis on the dimension of criticality in entrepreneurship and shows that appreciating entrepreneurship as a source of emancipation (Scott et al., 2012) or viewing it as a source of domination (Bruni et al., 2004b) undercuts its complexity and entrepreneurs' joy and struggles navigating within different (b)orders. I contribute to knowledge through the elaboration of the under-discussed concept of 'struggle' to explain the dialectical power-resistance relationship and the established orders in which they are embedded (Fleming & Spicer, 2008).

The study also counteracts the tendency for the field of entrepreneurship to demarcate entrepreneurship undertakings as predominantly drawn on economic exchange (Pret et al., 2015). I suggest paying greater attention to the flows and connections between this and other fields of practice, such as education, finance, domestic and public spheres, etc., through the biographies of IWE. For instance, care as practice presupposes a mode of relating to others with compassion and attentiveness (Skeggs, 2014). Care invokes different experiences and extends into multiple contexts and relations of power beyond the instrumental logic of the exchange of capital (Kenny & Fotaki, 2015).

Indeed, IWE manage the complex and intertwined relationship between power and resistance. However, their strategy and acts of agency sailing through the deep sea of the power-resistance relationship differ according to the cultural, social and economic resources available to them. While some struggle more with identity, others struggle with activity, etc. (Fleming & Spicer, 2008). Some accept, some adjust, and some try attempt make a change for the future. They all struggled to create an environment in which they could feel 'at home'.

Future studies may investigate nature and forms of struggles involving different forms of power such as age, sexuality, and disability to shed light on the complexity of the entrepreneurship experienced by diverse groups. Another promising avenue might examine the different and more ambivalent forms of struggles that entrepreneurs face by adopting nuanced analytical processes of positioning such as passing, improvement or dissimulation beyond poles of (dis)identification, as adopted in this study.

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