Aalborg Universitet

AALBORG UNIVERSITY

DENMARK

Immigrant Entrepreneurship as Gendered Social Positions

a study on motivations and strategies in a biographical perspective

Lund Thomsen, Trine

Publication date:
2005

Document Version
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Link to publication from Aalborg University

Immigrant Entrepreneurship as Gendered Social Positions – A study on motivations and strategies in a biographical perspective

Trine Lund Thomsen

SPIRIT PhD Series

Thesis no. 5

Ph.D. Dissertation

Immigrant Entrepreneurship as Gendered Social Positions

A study on motivations and strategies in a biographical perspective

by

Trine Lund Thomsen

2005, Aalborg University
AMID, Academy for Migration Studies in Denmark

Akademiet for Migrationsstudier i Danmark
Academy for Migration Studies in Denmark

AMID

Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

Chapter 1

Introduction

The research approach

This study investigates implications of self-employment among immigrants in Denmark. The purpose is to contribute to a better insight into and understanding of different aspects within the so-called ethnic economies. Moreover, gender is a central concept in this study on immigrant entrepreneurship[1]. This concept is intertwined with other closely related concepts, which to varying degrees are significant in relation to the field of this research project. Thus, my aim is to strive for a contribution to a gendered understanding of the social processes of immigrant entrepreneurship – a gendered understanding of the causes, processes and consequences of immigrant entrepreneurship in relation to entrepreneurial practises.

Immigrant entrepreneurship in Denmark

Throughout Europe there is presently much debate over immigrants and problems in connection with their integration. In the Danish debate there has been much focus on immigrants' low rate of participation on the labour market – partly due to the general belief of work being the single most integration-initiating factor. An explanation of this belief has often been that many migrants have no professional qualifications or that they are of too low a standard and therefore not adequate for the Danish labour market. Thus, there is a paradox as the unemployment rate among migrants has risen while more and more migrants have acquired relevant skills and professional qualifications (Diken, 2001). This indicates that migrants are to some degree excluded from the labour market which is known to lead to a marginalised position in society as such, due to lack of integration possibilities. Furthermore, this situation indicates that it is difficult for migrants to convert one type of personal capital to another – meaning that it is difficult to get a job despite having a relevant education and qualifications. Another interesting aspect in relation to the labour market is that statistics show that an increasing number of immigrants (males as

---

[1] Entrepreneurship and self-employment are used in reference to labour market activities that fully or partly support the immigrant financially. The definition of entrepreneurial capacity is based on Ivan Light's definition of the concept as: *Entrepreneurial capacity means having whatever it takes to succeed in business, but what exactly does it take? In addition to being in the right place at the right time, partially a matter of luck, it take resources. Entrepreneurs need resources. Useful as far as it goes, the concept of entrepreneurial capacity is just a cipher for the resources that create it, and the real task of explaining ethnic ownership economies requires one to identify and classify the needed resources (Light, 1999:1 in Kontos, 2000).*

well as females) choose to become self-employed despite the fact that the risks of this activity are relatively high. This circumstance might lead to the assumption that immigrants have few opportunities to gain upward mobility – where one of the few is to become self-employed (see also Ram et al., 2000).

The relationship between migration and the socio-economic development became an issue in the public debate in Denmark in the late 1960s in connection with the "import" of foreign labour. On the one hand, the supporters of labour migration emphasised the positive effects on the developing countries from which most of the migrants came, and perceived the labour migration as a kind of developing aid in terms of providing the migrant new skills and qualifications, which would become beneficial for the home countries when the labour migrants returned. On the other hand, the opponents argued that this strategy would lead to brain drain and that the supply of foreign currency would lead to increases in costs and prices. Since then this particular perspective on the migration debate has ceased to exist and in the 1990s topics on such matters as the repatriation situation of the Bosnian refugees, who had been given temporary asylum in 1992, influenced the discourse (Hjarnø, 1998:7-8). After the immigration stop in 1973, the amount of foreign citizens continued to increase due to immigrants' rights to family reunification of their spouse and children under the age of 18. Apart from family reunification the only new immigrants today are the few refugees who are granted residence permit in Denmark.

In recent years the political and public debate has been concentrated around the issue of integration or more specifically on the lack of integration. The discussion has turned more and more towards negative agitations such as that of a high unemployment rate among immigrants, the continued increase the number of immigrants due to family reunifications and the additional political refugees, which are all conceived as evidence that immigrants are becoming an increasingly economic burden (Hjarnø, 1998:30).

This situation has generated a central political goal of the Danish government to improve the integration of immigrants into the labour market. Immigrants' possibilities for labour market participation depend on many aspects. Some of the important aspects are language proficiency, understanding Danish culture and labour culture in particular, which all influence on immigrants' opportunities on the Danish labour market. These aspects are not visable in the statistical registrations,

neither are other aspects like gender, age, education and length of stay in the country (Lindhart & Frølander, 2004:23). The statistics do, however, show an increase in immigrants' participation on the labour market, which in itself is a positive development. Despite this turn, the labour market activity rate is still low and is only increasing very slowly.

The labour market participation rate for immigrants is relatively low and among immigrants from non-western countries there are 49 % who are not active on the labour market. Immigrants from western countries have a participation rate between that of immigrants from non-western countries and people of Danish origin. Furthermore, immigrant descendants have a larger labour market participation rate than their parents (Lindhart & Frølander, 2004:23). Another interesting result from a quantitative investigation points at certain conditions in the relation between immigrants' qualifications and their labour market participation. These results indicate that (the level of) qualifications of immigrants who arrived as refugees are not as significant in relation to accessing the labour market as for immigrants who did not arrive as refugees. The same study also shows that for the latter group the activity probability increases during the first five years and for the former group within the first ten years. Furthermore, the study found that immigrant women experienced double discrimination in relation to their salary. Firstly, working immigrant women were discriminated against in the same way as native women, who also in generally receive lower wages than men for the same type of job. Secondly, working immigrant women were also exposed to ethnically related wage discrimination (Pedersen, 2002:11-12). The above-mentioned labour-market conditions might well be some of the elements that make self-employment a better option than traditional wage employment. The table below illustrates the percentages of male and female entrepreneurs.

Table 1.1

	1998 Men	2003 Men	1998 Women	2003 Women
Immigrants from western countries	7,9	7,3	3,7	3,2
Immigrants from non-western countries	7,6	7,2	2,4	2,3
Descendants from western countries	6,4	6,4	3,1	2,8
Descendants from non-western countries	3,9	3,9	1,5	1,2
Native Danes	7,8	7,2	2,6	2,5

(Source: Ruth Emerek, 2005b)

The political attitude has changed over the last decade from financially supporting entrepreneurial activities in general (immigrants and natives) to abandoning this policy, and today's supportive plan of action as a part of the government's integration policy is focused on participation on the labour market. The plan does not include financial aid as earlier, but aims to create lucrative local entrepreneurial environments, for example in the form of advising and learning possibilities in the asylum camps across the country. In recent years there has been a small decline in self-employment both in relation to immigrants and native Danes, as figure 1.1. illustrates:

Figure 1.1: Percentage of male and female entrepreneurs
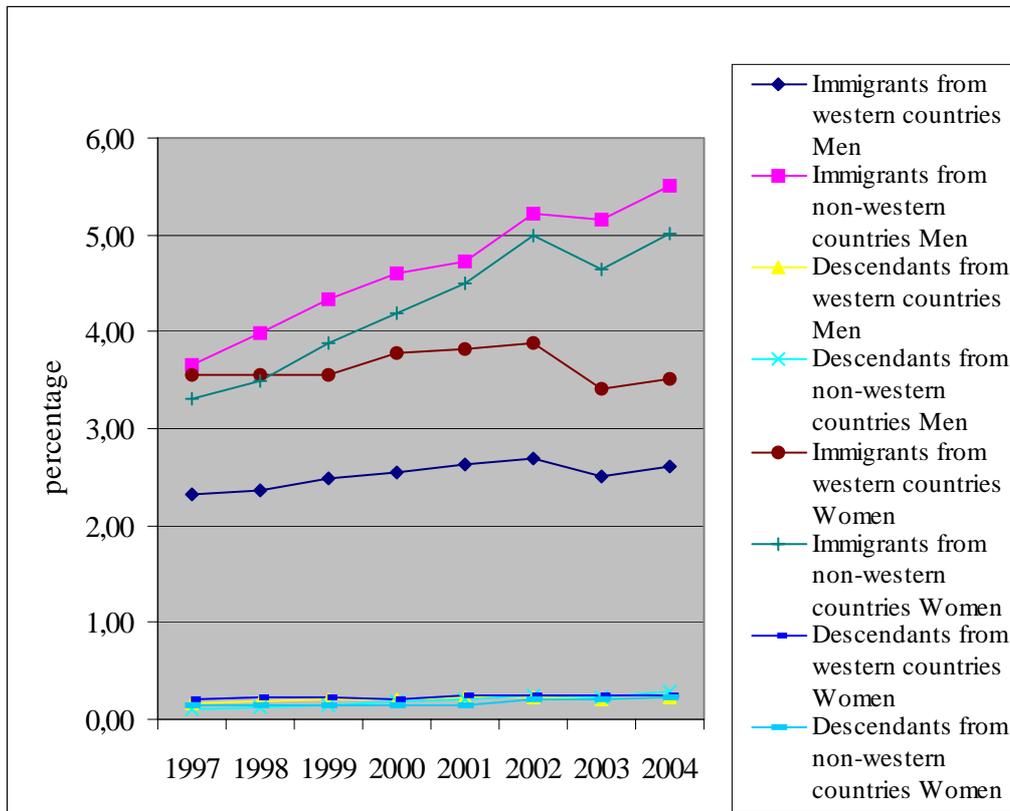
(Source: Ruth Emerek, 2005b)

This decline could be related to the present policies on the issue of self-employment and the structural conditions, which are not as favourable as they were ten or fifteen years ago. The political interpretation of immigrant entrepreneurship or ethnic minority business can have very different outlooks. One interpretation is that it leads to *entrepreneurial social mobility*, where the business activity is understood as a way of gaining upward social mobility among ethnic minority groups, and that this move will lead to further integration. Another approach states that this kind of self-employment, often with governmental support, does not necessarily further integration (Jenkins, 1984). In this perspective self-employment is not a route to upward mobility, but rather seen as a matter of status quo. The immigrant-owned businesses can often be characterised as high risk and low income/profit ventures. Risk and reflexivity are often emphasised when characterising late modernity and these aspects are connected to the experience of long-distance migrants and the risks they take of loosing status and security when leaving their homelands.

Self-employment has generally been considered a route for immigrants to get out of dead-end manual jobs or unemployment and as a means avoid racial discrimination.

Despite or maybe because of the relatively low participation of immigrants on the Danish labour market, the self-employment frequency among immigrants is higher than that of native Danes. From the early 1990s immigrants have started more businesses than the Danish majority, and this development has since then increased considerably (Rezaei, 2002). In figures, the self-employment rate among self-employed native Danes is 7.5 %, whereas it amounts to 15 % among immigrants from third countries (i.e. not from the EU, Scandinavia or North America). In some ethnic groups the self-employment rate is as high as 30 % (from China, Pakistan, Iraq, Iran, Egypt, Syria and Afghanistan) and even 38 % among Lebanese immigrants (Bager & Rezaei, 2001; Rezaei, 2002). The gender division of self-employment points to the fact that the number of female entrepreneurs has been rather steady over the past six years whereas the total number of male entrepreneurs has decreased more significantly.

Figure 1.2: Number of female and male immigrant and native entrepreneurs in Denmark
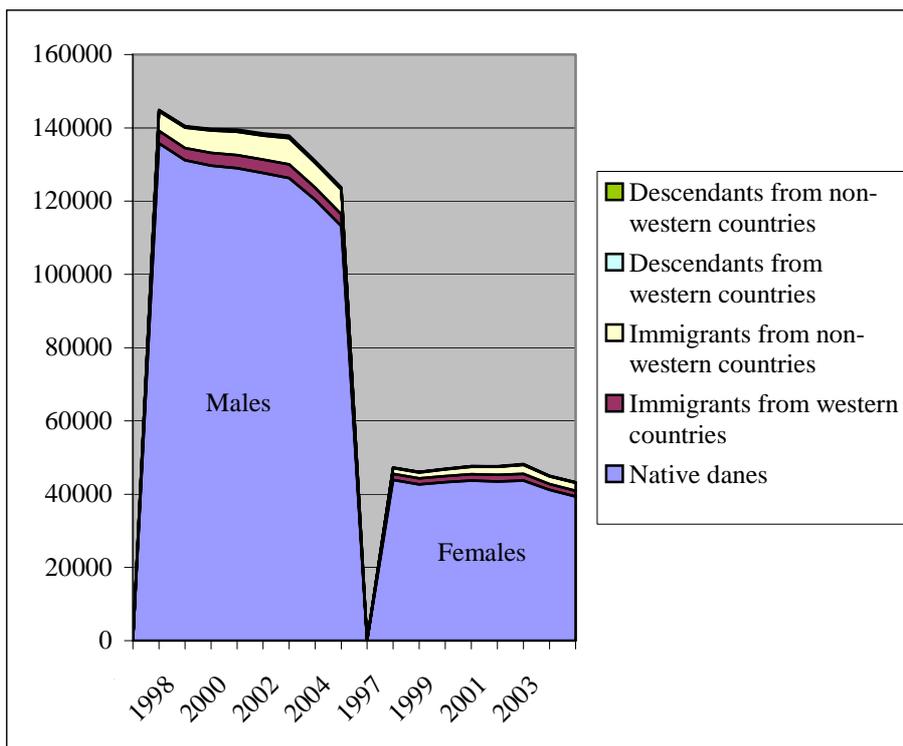
(Source: Ruth Emerek, 2005b)

One of the primary conditions for engaging the entrepreneurial strategy is the access to ownership and the conditions of the market, which means that there are vacant premises and industries or trades that have not reached a maximum number of

businesses. The most common trade of branches are those where the start capital is relatively low and no particular education is required such as pizzerias, green grocers and hairdressers. These types of businesses are referred to as ethnic businesses and can be characterised by a low income/profit and long opening hours, which put off most native Danes in pursuing this path of occupation. Some of the trades are based on "ethnic products" which might give the immigrant a competitive advantage (Bager & Rezaei, 2001).

A quantitative study[2] on immigrant entrepreneurship in Denmark conducted in 2001 pointed towards several conditions and patterns such as:

- Businesses owned by immigrants make much use of network resources. The family does in particularly play an important role and, furthermore, the contact to the home country and to others from the same ethnic group both in Denmark and other countries is of importance.

- There is a tendency of businesses owned by first-generation immigrants being concentrated in certain trades, in particular restaurants and retail. These businesses have, to a considerable degree, concentrated on ethnic products and the ethnic market. Descendents and the well-educated first-generation immigrants do, however, to a higher degree become integrated into the mainstream economy.

- Immigrant-owned businesses are in particular a known phenomenon in and around Copenhagen and the developments of the larger provincial towns are following the same patterns, just delayed and at a slower pace.

- There are big differences among the ethnic groups in relation to self-employment, which illustrates a significance of ethnicity.

- International networks are used in connection with the financing of self-employment and goods delivery.

But even though the above-mentioned conditions might be present it is still the personal incitement that is the final determining factor for some immigrants'

---

[2] The research is conducted by Ph.D. Shahamak Rezaei, 2001.

decision to become self-employed (Kruse, 2004:11). It is these personal incitements that I will attempt to reach a further and deeper understanding of in my investigation of the process and implications of entrepreneurial practise among female and male immigrants in Denmark.

Data and Dimensions

My Ph.D. project has its roots in a TSER[3] research project titled: *Self-employment activities concerning women and minorities: their success and failure in relation to social citizenship policies*, which was conducted during the period of 1997-2000. The groups in focus were those of lower positions within the entrepreneurial field, the low-income businesses, giving the research a social position class dimension in addition to the more explicit gender and ethnicity perspectives. The project was a comparative study with participation of Greece, Italy, Germany, Britain, Sweden and Denmark[4]. In each of these countries 30-40 biographical interviews[5] were carried out with female and male immigrant entrepreneurs and in addition to these several expert interviews were made. The data material is the basis of the present project, which means that the methodological and empirical aspect was determined beforehand. As this Ph.D. thesis is based on the interviews from the TSER project, it brings certain limits to which angles of immigrant entrepreneurship that can be investigated. The starting point of this research derives therefore from the empirical data material, which has both positive and negative consequences for the further research which will be discussed in chapter 5.

The interviews in relation to the Danish case were conducted in two cities in Jutland; Aalborg and Aarhus. The respondents were partly found through a bureau for entrepreneurship and partly through direct personal contact with immigrant

---

[3] TSER is the abbreviation for Targeted Socio-Economic Research founded by EURESCO within the 5th research framework of the EU.

[4] The project coordinator was Prof. Ursula Apitzsch from University of Frankfurt/M, Germany and her team Dr. Maria Kontos and Regina Kreide. The partners were Prof. Floya Anthias and Nishi Mehta from University of Greenwich, Great Britain, Prof. Feiwel Kupfeberg and Marianne Nørtoft from Aalborg University, Denmark, Prof. Skevos Papaioannou, Giorgos Tsiolis and Emmanouil Tzanakis from University of Crete/Rethymno, Dr. Walter Privitera, Walter Greco and Elisabetta Della Corte from University of Calabria, Italy, Prof. Aleksandra Ålund, Dr. Suzanne Mason from University of Umeaa, Sweden, Dr. Gabriella Lazaridis and maria Koumandraki from University of Dundee, great Britain and finally Maria Liapi and Katy Kylakou from Centre for Research on Women's Issues, Athens, Greece.

[5] The main method of the comparative study was the biographical narrative method – an explorative approach that derives from the "grounded theory" methodology of Anselm Strauss and Barney Blaser (see chapter 4).

entrepreneurs. The age group is 25 to 50 which means that their family statuses are quite similar. The male entrepreneurs in the sample are over-represented by around 80 % and this percentage is in relation to the gender division within the whole immigrant entrepreneurial market quite low but acceptable. The ethnicity of the respondents is rather mixed, with the main groups coming from Turkey (some of them Kurds), Iran and Lebanon (mainly Palestinians). Other represented groups are from Somalia, Egypt, Hungary/Bulgaria and Taiwan. An additional ten interviews with immigrant entrepreneurs in Copenhagen have since been conducted as a part of this research project in order to increase the number of respondents and to create a broader national sample in terms of gender, ethnicity and location. Including Copenhagen in the sample gives the national case a better representation as the capital region has the largest density of migrants and also self-employed migrants among them. The representation of three major regions allows for a national comparison of local contexts and milieux connected to those contexts. The regions have different compositions of ethnic minority groups, which influences the opportunities, types of businesses or trades that are possible to access. The opportunity structures on the labour market also vary regionally, both in a structural sense; what kind of labour is in demand and what are the qualifications of the migrant, and in a social sense; what are the attitudes towards the different ethnic minority groups.

The conclusions of the TSER study were manifold and so were the questions that arose, like how to explain and understand the gendered differentiation that were revealed in their approaches towards entrepreneurship. A main conclusion of the research was that the vast majority of the participating female immigrants set up in solo self-employment with the aim of protecting their newly gained independence. Self-employment thus seems to be a part of these women's emancipation from discrimination from the labour market and other social constraints. On the other hand, the male entrepreneurs tend to apply the expansive entrepreneurial strategy to a larger extend, wanting to gain success in the business in order to boost their self-esteem and strive for social recognition (Apitzsch, 2000). The main purpose for bringing gender into focus in this research project is therefore to further explore how male and female immigrant entrepreneurs differentiate from each other regarding their motivations behind their strategy of becoming self-employed, their paths of accessing their labour-market position and their intentions connected hereto and how these aspects relates to their identity construction.

As I began working on the interviews – analysing them in a non-theoretical manner – it became very apparent how there were many ways of approaching the present research and how this would influence the optic of the project. The important thing at that stage was to let the biographical accounts speak for themselves in order to strengthen the objectification of my approach. While working my way somewhat systematically through the interviews different patterns emerged, and here I found that the most significant pattern was that of the gender dimension in relation to both motives and strategies. A gender issue, as emphasised in the final report of the TSER project, refers to how female and male entrepreneurs invest differently in their businesses – men take more risks than women do. What emerged out of the data material was an apparent gender difference in both the reason for becoming self-employed and in what the immigrant entrepreneurs wished to achieve by this lifestyle. In order to investigate the gender relation further I then collected more biographical interviews, which also had the purpose of broadening the ethnic and educational dimensions. The reason for this was to gather an empirical sample that would contain a vast amount of details and aspects, which would reflect the diversity and complexity of the topic and create a certain amount of density and level of validity in the sample.

The strong gender significance is not completely surprising as it partly can be traced back to the composition of the sample, which has a clear gender division whereas the class and ethnicity dimensions are not so clear cut. The role of ethnicity in self-employment is harder to distinguish, because of the number of different ethnicities represented in the rather small sample. Indicators of ethnic differentiation in the narrations can be found though, but only in terms of rather weak suggestions. The strength of the ethnic diversity of the sample rests therefore not so much on actual deduction from ethnicity; rather it provides a stronger indication of gendered issues across variation of ethnicity. The influence of class is not very distinctive either, as most of the respondents in the sample has low-income businesses and are positioned quite low in the social stratification. It is, however, interesting to compare the social position of the individual immigrants in their country of origin (pre-migration) to the one in the country of settlement (post-migration) to detect the possibility, or lack of such, for social mobility. The former social position held by the migrant often correspond to their educational or skilled qualification level (Barbier, 2003), but the situation most often changes for migrants in a social context with other sets of norms and values than their own. Furthermore, it has been well documented that gender relations and ethnicity are embedded in social, economic and cultural

16

processes (Lloyd-Evans, 2002) and that ethnic identifications arise prior to and during employment experiences, work activity and also in the process of finding a job. In this sense identities, gendered and ethicised, become performative acts in relation to labour and employment niches (Christou, 2003).

In the sample three qualification typologies that refer to the training or education of the self-employed immigrant can be identified:

1. Qualified professionals. Persons with high professional qualifications obtained in either the country of origin or the country of settlement.

2. Traditionally skilled workers. Persons with professionally trained skills such as hairdressers and electricians.

3. Unskilled workers. Persons with no professional training and who often occupies the most temporary labour-market positions.

It is noticeable that self-employment is not among the typologies, as none of the respondents have been self-employed prior to migration, although some have one or more family members who are self-employed. The differentiated educational backgrounds of the interviewed migrants make the access to the Danish labour market quite broad as they represent a variety of forms of occupational backgrounds from educated professionals to poorly educated and unskilled prior to becoming self-employed[6].

The research strategy

In order to conduct the analysis I find it useful to construct an analytical framework to enable the interpretations of the biographical interview to be carried out in a structural manner that ensures a degree of objectivity. In my attempt to analyse the accounts of the self-employed immigrants with focus on their social and to some degree also geographical relocation, and to gain a deeper understanding of the relationship between motivations and strategies and of the structural limitations and experiences I shall primarily make use of some of Pierre Bourdieu's work. His theoretical concepts are in my opinion a most adequate set of analytical tools, which can assist me in my analysis and which can also give a meaningful proposal to how

---

[6] These differences will be elaborated in the methodical chapter and observable in an overview of all the interviewed immigrant entrepreneurs.

gender, and to some degree ethnicity and class, can be comprehended in relation to immigrant entrepreneurship. By stressing concepts, I imply that I do not intend to make use of the whole coherent programme, but rather I pick out the specific concepts that offer plausible explanations to issues that are of significance to the problem of this investigation. This provides a more open way of conducting the analysis, allowing for further theorising to develop where and when new aspects emerge, placing them within a theoretical frame/model of the social practices/life in the field of entrepreneurship, as it is expressed through the biographical narratives.

In this line of thinking Bourdieu has introduced what he calls the "double break", which places importance on the scientist's capability to exceed both the theoretical and practical logic in order to avoid or reduce a mere reproduction of common opinions and practices. Another reason for using Bourdieu's concepts selectively is that I do not share his rather structuralistic epistemological approach, as I, in my position in the scientific field, lean a bit more towards social constructivism. Even though being labelled in the category of constructivist structuralism, Bourdieu can be read in many ways and his epistemological orientation seems to have moved towards being less structural and placing more transformative capacity in the agents.

One of the main reasons for the adequateness of Bourdieu's sociology of culture in relation to the investigation of (female and male) immigrant entrepreneurs, is, that it enables the production of a highly concrete and specific analysis of social determinants and their consequences (Moi, 1999). In continuation of this aspect another great advantage of Bourdieu's micro-theoretical[7] approach is that it allows for an incorporation of the most mundane details of everyday life in our analyses, which in fact also is one of the strong aspects of the biographical interpretative method. Thus, this theoretical approach combined with the biographical method creates a spacious analytical framework which allows for details of everyday life to be studied and related to the structures within which they come into play.

---

[7] This particular term was first introduced by Terry Eagleton (Moi, 1999:268).

Project Design

Preliminary study –
generating themes and
hypothesis

↓

Development of the
analytical framework -
A presentation of
theories and perspectives

↓

First stage of analysis –
locating gender and
motivations in two
exemplary interviews

↓

Second stage of analysis
– an in-depth analysis of
biographical life stories.
Identifying intentions

↓

Third stage of analysis –
a multiple case analysis
of strategies

↓

Conclusions and new
perspectives on theory
and practise

↓

Future perspectives

Chapter 2

State of the Arts

Introduction

The literature on immigrant entrepreneurship or "ethnic economy" derives from the middleman minority theory, which is an aspect that is still included in current literature. However, the literature now is more concentrated on a broad perspective on the economic independence of immigrants and ethnic minorities as such, not only the middleman minorities. *This expansion releases the subject from narrow concentration upon historical trading minorities, and opens discussions of the entire range of immigrant and ethnic minority strategies for economic self-help and self-defence. Partial or full economic independence represents a ubiquitous self-defence of immigrants and ethnic minorities who confront exclusion or disadvantage in labour markets. Ethnic economies permit immigrants and ethnic minorities to reduce disadvantages and exclusion, negotiating the terms of their participation in the general labour market from a position of greater strength* (Light & Bonacich, 1991: xii-xiii). A particular way of distinguishing between immigrant and ethnic minority economies has implications for the study of immigrant entrepreneurship[8], which is the object of this research.

The traditional explanations of why immigrant entrepreneurship often refers to either cultural or ethnical resources or to the fact that immigrants are exposed to barriers and limitations in relation to integration into a new society, and therefore feel a pressure to "innovate". Innovation is in this context to be understood as opportunity structuring within the established markets and making use of the available opportunities in a given structural context. One strand of theories explains the immigrants' position as entrepreneurs with cultural elements as a determining factor for their motivation towards entrepreneurship. This is expressed through the assumption of the cultural approach; that all possibilities of establishing small businesses are made through cultural factors (Cassarino, 1997). The assumption of cultural determination is based on a perception of immigrant entrepreneurs being predisposed to this kind of labour activity due to their culture, for example, because

---

[8] When I use the term *immigrant* I refer to all immigrants regardless of their migration status such as labour migrant, family unificated migrant or refugee. This will be the definition used in relation to *immigrant entrepreneurship* throughout the thesis, unless I have specified otherwise.

of their often more traditional and close ethnic networks and family structures. Ethnic resources are created within the respective cultures and it is important to study whether immigrant entrepreneurship can be connected with particular cultures or not. The resources are thus of great importance within this approach which, on the other hand, does not pay much attention to the socio-cultural factors.

Ethnic networks as a social resource are a central perspective in this approach and moreover, studies on immigrant entrepreneurship have a tendency to focus on ethnicity and ethnic resources and to a certain degree neglect other important aspects such as class and gender. Traditionally, this focus is based on a group-specific identity and thus fails to observe the status of individual group members as (full) partners in social interaction (Fraser, 2003). Pablo Villa supports this standpoint when he argues against the homogenisation of racially grounded experiences and identities pointing at the complex intersection of other related concerns. He argues for adding sensitivity to the differentiation of racially grounded experiences, based on the consciousness of variations of racial identities within racial/ethnic communities. Here race, class and gender, and other concerns, are always competing for their part in the self's stories, never standing on their own in the plots (Villa, 1997). In the research on immigrant entrepreneurship the anger of regarding a kin or family group as a harmonious entity lurks. As an implication of that, all its members equally share the same fortune or destiny. A focus on collectivistic strategies and group solidarity has led to gender bias and gender blindness in the research field of immigrant entrepreneurship (Apitzch, 2000). Within the literature on immigrant entrepreneurship their upward mobility and economic success have been socially constructed as an achievement of the entire group. Such an approach is a general construction of more or less successful groups, as well as an explanation of the differences between groups (Portes, 1995), which might also be one of the reasons for this field of research being rather gender insensitive.

In opposition to the cultural approach, the structural approach claims that ethnic resources are not the reason why some immigrants become self-employed. On the contrary, the structural context is seen as producing a certain ethnic behaviour (Waldinger, 1993). The central element in this approach is the structural opportunities that immigrants encounter in their new society. It is therefore a question of how the structural conditions influence the immigrants' way of tackling their new life situations by means of coping strategies. Another way of

understanding the motivation behind the entrepreneurial strategy is that of "the economic dead-end thesis". In this approach minorities are confronted with a string of barriers, especially racial and ethnic discrimination, which limits their possibilities on the labour market (Metcalf et al., 1996). It is primarily on an economic basis that some immigrants choose to become self-employed. A wish to improve one's economic situation as being the most important motivation factor does, however, not seem very plausible in the case of immigrants in Denmark, as many of them do not earn more or much more than they would on unemployment benefits. This raises the question of what kind of motivation lies behind the entrepreneurial strategy – if not one of an economic character? And why do an increasing number of immigrants choose to become self-employed when it is a line of business that is often marked by high risks and low income? These are central questions that are connected to the hypotheses that I shall generate in connection to the analysis of the empirical data

In the light of the above-mentioned perspectives on immigrant entrepreneurship I find it appropriate to suggest two conditions that are crucial in the development of the "ethnic business" according to Mars and Ward (1984) and Waldinger (1986). Firstly, the immigrants often have access to resources that the native entrepreneurs do not have at their disposal, such as a low-wage, flexible work force. Secondly, immigrants' businesses often depend on accessing an economic niche that can facilitate the survival of a small business. These conditions are also a part of a model developed by Waldinger that aims at explaining the reciprocal relationship between opportunity structures and resources of the ethnic groups. The model is shown below (Waldinger et al., 1990)

```
┌─────────────────────────┐        ┌─────────────────────────┐
│ Market conditions       │        │ Access to ownership     │
│ - Ethnic products       │        │ - Available premises    │
│ - Non ethnic;           │        │ - Competition of shops  │
│ opened market           │        │ - Political initiative  │
└─────────────────────────┘        └─────────────────────────┘
              ↘                     ↙
                 ┌──────────────────┐
                 │ Ethnic strategies│
                 └──────────────────┘
              ↗                     ↖
┌─────────────────────────┐        ┌─────────────────────────┐
│ Predisposing factors    │        │ Resource mobilisation   │
│ - Blocked mobility      │        │ - Tight co-ethnic bonds │
│ - Selective migration   │        │ - Ethnic social network │
│ - Aspiration level      │        │ - Political initiative  │
└─────────────────────────┘        └─────────────────────────┘
```
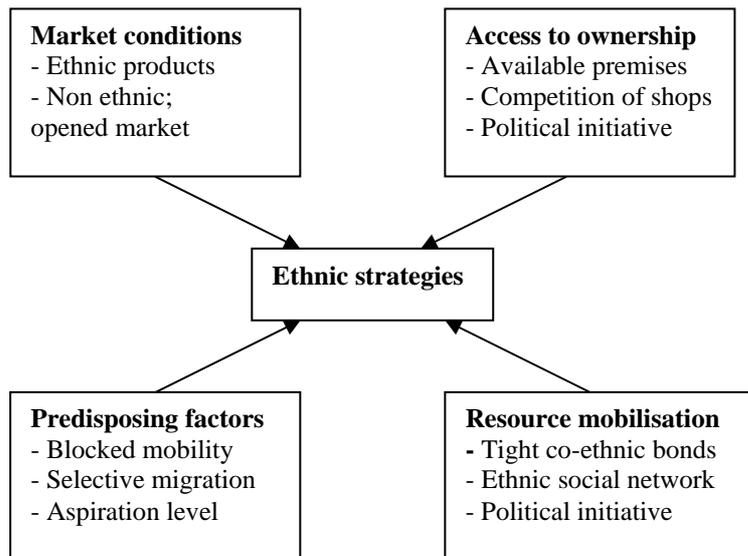
This model is widely recognised for its abilities to capture the complexity and variations of immigrant entrepreneurship in the respective countries with their different compositions of ethnic groups. I shall not go into greater details about this model, however, in relation to my research perspective on immigrant entrepreneurship the model does not seem adequate, as it is partly based on group characteristics and therefore does not encompass a more individualised strategy in which differentiating aspects such as gender are embedded.

Culture, ethnicity and entrepreneurship

According to Barth, it is not enough to have shared ethnic characteristics to create an ethnic identity, as it is on the borderline between ethnic groups and the contrasts that arise from the interaction between groups. Another important aspect in the making of ethnicity is the social process, which means that ethnicity cannot be reduced to specific characteristics or properties of a group or a person, but is rather to be defined as an aspect of the relation between two groups or persons (Bath, 1969:13). The significance of ethnicity to immigrant entrepreneurship is often related to an ability of seizing an opportunity for opening a business, which is an attribute that is passed on within the ethnic group. A range of literature on immigrant entrepreneurship is based on the fact that certain ethnic groups have a certain inclination towards self-employment. Such theories focus on culturally

valued attributes such as hard work and willingness to take risks – attributes which are regarded as particularly appropriate for entrepreneurial success, and which has a certain reference to Weber's "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism" (1958).

There are, however, several arguments that can be made against this approach. First, the suggestion of "cultural traits" as being inherent, bases the theory on racism. Second, if these groups possess such characteristics then why do only some of them become self-employed, and why do the following generations often go into employment identical to that of the population as a whole? Third, the theories do not take into consideration the influence that racial discrimination, harassment and violence might have on the development of ethnic ties, solidarity and social structure. If the possibilities of accessing the mainstream routes to lucrative employment are blocked by racism and discrimination then this will promote that available skills and resources within the group are used as a means to supply the persons with an income in an alternative manner. Fourth, an important element of the immigrant entrepreneurial strategy is the use of women's so-called "natural" skills and their labour as a resource. The theory emphasizes the importance of the family, but neglects to acknowledge the specific gender dimension in the entrepreneurial strategy. Finally, the cultural explanation may become a self-fulfilling prophecy as the "ethnic economy" provides employment for minority women (and men) confronted with continuing high levels of racism, racial discrimination and limited possibilities for traditional job opportunities (Phizacklea, 1988).

Bringing individuality into entrepreneurship
Even though immigrant entrepreneurship has been a research area in development over the past couple of decades, it is still the traditional perspective that prevails. This means that the general focus is on the socio-economic implications of immigrant self-employment, paying less attention to cultural aspects of the field. There are two sets of arguments that commonly have been used to explain the emergence and development of immigrant entrepreneurship, which are that of the structures and that of the (human) resources. The structures refer to factors external to the minority group, such as government policies, economic regulations, legal systems and institutional contexts that may or may not facilitate and/or encourage immigrants' access to business activities (Kloosterman, 2000).

Another argument is that high unemployment and socio-economic discrimination push disadvantaged immigrants into self-employment (Light and Gold, 2000: chapter 8). Besides the contextual possibilities it is crucial that the immigrant possesses the resources that enable him or her to seize the opportunity of, for example, trade experience or the presence of family members to assist in the business. An ethnic network, as a social resource, is a central perspective in this approach as it serves as an essential means to an end.

The above approach has earlier dominated the field of immigrant entrepreneurship, but the so-called ethnic business studies have over the past two decades changed the prism from the immigrant as an object of racism, discrimination and exploitation to an analysis of how ethnic networks can be regarded as a resource – also referred to as ethnic resources. This is a plausible turn when moderated with other aspects such as discrimination. However, not much attention is paid to gender issues, which might have a quite significant role and therefore will lead to inadequate theorising. An example of this development in the growing literature on immigrant entrepreneurship is *Ethnic Communities in Business* edited by Robin Ward and Richard Jenkins, which succeeds in adjusting the relationship between racism or discrimination and barriers or limitations on the labour market and the role of ethnic resources playing an active part in immigrant entrepreneurship. In the overview of this volume three models of motivations behind self-employment are presented, each providing explanations for the interaction between opportunity structures and immigrant resources (Jenkins & Ward, 1984). 1) The "Economic opportunity model on immigrant entrepreneurship is not different from the capitalistic businesses model" in general. Success or failure depends on the opportunity situation of the market. Within this model the immigrants' opportunities often lie within an ethnic niche, but not necessarily. 2) The "Cultural model" builds on a theory that some cultures predispose their members to be particularly good at self-employment. In this model cultural values are viewed as a resource for immigrant entrepreneurs. 3) In the "Reaction model" immigrant entrepreneurship is a reaction against discrimination and lack of opportunities for social mobility. Self-employment is perceived as a strategy of survival for immigrants who have a marginal position in the economy dominated by the local population. According to Jenkins each of these explanations can be seen as sufficient in themselves, as well as a combination is feasible, meaning that they are not mutually exclusive.

Implicit in these approaches to immigrant entrepreneurship lies the discussion of how the motives for becoming self-employed are bound to the push-pull mechanisms, a perspective often applied to studies on migration and immigrant entrepreneurship. In this relation pull refers to the fact that the immigrants choose this lifestyle, and are not forced into it due to structural barriers on the labour market, which often are the incentives of those immigrants being pushed into self-employment. Cultural aspects are often related to the pull dimension as the disposition for becoming self-employed has a cultural connotation. Whether being a pull or push factor social mobility will most probably be present to some degree. In this perspective the strive for attainment of social positions is forced upon the immigrants who are confronted with a new social system that does not perceive class and culture in the same predictable way as experienced in their home countries, which is a situation that is recognised by the immigrants and subsequently reflected and acted upon (Elliot, 1997:199). In relation to this perspective I wish is to look at the entrepreneurial strategy in relation to accumulation of capital in both an economic, social and a cultural sense, with the purpose of converting it to symbolic capital and identifying to what extent this is possible.

When summing up the above perspectives on immigrant entrepreneurship the picture that emerges is based on both cultural and socio-structural aspects. On the one hand, the "ethnic economy" provides employment for ethnic minority women and men, who encounter a high level of ethnical discrimination and racism as well as a reduction in traditional job opportunities in the manufacturing industry (Phizacklea, 1995). On the other hand, it can be argued that this type of occupation to a certain degree is influenced by "disadvantages" that are a part of the migrants' cultural baggage, such as "language deficiencies", cultural preferences and lack of recognised skills (Morokvasic, 1984). Furthermore, I will argue that in relation to getting a job the social competences are also of importance, as for example that the immigrants can receive and understand instructions as well as the unspoken rules and codexes of the work place. When acquired resources are not met by the immigrants their situation to some becomes degree disadvantaged, which can be divided into two types. First, there is the *labour market disadvantage,* which occurs when workers cannot obtain waged employment that matches their level of productivity. Usually labour market disadvantages function as an increased incentive to become self-employed, as this may be the only route to social mobility (Light & Rosenstein, 1995:153-155) Second, some groups experience a *resource*

disadvantage resulting from current or past events and experiences, which have resulted in the fact that the members possess fewer resources when entering the labour market. Resources include attributes such as human capital, positive work ethic, good health, contact networks, self-esteem, etc. (Light & Gold, 2000). Moreover, the second type of disadvantage explains anomalies from the very unequal rates of self-employment among disadvantaged ethno-national and ethno-religious groups (Light & Gold, 2000:34; Fairlie & Meyer, 1996). These definitions mean that some immigrants might be double disadvantaged due to their resource disadvantages that might lead to labour market disadvantages.

Embodied social capital, which can be comprehended in terms of the internal family relationship based on trust, solidarity and moral community, facilitates economic action such as self-employment (Sanders, Jimy & Ne, 1996:237). Furthermore, research has concluded that the husbands benefit much more from the family business than the wives and children. Another interesting relation that research has shown is that married immigrants, in particularly males, are much more likely to become self-employed than non-married immigrants. This could be linked to the importance of contributing wives and children for the survival of the business. It could, however, also be explained by the age of the immigrant at the time of migration and when entering self-employment and, furthermore, the marriage rate among ethnic minority groups is often relatively high.

Time, space and the gendered labour market

Different studies on migration strongly suggest the necessity to explore other apprehensions of how ethnicity, class and gender interact in the relocation of new cultural and societal structures and the process of adapting to this change of environment and practises. Self-employment has in the history of migration always been an option for some immigrants, whether it being voluntary or involuntary. In the past the division of labour between female and male immigrants has been very different to that of today. Women were not seen as immigrants in their own right, but rather as spouses of the male labour migrants, and whose tasks were of a domestic and child-caring character. This division of labour has developed analogously with the dominant ideology of the man being the breadwinner and the woman a dependent person. This conventional ideology also reflects the idea that migrant women are not initiators in the decision to migrate as such a decision is taken by the patriarchal men (Fincher et al.). In the book *The Age of Migration",* Castles and Miller argue that the decision to migrate is not made by individuals, but

rather by families. In continuation of this assumption lies the importance of the family as an analytical unity that mediates between individual migrants and the broader structural context and a requirement of an analytical approach, which recognises that families or households are implicit in gender ideologies and practises (Phizacklea et al., 1995).

Entrepreneurship has historically been connected with a male-dominated universe, being an expression of a symbolic meaning of masculinity (Bruni, 2004:407-408). The symbolic character refers to masculine connotations such as risk-taking and expansive business strategy or to put it in the words of Connell (2000). Hegemonic masculinity is also embodied in the figures of the entrepreneur. The construction of entrepreneurship as a form of masculinity in the literature can be traced in the description of entrepreneurial qualities such as risk-taking, leadership and rational planning (Bruni, 2004:409). Stereotypes of male and female entrepreneurs have in the past prevailed within the entrepreneurship research tied to a conception of women and men's sharply differentiated division of labour during thousands of years, where women are viewed as being home-orientated whereas the men are considered environment-orientated human beings (Novarra, 1980). The entrepreneurial literature has in its gender blindness established a relation between the qualities of an entrepreneur (leadership, risk-taking, rational planning) and a model of male rationality (Mulholland, 1996). This construction of masculinity is built on images and representations associated with masculinities, of which some are more aggressive and profit-orientated while others are of a more altruistic orientation with intentions of ensuring a reasonable economic situation of the family (Reed, 1996).

On the basis of trade of branches earlier research has concluded that two separate business cultures have developed; a female and a male entrepreneurial culture (Holmquist & Sundin, 1984). Moreover, the literature is most often solely concerned with either female *or* male entrepreneurs, which might give a slightly distorted picture of the "reality". In the way that I describe and apply the category in the analysis, gender concerns both sexes, where each serve as "the other", in order to contrast the two on certain issues. I do, however, not regard such a comparison as solely based on differences but more on types of potential differences and similarities.

Firstly, studies on respectively female and male immigrant entrepreneurs are often carried out with different angles, where the perspectives and research questions might be very dissimilar, and hence the grounds for comparisons are not equal. Secondly, this view on immigrant entrepreneurship relates to my research practise of focusing on the relations between matters. Thus, when applying a gender perspective I believe it to be important to look at the relation between male and female entrepreneurs using the same optic.

Female and male entrepreneurs; some differences and similarities
Research on immigrant entrepreneurship has in the past not paid much attention to the gender aspects of the phenomenon, as female entrepreneurs and contributing wives have been a rather overlooked if not invisible group. Fortunately this tendency is gradually changing as self-employed women make up a growing part of immigrant entrepreneurs. According to Bertaux the lack of focus on women in the former sociological research is related to the circumstances that sociologists were merely reflecting the societal divisions in their work and in these, women were assigned to domestic work and men to employment (Bertaux, 1981:89). It might, however, also reflect the overweight of male sociologists, which in recent years have "slimmed".

In the entrepreneurial literature several variables of gender differentiation have been suggested and these variables are not less important in this study. A point of similarity is that more than a third of both male and female entrepreneurs' father and/or mother had also been self-employed. The entrepreneurial social background is to some extent a rather important element in the socialising influences for female as well as male entrepreneurs (Watkins & Watkins, 1984:23). The average age of the entrepreneur at the time of business start-up is 25–40. However, some studies show that female entrepreneurs are five to seven years younger when starting their business whereas other studies show that they are older than the male entrepreneurs. A possible reason for this contradiction could be found in the composition of the sample or there could be different structural conditions that might influence the incentive to become self-employed. Another general characteristic of immigrant entrepreneurs is that they have a rather low level of education. Earlier studies have shown, however, that female entrepreneurs in average have a longer education than their male counterparts (Welsh and Young, 1984). This is a contradiction of my sample, but the difference might be due to the relatively small size and the composition of my sample. There is, however, a large difference in the level of

education of the male entrepreneurs, spanning from no education to higher education. The women, however, generally have the most skilled qualifications but few have higher educations.

Intersectionality

Gender is the principal category used in my research although other differentiating categories such as ethnicity, class and generation will be brought into play as it is virtually impossible to carry out an isolated empirical study on the gender dimension of immigrant entrepreneurship. Thus it is essential to place the research focus on unravelling the relationships between ethnicity, class, gender and culture in the immigrants' own experiences of migration and entrepreneurship. This approach is in contemporary literature referred to as intersectionality, which refers to the relationship between various differentiating categories. The dynamic interrelation of gender, class and ethnicity complicates the research as they are constantly created and recreated by the immigrants. They are not passive recipients of culture, as the symbolic and mental frame of their community is dynamic as well (Cohen, 1985). In this understanding, categories are created in the interaction between individuals who act in relation to appropriateness or inappropriateness. Thus categories are not to be understood as the cause of certain behaviour but as the effect of such behaviour (Staunæs, 2003:104).

Intersectionality is a useful concept to use in the pursuit of grasping the interconnections of the traditional differentiating categories such as gender, race, ethnicity, class, age and sexuality (Staunæs, 2003:101). According to Staunæs (2003) the concept is a "*useful analytical tool in the tracing of how certain people get positioned as not just different, but also troubled and in some instances, marginalised*". On the basis of the lived experiences expressed by the immigrant entrepreneurs in their biographical narrations, it will be possible to comprehend the diversity and complexity that are at large in their lives. This perspective seems to me to be underexposed in the research field of immigrant entrepreneurship and it therefore needs to be brought to attention. In my approach I shall focus on how gender interacts on other social differentiation and power relations such as ethnicity, class and generation (see also Prieur & Christensen, 2005). Primarily gender but also to a lesser degree class and generation serve as categories that transcend the ethnicity prism of conventional research on entrepreneurship in the attempt of providing new dimensions to underexposed aspects of this scientific research field.

With an intersectional perspective I attempt to capture the complexity of subject positions both in social and discursive practices (See also Staunæs, 2003:104).

In my approach I also move the focus from an essential ethnic being to a constructed becoming, where I give priority – not precedence – to gender though without neglecting the influence of and relationship to other categories such as ethnicity, class and other differentiating categories. In this study gender is given priority, as I find this particular category the most predominant in the empirical material. The aim of this perspective is to contribute to the new research interest in a gendered understanding of causes, processes and consequences of immigrant entrepreneurship and, furthermore, to include an intersectional perspective in order to show how gender, ethnicity and class interact in the process of migration and entrepreneurship.

Existing theories on immigrant entrepreneurship do offer plausible explanations as to why some immigrants become entrepreneurs. However, these approaches seem to be insufficient on their own - partly due to the fact that they overlook the individuals' own influence on their course of life and the gender dimensions of social activity. The traditional approaches place focus on elements such as culture, ethnicity and structure, but not so much on migrants as subjects with a sense of self. It is a matter of not seeing individuals as reflexive agents, who are actively taking part in creating and developing their own biography. The challenge is, therefore, to encompass an understanding of the relation between this sense of self and the social context in which the individual is in a constant process of becoming.

Ensuring the continuation of one's biographical story is a central human dimension. Assuming that the individual action is based on reflectivity, the actor is capable of creating his or her own story, which depends on the self-identity and the individual's transformative capacity (Giddens, 1997:54). The point is that the individual is capable of intervening with her or his way of life and reflexively make choices, which largely depend upon one's self-identity and (social) identity. Self-identity is to be understood as a reflective project and a person's identity is expressed through keeping a certain story going.

In my research I will attempt to transcend the gender bias by conducting a more open-framed analysis that allows for gender, with its embodied femininities and

masculinities to emerge from the empirical data, in order to reach the more symbolic meanings of the entrepreneurial practise.

Chapter 3

The Analytical Framework: Defining the Theoretical Concepts

Introduction

Immigrant entrepreneurship can be comprehended as a combination of being given the opportunities and having the personal resources to pursue a dream or an idea. To reach a further understanding of these circumstances I find it fruitful to apply some of Bourdieu's theoretical concepts in the analysis. These "thinking tools", as he preferred to call them, provides an abstract thinking system that organises the details of the complex world. As an analytical framework these theoretical concepts also provide a good amount of explanatory power to understand the implications of gender in subjective production. Furthermore, it enables an analysis that can explain contradiction and investment across space and time (Skeggs, 1997), which is an important dimension to include in relation to migration studies.

What makes Bourdieu so relevant in this context is, in particular, his different forms of capital, which seem to have the capacity to encompass the rather complex interrelationship of agents and the positions in social space that they occupy. In order to understand the movements of the individual it is necessary to gain insight of their social world and the inherited social space from which they access and acquire various amounts of capital assets. The meanings associated with social positions and positions in knowledge are also inherited. The different forms of capital can only exist in the interrelationship of social positions, and it is within these that limitations of or access to which capitals are available to certain positions is to be found. Furthermore, they become gendered through being lived, just like they become classed and raced (Skeggs, 1997) or phrased in another way; from being born into gender, class and race relations, individuals occupy the associated social positions such as "woman", "black" and "working class" (Moi, 1991). To Bourdieu it is within the relationship of the subjective habitus and the objective world of other agents and things that the possibility of changes and self-transformations takes place (Jenkins, 2002:79). The reciprocity of this dialectical relationship between the objective structures and the cognitive and motivating structures is an essential epistemological position of my study.

Self-employment and capital accumulation

Studies on self-employment or entrepreneurship have in the early days been characterised by primarily applying an economic optic. The current practise is, however, placing more and more focus on how social capital is related to entrepreneurial practice and strategy. Social capital as a theoretical concept has already made its way into immigrant entrepreneurship, where it, in particular, is connected to perspectives such as ethnic resources and cultural dispositions. One of the main points here is that the path of self-employment is created through an opportunity based on ethnic resources and networks, which provide access to social mobility. However, when using just that type of capital there is a risk of overemphasising ethnicity and ethnic networks and missing the power struggles that exist in gender, class and ethnic interrelations. Here I believe that Bourdieu has developed some very useful analytical concepts that provide a framework or structure, which makes the analysis of highly complex research issues possible.

Entrepreneurial activities, like other types of activities, derive from the relationship between the dispositions of the individual and the structural limitations of the field at the given time (Bourdieu, 1994b). This makes the concept of *field* central to the analysis and to the understanding of the coherence between or dialectic relationship of agent and structure – the immigrant (entrepreneur) and the Danish labour market. The structure of the field is characterised by an unequal distribution of capital and it is composed of a particular combination of capitals (Bourdieu, 1983). It is the struggles within the field that can be explained and to a certain degree understood by using concepts such as habitus, dispositions, capital, strategies, practices and social positions. The main reason behind the struggles to obtain capital accumulation and in particular symbolic capital is the route to accessing social recognition (Bourdieu, 2000). This will, to a certain degree, lead to a reproduction of social structures such as gender, ethnicity and class. So how do changes and (self-) transformations occur? When immigrants settle in a society where the structural limitations restrain the possibilities for the continuation of a certain trajectory, it may be necessary to apply alternative strategies to accumulate capital and to accomplish social recognition. This transformative process causes changes in both the individual(s) and society as, for example, self-employed women who become more liberated and immigrants who establish ethnic businesses that alter the market relations and consumer behaviour. What is also illustrated here is the important connection between practice, habitus and field, as the changes that

36

accompany migration do in many cases involve a decline of social position, which then might entail a revision of practises and adaptation of habitus.

Defining the different forms of capital

In order to comprehend the social world, Bourdieu reintroduced the notion of *capital* and the accumulation attached to it. Capital comes either in a materialised or embodied form and it enables the agent to approach a position in social space and it takes time to accumulate. He describes three different types of capital that at any given moment in time represent the immanent structure of the social world (Bourdieu, 1983). Depending on the field, capital can present itself in three fundamental guises:

1. *Economic capital* which is a material type of capital that can immediately and directly be converted into money and may be institutionalised in forms of property rights.
2. *Social capital* is immaterial and made up of social obligations (connections or networks) and it is convertible, under certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalised in the forms of a title of nobility.
3. *Cultural capital* which is also immaterial and convertible, under certain circumstances, into economic capital and may be institutionalised in forms of educational qualifications. Cultural capital can exist in three forms: in the *embodied* state, meaning the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the *objectified* state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, instruments, vehicles, etc.), which are traces or realisations of theories or critiques of these, problematics and so forth; and in the *institutionalised* state, a form of objectification which must be seen separately because it confers entirely to the original properties on the cultural capital, which it is presumed to guarantee. An example of this is the valuation of educational qualifications obtained and their convertibility into other forms of capital.
4. *Symbolic capital*, which corresponds to different forms of capital that have been recognised and legitimised. Legitimation is the main mechanism in the conversion to power. Capital has to be regarded as legitimate before it can be capitalised and before it is realisable (See also Honneth 1995).

All of the different types of capitals are context specific and so is their convertibility. Bourdieu's thoughts on this matter are that cultural capital can be acquired in different degrees depending on the period, the society and the social

class. In relation to this he speaks of a domestic transmission of cultural capital, which makes transnational transmissions opaque and makes convertibility difficult due to the unequal distribution of capital that characterises the structure of the field. In relation hereto one could say that some capitals travel better than others. Bourdieu also claims that the educational system contributes to the reproduction of the social structure by sanctioning the hereditary transmission of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1994b). This means that some people who cannot convert their educational capital into economic capital, and are therefore constrained in their attempts to acquire symbolic capital which can lead to an improvement of their social position. This would be an indication of the reproductive character of the systems. Furthermore, the language can be of value as cultural capital; an English person can mostly cash in on the language no matter where in the world he or she is. This does not to the same degree apply to the Turkish or Vietnamese migrants for example, as they have much less of a chance of converting their native language skills into either cultural or economic capital in the country of settlement.

The notion of gender is an important marker in relation to social positions that enables or limits access to cultural, economic, social and symbolic capital. These forms of capital are central theoretical concepts in Bourdieu's cultural analysis. He argues that these various forms of capital are different kinds of resources which are mutually convertible with the possibility of being converted into personal power. For example, under specific conditions cultural capital of a foreign university degree is convertible into both economic capital (wealth) and social capital (prestige and eligibility for legal citizenship) (Ong, 1999). I would argue that this notion of convertibility is not as straightforward or mutual as sometimes alleged. It is, for example, the reality for many immigrants that they cannot convert their educational capital into economic capital, and therefore are constrained in their attempts to acquire symbolic capital, which could lead to an improvement of their social position. It is, however, in my opinion, possible for immigrant entrepreneurs to convert social capital into other forms of capital. An example of such a case is when family or ethnic relations constitute an asset by supplying cheap or free labour in relation to an immigrant's pursuit of becoming self-employed. On this topic I find it appropriate to make reference to symbolic capital as addressed to the practise of capital accumulation in a social system within a relative homogeneous and static environment. What about cultural accumulations in a cross-cultural, trans-national arena, where there are different sets of competing cultural criteria? And what about the differences in opportunities available for men and women - do the opportunity

structures favour either female or male immigrant entrepreneurs? However, as the results from the TSER project indicates this practise is to some extent male dominated.

Symbolic capital is addressed to the practice of capital accumulation in a social system within a relatively homogeneous and static environment. However, the composition of the accumulated capital is not without importance as the access to symbolic capital and recognition depends of the value system of the field. The stride towards recognition is thus very much connected to the access to symbolic capital, which gives the individual or groups of individuals a position of power or domination (Bourdieu, 1994b). On the contrary, lack of symbolic capital or negative symbolic capital might lead to symbolic violence, which can be found in the racialised and gendered labour market.

When conversion of capital is blocked the positions of inequality are maintained. Being disadvantaged in regards to access of capital is of fundamental importance for the individual as it is for the network of social positions. This can also be expressed as biographical resources in terms of biographical background knowledge, which enables us to occupy and utilise the social space in which we live (Alheit, 1995). A way of illustrating this interrelationship between biographical resources and social space can be done using following model:

```
                 ┌─────────────┐
                 │ Capital     │
                 │ Biographical│
                 │ resources   │
                 └─────────────┘
                 ↗             ↖
        ┌──────────┐       ┌──────────────┐
        │ Strategy │       │ Position     │
        │ Coping   │ ←───→ │ Positioning in│
        │ ability  │       │ social space │
        └──────────┘       └──────────────┘
```
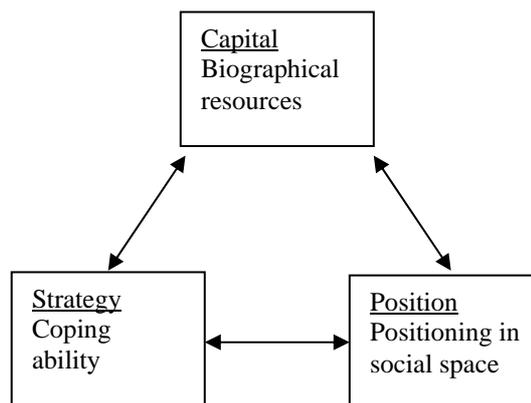
These concepts in the above model are to be understood as determining elements for navigating in any field or society and for the coherence between them as they influence one another. In relation to the strategy concept, Bourdieu's notions of

habitus, practice and field are interesting to apply when investigating how habitus is related to the constraints and possibilities in the surrounding structures. This raises for instance the question of what is embedded and what is embodied in relation to the entrepreneurial strategy and, furthermore, that the codes of cultural rules might be very different to the ones they are accustomed to, and how this to varying degrees can lead to symbolic violence.

Habitus is Bourdieu's mediator between the structures at the macro level and the agents at the micro level. The notion of *habitus* refers to thoroughly learnt schemes of perception and appreciation. The schemes are connected to a certain locality within the social space (Prieur, 2002:110). This means that individuals are strongly governed by the position in social space that they have been born into and by significant others attached hereto. This point is important in relation to understanding the motivation and strategies of the immigrant entrepreneurs in this study, as it relates to their personal and collective history prior to migration. In this perspective the biographical method seems to be in line with this ontology, as it offers an approach that encompasses both a longitudinal historical and a vertical contemporary account. The historical analysis is essential to Bourdieu in order to identify the background for particular phenomenon to occur – to locate the source of the matter. In relation to the historical analysis Bourdieu speaks of how research objects are pre-constructed and therefore it is the task of the researcher to be aware of how he or she influences the work – what he calls "objectification of the objectification" (Prieur, 2002:121). On both accounts, the historical analysis and the objectification of the objectification, the biographical method also emphasises the important role they play in the interpretation of the empirical material.

Habitus is embodied in the individual and is therefore rather rigid, but Bourdieu leaves an opening for a transformation of the habitus in the existing event of changes in the circumstances (Jenkins, 2002:82). In relation to the biographical narratives of the immigrant entrepreneurs this is where a passage opens for intersecting the biographical method and the "thinking tools" of Bourdieu. Essential to this relationship and to that of my research is strategizing, which is an important link between practice, habitus and field. Strategies are to be understood as a result of an ongoing interaction between the disposition of the habitus and the constraints and possibilities that exist in any given field. A field is a structural system of social positions occupied either by individuals or institutions (Jenkins, 1992:85). The concept of field also constitutes an important link between Bourdieu and the

biographical method, as it relates to the location or context of the social action, which is loaded with values and struggles for recognition. Whether values or capital can be exchanged depends on the location. The fields are distinguished by values and certain practices, which shape the opportunity structures of the individual. Bourdieu describes "field" as "a playing field, a field of objective relations among individuals or institutions competing for the same stakes" (Bourdieu, 1993:133). The object of the game is to gather as much legitimacy as possible and thereby gain recognition within the field. In order to do so the agents in the field make use of many and varied strategies, although the agents in most cases are not aware of these strategies. An interesting perspective of field is the concern of constraints and discrimination on the labour market, making immigrant unable to use and/or convert their cultural capital, which may result in a push-effect towards alternative income sources, such as self-employment or illegal labour activities (see also Schierup, 1993). The field is not solely confined to a particular arena of struggle, but is also referred to as the whole social field that underpins or structures all other fields. This "whole social field" may be transferred into other fields as a field-specific representation of itself (Moi, 1999). In the case of this research the labour market is then viewed as the whole social field and the immigrant business arena as the particular field that both are situated within the social world. In both scenarios there are three levels of fields: 1. The particular field (immigrant entrepreneurship). 2. The larger field (self-employment). 3. The whole field (the Danish labour market). This definition makes the field a competitive system of social relations, or one could say an arena of ideological or material struggles, within which there exists certain logic of practice. Practise can be regarded as fundamentally improvisatory in the sense that it has developed as an adjustment due to the relationship between constraints, opportunities and demands of the specific social fields and the disposition of habitus (Jenkins, 2002:179). In relation to immigrants this often leads to challenges and also often to problematic situations for the individuals as a result of migration. The settlement in a new country might entail a genuine or believed mismatch between a person's dispositions (developed in the emigration country) and the opportunity structures and demands of social fields (in the settling country). The logical sense makes the agent choose a reasonable strategy with obtainable goals. Bourdieu makes a reference in *"In Other Words"* to Husserl's when he recalls his distinction between *protention* as in the rather realistic adjustments to the objective opportunities and the *projection* of plans and dreams independent of the constraints of the present. Bourdieu expresses it like this:

Actions which are said to be reasonable differ from rational actions with which everything apparently identifies them, in that they provide the primary profits – success – and secondary profits – approval of the group – that come with submission to realities, that is, to objective chances, without having to pursue them as such, without having to constitute them as a conscious project. One should recall here the Husserlian distinction between protension, the positing of a future immediately inscribed in the present, as an objective potentiality and endowed with the doxic modality of the present, and project, the positing of a future grasped as such, that is, as contingent, liable to pass or not. (Bourdieu, 1990:109-110).

This perspective is interesting in relation to the life planning and the strategies of the immigrant entrepreneurs and to what extent these are reasonable and, furthermore, whether they result in primary or secondary profits.

An important aspect of the field(s) in question in relation to immigrants is the matter of trans-nationality and transmission of habitus and resources from one national arena to another. Such a change of context may have a large effect on the individuals' possibilities for gaining access to social positions, status and recognition, making new and alternative strategies necessary. *Strategies* and strategizing are central notions to Bourdieu as they serve as links between practise, habitus and the field. Strategy has a prominent position in the biographical method too, in particular in connection to turning points (as for example a divorce, unemployment or migration), where the life plan is readjusted and a new strategy is needed:

Change/turning point

↓

Strategy

↓

Transformation

↓

Positioning
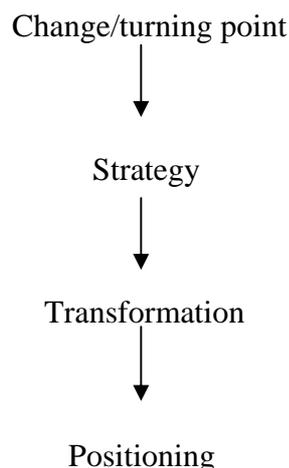
In my analytical work the relationship shown above in the dynamic model is of importance as it captures the essence of the biographical work and the self-transformation among the self-employed female and male immigrants. Thus, the

concept of strategy becomes a central element in the analytical framework, where it connects the aspects of individual resources and coping abilities with the opportunity structures of the field(s) within which the interaction takes place.

Theoretical approaches to the analysis of themes

The initial analysis[9] of the biographical narratives indicates one of the main issues in the life histories and the motivation factors of self-employment – namely the struggles for gaining social recognition and keeping their biographical story going to create continuity in their lives, which is essential to the construction of identity. The concept of *social recognition* is introduced to the analysis because it corresponds to some of the significant themes in the narrations such as discrimination and labour market limitations. The theoretical sensitizing serves as a means to a deeper understanding of the phenomenon being part of the process applied when using the abductive approach in the research design. The other issue or theme which was identified in the narratives is *autonomy*, which is the theoretical concept that covers the themes of independence and flexibility. Even though both themes are integrated elements of Bourdieu's "programme" I will bring two additional theories into the framework of the analysis in order to gain a more specific and nuanced understanding of the motives of these immigrants for becoming self-employed.

The theoretical concept of social recognition

In order to strengthen the understanding of social recognition, which is one of the main themes in the research, I will now present the theoretical approach of Honneth who gives a very thorough description of the concept. The importance of recognition is also a significant aspect in the work of Bourdieu, as he perceives recognition as a totally fundamental dimension to human relations (Järvinen, 2000). He does, however, not go so much into details on how and in which way social recognition is to be comprehended and how it is obtained by individuals or groups of individuals.

Honneth in his thinking on society has a normative critic which he shares with the Frankfurter school as one that is capable of informing of the pre-scientific instance, in which its own critical point of view is rooted non-theoretically as an empirical interest or moral experience (Honneth, 2003:24-25). According to Honneth, critical theory is characterised by incorporating its own role in relation to the surrounding

---

[9] See chapter 6 for elaboration.

society, both in terms of its applicability and origin. Thus, critical theory has an emancipating role in relation to the social relations which it is a part of. Critical theory distinguished itself from other attempts on social critic by attaching the critical point of view to a pre-scientific praxis, as well as a collective moral experience or social interest. This is, according to Honneth, forgotten in the process of critical theory development and it is essential for its future to rediscover this element (Honneth, 2003:25-29). To Honneth this is a crucial problem for critical theory and it has been rooted in pre-scientific interests or experiences. He argues that the main problem of actualising critical theory on society lies in the task of categorically making the social world reachable in such a manner that a moment of the inner world's transcendence yet again becomes visual (Honneth, 2003:29). He wants to render visible all elements in making social science, beginning with the intentions and pre-assumptions behind the scientific research. Moreover, he advocates for a reintroduction of the normative theory, an ethic theory on the good life – normative about human self-realisation – where it is necessary that the concept of recognition is capable of placing few but successful conditions for the realisation of the good life (Honneth, 2003:12-13). Honneth proposes an alternative to Habermas' lingo-theoretical formulation of the communication paradigm and he introduces violation of identity demands developed in a social cohesion, which creates the moral experiences that gives the needed pre-scientific instance (Honneth, 2003:36).

Honneth assumes that social class differences are not an out-dated category, but indeed still a very useful concept. The pre-scientific fundament of the theory of recognition is that the weak, deprived and suppressed groups have a resistance potential (Honneth, 2003:57). On this point Honneth leans more towards Giddens, who believes that individuals can exercise counter-power, than towards Bourdieu who does not place much possibility for reaction or social mobility. In this sense Bourdieu's epistemological/ontological position resembles that of Marx', who did not operate with individuals but with social positions. Moreover, one of Honneth's theses is that while the middle-class expert cultures and political vanguards make explicit formulations and have a normative-based conception of justice, the suppressed classes have a situation of dependency and highly fragmented social moral (Honneth, 2003:59). From a sociological perspective the categories of recognition and violation can be used as analytical categories in empirical research (Honneth, 2003:19).

The basis of this theory is that no theory can be valueless and it will therefore always be normative to a certain extent. It is therefore necessary to declare one's normative mission as a researcher, as being one perspective on "the good life" amongst many. Honneth's theory on recognition has its focus on human self-realisation or "the good life", and the object of recognition as a concept is to propose few but elementary conditions for the realisation of a successful life (Honneth, 2003:12-13). The possibility for self-realisation depends largely on other people's recognition. In opposition to recognition there are corresponding forms of violation, which generate the need and struggle for recognition (Honneth, 2003:18).

According to Honneth social recognition, or experience of recognition from interaction partners, serves as a precondition for building up a personal identity. Thus, denial of social recognition will be experienced traumatically, because it will lead to damage on the personal identity. Recognition can be categorised into three levels: 1. Level of primary relationships like family and friendship. 2. Level of recognition as a person with the moral capacity to participate in the community, sharing legal rights. 3. The level of social solidarity, based on the recognition as a person with a social status (Honneth, 1995). Together these three levels constitute the universal concept of recognition that people struggle for. Attached to each of these levels are different forms of awareness, which are expressions of the fundamental effect of the different levels of social recognition on the individual or groups of individuals. Firstly, the private sphere is concerned with the emotional recognition as in *self-confidence* (Selbstvertrauen). The concern at this level is the relationship between couples, parents, children and friends and, moreover, this relationship constitutes the presupposition for the possibility of inter-subjective relations. It is at this level that fundamental self-confidence is developed through the confidence of own resources and values that are recognised by others. Secondly, the legal sphere concerns the *self-esteem* (Selbstachtung) of the individual or groups of individuals. The central element here is to ascribe to the universal rights and through the attainment of common respect, which releases self-respect as the individual perceives him- or herself as an equal member of society. Thirdly, the solidarity sphere concerns *self-appreciation* (Selbstschätzung) and is based on inclusion in cultural, political and labour communities. Recognition in this sphere is gained through participation in communities where the participation and engagement of the individual is recognised (Honneth, 2003:14). These are ontogenetically development steps in relation to obtaining "the good life", making it a normative-based approach to theory building (Honneth, 2003:15). The three

spheres are each connected to a type of violation that releases a need of recognition. *"Where the types of recognition constitute a normative idea of the good life, are the corresponding types of violation the basis for comprehending the motive for or reason behind the struggle for recognition"* (Honneth, 2003:18). The struggles for social recognition thus become the purpose of social action and a behavioural regulator in social practices (Honneth, 1995a).

Connected to the three spheres are specific types of recognition, which the individual has to achieve in an inter-subjective recognition process in order to establish a positive relation to oneself and the surroundings. The success of an individual's self-realisation depends upon other people's recognition (Honneth, 2003:90). The idea of individuals relying on other people's acceptance of them as legal, social, moral and equal individuals is not exclusively Honneth's as it can also be found in many variations in equally many theories. Habermas is of course one of them, but also in the theoretical approaches of Nobert Elias can this idea be found.

Recognition in terms of care establishes a fundamental self-confidence that is essential for being able to achieve one's goals, which is the essential aspect of the first sphere and a fundament for the individual's capability of omitting in an inter-subjective relationship. It is here that the individual experiences a reciprocal emotional dependency relationship in the encounter with the concrete other and establishes self-confidence in relation to one's resources and values, which are received and recognised. In the other sphere – the legal one – the achievement of recognition is reached through legal relations inasmuch as all individuals are members of the society and thereby the individual gains common moral respect as an autonomous acting legal subject, who is capable of exercising justice. This respect is then transformed into self-esteem and self-respect as the individual experiences her- or himself as an equal member of society and as a morally capable person who participates in public discourses about important issues, which ensures the individual's possibility of exercising autonomy. In the third sphere – the solidarity sphere – recognition is achieved through the relationship that the individual has with the community, in which the participation and engagement of the individual is recognised. It is through the group, the community, and the society that the individual is valued for his or her characteristics in terms of particular abilities, qualities and contributions, which are of benefit to society. This type of appreciation releases self-esteem and self-respect, which makes the individual capable of perceiving her- or himself as a member of the community based on

solidarity (Honneth, 2003:92-93). Thus, recognition is a basic element in the process of both inclusion and integration in society. The normative integration process depends largely on its potential for creating stable structures of recognition (Honneth, 2003:106). This particular point of view seems to fit the situation of many immigrants in Denmark and serves as an example of why pressure through financial and legal restraints does not necessarily lead to more integration but rather the contrary.

Each sphere of recognition has to be lived out in order to accomplish the three fundamental forms of self-awareness (Honneth, 2003:15). Recognition in terms of rights ensures that the individual has the basic possibilities of realising his or her autonomy – the highest form of self-esteem/respect can only be realised when the individual is recognised as an autonomous legal subject. The appreciation of oneself as a member of a solidary community becomes quite significant in modern society where individualism is so pronounced (Honneth, 2003:17). Furthermore, each of the three forms of recognition can also be regarded as integration components, where the single form of recognition is a requirement for a fully integrated society (Honneth, 2003:17). The thought of social integration being comprised of three different levels can also be found in the work of Nobert Elias, who operates with a similar division of levels as well as the concept of recognition.

In the cultural value community the moral unfairness is represented by the incidents where one or more persons are humiliated, violated or disrespected in such a manner that their competences and abilities do not receive any recognition. Such violations damage the self-esteem of the individual or the group, which refers to the feeling of being socially significant in a given social community (or field) (Honneth, 2002:18). The element of violation is also very much present in Bourdieu's theoretical presentation, but he refers to the phenomenon as symbolic violence.

According to Honneth the struggle for social recognition is a political struggle, which has some resemblance to the struggles of fields in Bourdieu's terminology. I am here referring to the accumulation of capital and the ultimate gain of symbolic capital, which in many ways corresponds to social recognition. The global volume and the composition of capital are also important elements of the convertibility of the accumulated capital (Honneth, 1995:17). Lack of recognition may be converted into a social dynamic of contempt. Contempt is a category that can be made subject

to a critical theory, which then through analysis will locate the possibilities of emancipation (Honneth, 2002:20). Contempt is, according to Honneth, an important mediator of change as it is through the experience of feeling contempt or feeling devalued as an individual or a group of individuals that people revolt and generate changes. In connection to this experience of the social world individuals have a sense of injustice or "injustice consciousness" that instigates and motivates revolt when the experience of injustice become too severe. Referring to the situation of many immigrants it is not uncommon that they experience misrecognition in the settling country. The experience of hostility of the settling country may lead to a feeling of contempt and generate disintegration.

Individuals meet in social interaction with normative expectations and if these are not met it will be followed by moral requirements. However, the structures of recognition are not only of importance to the individual but are also crucial to the coherence of society as such in terms of *the normative integration process of society depends on its potential to create stable structures of recognition"* (Honneth, 2003:106). According to Honneth it is disintegration and the destruction of stable structures of recognition that breaks the subject's basic trust and lead to despair and misery.

Labour constitutes a central role in relation to gaining social recognition in modern societies where individuals are no longer expected to follow in the footsteps of the older generation(s), but have the possibility of making choices or at least that is the main impression of the labour situation in modernity. This expectation might have an encouraging effect on the strive for social mobility or it might be very discouraging when reality time after time proves to be different, inasmuch as there are increased possibilities for the individual in modern life on paper but the reality for many is far more structurally and culturally determined - here lies a tension between the individualistic approach, cf. Giddens and the more structuralistic orientation cf. Bourdieu. Moreover, the experience of work takes up a central place in relation to the meaning and importance of work. It is economically rewarded and thus a social regulation of work, which is a part of the form of recognition named social appreciation. The work process is not in itself the emancipatoric process of consciousness, but it must be embedded in moral experience relations to such a degree that its role in preserving social recognition is kept intact (Honneth, 2003:44). In correspondence with this thought the accomplishment of recognition from the surrounding environment has a large effect on the identity construction of

the individual as much of this construction is developed via labour and work relations. Moreover, the feeling of self-confidence related to the moral issues of the society or social field where the respect from others is gained through living by the moral codes, which then will lead to social recognition. Work is a very good example of this cohesion as it is morally right to have a job and to be able to support one's own family. Such a standard seems to be of particular concern to males from countries with rather traditional social structures and although it might change towards more gender equality, there still seem to be some elements of truth in this contemplation.

The debate about unpaid domestic work is important to the relation between work and recognition. The organisation of work is closely related to the ethical norms that at any given time regulate the social appreciation and recognition system – in a culture dominated by masculine values. What is the impact on the individuals' self-perception and the precondition for a positive self-perception? The recognition structures of society have their foundation in the possibility for individual identity development based on the experience of recognition. This is directly connected to the organisation of society and the allocation of work, because with the cultural definition of the hierarchy of the tasks it is determined what goal of social appreciation the single person will receive for his or her activity and the attached qualities (Honneth, 2003:46).

The social feeling of unjustness is also dependent on the efficiency of the social control. Furthermore, behind the integration facade of late modernism there might well exist a hidden field of moral-practical conflicts, in which the old class conflicts are reproduced in new and very much socially controlled and highly individualised forms (Honneth, 2002:55).

The notion of injustice consciousness is meant to highlight that the social morale of the suppressed groups does not at first incorporate a positively formulated ideal conception of the just society, but expresses a very sensitive feeling of violation of the morality demand that is assumed to be just. (Honneth, 2003:56). With the notion of injustice consciousness Honneth makes an attempt to define humanity, which is an active limitation to what humans can endure and which is a motivating force behind its actions (Juul, 2003:245).

A feeling of moral injustice arises from the situation where expectations of recognition are not redeemed, which leave the individual with a moral experience of social contempt and this experience is followed by feelings such as shame, anger and resentment (Honneth, 2003:37-38). It is this social contempt that Honneth believes to be the motivating power of history, as it generates mobility towards social changes for more equality. Social struggle can also be characterised as a moral struggle for recognition, which takes place within linguistic, cultural, political and family arenas.

The challenge of modern society is to restructure the significant structures of recognition, which are defined as the regulation and evaluation of labour (Honneth, 2003:44). In relation hereto the notion of labour market might be incorporated and emphasized as significant in respect to the integration of both the individual and the society. Because labour is an expression of the individual's contribution to society is it also via labour that the individual has the possibility of gaining self-appreciation because of his or her competences and potentials. According to Honneth recognition is a condition for a successful or good life, which explains why unemployment can lead to depressions (Honneth, 2001:108).

The theoretical concept of autonomy
Giddens' structuration theory is based on the belief that social structures are at the same time are constituted by human agency and by a medium for this constitution (Giddens, 1984:121). The main point in this position is that it is the duality of structures which is a central concept in the attempt to avoid the dualism of agency and structure in the theory. He emphasises the importance of explaining how it is that structures are constituted through social action and reciprocally how action is constituted structurally when investigating the structuration of social practices. Giddens place more agency in the individual as he refuses to conceive structures as purely constraints on human agency. Instead he refers to it as "enabling" (Giddens, 1996:161). He describes structuration as a dynamic process in which structures are realised or actualised (Giddens, 1977:121), and furthermore, he states: *To study structuration is to attempt to determine the conditions which govern the continuity and dissolution of structures or types of structure* (ibid:120).

Giddens makes a significant distinction between *social structure* and *system* where the former refers to the immediate observable patterns of social interaction and the latter is similar to what Ricoeur has defined as the virtual order of generative rules

and resources. According to Giddens "*all processes of the structuration of system of social interaction involve three elements: the communication of meaning, the exercise of power, and the evaluation and judgement of conduct*" (Giddens, 1977:132-3). One could argue that Giddens here refers to elements of domination relations, not dissimilar to the perspective of Bourdieu and many other sociological theorists through time, but in Giddens' theory individuals are endowed with resources and competences to change their situation. The consequence of this position is that structures are forever changing in accordance with the individual activities and social interaction taking place within the particular system. The degree of reflexivity of the agent is higher in Giddens' structuration theory than that of Bourdieu's on the social world. In Bourdieu's terminology, systems are in a sense replaced by fields, which are given a stronger placing than Giddens' places in systems, making more room for the subjects to influence them (Bryant & Jary, 1991:7). Production and reproduction are based on this reciprocal interaction between agent and structure and here again it is a matter of interpretation of the theories, as to how similar or dissimilar the approaches are. In the perspective of this investigation individuals possess resources and competencies to change their life course or steer in a particular direction although to very different degrees and provided that the opportunity structures allow for changes and mobility.

As in the biographical research Giddens stresses the importance of autonomy in modern society where individuals have no longer the same extent of social belonging through collectives or communities, but that we are all the master of our own life history and trajectory - at least to some degree and some more than others. Autonomy is here understood as the reflexive individual's endeavour to acheive continuity and emancipation or independence in one's own life course. In this comprehension, the trajectory is made up by intended and unintended actions and connected to the former is the meaning construction of individuals and groups of individuals.

Attached to the concept of autonomy is self-identity and biography. Self-identity is not to be found in behaviour or action, but is located in the ability to keep a particular story about oneself going, and it is the individual's biography, which is organised in his or her reflexive and routinised behaviour and actions. In late modernity self-identity is a reflexive project where individuals are what they can make of themselves; the whole existence is a matter of making choices in order to maintain a story about oneself – the life history or biography. All the considerations

or choices that the individual makes become a part of the ongoing biography and thereby also identity (Kaspersen, 1995:141). A part of self-identity is the choice of life style or as Giddens expresses it, in modern social life the concept of lifestyle is given a particular meaning. The more tradition is losing its grip, the more is everyday life reconstructed on the grounds of the dialectic correlation between the local and the global, and the more individuals are forced to make choices about life style among many different possibilities (Giddens, 1996:14). The reflexive organised life planning thus becomes a central part of the structuration of self-identity, where the individual is presumed to consider the risks attached to the strategy.

Giddens stresses that there is a connection between lifestyle and life planning regardless of class or social strata, but that individuals in the lower end, have very limited opportunities for choosing a certain lifestyle that corresponds to a particular life planning. In this perspective lifestyles refer to the decision making and action taken even in circumstances of great material limitations. Class differences and other fundamental divisions such as gender and ethnicity can partially be defined in terms of unequal possibilities of self-realisation and empowerment. In practice this inequality is connected to the modern institutions' contradictory production of hope or possibility of emancipation on the one hand, and suppression of self-realisation on the other, which creates differences, exclusion and marginalisation of some groups (Giddens, 1996:15).

Life planning is dependent on the ability of being present and the feeling of being in the world, which generate the self-knowledge that is necessary for making visionary plans and construct a desired trajectory (Giddens, 1996:90). Life planning is constructed through reconstruction of the past in correspondence with the probabilities of a trajectory of the future. A main purpose of life planning is to take control over one's own life and thereby generating autonomy in the life history. Such action involves risk taking as it confronts the individual with various different options and the individual must therefore at times be prepared to abandon the path of the past and consider new forms of action, where the established habits and routines cannot be applied (Giddens, 1996:91). Life planning does in this definition become more a matter of projection, when the individual is given the opportunity of hoping and dreaming of another future more or less regardless of barriers and limitations, than of protension, the more realistic adjustment strategy in Bourdieu's approach.

52

Towards an understanding of gender

In a theorising sense my aim is to make a small contribution towards the development of a more adequate and up-to-date approach to immigrant entrepreneurship in contemporary European welfare state societies by incorporating a gender dimension into existing theories. First of all, it is necessary to explicate the meanings and complications of gender in the context of this project. Being a man or a woman is not a fixed state, but a condition actively under construction – a becoming. Womanhood and manhood are thus not fixed by nature, but can rather be understood as the way we conduct ourselves in everyday life and construct ourselves as feminine or masculine persons (Connell, 2002). Women and men are often seen as natural groups that are subject to distinct behavioural norms and values. This perception is quite regrettable because comprehending the ways that men and women form their gendered identities as a dialectic process involves the limitations and possibilities set by society (Lorber & Farrell, 1991) as well as the resources they possess. Judith Butler puts forward the concept of "performative identities", defined as the identity categories at the centre of women's and men's lives that are fashioned through our involvement with, and subjection to, cultural and linguistic codes (Butler, 1990). The self is then rather a product of sexuality and gender than of psychological capacities and emotional needs. It is the gendered self created through performance and conditioned by the cultural representations of masculinity and femininity that is predominant in any given society. Being born into a specific culture then influences the perception of gender identity, which changes over time, but often in quite a ridged manner. The possibilities of change can in this comprehension be compared to the perspective of Bourdieu, who also understands the occurrence of change in the fields as something that happens in a very rigid manner over longer periods of time. The developments in society make these changes possible, like the influence of industrialisation on women's participation on the labour market and the consequences of this change on women's and men's identity construction. Moreover, the situation has generated new relations as, for example, the women's movements for the right to vote, which exemplifies how individuals can exercise influence over the system, but again it is most often a very slow process.

When applying gender to an analytical context it is not so much the mere distinctions or differences between the genders as it is the relationship between them that is important to focus on. This analytical approach makes it possible to

expose what is related to gender and not just differences. Having said this, it is worth emphasising that gender here is to be understood as social structures and not merely a bodily expression of the sexes. The development of a gender identity is connected to social definitions (being a basic dimension of the social personality) as well as to biological and psychological aspects of the individual's development. Furthermore, understanding gender relations cannot be separated from other social definitions such as class because gender is also defined within a class conception (Bourdieu, 1995).

Being a man or a woman is connected to the sexuality with reference to masculinity and femininity, which are social constructions developed over time in different cultural contexts. The social constructions of gender can vary significantly from one cultural context to another. This perspective brings the gender and cultural dimensions together in this study on the female and male immigrant entrepreneurs, as they move from one cultural context to another. The change in the cultural scene also causes changes in the social structures of gender. In this respect, gender orders of a society can be understood as a particular way of arranging the relationship between men and women both in the sense of discourse and practice (Connell, 2002). The social structures conditions the discourses and practices that are performed in social space, which makes them quite difficult to reach and transform. The practices are expressed in the way of conduct of the agents, who at the same time are conditioned by the structures within a specific context, as dispositions are developed in the social structures (Bourdieu, 1994b). It is thus a matter of the dual process of internalisation of externality and externalisation of internality (Bourdieu, 1994a).

Gender as an analytical concept in migration studies is not reducible to a discussion solely of men or women (Anthias, 2000). It is rather a complex notion that incorporates both context and content in the formation of social processes and power relations. The discussion should therefore be extended to a systematic comparison between women and men as social, cultural and historical agents whose actions are shaped and influenced by both their personal habitus and their social worlds at large (Christou, 2004).

Immigrant entrepreneurs and their diasporic experiences provide a dynamic context for the study of gender, as well as identity and ethnicity; the core being the changes, continuities and transformations in the immigrants' lives, perceptions and positions

54

related to the temporal and spatial reconditioning of their trajectories. Thus, through a nuanced and gendered analysis of biographical narratives it becomes possible to (re)evaluate the positionality throughout the migratory movements (Christou, 2004). In this perspective the social positions of immigrant entrepreneurs become gendered, just as they are ethnicised.

Culture, ethnicity and identity

When using the concept of ethnicity in connection with entrepreneurship it is not to be understood as a static concept, where once you have a certain ethnicity internalised this will remain unchanged over time. On the contrary ethnicity is produced in negotiations between social groups, where the most important form of dialogue takes place within friendships transversely to colour (Bach, 1996). In this sense ethnicity is continuously being created, constructed and always in a transformative process. This approach to ethnicity is closely linked to culture and cultural identity, and in a post-structuralistic definition it makes little sense to have a static and frozen picture of comprehension. My position on this matter can best be described by using Stuart Hall's distinction between two extreme types of cultural identity. According to Hall ethnicity can be perceived as a matter of either celebration of creativity and performativity or a matter of ethnic absolutism (see also Prieur, 2004), where he places himself between the two, making cultural identity bound to both an individual initiative and a collective identity of the ethnic group.

I also touch upon identity construction as a matter of adaptation in relation to settling in a new society, where the social identity of the migrant has changed its character in correspondence to the change in social position and recognition. But then what is social identity? One way of conceiving the concept is that of social identity being a characteristic or property of humans as social beings. The word identity embraces two meanings; the first being a concept of absolute sameness – to be identical, and secondly, a concept referring to the distinctiveness that has a certain degree of continuity over time. Addressing the idea of sameness from two angles establishes the possibility of viewing the concept of identity in terms of respectably similarity and difference. Social identity is then a matter of the ways in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals and collectivities, where similarity and difference are the dynamic principles of identity, the essence of social life (Jenkins, 2004), or as Simmel expresses it:

The practical significance of men for one another … is determined by both similarities and differences among them. Similarity as fact or tendency is no less important than difference. In the most varied forms, both are the great principles of all internal and external development. In fact the cultural history of mankind can be conceived as the history of the struggles and conciliatory attempts between the two (Simmel, 1950:30)

The relation between the self and the other may also be defined as "*the internal and the external moments of the dialectic of identification: how others identify us, and the ongoing interplay at these processes of social identification. This is also, simultaneously, a matter of how we identify them, how they identify themselves, and so on. Social identification is the emergent product of these processes*" (Jenkins, 2000:7). Identification can be observed in a distinction between two ideal types, the first being self- or group identification (internally-orientated) and the categorisation of others (externally-orientated). In relation to collective identification there are thus two analytical distinct ways for their social constitution; either as groups or categories. The distinction is based on the fact that groups are collectives, i.e. are known as groups to themselves, whereas categories are constructed in the process of making social analysis or other types of knowledge generation (Jenkins, 2000:8). Social identity is never unilateral (Jenkins, 2000) as identification is always a matter of both personal and social identity – or the internal-external dialectic of self-image and public image. These two types of images encounter in social interaction, where the self-image of how we would like to see ourselves meet the public-image of how other people see us (Jenkins, 2000:11). In this ongoing process the transformation of social identity is developed, but the discrepancy between the two types of identities will cause latent conflicts. Goffman talks about the tension between *I*, the spontaneous self, and *me,* social constraints within the self. This tension is reflected in Goffman's work on what he refers to as *the crucial discrepancy between our all-too-human selves and our socialized selves* (Goffman, 1959:56). In his work on *stigmatisation* Goffman continues his study on the social construction of social identity. To be stigmatised is according to Goffman a matter of a discrepancy between the apparent social identity and the actual social identity, which makes the individual discredited. A reaction to this situation is that the stigmatised person strives for social acceptance, which is not dissimilar to social recognition.

Bridging Bourdieu and the biographical method

The task of integrating Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical concepts – or thinking tools – into the approach of the biographical narrative method is somewhat of a challenge,

but I do, however, not consider the two approaches to empirical research to be mutually exclusive, although it is an attempt with some inherent difficulties, in particular because of the differences in their agency concept. Bourdieu leaves very little room for the individual to influence her or his life situation and actively take part in their own life planning and identity construction. Even though Bourdieu sets out to bridge the gap between agent and structure, he still ends up in more of a structural position, where the structures seem rather deterministic in the shaping of the agent's paths of life. The biographical method, on the other hand, takes the departing point from the individual and focuses on how the self-biography is created within a given frame. In terms of questioning the subjectivity of the narrator of the biographical interview the scientific validity of their narrations may be defined as *"If people define situations as being real, then they are real in their consequence"* (Thomas, W.I. in Becker, H.S., 2005:17)). In this sense reality is not a matter of objective truth but rather a subjective or experienced reality, which can be acknowledged as objective existing. Furthermore, the phemenological distinction between the experiences and activities by social actors as common-sense constructed and the interpretive activity of the researcher are also important elements of the scientific credibility of the method (Apitzsch et al., 2000).

The individuals are seen as actively taking part in the shaping of her or his biography and do not merely follow a particular path, but make choices based on desires, needs and goals. Bourdieu touches upon this matter when he speaks of how the structured opportunities and the goals of the individual are closely related (Järvinen, 2000). In this respect agency plays a role in the shaping of a person's trajectory, but the structures create the boundaries or framework for the possibilities of action – i.e. the opportunity structures.

What these two positions represent is the epistemological struggle of the dialectical relationship between agent and structure. Both positions place importance on the relationship, but still with emphasis on either the former or the latter. This does, however, not mean that they cannot talk together, even though Bourdieu has been known to be very critical of the biographical narrative method and in particular of the biographical coherence. Bourdieu emphasized his critique by writing the article "The Biographical Illusion" (translated by Eva Bertram from "L'illusion biografique" in Actes de la Recherche en science socials no. 62/63,1986), where he attacks the biographical method or life history for being nothing but social implacable products of art. This attack has an epistemological point of departure

and he seriously questions the scientific validity of life histories or biographies as a source of empirical data and does not acknowledge and recognise the construction of reality it produces/generates. In respond to this critique I wish to cite Denzin, who argues that: *"The point to make is not whether biographical coherence is an illusion or reality. Rather, what must be established is how individuals give coherence to their lives when they write or talk self-biographies. The source of this coherence, the narratives that lay behind them and the larger ideologies that structure them must be uncovered, but Bourdieu's general position glosses (over) the complexities of this process"* (Denzin, 1989:62). Denzin's critique might have been appropriate at the time, but when reading research of a later date, Bourdieu has noticeable applied a method not dissimilar to that of the biographical narrations (see for example "The Weight of the World"). In his later work he too makes use of in-depth qualitative interviews to access the knowledge and experiences of individuals in order to gain information about the lived life, acknowledging the construction of meaning created in the interaction of individuals and by the boundaries that surround them. Thus, it still remains the latter - structures - that influence the individuals the most, as they set the possibilities and constraints of action. In my research project I too seek to bridge the dualism of agent and structure with all the possibilities of ending up being more on the one side than the other – one always will. However, it is my opinion that by bringing elements from both positions into the framework of the research I will strengthen my attempt of doing sociological research which encompasses the epistemological approach of reality being constructed socially through the reciprocal relationship between agent and structure.

Bourdieu did not at all approve of the sharp distinction between theory and method, which prevails in sociology. This position based on a more integrated relation of theory into method, does not differentiate much from that of the approach of the biographical method, which is also based on reciprocity in the relationship between theory and the empirical data, or as Apitzsch refers to it "the missing link between method and theory (Apitzsch et al., 2000). In his own work Bourdieu was constantly testing his concept of theoretical notions through his empirical data (Järvinen, 2000) – which is not unlike what I attempt to do in my research. This research practise is to some degree in line with that of the constant comparison method in biographical research, where the results of the analysis are confronted with new empirical data and (re)validated through this.

Epistemologically, the two approaches to empirical research have quite different perspectives on the duality of agency and structures. So why bring them together – and how? A central argument for this is that I find them quite complementary and at certain points even alike. Bourdieu can provide the biographical method concept with some very useful analytical thinking tools - an analytical framework - and the biographical method can open up for a less structuralistic approach, where the agent to some extent is able to influence his or her trajectory and therefore is able to make a difference. In the following chapter I shall present the biographical method approach as it is understood and applied in this research.

Chapter 4

Methodology and the Biographical Method

A general introduction

My methodological approach is sociological in the sense that I try to bridge macro and micro level aspects of immigrant entrepreneurship research based on a production of empirical material through biographical narrative interviews. The presentation of a biographical story can be seen as a social construct in its own right, and the methodology and methods of reconstructing life histories out of oral biographical representations are being continuously developed: *"Researching the biographical as social entity implies both the question of the social function of biographies as well as the question of the social processes that constitute biographies"* (Fischer-Rosenthal, 1991:253). Thus this conception of biographical research encompasses both the social reality and the experienced world of the individual, which gives the approach a dialectic comprehension. One of the objectives of doing biographical research is to identify empirically founded concepts, in a declared necessity of letting the concepts define the case or theoretical constructions. However, before I go into further details about the biographical method I will turn towards Grounded Theory because the approach to (modern) biographical method that I am inspired by, has been reinterpreted in terms of the Grounded Theory.

Introducing Grounded Theory

Doing empirical-explorative research calls for an inductive or abductive approach with as few presumptions as possible, making the biographical narrative method a good option. The way biographical method has be reinterpreted in terms of Grounded Theory, can be comprehended as an important methodological frame for understanding the biographical method, that is based on the narrative interview such as the method developed by Fritz Schütze (1984). One of the core purposes of this approach to research is to systematise the principles of qualitative method, in order to avoid the suspicion of subjectivity and arbitrarily conduct that the qualitative orientated research is surrounded by (Kontos, 2001). Grounded Theory is not dissimilar to other qualitative research methods as it too builds on data such as interviews and field observations, and a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods is also an option in data analysis The main difference between the

methodology of grounded theory and other qualitative research approaches the central role of theory development and that this is based on inductive or abductive conduct. Throughout the course of analysing the empirical data hypotheses are contested and verification is sought as a means to oblige to the demands of scientific research. This is done by striving for developing a theory of great conceptual density and making constant comparisons (Strauss & Corbin, 1998:274).

Grounded theory was originally introduced by Glaser and Strauss (1967) in *"The Discovery of Grounded Theory"* and this pioneering book served three main purposes. Firstly, the method offered a rationale for a theory that was grounded, in the sense that theory is generated and developed through the interplay with empirical material. Secondly, it suggested the logic for and specifics of grounded theories and thirdly, and lastly, it aimed to legitimate conscious qualitative research (Strauss & Corbin, 1998:275). In their book, Glaser and Strauss emphasize that they have *"raised doubts about the applicability of these (the usual) canons of rigor as proper criteria for judging the credibility of theory based on the use of this methodology. We have suggested that criteria of judgement be based instead on the detailed elements of the actual strategies used for collecting, coding, analyzing, and presenting data when generating theory, and on the way in which people read theory"* (Glaser & Strauss, 1967:224). In their own theory, Glaser and Strauss place great importance on the structures and strategies of the whole empirical research process from collecting to presenting data. In this perspective there is an embedded ethical dimension of the production of scientific knowledge and the role of the scientist in ensuring a certain degree of validity in the research. Thus, the grounded theory methodology becomes a way of comprehending, organising and conceptualising empirical data, and it explicitly involves generating theory and doing social research as a reciprocal process (Glaser, 1978). This means that the researcher must be open towards the research material and not approach it in an unambiguous manner, which might lead to blindness towards important aspects of the empirical material that represents a specific view of reality. A way of limiting this form of bias is for the researcher to put (epistemological) brackets round her or his preconceived knowledge and perception. Another contribution to this aspect of empirical research is presented by Bourdieu in his reference to the objectification of objectification. Here too the researcher must be conscious of the subjective meaning brought on by his or her approach to the research object[10].

---

[10] I have touched upon this issue in chapter 3.

The central aim of grounded theory is to develop new concepts or theories and not merely to verify hypothesis based on existing theories. Grounded theory is a general methodology for generating theory that has its foundation in empirical data, which is systematically collected and analysed. This is based on the assumption that knowledge is closely linked to time and space and it is therefore necessary to embed these conditions in order to develop adequate theories, which consists of plausible relationships proposed among concepts and sets of concepts (Strauss & Corbin, 1998:276). Grounded theory methodology is designed to guide researchers in producing theory that is conceptually dense – that being the case (or cases) with many conceptual relationships. These relationships, stated as propositions, are, as in virtually all other qualitative researches, presented in a discursive form – "*They are embedded in a thick context of descriptive and conceptual writing*" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967 in Strauss & Corbin, 1998:31-32). The interest in theoretical conceptualisation places focus on patterns of action and interaction between and across a variety of different units, and on revealing processes as these patterns are an expression of changes and evolution. The process-oriented approach enables the researcher to capture specific consequences and their related conditions (Strauss & Corbin, 1998:278).

Theory is developed during the research process, by means of a continuous interplay between analysis and data collection. "*A central feature of this analysis approach is a general of comparative analysis*" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). It is in this sense a constant comparative method, comparing the new findings in the data material with previously analysed material. The way this is done in the present research is by generating hypotheses based on the results of the first stage of analysis the "two-cases scenario", and the making of a larger-scale analysis with additional interviews, bringing new dimensions and more variety into the frame of the analysis, creating more density. This conduct is repeated twice creating three stages of analysis, where each stage adds new concepts and discoveries into the research process.

Furthermore, the empirically based development of theory rests on the idea *that interpretation must include the perspectives and voices of the people whom we study. Interpretations are sought for understanding the actions of individual or collective actors being studied*" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998:274). Thus, the participating actors or groups of actors hold a significant role in the conduct of the research and the researcher also has an important role as the interpreter. This

perspective is in particular applied in the approach of Anselm Strauss who brings attention to the processes of identity construction. Self-identity is here to be comprehended as the reciprocal action between the "self" and the surroundings. It is therefore important to have a point of reference the to agents' subjective constructions of meaning construction and their coping-strategies when these constructions of meaning break down and a potential situation for identity crises arise. Such a situation occurs for example when migrants settle in a new and sometimes very different society, where he or she has to adapt to the context. Under these circumstances it might not be appropriate or even possible to hang on to internalised constructions of meaning, but the individuals are more or less forced to revalidate these and to develop new coping-strategies and constructions of meaning. This is what is called a turning point within the biographical method which can be referred to as "turning points that may undermine previous life planning, devaluate previous biographical investments and create a gap of meaning" (Kupferberg, 1998:246).

This approach to the individual stems from the epistemological position of grounded theory, looking to both the philosophical pragmatism and symbolic interactionism (Apitzsch, 2000). The position is developed as an attack on a deterministic, static ontological position and at the same time also on non-deterministic approaches, as social phenomena are conceived as ongoing changes and not something being static. There is thus an implicit assumption of individuals having the possibility of controlling their lives (to some degree), though they might not always use it (Luhman, 1993). This perception is shared by grounded theory and biographical research through the common perspective of process-orientated research, which also to a certain extent is a part of the ontological perspective in this research, though my position is not quite as voluntaristic as I ascribe more domination to the structures within which social action of individuals takes place. One might say that I have more of a structuralistic approach to social constructuralism. This methodological position is primarily connected to the phemenological tradition in terms of the reciprocity of agent and structure, but it is also influenced by a hermeneutic approach with the aim of grasping the intended meanings of the individual and to reach deeper understandings of the relations investigated (Kvale, 1997).

64

Conceptualisation and generalisation

A concept is an abstraction - or symbol - a representation of an object or one of its properties, or a behavioural phenomenon. In practice the scientist begins the process of research by attributing concepts as keywords for describing the empirical world, such as "integration", "social recognition", "immigrant" and "ethnicity". Concepts serve a number of important functions in social science research. Firstly, they are the foundation of communication in social science research, being a symbol of a phenomenon rather than the actually empirical phenomena as such, they are abstracted from perceptions and are used to convey and transmit information (Nachmias & Nachmias, 1996:6-7). The primary function is thus to enable scientists to understand each other using the same concept to define the same phenomenon. The exact definition of the concept might vary, creating ongoing debates on how to describe the particular part of the empirical world. Secondly, concepts introduce a perspective, i.e. by looking at the phenomenon in a certain way. *"Through scientific conceptualization the perceptual world is given an order and coherence that could not be perceived before conceptualization…."* It permits the scientist, in a community of other scientists, to lift his idiosyncratic experience to the level of consensual meaning, i.e. intersubjectivity. It also enables the individual to carry on an interaction with his or her environment; *"he (or she) indicates to himself (or herself) what a concept means and acts towards the designation of that meaning. The concept, thus, acts as a sensitizer of experience and perception, opening new realms of observation, closing others"* (Denzin, 1989:38). The third function of concepts is to allow scientists to classify, structure, categorise, order and generalize their experiences and observations. The functions of concepts are to a certain extent, at least by some biographical researchers, recognised in the tradition of the biographical method, where theoretical concepts are utilised for in-depth descriptions of sociostructural relations with the aim of understanding the movements of societies (Bertaux, 1981:41). Moreover, in the present study concepts of both theoretical and methodical character are applied to the analysis, as the one is not to be separated from the other, being integrated into the same research process. Similar to this there is a dialectic relationship between empirical data and theory that cannot be completely separated as they interact with one another through the research process. Furthermore, I believe that this approach to social research has similarities to the practice of Bourdieu, whose theoretical concepts were developed through empirical studies, which meant that he abandoned the universal theory model in acknowledgement of the inadequacy of such a rigid and mechanic

approach both to the empirical (making it fit to the theory) data and to the generation of theoretical concepts.

I bring together theoretical concepts of different origin in an attempt to give them new life through the particular composition. This eclectic approach to the research is a strategy that might create problems in relation to diversity of the epistemological positions of the different theories. An example of this is the methodological differences to be found in the theoretical programmes of Honneth, Giddens and Bourdieu in which their epistemological and ontological positions have different points of departure. The position that my research approach stems from is not theoretical in its origin, as it is rather emanate from the biographical narrative method. However, theoretical concepts are brought into play in the research process from the reading of literature on immigrant entrepreneurship and to the conceptualisation of the themes that emerged from the transcriptions and analysis of the interviews.

My strategy of constructing an analytical framework serves the purpose of creating specific demarcations for the *context* within which the *content* of the narratives can be studied and analysed. I then use theoretical concepts to organise the findings of the explorative investigation in a way that makes the data easier to handle in terms of analysing a rather large amount of biographical interviews. I believe that the biographical method offers the opportunity of gaining a better understanding of immigrant entrepreneurship, as to the implications of gender and other differentiating categories in relation to self-employment.

Methodological considerations and consequences
It is on the basis of the empirical material of this project that some of Bourdieu's theoretical concepts have become appropriate to implement in the construction of an analytical framework. However, it is not an attempt to transfer the whole of Bourdieu's "research programme", but merely to make selective use of concepts that can provide particular means for explaining and understanding the empirical findings, which need to be systematised and conceptualised, in order to make sense in a broader social context. Bourdieu stresses the importance of the construction of the research object as being the fundamental scientific action (Bourdieu, 1994:113). He also points out that the object is constructed with reference to how the data is collected. The central theoretical and biographical concepts will be incorporated into a framework for the purpose of systematic analysis.

An important aspect of Bourdieu's methodology is to break away from the "straight-jacket" of positivism in which the object is studied in its pre-constructed form and at the same time trying to avoid the nihilistic relativism of some constructivistic positions. Apart from emphasising the construction of the object he also places great importance on the objectification of the objectification in order to identify from where the researcher's own problem of construction originates. The self-objectification is not merely connected to the problem-constructing phase, but it must continuously be paid attention to throughout the research process. When conducting the analysis there is still need of being conscious of the matter and to integrate it in the analysis. This point is also brought to attention in the biographical method, where the subjectivity, which the researcher transfers to her or his scientific work, must be made explicit. This aspect of doing research, especially qualitative research, is therefore incorporated in the model of analysis.

In relation to the present research it should be mentioned that the fact that both the method and (partly) the empirical data were given beforehand have had quite significant implications, as the issues studied are to a greater extent derived from the empirical world expressed through the lives and experiences of individuals. This gives the research more of an inductive approach as the problem formulation and hypothesis generation is based on the actual empirical reality. This does not mean that I can be purely objective towards the material, one never can, as we always have our heads full of pre-constructions (Bourdieu, 1994:113). It is thus an important factor to look at how my positioning, based on the theoretical and methodological perspectives that I am inspired by, influences the construction of the research object.

The methodological position of this research
The methodology of this research is very much based on the methodology of the biographical narrative method, which can be characterised as containing elements from both the hermeneutical and phenomenological traditions. This combination is to be perceived in an understanding of the biographical method continuously seeking to generate new knowledge through speech and text. This is accomplished by the interpretation of meaning through the hermeneutical spiral[11] where an

---

[11] The hermeneutical spiral is here defined as the interpreted understanding of meanings. The central aim of hermeneutical research is to gain access to the intended meanings behind statements, phenomena and human action through interpretation of these. The interpretation of meaning is done through the hermeneutical spiral, where an understanding is accomplished through a process where the meaning of the different parts

understanding is achieved through a process in which the meaning of the separate parts determines the whole (Kvale, 1997). It is a presupposition of the hermeneutical tradition that the researcher has a certain amount of pre-knowledge of the research field. This condition can, however, have a limiting effect in relation to reaching the intended meanings behind the expressions and on the aim of generating new knowledge. In order to overcome this problem the opened approach to data collection of the phenomenological tradition is introduced to the biographical narrative method. What is applied here is that the researcher must be more susceptible to the information given by bracketing his or her presuppositions and to let the informant speak as much as possible, in order to bring the subjectivity forward as much as possible (Kvale, 1997). Moreover the approach is also based on an abductive knowledge process, where the research takes its point of departure from the empirical data without a particular theoretical angle in mind, although with an acknowledgement of the need of theoretical sensitizing[12] in order to comprehend the new knowledge (Peirce, 1979).

Knowledge about the social world can be gathered and researched in many different ways on the basis of different types of ontological, epistemological and methodological approaches. These are chosen in accordance to personal convictions or deeply embedded pre-understandings of the character of the social world (Jacobsen, 2002:264). Adding creativity to the process of choosing a research field, formulation of hypotheses, and in the running development of concepts and theory, choice of references and the framework for interpretation of the data material can be an advantage in striving for constructing the most fruitful combination for the investigation of the problem, phenomenon or theme (Jacobsen, 2002:265).

Einstein once said that we do not solve problems by using the same methods that created them - so we have to discover new ways. But there is a clear distinction between inventing and discovering something, where the difference lies in creating something out of nothing – creating something new – and discovering new ways of doing things. One could here make a distinction between *creation* and *mimesis*, where creation refers to the idea of the totally free and independent and mimesis, on the other hand, refers to copying or imitating the work of others (Jacobsen,

---

constitutes the meaning of the whole matter (Kvale, 1997:57). This is a continuous process where the parts can change the meaning of the whole, which again can change the parts.

[12] Theoretical sensitizing is here to be understood as the way in which the empirical data, in this case the biographical interviews, are placed in relation to existing theory, which may help to explain and understand the phenomena that are expressed in the data.

2002:265). This distinction can also be applied in relation to the innovative approach to immigrant entrepreneurship. A third way could be a combination of the approaches: using a free methodical approach to collect the empirical data material and then in the analytical stage to make theoretic sensitizing with existing concepts and theories that are chosen due to their ability to help understand the "reality" expressed in the empirical material.

This process can also be referred to as abductive as opposed to the inductive or deductive approaches to empirical research. Abduction may be placed between induction and deduction on a continuum starting with the type of research that is based on grounded theory and ending in the other end with theory testing approaches. Charles Peirce who introduced this notion describes the position of abduction as; *"Abduction makes its start from the facts, without, at the outset, having any particular theory in view, though it is motivated by the feeling that a theory is needed to explain the surprising facts"* (Peirce in Rosenthal, 1993:66). If no theory is adequate, then the development of new concepts or theory is needed and the research will be characterised as grounded in the sense that it has not been investigated/theorised before. On the other hand, theoretical sensitizing might be based on several different theories, which together gives a broad and nuanced exposition and understanding of the research object. This eclectic way of addressing the empirical data by means of using other researchers' work in a combined manner can seem rather incoherent as there might be clear distinctions between the theories or concepts. The purpose of using an eclectic approach on the research objective is, on the other hand, to reflect the reality as it is expressed through the empirical data, and thereby discovering new ways of combining theoretical concepts, creating different perspectives on the social world. It is thus quite important that concept development and theory construction take place after collecting the relevant empirical material. Unlike epistemological empirism, some grounded theory researcher turns against a purely inductive approach and allows for deductive input to the process of knowledge accumulation. This hermeneutic perspective of the epistemology is also acknowledged by some biographical researchers, where the use of existing theory is accepted as long as it is recognised as matching the reality expressed in the empirical material.

Abduction in the understanding of Peirce is a discovery or invention of the hypothesis that directs the knowledge process, which then might suggest a theory. Social science fiction becomes an evident part of the abductive knowledge process

when following the idea proposed by Danermark based on the fact that reality is subjected to a new and unique analytical framework that often breaks with the conventional perspectives, and induces fantasy and creativity to the research (Jacobsen, 2002:273). This construction is, to a large extent, identical with my own methodological approach, as my research too is governed by a combination of the empirical findings and existing theoretical approaches which generate research constellations that are specific to this particular investigation.

Being innovative as in entrepreneurship does not mean that all entrepreneurs make inventions; often it is a matter of discovering new ways of dealing with old problems or just doing things differently by being imaginative and creative. Going into self-employment can in itself be an act of creativity based on alternative thinking and driven by very different motives such as a dream or being pressured to innovate due to structural barriers. Placing this perspective on immigrant entrepreneurship brings forward a more subjective approach of how self-employment becomes a part of the life planning of the individual based on the life chances of the present.

Bourdieu made an appeal to take a critic view on how the researcher influences the conduct of the research in social space. He based this on the acknowledgement of that all individuals occupy a position in physical and social space, and that they are influenced by the various surroundings, which they respond to. Bourdieu expresses this through a quotation by Heidegger from 1934: *"Nothing is more familiar to us than the impression that man is an individual living being among others and that the skin is his boundary, that inwardness is the seat of experiences and that he has experiences in the same way that he has a stomach and that he is subject to various influences, to which he responds"* (Bourdieu, 1997). The idea of constructing the object is based on the necessity to break with pre-constructions and preconceived opinions. It is when breaking with these pre-constructed objects, which seem so self-evident, that sociological science has become more than just a construction of social coherence (Bourdieu, 1994:113-14). In this line of thinking, social space has a central role in regard to the construction of the object, which must be placed in the relevant context of which it is a part. It is not enough to pay attention to the system of the objective relations constructed by the objective form of knowledge, but one must also be alert towards the dialectic relations between these objective structures and the structured dispositions, which they produce. This is thus a dual process of internalisation of externality and externalisation of internality (Bourdieu, 1994:72).

I do, to a certain extent, agree with these epistemological suppositions, and it is widely incorporated in my analysis framework as well as quite coherent with my approach to the biographical interpretative method. Furthermore, I attempt to extend the method with inspiration from Bourdieu's field analysis and the theoretical construction of concepts.

When doing explorative research it does not make sense to adapt or apply a whole theory, when the method itself aims at generating new theory or concepts. It is therefore a selective usage of different theoretical concepts that will construct the analytical framework, with the main purpose of creating some structure in an otherwise loose and perhaps arbitrary model of analysis. My ambition is to construct a model that can embrace the dialectic relationship of objectivity and subjectivity, structures and individuals, which is the core methodological standpoint of this study.

The biographical method

Since the epochal work of Thomas and Znaniecki (1919-21) the biographical method has been based on the approaches which emphasize the significance of subjectivity in social processes (Szczepanski, 1962:560). In this pioneering and legendary research of "The Polish Peasant in Europe and America" their understanding of all social life derives from the perspective that it "*has to be viewed as the product of a continual interaction of individual consciousness and objective social reality. In this connection the human personality is both a continually producing factor and a continually produced result of social evolution, and this double relation expresses itself in every elementary social fact…*" (Thomas & Znaniecki, 1958:1831). With this epistemological approach they place themselves in a position similar to that of many contemporary sociologists who seek to bridge the dualism of objectivity and subjectivity – structures and agents. In this position lies "*a dialectical reason capable of understanding the reciprocal synthetic praxis which governs the interaction between an individual and a social system. We must seek these foundations in the construction of heuristic models which are neither mechanistic nor deterministic*" (Ferrarotti, 1983:20).

Another essential point to emphasize in the study of Thomas and Znaniecki is that the analysis of life history does not primarily aim at individual particularities, but rather tries to unravel which general elements they contain. Through the presented individual life histories, the biographical method is meant to give access to the

reality of social aggregates (strata, classes, culture, etc.) (Kohli, 1981:63). This can be done through the process of analysing a single case and compare to other cases. The biographical research develops typologies, which means an anticipation of typical processes that, on the one hand, stem from certain conditions and are similar and, on the other hand, are different from other typical (life) courses (Kontos, 2001). The conduct of constant comparison is another important aspect shared with grounded theory research in respect to ensuring a high scientific quality of the research outcome, in particular in regards to the avoidance of arbitrary and inadequate verification of the data material.

The biographical method aims to reduce the complexity of reality by extracting the significant, essential and selectively topics from the qualitative data material. On this issue Max Weber pointed out that *reality whether it is natural or social is in length and depth infinitive; therefore must every approach to an analysis of any thinkable phenomenon in reality be selective and guided by values* (Weber in Giddens, 1974:7). Following this methodological approach, research cannot be conducted in a valueless manner and does therefore contain some degree of normativity. It can never be fully objective no matter how hard the scholar tries to carry out neutral and valueless research. This is often referred to as a main problem of qualitative research methods in terms of the researcher's influence on the scientific results reached in the sense that another scholar might reach a very different conclusion. However, one should not underestimate the significance of plausibility and probability in the research results (cf. Harris, 1952) as opposed to the hard facts of the positivistic tradition.

A biography can be defined as a social fact or a social mark or characteristic that everybody has at their disposal. It has its starting point at birth and ends at death and it contains a person's outer life story and psycho-social development. The area of interest is how people form their life histories and a crucial aspect of this is the biographical past, as the life story is influenced by the person's past, by family generations and by the historical relationship of generations. Biographical narrative interviews are the stories which the researcher asks the biographer to conduct in order to get an insight into these relations (Hoerning, 2001). Another way of defining life histories is that they are the construction of how the individual represents aspects from her or his past of relevance to the present situation, in terms of intensions for the future (life planning) by which the individual guides her or his present actions. Thus life histories become not just a collection of all the events of

an individual's life course, but more a matter of "structured self-images" (Kohli, 1981:65). The following notion of identity correspondents with this definition of life history: "*By identity, we mean the symbolic structure that makes it possible for a personality system, to secure continuity and consistency across the changing biographical states and across the different positions in social space*" (Dôbert et al., 1977:9). This definition of identity can also be related to that of Giddens', which also refers to creating continuity in one's live course, or keeping one's biographical story going, as something essential to a person's identity.

A third way of defining life histories is as a system of societal presupposed social differentiated life phases each with their connotation of economic and cultural conditions and continuously changeable codes (Weber & Salling Olsen, 2001). In this definition lies a distinction from the biographical method inasmuch as the life history contains both the lived life and the told story. Kupferberg (1995, 1998) does not use the concept of life phases in his approach to biographical research, instead he applies the notion of biographical events, which, when they occur, often bring on a revision of life planning and creates a redefinition of the biographical project and the personal "self-definition". Events are central points in a life story, also referred to as turning points, and they do not occur without the individual experiences which make them subject to interpretation as a part of a chain, where one event always will succeed earlier events in the history. Moreover, individuals continuously seek to create stories of everything that occurs in their lives in order to make sense of their own biographical story. They experience and interpret events in their life histories as if they were structured with a beginning, a centre and an end. Such a structuration of events gives them a narrative character (Carr, 1985). If an event becomes of particular significance to the individual's biographical story it is referred to as a turning point, where the future life course will, to a certain degree, be influenced by how the individual will handle the situation (Antoft & Thomsen, 2000:159).

Approaches to the life history and the biographical story
The biographical research method can roughly be divided into four main approaches; the agent-oriented, the institutional, the narrative and the cognitive approaches. They each possess their individual characteristics and particular focal points, but are rarely used in a "straight" version, as biographical researchers rather tend to "mix and match" depending on the specific object of the research. In the

following I will present the principles of the approaches in short, followed by a definition of my own approach.

- In the *agent-oriented* approach to biographical method it is assumed that our lives are characterised by biographical projects that we constantly revise. The revisions will be remembered as significant turning points that one always will recall in the biographical or life history. The individual creates her or his own biographical story and if it goes off track in the occurrence of a turning point, it will be revised by doing biographical work, where the individual redefines the biography project with the function of leading the biography in a certain direction. The biographical work can also be defined as biographical structuring, which concerns the structures that are created in the biography (individual) and the biographical patterns (institutional) (Fischer-Rosenthal, 2000). Biographic structuration can be comprehended as the way in which the individual and society cope with a large degree of unpredictability, maintain complex social structures and the increase of opportunities.

- The *institutional approach* to the biographical method has its point of departure in institutions which have quite an influence on the individual in terms of self-understanding and the placing of oneself into a broader context and that this influence can be traced in the biographical stories. In late modern society it is up to the individual to create and find a biographic truth about oneself through biographical subjectivity and praxis. This necessitates a biographical consciousness, which is based on a linear, individual life trajectory made up of different phases. Biographical consciousness in this sense represents a social relation and not just an individual's emotional experiences of the lived life. This approach is hereby suitable for investigating the relationship between life worlds and welfare systems (Otto, 2001). Essential to this approach is also the perception of a trajectory made up of planned events such as weddings, work life and pensions and more accidental occurrences such as unemployment, forced migration and diseases. The latter will often bring on at total revision of the individual's life planning and a redefinition of the biographical project. A person's life history contains many narrations about different events and these are of more or less interest to the researcher depending on the field of investigation. The life trajectory consists of a

successive series of phases such as childhood, youth, adulthood, work life, family life and so on. It is often about one or more of these phases that the institutional biographical research is concerned.

- There are two central elements in the *narrative approach*; firstly, the application of the narrations from the life history as statements, which are transformed into text, and secondly, the text as its own reality as a meaning formatting construction. The approach draws upon the method of text analysis of science literature and on the hermeneutical tradition's focus on creating meaning between parts and entities (Horsdal, 1999). Thus, this approach to biographical research focuses on life as a whole and not just single parts of a person's life history. Life stories are to be understood as multifaceted and multidimensional constructions. The told story is here a central dimension of life histories where the narrator often will include stories about singular parts, occurrences, events and experiences that fit into the life history as a whole.

- It is an assumption in the *cognitive approach* that a fundamental homology exists between the told and the experienced life (Alheit, 1994; Rosenthal, 1993). With the analytical tools of the cognitive approach it is possible to construct the experienced life through the told life – the biographical narration. There is also a general assumption of that regularity and systemising in the narration points in the direction, which the narrator wishes to ascribe to her or his biographical project. The narration can be traced back to the fundamental cognitive figures which is used by the narrator in the attempt to recapitulate experiences from her/his biography and to the "zugzwang" of the spontaneous biographical story. This cognitive reference system, which is a biographical coping perspective, is associated with four phenomena: Personification of biography and events in connection with the existing and changeable social relations; the linkage of events and experiences; situations, life milieux and social worlds as constituting a frame oriented at social processes as well as the total design of the life history as a whole (Kontos, 2001; Alheit, 1994; Schütze, 1984). (Ref: Antoft & Thomsen, 2002)

My position as a biographical researcher can be characterised as primarily being a representative of a combination of the agent-oriented and the institutional

approaches mixed with some elements from the narrative and the cognitive approaches. This particular combination is no incident as it reflects my ontological position of the dialectical relation between agent and structure (voluntarism and determinism), which describe the reciprocal (inter)action that constitutes society. The approach to the biographical research that I have implemented in this investigation is based on the individual having biographical projects and that these are revised when turning points occur. These turning points can be planned like labour migration or unplanned like asylum seeking. The process of migration always involves turning points that concern different aspects of the lived life and moreover, the migration act itself is a turning point and its consequences will create a revised self-biography, which can influence the individual immensely, not at least in terms of changes that become embodied in the persons and reshape their identities. In my approach, I also include the perspective of institutions' influence on the individual in terms of self-perception and positioning of the immigrant entrepreneurs in a Danish context. I do so primarily by accessing the life worlds of the individuals through the biographical narration and the opportunity structures on the labour market. I also use the narrations as statements and extracts of these must be related to the larger biography. Finally, these statements are based on experience, which is expressed through the told story.

The biographical narrative interview can contribute to the understanding of the reality that we all are a part of, even though we might have different perceptions on the same reality. Together these perceptions give a nuanced and multi-dimensional perspective of both the subjectivity of the lived life and on the structures that frame the context within which all social interaction takes place. A supposition of this research approach is that immigrant entrepreneurs can be conceived as agents who are active, although in a restricted manner, in shaping their self-identity in a cross-cultural context. It lies implicitly in the assumption that the agents have the possibility of taking control over their lives, in the light of the changes they face in the new society. In applying this approach to the research of immigrant entrepreneurship, the use of the biographical method seems the obvious choice, as autobiographical narrative interviews give access to life worlds of the reflexive social agents. This provides us with the opportunity to gain insight of an agent's attempt to construct meaning, negotiate identity and choose the appropriate strategies of adaptation (Alheit, 1994; Kupferberg, 1995). Through the biographical method it can be analysed how individuals who act within the complexity of structural-objective factors and social policies, are socialised in specific directions

that influence their occupational development as well as their strategies adopted against exclusion and towards integration (Apitzsch, 2000). The method brings attention to the differentiations of subjective positions and a larger understanding of recognition of informal social processes. It is a way to obtain a deeper and more complex understanding of social dynamics and to discover how latent social capital is used in interaction (Chamberlayne, 2000:321).

Modern biographical method

As the biographical method, to some extent has become recognised within social science and the prevalence of its use among researchers has vastly extended, there have been ongoing developments of the method in different directions. The modern biographical method takes its departure in conditions of late modern society and how the individual copes with it (Antoft & Thomsen, 2002:158). Due to the complexity of late modern society, particularly as induced by the industrialisation and secularisation, the individual is, on one hand, facing an increase in technical, cultural and social opportunities and, on the other hand, more restrictions and dependency-based relationships. This complexity in society necessitates the actor to be both individualised and integrated (Wolfram-Rosenthal, 2000), which is for example expressed in the way in which individuals are only partly included in the subsystems of society, which to some degree has connotations to Bourdieu's concept of field where individuals are also integrated in different fields at varying degrees.

The core object of sociology is social relations and a central focus is the relationship between social dynamics and historical change (Bertaux, 1981:6) – a prism on sociological research that also is present in biographical research, where the essential point of focus is placed on the *relations* and *processes.* Theory building not only requires gaining access to the social relations that constitute society, as it seems inadequate to only look at present social relations in the sense of socio-structural or institutionalised relations. Theoretical development also necessitates that social thinkers incorporate the historical dimension into the scientific research; *"as patterns of sociostructural relations actually ongoing transformations and that the real object of sociological thinking is not only "socio-structures" but also their historical movement"* (Bertaux, 1981:34). Bertaux criticises positivistic researchers for reducing sociological theory to a system of propositions about relations between variables, which he believes to be epistemologically false and practically sterile (Bertaux, 1981:34). This prism of the battle between the quantitative and the

qualitative approaches to sociological research has its off-spring in the acknowledgement that sociological research never will be the same kind of science as the natural sciences. According to Bertaux, the only scientific knowledge we possibly can hope to obtain is of historical character as our present too is history. Sociological knowledge is the knowledge of historically given structures of social relations: the knowledge of the conditions of social struggle, but not knowledge of their outcome. This approach assumes that the life course and the biography are pre-structured by both the historical past and by how the individual has lived her or his life, making the social structures play an active role in the structure of the life course and the biography.

Research design and operationalisation

To the question of how socio-structural relations are to be observed, there can be various different possible answers ranging from surveys to observations and life stories as means of gathering empirical data that reflects the socio-structural relations of a particular reality (Bertaux, 1981:36). Using the biographical approach implies a very broad research design, which enables the researcher to base the conduct of the analysis as well as the theory building on the empirical findings of the social world. The reality reflected in my investigation is based on a relatively small number of biographical narrations, which means that it first of all represents particularity. However, more general aspects might emerge through the development of the analysis.

The sociological object in this study is labour market relations, which the phenomenon of immigrant entrepreneurship is a part of. The relations concern both female and male entrepreneurs and it therefore seems to make sense to include both sexes in the research. Again sociological research is here concerned with *relations* and in my specific case with gender and other differentiating categories. The principle of the research design is rather simple, nevertheless it is rarely applied because of a rather unclear distinction between the theoretical and empirical levels of research (Bertaux, 1981:37). In relation to the biographical method, the principle of dialectic relationship between theory and empirical material has been integrated or embedded in the "heurism" of the method. Being based on grounded theory the empirical data is of vital importance inasmuch as sociological theory is knowledge about the socio-structural relations of the social world. Moreover, the method brings coherence into the research process in which the principles of the dialectical relationship and the sociological thinking are ever present.

One of the fundamental principles of the biographical method is that every single case must be regarded and treated on its own terms in order to conduct a deeper analysis of the latent levels of emotional meaning, which is revealed through turning points and dilemmas in a person's life story. Through these latent meaning levels it is possible to expose macro processes as they are socially constructed. Thus, it becomes a perspective where both the lived life and the told story descent from social interaction, which involves both micro and macro levels of society (Bertaux, 1981; Chamberlayne, Bornat & Wengraf, 2000).

Biographies are socially constructed and they contain both the lived life and the told story that have emerged from social interaction, which involves micro, mesa and macro levels in society.

History
(the lived life)

Told story
(the text)

Context

Subjectivity
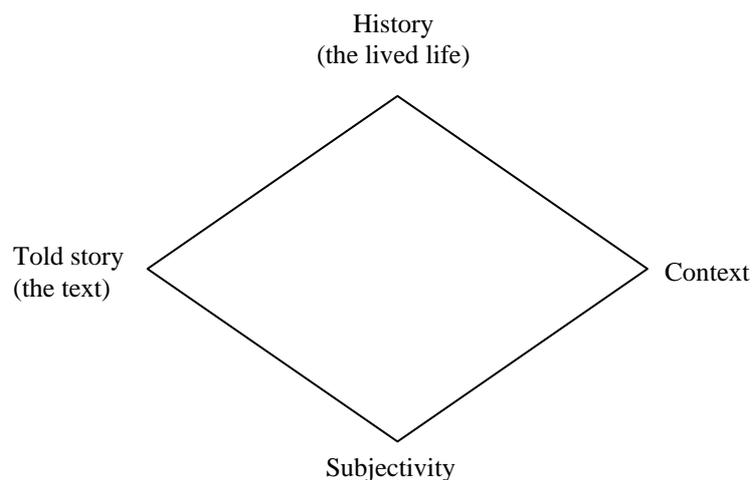
(Source: Tom Wengraf in Chamberlayne et al., 2000:148)

The above model connects the four implicit elements in biographical research. In this *the told story* refers to the actual narrative produced by the interviewee and this must be confronted with *the history* of the individual, which is the uncontroversial hard biographical data. In order to understand the coherence it is necessary to place this part of the interpretation within *the context* relevant to the narration. Finally, the researcher must be aware of *the subjectivity* of the interviewee and also the subjectivity placed into the interpretative work by the researcher. Understanding biographical narrative interviews requires consciousness of all four implicit

components as well as how they are believed to interact. The way of doing so is directed by how the researcher reads and understands the particular interview text.

The integration of micro and macro levels is described by Rustin who states that: "*We seek to combine and interrelate two kinds of "thick description" – that of the individual biography and of the subject's own vocabulary of self-understanding, and of whatever social structural context can be inferred to be relevant to the understanding of that life-history*" (Rustin, 1998a:114). This approach to empirical research has to some extent a heuristic ontology, where micro level phenomena cannot be explained without incorporating the broader social context of macro level and vice versa.

Another way of depicting the levels of concern in biography research is through the relation of theoretical dimensions as done below:

<div style="border:1px solid black; padding:1em;">

The two dimensions of theoretical concern

1. the macro sociological perspective, whereby the focus is on the influence of society and its institutions on the individual life course;

2. the micro sociological perspective, whereby the focus is on uncovering the rules that an individual follows over the course of his or her life, determing why some (and not other) social opportunities were exploited (biographical socialization).

</div>

(Source; Hoerning, 1996:7)

Hoerning's connections between two sociological strata and their theoretical dimensions illustrate a holistic approach to social research. It is an approach that strives for reaching understandings of the dialectic relationship between the structures and the agents through investigation of the processes connected to the relations. Doing biographical research in this perspective thus means to place focus on the processes of social life.

The aim of analysing biographical narratives is primarily to reconstruct the individual's experiences and through these, social processes and the analysis of

them. Experience is developed through the life course, where it is presumed that people belong to a certain class, gender, ethnicity, profession etc., and that they have reached a certain age when they have obtained specific experiences, which are accessible in the biographical knowledge. Biographical knowledge gained through life experience is here to be understood as the layering of different experiences that have been formed independently from the total biographical conception. The layer of experience is developed in the specific situation of the individual, where it is processed and integrated into the already ongoing processes of the biographical projects (Hoerning, 1996:19). Most often new layers of experience integrate reasonably well with the existing layers, as they often have similarities to some degree. However, when major turning points or eruptions occur there might not be any point of reference to which the individual can relate and seek guidance from past experiences. In the case of migration, the past experiences are often not of much use, because they were obtained in another social and cultural context and the experiences can therefore be difficult to transmit as useable knowledge as it may no longer be valuated. Furthermore, people experience changes throughout their life course such as in age, occupation, place of living, marital status etc., and in connection with these changes the individual learns what to do and not to do, what to wear and not to wear etc. by comparing themselves to "others" (Hoerning, 1996:21). Biographical knowledge is thus a socialization process into which the experiences are integrated and stored in the biographical and historical association capacity. The approach entails the aspect of change as the stock of experience and knowledge is constantly altered in the biographical knowledge bank (Hoerning, 1996:22). The approach is, however, also associated with unlearning or de-socialising old roles as the new situation necessitates different and suitable behaviours. This does not mean that earlier acquired knowledge ceases to exist, but rather that it must partly or fully be abandoned.

In order to understand the biographical experience and social action it is necessary to bring the articulated actions into a biographical coherence. By making a distinction between two types of motivation (developed by A. Schütz), it is possible to explain an observed act in its context (Kontos, 2001). Firstly, there is the motivation behind the act *in order to* obtain something. This is an act made for future purposes, whereas the second type of motivation, *because of*, is built on events of the past (Schutz, 1971). The latter type of motivation I also refer to as *causal motivations* or *reactions* and the former type as *intentions*. The discussion of what motivates immigrant entrepreneurs is an ongoing discussion, being one of the

central elements of this research field, as motivation is directed towards gaining social recognition and integration.

One way of conceptionalising motivation is in relation to the pressure to innovate perspective based on the push mechanisms within the settling society. The approach draws parallels to Merton's approach where he focuses upon how the individual or groups of individuals react to the gap between goals and means. Here, the act of entrepreneurship is developed due to constraints and barriers that disallow the newcomers/migrants to follow an original strategy of a normal biography based on the life planning of the individual. The migrant, being a reflexive and creative agent, is then more or less forced towards self-employment in order to gain access to the same cultural values as the established group(s), because migrants do not have access to the same legitimate means as the native population. The push mechanism is thus to be understood as "pressure to innovate" and motivation is based on the actor's willingness and capability to go down a different life path and create new possibilities for capital accumulation or personal gains (Kupferberg, 2003). Another approach to the concept of motivation is to regard it as a resource, where the motivation becomes a driving force towards becoming self-employed. This type of motivation is to be understood as intentions based on resources within the actor, a part of her/his human capital, and not as a reaction to external conditions. In this line of thinking the essential issue is the actual desire or decision to become self-employed. The motivation functions as a resource that, combined with economic resources and cultural resources, creates the foundation for becoming self-employed (Kontos, 2000).

A clear distinction between these approaches is that motivation can derive from different sources, either from ones being embodied in the actor as hopes and dreams for the future or from being a reaction to the surrounding environment. Another perspective on this relation is to distinguish between motivations and strategies, as these relate to matters of causes and intensions and opportunities respectively. In this research project, motivations are comprehended as being related to people's life planning and they are based on the intentions that they have for how they would like their trajectories to develop in the future. Strategies are, on the other hand, related to the opportunities that the actor is faced with, as it is on the basis of these that the realisation of intentions are made possible. Furthermore, actors draw upon the personal and biographical resources that they have at their disposal, making their past history very relevant indeed. Moreover, a person's resources are

developed over time in interaction with other actors within particular structural frameworks thus creating particular social, cultural and political arenas. As a result hereof the conditions of living internalise the social structures and socialise the individual in different ways. Strategies are thus a result of the relationship between the intentions of the life plan, personal resources and the opportunities available. In relation to the immigrant entrepreneurs, a major turning point in their trajectory is that of migration, which brings on a vital change to their life planning as the socio-structural relations and the value system attached to it in most cases are dramatically different to what they have been accustomed to in their country of origin. The situation then creates an unequal relation between the intentions of the life planning and the actual opportunities, which the life chances are based upon. The consequences of this discrepancy will generate different reactions and different strategies of coping with the situation ranging from resistance to indifference and apathy depending on the situation and biographical resources of the individual. The central concepts of motivation and strategy can be illustrated in a very simplistic way:

Motivations $\longrightarrow$ Reactions/Intentions $\longrightarrow$ Life planning

Strategies $\longrightarrow$ Opportunities $\longrightarrow$ Life chances

But how is motivation to be understood then? According to the above approaches, the orientation of motivation is towards recognition. Social recognition, or the experience of recognition from interaction partners, serves as a precondition for building up personal identity. Thus, denial of social recognition will be experienced traumatically, because it will lead to damage on the personal identity. The importance of recognition is also a topic in the work of Bourdieu, as he perceives recognition as a fundamental dimension to human relations (Järvinen, 2000).

According to Bertaux, the only way to study social mobility is by focusing on the anthroponomical distribution, which can outline a programme for empirical observation of this process. The first stage concerns the difference between individuals and family socialisation to get a picture of the structural (and cultural) constraints in the given society. The second stage involves the process of selection within the educational system with the aim of elucidating the differences between individuals as these are formalised in the differential distribution of credentials. This stage should also include the labour market in order to accomplish a picture of

the changing competition by means of which individuals' education or other qualifications and talents are converted more or less efficiently into jobs and career paths. I believe – in line with Bertaux – that it is necessary to place the individual into the social position that she or he occupies which is my methodological approach to agent and structure and of my scientific position as a researcher are embedded in this line of thinking, which is placed between the two positions as my scientific focus is on the relationship between agent and structure rather than on which determines the other.

As a sociologist one may strive for serendipity, whereas a scientist in his or her research process makes imaginative or creative findings or extracts explorative elements from her or his empirical studies, which often happens by a lucky punch or via unexpected and unplanned events (cf. Baldamus, 1972). Social science is concerned with the pre-assumptions, conditions, processes, methods and references/sources, as well as the interpretation and conclusion of the research work (Jacobsen, 2002:269). The more empirical inspiration the study is based on, the stronger the tie to grounded theory and the inductive method approach.

In relation to biographical narrative interviews fiction is not so much a matter of the role of the fantasy in establishing the historical narration, but more about the role of fantasy in the imagination of how to conceive the past (Ricæur in Kemp, 1996:78). There is here a distinction between the "real" past of history and the "unreal" world of the narrator, but at the same time Ricæur shows how fantasy is a part of reality without making it less real. The reconstruction of the past involves imagination as the experiences might be based on some degree of fantasy, which is a way to convey the experiences of the past into a coherent narration of the life history. There are here some connotations to the notions of the biographical method of the told story and lived life, where the former refers to the narration, which might contain fictive elements or modifications of the truth and the latter to facts or hard data that can be traced in the told story and from other sources such as official records through reliable statements of officials and other informants.

The (narrative) identity is to be understood as an existentialistic self (ipse) and not as a substantial logical self (idem). The narrative identity contains the possibility of changes through a life course, unlike idem, which remains the same. The purpose of narrative identity is to mend the wounds or do biographical work on the inner conflicts, created by fragments of history that are incomprehensible and unbearable,

by replacing these with a coherent and acceptable history in which the narrator can recognise her- or himself. In the course of the life history there will be constituted a number of corrections of the previous histories in the same way as with that of a nation, a community or an institution. The importance to both individual and group identities emphasizes the significance of the narrative identity (Ricæur in Kemp, 1996:94). This perception of identity is similar to that of Kohli's in relation to his definition of life histories as structures of self-images rather than a collection of all the events of the individual's life course. As a person makes progress in his or her life course there is a constant confrontation with new impressions that facilitate a personal learning and development process, which enables individual revisions of the trajectory.

These perspectives can be found in empirical examples of the TSER study which indicates quite a significant differentiation within the motivation factors behind female and male immigrants becoming self-employed and that this affects their identity construction. The cases show the multiplicity of influences on this process and the strategies attached to it. In order to get a better grasp of the matter it seems useful to provide an extended model for the analysis, which helps maintaining the overview of the study when going into the details of the empirical data:

Contextual setting	**Social position**
- Social structures	- Social network
- Opportunity structures	- Social status

Pre-migration	**Motivation factors**	**Effects**
Characteristic	- Reactions	- Identity
- History	- Intentions	- Integration
- Motivation		
- Expectation		

Coping ability	**Strategies**
- Personal resources	- Adaptation ability
- Social network	- Access options
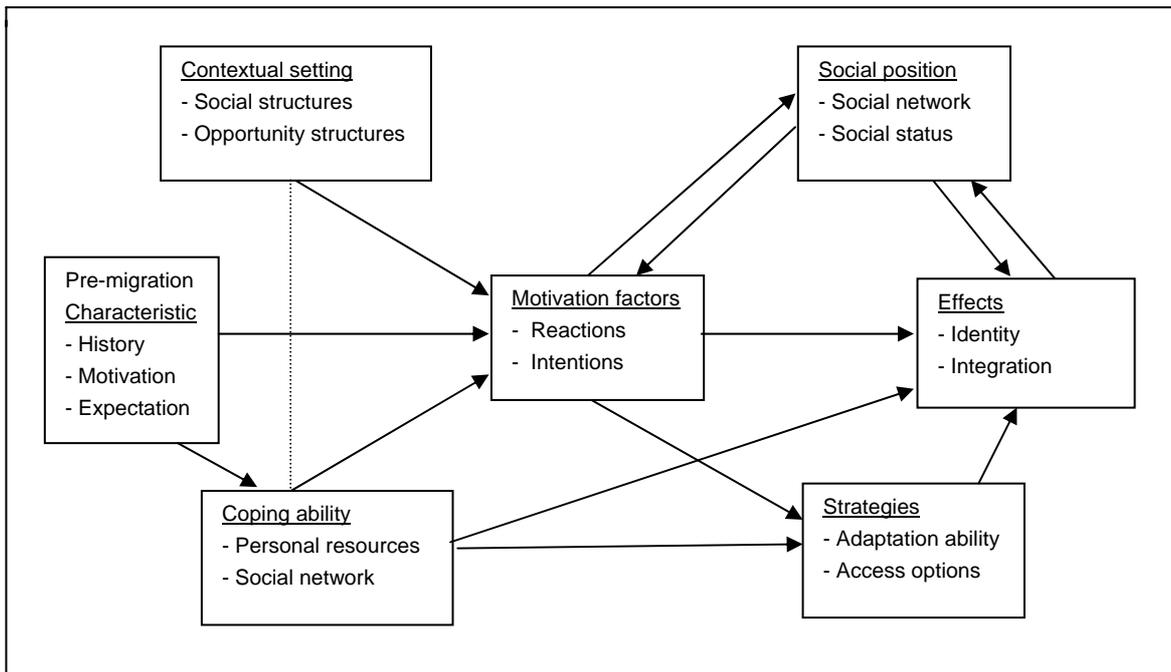
(The model is constructed with inspiration from John W. Berry)

The model shows the reciprocal action between the surroundings and the individual, which creates the possibility of transformation within both. It is developed in a dialectic process involving both the empirical material and the theoretical approach, starting with the former.

Chapter 5

Methodical Application of the Biographical Method

Introduction

Using the biographical narrative interpretation method for obtaining knowledge about a particular area or phenomenon has certain implications for the research process. First of all it is a method that is oriented towards the process of individual life courses and secondly, it enables the researcher to link the subjects and the structures through the experiences of the individual. In the following, I will elaborate on the research object, the investigation and the goals of the research project. In this pursuit, I find it of great relevance to locate ruptures and turning points in the individual biographical stories in order to identify the pathway to a continuous and autonomous life plan. If one is to understand how individuals navigate in different settings or fields, I find it appropriate to access the life world of the individual through the told story in which the respondent gives information about their experiences of the action and interaction of individuals and groups within a certain structural framework. Moreover, it is possible to access the intended meanings through this method. Then, when we compare a number of life stories and trajectories, patterns of similarities and differences emerge and within these, strategies and practices can be identified and linked to the construction of the field in terms of opportunity structures and values attached to it.

The research process

The way in which the research design is constructed is not surprisingly of importance to the research process and the result of this. Furthermore, other aspects of the process play a role in the creation of the scientific investigation. I will therefore in the following get into details regarding the collection and processing of the data in this thesis, in order to make this more transparent and to clarify methodical matters that concern the research design.

The development steps of the research process
1. Starting with TSER interviews and reports, the initial significance of gender is discovered.

2. Additional interviews with the aim of broadening the data material in relation to gender, ethnicity, class and geographical location are conducted (these interviews were conducted in Copenhagen).

3. First analytical stage: Identification of motivational factors through significant themes, which are followed up by a theoretical sensitizing leading to the introduction of theoretical concepts to be used in the successive stages of analysis.

4. Second analytical stage: On the grounds of the themes the intentions of becoming self-employed are unravelled.

5. Third analytical stage: Different types of strategies are identified.

6. The three phases of analysis are brought together in an attempt to generate entrepreneurial typologies.

7. Introducing further perspectives on research aspects that may contribute to gaining further understanding of the gender dimension of immigrant entrepreneurship.

In the research process, the sources of inspiration are sought from various places, some being planned while other are based on unexpected results from the biographical interviews that revealed new and exciting perspectives on the research object – immigrant entrepreneurship. As the research is based on life histories, a high degree of importance is attributed to the subjects and their interpretations of the reality of their life worlds. In this sense my perspective as a researcher is not one of the reality of the social world but rather the individuals' experiences of the social world.

Choice of topic
A research project usually starts out with the selection of a topic, but the overall subject for my investigation - immigrant entrepreneurship - was given beforehand in the description of this PhD project, so in this sense the dissertation's topic was set as were the method and the empirical data. However, the task of choosing angles and optics in the study has nonetheless been a challenge that has required a great deal of attention and resources. At the early stage, I therefore conducted the first stage of the analysis with the aim of letting the immigrant entrepreneurs come forward to speak their own case. The existing data material from the TSER project became my point of departure for the investigation combined with the more theoretical knowledge I possessed at this stage of the research process. This way of doing things corresponds with the semi-grounded character of my abductive

approach. The particular perspective of gender patterns found in the material from the TSER project, and then subsequently not being able to find adequate theory to encompass the gender perspective of immigrant entrepreneurship, necessitates further investigation in order to generate suitable conceptualisation. This circumstance makes the study explorative to a certain degree, which also has a relation to the grounded approach. The perspective on the topic is also influenced by the trends in the public and political discourse and practice of self-employment being seen as a route to full integration in the Danish society – a view which I want to contest. Another important aspect of choosing the topic and posing research questions in the early stages of the process is to ensure that *"this question (of the social meaning of investigating a given topic) must be asked, not to close down a number of areas to research, but to make sure that the end of the research is present in its very beginning"* (Bertaux, 1983:33). The selected topic and research question thus serve as a guideline for the scientific process and act against arbitrary conduct that at times is practised, for example, in the field of pure empirism.

Research design
As stated above the starting point for my research is the empirical data, in which the biographical accounts reflect the experienced social reality of the individual, which reveals some of the implications of the structures that constitute the social context of their life world. Moreover, the biographical narrative method has a longitudinal character, which enables me to access knowledge about changes and transformations that have occurred through the life course of the individual. This research approach is tied to an epistemological perspective based on the fact that because of the ever-changing socio-structural relations, the only scientific attainment that can be reached is that of a historical character, i.e. regarding the present as a part of history. Therefore, in a methodological sense, the sociological knowledge does become a matter of the conditions for social struggles, and not of the knowledge of their outcome (Bertaux, 1983:35).

The patterns found in the data material from the TSER project show certain tendencies of motivation that need further investigation. The patterns are then linked to the theoretical concepts of recognition and autonomy, with the purpose of getting a deeper and more detailed understanding of the complexity discovered in the data. This brings the process of the analysis to the second stage of the actual thematic analysis. On the grounds of this analysis the intentions of becoming self-employed are identified, and these will be investigated further in the third stage of

analysis, where three types of strategies are identified. In this stage the intentions and the strategies are analysed in order to detect how the immigrants access self-employment by studying the dialectic relationship between the resources of the individual and the opportunity structures.

Sampling and diversity

Choosing the sample[13] for any qualitative research study will entail some effect on the outcome of the research in the sense that the results will most certainly vary depending on the sample chosen. In this case, the findings may very well have been different if the interviewees were selected from small towns or villages or if the ethnic composition was different. A certain degree of representativity is, however, established through the variety in representation of gender, ethnicity, class, migration status, branch of trade and geographical location. Concerning the latter, the respondents live in three out of the four largest cities in Denmark; Aalborg, Aarhus and Copenhagen. The reason for this geographical selection originates from the sampling of the TSER project in which the respondents were inhabitants from Aalborg and Aarhus. Instead of having two large cities in Jutland represent the immigrant entrepreneurs in Denmark, I believe it will do more justice to the representativity by including the capital – Copenhagen – a city located on Sealand. Had I included Odense on Funen, which is the third largest city in Denmark, my sample would have presented a broader section of the population. However, based on statistic charts of the living area for different ethnic groups I decided to concentrate on the three chosen cities. By including Copenhagen to the sample the data material is given a larger variation, which resembles the high complexity of the field made up by the variations in ethnicity, nationality, age, migration status, class and gender. The different contexts of the locations also provide different opportunity structures that influence the possibilities for accessing the labour market in general and self-employment in particular. The displayed number represents the number of selected interviewees from the total number of interviews conducted in the three cities. Some interviews where abandoned due to bad quality and others because the respondents were from other Scandinavian countries, which I chose not to include. This decision was made because Scandinavian immigrants have certain advantages compared to the immigrants from non-western countries and Eastern Europe.

---

[13] A table containing factual data on all of the respondents are placed in the appendix.

Table 5.1.: Division by gender and location

Location / Gender	Aalborg	Aarhus	Copenhagen	Total
Female	2	4	3	9
Male	7	6	4	17
Total	9	10	7	26

There were other reasons for supplementing the existing material with additional interviews and one of them was the gender aspect in the sample, which I wanted to expand with more interviews with female entrepreneurs. I thought it to be of importance to include women from Copenhagen as I had an assumption of women in the capital being in a different situation that women in the provinces. Another very important reason for conducting additional interviews was to attain a higher degree of saturation than at the stating point of my research project. These interviews mostly confirmed the patterns of practise that I had identified in the data material from the TSER project, and on the basis of this I decided to cease to collect more interviews. The size of the sample was also a concern in this matter, inasmuch as I set out to do a manual analysis and interpretations of the material, the number of interviews has to be kept at a reasonable size and, on the other hand, I wish to reach a *saturation of knowledge*, which presupposes a certain number of interviews. Saturation brings a new perspective into the idea of representation. This type of representativity refers to the sample being representative at a sociological level, which is concerned with the socio-structural relations and reflects social practices (Bertaux, 1983:37-38).

All the interviews can be treated as cases, where each new case serves as a comparative case or as a part of a comparative groupings within all of the cases - the whole sample – based on different variables such as age, ethnicity, gender, class etc. The diversity of the cases or groups enriches and challenges existing knowledge within the field of research (Hoerning, 1996:43).

The selection of the informants was done using two different methods: one being register data from self-employment bureaus and the other the so called "snowball strategy", where one informant lead you to another or more informants. This two-stringed strategy applies to both the part of the data gathered by myself and by the researcher who did the interviewing for the TSER project. There were numerous of criteria that had to be covered in the selection of the sample, such as gender, ethnicity, nationality and migration status. In relation to the latter, the sample contains both refugees and labour migrants, but frequently I refer to them all as immigrants, as they were all born outside Denmark and therefore are first generation immigrants.

The data collection

A crucial discrepancy in my data material is that it was collected during two different periods of time; the first in 1998-1999 and the second in 2002-2003 and, moreover, the data was collected for different purposes by two different researchers, which entails some validity implications that I will address later in this chapter. The collection of the biographical interviews can be practised in different ways depending on the kind of method used for conducting the interviews, such as structured, semi-structured or narrative interviews, observations, participant-observation etc. (Hoerning, 1996:38). In the case of this investigation, I use a combination of semi-structured and narrative interview, where I try to encourage self-narration and at the same time I have a semi-structured interview guide, which aids me in getting around all the central subjects. Furthermore, the consistency makes the interviews comparable, which is an advantage when generating themes and when analysing the transcribed text. In the process of gathering the data material there are four steps that are central to the quality and success of the interview. The first step is the preparation of the interview; the second step is the construction of the interview guide and the third step is the actual interview situation and finally, is it important to round off the interview properly.

1. Preparing the interview.

Prior to conducting an interview there are several aspects that need to be considered and in the following I shall clarify the matters of concern in my investigation. My own preparation began when I did the initial study of the secondary data, where the foundation for my interview guide started to take shape. Through the knowledge obtained about the life worlds of the immigrant entrepreneurs of this sample I got inspiration on how I was to construct the guide for my own interviews. I also

attempted to get information about the interviewees and their situation and to inform them about myself and the research project that they would be a part of. Preferably, I arranged a meeting prior to the interview, so we would have a chance to meet each other and exchange information. This gave the informant the opportunity of asking questions and I got the chance to inform them about the purpose of the research and of the actual interview situation, so that they knew what they had engaged themselves in and were reassured anonymity etc., which should make the interviewee more relaxed about the situation. However, in this investigation I did not have the opportunity to arrange meetings prior to the interviews as these were conducted in Copenhagen, but in most cases I had a longer dialogue on the phone before our meeting.

2. The interview guide[14]

Creating the interview guide depends largely on the type of interview method used and therefore the guide is very loosely semi-structured. In order to encourage self-narration, the way in which the questions are posed has a great influence on how the interviewee will respond. As I want to gain information about the life world of the individuals, I need to get the immigrant entrepreneurs to tell me about their own life and of the experiences they have had during their life course. I want them to talk in their own words about their past, present and future and I therefore need to get them to be quite narrative. It is thus important to pose open questions so the interviewee has the initiative of giving a narrated answer. When the informant has exhausted her or his narration on the topic, I then take the opportunity to pose elaborating questions if believed that is needed.

All interviews are different from each other, which mean that it is impossible to be totally prepared for the situation; there must be room for the individuality to be expressed in the interview. Some interviews turn out to be more of a dialogue than an interview and in these situations my role as the interviewer becomes much more participating than when I give the floor to the interviewee and take a rather inactive role myself. Yet another scenario is the very reluctant informant where practically all answers have to be dragged out of him or her. In such cases the interview guide is very useful for helping the interview along.

---

[14] For the full interview guide see supplement 2 in the appendix.

3. The interview situation.

There are several things in the interview situation that the researcher or interviewer has to pay attention to. First of all, it is crucial for the quality of the interview that the informant feels comfortable and at ease with the situation, which hopefully has been accomplished in the preparation of the interview. For most of the informants it is the first time they experience themselves in an interview situation. My usual strategy for making the atmosphere relaxed and friendly is by trying to meet the interviewee where he or she is, which means that I, for example, adapt my attitude and language slightly to that of the informant, but only to the degree where I still can be myself. The interviews are all conducted in Danish and two out of the whole sample are conducted with the aid of an interpreter. The language qualifications of the interviewees vary from perfect Danish to very poorly; though with the majority of the respondents belonging to the better half. In one case an interpreter was used which effected the interview negatively, because the interpreter were too involved. All of the immigrant entrepreneurs that I interviewed were asked where they would prefer to be interviewed and all of them chose the place of their business. Already when addressing them the first time I guaranteed them anonymity and that the interviews would only be listened to by me and, furthermore, that the transcriptions only would be read by myself and a few scholars. Such a guarantee often makes the interviewees more at ease because they feel reassured that the information that they share, will be treated confidentially, especially since some of their information might be of a sensitive character.

4. Finalization

After conducting the interview the phase of finalization of the interview process still remains. This last phase concerns both the data and the interviewee, who might have questions for clarification. In connection with the latter, it was important to take the time needed to have a chat with no commitments in order to round off the interview in a decent way and to let the interviewee understand that her or his effort is appreciated. This might also be the time to talk about the possibility of contacting the interviewee again if clarifications or elaborations are needed. Furthermore, it might be relevant to talk about doing a follow-up interview. In relation to this research, I have not done either, as both the density and the richness of the description in the interviews seemed adequate at the time. However, as the research process has made progress, the need to dig deeper into the biographical stories or make further comparisons becomes more pressing, concurrently with the progress of knowledge attainment on the research topic. I will, however, only make

references and suggestions to possible comparative studies that might shed more light on the issues related to gender or even intersectional aspects of immigrant entrepreneurship.

All of the interviews but one has been taped in their full length with the interviewee's consent. The next step in the process is to play back the taped interviews, which is the next stage of the analysis where patterns and differences begin to emerge from the comparisons of the interviews. Then follows the full and literate transcription of the interviews and in this phase the ongoing process of interpreting the material is intensified. The transcriptions are done in full in Danish, and subsequently I have made a literate translation into English of the sequences used in the analysis.

The role of the biographical researcher – problems and dilemmas
The relationship of the interviewee and the interviewer in itself generates conditions that effect the interview. There will to some extend be exercised impression management on both parts by expressing themselves in a certain way. The fact that the interviewer might have interests in leading, though not necessarily consciously, the narration of the interviewee in a certain direction must also be taken into consideration, as to what influence this has. How the biographical stories are interpreted have great influence on the analysis and ultimately the research result. It is therefore of great importance to make the process very transparent in order to let the readers in on how the specific result is gained. This principle also forces the researcher to be aware and self-conscious of the whole research process and her or his own role in it. Here there is a certain parallel to Bourdieu's notion of *objectification of the objectification*.

Analysis of the data
My approach to the data sources – the biographical interviews – is based on retrospective inquiries about the development process of the individual's life course. It is in this approach assumed that both the life course and the biography are pre-structured by the historical past and by the way in which the person previously has lived her or his life (Hoerning, 1996:8). The principle behind this approach can be related to the famous quote by Søren Kierkegaard, who states that *"life is understood backwards, but must be lived forwards"*. This perspective on qualitative research implies that the data or the narrations are expressions of how the individual remembers the past and how they choose to narrate it. This does not mean that the

interviewee makes conscious choices of what they wish to tell, but rather that he or she unconsciously talks about the most significant events and occurrences and how these are related to the "large story".

The approach to my analysis has a "manual" character in the sense that I do not make use of soft-ware for coding purposes or any other data handling of the biographical interviews. One reason for my choice of keeping it "manual" is that the interviews from the TSER project already were coded and it is partly from the results of these codings that I have taken my point of departure. Another reason is that I believe that there is a risk of limiting the possibilities for discovering new and important aspects in the material when tying oneself as an analyst to certain chosen variables or categories, which will generate a determination in the "design" of the analysis. The type of analysis that I endeavour to develop is one of doing analysis in different stages with the aim of reaching different areas and levels when exploring the data material (Bertaux, 1981). Thirdly, the size of the sample does not necessitate the use of soft-ware for the analysis.

Selecting the interviews for the stages of analysis was done from the whole sample available at the given time. For the selection at the first analytical stage I had to closely read and compare the entire empirical material from the TSER project which entails almost 30 biographical interviews. There were rather large variations in the length and the quality of the interviews and some were of such a poor quality that I abandoned them. From the remaining lot I selected one interview with a female immigrant entrepreneur and one with a male immigrant entrepreneur. The criteria for the choice of the two interviews was that they were the most exemplary of the entire data, which means that the contents of the interviews contained a high degree of information, variation and uniqueness that to a certain extent represent the diversity of the entire material.

The actual analysis of the interview commences as early as in the interview situation. This acknowledgement is based on my own experiences of doing biographical interviews. When doing the interviews myself I begin the interpretation process of the data in situ, where I follow tracks in the narration that was of particular interest. I have developed my interviewing technique so that the previous immediate patterns are explored and the emergences of new aspects are contested. Both of these aims are part of the process reaching some degree of saturation and securing a reasonable degree of validity in the investigation. The

follow-up after doing the interview also serves as an important part of the process of interpreting the interviews and getting "under the skin" of them. The part of the process I am referring to is that of listening to the taped interviews and transcribing them. At this stage of analysing the empirical data, a more complete picture of the material is unfolded and patterns and deviations are revealed, and the theoretical sensitizing can finally be established for further interpretation of the data. The purpose of bringing theoretical concepts into the analysis at this stage is to create some fundamental structures for the interpretation of the biographical stories and in order to reach deeper understandings of the autobiographical narrations and their contextual frames of reference.

A general problem of the data from the TSER project is that it was collected for another purpose than the one in this study, and the analyses of the TSER data do have another starting point than my own data. Furthermore, I received these data as transcribed text, which means that I only engage in the analysis as an interpreter of the written text. I am therefore unable to make use of observations of material or of a more emotional character made in connection with the interview, which can help one to place the narration into context. Moreover, a consequence of the TSER data is that I cannot follow the directions of particular interest for me, as is the case when I conduct the interviews myself. This circumstance contains an implication of the differences in the approach to the two data sources, which might influence the analysis in the sense that I would treat the interviews differently. The way I have attempted to overcome this shortcoming is by rereading the original interviews (from the TSER project) numerous times in order to be attentive towards the small details in these interviews as well. A more positive effect of using the original data is that I, as a researcher, approach the analysis from a more neutral point of departure, which is not to be understood as being objective, but merely that I have not influenced the narration as is the case in the additional interviews conducted by myself, as I am only involved in the analysis of the fully transcribed texts. This circumstance then brings me to another problem of using the original data, which is that I do not have a chance of taking the measures to obviate the influence on these interviews through the subjectivity of the interviewer. This means that the degree of the objectification of these interviews will be less than those I have conducted myself.

The procedure of analysing biographical data

The analysis of biographical self-narration is selected for single case analysis according to the theoretical sampling (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The steps of the analysis are:

1. Analysis of the biographical data
2. Thematic field analysis
3. Reconstruction of the life history
4. Microanalysis of individual text sequences
5. Contrastive comparison of life history and life story

Thematic analysis

The content of the analysis is based on extracting sequences from the transcribed narration - the text - which is placed in the broader context of the social world and the history which is connected to the individual immigrant. Finally, I do, as the researcher and analyst, influence the interpretation of the life history through the focal points I have chosen, the perspectives I emphasize and the constructions of meaning I ascribe to them, such as the theoretical approaches I have chosen. When using biographical narrative interviews as data material their variety, elaborateness and uniqueness are not protected against damage or even being destroyed by the methodology employed. An example of this is the thematic dissection of the narrations (Hoerning, 1996:35), which builds on procedures of extracting sequences or segments from the text of the transcribed interview. The identification of the themes is done by locating significant subjects in the narration which the respondent or respondents focus on. In the narrations of the immigrant entrepreneurs I have identified four significant themes in relation to the motive for becoming self-employed: discrimination, limitation on the labour market, inflexibility and dependency. The next step in the process is to sensitise the themes to theoretical concepts. The two former themes are connected to recognition, whereas the last two themes are linked to autonomy.

Constant comparison

I analyse my data by using procedures that originate from grounded theory, where the analysis process is described in successive steps: (1) First a stage of analysis – identification of themes. (2) Second stage of analysis - investigation of motivation factors and gender issues. (3) Third stage of analysis - identification of strategies and new categories.

- The main aim of the constant comparative method is to ensure a high degree of validity by reaching a point of saturation in the data material and thereby to erode large divergences within the material

- Sample saturation is also reached through the number of interviews carried out. Collecting more data will not add any new perspectives to the sample, but merely confirm existing knowledge.

One of the problems in working with biographical accounts is the control and editing of the data in terms of validity and reliability. A way of doing this is by comparing the data against other data collected for another study, in other words the data is triangulated with data from other sources (Hoerning, 1996:31). The purpose of this practise can be described as: *However, the use of multiple methods, or triangulation, reflects an attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question. Objective reality can never be captured. Triangulation is not a tool or a strategy of validity, but an alternative to validation... The combination of multiple methods, empirical materials and perspectives and observes in a single study is best understood as a strategy that adds rigor, breadth, and depth to any investigation...* (Denzin, 1994:2). The triangulation can be done on different grounds on either a random sample or on a total population. In relation to my study it is a matter of making use of other empirical sources in the shape of complementary cases from other countries and another national case of native female entrepreneurs. The "method" of the comparison is to compare the patterns found in my study with those found in other related studies but with a different perspective such as ethnicity and/or national context. The purpose of this exercise is to gather information about whether a certain condition that has shown to be of significance in the data is the core of the relation or if there might be other equally important conditions/variables. For example, if there in my data are indications of ethnicity or social and/or cultural background conditions the entrepreneurial practise in a particular manner, then I can compare the narrations of female immigrant entrepreneurs with those of female native entrepreneurs from the TSER material. The practice of plural comparison have a function similar to that of a cobweb, where the larger the amount of comparisons the finer the mesh. This serves as an alternative sort of validity (De Vaus, 2002).

Diachronic or synchronic perspectives

The type of narration refers to a researcher aiming at gaining information about the development of the life history and at the same time going into further details about specific events and turning points of interest in relation to the research topic. The relevance of the larger history is primarily to make it possible for placing the biographical story in historical context where the importance of socio-structural, cultural and economical factors are included. This is an expression of the diachronic perspective of biographical research or as John Goldthorpe expresses it: *We may first not, as a matter of major methodological interest, how adopting a diachronic or biographical perspective on mobility produces a very different picture from that derived from the synchronic, cross-sectional view of a conventional mobility table* (Goldthorpe, 1980:139). This perspective on doing research is to a certain extent practised in this investigation, inasmuch as I introduce synchronic perspectives in terms of quantitative data in the beginning of the research process. The synchronic perspective is part of the point of departure of the investigation, which then is brought into the diachronic perspective of the biographical narrative method.

Implications of the data operationalisation

The implications of reliability and validity

In this part I will account for how validity and reliability are constituted in my investigation. Validity has different references to scientific knowledge within the social sciences, which can be traced back to different opinions on the construction of reality in the quantitative and qualitative methods. From a positivistic point of view, validity concerns whether you measure what you think you measure. In a broader perspective validity is a matter of whether the applied method investigates what is intended, and whether it will lead to valid scientific knowledge in qualitative research (Kvale, 1997:233), which is the approach used in this research.

The matter of validity or "truth" is an ever present problem of autobiographical accounts (Kohli, 1983:69). It is a matter of the analysis being based on self-narrations which are loaded with subjectivity and that what "really" happened is based on how it was experienced and exposed to biographical work. Kohli (1983) dissects the problems and alternatives concerning validity in biographical narrative interviews into three categories:

1. In the first category, Kohli refers to Thomas and Znaniecki (1958, 1912) who emphasise the concept of *sincerity* and distortion of the truth. Here, there are conflicting views of, on the one hand, whether the autobiographical narrations have the highest authenticity because nobody knows the story better than the person her- or himself and, on the other hand there is a possibility of conscious distortion by the auto-biographer.

2. In the second category, he describes the *subjective truth* as an alternative type of validity. Here, the truth is regarded in a purely subjective manner, where it is how the auto-biographer chooses to express her- or himself that matters. Whether the informant has misunderstood the world is not of such a great concern.

3. In the third category, he raises the question of *historical truth,* which refers to a more pragmatic dimension where the autobiographical accounts are to be checked against other available data sources such as structural dimensions of the specific historical context or journals or records holding personal information of the past.

The last approach is also applied and recommended by Shaw who states that: *Each case study should include, along with the life history document, the usual family history, the medical, psychiatric and psychological findings the official record of arrest, offences, and commitments, the description of the play-group relationships, and any other verifiable material... It is probable that in the absence of such additional case material any interpretation of the life-history is somewhat questionable* (Shaw, 1966:2). It is of course different from case to case to what extent such data sources are available and this factor will influence the validity of the research. In the case of this research, the access to many of the above-mentioned data sources have not been possible due to the geographical distance from the location of the informants' past. The family history is, to a certain degree, included in the biographical narration as the informants have been motivated to talk about their families and other social relations.

In the biographical narration there are two types of structural dimensions. One of them was referred to in the above description and the other has to do with methodological interventions. This regards the structure of the narration which inflicts a certain constraint for details on the narrator. It is then up to the interviewer to retain details that are left out or glossed over (Kohli, 1981:72). Another important aspect of validity in biographical narrative data is, as mentioned earlier, whether the

informant is telling the truth or not. A protection of this is usually maintained through an urge to speak of how certain events are experienced, but on the other hand, being told in a retrospective perspective based on personal experience, means that the truth might be distorted to some degree and to some extent be a pursuit of giving a particular impression of oneself and at times also the group of belonging as for example one's ethnic group. When checking the validity of the material used in an empirical study such as biographical interviews, certain aspects need to be considered:

- The origin of the life account.
- The motives and intentions of their creators.
- The way in which the historical setting is subjectively described in first- and second-hand accounts.

It is worth noticing that the life accounts collected in the process of doing social research, as for example thematic or narrative interviews are a result of or even a product of the researcher. This does of course influence the evaluation of the data and furthermore it has consequences for the development of a theory and theoretical concepts (Hoerning, 1996:40). The nature of the role of the researcher using an interpretative qualitative method also brings on uncertainties of the validity due to her or his subjectivity and interpretations. The fact that some of the interviews are not conducted by me, means that I have less possibilities of accessing information that might lead to clarification on validity matters, such as receiving sufficient details of the lived life.

Another important element of scientific knowledge production is reliability, which concerns the consistency of the research results. This aspect can be related to the above-mentioned issue of the interview process. In relation to reliability, the concern here is that the data horde from 1998-1999 is collected with a different purpose than when I did the last horde in 2002-2003. The differences influence the consistency of the material, and therefore a distorted picture is generated. However, as I have based my interview guide on information extracted from the initial interviews, as well as to extend these, I do believe that they can be compared.

Analytical generalisation
The discussion of how generalisations can be made from qualitative research has been ongoing for several decades. The key issue is to what extent, if at all, empirical

studies of relatively small samples can and should be made subject to generalisation. There are, however, different types of generalisations, which have their specific principles, and the type which is relevant to discuss here is analytical generalisation. This type of generalisation involves a well-considered judgement of the degree to which the research results can be of guidance to a similar situation. The analytical generalisation is based on similarities and differences between situations or cases and on assertoric logic (Kvale, 1997:228). The validity of the generalisation depends on how relevant the compared elements are and on how detailed, dense and thick the descriptions are. Within the biographical method, the principle of constant comparison aims at this kind of generalisation, with inspiration from grounded theory. The constant comparative method involves two stages which are based on sequences of events in the lived life, and on the sequence of narrative expression within the transcribed text. The first stage concerns a multiplication of hypotheses around any given data until this is exhausted. In the second stage the examining of further data reveals whether any of the previous hypotheses can be eliminated (Wengraf, 2000:148-149). The different stages of analysis in my investigation refer to the process of constant comparison, where additional empirical data is introduced stage by stage. When there no longer appears to be any contradicting findings and a satisfying degree of saturation is reached, the results of the investigation can be used in a more generalising manner. I do not believe that I have reached this point fully yet, which is why I suggest that further research on immigrant entrepreneurship in a gender or intersectional perspective is carried out.

Ethical aspects of the data collection process
Doing research is more than just a scientific exercise, as it also includes an important ethical dimension. A main reason for the importance of this aspect is that the results and the knowledge from the research might have consequences for the involved individuals or group of individuals and that these might be of a negative character. This aspect is very important when the research involves immigrants, because they are already a very exposed group. The researcher must therefore be cautious when reporting the results of the investigation. By this I do not mean to cover up any results, but just to articulate them with thought. It is also essential that the respondents are informed about the purpose of the research in order for them to give their consent on a qualified foundation. Another ethical aspect is that the respondents participate voluntarily in the research. An issue of involuntary participation is, for example, when the respondents are promised a reward in return for participating. This situation could jeopardise the free will of the respondent, as

the reward might make her or him participate in something they would not otherwise. Furthermore, it might also have a negative influence on the research process if the respondents are not taking their role seriously. Yet another ethical aspect is that the respondents are guaranteed anonymity so that they cannot be recognised and exposed. Finally there is also the ethical aspect in the use of the original interview. The respondents do not know that I use their personal biographical stories, narrated for another purpose, giving consent to another researcher. This is in more than one way an ethical dilemma, which I hope is minimised by the way I conduct the analyses, attempting to be true to their stories as they are told and to let their voices be heard.

Chapter 6

The Gendered Nature of Immigrant Entrepreneurship

The first stage of analysis: Introduction of Rashid and Yasmin
In the following I will present an explorative case study in the shape of a comparison of the biographical stories of a female and a male immigrant entrepreneur, respectively. The two narratives are chosen because they are exemplary, as they to a fairly high degree represent the variety of elements also evident in the other interviews and therefore they also represent certain patterns found in the sample. Apart from being exemplary interviews, they are at the same time, just like the rest of the interviews, unique in their individual construction and content. The two cases therefore have the quality to draw the crude lines of the empirical material. The aim is to reveal types of motivation and how these relate to the identity construction of male and female immigrant entrepreneurs, as they present it themselves through their narratives.

On the basis of the collected data, and in particular those of this case study, I shall construct the theoretical perspectives of this study and generate hypotheses for the further analysis. In order to do so, I will identify central themes in the biographical narratives, which will be subjected to theoretical sensitizing. The actual analytical work behind the themes identified in the presented cases is based on a broader analysis of the whole sample. Furthermore, the grounds for the gendered approach to the analysis are connected to the initial readings of the interviews from the TSER project, where gender patterns were rather predominant. The further process of collecting additional biographical interviews serves the purpose of broadening out the sample by obtaining more elements of the gender perspective and of other differentiating categories.

The two biographical stories which I will base this part of the analysis on will be through-going in all three stages of analysis. The purpose of this is to maintain a constant variant around which other diversity factors of the whole sample can be unfolded and related.

The male case: the biographical story of Rashid
Rashid is a 48-year-old refugee from Iran. He is married to an Iranian woman and

together they have three children aged 8, 13 and 18 at the time of the interview. In Iran he was educated as a technical engineer and for 18 years he worked in a large German-owned company with 35,000 employees. During his employment he completed a number of courses, which entitled him to an engineering diploma. In 1986 he fled Iran due to his political and religious orientation, which did not fit those prescribed by the new regime in the country. He then obtained refugee status in Denmark and settled in a large town in the north of the country with around 150,000 inhabitants. Here he looked for work within his profession, but without any luck. He managed to get a very-low paid unskilled job in a factory in the wood industry. He was soon given a lot of responsibility due to his professional skills and qualifications, though without getting an actual promotion and pay rise. About two years later he was made redundant due to hard competition and lack of orders and Rashid then became financially dependent on social security. After loosing his job he decided to become self-employed because he could not find employment of any kind. He managed to make some savings from his benefits and the rest of the start capital for the business, he borrowed from friends and relatives. He then opened a kiosk, where he works long hours seven days a week in order to stay in business. At the time of the interview he has been in the business for five years and is making a small profit.

Rashid begins the interview by talking about how he could not get job within his profession, even though he applied for many jobs. Instead he managed to get a low-paid temporary unskilled job with the possibility of regular employment, which never happened. In the interview Rashid explains how foreigners in Denmark have fewer opportunities on the labour market compared to the natives. He refers to Denmark as a closed society where foreigners do not have any opportunities. The labour-market disadvantages that Rashid refers to are a central theme in his narrative. His motivation for becoming self-employed is mainly *because of* his employment situation and because he feels discriminated against on the labour market, and he could not see other possibilities for improving his life/work situation. Discrimination is also a central theme in this biographical story and lack of opportunities is an important sub-theme in the narrative. Rashid's main problem with his experience of the Danish labour market is that he cannot use his education and is thus limited in converting cultural capital into economic capital, and is therefore disadvantaged with respect to accumulating capital. Due to barriers on the labour market Rashid is pushed into first a low-income job then unemployment which led him to try his fortune as self-employed. A consequence of this is,

compared to his former job in Iran, that Rashid is forced into a lower social position. This is an undesirable turn of his biographical story as it clearly has consequences both for his social identity and his self-identity. The former is connected to his possibilities of making the right impressions on others (especially the natives), whereas the latter coheres with his self-perception and a feeling of being less worth (valued), a lower self-esteem.

To make the coping-strategy of self-employment possible he managed to save some money despite a very tight economy. He was also helped out financially by people from his ethnic network, from which he borrowed the rest of the money to get the business started. Thus Rashid got financial aid through his ethnic network (family and friends), so that he could carry out his project of becoming self-employed. In this respect it is partially because of his social network that Rashid is able to support himself financially through self-employment. The importance does not seem to be placed on the economic gain, which is rather small, but on the stride for gaining social accept and recognition, which he clearly feels that his new position as a shopkeeper gives him to a higher degree than prior to being self-employed, and according to Rashid his customers respect and accept him as a businessman.

His wife helps out a couple of hours a week but his daughter is not allowed to work in the shop, as Rashid does not find it suitable for her. Rashid gives priority to the education of his children – especially his daughter who he wants to concentrate on her studies. This is quite a common strategy, often thrived by the hardship of getting on as a migrant, putting emphasis on their children having the opportunity to do better than themselves in the country of settling.

In another sequence, it becomes apparent that being able to support his family he maintains his status as the patriarch, which is very important to Rashid's self-identity. In the narration there are statements that strongly indicate the reconstruction of his subjectivity as the patriarchal male who is the breadwinner, in particularly after the experience of not being able to support himself and his family financially. He is willing to sacrifice a lot in order to maintain this position, which means that his family-life suffers, because he works 14 hours a day seven days a week. Besides working long hours Rashid talks about how book-keeping is a real struggle for him and as he is not able to find out all the details himself he employs an accountant. The first person he employed was not on top of things, which led to Rashid loosing his entitlement to the entrepreneurial business allowance.

Another way Rashid copes with his lower social position is by accentuating other groups of immigrants as less adaptable to the Danish society. Hereby, he places himself into a hierarchy in which there are others below him in relation to adaptability and acculturation. This type of self-composed classification of ethnic groups can have a psychological effect as it gives an impression of not just being a member of the dominated group, but also being the dominating part to some degree. These images of other immigrants can provide one with a feeling of a higher degree of recognition, acceptance and belonging. This way of coping can be connected to his experiences of being discriminated against. Being Iranian, he does not comply with the valid norms for what is "normal" in a Danish context.

The female case: the biographical story of Yasmin
Yasmin is a 40-year-old woman from Iran. She has a high-school diploma and afterwards she held different unskilled jobs such as a telephonist, receptionist and later a laboratory worker at the same clinique in Iran. She fled the country with her ex-husband and first child under the revolution, because of not being of the right religious conviction that was prescribed by the new rules - two of her brothers were killed on these grounds. Her late parents did not approve of their choice to flee the country and they were never reunited, but they kept in touch through letters. The only family member that she has seen since leaving Iran is a brother, whom she met up with in Germany after 8 years in Denmark. He died in a plane crash together with his 14-year-old daughter and his sister-in-law, not long after this reunification.

In 1985 Yasmin and her family came to Denmark and they ended up in a town in the southern part of Jutland. After some time in Denmark, Yasmin divorces her husband and several years later she has yet a son with another Iranian man. That relationship broke up too, and she now lives as a single mother, caring for the two boys, who are aged 8 and 20 at the time of the interview, on her own without any help from her kinship or ethnic network. After finishing language school she decided to get further education and qualifications. Her first choice was to become a doctor, her dream from back in Iran, but at an introduction to the profession she was scared off by some of the duties such as wiping bottoms. She also felt that some of the patients took a disliking to her due to her ethnic background which also put her off. As an alternative occupation she chose hairdressing, because she had always liked this kind of work where you work with people in a pleasing way. She couldn't get an apprenticeship and ended up with her third choice of occupation and became

a beautician. Her parents did not approve of her choice of profession, because they thought it was not appropriate for her – believing it to be a trade for bimbos. After receiving her diploma she moved to Copenhagen to find more challenging work and here she finally succeeded in getting a hairdressing apprenticeship. After qualifying she got contract work as a stylist for Kanal 2, a local television channel. After a while she changed to DR, a national television channel, where she also worked as a stylist for two years before returning to Kanal 2. Shortly after she was offered to buy a hairdressing salon – an offer she accepted, as she found it challenging. Self-employment was not new to her, as her father owned a company in Iran. To finance the business venture she took a loan in the bank, which was quite straightforward. At the time of the interview Yasmin had been in business for about four years and was doing quite well.

Yasmin opens her interview with a statement on how it is necessary to work very hard and to prove one's worth being a foreigner, having an accent and a different appearance. This subject of discrimination shows how Yasmin conceives herself in a Danish context and her social position in this country. She acknowledges the opportunities that she has, but at the same time she feels that she has to work harder than the natives do in order to gain same recognition. Obtaining professional qualifications is more difficult than it was in Iran before the revolution, where it was possible to gain qualifications through the "learning by doing" principle. Yet the fact that she has qualified as a beautician and a hairdresser shows her ability to make use of the opportunities that are available to her. However, the value of these trades is in general quite low and therefore does not bring much capital with them when being an employee. In contrast, becoming self-employed grants her more capital as this is of higher value because there is more dominance and respect associated with the position than with being an employee. This was for her a way of gaining some acceptance in the settling society, and also an attempt to get some approval from her parents who regard her trade as only suitable for "empty heads". Now she is also a businesswoman, which gives her a higher rating in her line of business and perhaps also from her father who was self-employed too. Through the entrepreneurial strategy Yasmin gains both horizontal and vertical social mobility.

Yasmin has experiences of being discriminated against, both as a foreigner and as a woman. When she went looking for a job, she often had the door slammed in her face. Moreover, it seems as if this continuous rejection gave her an incitement to carry on her search for employment, whereas engaging herself in self-employment

was more a matter of coincidence than a planned event. The turning-point of becoming self-employed was thus more a lucky opportunity in terms of the vacant premises that were offered to her and that she was able to raise the needed capital through bank loans.

Her social network is mainly based on work related acquaintances that has helped her in her career. Being a single mother of two children with no other family members in the country has influenced her self-employment path. She does not have an ethnic network to give her the social and economic support as often as it is the case as accounted for in the male immigrant's biography. On the other hand, she does receive support from the people who she associates with through her profession, and these people are by and large native Danes.

Yasmin expresses several times in the interview that she feels misrecognised as a bearer of a different cultural identity that is less valued, and because of the inequality between women and men. This perspective on the motivation issue indicates a gender distinction between female and male entrepreneurs that is embodied and therefore rather rigid. Her extensive consciousness of gender inequalities might well have been increased by her expectations of the Danish society being (partly) based on equality. These expectations have not been meet in her encounters with the Danish society, where she finds that gender and ethnic discrimination thrives. However, this may also well be an expression of the development in Yasmin's self-identity, because of particular gender patterns embedded in the opportunity structures of the Danish society, which Yasmin seems to have internalised.

Another topic in Yasmin's story is that she wants to be solo self-employed. She explains how she does not want to have employees, because she is afraid of loosing the freedom she enjoys as a solo self-employed, even though it means that she must work many hours herself. This also indicates that she does not want to take any risks that could jeopardise her newly gained position. Her attitude can be explained by a self-realisation perspective where she through self-employment achieves an autonomous life plan, which also has an emancipatory effect. Together with her single mother status Yasmin can through her own biographical story be interpreted as a woman who strives for taking charge of her own life, now that she is given the opportunity in the Danish contextual setting.

Being self-employed has good as well as bad consequences for Yasmin being a single mother. A main reason for becoming self-employed was to have more flexible working conditions in order to ease her life situation as a working and single mother. Self-employment gives her the freedom to adjust her work life to the private life to some extent. On the other hand, it limits her possibilities of staying at home if one of her children is ill, but she still prefers the type of flexibility related to self-employment. Being self-employed gives her the opportunity to give her children the right priority and this is an important motivation factor in her account.

The entrepreneurial lifestyle has its downsides, too, and Yasmin in particular expresses loath towards being self-employed based on the amount of paper work and bookkeeping it involves. Yasmin has several times almost broken her neck on this particular aspect of being self-employed. It is particular the payment of taxes and VAT than gives her problems, as she finds it very difficult and too time consuming. Like many other self-employed people she is forced to hire an accountant which is quite costly. Bad experiences with an accountant who did not do a proper job cost her about 50,000 DKK. It is unfortunately something that occurs quite frequently and this dependency adds to the negative attitude towards the system. She also believes that the accounting rules for small businesses are particularly hard on immigrants, where they again must prove themselves harder than native Danes.

Similarities and differences in the two accounts

A central aspect of entrepreneurship is that of the push-pull mechanism both in relation to migration and self-employment. As the biographical profiles reveal, both Yasmin and Rashid are refugees, who fled from the regime of Iran and have therefore both migrated involuntarily. They are also both of a middle-class background, so the only real obvious difference in their personal data is their gender and differences in educational level. Another difference that emerges in their accounts is the case of going into self-employment, where Yasmin has chosen the lifestyle of self-employment, whilst Rashid is more or less pushed into it due to lack of opportunities on the regular labour market. Using the push-pull dimension here is, however, far too simplistic an explanation in order to reach any understanding of the conduct, but it can serve as an indicator for the degree of voluntarism which has an influence on the motivation.

A theme which is common for both respondents is the struggle for recognition. The struggle can be linked to the misrecognition expressed by how they feel that they are culturally devaluated by the Danish society. The experience is a form of the depreciation of the group-specific cultural identity by the dominant culture, and the consequent damage to the group members "individual" sense of self (see also Fraser, 2003).) A way of handling the feeling of being less worth is by placing other ethnic minority groups below your own ethnic group, making them of less value. Such a hierarchy is expressed in Rashid's account when he refers to Turks and Somalis as less integrated and even unsuitable for living in a modern western society such as the Danish one.

Another theme that is clearly represented in both narratives is that of discrimination. Both respondents initiate their interviews by stating how difficult it is for a foreigner to access the Danish labour market, as the attitude towards immigrants in Denmark is quite suspicious. Discrimination has a stressing effect upon their aspiration for integration into the established society, as they always have to prove themselves and work extra hard. Discrimination also has an effect on the identity construction of these immigrants, as identity is partly created through the experiences which a person gathers throughout a life course. This means that the perceived discrimination on the labour market leads to a feeling of rejection and misrecognition which, in many cases, results in a distrust towards the system and its representatives, as, for example the boss. In a few cases, the immigrants express a form of reversed discrimination, where Danes are conceived as racists due to bad experiences, they have encountered in the past. Rashid's behaviour might well stem from his experiences of being discriminated against and misrecognised, which may cause a feeling of contempt that he projects onto other immigrants.

The experience of limitations on the labour market has been a direct or indirect motivating factor for Rashid to start up a small business. In this sense there is a push factor, which is quite obvious in Rashid's case, as he seems to be caught in a dead-end situation. Yasmin, on the other hand, is not being pushed into self-employment, as she had other possibilities at hand and she kind of stumbled into it through her regular job but became keen on the idea of being her own boss when

112

the opportunity presented itself. Although Rashid has the best qualifications of the two, he cannot use his education to get a job, because it is not recognised on the Danish labour market. In this case the structures create barriers, blocking the path to social mobility, and thereby also to recognition. Besides this shared feature there is especially one clear difference to be traced in their accounts on this topic, which is that of how Yasmin feels discriminated against in both a racial and a gender sense. This double-sided discrimination brings her in a situation where she must struggle even harder to gain the recognition and accept from the established society.

In both accounts there are indications of dependence as a causal motivation factor to some degree. It does, however, also seem as if different types of dependency that motivates them. In Rashid's case it seems as a matter of avoiding the dependency relations to the unemployment benefit system, whereas Yasmin does not want to be dependent on employers.

Rashid wants to maintain his social position as the patriarchal head of the family and the breadwinner, while Yasmin is seeking emancipation and changes in relation to the traditional cultural patterns. The background for Yasmin's choice to become self-employed seems to be in her search for challenges and to create a more independent work situation that suits her way of living. This is a very important choice in relation to her life planning, which is based on a desire to take more control over her own situation and create a more flexible work-life in order to ease her situation as a single mother.

In their biographical stories it seems quite clear how the social positions of these immigrant entrepreneurs are gendered. This is, for example, illustrated in the distinction between Yasmin's emancipation, being an independent woman in a modern society, and Rashid's strive for success in the eyes of his children and wife, taking on the role of the patriarch and reinforcing the traditional male role and arguable dominant position. Within many ethnic minority groups in Denmark there is a higher tendency to have traditional patriarchal family patterns compared to that of native Danes, making many of the female entrepreneurs' pattern-breakers when becoming self-employed, because this type of occupation is often connected to the role of the breadwinner, i.e. the man. This type of labour activity is thus in some

cultural contexts to be regarded as exercising masculinity, whereas femininity is traditionally conceived as best exercised through occupations related to domestic work or caring[15].

Another distinction is to be found in their different ways of experiencing their position as self-employed as favourable for their children – they are doing it for the children's sake. Yasmin emphasises how it gives her more quality-time with her children, while Rashid stresses the importance of being able to give his children that he gives them better opportunities to do well through education. Again we see a pattern of femininity in shape of a caring aspect on Yasmin's behalf and of masculinity in form of career on Rashid's. This is another example of how the gender distinctions can be regarded as embodied, which means that they are difficult to reach and transform.

Yasmin and most of the other female entrepreneurs use a kind of feminine capital in the sense that the trades they go into are very often related to the traditional female tasks, such as beauty care, hairdressing, clothing and domestic services[16]. The male entrepreneurs get into lines of businesses such as taxi drivers (vehicles being a masculine object), catering (the provider) and bars (the host/enjoyer). This rather trivial division of male and female entrepreneurs has some similarities to Bourdieu's theses on how the distinction between men and women are embodied in the behavioural patterns and that this reproduces the male/masculine domination.

It is also striking how the male entrepreneur(s) enjoy support from their ethnic community – mainly family though – whilst women mostly manage on their own. The interviews indicate a tendency towards women being solo self-employed in more than one sense. It starts from the very beginning of financing the business, when Yasmin raises her start capital through loans in the bank, whereas Rashid uses his larger ethnic network when he borrows money to finance the starting cost of his business. In the daily running of the shop Rashid has the opportunity of family back up to assist him, which he does not make much use of, though. Yasmin, on the other hand, must employ a person if she wishes to have assistance. Not being part of an

---

[15] This distinction is also reflected in much literature on immigrant entrepreneurship as illustrated in chapter 2.

[16] See supplement 1 in the appendix.

ethnic community mean that Yasmin must go through other and more institutionalised channels to cover her needs, both when doing business and in her personal life.

The entrepreneurial strategy seems to have more than an economic and occupational aim for both sexes, but in different ways. This modest case study suggests that some women seek independence and emancipation and that self-employment is a means to an end. This aim with the strategy can perhaps be traced further back to the decision of migration, as there seems to be a particular pattern among self-employed Iranian women. From this, as well as other studies (see e.g. Kruse, 2004), a significant part of women from Iran get divorced shortly after migrating. This behaviour has also been expressed as a migration strategy by Iranian women, in interviews made prior to migration.

The themes that emerge from the narratives can be put into a table to give a general view of the gender distinction. These themes have a reference to the theoretical concepts to be used in the analysis. For the sake of clarification the causal motivation factors are: 1. *Discrimination* refers to both ethnic and gender discrimination. 2. *Limitations* on the labour market are related to both educational and structural barriers. 3. *Inflexibility* concerns the labour market conditions that decrease the possibilities of combining work life and private life. 4. *Dependency* is a matter of being tied down by institutional or social structures.

Table 6: Relation between gender and themes

Theoretical concepts	Themes	Female	Male
Recognition	Discrimination	+	+
	Limitations on the labour market	-	+
Autonomy	Inflexibility	+	-
	Dependency	+	+

A tendency in the table is that male entrepreneurs are strongly motivated for achieving recognition whereas the women to a higher degree seek autonomy. Autonomy is sought by gaining either flexibility or independence, which might be related to a transformative process, brought on by the change in "scenery" (migration). By this I refer to the changes in the structural limitations and opportunities in the country of settlement which, together with the resources of the individual, create the paths of opportunity and generate the transformation of the self. The gendered representation in the two categories might correspond to the pattern of ways of improving their life situations, choosing a strategy that has earlier proved to lead to a pass in accessing social upward mobility (Goffman, 1992).

The gendered differences in the motivations of the entrepreneurs could well have a connection to the domination relationship between the sexes - men seeking symbolic capital power relations in their struggle for recognition. It is in the social world that recognition is awarded, and the struggle for it is bound to the importance it has on the identity of individual, giving him or her a sense of being in the world – a raison d'être – reasons for living (Bourdieu, 2000:240-41). In that respect the motivation is closely connected to the identity construction, closing a gap or discrepancy[17] between the personal and the social selves, which has expanded due to the change of the structural context. These changes bring with them biographical self-transformation, which, as the case studies show, can have different orientations and furthermore are linked to social constructions such as gender.

The first stage of analysis suggests that there seems to be differences among immigrant entrepreneurs that are gender-orientated, which is a dimension that much of the literature on immigrant entrepreneurship tends to be blind towards. Moreover, the biographical accounts used in the case study give some indications of what is of significance and therefore relevant to future studies on gendered issues in immigrant entrepreneurship. These empirical examples from the two cases suggest that differentiation exists in relation to the motivation factors behind female and male immigrants' reason for becoming self-employed, but how significant are the

---

[17] The discrepancy between the personal and social selves originates from Goffman's theory on human interaction. In one of his acknowledged field studies, "Asylums", from 1968, he depicts how the patients of psychiatric ward develop strategies to reduce the discrepancy between their own perception of themselves and social identity that is created in their interactions in social space.

differences and to what degree are they gender related? What happens to the picture when more biographical stories of immigrants with different profiles are included in the analysis? How does gender influence the entrepreneurial practice and strategizing? How do they experience their social position as self-employed and how does it influence their identity construction? These are some of the questions that arise after the first layer of the analysis is removed. In the next two stages of analysis I will attempt to reveal more details and further the understanding of the motives implied and strategies applied by male and female immigrant entrepreneurs. In this persecution I will include more cases in order to embrace the multiplicity of influences on this process and the strategies attached to it. For the purpose of the next two stages of analysis I will propose a number of hypotheses, which are constructed on the basis of the first stage of analysis:

Hypothesis 1: *The immigrants have different possibilities of accessing the self-employment market as there exists a gender inequality on the labour market that facilitates different possibilities of accessing self-employment.*
How do the opportunity structures influence the decision to become self-employed?

Hypothesis 2: *The gendered distinctions have an influence on the different types of motivation behind the entrepreneurial strategy.*
What role does gender play in relation to becoming self-employed?

Hypothesis 3: *Self-employment can be a route to segregation as well as integration in a gendered way, where male entrepreneurs can be placed in the segregation end and female entrepreneurs in the integration end of a continuum.*
How is gender related to the issues of social inclusion and exclusion of the immigrant entrepreneurs in the Danish labour market?

These three hypotheses have the aim of exposing different areas related to the gender perspective on immigrant entrepreneurship in order to explore the relations between the opportunity structures and the individuals. A purpose of focus on relations is that this way access to the social worlds of the individuals might be accomplished.

Chapter 7

Motivation and Intentions - an In-depth Analysis of Six Cases

The second stage of analysis

In the previous chapter I established patterns of differentiations in relation to *why* some immigrants choose to become self-employed and that these differences are partly gender-based. In this chapter I seek to elaborate upon this element of "why", by making a distinction between two types of explanations: the causal explanation (because of) which I will call *motives* and the teleological explanation (in order to) which I will call *intentions*.

This second analysis is built around the central themes and concepts identified in the first analysis, where the key concepts are recognition and autonomy. The analysis of the cases will be divided into two parts representing one of the two theoretical concepts, social recognition and autonomy, that were identified in the previous chapter. The concept of **recognition** was brought into the theoretical framework as it connotes certain themes identified in the first step of the analysis. The theoretical concept is, among other things, related to the themes of discrimination and limitation on the labour market. As stated in the previous chapter, the route to social recognition is closely related to the social position occupied by the individual, and therefore also to the resources they possess in the form of their accumulated capital combined with their habitus, which are observable as practices and strategies. Entrepreneurial strategies are thus related to the class or social strata that an individual belongs to, which is why I have chosen to expand the cases by taking this dimension into account. **Autonomy** is the theoretical concept that I have chosen to use to cover the themes of dependency and inflexibility. The choice of this theoretical concept is based on the relatively large span of the two themes, which necessitates a broad theoretical concept in order to embrace the differentiated meanings and consequences connected to the themes and, furthermore, to identify what the individual immigrants wish to obtain by being self-employed or in other words, what their intentions are.

Four causal motives have been identified and in this chapter I will explore how these relate to the intentions that the entrepreneurs have in their course of being self-employed. The selection of the cases is based on them being cases that contain

as much information and diversity as possible that are also recognisable in many of the other interviews, and the selected interviews will therefore reflect the diversities found in the entire data set.

The analysis of the themes is thus a further investigation of the gendered aspects in relation to the explanations of entering the entrepreneurial role among male and female immigrants. The focus in this second stage of analysis will be on the details and complexity of six single cases, where I wish to incorporate both the discussions of motives (because of) and intentions (in order to). For this purpose I have chosen six biographical interviews of which three are with female and three are with male immigrant entrepreneurs. The four cases, I have chosen in addition to the two cases that were introduced in chapter six, are distinguished from each other in the composition of gender, class and ethnicity, in order to make them represent the diversity of the data population.

The basis of this analytical step is a study of single cases in the form of an in-depth analysis of six biographical interviews with male and female entrepreneurs, in order to get into more specific details concerning the motives as well as the intentions of these entrepreneurs. Two of the interviews are identical to those from the first stage of analysis as they serve as a constant data variant to which other data representing immigrant entrepreneurs with different profiles can be compared. In this second stage of analysis I find it appropriate to introduce entrepreneurs who represent variations in terms of ethnicity, social background and migration history among other things. The analysis will be commenced by the main themes identified in the first analytical step in the previous chapter and from here it will continue with the more complex terrain of the motives and backgrounds mentioned.

Furthermore, the distinction between reactive and proactive types of acculturation into the Danish society in relation to using the entrepreneurial strategy is also represented in the cases. By this I refer to whether the entrepreneurial practise lead to bonding capital that is characterised by being low integrative in relation to the whole social field – the Danish society – and a strengthening of the bonds to the family and co-ethnic group, or if the practice facilitates bridging capital and provides the immigrant with resources that furthers the acculturation process in an integrative or assimilatory manner.

Each case or biographical story will be analysed separately and on their own terms, which will allow for individual characteristics of the cases to emerge. This will create grounds for the development of new aspects to arise in the analysis, based on the uniqueness of the individual cases that together create a foundation for specific patterns to emerge and can be made subject to further development of concepts and categories in the matter of comprehension. The analysis thereby opens up for further conceptualisation and new perspectives of the "reality" within the field of immigrant entrepreneurship, which will be explored in the next chapter.

Case 1: The biographical story of Whalid (M4)

Biographical profile
At the time of the interview Whalid is 38 years old and is married to a Pakistani woman and together they have an 11-month-old daughter and they live in Aarhus. Whalid came to Denmark with his parents and a younger brother when he was 15 years old. He was born and raised in Pakistan as an ethnic Indian. His father worked for Korean Airlines and got promoted as area manager of Scandinavia and was stationed in Denmark. In Denmark Whalid started at the International School with his brother, but stopped after two months. He then took Danish lessons and took two-year courses in physics and mathematics. Then he took a course preparing for matriculation and he also passed the Danish language test 2. He then started studying engineering in Aarhus but decided to study computer science instead: After some time he lost interest and dropped out. Soon after he began studying engineering again, a study which he finished in 1990. He then looked for employment but without success so he decided to take an MBA (Master of Business and Administration) so he did not waste his time being unemployed. After having completed this study he went into job training, but when the period finished he was back to square one – looking for employment. He was then placed in activation in a recycling project[18] and then it was back to unemployment. After he had been unemployed for five years, he decided to become self-employed. He then started his first business dealing with second-hand machines to the industries in underdeveloped countries. This business did not survive for long, but soon after it had closed down he started a new business in another trade. He started to import hand made letter paper and envelopes from Asian countries. This is his current business, which has a healthy economy.

---

[18] Activating projects arranged for unemployed persons.

Gaining social recognition

Beginning with the first stage of analysis Whalid's motivation to become self-employed is identified to be primarily based on gaining social recognition. When looking at his causal motivation, his biographical story points towards the fact that issues of limitations and discrimination on the labour market are the determining elements for him to become self-employed, while the purpose of self-employment has been to gain social recognition through accessing a higher social position as a successful business man. This aim seems to be connected to his personal experiences of having his cultural capital devalued in the sense that his appearance unveils his foreign origin, which he in some instances experiences as the cause of discrimination as, for example, the recruitment selection on the labour market or even racism when he talks about his former parents-in-law treating him as a second-class citizen although he comes from a family who holds a higher social position.

When considering Whalid's trajectory and his background, he does not seem to be an obvious candidate for self-employment. Being born into a family that belongs to the higher social strata in Pakistan means that he possessed certain advantages in relation to the social position he held in Pakistan. His family's migration to Denmark is voluntary as his father was promoted to area manager for Korean Airlines in Scandinavia, making it voluntary for his father but not necessarily the same for Whalid. His father's labour mobility has had certain positive and negative consequences for Whalid in terms of education and work. He was 15 years old when he arrived and started in 10th grade in a receiving class for foreign children and teenagers. The Danish education system gave Whalid good possibilities for educating himself and he has made the most out of this situation, as he has been able to follow his interests when choosing an education and changing it during the process – much like many Danish students do. He started in engineering studies and after two years he opted for computer science, but it did not really interest him that much so he went back to study engineering.

> Well it [computer science, ed.] did not interest me at all. I studied, I finished the first part, almost, and then I dropped out, and then I started studying engineering again. I think one of the reasons was that I did not know, that I came directly from college, which was very different (Whalid, p.2).

Whalid graduated as an engineer in 1990, and at that time it was hard to find a job, so he started doing a Master of Business and Administration at the Business School

in Aarhus, as he did not want to waste his time whilst he was looking for work. Through this combination of qualifications he wanted to strengthen his possibilities of finding employment.

> When I finished [my education, ed.] that was in 1990 and it was not easy to find employment ..... so while I was looking for work I took an MBA (Whalid, p.2).

Whalid's many resources or high degree of capital places him in an advantaged situation compared to most of the entrepreneurs of this investigation. It also gives him a strong and optimistic belief in his future in Denmark as he expresses in this quotation:

> If you combine the engineer qualifications with commercial studies you will have a strong position on the labour market....eh also in the future you will have better possibilities of moving around and get better and better positions..... It is especially when you have combined those two things and after a lot of experience, then, eh, then you can easily become director (Whalid, p.3).

Here, Whalid expresses an investment in the future that can strengthen his opportunities of accessing a higher social position on the labour market. It does, however, not necessarily mean that it is an expression of a realistic strategy, but rather that his projection is based on confidence in his own qualifications and less on an acknowledgement of how the opportunity structures on the labour market function. His approach may therefore be an expression of projection where his perception of his situation in relation to a labour market position is based on a very or even overly optimistic view on how to access different positions on the Danish labour market – thus creating a discrepancy between his strategy based on intended life planning formed by expectations, and the actual options formed by the opportunity structures.

Like many other migrants in Denmark, Whalid has experienced extreme difficulties in finding a job subsequent to completion of an education in Denmark. Being of a different ethnic background than Danish means that he cannot live up to the norms within the area of employment and he will be more exposed to unemployment than those individuals who live up to these norms. His experience of being rejected time after time has made him go into new directions in his trajectory, as he keeps his biographical story avoiding a limbo where everything seems to stand still. But

although he upgrades his qualifications it still does not pay off in terms of getting employment, as he says here:

> Then I finished and looked for work and looked for work and looked for work and looked for work (laughs) and looked for work, and there was nothing to have…. I did not even make it to an interview, but it was more and more depressing. So then, what does not happen you know, I have I believe three-four briefcases filled with applications…. But I don't really know what the reason has been to that I, you know many times, all my friends who finished at the same time as me, most of them were working. And the persons who wrote the same thesis and did not have commercial education, they got to an interview, I just did not. And there were nothing wrong with my applications, so it was.., it wasn't because they were bad applications, they were excellent, if I say so myself, this is what people who have read them said too (Whalid, p.3).

Shortly after he states:

> You know, what I was thinking of was that it could have something to do with my name, that people think, God, does he fit into our business culture…" (Whalid. p.4). He carries on by stating; "I applied for everything, all over Denmark, outside Denmark, and everything I could. It is just about getting work….. I could move anywhere, so ehh …I just wanted to get a job… Then I was unemployed for five years… About a year before I started I was determined to start on my own (Whalid, p.5).

The essence of this part of Whalid's story is that even though he has made quite large investments and accumulated cultural capital by educating and developing himself he cannot convert this into a job and thereby access economic capital. In Whalid's case, the conversion of educational capital may be blocked due to ethnic or racist issues, but it may also be due to the fact that his own expectations are so high and perhaps unrealistic and his strategy therefore does not correspond to the possibilities. Ethnicity functions as a reference to the issue of himself and others. In this context other – native Danes – become the normal, the dominant and the appropriate, elements which recognition is based upon. In a theoretical sense Whalid experiences himself being a stigmatised person in the social structures of the larger field of the labour market. Whalid's story illustrates how conversion of capital can be difficult, which at times necessitates a different strategy – a transformative strategy – in this case self-employment. The decision was not made swiftly as it was not until after five years of unemployment that Whalid went into self-employment. Relating this fact to his background, one may interpret that self-employment is not an original part of his habitus, which is more based on career-

making through education and qualifications that may lead to a good position on the labour market as for example becoming a director, which he mentions in an earlier sequence. In other words, the entrepreneurial strategy and the practises of self-employment do not seem to be internalised in his repertoire of actions but do over time become a rational strategy for accomplishing social mobility and recognition. It is a situation where Whalid experiences that his competences and abilities are not recognised and valued, which can lead to a feeling of symbolic violence that Whalid expresses through his indication of ethnic discrimination and racism.

In his narration Whalid emphasizes the importance of social recognition to him in terms of achieving success in what he is doing. The focus on becoming successful may have a connection to his experience of belonging to a racialised ethnicity, making success the main purpose for the entrepreneurial strategy and giving the importance of the trade a less important role. The strategy is thus not so much a matter of gaining wealth as it is a matter of gaining recognition in order to strengthen his self-esteem and self-appreciation. On the other hand, this focus may very well also be influenced by Whalid's upbringing in a successful family that endows him with certain perceptions such as the central role of success as a part of his habitus. This raises an important issue of which externalities are internalised when growing up in a diasporal culture, and which of the internalities actually can be externalised! Whalid has lived most of his life in Denmark and he has therefore been influenced by the Danish culture and society as a whole as well as by his parents throughout his upbringing. Moreover, it is likely to be a matter of both upbringing and racialised ethnicity that endow Whalid with high motivation in his pursuit for success and social recognition.

An important aspect of Whalid's possibilities of accessing a social position as a successful entrepreneur, is his social network in terms of his family background, which has socialised him and internalised a habitus that enables him to navigate easily in the Danish system(s). Having a Pakistani background does not necessarily lead to a high degree of capital accumulation, as this depends on class position. New research by Dahl and Jacobsen (2005) points to the Pakistani group on average being less educated and with very low participation on the labour market, whilst another study shows that some of the best performers in the educational system are young Pakistanis (Kolding, 2004). This could indicate a large distance between the majority and the elite of this ethnic group. Moreover, these results could also reflect a generational aspect of social mobility in terms of the parents investing a lot in

their children's education and future. This explanation corresponds with statistics which shows that the descendants are managing better in the Danish society than their parents who arrived as immigrants.

Whalid's social network includes co-ethnics (apart from his family) as he prioritises fitting in by adjusting to the Danish system and culture including Danish norms and values and he is seemingly assimilated in the Danish society. Furthermore, he is in his biographical story very concerned with the issue of "me or us and them", where it seems as if he is making an effort to position himself as a well-integrated and positioned person who possesses the right capital and therefore needs to be recognised as a full member of the Danish society

> We are a very proud people, Asians can be very proud. I was dating a girl and it was also the beginning to become independent or something. I was studying computer science, her parents were self-employed, but not very well- educated. They had 10th grad or something like it, nothing more, and they called me a second-class human…They were very mad at her for going out with a second class human…. because of my colour. I don't know, I believe our family standard was much higher than theirs. My father held a good position and we socialised with people who were well educated, held high positions, people of the embassy, ambassadors and directors of air companies and our whole family is well educated. You know everybody in the family has a university degree. But still they were upset and I did not like visiting them very much. Christ, if they thought being self-employed is such a big deal, it was, I was still studying, so I started – it was only for fun – with an import business, and I got registered and still studied computer science at the university and I was lucky I sold it (laughs) and earned in fact quite a lot of money. I earned a hundred thousand in one go (laughs). Then I told Dorthe, you know what, you can take my account book to your parents and show it to them, that I have earned so and so much money; it is not the money that matters. I don't accept help from my parents, I manage on my own. I worked at an old people's home while I was studying. Then she showed it to her parents that I earned so and so much money, but ehh I wasn't interested in being self-employed at the time – I just wanted to study (Whalid, p.8)

In this quote there are some inconsistencies with earlier statements/passages in the narration where Whalid has expressed that he started as self-employed after five years of unemployment. An interesting reflection on the above quotation is the point of biographical work being done. From a biographical research point of view this is a matter of how the individual adapts his or her biographical story and one way to do so is through the self-narrations that are presented to others. Moreover, the narrator is engaged in doing biographical work whilst telling her or his life

story, which is influenced by the situation at the time of the narration, including the presence of the researcher. A scientific concern here will then be to what degree the subjectivity of the interviewee influences the reliability of the data material – the biographical interviews.

Another interpretation of the above sequence is Whalid's objection towards not being recognised as an equal to other Danes. His story about himself often evolves around how he is not different from native Danish males. The experience of being regarded as a person of lesser importance because of his race and ethnicity is also expressed in the next segment, where he continues talking about his Danish girlfriend, Dorthe, whom he was dating for a longer period of time:

> …The plan was that Dorthe and I were to get married when I graduated as an engineer, and then Dorthe was upset about me not wanting to visit her parents, you know. Well, I wasn't treated very well, if I was sitting at the dining table and the sister's boyfriend sat there and I sat there, you know, then Mikkel [the sister's boyfriend, ed.] got waited on, here you go Mikkel, here you go Mikkel, and me and we just sat there and looked (laughs a bit). Well, when you feel that you are not welcome somewhere, then you can't be bothered. And Dorthe was the type of girl who wanted to have this kind of nuclear family and that you meet and have a nice time. Then I said, do you know what, this is not working. I have to stop. So then I opted out – after seven years. Because it would remain the same for the rest of our lives. And I can't change things, I can't change the way I look, so…. I met others (girls) and dated them, I did not want to get into the same thing again. So I was out travelling, then I met a girl abroad, and we fell for each other, and then we got married (laughs)….I met her in India…and, ehh, she is from Pakistan, too, but I met her in India, while I was on a business trip. Then we decided, why not, it has to be now, it's now or never (laughs). Well at one point or another you have to have children and get married or else it's too late (Whalid, p.18).

In the first part of the above passage Whalid expresses how he experienced not being treated as an equal individual in his girlfriend's home and it is an expression that can be related to moral inequality where he is devalued as a person that does not posses the "right" qualities, which can be humiliating and a violation of a person's identity.

In the last part of the sequence Whalid talks of a very important turning point in most people's lives, namely marriage. The fact that his wife is from Pakistan appears to be of some importance as he seems very eager to point out that they met in India. This can be interpreted as a matter of emphasizing that it was not an arranged marriage, but that they met by pure coincidence on one of his business

trips and fell in love with each other, just as it could happen to any "ordinary" (Danish) person. His narration about his former Danish girlfriend also has certain significance in relation to his own identification. The length of this narration indicates the importance for him to talk about this relationship in order to express this aspect of his biographical story. One interpretation of this matter is related to his social identity in terms of acquiring social inclusion and recognition. This is not to say that the relationship was not based on genuine feelings, but rather that an unconscious incitement might have been to generate a certain picture of one self – a particular expression that leaves a certain and desired impression. In Whalid's case there are several indications of him making an effort in relation to positioning himself as a person belonging to an ethnic minority group in a pursuit for integrated and not at least recognised as being well-integrated into Danish society. Several immigrants, in particular the males, use a way of rhetorically positioning their own ethnic group higher than some of the other ethnic minority groups.

Autonomy

Themes connected to the theoretical concept of autonomy are: dependency, inflexibility and emancipation. The latter is from a theoretical perspective not merely linked to women and women's liberation, but rather it is a notion referring to the process of liberating one from cultural ties that are creating barriers for free movement of the individual or groups of individuals. In this definition of emancipation women's rights are just one aspect of gender equality.

In Whalid's account it is primarily dependency of these themes that is his causal motivation although cultural emancipation or shredding of the old culture could be argued to have an influence on his conduct of entrepreneurial practise. One issue that can illuminate this interpretation is his explanations of how other ethnic groups ruin their business opportunities by sharing information and knowledge within the ethnic networks.

> I know the trades. For example in the textile trade foreigners have completely ruined the market. It used to be possible to make a lot of money for those who are in wholesale... today there is nothing to earn for people who import…. But it is because the work is within networks, and then if it goes reasonably well for me in my kiosk, then I lend money to someone who also opens a kiosk, because I trust that I will get my money back. But if he wants to open a hairdressing salon or something else I know nothing about, and then because they lend money to each other, then you also tie each other to the same trades. And really they are ousting each other. But it's true, I have spoken to many, mostly

Iranian, engineers and they start up restaurants, pizza places and kiosks (Whalid, p.26).

In the above statement Whalid demonstrates both his knowledge of the field of immigrant entrepreneurship and his ability to create his own independent approach to self-employment, where he does not have to be dependent on ethnic network neither when starting the business nor staying in business. In the sequence below Whalid also expresses an expansive approach to entrepreneurship:

> I would never dream of starting a restaurant or pizza place or something like that, because I can just imagine it. I start a pizza place and then I make pizza for the next 25 years in the same shop. I can just about earn my wage, but I don't really have the opportunity of becoming big. Anybody can see that. Well I don't know many from Pakistan or from India in this country, you know, all my friends are Danish. But should I meet someone from Pakistan or India, then I never tell them what my business is dealing with (Whalid, p.26).

Whalid does not want to be a part of such an ethnic network or community, on the contrary, he seems to make an effort to be very "Danish" as for example by not having any friends with immigrant backgrounds and having a Danish girlfriend for several years. In relation to the latter, his explanations for breaking up with his Danish girlfriend, Dorthe, explanations that are based on his experiences with her parents not recognising him as an equal person compared to native Danes. It seems as if he, through the entrepreneurial strategy, tries to improve his social position by shredding off some of his "old" cultural baggage and then takes on or learns the culture of the established group, which may be comprehended as a strategy for emancipation from bonds of the ethnic minority culture.

The first business Whalid started was selling second-hand material such as machines and conveyer belts to the industry in third-world countries. He played high stakes and invested a substantial amount of time and money in it, but it turned out to be too big a mouthful:

> I got wiser; I was too small to those projects, eh, somebody asked me to send some conveyer belts, used conveyer belts. Those conveyer belts that are used in the heavy industry ….. I finally managed to get some from Germany, a huge lot… So if I could sell them I would earn so and so much. So I imported them and the people who were very interested did not buy anything (Whalid, p.27).

After trying the business of exporting different goods Whalid got into the import business more specifically the paper trade. At first he tried the aquarelle paper and

canvas without success and then he ended in the hand-made stationary business. With his new business strategy Whalid moves from applying a projective to a more protensive approach to his entrepreneurial practise, even though he maintains the pursuit for personal and economic success. The below sequence illustrates how he still wants to make it big:

> I had a load of samples, I had.., what can I do make something of these samples. So I placed them in a cardboard box – no, I called Salling [department store] and asked if they were interested….. To Salling (laughs) lets think big, I thought (laughs) (Whalid, p.6).

These few statements that I have chosen here exemplify what type of entrepreneur that Whalid is and how his willingness to take risks and to gamble shows again his tendencies to apply a protension strategy in his approach towards self-employment. He goes to great extremes to present an image of the big business man, both on the large and the small scale. An example of the small adjustments to this image is his physical appearance and the fact that he is very aware of the impression he gives through the way he expresses himself. To do this presumes some knowledge of and insight of this level of social stratification.

> And then I parked the bike 50 meters from Salling (laughs). They were not to know that I had nothing (Whalid, p. 7).

Being a man of the world seems to come quite easily to him and if one considers his background with a father who is high in the hierarchy of an international aeroplane company he would most probably be accustomed to this "world", in other words it is internalised as a part of his habitus. Still his attempt to access the field is impeded by his lack of economic capital, but with establishment support and private loans he manages to raise the starting capital.

> It was with establishment support….. With this I got by, mind you, I did not have many goods, everything was sold and I did not have much money either and I borrowed 25,000 for investment, that is not very much…… I borrowed it privately. The bank – the bank wouldn't lend me anything, not even a cash credit…… it was from the family. It was the family I borrowed it from the family, but ehh I paid it back within a year. But it was, it was an investment of 25.000 kroner, and that conveyer belt I did not earn much on either. (Whalid, pp.7-8).

Whalid continues on this topic by explaining:

You know, banks nowadays do not take any chances. It might be better now, I don't know. I am on very good terms with the bank today, today I can take a loan for anything, I just call the bank. They know that I do as I say and if I need half a million, then "you just go ahead" (Whalid, p.8).

Whalid believes it to be very important to develop trust in a business relationship in order for the other party to believe that you have a successful project so they will support it. Regarding his trust relation with the bank he said,

You built it up auto… ehh, step by step. If you ask if you can overdraw you account with 10,000 kroner, and then they say "when can I have it back" and then you say next month. Then you have to pay it back the next month, it has to be there. Many people do this if the money isn't there, that they don't phone the bank and then the bank sends you a reminder, then you ruin your image. Plus you have to have personal contact to the bank, to a particular person. You should always talk to the same person. That trust I have built step by step. I always do as I promise (Whalid, p.8).

Whalid seems to use quite some energy on public relations as an investment. Moreover, he has a good portion of insight into the business world in general, and also in a Danish context. In human interaction trust is a very fundamental aspect and furthermore, trust is also an important element of customer relations and Whalid's concern seems to be just as orientated towards risks as towards trust.

There is always a risk. There is a risk that those you deliver to goes bankrupt, that they don't pay you (Whalid, p.9).

The above quotation illustrates Whalid's awareness of the kind of game he is playing, that being self-employed is risky business, but he is willing to take risks in order to expand his business. Expansions will most likely lead to an increase of his accumulated capital and strengthen his position, which will improve his social recognition.

…we got customers in London. There is competition, but our prices are so good, so it looks very positive in London. I have employed a person in London, I forgot that (laughs). I have employed a person in London, so now I am going for Germany. That is the plan, and it is hopefully here in January, where I will attend a fair in Frankfurt, in Germany. Then, we are on to Germany, The Netherlands, there will be people from all over the world, except London (laughs)…..In England, they are not coming, but in July, and then we are exhibiting in London, our paper. So there are definitely plans of getting big. Because in the trade, there are incredibly many things to consider, but that's the way it is. But you have to have the capital, and then it slowly grows, the capital.

> If you get more capital then there be more and more goods, and then it will probably get bigger (laughs)…. let me say it this way, I am not applying for any positions at the moment, I have my independence. Also I know that if you are employed, you can risk being sacked, and then suddenly you are without a job. Here I know that I have something, which has ... well there are risks, I can go bankrupt anytime. Anything can happen when I make big deals, sometimes it is just at the edge where I loose what I have. Then I'll have to start all over again, but I'll take only as much risk as I know I won't be in debt. I'll just have to start from scratch again (Whalid, p.16).

The importance of creating a successful business might in Whalid's case be strengthened by his former experiences of racial discrimination, which may create an attitude towards work based on the experience of having to prove himself in order to enjoy the full recognition from the established group of native Danes. In this endeavour it might also be a part of the practice to differentiate him from groups who are equally or to a greater extent misrecognised.

In relation to creating and maintaining an autonomous life style in order to be in control of his time and life in general as he expresses here:

> It [waged employment, ed.] is not so important anymore because, I have gone so far that I earn more money than I would as an employee and I have my independence. I can take the day off whenever I like, I can go and play badminton, I can go fishing, I can go on holiday when it suits me, if I can't be bothered to work one day then I don't (Whalid, p.15)

He is, however, not doing it merely for his own sake as the gain of economic capital also has the aim of family empowerment, as he expresses in the following sequence:

> It is not my goal to earn a lot of money. My goal is to be happy and have a clear conscience; well I help quite a lot of people, too. We have started a kind of organisation, although it is for family, eeh, where we have a special account where we put in quite a lot of money, to help the poor, the people who needs money, you know (Whalid, p.17).

Giving economic support to other family members does, however, also lead to personal empowerment by the way of accessing symbolic capital through being in a position of giving this financial help.

Whalid's narrative shows that his primary motive is to gain social recognition through self-employment. The main reason is that he is not able to use his educational capital and he does, therefore, not gain symbolic capital even though he

is a person of many resources. The intention of this struggle for recognition is to create a business success, which will provide him with more economic capital. In a sense Whalid's motive resembles a traditional model of capitalistic orientation, but also with the purpose of obtaining family empowerment, although his main intentions seem to be of a capitalistic orientation and to strengthen his self-appreciation.

Case 2: the biographical story of Yasmin (F3)

Biographical profile
See pp. 103-04

The main background for Yasmin's choice to become self-employed is to be found in her nature to search challenges and new opportunities creating continuity and a flexible work situation that suits her form of living. This is a very important choice in relation to her life planning, that is based on a desire to take control over her own situation and to create a more flexible work-life in order to ease the situation as a single mum. This new form of living also improves her social position, as she now is her own boss and interacts with people in high positions – her clients – because her saloon attracts high-status people. She would not have had this opportunity on the ordinary labour market, where she had to submit to the demand of work and the conditions attached to it. Yasmin's situation illustrates how the same occupation can have different social positionings attached to it, which among other things depend on the individual's habitus of profession. Being a hairdresser does in many cases only access moderate recognition but in some cases such as Gun Britt and Tony and Guy[19], hairdressers are able to achieve am vast amount of recognition

Recognition
In Yasmin's biographical story the theme of recognition is not emphasised as strongly as the theme of autonomy although she does talk about issues on discrimination. Here she talks about the inequal relationship between native Danes and immigrants:

---

[19] Gun Britt (Aalborg, Denmark) and Tony and Guy (England) are world-famous professional hairdressers and their clients are from the international jet-set, which they themselves also belong to.

> When you are a foreigner and have an accent and look different, then you actually have to make more of an effort and prove that you are something. Therefore it is necessary to obtain many things (qualifications) (Yasmin p.1).

This theme of discrimination shows how Yasmin conceives herself and her social position in the Danish society. She acknowledges the opportunities that she has, but at the same time, she feels that she has to work harder than the natives in order to gain same recognition. Capital accumulation is more difficult than it was in Iran before the revolution, where it was possible to gain qualifications through the "learning by doing" principle. Yet the fact that she is qualified as a beautician and a hairdresser shows her ability make use of the opportunities and accumulate some capital. However, the value of these trades is quite low and does therefore not bring much capital with them. Becoming self-employed does, however, grant her with more capital, as this is connected to a higher value because of the controlling/domination position attached to it. This was for her a way of gaining some recognition in the settling society, and also an attempt to get some approval from her parents who regard her trade as only suitable for "empty heads". Now she is also a businesswoman, which gives her more status not at least taking into account that her father was self-employed too. The lack of social recognition has yet another dimension for many female immigrant entrepreneurs in shape of opposition from their social network in particularly the male members such as husband, father and brothers. Yasmin never received her parents' full accept and recognition of what she accomplished even though becoming self-emploed partly was based on this achievement. Her parents' lack of acceptance and recognition is based on hairdressing considered an occupation below her former social position in Iran and what is expected of her. This impression of the trade illustrates quite well the differences in the specific national valuation schemes for trades and labour market positions. It might also be an expression of Yasmin's struggle for her parents' recognition of her choices in life, such as her choice to seek asylum and her choice of profession which is important for her self-esteem.

Yasmin has experiences of being discriminated against both as a foreigner and as a woman. She feels in some situations misrecognised as a bearer of a different culture (a different cultural/ethnic identity) that is less valued and because of the inequality between women and men. Furthermore, she also thinks that women are discriminated against due to their gender, which is a topic receiving quite some attention in the narration. In a passage in the middle of the interview she explains how she has experienced unfair behaviour when she was doing her training. She

134

talks about how she, time after time, has been let down by the other girls and relates this to general gender issues and how you have to fight for your rights.

> …Whereas in my country you give your head [life, ed.] because you have an opinion and still you fight. We live in 2003, women are still at the bottom. Women still gets a lower salary. Women still don't have as many top positions as men. Women are still taking the backseat, because it is them who deliver the future of society, the children. That's the reward. They are the ones who use their body, who damages the body and the functions of it. They get to look ugly, and they get punished all the way. It is fucking unfair. I think it is (Yasmin, p.10).

Although Yasmin originates from a country that is much more divided in terms of class and gender, she still finds the Danish society very discriminatory towards women. Her strong focus on this issue, which she returns to many times in her narration, could be brought on by the very fact that she fled from a more discriminating and even oppressive state with rather traditional and conservative views on social relations and interaction. Nevertheless her encounter with the Danish social structures raises questions regarding equality, particularly in relation to gender and ethnicity. A partial explanation could be the significant change in the social structures and the gain or regain of more individual freedom and rights that gives her new perspectives on her own subjectivity that includes dimensions of personal and social identity. In her narration Yasmin expresses how she experiences being devaluated as an individual due to her gender and ethnic belonging, which may be interpreted as feeling double stigmatised.

Autonomy
Another angle on the same issue is the intersectional perspective, where gender and ethnicity are intertwined concepts throughout the autobiographical stories of immigrant entrepreneurs. The change from belonging to the ethnic majority group in Iran and becoming a member of an ethnic minority group in the Danish society has caused changes in her social identity, which has provoked changes in her self-perception. Yasmin's biographical story indicates that connected to her own self-perception is an increasing strive for emancipation from some of the former (female) identifications determined by the socialisation processes she has been exposed to during her upbringing. In the interview she shows great interest and concern in matters on equality, in particular when it comes to gender-related matters but also ethnical and racial equality is of great concern. One explanation of her engagement in equality could be that Denmark has (or at least had) a certain

reputation for being a very liberated country with values based on democracy, freedom and equality. Her expectations of life in the new country might not corresponded to the discourses and practises she has experienced during her settlement in Denmark.

Her occupational choice lies within the feminine trades, using her feminine capital (Metcalf & Linstead, 2003) to gain access to other forms of capital. In this respect one could argue that there exists a relation between her dispositions (habitus) and her social positioning, based on the fact that the connection between objective possibilities and goals, hopes and dreams is very strong (Jârvinen, 2000). This perspective on the motivation indicates a gender distinction between female and male entrepreneurs that is embodied and therefore rather rigid. Furthermore, her entrepreneurial practice can be characterised as protensive as the goal is realisable and she does not set her-self unattainable goals, but stays within a frame of what is reachable.

Another central theme that emerges from Yasmin's story is autonomy. She explains how she does not want to have employees, because she does not want to loose the independence she enjoys as a solo self-employed. This also indicates that she does not want to take any risks that could jeopardise her position. Her attitude can be explained by a desire towards self-realisation through self-employment to achieve an autonomous life plan. In her trajectory Yasmin talks about her difficulties in finding an apprenticeship, but after she finished her training, she found employment and hereafter she did not really have employment problems. It is rather a matter of being free of having a superior who may survey and control her work.

> There is no employer who is looking over your shoulder and who looks at you and asks why did you do this and why did you do that (Yasmin, p.17).

Earlier in the interview she stated:

> Apart from the independence I had, where I can do freelance jobs or go home. I am afraid that it will give problems if I have a trainee. Because to me there is no such a thing as a 6 or 8 hour working day, sometimes I work 16 hours (Yasmin, p.14).

In these quotes there are two aspects of autonomy represented. Firstly, Yasmin talks about her independence in relation to being her own boss. Her expressed importance of being self-employed can be related to a reaction on the discrimination she has

experienced earlier in the work life. In the second sequence, Yasmin is talking about necessity of flexibility in her work day, where she does not want to be dependent on an employee.

Being self-employed has good and bad consequences for Yasmin, being a single mother. A main reason is to have more flexible working conditions in order to ease her life situation as a working and single mother.

> …like last Friday when my son finished college, then I did not have to ask for the day off…..or if my son is not happy one day, and I can see that there is not many customers, then I can just take the day off (Yasmin, p.16).

Self-employment gives her the independence to adjust her work life to the private life to some extent. On the other hand, it limits her possibilities of staying at home if one of her children is ill, but she still prefers the type of flexibility related to self-employment. Being self-employed gives her the opportunity to give her children the right priority and this is an important motivation factor in her account.

Yasmin's motivation is also, to some degree, influenced by an existentialistic approach to entrepreneurship, becoming a part of her self-realisation. Becoming self-employed is thus partly because she can, which moreover becomes a significant part of her construction of the self, in other words a matter of "I can, therefore I am" (Lury, 1998). Essential to this approach is the individualising perspective on self-construction as a matter of "doing" as well as an experimental self.

When digging deeper into the biographical story of Yasmin, the intentions of her entrepreneurial strategy emerges. She emphasises that she wanted to have more freedom in terms of flexible working hours than she had in her waged position, with the purpose of being more together with her children. She is not dissatisfied with her situation as an employee, but regards self-employment as an opportunity that she had to seize, and through which she obtains self-realisation. Furthermore, gaining self-esteem is also an intention found in Yasmin's narration, which is mainly in relation to her parents.

Case 3: The biographical story of Lahle (F4)

Biographical profile

Lahle is a Turkish woman who at the time of the interview was 35 years old. She lives in Aarhus with her Turkish husband and their two children. Lahle's father went to Denmark as a work migrant in 1973 and when Lahle was 10-11 years old she and her mother followed him. In Turkey her mother had worked in agriculture but after immigrating to Denmark she stayed at home. Lahle started in a receiving class for foreign children and later she started in sixth grade. After ending secondary school she went to polytechnics, because she wanted to become a hairdresser. At the time it was very hard to get an apprenticeship, so she decided to go into the garment trade and after a year she became a dressmaker. Then she met her husband-to-be who is a renovation operator. They got married and shortly after they had their first child. Lahle decided then that she wanted to work within a trade that interested her and so she did a one year beautician course. She then had her second child. After maternity leave she started a beauty clinique, and at the time of the interview it had been running for three years. The profit of the business is marginal, so in order to stay in business she has had a cleaning job in a kindergarten for the past 2½ years.

Recognition

From the biographical profile one can see that Lahle has quite a long work record within the service sector, which indicates that Lahle's motivations for becoming self-employed is not due to limitations on the labour market. After being trained as a dressmaker she works in a kindergarten and after some time she became unemployed. After a couple of months of unemployment she "just has to have a job", and she manages to get employment in an activity centre for children, youngsters and families in Brabrand, a part of Aarhus that has many residents with immigrant background. Throughout her narration Lahle expresses an urge to keep her biographical story going, and she uses all her abilities and different resources to access different labour market positions. Like the majority of the female informants in this research she uses what I refer to as traditional female trade skills in Denmark such as sewing, beauty care, hairdressing, child-caring, cleaning, etc. This is also a culturally determined relation, in the sense that trades are not universally gendered, but can vary from culture to culture. In the service sector she can use her skills and training and these are convertible in the entrepreneurial field, unlike many of the

male entrepreneurs who are much more likely to set up businesses within trades in which they have no skills or experience.

Shortly after she states:

> I have learned a lot and I have tried it. And it is nice enough to be self-employed. And here I will say that especially for us foreigners here in Denmark...because…I am not the only one who feel that we are being exploited or…well not maybe isn't treated fair by the Danes…on the labour market. They are not. And never get as much credit, I don't think so. They sort of have to work extra hard and then never get the credit that they deserve. Then they loose the motivation for working………But I'll say that in Denmark as a foreigner you will never get treated as well as the Danes and therefore many loose the incentive to work (Lahle, p.8)

Here Lahle is expressing her feeling of being misrecognised due to her immigrant background. Her experience of not being valued equally to the native Danes is a tendency that is present in most of the life stories in this investigation. The inequality experienced in the treatment of people brings on a conception of injustice, based on a feeling of the discourse and practice of the field not being right or reasonable. This situation also contributes to the creation of her intentional motives, which are partly based on her pursuing occupational plans without the aggravations of being employed.

> They (the customers, ed.) had to get to know me first because when you are a foreigner then they have to get used to you first and then get used to that I actually touch them. Because it is different from a kiosk; I get very close to them, I touch them…. (Lahle, pp.10-11).

Later Lahle say:

> People judge everybody as if you are on social benefits and eh yah we do pay (taxes and so on, ed.) (Lahle, p.14).

Lahle is here referring to being discredited just because you are a foreigner and made a suspect purely on this account. This kind of stigmatisation is experienced by the majority of the interviewees, but there does seem to be a pattern of the lowest social positioned immigrants to a greater extent than those in a higher social position encounter these experiences, which could be related to their own perception of reality or to their belonging to certain ethnic groups. Becoming self-employed can in this situation be perceived as a coping strategy for avoiding the

unequal relationship between native Danish employers and employees and ethnic minority workers. This form of misrecognition fits the sphere that Honneth refers to as the solidarity sphere, i.e. recognition should be granted equally to all participants or citizens.

> To get to know us and I get to know them in a different way than to meet them and meet their racist attitude out on the streets, you know, because that makes me a racist too… I can't help saying; those bastard Danes, they are always like this and that…. well, you do it automatically. Or I withdraw and say, I don't want to have anything to do with them (Lahle, p.16).

Earlier in the interview she expressed her feelings regarding employment like this

> If I wanted to work I had to be self-employed… Just be self-employed or work with other foreigners (Lahle, p.8)

These statements illustrates how Lahle perceives herself in relation to the social context, which to her is divided into "us" and "them" as she makes a clear distinction between the ethnic minority groups and the native Danes – either she wants to be on her own or with her own people. Lahle's self-perception seems rather influenced by this divided and ethicised picture of the labour market and social life in Denmark in general. She does not express as positive a view of the Danish society, system or people as others of the female entrepreneurs like for example Yasmin. In Lahle's case the discrimination, she experiences, is mainly bound to her ethnic and racial belonging and not to gender which is more dominant in the narrations of some of the other female entrepreneurs. This suggests the presence of a constant struggle between the ethnic, gender and class dimension in the life world. The respondents who have experienced most discrimination/racism and express the most negative relationship between them and the native population tends to be the lesser educated immigrants.

Another reason why she chooses this pathway is inclined to be due to other circumstances such as pregnancy and maternity leave that has "interfered" with the trajectory and the life planning earlier in her biographical story and then during employment as a beautician, she experienced being discriminated. The former reason can be supported by other studies that identifies caring for infants and small children as one of the main reasons for the, on average, low labour-market participation of immigrant women (see Dahl & Jacobsen, 2005). In Lahle's case her

work trajectory is "disturbed" by two pregnancies, which results in a revision of her life plan and the decision to become self-employed.

Autonomy
The development of an autonomous life plan plays a very central role in Lahle's biographical story, which for example is expressed in this quote:

> I wouldn't say, not of…because you can't say no to anything. You can't have your own opinion. I had a racist (customer, ed.) once. He did not want me but I was forced to take him, and I had to listen to how bad we are. And I couldn't say anything, I couldn't say, I don't want you anymore. I couldn't say that because they have to have their money. So I had to smile at him and treat him, and I just couldn't do it, of course if I had a job where I could speak my mind, then I might very well be able to work under somebody else. But I couldn't and I had to take him, so there wasn't anything to be done. And now I can say if they don't like me, then they can go away. There is nothing to do about it, and I don't want to be treated differently. And those who come to me they like me, otherwise they wouldn't come here (Lahle, p.2).

The situation that Lahle in the above sequence describes is an example of how she was motivated to become self-employed by the negative experiences. Taking control over her own life course seems to have a substantial influence on the revision of her life planning. Being her own master gives Lahle the possibility of choosing her clients and she is no longer subjected to putting up with rude and insulting behaviour. This pattern is also found in other narrations of female entrepreneurs who work in the service sector in trades where the contact with the customers is direct and last for a considerable time, as for example in the case of hairdressers or beauticians.

In her narration Lahle speaks several times about her view of the system and its representatives in whom she does not have much confidence, as she seems to believe that they are not taking her interest, which she for example expresses in this way:

> I am the type who will do it if they say I can't do it and they are not to decide that. Who do they think they are, how can they judge me, you know. So I get really mad and angry and then I do it. And then there it is again, that's not for her to decide and definitely not degrade me. Then I'll show her. That small support she could keep to herself, I wasn't going to take it…. For example there was something that pissed me off. Because they were not to decide, I had had enough of them deciding for me. Nobody should come and say don't do it….(Lahle, p.3).

She continues to speak on this matter:

> Just drop it and … or do something else, and she meant, the secretary, she meant that it wasn't a recognised education. And I think it was very rude of her, and she can't judge that. She hasn't got the right to interfere, she is only a secretary and books appointments for people, but it was as if she stood in the way. Then I got insulted. Nobody was to decide for me. And if I couldn't get support I don't want… I don't want to feel that I owe anybody anything. And if they, on top of that, want to decide for me then I won't take it. Then I will rather do without the support or the things I am entitled to, and then I have made my own decision. And if I couldn't get it then it does not matter. It was something I had to try and I tried it. And if it does not work out then it does not work out, but when I get old I can say I tried (Lahle, p.4).

In the above sequences, the issue of controlling one's own biographical story is firmly expressed in Lahle's narration. This aspect of autonomy is present in all the narrations – being a central aspect of individual lifestyle that dominates modern western societies. Although control is a common issue it is mostly in the male entrepreneurs' narrations that it dominates the story, which in many of the cases possibly can be linked to the their position in the family, which often has a patriarchal character. Lahle's emphasis on the issue is therefore rather unusual and there might be a relation to her situation as an independent without much social support, which might have brought on an extra need for the support, she does not receive elsewhere, as she expresses in the following sequence:

> I don't have a network to tell me anything. Many others have a network and family within the field and that kind of thing, then it is easier to get help. Not like the help from the council or what it is called, that is something else. They don't have the staff; they don't have the time (Lahle, p.5).

And shortly after she says:

> You have to know it from the beginning and I don't know if one should get support, other than from the job centre, it should be them who advice me. They could have said stop, relax, get information on this and this and this. It could have been an obligation, so they could have been better, so I could build on a better foundation. You know, so that I would feel more confident on the matter… but I did not feel that, but jumped into it, and then I had to go my own way (Lahle, p.6).

Lahle also speaks of how starting her own business was a dream come true. This brings a dimension of self-realisation into her biographical story, which is a commonly found intention of the female entrepreneurs. In Lahle's case she expresses it in this way:

> It was a dream (becoming self-employed, ed.) and you have to put it to the test. And then I tried and it did not, after half a year then … then I began to wait for the child allowance and then I got myself a cleaning job in a kindergarten. Now I have had that for two and a half years and now I clean every day. But also there I can choose, I go there when they are closed… (Lahle, p.2).

Being self-employed obviously means a lot to Lahle as she is willing to take on an extra job to make ends meet. This situation also means that the business is not making a big enough profit for her to cover her share of supporting the family, which means that she is not rewarded much economic capital from the entrepreneurial strategy. However, she does gain independence from being self-employed, an important part of her strive for a more autonomous life plan without interference from social workers or other representatives of the system. It is not that she will not work with anybody; it just has to be other foreigners:

> If I am going to work, I have to be self-employed ….. Just be self-employed or work with other foreigners (Lahle p.8).

This can be interpreted as a reaction to the discrimination that she has experienced during her life course in Denmark. These experiences have brought on a feeling of resentment towards the "established" or natives and a reluctance towards interacting with them unless it is on a business basis. Later in the narration she says:

> But I would like to have another education, on top of the other. So there would be alternatives, different things to choose from (Lahle, p.11).

This statement reveals an aspect of Lahle's entrepreneurial strategy, that it might not be purely based on being her dream, but might also be connected to what is possible within her means, as in what opportunities she has and with the resources she possesses.

Lahle, like Yasmin stresses the importance of having more time with her children and this comes across as the main purpose of the entrepreneurial strategy. Lahle's husband still dreams of going back to Turkey, but she is very reluctant as she is concerned with her children's future in Turkey, as she anticipates that their

prospects are better in Denmark. Furthermore, she expresses the importance of not having a Danish employer, because she has some experiences of being badly treated and racially discriminated against. She also wants to obtain independence, as well as to realise her dream.

Case 4: The biographical story of Rashid (M16)

Biographical profile
See pp. 101-02.

Recognition
As identified in the first stage of analysis Rashid's main motive for becoming self-employed is because of lack of recognition, particular in relation to limitations on the labour market created by regulations and barriers of more cultural character

Being able to support the family financially is important to Rashid and it is not so much a matter of economic gain, which is rather small, but the struggle for social accept and recognition, which he clearly feels that his new position as a shopkeeper gives him to a much higher degree than being self-employed. In the sequence below it becomes apparent how being able to support his family and the struggle to maintain his status as the patriarch is very important to Rashid's self-identity:

> We don't earn very much more than we would get through social benefits and the trade union. The most important, most important for me, is that my children are proud of me because I work" (Rashid, p.3).

And later in the interview, he states;

> Well now I have a responsibility for them (the children) and when they go to school, I don't want to hear when somebody asks (what their father does for a living); nothing. I don't want to hear that kind of thing (Rashid p.19)

In these quotes Rashid expressed the reconstruction of his subjectivity as the dominant male who is the breadwinner, in particular after the experience of not being able to support himself and his family financially. Both the above quotes are expressions of how his identity construction is an important aspect of his approach to self-employment as it is both directed towards gaining self-esteem in relation to his family and self-appreciation in connection with gaining from the broader

society. In order to obtain these goals Rashid makes a lot of sacrifices because he has to work many hours daily. This kind of self-exploitation is based on his wish to do well in his work life and being financially independent so that his children can be proud of him. The long hours also mean that he hardly has any spare time and does not attend many social events, which leaves his wife feeling like a single woman always going on her own. Rashid expresses how he spends just about all day working and therefore has no time for his family or friends. Socialising is not something that is possible for him, because he feels he always has to be in the shop himself. This kind of self-exploitation that he brings upon himself is also in some way his opportunity to gain respect and recognition through being a hard worker.

> For five and a half years every day I have worked 14 hours. Every day – that means New Year, I run every day, Saturday, Sunday, you know. Even if I am ill, I still go in the shop…. for five and a half year I haven't had a day off (Rashid, p.13).

In this quotation Rashid explains how he spends just about all day working, and has therefore no time for his family or friends. Socialising is not something that is possible for him, because he feels he always has to be in the shop himself. This kind of self-exploitation that he brings upon himself is in some respect his possibility of accumulating capital, because being hard-working is something of which is valued and recognised – an appreciated resource. At least people (especially natives) can see that he is not one of those immigrants who are unemployed and not contributing to the Danish society.

> Most of the foreigners and of course there are different types of foreigners, but – most of them they don't like to sit at home. But it is a closed society, there are no opportunities, no possibilities, you know, and when you don't have the opportunities and it is this kind of society, where everyday it is in the newspapers and on the television; foreigners, foreigners, foreigners, you get tired of this society (Rashid, pp.3-4).

His wife only helps out a couple of hours a week and his daughter is not allowed to work in the shop, as her father does not find it suitable for her. Rashid's attitude towards the business is possibly linked to his sense of manhood, the role of the father, and the husband as the breadwinner and patriarch. This embodied part of his identity – the masculinity – is an essential part of his motivation for becoming self-employed, while this strategy can re-establish his status within the family and help him secure a more attractive social position than the one he was faced with when

being unemployed. The boost of his social position gives him a feeling of higher self-esteem within the unity of the family.

In Rashid's account there is also a focus on investments in the future and capital accumulation through education. Rashid attributes great importance to the education of his children – especially his daughter who he does not allow to work in the shop, because he wants her to concentrate on her studies. This kind of capital accumulation through education is a strategy based on latent intellectual potentials as a resource, on which the family falls back in order to manage the crisis of the deprived situation in the country of settlement (Apitzsch, 1995). It is a quite common strategy, often thrived by the hardship of getting on as a migrant, putting emphasise on the fact that the children should have the opportunity to do better in the country of settling.

Another way in which Rashid copes with his lower social position is by accentuating other groups of immigrants as less adaptable to the Danish society. Hereby he places himself into a hierarchy in which there are others below him. This kind of self-composed classification of ethnic groups can have a psychological effect as it gives an impression of not just being a member of the dominated group, but also being the dominating part to some degree. These images of other immigrants can provide one with a feeling of a higher degree of recognition and acceptance.

Autonomy
Achieving an autonomous life plan is not given much priority in Rashid's narration, as he seemingly is motivated by the pursuit towards social recognition for him and his family. Upward mobility is therefore a central issue in his narration, in particular, securing the future of his children is of vital importance to him. This kind of life planning can be related to a collectivistic life form rather than to an individualistic one, which connotes the more traditionalistic social structures in the country of origin. Moreover, this perspective can be related to Rashid's habitus in the sense that he applies coping strategies that are based on the internalised values and perceptions that are embodied through out the socialisation process that took place during his life in Iran. In continuation of this aspect, his age at the time of arrival probably makes a difference in relation to the acculturation process in the settling country. Being in his late thirties when arriving to Denmark may well influence his decision to become self-employed and not pursue a new professional

career. In his narration Rashid speaks of how he would prefer to be in waged employment, which may be an expression of the aspect that his motivation is not so much being based on the gain of autonomy. Choosing the strategy of becoming self-employed does, however, give him the opportunity of taking some control over his own life and keeping his biographical story going in a more desirable direction, and that direction might then be for the benefit of family

Based on the experiences of compatriots, Rashid takes on the entrepreneurial strategy as a means of coping with his dead-end situation, he has faced on the Danish labour market, where disadvantages places him in a low social position. This situation brings on a feeling of being less worth as a person and it creates a discrepancy between his social identity and self-identity. Self-employment does, to some degree, address the discrepancy, but it does not contain the same level of value as working as a qualified professional. Self-employment can in this perspective be regarded as repair work, trying to mend the devaluation and misrecognition he has experienced in the Danish society. Furthermore, self-employment might in Rashid's case be the most realistic possibility for advancement in the Danish society, perhaps not so much for himself as for his children for whom he want to create better conditions for upward social mobility.

In the in-depth analysis of Rashid's biographical story the teleological explanation is bound to his main motive of becoming self-employed, being one of limitation on the labour market and discrimination, which leads to a lack of social recognition. Rashid's main intentions are to secure family empowerment and increase his self-esteem through the recognition that self-employment will provide.

Case 5: The biographical story of Irena (F5)

Biographical profile
Irena was born in 1951 in the former Czechoslovakia, where she grew up with her father, who was both an engineer and a lawyer, and her older sister, who was the number one in everything. Her family is Jewish and many of her relatives died in the Second World War, so it is now a very small family. At the time of the interview she only has her sister and two cousins and some very distant relatives in Israel left. When Irena was 15 years old her father married a Danish woman and a year later, in 1966, they migrated to Denmark as refugees. They settled in Herlev

not far from Copenhagen, with the new stepmother, who was a school teacher, but she and Irena did never get very close. Irena was the sent to a boarding school in Bagsvaerd in the north of Sealand, where she was quite isolated because she could not communicate with anybody. In 1968 she started her education as a dental technician and shortly after she met her husband, who is a certified accountant, and together they have one son who was born in 1983. She graduated as a dental technician in 1972 and worked for two years in a private dental practice. Then she worked in another practice for ten years until she had the opportunity of becoming partner with a male dental technician. After a short partnership she bought his share and became the sole owner. She worked very hard the first several years and the business grew and she employed more and more staff. At the time of the interview she was running a very successful business with a good reputation in the profession.

Recognition

Coming to Denmark was a major turning point for Irena not at least because she was a teenager who grew up in a communistic society and suddenly she was in a "free" country with very different values. Worst of all, her father sent her to boarding school, which she later experienced as her father letting her down. Her stay there was marked by her being different to the other girls.

> I was very upset and lonely and unwanted and misunderstood by everybody. I did not feel fully accepted by the other girls either (Irena, p.5).

Irena's experience of being different to the other girls is something that seems to follow her in her life course, where she always feels that it is necessary for her to make a harder effort in order to be accepted in the Danish context.

Her experience of being an employee was also influenced by the way she was regarded as different and in some way inadequate because of her social background and her poor language skills.

> I started my education in 1968 and at that time there was only a very limited number of foreigners in Denmark, so many of the older technicians disliked me. So, on one hand, I had to struggle with my language problems and, on the other hand, I had to struggle a lot to get accepted. I actually think that it was a very traumatic experience. There wasn't any joy for me, because you have like two fronts you have to fight (Irena, p.7).

In her first job she experienced a lot of discrimination, both in an ethnic and in a gender sense. She felt she had to do better and work harder to achieve the same status as her native and/or male colleagues. The discrimination that she experiences becomes a driving force in her struggle for recognition both from her family and on the labour market. She is thus seeking recognition on two levels where she is not being treated as an equal. In the family relations she has always stood in the shadow of her sister.

> There were two male dentists who owned the practice and one of them did not like me. Again I think it had something to do with me being a foreigner. Today I will practically call him a racist, but that is my subjective opinion. I can't answer that, but it was the other one who liked me very much. At that time I did not have so much confidence in him either at the time. As a foreigner, this is something I would like to say as well, you have to have a lot of confidence, really (Irena, p.7).

On the labour market she is not treated as an equal colleague and therefore does not want to stay in that position. So when the opportunity to become a partner with another dentist arrives she grasps it. After a short period as a partner she buys her partner's share.

> He had the business evaluated at a very high price, so I think my stubbornness prohibited me to let him get me out. So I bought him out, and it is like a girl, a technician buying out a dentist. So there I was in the middle of Copenhagen with two customers and a huge debt and no contacts (Irena, p.8).

The situation Irena describes in the above sequence will for many self-employed equal a sinking ship, but in Irena's case her social position through her marriage secures her investment. The economic capital situation of her husband gives her the needed time to get the business going. Her story was not always a success and in the beginning she experienced a lot of downfalls.

> Lost customers, had employees who cheated rather big time. It hasn't always been as economically sound as it is now. But I have been so privileged that I did not have to provide for the whole family….It's no hobby business, it isn't, but I can imagine if you are a man and have to support the whole family, then there is another pressure on you. I have put a pressure on myself because I am ambitious (Irena, p.10).

Irena makes it quite clear in the narrative that it has been very important to her to have a career and to be successful. She stresses herself that it is important to her to

be recognised as a successful person, and in the quotation below she even expresses a kind of uniqueness of her business and in her talent.

> …. And today I have made quite a good name of myself, at least in dentist circles. And I have made dog's teeth (laughs) (Irena, p.9).

Her route to success has taken a lot of blood, sweat and tears to the extreme of having to have a heart surgery. Still, she values hard work and the result she has reached from it:

> But I have placed myself under a lot of pressure, because I am ambitious, and I think that's a good thing if you want success. It's no good to listen to your own petty needs and say I am not feeling so good today so I won't go to work, or I am tired, I can't be bothered or I don't want to work during weekends or the evening. That's no good, you won't be successful. At least not as a foreigner. Not in our line of business (Irena, p.11).

In the above quote, Irena is talking about the importance of being prepared to work very hard in order to be successful. This is a common fact for most entrepreneurs regardless of ethnicity, but in the case of being immigrant there seems to be an extra incitement in terms of labour market disadvantages. Irena carries on her narration by talking about different forms of discrimination:

> Most of the labs are owned by men. There are some women, but it is mostly men, at least in the bigger laboratories. There are a lot of girls working, but they do not have the same ambitions as me, which has pulled me higher up. If it's because I have an accent or I'm a woman...mmm. I'll say that I experienced it (discrimination, ed.) more when I was an employee (Irena, p.11).

In the above sequence Irena is expressing that becoming self-employed has improved her social recognition. An explanation of this is that her situation as a successful business woman has given her more status and acceptance in the professional circles, which has placed her in a higher social position in correspondence with that she has achieved more capital, and not at least symbolic capital. She enjoys the fact that she has gained this recognition for herself and not just being somebody through her father's or husband's positions. She also likes to show that she is a woman with success, which she illustrates in the following quote:

> I do what I feel like, and I love to get in that car. I love to sit in the leather seats and turn on the stereo and drive along, and to take off the roof if it gets too hot.

That I think is great, that gives me joy. But it does have consequences, like they think "bloody foreigners" or something…. (Irena, p.14).

On the same issue Irena returns to the topic of stigmatisation and describes how she experiences triple stigmatisation because she is a foreigner, a woman and a Jew.

Maybe some people think that I am a stupid foreigner, but I think that it is because of envy, prejudices and they have guarantee not worked as hard as I have, but envy that is something to practise. So I think that in my case it is hard to differ between whether it has to do with that I am a woman who has done well, or it is because I am a foreigner or even if it is because I am a Jew. That is a question that I cannot answer. It is probably these three point things. I don't think that it will be reasonable if I say that it is because I am a foreigner (Irena, p. 12).

In this quotation Irena illustrates how she is caught in a stigmatised situation in which her ethnicity is only one out of three possible stigmatising factors, which she is confronted with.

Autonomy

Irena also touches upon issues related to striving for a more autonomous life plan, as in particular her father controls important events in her life. First he decided to send her to boarding school shortly after they immigrated to Denmark, which meant two major turning points in her life at the age of sixteen and both of them involuntary. Her next step in the educational system in Denmark was also made by her father, who decided that she should pursue her career in dentistry, even though she wanted to be an advertising animator.

My sister was number one in everything, and very clever and beautiful and went to university and it was almost too perfect, but I was sort of a bit more….well unfortunate (laughs). I think it is so difficult to put it in words, because it is so many years ago, and it is something I have worked on since, in order to get on with my life. But my father decided that it was not a proper education (advertising animator, ed.), and because I was rather good with my hands, he decided for me to become a dental technician. I did not even know what it was, I did not actually. Well at the time you had to find an apprenticeship, so he found an apprenticeship for me, and then I became a dental technician whether I liked it or not (Irena, p.6).

In this sequence Irena speaks of how her father controlled her life course by taking some big decisions for her and did not listen to her wishes for her own future. By becoming self-employed she takes control over her own life and breaks away from

the dependency relation to the male dentists, who in most cases own the dental practices.

> Yes it was a challenge, I have to say. So I just started and it probably comes from my stubbornness when I say no I'll prove that I can. And I think that I am not as spoiled as Danish girls. All my life I've had to prove to my family that I can do it (Irena, p.8).

Proving herself to the surroundings is a recurrent issue in Irena's narration and it is not only in relation to being a foreigner and a woman in relation to the Danish labour market but also in her relationship to her farther it was important to gain independence in order to be an emancipated woman with the rights to make her own choices and decisions.

There are certain elements in Irena's biographical story that indicate that her major motivation for becoming self-employed is due to various types of discrimination that have made her feel misrecognised. Being a strong and stubborn person with a good amount of capital has surely been a vital asset to her. Another causal motivation is the dependency relation to her father that she wants to break away from. Her intentional motives are a combination of furthering her career (in her biographical story she speaks of how she experienced gender discrimination when being employed), self-realisation (creating something herself and being in control) and gaining economic capital (in order to access status and prestige – she likes to drive an expensive sports car). This way she has gained self-esteem and proven her worth and therefore also the right to full social recognition.

Case 6: The biographical story of Mustafa (M5)

Biographical profile
Mustafa was born and raised in Ankara, Turkey. Both his parents migrated to Denmark for the sake of employment, but he stayed together with his sister in Turkey with their grandparents. At the time of the interview both his parents were pensioners. When he was eleven years old he and his sister were reunited with their parents in Aarhus, where they continued school. He then went to polytechnic in the iron and metal trade. He could not get an apprenticeship, so he stopped and found an unskilled job as a textile printer. With some pressure from his father he decided to become self-employed and opened a café with self-employment allowance.

However, the competition was very hard so he had to close down the business. He then went to France for a couple of months to collect grapes for wine production. Some time after he had returned to Denmark his girlfriend went back to France and Mustafa then took over her flower shop, and he learned the tricks of the trade from her. At the time of the interview he has married a Turkish woman who came to Denmark through marriage reunification. She only helps out with a little cleaning in the shop, but when she has learned Danish she can work more in the shop.

Recognition

Mustafa begins his narration by telling about his route to self-employment and how he could not pursue his choice of education in Denmark:

> I went to school until the tenth grade, and after that I went to a polytechnic school, that was the iron and metal trade. But then I couldn't find an apprenticeship so I got a job… as a textile printer. I worked there for some years and then I stopped there and started a café (Mustafa, p.1).

The situation Mustafa describes here illustrates how the failed attempt to get skilled qualifications brings him in a situation where self-employment is a much better option than regular waged employment which does not interest him. His lack of education then leads to future labour market disadvantages, as the possibilities for accessing the labour market without any skilled or professional qualifications are becoming scarce in a society where specialised knowledge is in ever increasing demand. The opportunity structures then lead to few other options and here self-employment is sometimes the best option for individuals who are disadvantaged or discriminated against on the labour market. It is in many cases often first generation immigrants who use the entrepreneurial strategy to make progress in the country of settlement. The sequence below indicates this through Mustafa's father's pressure on him to become self-employed.

> It is a bit different and so on. It was more a pressure from my father, actually. He thought we should be self-employed; we had the opportunity to do it. And then we did it. Whether it was the right line of business that's another thing. I think it was a bit wild. It was harder than I had anticipated and the competition was too hard. But then I opened a flower shop and I am satisfied with it myself (Mustafa, p.1).

Mustafa's reason for becoming self-employed is very interesting because it is related to the self-esteem type of intention, where the object is to gather more

recognition in terms of giving the surroundings the impression that you are to be valued as a person with adequate resources, seeking equal valuation. Being self-employed seems to be a labour market position that holds a certain amount of value in the Turkish community, at least among the male entrepreneurs. All of the Turkish immigrants in his investigation express that it is almost a natural thing for Turks to have their own businesses. Mustafa expresses it with these words:

> Well, there are of course also differences. You know Turks are good at sticking it out, even though it might not be running very well, then you can borrow from family or something like that, you can go and eat at your parents' or something like that – but they are good at surviving. But not everyone is like that… Because you shouldn't start if you are not 110 % sure (Mustafa, p.18).

Self-employment can thus be a means to the gain of recognition, at least within the Turkish community. The recognition from the surrounding society have certain effects on how Mustafa feel about himself, because of reflections on the way in which he is perceived by others. Thus, self-esteem is generated in the reciprocity of the self and the other.

> Well, at the time I did not have a job. So my girlfriend she had this shop. And then she went back to France and then I took over the business. So I have worked with flowers for three years or a little more than three and a half years (Mustafa, p.17).

To a question on how things would be if he had found an apprenticeship:

> Yes, then my life would have been different. I might have been a mechanic and have my own garage. It would probably have been like that. And then there are those who study and take an education, but it is still a dream. You take your education and then you start a business. So it, it is like that (Mustafa, p.4).

In this sequence Mustafa expresses how he would prefer to have qualifications that he could use for business purposes. This way, he would possess more capital that he could convert and perhaps even accumulate more capital and gain recognition.

> Yes, no, to me it does not matter what business I am in, as long as it can earn…well my wage. I have been in many trades, working with textiles, in catering, flowers and what I can think of, it does not matter. It is not like I say; no, that is not something for me. I am not like that. What I can learn money from, that's it, so that is fine (Mustafa, p.4).

By this statement Mustafa reveals that he is indifferent to which kind of business he is in, as long as he is self-employed. This indicates a strong motivation for independence and that he does not perceive self-employment as a career move, but rather as a life style.

Autonomy
The gain of independence plays a very central role in Mustafa's approach to self-employment. He speaks a lot about being his own boss and gives this reason for becoming self-employed:

> Ehh, well, it is probably because you want to work for yourself. To be your own boss….. Well, people expect when you are self-employed then people think that you earn a lot of money. But you don't. It's something like this that has made him (the father) push us. But that's not reality. If I add up my working hours, then I might get fifteen kroner per hour, and that's not very much. Sometimes it is different. So it is very hard, well I think so. It is. But when you are used to it then it is just a job… like anybody else's. That's probably one of the things that has made him like that… that we should be self-employed (Mustafa, p.2).

This quotation illustrates very well how important it is to Mustafa to have control over his own life. In fact it does not seem to matter how large the economic rewards are, as long as he is his own boss. This can be interpreted as a possible way of gathering other forms of capital and not least symbolic capital. As mentioned earlier, self-employment gives a certain status in the Turkish community, and it is therefore a feasible way of accessing a social position with some degree of prestige, which can lead to more social recognition. The "American dream" or illusion of self-employment as the way to wealth is not a motivation factor for Mustafa, who has a far more projective approach to the possibilities in his position. Mustafa's business is not doing so well, but he does, however, still have hopes for a more profitable business in the future, which he indicates in this sequence:

> No, when the business is doing a bit better, then I can take time off. Just one day. Sunday, no not Sunday then I want to be there myself, but the family can be there or my wife. But if she takes over running it, then we don't want somebody else in. You know, when she is off then I'll be here. Well, share like that (Mustafa, p.13).

In this quote Mustafa is making two statements. In the first part he is expressing his beliefs in that the business will pick up, so that he can lead a more "normal" life

where work is not taking up all of his time. Secondly, he refers to the family orientation of the business, where he is counting on their assistance and his wife's contribution in running the business. This necessarily means that he has a collective approach, but connecting this quote with the fact that it was his father who wanted him to be self-employed, it does indicate that he is, to some degree, doing it for his family's sake, but certainly also for his own sake.

In his narration Mustafa shows that his motivation for becoming self-employed is based more on not being dependent on anybody than it is on labour market limitations. In relation to these causal motivations I have identified three intentional motivations, which are on the issues of self-worth, family empowerment and gaining freedom/being independent.

Types of intentions

From the analysis of the six cases a more nuanced and detailed picture of the motivations behind these immigrants' choice of becoming self-employed emerges. Within this complex picture patterns of intentions emerge and it becomes clear that the gender differences are not unambiguous, and other differentiating aspects surface. Connected to the causal motivation there are different intentions of what the entrepreneurs wishes to achieve from becoming self-employed. The forms of intentions I have identified on the grounds of the biographical stories expose a gendered pattern just as the causal motivations did. The pattern of these types is much more complex though, as it contains more details and, the combination of possibilities are increased because most of the immigrant entrepreneurs can be associated with two or more teleological motives. These refer to the different intentions of achievement that are attached to the motivation, which gives the entrepreneurial practice a very individual character and makes the picture of immigrant entrepreneurship a much nuanced one with an even higher complexity than I first anticipated. New categories come into play such as ethnicity, class and other differentiating categories, although these will have a more salient role in this part of the analysis.

In the following I will shortly describe the six intentional motives that I have found in the empirical data:

1. Entrepreneurship as attainment of self-esteem

This type of intention relates to difficulties experienced with finding and staying in paid work on the regular labour market, which can lead to exclusion and disadvantages, generating a low self-esteem. From the autonomy perspective this intention can also be found in the sense of seeking more freedom by avoiding dependency on the welfare state, i.e. social benefits. Becoming self-employed is here conceived as the best alternative to paid work with little or no social value, ethnic/racial harassment or unemployment. Many of the immigrants who base their entrepreneurial option on this intention, are educated and qualified people, who react against their marginalised status, social exclusion and the disadvantages they experience in their effort to access the labour market.

2. Entrepreneurship as accessing family empowerment

The main objective of this intentional motivation is to secure the family's social mobility. This is often achieved by running a "traditional family business", where the role of women is confined to being assistants and taking care of the domestic work. The wife is subordinated to her husband and relegates her pursuits for the sake of the family. This strategy is predominantly used by male immigrant entrepreneurs with the aim of improving the future prospects and possibilities of their descendants – social mobility for the second generation.

3. A capitalistic business venture

This is the traditional business strategy of "making it" in the new society by earning lots of money, proving their worth to the often sceptical surroundings. This intentional motive is not so much gender-differentiated as it is a matter of class differences, where access and success are closely related to the amount of accumulated capital possessed by the individual.

4. Entrepreneurship as a way of pursuing a career

Career as an intentional motive is to be comprehended as entering self-employment in order to be able to build upon one's educational and

professional capital. A number of immigrants choose to pursue a professional career through self-employment due to discrimination on the former work place or due to limitations on the traditional labour market. It is mostly women who follow this strategy, often having better possibilities of doing so, qua their professional qualifications, as for example hairdresser, beautician and dental technician.

5. Entrepreneurship as a way of gaining freedom

This intention is found in connection with immigrants who consider self-employment as an option for gaining flexible working hours. The occupational path as an entrepreneur makes it possible to organise their time in order to reconcile their work and family lives. A substantial number of the female entrepreneurs emphasise this particular point as an important reason for becoming self-employed. Another type of gained freedom is the independence by being one's own boss. This is an intention found among both female and male entrepreneurs. Lastly, emancipation is also a freedom-based intention and is primarily found in the women's narrations, but it also appears among the male entrepreneurs.

6. A pursuit of self-realisation

Immigrants having this type of aim are typically women who seek more autonomy in their life by means of emancipation from a life style that, to some degree, can be characterised as traditional. Another central aspect is to follow a dream of becoming self-employed, which applies to both the female and male entrepreneurs. The social structures of the Danish society provide a frame for constructing new gender relations and identities, and the women having this intention often become self-employed because they have the opportunity – because they can.

The above six forms of intentions bring a new dimension to the entrepreneurial practise of the individual immigrant. Entering the entrepreneurial role can be made due to both individualistic and collectivistic reasons. The latter refers to the forms of intentions that are orientated towards the family i.e. family empowerment and in some cases the capitalistic business venture. The former concerns the focus of personal gain such as self-esteem, pursuing a career, self-realisation and in many

cases the capitalistic business venture. The freedom-orientated intention contains both reasons, where flexibility is collectivistic orientated and strongly represented in the female immigrants' narrations. These respective orientations are not all tied to gender in particular, as they also seem to be related to the social position of the immigrants.

When placing the respondents into a table that incorporates the two types of motivation the distribution of the female and male entrepreneurs as follows:

Table 7: Relations between male and female entrepreneurs' causal motives and intentions.

Intentions / Motives	Attaining self-esteem	Family empowerment	Accumulation of capital	Career pursuit	Gaining freedom	Self-realisation
Discrimination	M16, M4	M16	M4, F5	F3, F5, F4		F3, F5
Limitation on the lab. market	M16,M4, M5	M16, M5	M4		M16,	
Inflexibility					F3, F4	
Dependency	M16	M16	F5, M4		M5, F4	F5

In the above table the gender distinction is quite clear in the way that the first half is practically occupied by male entrepreneurs only and the second half by the female entrepreneurs. In connection with the causal motives there is still an overweight of female entrepreneurs who have a central motivation of gaining autonomy and in particular in relation to the inflexibility of their work situation as an employee. The analysis shows a connection between the causal motive of inflexibility and the intention of gaining more flexible working hours in order for these women to be able to take care of the children. By going into self-employment some of the women also search for self-realisation in terms of gaining a higher degree of independence and emancipation, which also are characteristics of most Danish women. The overrepresentation of male entrepreneurs in the causal motives connected to recognition is concentrated in the intentions of gaining self-esteem and family empowerment. Both of these intentions are related to their struggle for their male

identity as the father, the husband and the breadwinner, which is in contrast to the child-caring aspect of the females' intentions.

The different intentions identified in the analysis are to a certain degree gendered. One is in relation to gaining self-appreciation which is an intention that is mainly sought by male entrepreneurs. A main explanation for the gender distinction I base upon the fact that most of the male entrepreneurs had great difficulties in accessing the labour market and many of them have experienced long periods of unemployment or at best dead-end job situations. The consequence of this situation is a loss of continuity in the biographical story of these immigrants and a lack of self-appreciation due to the misrecognition of qualifications and competences in relation to the Danish labour market. Self-employment thus contributes to restoring self-appreciation and is therefore as a part of the biographical work of these immigrants. The intention based on gaining freedom in terms of independence and flexibility, is based on creating a more autonomous lifestyle. Independence is sought by both male and female entrepreneurs as a reaction to a dependency relation either in an institutional way or in social interaction patterns. Flexibility is an intention only found among some female entrepreneurs, although to different degrees. This intention is primarily orientated towards traditional gender roles such as being a mother and a wife. The traditional gender roles are also present in the male entrepreneurs' narrations in terms of an intention of achieving family empowerment. Self-employment can thus be interpreted as a means to securing the male identity linked to being the breadwinner and patriarch, which are elements orientated towards traditional masculinity. Where the above intentions are, to a certain extent, directed towards a collective orientation, the intentions with a capitalistic or self-realisation approach are both primarily directed towards individuality in the pursuit of success and a dream.

In this analysis different patterns, which are related to class and ethnic belonging, make new contributions to the diversity of the material and the intersectional perspective comes even more into play. Regarding class it is noticeable that it is a male and a female entrepreneur who possess the intention of gaining economic capital, which also is connected to having success. Another class-related issue that the analysis reveals is that the better the social background and position of the women, the more they are occupied with the topic of gender discrimination. This is probably not just a case of them experiencing gender discrimination more than the other female entrepreneurs, but perhaps rather that they have the extra resources to

focus on the topic. Rashid is one of the males who speaks more about limitations on the labour market than about direct discrimination, unlike other male entrepreneurs like Whalid, who seems more concerned about issues of racism. This difference in what the entrepreneurs choose to present in their narrations are based on those issues that have been more predominant than others and based on how they experienced the issues and how often.

In the following analysis of how capital conversion is possible for the immigrant entrepreneurs, I find that there are two variables of particular importance, namely education and network, where education is linked to cultural capital or more specifically educational capital, and networks to social capital. Economic capital seems to be of lesser importance, although not entirely insignificant, and in this specific study it will play a very unobtrusive part. In the following part of the analysis I wish to investigate how these variables, as they are expressed through the biographical narration, are linked to the struggle for social recognition. In the first part I shall focus on education and only refer to the other variables where there is a very apparent cohesion. Finally, I wish to relate the analysis to the previous analysis in an attempt to identify the presence or absence of symbolic capital in the sense of strengthening the achievement of social recognition.

Chapter 8

Entrepreneurial Strategies and Practices – a Multiple-case Scenario

The third stage of analysis

In this analysis I will make use of both the biographical narration – the told story – and the factual trajectory – the lived life. The purpose of this combination is to reconstruct the life paths or status passages and to gain insight into the strategies applied when entering the game of the entrepreneurship field. In continuation of the analysis of motivations I have identified three different strategies that represent distinct ways of accessing self-employment, in other words, how they go about setting up their own businesses.

At this stage of analysis I wish to investigate *how* (i.e. the strategy) the immigrant entrepreneurs navigate and cope with their employment situation by means of strategies, in order to establish the particular social route that has brought the agent to the present position (Bourdieu, 1992:103). The correlation between why and how some immigrants turn to self-employment is present in patterns where gender is a significant variable/category. There is, however, also interesting deviations in the data sample, which reflect the complexity and variety of the social field. The strategies are reflections of their life chances in the opportunity structures of the Danish society, whereas their intentions (not necessarily fully intentional) are an expression of their life plans or life chances and the expectations they had for their future. In this part of the analysis I shall focus on the relation between the strategies applied and in relation to these, detect the intentional motives attached, which I shall explore further in the third analysis step in this chapter.

In the approach to the analysis I find that Bourdieu provides me with the appropriate tools to investigate the relation between the opportunity structures and the individuals' resources, which I define as the sum of their habitus and capital, a composition that I shall refer to as *accumulated individual resources*, a definition not dissimilar to the concept of agency. The concept that connects structures and individuals is strategy, which is influenced by the structures of the environment and constructed on the basis of the individual resources. Thus, the focus is both on the individual and the opportunity structures that the immigrants encounter on the Danish labour market. The capital possessed by the individuals is of importance to

the strategies available to them, just as their habitus serves a role in the perception of the situation and the ways in which they act in particular situations.

Typologies of entrepreneurial strategies

New strategies are often produced when an individual or group of individuals is faced with a turning point due to significant events or occurrences. These events can be of either a planned or unplanned character, but in the case of many of the participating immigrant entrepreneurs it has often been unplanned events such as fleeing their home countries and long-time unemployment. Planned events such as labour migration, family expansion and career moves are also represented in the biographical stories though less frequently. Furthermore, strategies are produced on the basis of the individuals' resources, which cover their habitus and accumulated capital.

These strategies, as they are presented above, serve as typologies of particular ways or plans for accessing self-employment and thereby participation on the Danish labour market. The strategies can appear in their straight form or in a mix of different strategies, which often is the case. In order to gain further insight into how these strategies come into play I will select a number of biographical narratives that represent the different strategies respectively, and show how these interact and correspond with capital accumulation and how this correspondence is related to their social position and identity construction. The primary aspects within the field where struggles for capital accumulation and recognition take place are those of education and social networks.

From the analysis of the interviews I have identified a variation of strategies used in order to attain social mobility and recognition. Strategy is in this context to be understood as modes of reflexive action made in order to pursue a specific goal. Strategies are therefore a central element in the life planning of the immigrant entrepreneurs. The specific strategy applied is an appropriation of the relation between the personal resources (in terms of possessed capital and transformative capacity of the individual) and the structural environment that constitutes the different levels of fields (micro, mesa and macro). Strategizing is thus an active part of coping in situations that confront individuals or groups of individuals with new challenges in unfamiliar environments. The strategies that I have identified in my data material can be defined as three different ways of accessing self-employment:

- *Profession-based self-employment* is an entrepreneurial strategy based on the possibility of using personal skills and qualifications as a way of accessing self-employment. This strategy presupposes that the immigrants have skills and/or qualifications that are convertible into self-employment, meaning that the profession can be used in a particular branch of self-employment, which tends to more the case of female entrepreneurs than of male. The social position and status that this strategy can accompany depends largely on the skills and qualifications held by the individual as well as other forms of capital.

- *Conventional entrepreneurship* has its foundation in existing business concepts often in co-ethnic niches. The strategy is based on reproductive business behaviour where the success of others, often co-ethnics, motivates one to follow the "good example". This pattern/strategy often creates an overflow of the market, which influences the survival and profit rate in a negative sense due to the intense competition. It is mostly male immigrants who use this strategy and it is often with a good deal of co-ethnic support. Moreover, this strategy rarely leads to a social position with substantial status as it does not release much recognition/symbolic capital.

- *Innovative entrepreneurship* is conducted by resourceful immigrants, mostly males, who set out to find a business concept in an expected market opening, a nouvelle niche to be explored often with a high risk as well as an opportunity of a high profit return. This strategy gives access to a higher social status and recognition primarily due to economic capital accumulation which here is the criteria for success.

Separating the immigrant entrepreneurs into three typologies representing the different strategies found in the empirical material provides both an accessing dimension and a useful frame within which the third stage of analysis can be conducted. By accessing dimension I mean the specific optic I use in my approach to immigrant entrepreneurship, where I believe that strategies are developed in the cross section between opportunity structures and individual resources. The relationship between structure and resources is represented differently in each of the strategies.

The different strategies that pose a variety of relations between opportunity structures and the individual resources are encumbered in terms of their accumulated capital, habitus and dispositions. On the basis of their resources, the immigrant entrepreneurs produce coping strategies in order to navigate in the structural context that they are encompassed by in the environment of the settling country. Related to the profession-based strategy is the aspect of personal qualifications which are applicable in a business concept. Immigrants using this strategy often have qualifying skills within the service trades such as hairdressing and beauty care. Danish statistics reveal that the percentage of immigrants to be found within the service-orientated educations and professions is remarkably higher than that of the native Danes. Furthermore, it is the general picture that it is typically women who occupy the service sector. The type of qualification seems to play a rather important role in relation to which strategy is available to the individual immigrant. The type of strategy also depends on whether the immigrant's education is recognised in Denmark or not (and not many foreign educations are) and whether it can be practised in terms of converting the qualifications into a business asset. In relation to the latter, the entrepreneurs possess different levels of convertible resources, which are reflected in the different types and income levels of businesses.

Most of the immigrants engaged in conventional entrepreneurship have no or little knowledge of the industry or trade that they in. In many cases the entrepreneurs have been taught the necessary skills from other immigrants, often co-ethnics, who show them some tricks of the trade and the rest is achieved through learning by doing. The educational level varies from highly to poorly educated, but many of the immigrants have experienced limitations on the labour market, regardless of their level of education, and in most cases they have been pushed into self-employment. The situation of non-convertible educational capital may be due to inadequate competences in comparison to the qualifications required on the Danish labour market. The conventional strategy often involves a substantial ethnic network where co-ethnics help each other in starting up as self-employed in a line of business where they have practical experience themselves. This results in an increased competition, many failures (shut downs) and a low income and profit rate.

To be innovative means, in this context, that the immigrant entrepreneur has the capacity to access a line of business or a particular field that has not already been exploited by co-ethnics or other ethnic groups. This strategy demands a lot of

resources and is difficult for most immigrants to apply as it usually does not involve help from the ethnic network. Rather it depends on the ability to meet the demands of the market, as in the relationship between demand and supply. The innovative entrepreneur does not necessarily have to possess a large amount of educational capital but a fair amount of accumulated capital is often required.

The division of strategies is based on the empirical extract of a social reality, as the patterns have emerged from the empirical material during the analysis. There are, however, also theoretical connotations to my division, but they are generally gender specific. For example, Goffee and Meijer operate with four types of female entrepreneurship: "Traditional", "Home-orientated", "Innovative" and "Radical". This grouping is based on female entrepreneurs only and it is not adequate when both sexes are involved, which seems to be of importance in terms of categorising and theorising. However, this differentiation emphasizes that the gender and/or ethnic diversity within the research field are categories of great importance when one wants a deeper understanding of the personal implications of the experienced lives of immigrant entrepreneurs of both sexes.

Education and network variables

Some of the questions that are interesting to put forward in relation to the matter of *how* the immigrants access the position of self-employment is based on the third hypothesis posed in chapter 6. On the grounds of the second stage of analysis this hypothesis can be explored further by attempting to answer the following research questions:

- How are the level of education and qualifications linked to the entrepreneurial strategy? And how is that related to their social position?

- How do female and male immigrants, respectively, handle self-employment in terms of applying resources/capital (social, cultural and economic capital) and to which degree does the strategy lead to empowerment and recognition (symbolic capital) and does it lead to social integration?

Trajectory of education, skills and support

In the first part of this stage of analysis, I will present trajectory descriptions exerted from ten individual biographical stories that I wish to map out in order to give an overall impression of the variations in the data material. For this purpose I have chosen six female and six male entrepreneurs with different ethnic and class background. Again I have chosen to use some of the biographical stories from the previous stage of analysis.

The table below illustrates the relations between different categories (gender and ethnicity) and other variables such as education, age and duration of settlement, and line of business of the male and female entrepreneurs selected for this part of the analysis.

Table 8.1: Personal Data

Gender/No.	Country of origin	Year/age of arrival	Pre-migration education	Post-migration education	Line of business
F8/Tatjana	Romania/Hungaria	1990/38	None	Information assistant	Art & craft
F1/Leina	Libanon/Palestine	-/-	None	None	Cloth and furniture
F2/Natasja	Romania	1989/42	Accountant	Business economy	Market consultant
F3/Yasmin	Iran	1989/28	None	Hairdresser	Hairdressing
F4/Lahle	Turkey	1972/10	None	Beautician	Beautician
F5/Irena	Czechoslovakia	1966/15	None	Dental technician	Dental practice
M1/Saeed	Egypt	1994	Engineer and Hairdresser	None	Hairdressing
M2/Hassan	Libanon/Palestine	1988	Welder	None	Pizza place
M3/Mohammed	Iran	1984/33	Engineer	Electronics	Dry cleaning
M4/Whalid	Pakistan/India	1983/15	None	Engineer/MBA	Stationary
M5/Mustafa	Turkey	1994 /11	None	None	Flower shop
M16/Rashid	Iran	1986/36	Engineer	None	Mini market

The following part is a short presentation of the educational and occupational trajectory of the selected respondents.

1. F2: Natasja followed her husband, who fled under the regime of Causcescu, and were granted asylum in Denmark, where they were reunified. Her parents were working-class people and they could not afford to send her to university, but she managed to complete an accountancy course. From Romania she brought accountacy skills, and after doing the compulsory language courses she completed a course in informatics which she finished in 1995. She found employment but was treated badly by her colleagues. Prior to this employment she had met a German woman who had a translation bureau and an import of glass wear. Natasja decided to start up her own business in woollen bed linen and other imported merchandises. She received self-employment allowance when she started up her business.

2. F3: Yasmin fled from Iran to Denmark together with her ex-husband. From Iran she has a high school degree and work experience from a laboratory. Her late parents were both self-employed within the textile trade. In Denmark she became a qualified beautician and hairdresser, although she had a very hard time getting an apprenticeship as a hairdresser and afterwards a job. She got her own business, a hairdressing saloon, through the social network she built up during her time as an employed hairdresser: Apart from network she has not received any financial or personal aid. She doesn't want to expand her current business, but she dreams of starting a new business in a field where she can gain a larger financial success.

3. F8: Tatjana has a lower middle-class background and is educated as an accountant in Romania. She migrated with her husband to Denmark where she was re-educated as a business economist and an import/export accountant. She could not find work and received social benefits for about a year, before she was offered a course on export to Eastern Europe. After finishing the course she went back on social benefits. She has experienced labour market discrimination in Denmark, because "the Danes don't trust foreign workers". She has not been able to get a job through her education, only her language skills are of value in terms of doing translation. She therefore started her business doing consultancy work on Danish-Romanian-Hungarian market, which she is planning to extend by adding an import of applied art from Hungary, Romania and Slovakia. She did not receive any support in setting up her business.

4. F1: Zahra is a single mother, who after 12 years of schooling (including grammar school) she went into hairdressing. In Iran she worked for more than eight years in hairdressing and also had her own business. In Denmark she would have to take the whole education again, i.e. four years of training. This, she believes would be a waste of time and difficult financially being a single mother. She then decided to open her own saloon. Not having a Danish diploma she is not qualified to have apprentices, who would be a rather inexpensive labour. She cannot afford to employ staff, but accepts being solo self-employed. She considers expanding the grounds of livelihood to also selling cosmetics. She was financially aided and advised by her brothers, who have also been self-employed.

5. F4: Lahle came to Denmark when she was ten years old as a daughter of a work migrant, who prior to migration was a farmer with a small shop in Turkey. After Danish 10th grade she continued her education at a technical school in the hairdressing line, but dropped out as it was very hard to get an apprenticeship. She then chose an education within the clothing industry, which she never really used. Finally she did a course on beauty care out of interest and later she opened her own beauty saloon. Independence is the driving force in realising her dream. In order to meet the financial demands Lahle has a cleaning job in a kinder garden, where she also feels a sense of independence. Her husband assists her with the child caring. She does not want to invest too much and take risks in the business. She does not have a network to support her in the business, but she learned from other women within the trade – competitors. She stays in business by keeping the prices low and by having the cleaning job.

6. F5: Irena migrated from the former Czechoslovakia in 1966. In Czechoslovakia she attended traditional school, but when she came to Denmark, 16 years old, she was sent to a boarding school, which was a terrible experience for her. Her father decided on her behalf that she was to be a dental technician, despite of her own wish of going into advertising. She worked for two years in a dental practice, but she did not feel well-treated so she found herself another position. She held this job for ten years until she wanted to try something different and an opportunity of becoming partner with a male dentist arose. After a couple of years, she bought him out and became independent. She now owns and runs a middle-sized dental practice

with a good reputation and turnover. She does not have a large network, but her husband supports her and does the entire bookkeeping etc.

7. M16: Rashid is a qualified technical engineer from Iran and he worked within his profession for 18 years in a large company. In Denmark he has been unable to find employment within his profession. He finally managed to get an unskilled job in a factory in the wood industry. After a couple of years the factory closed down and Rashid became unemployed again. After many unsuccessful job applications he decides to become self-employed and when the opportunity of buying the premises of a mini-market came across, he took the chance. His family and people from the ethnic community helped him to get the business up and running. At the time of the interview, his business has been running for five years and he is making a small profit.

8. M1: Saeed has a university degree in engineering from Alexandria in Egypt. Saeed then got a job as an engineer in a big construction company in Alexandria. It was hard work and a low wage, so Saeed decided to quit and get into another profession. He chose hairdressing – the trade of his father, grandfather and uncles. He did one year of training, and then he got his diploma and started working in his father's saloon. Then he met his Lebanese wife from Denmark in Egypt, and after marrying her, they migrated to Denmark to start their life together. He thought this was a possibility for him to return to his profession as an engineer. After finishing language school he contacted the local university to have his degree from Egypt evaluated. He was told that there were some differences in the education in Denmark, which meant that he would have to upgrade his education with two years of studies at a Danish university. This message made him contact an engineering association, where it was arranged for him to take a test in his abilities as an engineer. He passed the test and started to look for employment within this profession, and wrote many applications for positions, but always with a negative reply. The situation made him decide to take up his other profession by opening his own hairdressing saloon. To attract customers he keeps the prices very low, as he prefers to have many clients rather than a few at a high price. He does not mind taking risks, and at the time of the interview he is considering to open a pizza place with his wife in order to earn more money.

9. M2: Hassan is a trained and skilled welder, but has had a hard time finding work in Lebanon being Palestinian with a working-class background. He therefore migrated to Libya to seek employment but was unsuccessful. His migration route then took him to Denmark, which he had been told was a land of opportunities. He did not try to get work in the welding profession, as it is a physically straining job. From the beginning his strategy was to open a business of some sort. The first business was a bakery making Arabic bread, but it closed down as competition increased. The second and current business is a pizza place, which at the time of the interview has been opened for half a year. His current business strategy is to expand in the range of products to attract more customers.

10. M3: Mohammed is an electronic engineer from Iran, with a middle-class background, who fled due to his political convictions. Went to language school for one year and for the following 1½ years he was doing practical work at the Department of Physics at Aarhus University. Afterwards Mohammed was unemployed for a year, until he was offered a job, partly public funded, at a factory owned by the municipality. After working there for seven months he started a mini market with a colleague, which they ran together for seven years before selling it. Two months later he started his dry cleaning business, mostly because the business opportunity was available and the opening hours suited him. At the time of the interview the business has been running for two year.

11. M4: Whalid: Is from Pakistan of Indian parents. His father worked for an aeroplane company being in charge of the Scandinavian countries and posted in Denmark, when Whalid was fifteen years old. In Denmark, Whalid finished his 10th grade and continued in high school in order to pursue his goal of becoming an engineer. In 1990 he graduated as engineer and started searching for work, which turned out to be very difficult. He started taking an MBA in the evening to upgrade his qualifications and increase his chances of getting a job. After being unemployed for some time, despite applying for everything possible, he was sent in job training in a recycling centre. After being unemployed for five years he decided to start his own business selling watercolour paper, which later was replaced by handmade letter paper and envelopes. He has a very expansive strategy – he is willing

to take risks in order to earn money. Initially the bank would not loan him money, so he borrowed 25,000 from his family.

12. M5: Mustafa is from Ankara in Turkey. He joined his parents in Denmark at the age of 11. He went to a technical school in iron and metal work, but quit as he could not get an apprenticeship. He found an unskilled job in textile printing, which he had for a year before quitting it to start his own business – a café. Later he took over an ex-girlfriend's flower shop, which he now runs alone. He just wants to be self-employed – the trade is not very important. He uses his social network in practical matters; loans, bookkeeping, help in the shop etc.

Qualifications, social capital and the diversity of strategies

The struggle for recognition is very much entangled in the identity construction of individuals and their group belongings, in particular for those feeling severely marginalised or in some way stigmatised. The problem appears in the form of a discrepancy between what can be referred to as the social self, (i.e. how you are categorised by others) and the personal self (i.e. how you identify yourself) (Goffman, 1992; Jenkins, 2000, 2004). This distinction is important to keep explicit in relation to how identity construction takes place in the interaction between people, where one constantly gives impressions by the means of certain expressions (Goffman, 1990). Some expressions are more respected or valued than others and therefore give a better impression and can hence lead to a higher social position and more recognition.

In order to keep one's biographical story going it is important to continue a work trajectory, as work is a central part of the individual's identity. Discontinuations in the biographical trajectory occur for most immigrants when they encounter the new life in the country of settlement or when finishing an education in Denmark and are unable to find employment. Re-establishment of continuity can therefore be an important part of the biographical strategy and one way to obtain continuity is through self-employment. Work as such, plays a central role in relation to the identity construction and social integration is a key area in the struggle for recognition.

This part of the analysis will primarily concern the immigrant entrepreneurs' trajectory towards self-employment, by investigating opportunities and barriers on the labour market by analysing the accumulation of cultural/educational capital and the possibilities of converting it into economic capital. The analysis will be concentrated around the twelve interviews presented above as short descriptions of the individual trajectories in which strategies and various intended motives will be presented. Furthermore, the analysis will be structured around the three strategies presented above and they will be elaborated upon in the analysis.

The profession-based strategy

Common for all respondents using this entrepreneurial strategy is that they are able to use their education and/or skills as an asset in their business and in this way convert their educational capital into economic capital and thereby access a higher position and in some cases attain symbolic capital or social recognition. There is a clear match between the skills and/or qualifications and the branch within which they set up their business, which often is in the service sector. This tendency can help explain the overrepresentation of women using this strategy, as there statistically are considerably more women in this sector in Denmark (Emerek, 2005b). At the same time statistics show that immigrants in general are largely overrepresented in the service sector.

Education
When studying table 8 it is quite noticeable that only one of the male entrepreneurs has a business that is related to his qualifications, making him the only male who has been successful in pursuing the career strategy (there are two in the whole sample and they are both hairdressers). He is, however, not able to use the high-skilled qualifications he accumulated in Egypt. He already gave up this mobility strategy in Egypt, and took up the hairdressing trade which also was practised by his father and uncle. The fact that there is a family and generational pattern might be part of the explanation to why Saeed rather easily accepts his dead-end job situation on the labour market, not being able to convert his educational capital and thereby attain social mobility and recognition. He does, however, have an experience of being disadvantaged on the labour market, though, without making direct reference to discrimination:

174

> Then I did this [became self-employed. Ed.] because of what happened when I applied for jobs. What happened in the end was which made me change my mind about hairdressing, and thought of hairdressing. One time I sent an application to a building company and I received a letter saying that they didn't need me at the time. Then I go to talk to the secretary and she looks everywhere for the letter, but she cannot find it and says that they have not received it. I think this is bad politics…. how can they not have received my application when I have received an answer?..... I forgot everything about it and then I start this business (Saeed, p.2)

Saeed is in a fortunate situation by having two qualifications from Egypt where he can pursue one of them, if he fails in the other. The level of his qualifications is not equal to Danish standards, though, and it is the use of the higher education that is difficult in a Danish context. It does not bother him a great deal to practice hairdressing instead of being an engineer which partly is due to the fact that the business is a success:

> I have never advertised, just from mouth to mouth and then it gets big. Every time somebody comes, next time he brings his father or son or neighbour. So it is going well, I do not think of my old education anymore (laughs) because it is good….(Saeed, p.3)

Although he is quite happy being a hairdresser or at least about the opportunities it gives him, he acknowledges that it is due to lack of other opportunities on the labour market. Irena and Tatjana have also obtained higher education, Irena in Denmark and Tatjana both in Romania and Denmark. Both of them have become self-employed primarily in order to pursue their future career prospects, which they for different reasons have found difficult to obtain through employment. Whereas Tatjana's causal motivation was due to labour-market barriers, Irena's causal motivation was because of gender discrimination in a male-dominated trade and as a career move, she was determined to show her surroundings that she could make something out of herself, that she could be successful. With her Danish education as a dental technician she entered the labour market and easily got the first job she applied for. Thus, Irena becoming self-employed had nothing to do with lack of opportunity for capital conversion, but rather a matter of striving for capital accumulation and social recognition through her position as self-employed.

> Yes it was a challenge, I'll have to say. So basically I started and I think it's because of my stubbornness, that I know I'll prove I can… the first five years I worked very hard on my own. I really worked hard …. (Irena:p.9).

Later, she states:

> Most of the laboratory owners are men. There are some women, but mostly
> men in the bigger labs, anyway. There are a lot of individuals who work, but
> they do not have the same ambitions as me, I have pulled myself further up. If
> it's because I have spoken with an accent or because I am a woman…hmm. I
> will say, that I experienced it more when I was employed. I don't think my
> customers have made remarks about that I am a foreigner…. I think that it is
> more like that they respect me for what I do (Irena, p.11).

In the struggle for recognition both in a gender and an ethnic sense, Irena is able to
use her educational capital. Her experience of, in particular, gender discrimination
was a turning point in Irena's work trajectory, provoking her to challenge the male
domination in her branch of trade. In the above segment Irena expresses how she –
through her professional practice – gains recognition by running a successful and
well-reputed business compared to being employed. In this sense, she manages to
use her educational capital to accumulate more capital by positioning herself in a
higher and more valued position. This movement in her trajectory, from the turning
point of wanting to become self-employed through the process of building the
business up to being established and well-reputed, brings about a feeling of
overcoming gender, ethnic discrimination and being able to take control and feel in
charge of her work situation. In connection with this interpretation self-employment
is, in Irena's case, a matter of being successful and accumulating capital which are
then converted into symbolic capital.

In addition to her accountancy qualification from Romania, Tatjana has studied
economics at a business school in Denmark. Despite having a Danish education she
was unable to find employment, and therefore, she decided to become self-
employed within her profession in order to pursue her dream and intention of
working in the trade of finance and trade. In her case investment in educational
capital did not at first pay off:

> When I finished with the export-sale education I went back on social benefits…
> and it was so hard, I wrote I don't know how many… hundreds of applications,
> but I forgot one thing – that time was passing! (laughs) and I got older and
> older and I think that is why they won't employ me as .. eehh… and the Danes
> they don't have much trust in us. I know that eehh …….. I know the Romanian
> market very well and in 1995 in December I dreamt that I was, that I
> accomplished the career that I had in Romania. But then I knew that I can't
> be…ehh what's it called… employed in the private sector or the public sector,
> and I thought about what would happen if I started my own business. But it was

difficult (laughs) to start a business, because I was on social benefits. I couldn't gather the capital, the economy was very tight (Tatjana, p.4).

Being aware of the difficulties of accessing the labour market even though she is well-qualified, Tatjana decides to pursue her career by setting up her own business. This can be interpreted as using the profession-based strategy to maintain or regain continuation in her work trajectory, which is a rather important part of her biographical story. Coming from a working class background in Romania her educational level is relatively high, and it has been quite a struggle for her to access this status passage and the position attached to it. The mobility is primarily created through the relation between the possibilities within the system and the resources at her disposition and not at least a lot of hard work. The achievement of a self-employment career was a large step of social mobilisation and the discontinuation of this path in her working life when migrating to Denmark has brought on some radical changes in her self-conception, in the form of the discrepancy between her own identification as a part of her habitus and the categorisation that she is a victim of in the social context of the new field. The change of the field brought about by the migration process urged the need for a transformation of the habitus in order to acquire applicable capital in the struggle for social mobility and recognition. Through education and by adapting her resources to the structural situation Tatjana enables herself to create a new lifestyle and change her social position in terms of upward mobility. The combination of using a profession-based strategy and having the intentional motives of career, capital gain and self-realisation gives her entrepreneurial strategy an expansive character for which she is willing to take risks. Her entrepreneurial approach is identical to that of Irena's, even though they differentiate in their personal resources. In particular with regard to educational capital and social capital, Irena has a better starting point than Tatjana. When asked about her plans for the future Tatjana answered:

But eehh I will expand my business, I will engage in the Romanian and Hungarian markets. Now I have also many applications from Romanian businesses, who are seeking co-partners in the West…in Denmark or from here, and tomorrow I am going to Romania. (Tatjana, p.5)

Plans of a business expansion are often related to career and capital intentional motives, respectively, as a means of furthering the career by investing in a market arena. In Tatjana's case this strategy has a close connection to her dispositions as her capital is more useful and convertible in the market fields of Romania and Hungary.

Saeed and Irena are both from higher social strata, whereas Tatjana's social background stems from a lower stratum, but still all of them have obtained higher education. Both their causal motives and intentions vary from one another as they have encountered different problems in the process of accessing the Danish labour market, social positions and recognition.

Irena is much more familiar with playing the games that belong to the different fields of the Danish setting, as she has lived in the country since the age of 16. The duration of her life course in Denmark has influenced her habitus as she has undergone the internalisation of the externality by gaining knowledge of the rules and becoming capable of participating in the game of the field as Bourdieu refers to in his definition of habitus. I am here referring to some of the factual descriptions from her biographical story, e.g., her living with her father and his second wife who was a Danish school teacher. Furthermore, she was sent off to a boarding school in Denmark where she was more or less forced to spend her time with her Danish schoolmates. Also, being married to a native Dane gives her access to the rules and practices of different levels of fields; the whole field as in the Danish society, the larger field as in the labour market, and finally the particular field of being self-employed in a specific business trade. Her marriage to a Danish solicitor also gives her some rather large advantages compared to most other immigrant entrepreneurs, as her husband can support her in financial and accounting matters. Saeed, on the other hand, is driven by the pursuit for self-esteem and pursuing a career as a hairdresser, and these intentional motives can in his case be interpreted as a means to regain the type of position he held prior to migrating to Denmark and to strengthen his self-identity and self-confidence

Most of the entrepreneurs express that they through self-employment overcome both gender and ethnic/race discrimination, which is turned into respect and they then feel recognised as individuals who hold a similar position in society.

> … And then I came, I wanted to have a Danish education and I have to go to college for as long time as everybody else, so I wasn't interested in it. I could learn, I … there wasn't anything that I lacked. So it, I think it was a waste of my life 4 years in college…. And it was hard to find an apprenticeship (Zahra, p.3).

As a professional hairdresser trained in Iran, Zahra finds that it is a waste of time to redo the whole training period, when she already is qualified. A strategy based on retraining as a hairdresser does, therefore, not appeal to her as it does not make sense. It would be a step backwards in her biographical trajectory and does, therefore, not follow the identity development of the individual. Thus, it makes more sense to start her own hairdressing saloon, which could be interpreted as a rational choice even though the prospects of hard work and low profit usually are the reality of this situation. In this case, the barriers of the very regulated Danish labour market seems somewhat unreasonable in that Iranian hairdressing qualifications are not credited at all in Denmark, as it is hard to imagine that there can be such a large difference in hairdressing in Iran and Denmark

The description of Tatjana's trajectory illustrates how she was pushed into self-employment in the sense that her educational investments were not sufficient or adequate enough to gain access to the regular labour market. Self-employment thus becomes a way of using her education in a professional manner, which is blocked otherwise. From Tatjana's biographical profile her pre-migration history reveals a past in Romania belonging to the Hungarian lower (middle) class. She manages to get an education within accounting, giving her reasonable good opportunities on the labour market in Romania. She was facing a future where her social position was relatively high considering that she belonged to an ethnic minority group. Her family could not afford to send her to university, so she worked in an office and studied accountancy in the evenings. After working for 10 years she met her husband-to-be and within 16 months they married and had their first child, and soon after Tatjana and her family fled to Denmark as political asylum seekers due to her husbands political activities. Despite her professional skills and years of experience she did not qualify for a job in Denmark. She had the negative experience of not being able to convert her educational capital into economic capital and obtain social mobility from being unemployed to be included in the labour force.

The profession-based strategy has different intentions attached to it, one of them being self-realisation, which in some of the female cases has an emancipatory dimension in the sense of a liberating process from the experienced ties of traditional social structures.

For the majority of the female entrepreneurs the gain of autonomy through self-employment is, to some degree, important in terms of flexibility and independence.

The former is primarily related to the reproductive and domestic tasks that have been and still are predominately female activities. The latter is connected to striving for independence. An example of this is the Turkish woman, Lahle, who divorced her husband in Denmark and subsequently did not want any authorities to force her into something she didn't feel like.

> I have learned a lot, and I have tried it. And it is nice enough to be self-employed, and I will say especially for foreigners here in Denmark. Because.. I am not the only one who feels that we are… suppressed or exploited or… yah not maybe not treated as fair as the Danes on the labour market. They don't. And I have never thought I have never heard a single foreigner say, well I get just as much appreciation as you. I don't think so, they have to work harder…and the sit there and look longingly after the appreciation that they deserve…and then they loose their incentive to work (Lahle, p.8).

Lahle is here expressing how the labour capacity of immigrants is not valued in the same way as that of native Danes. Her experience is that immigrants have to work harder which is an issue that is expressed in most of the interviews.

Social network
One of the significant gender differences that emerge from the analysis is that the female entrepreneurs do not enjoy the same amount of financial and social support from their network as males do. An example of this tendency is Lahle, who has a beauty clinique, and who has not received any help from her social network, apart from the support that her husband provides with regard to child caring.

> We had a house and we had no money, so we had to sell it. So we sold it and moved to a small apartment, and then we had enough for the down payment…I paid it all in cash. When I started I couldn't even get the starting allowance ……. It was a dream and your have to pursuit your dream. Then I tried, but it didn't work, so after half a year I started waiting for the child allowance to come, then I found a job in a kindergarten. We have to survive. I have had it for 2½ years where I clean every day, but I decide myself when I do it. (Lahla, p.2).

Taking on an additional job in order for her business to survive is a survival strategy that is only found among the female entrepreneurs, which can be explained by a number of reasons. One explanation is the difference in the type businesses that the women have in connection to the profession-based strategy that necessitates an expertise of the trade, which is not the case for many conventional types of businesses like mini markets, restaurants, green grocers and so forth. Another

explanation may be the intentional motives that are linked to the strategy such as flexibility and emancipation/independence which also can be related to the fact that most of the female entrepreneurs are solo self-employed.

However, the women are not totally without a network or social capital, as some of them do at times get support from compatriots, who have some insights into the trade and who are willing to share these or employ the person because of their common background. Zahra mentions this type of network in her narration:

> But then I got a trainee period, a place where I could learn a bit more language. Because THAT was what I lacked, the technical language, not the actual work. I could very well have started working then… self-employed or as a hairdresser somewhere. But it was, the problem was the language. So I came for a period of three months and then seven months as a trainee in a saloon. As a compatriot, my compatriot. (Zahra, p.3)

Zahra is one of the few female entrepreneurs who have experienced this kind of help from a co-ethnic, which has contributed to her being able to start up her own business. Saeed, on the other hand speaks of ethnic network as a natural part of self-employment

> And then there is the chance of helping others. Some foreigner who also is also a hairdressers, which is new here. I have had one and two foreigners as apprentices and one of them has his own saloon now and the other one work with me (Saeed, p.3).

Being able to help other immigrants is one of the benefits from being self-employed which Saeed experiences. This type of action places Saeed in a situation where he gains a more dominant position, which may lead to recognition within the ethnic group, giving him secondary profit. His dream of opening a pizza place is part of his plans for expansion. A plan which includes his family:

> My wife is thinking about working with me. She has two girls, who would like to work, so we are many…I have heard that you can make good money from pizzas (Saeed, p.7).

His life planning might to some extend be of a projective orientation to some degree, as he gives the impression of it is not very difficult to make good businesses and earn good money from them. In the following quotation Saeed talks of buying a pizza place, earn a lot of money from it and then sell it again:

> Yes and then sell it again. But I want to stay here, I like living here. But always I think of getting big….I want a big saloon in the city-centre and maybe a second saloon. Not because of the money, but I like to have success, so for example my family or other back home says; that man could't make it in Egypt, but he has done out there… (Saeed, p.8).

This quotation also illustrates the importance of gaining recognition from the people he left back in Egypt. Again this is an example of the struggle for recognition, but in this case in form of secondary profit.

Findings

In the analysis of the different life histories that fit within this strategy, there is an aspect related to the intentional motivation of pursuing a career in a way they have not been able to do on the established labour market, because of lack of flexibility or due to experienced discrimination. It is clear that the female entrepreneurs do not to the same extent as the male counterparts experience that a conversion of their educational capital is blocked due to the different labour-market structures, but this can partly be explained by the fact that most of the women were qualified in Denmark, giving them less problems in accessing the labour market. However, the women who were educated in their home countries face similar problems to that of what the male immigrants encounter on the Danish labour market. It is thus not primarily a gender concern but just as much a matter of ethnicity and maybe even more a matter of a structural problem for the immigrants. My point here is that the expectations of using their foreign educations in Denmark are somewhat unrealistic and it is preposterous to anticipate that the educational capital is directly convertible and able to "travel" from one country to another. Such transmissions are rarely obtainable even by immigrants from countries similar to Denmark in terms of education, as for example in the case of an American woman with a university degree who lived in Denmark for many years before getting a job within her profession. According to this woman the main reason for her lack of opportunities was that she had to make a new story about herself as a part of the Danish context so that others, particularly employers, were able to relate to her and her qualifications. Most of the immigrants that can be placed within this strategy have experienced some kind of discrimination and often of both a racial/ethnic and gender nature.

The influence of their family backgrounds appears in terms of how successful they are in their businesses, where Irena is the most successful and Lahle the least,

having to take on a cleaning job to stay in business. Support from family and/or other co-ethnics is also to very different degrees a capital that the female entrepreneurs can rely upon. Again it is Irena how benefits from this, while Lahle is very much on her own in running her business.

The conventional strategy

Education

A characteristic of this strategy is that the businesses has a low income and profit, as there is a strong competition due to many businesses selling the same products. One of the male entrepreneurs for whom this is the case is Mustafa who states:

> It is not a big business, but I make ends meet. But not, had I been in paid labour then I would probably earn more. Well, but here you decides yourself, you are your own boss (Mustafa, p.3).

Becoming self-employed in order to gain autonomy is a causal motivation used by both female and male entrepreneurs, but with rather different goals. Where the women facilitate autonomy in terms of flexibility, independence or emancipation, the male entrepreneurs are often driven by an agenda of gaining or regaining independence. An example of this pattern is again Mustafa, who describes his trajectory towards self-employment in the following way:

> I went to school until the 10th grade, and afterwards I went on to a polytechnic line of education, it's called "Iron and Metal". Then I couldn't find an apprenticeship, so I got a job as a textile printer. I was there for about a year and then I quit and started a café. I wanted to be independent, yes so I opened a café (Mustafa, p.1).

When asked to elaborate on the reason for becoming self-employed, he continues:

> Well, it was more a pressure from my father, actually. He thought we should become self-employed, we had the opportunity to do it and then we did it. (Mustafa, p.2)

The intention here is also to gain family empowerment through self-employment which appears to be the best option of investing in the future for himself and his family. Furthermore, he frequently says "we" even though it is only him who owns and works in the restaurant. The above sequence shows the generational influence on Mustafa's life planning and later in the interview he reveals his own intentions for a family business when he talks about the family helping out in his business:

> Then it could be family or it could be my wife…but if she takes over, then we don't have to employ others, you know when she is off, I'll be here. That way we'll share…..Sometimes she helps with the cleaning and other stuff, and I

teach her how to make decorations and bouquets. I do that slowly (Mustafa, p.12).

Using family members and especially the spouse is more or less a common practice among many of the male entrepreneurs in the attempt to gain family empowerment through self-employment. This way the usually small profit businesses are able to survive by avoiding staff salaries and other expenses connected to having employees. Another important issue among the self-employed is empowerment of the next generation, where the business is used as a platform for obtaining upward mobility for their sons and daughters. Hassan is one of the male entrepreneurs who has made clear plans for his son's future. When he was confronted with the idea of any of his children taking over the business he replied:

Yes, the boy… I expect that it (the business, ed.) is prosperous, experience, really good salary. Afterwards buy another, there are many. Then John is going to take over all of it (Hassan, p. 12).

In this sequence Hassan expressed his intentions of a business expansion for the sake of leaving a sound business to his son, which will help to secure his future. He does, however, not mention anything about his daughters' future, which perhaps can be explained by the traditional social structures of his cultural background, where his concern as a farther is to get his daughters married to a good husband and into his family, who then has the responsibility of securing their future. Using a conventional strategy with the intention of family empowerment through an expansive business strategy is mostly the choice of poorly educated immigrants, to whom this is the most likely way to social mobility for themselves and their children. This approach holds a dimension of projection where the hopes for the future are somewhat unrealistic, as it is rare that someone with a background like Hassan's becomes successful in an economic sense. Being of a lower-class background and setting up in the pizza business does not put Hassan in a strong position as both the trade and his social background are characteristics of immigrants with low-income businesses.

Investments in the future of the children are also made through education and self-employment as in these cases and is intended as a way of creating a better frame or environment for the children's access to higher education. Contrary to the expansive business strategy which aims at creating an economic success, which can be handed over to the children, the intended purpose is partly to create better living conditions in order to be able to focus on the children's education. In this approach to family

empowerment the children are not involved in running the business but they are encouraged to give their school work high priority. In all of the data material, the family empowerment approach has only been found in some of the biographical interviews with male entrepreneurs and most of them have a higher education that they have not been able to use in Denmark. It may, therefore, seem paradoxical that they encourage their children to be well-educated when education has not been a route to empowerment and social mobility for themselves. They are, however, to some degree preconditioned, as education as a valuable source or capital is manifested in their habitus. Furthermore, it would be reasonable to assume that they are aware of the value and the necessity of education in a society like the Danish one and that an education obtained in Denmark will possibly position the descendants different from the parents with foreign educations and skills. An example of this approach to family empowerment is expressed by Mohamed in his reply, when asked if his son's future:

> He is young and he has many opportunities in Denmark…….He doesn't come here (in the shop), and I don't want him to come and help me. He has to study and so on. (Mohamed, p.9).

The issue of the children having opportunities in Denmark is brought up in most of the male entrepreneurs' biographical stories. It is in particular the immigrants from countries in which the prospects for the future are often quite gloomy such as in Iran or Pakistan. This "hope" for the future can provide some explanation for the struggles for creating a reasonable and meaningful life in the country of settlement when facing dead-end job situations and poor prospects for social mobility. Mohamed belongs to this group of entrepreneurs, who have been confronted with limitations on the labour market where they cannot use their educational capital and these experiences have influenced the decision to try the alternative strategy of self-employment.

It is, however, not only male entrepreneurs who use the conventional strategy, there are also a couple of the female entrepreneurs who have set up a business within a trade not matching their qualifications. Natasja is one of the female immigrants who decided to open a business because she had difficulties in finding traditional waged employment as she only managed to find a temporary summer vacancy and after that she returned to unemployment. There is, though, another gender dimension to her strategy, which has a more emancipatory orientation:

> I don't think that he (her husband, ed.) feels so good about it. I don't think so, because I think that it has changes, it changes you a lot. I think I'd changed my lifestyle, changed my interest… I am no longer a housewife, in that way, right. And of course, we have our daughter, but she is big now (Natasja, p.14).

Self-employment does in Natasja's case give her fulfilment in terms of that she is developing her biographical story in a desirable direction towards more autonomy. She is actually one out of only two women in the sample who are not using her qualifications to access a trade of self-employment. There are, however, the cases of women without education or skills, who obviously cannot use the profession-based strategy.

The limitations on the labour market seem to be the most prevalent motivation for becoming self-employed among the male immigrants. One of these men is Mohamed from Iran, who studied electro-engineering in the fourth year when he was imprisoned due to his socialistic opinions. Afterwards, he was not able find employment due to the discriminations against other political opinions and religious beliefs than that of the Shah's regime. He then moved to Turkey and then to Denmark. Here, he did one year of Danish studies and afterwards 1½ years of practical training at the Department of Physics at Aarhus University. He then started electronic studies, which he did for 1½ years. Then he was unemployed for 1½, this was at the end of the eighties at a time when the unemployment rate was perceptible high in general. Having an education from Denmark did give him some advantages despite the lack of a job, because he was a member of a trade union and he got recommended a temporary position at a governmental plant – an employment that lasted for 7 months. When this employment terminated he bought a mini-market with a friend as he felt he was in a dead-end job situation. It does not appear to be particularly problematic for him, as he does not connect his unemployment status with discrimination but experiences it as a consequence of the general structural context with a high unemployment rate at the time.

> I accepted then that I should be .. for example unemployed. Because there were many, eehh, 22-year-old Danes or 21-year-old Danes, who also were unemployed. So I was not angry, because I was unemployed, because they were unemployed too….. But that was then (Mohamed, p.2).

In this sequence Mohamed expresses how he identified himself with the many native Danes, expressing a sense of equality. A year later, at the time of the interview, he perceives his new situation in a different light, as he refers to the

differences between immigrants and native Danes when it comes to self-employment:

> …well businesses….businesses are hard work, and they close in Denmark, yeah? And foreigners take it. For example if you look at pizzerias...Danes.. can't be bothered or don't want to. They have this standard of living that they don't work at night or 10 – 12 hours a day. So they there are no Danes coming and taking over the business. So foreigners will come and work there, because… Danes have other possibilities, but foreigners don't have those possibilities. (Mohamed, p.3)

In this segment Mohamed indirectly expresses the limitations or barriers that he has encountered on the labour market, being pressured into self-employment due to lack of opportunities. His experience with the labour market points at the inequality of the mechanisms and values that prevail within the field. Another interpretation of this segment concerns the value connected to self-employment, which in this case is rather low, where immigrants, in comparison to the established group, do not possess the "right" educational or cultural capital to access higher social positions. The picture he gives of how he sees his own and other immigrants' situation in Denmark is that immigrants do the dirty work that the native Danes do not want to do, for example long working hours and small profits, which are a part of the opportunity structures of the field.

For most of the immigrants who apply this strategy their approach is based on a reaction to the barriers on the labour market as they had not planned to become self-employed, but they were either been pushed into it due to lack of other and better opportunities, or in a few cases self-employment was chosen because it was regarded as an opportunity to gain social mobility.

Generational implications among the entrepreneurs using the conventional strategy is especially that some of these entrepreneurs with a relatively large amount of accumulated capital, like higher education, well-off and educated family, are dissatisfied with their position as self-employed with a low income business. There is a significant tendency to deliberately keeping their children away from the business, so that they can concentrate on their studies. They invest in their children's education in the hope that it will provide them with enough and adequate educational capital, even though they have not been able to use their educational capital to access the aspired social position on the labour market themselves. However, I do not believe this situation to be paradoxical as the immigrants who

have intentions of family empowerment through self-employment, are well aware of the fact that higher education often leads to better social positions and more recognition than self-employment in the Danish society. They believe that their children will have more opportunities than themselves because they have grown up in Denmark and therefore they have been more socialised into the "Danish culture". In some way it becomes an expression of the internalisation of the externalities combined with their externalisation of internality to use the terminology of Bourdieu.

Social network

A characteristic of this strategy is the relatively large influence from co-ethnic networks, i.e. the possibility of using social capital in setting up a business is of great importance in relation to which line of business is chosen as learning tricks of the trade is passed on in the ethnic network. The necessity of having cheap or free labour is also often connected to this strategy, as the businesses are mainly small profit and operate in a fierce market competition.

Accessing the labour market through a social network is often a matter of having the right connections and knowing the right people, at the right place and at the right time, but when it comes to self-employment the relations are broader. In this context, a network refers to family members, friends, business partners, suppliers and customers. These relations are part of what provides the entrepreneurs with social capital, which is an important factor in relation to how they can position themselves in the field. The amount and type of social capital available to the individual immigrant entrepreneur often corresponds, to some degree, to that of their other types of capital. The main question here is again related to how this capital is convertible in relation to how it is possible for the entrepreneurs to position themselves within the field(s)

> There were somebody I knew who had a business, but who couldn't make ends meet. Then he started…then I bought it.
> …but everybody, those I knew, almost all of them are self-employed, most of them. Apart from that there are accountants who are acquaintances. You can always get help here and there, like what was the best to do. And it is important too, so that you don't decide yourself, you can ask...better one time too many than too few (Mustafa, p.4).

In this sequence Mustafa refers to the help of his (co-)ethnic network, which is in many cases is of great significance for the commencement and survival of the immigrant businesses and in particularly for the male owned business. During the start-up of the business the ethnic network can play a central role in financing the venture, as expressed by Mustafa when he was asked if he borrowed the money in the bank:

> Well, I had some and the some family had some and then the bank too. That was the way it was, I raised some of it and I had some of it myself (Mustafa, p.5).

Rashid is another male entrepreneur who relied on the ethnic network, when he started up the business. In order to make the coping-strategy of becoming self-employed possible, he managed to save some money despite a very tight economy. He was also helped out financially by people from his ethnic network, who lent him the rest of the money to get the business started

> I remember, there were maybe around 20 persons in Aalborg, who gave me 500, 1,000, 1,500, 200, 800 kroner you know (Rashid, p.8).

On a question as to whether these people are friends and acquaintances Rashid answers:

> Yes, yes. I could buy tobacco. I could buy groceries the first day. Because there was nothing in the shop. It was for 14 000 kr. groceries (Rashid, p.8)

The above two sequences shows how Rashid got financial aid through his ethnic network (family and friends), so that he could carry out his project. In this respect, it is partially due to his social capital that Rashid is able to support himself financially through self-employment.

The support from family and other people from the co-ethnic community is not something that is typical in the narrations of the female entrepreneurs. Natasja's network consists of the German women she got inspired from and two other women she met at a Tupperware party, where she decided to start her own business just before the self-employment allowance program was abandoned:

> It is abolished right, from January 1st. 1998 and it was in December 1997. Either I start and get subsidy, or I don't start (Natasja, p.6).

190

The above quotation gives the impression of Natasja's dependency on the allowance for starting up her business. She does not have an ethnic network which can and will support her business financially. This situation means that she is really low on social, cultural and economic capital that can be traded in terms of self-employment.

Findings

Many of the male entrepreneurs originate from countries in which social structures can be characterised as being more traditional than the Danish society. In more traditional societies, the gender roles are often based on a patriarchal family structure with the husband and father as the head and breadwinner of the family. When this structure is challenged by unemployment it causes damage to the self-esteem and alternative action is required. Thus, entrepreneurship becomes a part of the symbolic construction of masculinity and serves as more than just doing business as it also becomes a matter of doing gender. The entrepreneurial practice here represents a means for constructing and protecting a particular form of masculinity that is threatened in the new structural setting. When confronted with limitations on the labour market, with the consequence of not being able to support the family and fill in the role as the head of the family, the self-esteem of these male immigrants is reduced. The blocked possibilities for capital conversion through waged employment do for some families lead to downward mobility and self-employment might then be an opportunity to regain the former social position. This motive behind the strategy corresponds to the acculturation process, which to a higher degree, seems to be of a reactive orientation in the case of the male entrepreneurs as they seem to lean on bonding capital rather than bridging capital.

The innovative strategy

Education

This particular type of entrepreneurial strategy is rarely used by immigrants in a Danish context even though the gain of economic capital is often a part of the motivation factor, but still it is not the primary reason for becoming self-employed but rather a possible extra benefit. However, what seems to characterise the small number using this strategy is, that they have lived in Denmark for a large part of their lives or even all of it. This indicates the role of duration in Denmark in relation

to what kind of strategy is usable in terms of how their habitus is suitable in the sense of applicable dispositions and capital and how these correspond to those requested in the field. It also depends on ethnicity and class, in which case Irena and Whalid – Tjechoslovakia and Pakistan respectively – possess more cultural capital than the other entrepreneurs, but in Whalid's case it did not lead to employment as he explains in the sequence below:

> …if you have combined your engineer studies with business studies, then you stand much stronger on the labour market…ehh also in the future, you have better possibilities for moving about and.. rise and get a better and better position. In the end you can become director or something………. Then when I finished and looked for work and looked for work and looked for work and looked for work, there wasn't anything to get….. I didn't even make it to an interview, and it got more and more depressing. So it doesn't happen, I have I believe 3-4 folders with applications. But I don't really know what the reasons for that I, so many times, all of my friends finished at the same time as me. Most of them were working. Also the people who wrote the same master thesis, and had no business studies, they got invited to interviews, I just didn't. And my applications were okay, they were not bad applications, they were excellent, I believe myself and people who read the say so too. Then I was sent out in job training or what it is called, because I was on social benefits…… I was sent to a recycling centre (Whalid, pp.3-4).

From this sequence of Whalid's narrative it is obvious that he feels discriminated against on the labour market. He talks about the large investments he has made in education, which is based on his knowledge of the field of the Danish labour market of the value of skills and education. His expectations of this strategy were clearly that this route would lead to higher positions and professional success. The reality turned out to be quite different, as he discovered the hardship of accessing the labour market, in other words, the difficulties of converting his cultural/educational capital into economic capital through a professional position which also would give him access to symbolic capital. On one hand, Whalid's strategy is based on a reaction to the lack of opportunities within the system and, on the other hand, he is driven by a wish of being a successful business man, making a good profit and living off it. When he comes across a good business idea, like selling second-hand agricultural machines or conveyer belts to developing countries, he pursues the idea without much consideration of how realistic the project is. His main purpose as an entrepreneur is to be a successful businessman, which means having a good income:

> … Not long ago I said that I will stop applying for positions. I earn much more today than what I could as an engineer…….It is not important anymore

(working as an engineer). I have achieved a lot, I earn much more than by being employed and I have my freedom. I can take the day off whenever I like… (Whalid, p.24).

A successful business also provides him with a substantial amount of recognition, unlike many other immigrant entrepreneurs, as he refers to in this sequence:

I could never start a restaurant or a pizzeria or something else, because I can see it already. I open a pizza place and I make pizzas the next 25 years. I can just about make ends meet. I don't have a real chance of making it bigger. That is clear, anybody can see that (Whalid, p.25).

Later when he refers the Chinese "Take Aways", he says:

They look finished. They haven't moved in their lives. So I would rather have a place where I think...where I can move on and get bigger (Whalid, p.26).

Even though Whalid has not been able to find employment he still regards his education as valuable in terms of the resources it has given him - also in connection with his business. A driving force in Whalid's trajectory seems to be his striving for success, which he expresses by emphasising his wish to expand the business and his willingness to take large risks in order to accomplish his goal.

Social network
Whalid's social network in Denmark, in relation to his business, is rather small because he does not get much involved with co-ethnics.

No, I borrowed from private persons. The bank wouldn't lend me any money – not even a cash credit (Whalid, p.7).

Whalid continues on this topic:

It was from family. It was family that I could borrow from. But I gave it back within a year. It was an investment of 25,000 kroner… (Whalid, p.7).

The only network Whalid speaks of is his family, who are able to support him with economic capital. Otherwise it seems as if his business is very much a solo achievement. Whalid is not very keen on the idea of his wife assisting him in the business, because he believes that she should do her own thing. This attitude does in some sense reflex the individualised orientation of people in late modernity.

Findings

Whalid had the capital to start a business based on the principles of the innovative model, which means that he has entered a market that not previously have been occupied by immigrants. This type of innovation does not fully correspond to what is commonly known to be innovation among native entrepreneurs, but both types refer to moving into something new whether it is regarding the niche or the product. The innovation model is more of a social than a technical nature where the main purpose is not invention but rather development of social positions through an innovative process of establishing a business within a particular field with little competition from other immigrant entrepreneurs, but also with higher risks as well as possibilities for greater economic rewards.

Findings in the third stage of analysis

It is the reality for many immigrants that they can not convert their educational capital into economic capital, and therefore they are constrained in their attempts to acquire symbolic capital, which can lead to an improvement of their social position. There are thus indications of the systems' reproductive character. On the other hand, it is, for instance, possible for immigrant entrepreneurs to convert social capital into economic capital, mostly on a very small scale though.

When studying table 8.1. there seems to be indications of a relationship between education, line of business and gender. In the biographical narrations a gender pattern emerges in form of that the male entrepreneurs often go into self-employment, because they cannot find work within their professions. In many cases the explanation to the labour market barriers is, that their educational qualifications from their home country is not accepted as being of equal standard to that of the equivalent educational programme in Denmark, making the foreign education inadequate to the Danish labour market. In other words, in the transnational setting they are not able to convert their cultural capital into economic or symbolic capital, as their qualifications are not regarded as valuable as the Danish.

In relation to this it is noticeable that some of the male entrepreneurs, who use the conventional strategy, possessed a fair amount of cultural capital prior to migration and they and their family held a quite higher social position, than what the opportunities have given them in Denmark, which can be interpreted as a

discrepancy between their social identity and their personal identity[20]. Furthermore, some of the male entrepreneurs have taken their education or a supplement in Denmark, but they still have not been able to access the labour market, which could indicate labour market discrimination and marginalisation. It is also noticeable that for most of the male entrepreneurs their businesses are not related to their education, if they have one. They have apparently not been able to transform competencies and knowledge from their professions to the field of entrepreneurship. This tendency does not appear near as much in the women's accounts, where in many cases they are qualified within a trade where the possibilities of becoming self-employed is relatively high, such as in the hairdressing and beautician trade. Also the women with higher education are able to make use of their education/skills in a quite successful business, a pattern not to be found in the male interviews.

A possible link could be the type of profession, which is more or less adequate for self-employment, such as the engineer's possibilities for converting their educational capital into other types of capital in contrast to a dentist or a hairdresser. The profession-based strategy is also applied by the male entrepreneurs, who are qualified within the trade of hairdressing, but one will surely be able to find male dentists or doctors with their own practice in Denmark. When observing the trajectories and the individual strategies of the individuals the females seem closer to keeping a normal biographical story going than the male entrepreneurs. Although self-employment may not have been a part of the normal biography of these women it is a strategy that combines the possibilities of using their education and provides flexibility regarding domestic chores and child caring – an ability to combine work life and private life.

Taking the country of origin into account there seem to be certain influences on which entrepreneurial strategy the immigrants apply and whether they are able to convert their educational capital or not. Furthermore, it does not seem to be of great significance whether their education is obtained in Denmark or the country of origin, either way they have difficulties accessing the Danish labour market. The amount of educational capital hold by the individual has no significance in their possibilities of getting wage work, but it does seem to influence their entrepreneurial strategy and level of social integration. The respondents who have the most successful business are those who possess a high amount of cultural capital, coming from families with quite high social positions, some of them even in

---

[20]From Erving Goffman's "Vore rollespil i hverdagen" (1992(1959)).

Denmark. These immigrants are, apart from being well-educated, well off in terms of knowledge and information, which can be of vital importance when settling in a new country with unfamiliar systems, rules (spoken and unspoken) and practises. The social network (including marriage) for these immigrants includes native Danes creating a bridge over the cultures and it helps accessing certain fields. Being married to a Dane does seem to give the migrant more social capital, which can be used as an asset when starting and running a business.

The analysis shows patterns of an ethnic aspect in relation to the educational level of both the male and the female entrepreneurs. The women from Middle Eastern countries do in general not achieve higher education to the same extent as for example women from Eastern Europe. There seems to be a correlation between cultural factors such as family patterns, values and norms and the degree of education/skills. This tendency is also found as a pattern of cultural reproduction among certain immigrant groups in Denmark, where parents' investment in educational capital of their children is primarily attached to the boy. An ethnic group that breaks this pattern is the Pakistani, where investment in the children's education concerns both sexes. This pattern is also to be found in a recent quantitative investigation of education among descendants of immigrants (Colding, 2004). In regards to the male entrepreneurs there are is a clear difference between the immigrants from Iran, who in many cases have a higher education and those from Turkey who often are low educated or have no education. An important aspect of the relation between these two ethnic groups is that the Turks are primarily labour migrants or descendants of labour migrants, whereas the Iranians are refugees or reunited with an Iranian refugee. Despite these differences it is quite remarkable that the women from both ethnic groups use the profession-based strategy and most of the men from both groups use the conventional strategy.

This restrain on the possibility of capital conversion may be an indication of labour market discrimination and marginalisation of ethnic minorities. Immigrant entrepreneurship does in this connection constitute a labour mobility strategy, based on a struggle for labour market incorporation and social recognition. The smaller the gap between the business venture and the professional or life project, the more likely is it that the immigrant is satisfied with being self-employed. Furthermore, the analysis points in the direction that the larger this gap is, the bigger the possibility of a survival strategy with no or low prospects of social mobility. There are however, exceptions to this hypothesis, which are those entrepreneurs who use

the innovative strategy with a capitalistic orientation. An interesting aspect of this is that the innovative approach mostly has a character of being low-technological even though the immigrant entrepreneur might have high technological qualifications. This situation may well be related to their socio-economic condition in terms of low economic and social capital, where the latter often can be related to the relatively short period of time that the immigrant has been in Denmark, which means that the development of a social network may be quite limited and not uncommonly be restricted to members of the co-ethnic group who is willing to pass on information and experiences. This does, however, often entail a certain amount of limitations as to the insight and understanding of the new society that the given ethnic group holds and it might at times become a disadvantage for the newcomers, because they will only be introduced to a certain amount of information passed on in a certain way. It can therefore be difficult for newcomers to break out when a particular social position has been established, which will influence the social identity of the group and its individuals. The immigrants in the new society are in many instances subjected to a certain degree of symbolic violence, in terms of a devaluation of the resources they possess.

Earlier studies (Watkins & Watkins, 1984:28, Hisrich & Brush, 1984:32) of entrepreneurship in general (immigrants and natives) suggest that male entrepreneurs are more likely to have a relevant education in relation to the line of business than the female entrepreneurs. This tendency does not correspond at all with the results of this analysis (step 2), which strongly indicated that the women posses more applicable educational capital in relation to their business. However, I don't think that many native Danish engineers become greengrocers or pizzeria proprietors, as it is much more likely that they would start a business within their educational field and their self-employment would probably also be based on other motivations than that of the male immigrant entrepreneurs.

Table 8.2: The relationship between the level of education and type of strategy

Educational level / Strategy	Professional	Traditional	Unskilled
Profession-based	Female	Female/Male	
Conventional	Male/Female	Male	Male/Female
Innovative	Male		

Very few of the immigrants had experienced downward mobility in terms of their career prior to migration. Many of them, in particular the male immigrants had relatively successful jobs in their country of origin.

Earlier analysis has shown that there is a gender differentiation in relation to the approach the individual immigrant has to self-employment. The distinction is based on male immigrants being expansive entrepreneurs often being prepared to take high risks in their pursuit of their intended goals. Contrary to this approach, many of the female immigrants set up as solo self-employed and act with more cautiousness than their male counter parts. This picture is not clear within the empirical data of this investigation, where the male entrepreneurs do not, alike the female entrepreneurs, want to jeopardise their position as self-employed. Moreover, the analysis demonstrates that the immigrants who use an expansive approach possess a high amount of capital. This indicates that the types of businesses approach, solo self-employment or expansive entrepreneurship, depend just as much on social position as on gender. An explanation to this could be that expansion often presupposes a certain level of not just economic capital, but also cultural and/or social capital to some degree. Furthermore, the opportunity structures have to be advantageous to some degree in order to make expansive entrepreneurship possible.

The scenario of a male entrepreneur having his spouse contribute to the running of a business is a quite common scenario, whereas the reverse situation where the husband is actively engaged in running the wife's business is rare. The only example found in this study is in Irena's narration where she talks about her Danish husband's role as her accountant and financial advisor. This is an advantageous position when entering the field of self-employment, which on the other hand is more unlikely in the case of male immigrant entrepreneurs, for the reason that a relatively high percentage of the female immigrants have no relevant educational background for contributing to the business.

There is in general a gender difference in the support by the family or ethnic network. The biographical stories reveal that male entrepreneurs enjoy more support from their community both regarding financial matters but also in regards to the running of the business. An important distinction to be made is concerning the type of businesses that is owned by respectively female and male entrepreneurs. Most of the male entrepreneurs are in catering or retail, where no specific qualifications are

needed, whereas the female are in trades where skills or education is a necessity. This pattern corresponds with that of the gender differences in the type of strategy that the entrepreneurs apply, for the male it is primarily the conventional strategy and for the female the profession-based strategy.

One of the issues that this analysis step illustrates is that gender distinction is connected to the different entrepreneurial strategies and that the intention motives tied to these. The innovative strategy is in its pure form a rare choice and in this investigation it is only found among male entrepreneurs.

It is not only the educational part of their cultural capital that for some immigrants is difficult to transmit from the country of origin to the settling country, it also concerns aspects of learned behaviour in the former cultural setting in particular if this field is characterised by more traditional social structures with a larger extent of hierarchical construction compared to the common practice of the Danish. With common practice I refer to working conditions such as a softer or more indirect type of "command" and the higher degree of workers' influence on the place of work or all the unspoken rules of appropriate conduct.

The expectation of the individual has a connotation to the previous experiences in the life course of the individual as for example in the social position the person (or group of persons) held prior to migration. However these expectations are in many cases not redeemed in the country of settlement, where the opportunity structures may vary significantly from those in the emigration country, which may create a mismatch between the individual resources obtained in the home country and the opportunity structures in the country of settlement – here being Denmark. The Danish society is based on much regulated structures, which have particular goes for the labour market with its many rules and regulations, which have consequences for all individuals participating in it.

Table 8.3: The relationship between entrepreneurial strategies and the intentional motives among female and male immigrant entrepreneurs.

Strategies \ Intention	Attainment of self-esteem	Family empower-ment	Accumulation of economic capital	Pursuing a career	Attainment of flexibility	Pursue of self-realisation
Profession-based entrepreneurship	M1, F5	M1	F2, F5, M1	F1, F2, F3, F4, F5, M1	F1, F3, F4,	F1, F2, F4, F5,
Conventional entrepreneurship	M2, M3, M16,	M2, M3, M16, M5			F8	M5
Innovative entrepreneurship	M4		M4	M4		

When studying the above table one aspect is quite clear, which is that of the strategies represents typologies, as the strategies are mutually excluding. If comparing the strategies to the intentions there is a clear distinction in the status of the categories or concepts that has emerged and developed through the analysis of the biographical stories. It is quite remarkable how almost all male entrepreneurs are located in the lower left corner and the female entrepreneurs in the upper right corner. A clear division is that the strategies are to such a large degree gendered in the sense that they are practically all mono-gendered.

Chapter 9

Conclusions

Relations between motives, intentions and strategies

In the following part I shall bring together the results of the three stages of analysis in an attempt to establish a fuller and clearer picture of the entrepreneurial praxis and the causes and consequences related to it. Firstly I will look into the relations between the causal motives and the intentions. Subsequently, the gatherings from the third stage of analytical will be brought into a possible coherence with the previous stages of analysis, in order to check for consistent aspects of immigrant entrepreneurship as it is put forward in this research project in the attempt to generate entrepreneurial typologies.

For the sake of recalling the analytical structure of the various stages of analysis, I will make a short summary. The first stage is based on identifying themes in the empirical material. These themes resemble significant forms of causal motivations found in the biographical stories. The structure of the second stage of analysis is based on these themes and through a further and broader analysis of the biographical data, different types of intentions are identified. The third and final stage of analysis concerns the strategies that are used in order to access self-employment, focusing on different kinds of capital available to the immigrants and furthermore how the strategy is linked to their intentions.

Starting with the first stage analysis the main result is the gender differences in the reasons of becoming self-employed. Central in this part of the investigation are the various themes that are presented by the immigrants in their narratives and the theoretical connotations that may help the interpretation of the data. The distinction seems to be somewhere between recognition and autonomy, although there is not a sharp division between female and male entrepreneurs. It is, however, quite noticeable that most of the male entrepreneurs are very concerned with issues related to recognition whereas the female entrepreneurs have more considerations on autonomy-related subjects. This gender distinction may have a number of different explanations and those that I have emphasized are those that I through my interpretations of the empirical data have based this study on, which means that other researchers using either the same or a different method might come to

different conclusions than I do. It is therefore important to make all the "calculations" visible in order to secure a high level of understanding of how the results are reached. The male entrepreneurs' biographical stories can often be characterised by a focus on their role as the patriarch and being able to secure the future of the family, which can be interpreted as a traditional lifestyle or as an embodied gender position. These reactions can be linked to forms of intentions in terms of what the immigrants wish to obtain through self-employment, which in this case is self-esteem and family empowerment. The reaction seems to be largely caused by discrimination and limitations on the labour market, which narrows down the possibilities for accessing social positions that they have been accustomed to prior to migration. In this sense does the business world provide opportunities that are not available in the profession-based world (see also Kupferberg; "The Established and the Newcomers"). Their cultural capital does not hold the same value in Denmark as it did prior to migration, which brings on a lack of recognition that often results in a low self-esteem. A key issue here is therefore that the value of cultural capital is determined by the established group, mainly the native Danes, and that this generates barriers on the labour market for many immigrants. This scenario is mostly related to the male entrepreneurs who in a sense are using self-employment as repair work[21]. Through self-employment the immigrants have the opportunity of taking control over their life situation by being their own boss, an aspect that is found important in the vast majority of the biographical stories whether it is related to gender or ethnicity. Lack of symbolic capital or negative symbolic capital might on the other hand lead to symbolic violence, which is expressed in the case studies in relation to the racialised and gendered labour market.

The second theoretical concept related to the themes expressed in the biographical narrations is that of autonomy, which is a relatively strong motivation, particularly in some of the women's narration. These women can to some degree be regarded as pattern breakers as they do not follow the more traditional or established types of female occupational behaviour or pattern as house wives, contributing wives or employees. This break away from the more traditional gender role is a step toward a more liberated and perhaps to some degree more emancipatoric lifestyle, which in

---

[21] Feiwel Kupferberg introduces the concept of repair work in his analysis of immigrant entrepreneurs who were unable to continue their biographical story as intended and were forced to revise their life plans in order to create continuity in their lives.

many cases will lead to some degree of identity transformation, influenced by the more autonomous life plan.

The encounter with the very liberated and the relatively gender equal Danish society and the associated opportunity structures of the Scandinavian welfare state model has influenced both the male and the female reasons for becoming self-employed. On this matter there seems to be a negative and positive division, where the men more frequently have expressed the causal motivations being based on constraints while the women to a higher degree seems motivated due to new possibilities that are embedded in the opportunity structures.

The gain of autonomy through self-employment seems to have several implications that influence the consequences of an entrepreneurial practice. One of these consequences is that the type of occupation involves very often long working hours, low income and no or limited holidays. The majority of the women observed were motivated to become self-employed by gaining a more flexible lifestyle due to child caring and domestic work. Very few of these women have actually benefited from the possibility of managing their own time, because they have to work long hours in order to keep the business going, and thus flexibility becomes more a matter of the idea than actual gain of flexibility. This is connected to the stride for autonomy as in being able to make your own decisions. Through the entrepreneurial strategy many of the female entrepreneurs manage to keep their biographical story, going both as a mother and as a professional woman, creating a better coherence between private life and work life.

In the biographical narrations there have been statements referring to reluctance towards having a Danish boss or even colleagues and in that respect self-employment serves as a way of gaining independence. This perspective is found in narrations of both female and male entrepreneurs though in some of the male cases the object for gaining independence is related to their unemployment situation and dependency on the representatives of the system. They express little confidence in the system both as unemployed but also as self-employed where they do not feel supported by the system, rather on the contrary. The experience of the boss or system representative regarding them as an inferior or not taking their best interest is for some of the immigrants a large motivation factor for becoming self-employed. The experience of misrecognition and the distrust towards the system may lead to a feeling of contempt

The creation of continuity is also an important aspect of becoming self-employed, in particular for the male immigrants who cannot continue in the role as the breadwinner as their access to an occupational position on the labour market is blocked due to limitations and regulations on the Danish labour market. This particular aspect is linked to the achievement of recognition, and it is a clear dimension found in most of the immigrant entrepreneurs who have applied a conventional strategy. The maintenance of continuity is however not only a male issue as it is an important dimension for all humans in order to be able to navigate in the complexity and multiplicity of fields. The female entrepreneurs do to a larger extend express a need for creating coherence between their private life and their work life, which holds a dimension of embodied femininity. This interpretation can be linked to the first stage of analysis where I talked of male and female entrepreneurs having respectively a *care* and a *career* dimension to their motivations in relation to their children. Most of the women were very concerned about having flexible working hours, whereas the men emphasised social mobility for their children as very important. In other words, family empowerment seems to be mostly a concern of the male entrepreneurs, which may be connoted with masculinity, whereas caretaking and flexibility traditionally has a connotation to femininity. However, the more resourceful women with well-composed capital also stride for success and accumulation of economic capital. The separation of "home" and "business" appears to be less clear in the case of most female entrepreneurs, which means that there are no clear demarcation line between the public and the private sphere. In other studies this relationship between these symbolic fields is seen as a gendered construction, where women and entrepreneurship is treated in the sense that they do not go together (Bruni, Gherardi & Poggio, 2004:425).

The experiences encountered on the labour market in terms of discrimination and limitation do in most cases evoke a feeling of stigmatisation. The experience of certain capital or values not being recognised can also be expressed as symbolic violence, which creates relationships of domination where the immigrants feel misrecognised, which will bring on emotional consequences such as lacking self-esteem and inferiority. In these cases self-employment has a positive effect in terms of gaining or regaining a social position such as accessing a career or being the provider. In this sense self-employment plays an important role in the identity construction or reconstruction for the immigrants both in terms of social and personal identity. For some of the female entrepreneurs it is a matter of coping with

situations of ethnic discrimination in their job, and for others it is more a matter of gender discrimination or both. It looks as if the most resourceful immigrant women are those most concerned with gender issues in relation to the labour market. However, this pattern also fits the general picture of native women.

The links between the different stages of analysis

Here I will illustrate the relations between; causal motivations – intentional motivations – strategies or the other way round. When bringing together the central elements of the three analyses there emerge certain relationships between gender, motivations and strategies.

Entrepreneurs who use the *profession based strategy* aim to achieve a various combination of economic, career, freedom and self-realisation *intentions.* Their *reactions* can be characterised as discrimination, inflexibility and dependency and the central type of capital in their quest is cultural capital. Entrepreneurs using this strategy are more experienced within the trade of their business because it is linked with their professional qualifications.

The *conventional strategy* is commonly used by immigrants who have the *intention* of gaining self-esteem, family empowerment and freedom/independence. The *causal motivations* behind the strategy are a combination of discrimination, limitations on the labour market and dependency. The central type of capital is social capital. The conventional strategy is for the main part of the self-employed male immigrants the most realistic strategy because their qualifications are not as easily applicable in terms of self-employment as in the female cases. It is for example not as obvious an idea for an engineer to become self-employed, as it is for a dental technician.

The social capital or network is not necessarily something that the immigrants bring with them in their baggage, which predisposes them to become self-employed. Network is rather something that is developed over time in the settling country. The information and knowledge of the particular line of business is often obtained through compatriots who are in the same line of business, which creates a lot of competition within the trade.

In the use of the *innovative strategy* the common *intentions* is to gain economically, to gain self-esteem and self-realisation and the reactions are based on

discrimination, limitations on the labour market and dependence. Economic capital is the central type of capital. Such entrepreneurs primarily use an economic incentive as the reason for becoming self-employed and regard entrepreneurship as a better alternative to waged employment. They often start a business within a line of business that has possibilities of expansion and high earnings.

The concept of social innovation is constructed upon the relation of a mismatch between the acquired knowledge, qualifications and competencies and of those in demand. In this case competencies are primarily in reference to the comprehension of the social relations and the rules of the game within a specific field. *Social innovation* thus becomes an important issue in connection with migration and acculturation processes, and in this light immigrant entrepreneurship can be perceived as a coping strategy based on social innovation, where self-employment is a matter of using an alternative way of accessing occupation. When applying this concept of innovation, the innovative dimensions to entrepreneurship change radically, whereas it is usually understood as a type of strategy as described in the previous chapter. In the relation to the present investigation there can easily be made a distinction between innovation as a strategy and social innovation, where the former only applies to way of accessing self-employment and the latter to a strategy or way of coping in the Danish society.

My sample is of course not representative of the entire field of immigrant entrepreneurship in a Danish context. There are of course male immigrant entrepreneurs who are qualified professionals such as dentists, doctors or veterinaries that start their own practice. However, until recently the unemployment rate among these groups of highly skilled immigrants was very high. The situation is now changing due to a large demand of employees with these skills.

The restrain on the possibility of capital conversion indicates labour market discrimination and marginalisation of ethnic minorities, which also is expressed by all of the respondents in various degrees. This illustrates the significance of ethnicity and race and that immigrant entrepreneurship constitutes a labour mobility strategy, based on a struggle for labour market incorporation and social recognition. The analysis points in the direction that the smaller the gap between the business venture and the professional or life project, the larger the possibility of a conventional strategy with no or low prospects of social mobility. There are, however, exceptions to this hypothesis, which are those entrepreneurs who use the

innovative model of entrepreneurship. An interesting aspect of this is that the innovative approach mostly has a character of being low-technological even though the immigrant entrepreneur might have high technological qualifications. This situation as well as many of the entrepreneurs using a conventional strategy may well be related to their socio-economic condition in terms of low economic and social capital, where the latter often can be related to the relatively short period of time that the immigrant has been in Denmark, which means that the development of a social network may be quite limited and not uncommonly be restricted to members of the co-ethnic group who are willing to pass on information and experiences. However, this often entails a certain amount of limitations as to having sufficient insight and understanding of the new society that the given ethnic group holds and it might at times become a disadvantage for the newcomers, because they will only be introduced to a certain amount of information passed on in a certain way. It can therefore be difficult for immigrants to break out when a particular social position has been established, which will influence the social identity of the group and its individuals. The access to social positions depends on the composition of capital, which is of vital importance in relation to the strategy or strategies that are available to the immigrant. Labour market and social mobility depends on whether the individual possesses the appropriate competences in terms of both practical and cognitive competencies

A key issue seems to be the matter of value of cultural capital, which is defined by the established group – the native Danish majority. It is remarkable that only one of the male entrepreneurs is working within the profession he is educated or trained within. Most of the males have resigned in finding a regular waged job and have lost confidence in the labour market, which then might lead to a search for alternative and more autonomous solutions. In connection to this the analysis has shown certain patterns which illustrate that male entrepreneur suffer greater downward occupational mobility than their female counterparts, which is the opposite picture of what other investigations have reached regarding the issue of social mobility. It is therefore difficult to make generalisations on the matter until further and more elaborated research is carried out. The female entrepreneurs have on the other hand not experienced the same kind of labour market disadvantages but have in many cases expressed some degree of double stigmatisation[22] based on their race/ethnicity and gender.

---

[22] Stigmatisation is a type of attribute that is deeply discrediting (Goffman, 1990:68).

Table 9.1: Relation between level of education and strategy

Strategy / Level of education	Profession-based	Conventional	Innovative
Professional	Female	Male/Female	Male
Traditional	Female/Male	Male	
Unskilled		Female/Male	

The table above illustrates the relation between the level of education and the strategy applied in a gender division. It is in particular noticeable that none of the males with a professional education are using the profession-based strategy, even though a higher percentage of them have a higher level of education.

When bringing the different stages of analysis together it becomes quite apparent that there is a large degree of intersectionality embedded in the biographies of the immigrant entrepreneurs, which means that it is insufficient to only focus on one aspect such as gender. Still, the gender dimension is the most prevailing in the empirical data, which is why the gender category is predominant in the present study, giving it precedence in the investigation. However, this does not mean that other important differentiating categories are to be neglected and thereby do injustice to the empirical material. By this I mean that the analysis have shown quite strong indications of class having an important role in relation to the entrepreneurial practise. Moreover, the experiences of the majority of the observed immigrant entrepreneurs also point in the direction of an interrelationship between the discrimination and the aspects of gender, class and immigrant status (see also Morokvasic, 1985). A general conclusion to be made from the analysis is that it is easier for immigrants to access the business world compared to the professional world. However, it is not a simple matter of just establishing a business, but rather that of a low-income business, which is by far the most common type of business owned by immigrants.

Gender dimensions in the analysis results

The conclusion from the Danish case of the TSER project in relation to a gender difference regarding entrepreneurial practice among female and male immigrant entrepreneurs in Denmark seems to be even more significant and nuanced than first anticipated. In this present investigation the analysis has shown that the gender division of solo self-employment and expansive entrepreneurship is not a clear cut matter and that there are certain conditions that modify the tendencies of male and female entrepreneurial practice. It is in particular noticeable that a high amount of economic and cultural capital among female entrepreneurs may lead to expansive entrepreneurship.

It looks as if the women have more focus on the private sphere giving the children and the home more priority than some of the male entrepreneurs, who place more importance on the public sphere using many hours daily on their businesses. Some of the male entrepreneurs might have a dream of expanding their businesses, but this is in many case an expression of a rather protentive attitude as such dreams seem quite unrealistic. A more genuine picture is that most of the male entrepreneurs are solo self-employed just like the female entrepreneurs, which means that they have no employees. Moreover, they do in various degrees have assistance from family members or co-ethnics, a benefit that the female entrepreneurs do not enjoy to the same extent.

Risk-taking and expansive entrepreneurial strategising cannot only be related to gender as in being correlated to masculinity, as the analysis suggests that there are other modifying factors. One category in particular is class, as it often brings on a relatively high proportion of social and economic capital, which makes risk-taking and expansion a more feasible and projective strategy. The female entrepreneur Irena is a good example of how an intersectional approach is needed in order to understand the complex relations between different significant categories such as gender class and ethnicity, which all are entangled in the field of immigrant entrepreneurship. Moreover, Irena's biographical story is also an illustration of how persons with a high proportion of accumulated capital has several advantages in accessing higher social positions and recognition that those starting from a lower position.

The importance of family support and ethnic network is also a gendered matter. Embodied social capital is mostly an advantage that the male entrepreneurs enjoy,

in particular by having assistance from their wives. Moreover, the narrations of the male entrepreneurs reveal that their children are often not allowed to help out in the business, because they want to encourage their children to use their time on home work so they will do well in school in order to gain more possibilities for a better life than themselves. This practice does not correspond to that of many other research results that tend to show that the children are working in the businesses. Most of the female entrepreneurs are doing the domestic work and taking care of the children.

Self-exploitation is a way of staying in business by working extreme long hours six or seven days a week and without holidays or other breaks. The notion of exploitation is most often used in connection with the male entrepreneurial practice, but from the empirical material of this study it appears as if the female entrepreneurs too use self-exploitation in order to keep their business going. In some cases this is done by having a job on top of being self-employed, so that they for example work in their business during the day and have job in the evening. Additionally, the female entrepreneurs also take care of most of the domestic work and of child caring.

Another condition that seems to have a gendered dimension is the level of a voluntarily engagement in self-employment, where the female entrepreneurs are in the high end and males in the lower end of a reactive - proactive continuum[23]. This relation is reflected in the causal motivations where the male entrepreneurs to a much higher degree are pushed into self-employment due to the barriers in the opportunity structures.

Dimensions of socialisation in connection to the entrepreneurial praxis
The opportunity structures bring different possibilities and constraints for different groups and individuals depending on the available resources. An important aspect of how immigrants cope in the country of settlement is the habitus that they have developed over time, particularly in their early years of childhood. Moreover, the socialisation process is influenced by matters such as the age at the time of arrival to the new country. It is noticeable that a high proportion of the female and male immigrants, who can be characterised as being well integrated and having accumulated a feasible amount of capital, came to Denmark as children following

---

[23] The reactive – proactive continuum is based on the degree of self-determination of migrant in relation to voluntarily or involuntarily action (Richmond, 1996)

parents who immigrated voluntarily. These migrants often have higher possibilities for internalising certain ways of perception and dispositions that are similar to those of their surroundings. However, most of the immigrants in this study arrived in Denmark either in their teens or in adulthood, which means that they already had undergone an extensive socialisation process of their habitus. A consequence of this is in many cases an adjustment or extension of habitus and perhaps changes in their practices.

However, reality is more nuanced and complex than this scenario and the socialisation process is not that straight forward at all. Many circumstances must be taken in to consideration in order to gather all the pieces that together create the whole picture. It is therefore important to examine the data material carefully with the aim of ensuring that as many aspects of the phenomenon are brought into the analytical frame. In relation to the socialisation process the empirical data serve as evidence of the various aspects tied to the similarities and differences of the individual biographical stories. In other words, socialisation is not just connected to the age of arrival to the country of settlement, but also variables such as ethnic and cultural origin or social background influence the socialisation process.

There is a relatively high percentage of the entrepreneurs who has a self-employed parent or even both and if not that then self-employed members of the wider family. This has most likely a conceivable influence on the habitus of these migrants, as their habitus will be influenced by the parents' behavioural pattern. Thus, there has been an internalisation of self-employment as a possibility of making a living as a part of a professional habitus, giving these immigrants a disposition for this kind of labour market activity. The analysis also suggests a significance of having close relations to people from the established group, in particular the spouse. Irena and Whalid are both doing very well businesswise and have both very close connections to the majority group through respectively marriage and social network.

The traditional characteristic of entrepreneurial practice does to some extent count for both female and male entrepreneurs as for example in regards to being hard-working and working long hours. But when it comes to risk-taking and leadership there seems to be a more significant gender division, though not clear, which corresponds to the female entrepreneurs' preference of solo self-employment and gives entrepreneurship a more emotional dimension.

Integration effects of the entrepreneurial strategy

When I talk of integration I refer to it in a very broad sense as opposed to disintegration. I shall therefore not go much into details about different types of "integration" or "incorporation" or "acculturation". The distinctions between these concepts are quite relative and all depend on the manner and the context within which they are brought into play.

Interpretations of the biographical narratives point in the direction of women entrepreneurs being more inclined to stride for bridging social capital, often with an emancipating effect, where as the male entrepreneurs seek bonding social capital, securing their position within the family and the ethnic community by tying strong bonds. The business also serves as a kind of platform for making relations with natives, and unlike the male entrepreneurs they don't have co-ethnic networks within their line of business. Yasmin's account shows us the story of a pattern-breaking woman, who shreds some of the "old" culture and learns about the new westerly modern culture. In some respect and in line with some integration theories, cultural shredding and learning is important aspects of cultural adaptation in the stride towards integration or assimilation (Berry, 1997). As the analysis has shown the immigrants do to different degrees adapt to the Danish context and in some sense the entrepreneurial strategy is a form of adjustment to the opportunity structures; from an assimilatory manner in some cases and to a degree of segregation in other cases.

Inclusion or incorporation in the whole field is important aspects of self-employment. To which extent does the entrepreneurial strategy lead to social integration? In relation to Honneth's concept of recognition there are in connection to integration also different forms that has to be considered in relation to both system and social integration (see also Lockwood). Furthermore, here there is a clear link to Nobert Elias' theory on incorporation in his acknowledged work *The Established and the Outsiders* (1994).

Another way of looking at immigrant entrepreneurship is through the immigrants' experience of being "second-class citizens" due to lack of rights in areas such as legal, political, cultural and/or social ones. These rights have vital importance for immigrants' socio-economic participation in society, which again is of great importance for his or her social status and self-esteem (Reich-Ranicki in Kupferberg, 1989). The experience of not being an equal citizen in the host society

212

can be explained by the ongoing renegotiations that take place between the established group, who believes to be the rightful owner of the country and the outsiders, who often feel that they are treated as second-class citizens. The outsider must continuously fight for their rights such as legal, political, social, economics and cultural. The integration process depends on the immigrants' experiences with the established groups (Elias, 1994). This situation might have a very negative influence on the immigrants' incorporation in the new society, for example, if he or she feels that the host society is so hostile that it will be impossible to gain success through the entrepreneurial strategy. On the other hand, it is possible that the feeling of being a second-class citizen will attribute to becoming self-employed, if this is experienced as a positive way of breaking out of a low-status position in the new society (Kupferberg, 2001).

A reaction to the feeling of being a second-class citizen is to seek upward mobility by breaking out of the dead-end situation as unemployed or maltreated worker and start up as self-employed instead. Through this strategy it is possible for the immigrant to strengthen his or her self-esteem, which has been wounded due to the limitations in the individuals possibilities for keeping a biographical narrative going and for maintaining and developing his or her identity. Whether this strategy leads to the desired result of breaking out is questionable. There is the risk that the entrepreneurial strategy will contribute to keep the immigrants in a second-class citizenship position, in the sense that self-employed immigrants most often get into small businesses such as pizzerias and kiosks, which do not necessarily lead to a higher social status or prestige from the established group's point of view. Self-employment is, however, ascribed more social status and recognition among many ethnic groups. So in this sense the identity effects are rather dependent on the reference group in terms of social identity. The unequal domination relation between the native Danes and the immigrants may create a new kind of proletariat of immigrants.

The issue of autonomy attained through being self-employed does not necessarily lead to a higher degree of incorporation in the Danish society. A main reason for this situation is that even though they may be in contact with many Danes through the business, this is only a very brief encounter and there are rarely native Danes employed in the businesses. These indications are in particular found in many of the men's narratives. It is therefore a likely situation that the female entrepreneurs become more integrated in the Danish society and that they thus can be

characterised as more proactive than their male counterparts. This conclusion can however not be generalised as the type of businesses that are represented in my research are not representative of the field, and my guess is that there are quite a lot of self-employed women with home-based businesses, who may well have only little contact with people from outside the home.

The intentional motives can be interpreted as predominant values that serve as indications of the relationship between the particular and larger fields, as well as the whole social field, in the sense of whether the values can contribute to further integration in the Danish society. Another issue connected the integrative effect of immigrant entrepreneurship is the time aspect. The business of the migrants often has many business hours, which means that the entrepreneurs have very little spare time for socialising and participation in other activities than what is related to the business. This means that they do not engage in a kind of interaction that could be beneficial for the integration process, but live rather secluded lives with their families.

For many of the immigrants life as self-employed is rather outward with contact to many people daily in their businesses, but this does not necessary lead to further integration. In many cases the entrepreneurial strategy is an option to avoid unemployment or bad working conditions and therefore self-employment often provide a feeling of pride and worth and thereby self-esteem. The business related type of contact based on the short and not binding encounters, do, however, not have the same integration effect as that of being colleagues with native Danes and ethnic minority Danes. It seems therefore appropriate to make a distinction of the integration concept. This could be done with reference to, on the one hand, *objective integration* which is connected to being in employment and self-supporting, and on the other hand to *subjective integration*, where the individual has a sense of belonging and an experience of being recognised as fully integrated citizen.

Other analysis results

Repatriation is an issue that I have not touched much upon in this study. There are, however, suggestions that points in the direction of female entrepreneurs being more reluctant to return to their country of origin than their husbands. This might have something to do with the fact that they will not have the same opportunities for choosing a lifestyle as they have in Denmark. The female immigrants' choice to

become self-employed might therefore well has something to with that this is an option in the Danish context.

Some of the structural perspectives that have been emphasised in this study concern the geographical location. However, there does not seem to be much significance regarding the locations of Aalborg, Aarhus or Copenhagen. The only indication of an influence of the geographical location is that the most successful female lives in Copenhagen, which may or may not suggest that the opportunity structure of this cosmopolitan site constitutes a more accessible field with more opportunities. Another structural factor is the influence of receiving self-employment allowance or not. This aspect does not seem to be of much significance to the success of the business either, but rather that it for some of the immigrants has been crucial for starting up and staying in business for the first couple of years

In the second chapter I presented three models of entrepreneurship introduced in Jenkins and Ward (1984). After the analysis in this study on entrepreneurship was completed, an additional model emerged: the existentialistic model. The four models can be located on co-ordinate axes, and the immigrant entrepreneurs can be placed in accordance to the combination of models in relation to the individual entrepreneurial practices and strategies.

Structural model

Economic model   Existentialistic model
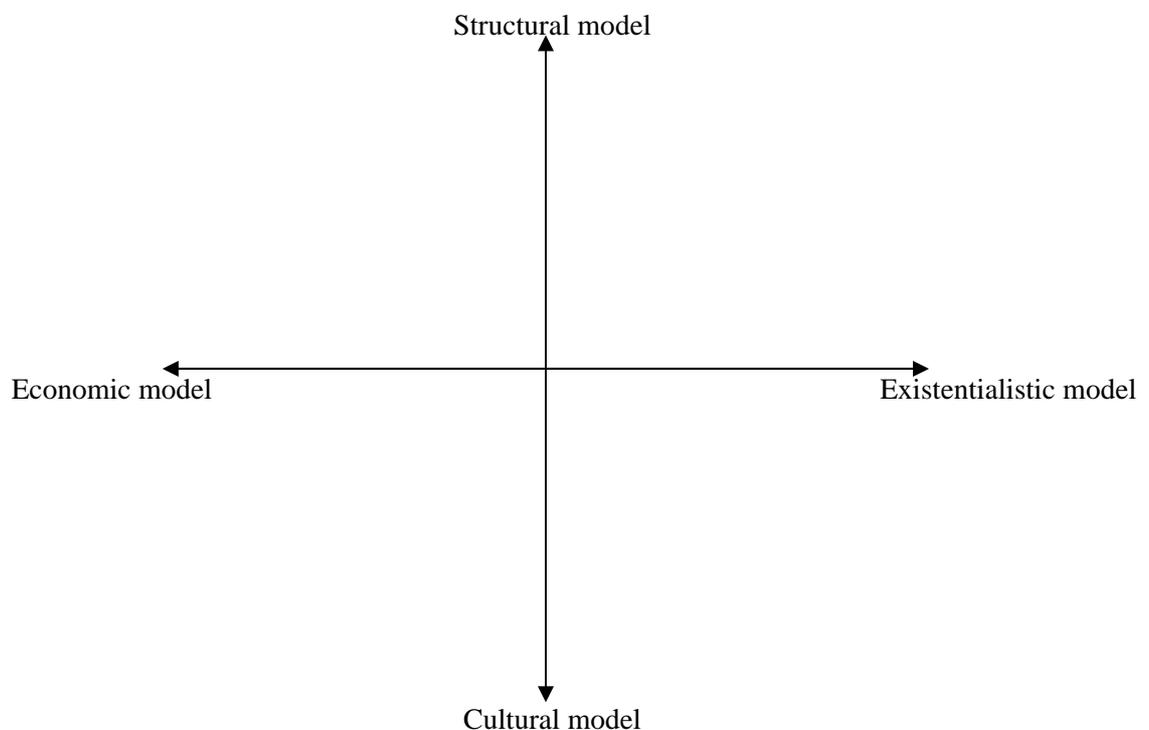
Cultural model

Three of the four entrepreneurial models are equivalent to those mentioned by Jenkins and Ward (see chapter 2) that being the economic, cultural and structural models. By adding the gender dimension of including both sexes a fourth model emerges when analysing the biographical data. The additional model of self-realisation appears to be quite closely linked to the intentions of the female immigrant entrepreneurs, which is represented in almost all the female entrepreneurs' biographical stories. This scenario brings forward not only the question of why this is the case but also a sceptic concerning whether there might also be other concerns than that of gender, which holds significant relations to the self-realisation model. A circumstance that well may be of importance to this relation is the socio-structural context of the Danish welfare system compared to the countries of origin as the new opportunity structures create other possibilities for attaining different lifestyles. Becoming self-employed is to many of the women a more rare option in their country of origin, where as in Denmark it is more a matter of doing it, in other words they do it because the can. The male entrepreneurs are in some way also doing it because the can, but at the same time it is also very much because of what they cannot do, so they are doing it because they do not really have other options for making a living and keeping the biographical story going.

The age at arrival to Denmark and the duration of settlement also influences the acculturation process and the opportunities for accessing desirable social positions. One dimension of this perspective is that it takes time to create a story about oneself in the society of settlement, which enables the established group to relate to newcomers. An example of this is illustrated by the following quotation from an immigrant male, who expressed his experience of migration: "*When I came to this country I had no baggage*". The interpretation I make of this statement is that immigrants to certain degree feel shredded of their biographical history, leaving them vulnerable but at the same time also open towards the forthcoming acculturation process. This interpretation is supported by a statement from a highly educated female immigrant from North America who, on the basis of her own migration experiences, explains her situation of not being able to use her American university degree in Denmark with her lack of a biographical story that is valid in a Danish context.

The results of the different analytical stages in the investigation give some evidence that further elaboration is needed on how respectably female and male immigrants cope with being self-employed regarding resources (social, cultural and economic

216

capital) and to which degree the strategy leads to empowerment and recognition (symbolic capital) and finally if the strategy leads to further social integration. One way to comply with this need is to carry out more comparative studies in order to allow for more details to emerge leading to a further clarification of the high complexity of the research field. This type of investigation has the ability of achieving a clearer picture of the phenomenon through the process of narrowing down the details and possibilities by constantly making comparisons that can verify or falsify certain hypotheses. The effect of such a construction should be a possibility of identifying the amount of significant categories and to establish more genuine concepts of significance to the particular phenomenon of the research field.

One has to be very careful when generalising from such a qualitative study as this, in particular when other research results point in other directions than what the result of this study does. However, on the basis of constant comparison I believe that a certain degree of analytical generalisation can be awarded the distinction of strategies, as they are found to be typologies in the material. The gender distinction can, however, not necessarily be applied on a general basis. On the contrary, I expect a more gender mixed application of the profession-based and the conventional strategy. It is harder to place the innovative strategy in a gender context as so few respondents are using it, but it does have strong connotations with the intentions that many males are orientated towards.

Finally I wish to bring attention to the hypotheses generated in the first stage of analysis and to the research questions attached to them. In relation to the first hypothesis of how the opportunity structures influence the immigrants' decision to become self-employed, the analysis supports the hypothesis of gender inequalities on the labour market. It does, however, also show that the female immigrants have an advantage in terms of the type of qualifications they possess as they are more convertible than many of those of the male entrepreneurs, who only gain secondary profits from the entrepreneurial strategy. The analysis has furthermore indicated that there also is a class perspective that seems of importance to the possibilities of accessing the labour market. In connection to the second hypothesis regarding the gender distinctions influence on the motivations behind becoming self-employed the results of the analysis show rather clear indications of the motivations being gendered. The relations between gender and the two types of motivations are illustrated in the tables that are placed at the end of analysis stage two and three. The role of gender seems to play an essential part inasmuch as both types of

motivation have significant gender distinctions. There does, however, also in relation to the intentions seem to be a significant class dimension in relation to the capitalistic orientated intention. The third hypothesis concerns the integration aspect of the entrepreneurial strategy. Here the results are not so clear, as it is hard to find support in the biographical stories of the assumption that female entrepreneurs become more integrated when being self-employed than the male. However, there are indications that the male entrepreneurs bond more with members from their ethnic community and/or put all their time and effort in family empowerment. The female entrepreneurs, or at least some of them, have increased their possibilities of being more integrative through the more autonomous lifestyle, but it is difficult to say to what degree they make use of it, as they too are very focused on family matters.

On the basis of the outcome of the analysis of the biographical interviews new perspectives on immigrant entrepreneurship have emerged, which necessitate a revision of the hypotheses. This matter will, however, be a task to be done when or if further exploration of the topic is conducted. In the following and final chapter I will make some suggestions to what type of studies might be of interest to conduct.
On the basis of the outcome of the analysis of the biographical interviews new perspectives on immigrant entrepreneurship have emerged, which necessitates a revision of the hypotheses. This matter will, however, be a task to be done when or if further exploration of the topic is conducted. In the following and final chapter I will make some suggestions to what type of studies might of interest to carry out.

Chapter 10

Closing Comments

There are many possible problems to solve and new research questions to pursue as a result of this research process and some of these I will shortly pay attention to here. The central perspective in my thesis is the gender dimension of immigrant entrepreneurship and this focus, I believe, is very important in terms of both scientific research and practical policy making for the future generation of potential entrepreneurs. A predominant aspect in the analysis that I have conducted is the gender differences in terms of their motivations and strategies in relation to self-employment.

Suggestions for future research and comparative perspectives
In much of the literature on immigrant entrepreneurship women have commonly been regarded as assisting wives as they have often been given a secondary position, which also can be traced in their position as migrants in general. But times are changing and so are the social positions of many female immigrants. It is thus necessary to address these women both as migrants and entrepreneurs in their own right. There seems to be a need for generating theories and concepts that correspond to the immigrant entrepreneurship of today's welfare state societies. In the following, I will touch upon different perspectives and comparative studies of the gender aspect that will be relevant to conduct in order to get an understandig of the significance of gender in the field of immigrant entrepreneurship and how this category interacts with other differentiating categories. This is also meant to unravel new aspects of the research field.

In the data of the TSER project native women are also included and it would obviously be of interest in both an ethic and a gender perspective to do a comparative study of the female immigrant entrepreneurs and native entrepreneurs. Such a study will possibly unravel more aspects of female entrepreneurs' gendered social positions and place focus on ethnic dimensions in terms of belonging to a minority group and the majority group, respectively. An interesting aspect of this comparison is the possibility of getting a better understanding of whether aspects found to be gender related in this Ph.D. thesis also might be more specifically related to the ethnicity or to the distinction between being an immigrant woman and a native woman. It would, furthermore, be interesting and novel to use feministic theory in such an analysis of entrepreneurship.

Further comparisons could have been conducted with the purpose of clarifying structural and contextual influences on analysis results, by comparing the Danish case with other national cases, either by the use of TSER material from the other European countries or by gathering new empirical data from selected countries. The six different countries represented in the TSER data material bring on the opportunity of making a national comparison, which would give this type of qualitative research more density in the sense that the more comparisons the more fine-meshed a research method. Comparing the different samples of the national contexts with each other strengthens the ability to distinguish between dimensions such as opportunity structures, ethnicity and gender.

Yet another interesting study of immigrant entrepreneurship that would shed more light on the research field would be a comparison between immigrant entrepreneurs and immigrants who are either employees or unemployed. This perspective might contribute to the explanation and understanding of the motivations and strategies in relation to immigrant entrepreneurship by contrasting them with other labour market positions, i.e. waged employment and unemployment.

Finally, I want to suggest a possible study with an increase in the number of respondents in order to get a larger scope of different ethnic groups and thereby be able to focus on gender perspectives within ethnic groups and among different ethnic groups. Such a study might also contain a further elaboration of the class aspect of entrepreneurship.

Battling the labour market barriers

I find that a further investigation of the consequences of immigrant entrepreneurship in Denmark and other countries is in great demand both in relation to the individual and subjective consequences and the socio-economic consequences at a macro level. I do, in particular, find that the issue of social integration is very interesting and important to gather further information about. It is especially the issue of structural discrimination on the Danish labour market that many immigrants experience, will result a democratic deficit due to lack of social integration, which may have severe consequences for the social coherence in the society.

The limited opportunities for accessing the labour market positions, and thereby also social mobility and recognition in the country of settlement, also lead to the fact that immigrants increasingly occupy the low-waged employment positions (Rockwool Fonden, 2005). This labour-market tendency is moving in the direction of the making of a "ethnic proletariat" of immigrants either as employees, unemployed or self-employed. (Honneth, 1995:18).

The effort, I believe, should be placed on policy-making to ensure a more supportive programme for self-employment as well as to create a more spacious labour market that can incorporate a more multicultural labour force and encompass the multitude of the population in the Danish society. A suggestion to how this might be done in practice is posed by Masoud Kamali, a Swedish expert on discrimination (in *Politiken* 03-09-05). His suggestion is based on the idea of positive discrimination towards immigrants, or rather to abandon negative discrimination, if a native and an immigrant are equally qualified to the job.

Self-employment among immigrants who have difficulties in accessing the labour market is not necessarily the best solution for the immigrant or in terms of social integration. Development of a more spacious labour market that also is open to individuals with alternative qualifications and resources could well have a positive effect for both immigrants and native Danes.

In relation to self-employment it would be of general interest to create better conditions for starting up a business as well as in the daily running of it. One aspect that could be improved is that of the entrepreneurial networks that today are much divided in an ethnic and a native sector. A network based on knowledge sharing might, for example, lead to both a strengthening of the business concept and in network relations across ethnic boundaries Giving financial means and other incentives to establish innovative businesses that for example are based on a higher technology will, in my opinion, be of great advantage both for the potential immigrant entrepreneurs and for the society as a whole, because it will lead to better integration of the self-employed with higher qualifications. Furthermore, high-tech businesses might also result in a socio-economic profit. A special focus on networks for female immigrant entrepreneurs is also in demand because they often do not have much of a network to support them in the business, as this study has shown.

It is, however, not just a matter of creating better conditions and different structures with regard to the fields of self-employment, as long as the labour market in many cases forces highly educated immigrants, who would rather use their professional qualifications in an traditional waged position, into self-employment. The labour-market disadvantages that many immigrants experience, when the conversion of educational capital is blocked, leads to a waste of resources that could make important contributions to the socio-economic situation of the Danish society. Moreover, an elimination or reduction of the barriers which are embedded in the opportunity structures would possibly lead to higher life quality and better integration of female and male immigrants.

Appendix

Supplement 1: Factual data of the respondents

Year of interview	Location	Gender = (F/M + no.)	Country of origin/ ethnicity	Year and age of arrival	Marital status*	Migration status	Pre-migration education	Post migration education	Line of business
1999	Aarhus	F1	Lebanon/ Palestinian	-/-	Married	Family re-unification	None	None	Cloth and furniture
1998	Aalborg	F2	Romania/ Hungarian	1989/42	Married	Family re-unification	Accountant	Business economy	Market consultant
2002	Copenhagen	F3	Iran	1989/28	Divorced	Refugee	None	Beautician/ hairdresser	Hairdressing
1998	Aarhus	F4	Turkey	1972/10	Married	Family re-Unification	None	Beautician	Cosmetology
2002	Copenhagen	F5	Czechoslovakia	1966/15	Married to Dane	Family re-unification	None	Dental technician	Dental Technician
1998	Aarhus	F6	Iran	1988/-	Divorced	Refugee	Hairdresser	None	Hairdressing
1999	Aarhus	F7	Iran	1986/24	Married to Dane	Refugee	None	None	Catering
1998	Aalborg	F8	Romania	1990/38	Married	Family re-Unification	None	Information assistant	Gift shop
2003	Copenhagen	F9	Yugoslavia	1966/25	Married To Dane	Family re-unification	engineer	None	Logistical consultant
1998	Aalborg	M1	Egypt	1994/-	Married	Family re-unification	Engineer/ hairdressing	None	Hairdressing
1999	Aarhus	M2	Lebanon/ Palestinian	1988/-	Married	Refugee	Welder	None	Catering
1998	Aalborg	M3	Iran	1984/33	Married	Refugee	Engineer	Electronics	Dry cleaning
1998	Aarhus	M4	Pakistan/ Indian	1983/15	Married	Family re-unification	None	Engineer/ MBA	Stationary
1998	Aalborg	M5	Turkey	1984/11	Married	Family re-unification	None	None	Flower shop
2003	Copenhagen	M6	Turkey	1984/-	Married	Family re-unification	Hairdresser	None	Hairdressing
1999	Aarhus	M7	Iran	1984/-	Married	Refugee	None	Engineer	Catering
1998	Aalborg	M8	Algeria	1993/29	Married	Refugee	Engineer	None	Convenient store
1999	Aarhus	M9	Turkey	1975/9	Married	Family re-unification	None	None	Catering
1999	Aarhus	M10	Iran	1989/	Married	Refugee	Book keeper	Engineer	Catering
1998	Aalborg	M11	Somalia	- /27	Married	Refugee	Military attaché	None	Retail
1998	Aalborg	M12	Iran	1985/22	Married	Refugee	Engaged in military	Black smith	Bus company
2003	Copenhagen	M13	India	- /20	Married	Family re-unification	Plastic engineer	None	Mini market
2003	Copenhagen	M14	Turkey/ Kurdish	1974/13	Married	Family re-unification	None	None	Café and pizzeria
2003	Copenhagen	M15	Turkish/ Kurdish	1973/9	Married	Family re-unification	None	Taxi driver/ teacher	Taxi service
1998	Aalborg	M16	Iran	1986/32	Married	Refugee	Engineer	None	Kiosk

- Married refers to being married to a co-ethnic unless other is stated.

Supplement 2: Interviewguide

Faktuelle data: Navn, alder, oprindelsesland, antal år i Danmark.
-baggrund for at være i Danmark

Hverdagsfortællinger

1. Kan jeg få dig til at fortælle om dit liv siden du gik ud af skolen (folkeskolen)?
   - uddannelse
   - arbejde
   - fritid

2. Hvilke forventninger/drømme havde du til fremtiden dengang?
   - hvad var dine fremtidsplaner?

Sociale relationer

1. Vil du fortælle mig lidt om dig selv og dine nærmeste?
   - forældre/familiebaggrund- uddannelse/arbejde
   - ægtefælle- uddannelse/arbejde
   - børn
   - co-etniske relationer
   - andre

Erhvervsbeskrivelse

1. Fortæl mig lidt om baggrunden for at du blev selvstændig?
   - hvorfor netop denne levevej?

2. Kan du fortælle lidt om hvordan du endte med at blive selvstændig?
   - hvem hjalp dig?
   - hvordan blev du hjulpet?
   - finansiering (iværksætterydelse/bank/ privat)
   - iværksætterkursus

3. Kan du beskrive en typisk arbejdsdag.
   - åben/lukke

- ansatte
- arbejdsopgaver
- relationer til omverdenen

4. Hvilken betydning har det at være selvstændig for dig?
    - økonomisk
    - socialt
    - kulturelt

5. Er dine forventninger til livet som selvstændig blevet indfriet?

    - hvilke forventninger havde du?
    - Er det stadig de samme – eller har de ændret sig?

6. Hvilke forventninger har du til fremtiden?
    - hvordan tror du, at dit arbejdsliv ser ud om 5 år?

7. Er der noget, som du gerne vil tilføje?

English abstract

My Ph.D. project investigates the implications of self-employment in terms of motivations, strategies and practise concerning female and male immigrant entrepreneurs in Denmark. The object is to contribute to a better insight and understanding of the different aspects at work within the so-called ethnic economies. In a preliminary study[24] carried out in the very beginning of my research process I discovered significant gender distinctions in the patterns revealed on the basis of an analysis of biographical interviews. Furthermore, I found that the literature on immigrant entrepreneurship to some degree neglects the role of gender and therefore a gendered understanding of the social process is insufficiently incorporated within this research field. Gender can be regarded as a modifier in relation to social and economical activity, in the sense that it influences the shaping of the conditions for the actors' possibilities and constraints of manoeuvring within different fields. Likewise the embedded structures and institutional social relations affect the life planning of the individual, as it structures the access to and limitation of accumulation of capital and therefore also in entering social positions. Although gender is the prioritised category this investigation also includes other differentiating categories such as ethnicity, class and generation, which give the research an intersectional dimension. The aim of this investigation is to explore how male and female immigrant entrepreneurs differentiate from each other regarding their motivations for becoming self-employed and the strategy applied in their approach to entrepreneurship and finally how this relates to their identity construction.

In the analysis I make use of both the biographical narration – the told story – and the factual trajectory – the lived life. The purpose of this combination is to reconstruct the life paths or status passages and to gain insight into the strategies applied entering the game of the entrepreneurship field. In this pursuit I find it is of great relevance to locate ruptures and turning points in the individual biographical stories in order to identify the pathway to a continuous and autonomous life plan. If one is to understand how individuals navigate in different settings or fields, I find it appropriate to access the life world of the individual through the told story in which the respondent give gives information about their experience of the action and interaction with individuals and groups of individuals within a certain structural framework. Moreover, it is possible to access the intended meanings through this

---

[24] This Ph.D. project has its roots in a TSER (Targeted Socio Economic Research) research project titled: "Self-employment activities concerning women and minorities: their success and failure in relation to social citizenship policies". The groups that were in focus were those of weak positions within the entrepreneurial field/marked, the low-income businesses, giving the research a class dimension, besides the more explicit gender and ethnicity perspectives. The project was a comparative study conducted in Greece, Italy, Germany, Britain, Sweden and Denmark

method. When we then compare a number of life stories and trajectories patterns similarities and differences emerge and within these strategies and practices can be identified and linked to the construction of the field in terms of opportunity structures and values attached to it and how this influence on the identity construction of the individual.

1. Introduction. In this chapter I will present a short description of the development of the field of immigrant entrepreneurship with a reference to the larger fields of migration and the labour market. The aim is to create a picture of the setting or scene to which the particular field of immigrant belongs.

2. State of the arts. In chapter two I wish to raise a discussion on contemporary approaches to immigrant entrepreneurship using a preliminary study. The purpose of this chapter is to argue in favour of the chosen approach to the investigation that is based on different perspectives.

3. Appropriating the theoretical framework. Based on my dialectic approach to the agent – structure relation I choose an eclectic theoretical frame in order to capture the reality as it is expressed through the empirical material
    3.1. The structuralistic approach by Pierre Bourdieu, where central concepts of importance to this research are presented.
    3.2. An agent-orientated thematic analysis based on the theoretical concepts of:
- *Recognition* as presented by Alex Honneth
- *Autonomy* as presented by Anthony Giddens

Other theoretical approaches will to a much lesser degree be integrated in the theoretical sensitization to the empery in the analysis. Of these theoretical approaches I can mention Erving Goffman, Ulrich Beck and Nancy Fraser.

4. Methodological positioning. One of the central aspects of this chapter is to determine my ontological position and the implications of this on the scientific production of knowledge and generation of theory and theoretical concepts. Another important perspective in this chapter is the discussion of the relation between agents and structures, where the dialectic approach that I advocate for influences the theoretical framework

5. The applied method. This chapter focuses explicitly on the practical implication and implementation of the biographical narrative method and the pros and cons of using such an

228

approach to this research field. The empirical material is produced through biographical narrative interviews with 25 immigrant entrepreneurs of both sexes, which are analysed in different stages. A larger part of the interviews were not conducted by myself, but were gathered in connection with the TSER project. This condition for my dissertation means that both the method and a larger part of the empirical material were give before hand, which brings certain problems to the research process.

6. The gendered nature of entrepreneurship. In first stage of the analysis the object is to unravel the causal motivations of the individual immigrant by identifying central themes. These themes are subjected to a theoretical sensitizing, which leads to the theoretical concept of recognition and autonomy.

7. An in-depth analysis. The second stage of analysis is based on a thematic analysis, where the theoretical concepts of recognition and autonomy will serve as focal points around which the analysis will be structured, although leaving space for new developments to emerge.

8. A multiple case analysis. The third stage of analysis adds more focus on the structures that influence the opportunities of the individual and the *strategies* available to them. Central concepts of this analysis part are :
   1. Education
   2. Network

The two concepts connote the theoretical concept of cultural/educational capital and social capital. Other central concepts such as habitus and dispositions are also included in the analysis, although to a lesser degree.

In the first analytical part of this research – the preliminary study - I establish the existence of different reasons for *why* (causal motivations) some immigrants choose to become self-employed and that these differences are partly gender based. In the second stage of analysis I wish to investigate *what* (intentions) the immigrants wish to obtain by being self-employed. I therefore seek to explore the relations between why the immigrants included in this investigation chose an entrepreneurial strategy, and not for example further education, and how it is possible to realize or implement this project in relation to what they wish to achieve through this strategy. The strategies are reflections of their life chances in the opportunity structures of the Danish society, whereas their intentions (not necessarily fully intentional) are an expression of their life plans or life chances as well as the expectations

that they hold for the future. In continuation of this analysis of intentions I will identify three different strategies that represent distinct ways of accessing self-employed, in other words how they go about setting up their own business. The last part of the analysis concerns coping strategies and is orientated towards *how* (the strategy) the immigrant entrepreneurs navigate and cope with their occupational situation by the means of strategies, in order to establish the particular social route that has brought the agent to the present position (see also Bourdieu, 1992:103). The correlation between why and how some immigrants turn to self-employment is reflected in patterns where gender is a significant differentiating category. There are, however, also interesting deviations in the data sample, that illustrate the complexity and variety of the social field.

Starting with the first stage of analysis the main result is the gender differences in the reasons of becoming self-employed. Central in this part of the investigation are the various themes that are presented by the immigrants in their narratives and the theoretical connotations that may help the interpretation of the data. The distinction seems to be somewhere between recognition and autonomy, although there is not a sharp division between female and male entrepreneurs. It is, however, quite noticeable that most of the male entrepreneurs are very concerned with issues related to recognition whereas the female entrepreneurs have more considerations on autonomy related subjects. This gender distinction may have a number of different explanations and those that I have emphasized is those that I through my interpretations of the empirical data have based this study on, which means that others researchers using either the same or a different method might come to different conclusions than I do. It is therefore important to make all the "calculations" visible in order to secure a high level of understanding of how the results are reached. A characteristic of the male entrepreneurs' biographical stories is that in many of them their role as the patriarch and to secure the future of the family, which can be interpreted as a traditional lifestyle or as embodied gender positions. This causal motivation can be linked to intentions in terms of what the immigrant wish to obtain through self-employment, which in this case is self-esteem and family empowerment. The motivation seems to be largely caused by discrimination and limitations on the labour market, which narrows down the possibilities for accessing social positions that they have been accustom to prior to migration. In this sense, the business world provides opportunities that are not available in the professional world. Their cultural capital does not hold the same value in Denmark as it did prior to migration, which brings on a lack of recognition that often results in a low self-esteem. A key issue here is therefore that the value of cultural capital is determined by the established group, mainly the native Danes, and that this generates barriers on the labour market for many immigrants.

In the following I will illustrate the relations between; causal motivations – intentional motivations – strategies or the other way round. When bringing together the central elements of the three analyses there emerge certain relationships between gender, motivations and strategies. Entrepreneurs who use the *profession based strategy* aim to achieve a various combination of economic, career, freedom and self-realisation *intentions.* Their *reactions* can be characterised as discrimination, inflexibility and dependency and the central type of capital in their quest is cultural capital. Entrepreneurs using this strategy are more experienced within the trade of their business because it is linked with their professional qualifications.

The *conventional strategy* is commonly used by immigrants who have the *intention* of gaining self-esteem, family empowerment and freedom/independence. The *motivations* behind the strategy are a combination of *reactions* in terms of discrimination, limitations on the labour market and dependency. The central type of capital is social capital. The conventional strategy is for the main part of the self-employed male immigrants the most realistic strategy because their qualifications are not as easily applicable in terms of self-employment as in the female cases. It is for example not as obvious an idea for an engineer to become self-employed, as it is for a dental technician.

In the use of the *innovative strategy* the common *intentions* is to gain economically, to gain self-esteem and self-realisation and the reactions are based on discrimination, limitations on the labour market and dependence. Economic capital is the central type of capital. Such entrepreneurs primarily use an economic incentive as the reason for becoming self-employed and regard entrepreneurship as a better alternative to waged employment. They often start a business within a line of business that has possibilities of expansion and high earnings.

When bringing the different stages of analysis together it becomes quite apparent that there is a large degree of intersectionality embedded in the biographies of the immigrant entrepreneurs, which means that it is insufficient to only focus on one aspect such as gender. Still, the gender dimension is the most prevailing in the empirical data, which is why the gender category is predominant in the present study, giving it precedence in the investigation. However, this does not mean that other important differentiating categories are to be neglected and thereby do injustice to the empirical material. By this I mean that the analysis have shown quite strong indications of class having an important role in relation to the entrepreneurial practise. Moreover, the experiences of the majority of the observed immigrant entrepreneurs also point in the direction of an interrelationship between the

discrimination and the aspects of gender, class and immigrant status (see also Morokvasic, 1985). A general conclusion to be made from the analysis is that it is easier for immigrants to access the business world compared to the professional world. However, it is not a simple matter of just establishing a business, but rather that of a low-income business, which is by far the most common type of business owned by immigrants.

The opportunity structures bring different possibilities and constraints for different groups and individuals depending on the available resources. An important aspect of how immigrants cope in the country of settlement is the habitus that they have developed over time, particularly in their early years of childhood. Moreover, the socialisation process is influenced by matters such as the age at the time of arrival to the new country. It is noticeable that a high proportion of the female and male immigrants, who can be characterised as being well integrated and having accumulated a feasible amount of capital, came to Denmark as children following parents who immigrated voluntarily. These migrants often have higher possibilities for internalising certain ways of perception and dispositions that are similar to those of their surroundings. However, most of the immigrants in this study arrived in Denmark either in their teens or in adulthood, which means that they already had undergone an extensive socialisation process of their habitus. A consequence of this is in many cases an adjustment or extension of habitus and perhaps changes in their practices.

The gain of autonomy through self-employment seems to have several implications that influence the consequences of an entrepreneurial practice. One of these consequences is that the type of occupation involves very often long working hours, low income and no or limited holidays. The majority of the women observed were motivated to become self-employed by gaining a more flexible lifestyle due to child caring and domestic work. Very few of these women have actually benefited from the possibility of managing their own time, because they have to work long hours in order to keep the business going, and thus flexibility becomes more a matter of the idea than actual gain of flexibility. This is connected to the stride for autonomy as in being able to make your own decisions. Through the entrepreneurial strategy many of the female entrepreneurs manage to keep their biographical story, going both as a mother and as a professional woman, creating a better coherence between private life and work life.

Dansk resumé

Dette ph.d.-projekt har til hensigt at undersøge problemstillinger i forhold til kvindelige og mandlige immigranters motivationer og strategier i forbindelse med entreprenørskab i Danmark. Hensigten er at bidrage til en bedre indsigt i og forståelse af forskellige aspekter ved den såkaldte "etniske økonomi". I et forstudie af eksisterende empirisk data identificerede jeg signifikante kønsforskelle i form af mønstre fundet på baggrund af analyse af biografiske interviews, som denne undersøgelse bygger på. Endvidere er litteraturen som omhandler immigrant entreprenørskab mangelfuld i forhold til kønsperspektivet, hvorfor dette aspekt er utilstrækkeligt afdækket i teoretiseringen af emnet. Køn er medvirkende til at forme individers muligheder og begrænsninger i forskellige sammenhænge. Derudover har de indlejrede strukturer og institutionelle sociale strukturer stor indflydelse på individets livschancer, da disse strukturer påvirker adgangen til og begrænsningen af muligheder. Selv om køn er den prioriterede kategori i denne undersøgelse inkluderes også andre differentierende kategorier, såsom etnicitet, klasse og generation, hvilket giver undersøgelsen karakter af intersektionalitet. Formålet med dette projekt er at undersøge, hvorledes mandlige og kvindelige immigrant entreprenører adskiller sig fra hinanden i forbindelse med deres motivationer for at blive selvstændig og i forhold til den strategi som de bruger i deres tilgang til entreprenørskab.

I den første del af analysen etablerer jeg forskellige grunde til *hvorfor* (causal motivations) nogle immigranter vælger at blive selvstændig erhvervsdrivende og at disse i nogen udstrækning er kønsbaserede. I den anden del af analysen relatér jeg disse motivationer til hvad de ønsker at opnå (intentioner) med valget af beskæftigelse. Strategierne, som er udforsket i den tredje analysedel, reflekterer entreprenørernes livschancer i mulighedsstrukturerne i det danske samfund. Intentionerne er derimod et udtryk for deres livsplaner og de forventninger som de har til fremtiden.

Resultaterne fra den første analysedel viste en klar kønsdifferentiering i forhold til baggrunde for at blive selvstændig erhvervsdrivende. Centralt i denne analysedel er identificeringen af forskellige temaer som kommer til udtrykt i immigranternes biografiske fortællinger. Disse temaer bliver gjort til genstand for teoretisk sensitisering, som frembringer teoretiske begreber til brug i fortolkningen af interviewene. De teoretiske begreber er henholdsvis autonomi og anerkendelse, som er omdrejningspunkter i den anden analysedel.

I nedenstående oversigt ses temaerne eller årsagerne bag at blive selvstændig og hvorledes de er repræsenteret i de biografiske fortællinger i forhold til køn, hvor kvinderne i større udstrækning er orienteret mod at opnå autonomi og mændene mod anerkendelse.

Theoretical concepts	Themes	Female	Male
Recognition	Discrimination	+	+
	Limitations on the labour market	-	+
Autonomy	Inflexibility	+	-
	Dependency	+	+

Disse motivationer bliver kædet sammen med intentioner og i den forbindelse viser anden analysedel at de mandlige entreprenører i særdeleshed er orienteret mod opnåelse af selvværd, "family empowerment". De kvindelige entreprenører er derimod mere orienteret mod fleksibilitet og selvrealisering

I den tredje analysedel identificeres tre forskellige strategier eller måder hvorpå immigranterne bliver selvstændige enten via den professionsbaserede strategi (flest kvindelige entreprenører) eller den konventionelle strategi (flest mandlige entreprenører) eller den innovative strategi (flest mandlige entreprenører). I det følgende vil jeg vise sammenhængen mellem disse analysedele i forhold til ovennævnte kønsopdeling.

- Entreprenører som bruger den professionsbaserede strategi stiler mod at opnå forskellige kombinationer af økonomisk, karriere-orienteret, frihedsbaseret eller selv-realiseringsbaseret intentioner. Årsagsmotivationerne (causal motivations) kan karakteriseres som værende diskriminering, infleksibilitet og afhængighed. De entreprenører som bruger denne strategi har ofte mere erfaring i det fag som deres forretning knytter sig til, da det er forbundet med deres faglige kvalifikationer.

- Den konventionelle strategi er ofte anvendt af immigranter som har intentioner om at opnå højere selvværd, "family empowerment" og øget selvstændighed. De kausale motivationer bag strategien er en kombination af diskrimination og begrænsninger på arbejdsmarkedet. Mange af de entreprenører som bruger denne strategi, er

234

veluddannede, som har haft meget svært ved at få et lønarbejde, hvilket til sidst gør strategien til et godt alternativ, ikke mindst for at opnå selvforsørgelse.

- Brugen af den innovative strategi har ofte til intention at opnå økonomisk gevinst, selvværd og selvrealisering og de kausale motivationer er baseret på diskriminering, barrierer på arbejdsmarkedet og afhængighed. Disse entreprenører har et økonomisk incitament til at blive selvstændig og opfatter entreprenørskab som et bedre alternativ end et lønarbejde.

Når de forskellige analysedele sammenlignes bliver det tydeligt at et intersektionelt perspektiv er indlejret i de biografiske fortællinger, hvilket indikerer at det er utilstrækkeligt kun at inkludere kønsperspektivet. Andre vigtige differentieringskategorier bør ikke udelukkes af analysen. For eksempel har klasse vist sig at være af stor betydning og påvirkning i forhold til intentionerne med at være selvstændig. Endvidere peger hovedparten af interviewene på, at der er en sammenhæng mellem kønsdiskrimination og immigrant status og/eller varighed af bosættelse i Danmark. En generel konklusion af denne undersøgelse er at det er nemmere for nogle immigranter at få adgang til forretningsverdenen end deres oprindelige faglige verden

Bibliography

Alheit, Peter. 1994: *Taking the knocks*. London. Cassell Imprint.

Alheit, Peter. 1995: *"Biographizität"*. In Krüger, Heinz-Hermann, Marotzki, Wilfried. Erziehungswissenschaftliche Biographieforschung, Opladen Verlag Leske und Budrich.

Anthias, Floya. 2000: Metaphors of Home: Gendering New Migrations to Southern *Europe*. In Gender and Migration in Southern Europe: *Women on the Move*. Anthias, Floya & Gabriella Lazaridis. Oxford. Berg.

Antoft, Rasmus & Trine Lund Thomsen. 2002: Når livsfortællinger bliver en sociologisk metode. In Jacobsen et al.: *Liv, Fortælling og Tekst – strejftog i kvalitativ sociologi*. Pp. 157-181. Aalborg Universitetsforlag.

Apitzsch, Ursula. 1996: *Biographien und berufliche orientierung von Migrantinnen*. Haag und Herchen.

Apitzsch, Ursula & Lena Inowlocki. 2000: Biographical analysis: a "German" school? In Chamberlain et al.: The *Turn to Biographical Methods in Social Science*. London. Routledge.

Apitzsch, Ursula. 2001: Final report; *Self-employment activities concerning women and minorities: their success or failure in relation to social citizenship policies*. TSER Program under EURESCO.

Bager, Torben & Shahamak Rezaei. 2001: *Immigrant Business in Denmark*. CESFO, Syddansk Universitet, Kolding.

Baldamus, Wilhelm W.. 1972: The role of Discoveries in Social Science. In Shannin, Theodor (red.): *The Rules of the Game: Cross-Disciplinary Essays on Models in Scholary Thought*. London. Tavistock.

Barbier. 2003: *Social Capital and Self-Employment*. International Sociology vol. 18.

Barth, Frederich. 1969: Ethic Groups and Boundaries. The social organisationof culture difference. Universitets forlaget. Norway.

Bech, Ulrich. 1997: *Risikosamfundet – på vej mod en ny modernitet*. København. Hans Reizels Forlag.

Becker, Howard S.. 2005: *Outsidere*. København. Hans Reizels Forlag.

Berry, John W. 1997: *Acculturation and Adaption in a New Soci*ety. In International Migration, volume 30, pp. 69-91.

Bertaux, Daniel. 1981: *Biography and Society*. Calefornia. Sage Publications.

Bertaux, Daniel. 1997: *Pathways to Social Class*. Oxford. Clarendon press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1961 (1958): *The Algerians*. New York: Beacon.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1983: Forms of Capital. Originally published as *"Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital." in Soziale Ungleichheiten (Soziale Welt, Sonderheft 2)*, edited by Reinhard Kreckel. Goettingen: Otto Schartz & Co.. 1983. pp. 183-98. The article appears on; www.viet-studies.org/Bourdieu_capital.htm in English. Translated by Richard Nice.

Bourdieu, Pierre : *Sociology in Question*. London, Sage Publications.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1990: *In Other Words*. Cambridge. Polity Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1994: *Centrale tekster inden for sociologi og kulturhistorie* (p. 72-109). Akademisk forlag.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1994: *Af praktiske grunde* (2003), Hans Reitzels forlag.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1995 (1979): *Distinksjonen*. Norway, Pax Forlag.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 2000: *Pascalian Meditations*. Cambridge. Polity Press

Bruni, Attila, Silvia Gherardi & Barbera Poggio. 2004: *Doing gender, Doing Enterpreneurship: An Ethnographic Account of intertwined Pracices.* Gender, Work & Organisation, volume 11, issue 4. Oxford. Blackwell Publishing.

Butler, Judith. 1990: *Gender trouble: feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York. Routledge.

Butler, Judith. 1997: *The Psychic Life of Power – theories in subjection*. Stanford University Press.

Carr, David. 1985: Life and the Narrator's Art. In Silverman, Hugh J. & Don Ihde (Red.): *Hermeneutics & Deconstruction*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Casserino, Jean Pierre. 1997: *The theories of ethnic entrepreneurship and the alternative arguments of social action and network analysis*. EUI working paper SPS, no. 97/1.

Castles, S. & M. Miller. 1998: *The age of migration*. London: Macmillan

Chamberlaine, Prue. 2000, Joanne Bornat & Tom Wengraf (red.): *The Turn to Biographical Method in Social Science – Comparative Issues and Examples.* London. Routledge.

Chamberlaine, Prue. 2001: *Biografiske metoder i europæisk perspektiv*. In Dansk Sociologi nr. 3/12.

Christou, Anastasia. 2003: Migrating Gender: Feminist Geographies in Women's Biographies of Return Migration. In: Michigan Feminist Studies, Special Issue: *Gender and Globalism*, Issue Number 17, pp. 71-103.

Connell, Robert W. 2002: *Gender.* Cambridge. Polity Press.

Corbin, Juliet & Anselm Strauss. 1998: *Basics of qualitative research: techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. Sage Publication.

Corbin, Juliet & Anselm Strauss, 1990: *Grounded Theory Research: Procedures, Canons and Evaluative Criteria.* Zeitschrift für Soziologie. Jg. 19, Heft 6, s. 418-427.

Dahl, Karen Margrethe & Vibeke Dahl. 2005: *Køn ethnicitet og barrierer for integration.* Social Forskningsinstituttet, København.

Denzin, Norman. 1989: *Interpretive Biography*. London. Sage.

De Vaus, David. 2002: *Analyzing Social Science Data*. California, SAGE

Dex, Shirley. 1991: *Life and Work History Analysis: qualitative and quantitative developments.* Routledge.

Diken, Bülent. 1998: *Strangers, Ambivalence and Social Theory*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Döbert, R., J. Habermas & G. Nunner-Winkel. 1977: Entwicklung des Ichs (Development of the Self) in Martin Kohli, 1991: *Account, text, method. Biography and Society.* London. SAGE.

Donckels, Rik & Jane Meijer. 1986: *Women in small business*. Assen. Van Gorcum & Comp.

Elias, Nobert. 1994: *The Established and the Outsiders*. London. Sage.

Elliot, Brian. 1997: Migration, Mobility, and social press: Scottish Migrants in Canada. In Daniel Bertaus & Pual Thompson: *Pathway to social class*. Oxford University Press.

Emerek, Ruth. 2005a: Measuring Gender Segregation in Lena Gonäs and Jan Ch. Karlsson (eds): *Gender Segregation*, Ashgate (forthcoming)

Emerek, Ruth. 2005b: An evaluation of the gender dimension to the National Action Plan for Social Inclusion 2005 – *the Danish national report*, Report to the European Commission

Fairlie R.W. & B.D. Meyer. 1996: *Ethnic and racial self-employment differences and possible explanations.* In The Journal of Human Resources, 1997, 4, 808-827.

Ferrarotti, Franco. 1981: On the Autonomy of Biographical Method. In Bertaux, D.: *Biography and Society*. Calefornia. Sage Publications.

Ferrarotti, Franco. 2005 (1983): *On the science of Uncertainty: the biographical method in social research.* Lanham. Lexington Books.

Fincher, Ruth, Foster, Lois & Wilmot, Rosemary. 1994: *Gender, Ethnicity and Australian Immigration Policy*. Canberra. Australian Government Publishing Service.

Fisher-Rosenthal, Wolfram. 1991: *Biographical work and biographical structuring in present-day societies.* Pp. 109-125 in: The turn to biographical methods in social science. London. Routledge.

Fisher-Rosenthal, Wolfram. 2000: Biographical Work and Biographical Structuring in Present-day Societies. In Prue Chamberlain et al; *The Turn to Biographical Method.* London. Routledge.

Fraser, Nancy. 2003: *Institutionalizing Democratic Justice: Redistribution, Recognition and participation*. Paper presented at Roskilde Univercity, Copenhagen.

Fraser, Nancy & Alex Honneth. 2003: *Redistribution or Recognition? A Political-Philosophical Exchange.* London. Verso.

Giddens, Anthony. 1974: *Positivism and Sociology*. London. Heinemann Educational

Giddens, Anthony. 1984: *The Constitution of Society*. Cambridge, Polity Press

Giddens, Anthony. 1991: *Modernity and Self-identity*. Cambridge, Polity Press.

Giddens, Anthony. 1996: *Modernitet og selvidentitet*. København, Hans Reitzel.

Giddens, Anthony. 1997: *Modernity and self-identity*. Cambridge. Polity Press. 7. edition.

240

Glaser, Barney. 1978: Theoretical Sensitivity Advances in the Methodology of Grounded Theory. Mill Valley. CA: Sociology Press.

Glaser, Barney G. & Anselm L. Strauss. 1965: *Discovery of Substantive Theory: A Basic Strategy Underlying Qualitative Research.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Glaser, Barney G. & Anselm L. Strauss. 1967: *Discovery of Grounded Theory. Chicago.* Aldine de Gruyter.

Goffman, Erving. 1992 (1959): *Vore rollespil i hverdagen.* København. Hans Reitzels Forlag.

Goffman, Erving. 1968: *Asylums.* Harmondsworth. Pelican Books.

Goffman, Erving. 1990 (1963): *Stigma; Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity.* London Penguin Books

Hjarnø, Jan. 1998: Relationship between migration and development policy in Denmark: Euro conference *"Migration and development",* Vienna, Austria. South Jutland University Press.

Hoerning, Erika. 1996: *Life Course and Biography: Approaches and Methods.* Aalborg University, Institute for Samfundsudvikling og Planlægning. Serie nr. 199.

Hoerning, Erika. 2001: *Fra biografisk metode til biografiforskning.* Dansk Sociologi, 12 (3). Pp:117-125.

Holmquist, Carin & Elisabeth Sundin: 1984: *Kvinnor som företagere. En kortlægning af Sveriges kvinnlige företagare.* Rapport 7. Ferapport:64.

Holstein, James A. & Jaber F. Gubrium. 2000: *The self we live by: narrative identity in a postmodern world.* New York. Oxford University Press.

Honneth, Alex & Hans Joas. 1988: *Social Action and Human Nature.* Cambridge University Press.

Honneth, Axel. 1995: *The Struggle for Recognition.* Cambridge, Polity Press.

Honneth, Alex. 1995: *The fragmented world of the social: essays in social and political philosophy.* State University of New York Press.

Honneth, Alex (Red. Rasmus Willig). 2003: *Behovet for Anerkendelse.* København. Hans Reizlers Forlag.

Horsdal, Marianne. 1999: *Livets Fortællinger*. København. Borgen.

Hjarnø, Jan. 1988: *Indvandrere fra Tyrkiet I Stockholm og København.* Sydjysk Universitetsforlag.

Jacobsen, Michael H., Sørren Kristiansen & Annick Prieur. 2002: *Liv, Fortælling, Tekst. Strejftog i kvalitative sociology*. Aalborg Universitetsforlag.

Järvinen, Margaretha. 1999: *Pierre Bourdieu on gender and power,* Sociologisk Rapportserie nr.7.

Järvinen, Margaretha. 2000: Pierre Bourdieu. In Heine Andersen.: *Klassisk og moderne samfundsteori.* Hans Reitzels Forlag.

Jenkins, Richard & Robin Ward. 1984: *Ethnic communities in business: strategies for economic survival.* Cambridge, University Press.

Jenkins, Richard. 1997: *Rethinking Ethnicity.* London, Sage Publications.

Jenkins, Richard. 2000: Categorization: Identity, Social process and Epistemology. In *Current Sociology*, volume 48, number 3.

Jenkins, Richard. 2002 (1992): *Pierre Bourdieu*. London. Routledge.

Jenkins, Richard. 2004 (1996): *Social Identity*. London, Routledge.

Kaspersen, Lars Bo. 1995: Anthony Giddens: *Introduktion til en samfundsteoretiker.* København. Hans Reitzels Forlag.

Kaspersen, Lars Bo. 2000: *Klassisk og Moderne Samfundsteori*. Hans Reitzels Forlag.

Kemp, Peter. 1996: *Tid og Fortælling. En introduction til Paul Ricæur.* Aarhus. Universitetsforlag.

Kloosterman, Robert & Jan Rath. 2000: *Outsiders business: A critical review on immigrant entrepreneurship.* International Migration Review, 34,3: 657-681.

Kloosterman, Robert & Jan Rath. 2001: *Immigrant entrepreneurs in advanced economies: mixed embeddedness further explored..* Special Issue of Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies. Volume 27.

Kohli, Martin. 1981: Biography: account, text, and method. In Daniel Bertaux: *Biography and Society*. Calefornia. Sage Publications

Colding, Bjørg. 2004: *Education and Ethnic Minorities in Denmark*. Ph.D. dissertation. AMID. Aalborg University.

Kontos, Maria. 2000: *"Biographical" or "ethnic" resources? The missing dimension of motivation in understanding ethnic business*. Paper presented at the international conference "Biographical Methods and professional Practice", The Open University, London.

Kontos, Maria. 2001: *Sammenlignende overvejelser over kodifikationsmetoden i Grounded Theory og i den biografiske metode*. In Dansk Sociologi nr. 3/12.

Kreide, Regina. 2000: *Menschenrechte und staatsbürgerschaft. Zur begrundung sozialer und politischer Rechte*. Ph.D. Frankfurt/Main.

Kruse, Sara. 2004: *Bidrager indvandrervirksomheder til øget integration?,* Ministeriet for Flygtninge, Indvandrere og Integration.

Kupferberg, Feiwel. 1995: *Biografisk självgestaltning*. Sociologisk Forskning, 4. pp. 32-57

Kupferberg, Feiwel. 1998: *Models of Creativity Abroad. Migrants, Strangers and Travellers.* European Archieve of Sociology. XXXlX: 179-206.

Kupferberg, Feiwel & Mai Ottesen (ed.). 2001: *Biografiforskning* (Biographical Research). Temanummer (special issue) af Dansk Sociologi, 11 (3).

Kupferberg, Feiwel. 2003: *Ethnic Entrepreneurship as Innovation: Theoretical Considerations and policy Implications* (forthcoming).

Kvale, Steiner. 1997*: Interview*. Hans Reizels Forlag, København

Langley, Ann: *Strategies from theorizing from process data*. Academy of management Review, vol. 24, no 4, 691-710.

Light, Ivan & Bonacich. 1988: *Immigrant Entrepreneurs:Koreans in Los Angeles*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Light Ivan & Carolyn Rosenstein. 1995: *Race, Ethnicity and Entrepreneurship in Urban America*. New York. Hawthorne.

Light, Ivan & Steven Gold. 2000: *Ethnic Economies*. San Diego. Academic Press.

Lindhart, Annemette & Amy Frølander. 2004: *Indvandrerne og Arbejdsmarkedet*. Danmarks Statistik.

Lisborg, Anders & Morten Lisborg. 2003: *Destination Danmark*. Ph.D. dissertation. Roskilde Universitetscenter.

Lorbe, Judith & Susan A. Farrell. 1991: *The social construction of gender*. Newbury Park, Calif. Sage Publications.

Lloyd-Evans, Robert. 2002: *Qos in integrated 3G network*. Boston, Artech House.

Luhmann, Niklas. 1993: *Risk: a sociological Theory*. Berlin. De Gruyter.

Lury, C. 1998: *Prosthetic Culture: Photography, Memory and Identity*. London, Routledge.

Mars, G. & Robin Ward. 1984: Ethnic business development in Britain: Opportunities and resources. In Jenkins, j. & Ward, J. (eds.). *Ethnic Businesses in Communities*. Cambridge, Cambridge University.

Metcalf, H., T. Modood & S. Virdee. 1996: *Asian Self-Employment. The interaction of culture and economics in England*. London. Policy Studies Institute.

Moi, Torild. 1991: *Appropiating Bourdieu: Feminist Theory and Pierre Bourdieu's sociology of Culture.* New Literary History, 22.

Moi, Torild. 1999: *What is a woman?* Oxford University Press.

Morokvasic, Mirjana. 1984: *Birds of Passage are also Women*. International Migration Review, volume 18, number 4, Special Issue: Women in Migration.

Mulholland, K. 1996: Entrepreneuralism, masculinities and the self-made man. In Gherardi, Silvia, Attila Bruni & Barbera Poggio. 2004: *Doing gender, Doing Entrepreneurship: An Ethnographic Account of intertwined Practices*. Gender, Work & Organisation, volume 11, issue 4. Oxford. Blackwell Publishing.

Nachmias, Chava & David Nachmias. 1997: *Research Methods in the Social Sciences.* London. Edward Arnold.

Nisbet, Robert. 1977: *Sociology as an artform*. Oxford University press.

Novarra V. (1980). Women's Work, Men's Work. The Ambivalence of Equality, London, Marion Boyars, 152p

Ong, Aihwa. 1999: *Flexible Citizenship – the cultural logics of transnationality.* Duke University Press.

Oso, Laura. 2004: *Ethnic Entrepreneurship: A social mobility strategy for immigrant women in Spain*. Paper presented at Etnogenerational Workshop. Rhodes.

Otto, Lene. 2001: *livshistorier og biografisk subjektivitet*. Dansk Pædagogisk Tidsskrift, 1:3-11.

Pedersen, Peder J.. 2002: *Arbejdsmarkedsintegration, arbejdsmarkedspolitik og overførselsindkomster*. AMID Working Paper Series 7, Aalborg University.

Pentland, Brian T. 1999: *Building process theory with narrative: from description to explanation*. Academy of management Review, vol. 24, no 4, 711-724.

Peirce, Charles S.. 1979: *Collected papers*. Cambridge, MA. University of Havard Press

Phizackles, Annie. 1988: Entrepreneurship, Ethnicity and Gender. In Sally Westwood & Bhachu Parminder: *Enterprising Women: Ethnicity, Economy and Gender Relations*. London, Sage.

Phizackles, Annie & Carol Wolkowitz. 1995: *Home-working Women; Gender, Racism and class at work*. London. Sage.

Prieur, Annick. 2002: Objectivering og refleksivitet – om Pierre Bourdieus perspektiv på design og interview. In Michael Hviid Jacobasen et al.: *Liv fortælling og tekst*. Aalborg Universitetsforlag.

Portes, Alejandro. 1995: *The economic sociology of immigration: essays on networks, etnicity and entrepreneurship*. New York.

Ram, M. & T. Jones. 1998: *Ethnic Minorities in Business*. In Rezaei & Bager. 2001. Syddansk Universitets trykkeri.

Reed, R. 1996: Entrepreneurial and paternalism in Australian management. A gender critique of the self-made man. In Gherardi, Silvia, Attila Bruni & Barbera Poggio. 2004: *Doing gender, Doing Entrepreneurship: An Ethnographic Account of intertwined Practices*. Gender, Work & Organisation, volume 11, issue 4. Oxford. Blackwell Publishing.

Rezaei, Shahamak & Torben Bager. 2001: *Indvandrervirksomheder I Danmark*. Syddansk Universitets trykkeri.

Rezaei, Shahamak. 2002: *Indvandrerejede virksomheder*. AMID working paper series 8/2002.

Rockwool Fonden. Social Forskningsinstituttet (Institute of Social Research). 2005: *Etniske minoriteter – Et nyt proletariat*. Temanummer (Special Issue).

Rosenthal, Gabriele. 1993: *Reconstruction of Life Stories*. London. Sage Publication.

Rustin, Michael. 1998a: *From Individual Life Histories to Sociological Understanding*. SOSTRIS Working Paper 3, Centre for biography in Social Policy, University of East London.

Sanders, Jimy M. & Victor Nee. 1987: *Limits of Ethnic Solidarity in the Enclave Economy*. American Sociological Review 52:745-67.

Schierup, Carl Ulrik. 1993: *På kulturens slagmark*. Esbjerg. Sydjysk Universitetsforlag.

Schutz, Alfred. 1971: *Reflections on the Problems of Relevance*. New Haven. Yale University Press.

Schûtze, Fritz. 1984: Kognitive Strukturen aotobiograpischen Stegreiferzâhlens. In Kohli, M. „ Roberts G. (eds.): *Biographie und soziale Wirklicheit: Neue Beitrâge und Forschungsperspektiven*. Stuttgart. Metzler.

Schütze, Fritz. 1995: *Verlaufskurven des Erleidens als Forschungsgenstand der interpretativen Soziologie*. Erziehungswissenschaftliche Biographieforschung Opladen, Leske und Budrich. London. Sage,

Shaw, Clifford R. 1966: *The Jack Roller: A Delinquent Boy's Own Story*. Chicago. University Press

Simmel, George. 1950: The sociology of George Simmel. Ed. Wolf, K. H. New York:Free Press. In Jenkins, Richard. 2004: *Social Identity*. London, Routledge

Skeggs, Beverly. 1997: *Formations of Class & Gender*. London. SAGE Publications.

Smith, Louise Hardman. 1996: Indvandrere med egen forretning. Sydfynsk universitetsforlag.

Staunæs, Dorthe. 2003: *Where have all the subjects gone? Bringing together the concepts of intersectionality and subjectification*. In NORA, volume 11, number 2, pp. 101-120.

Strauss, Anselm & Juliet Corbin, 1998: *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques, 2nd edition*. Thousand Oaks. Sage.

Thomas, William I. & Florian Znaniecki. 1974 (1919-1921): *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*. Neew York. Octagon Book.

Vila, Pablo.1997. In Holstein, James A. & Jaber F. Gubrium. 2000: *The self we live by: narrative identity in a postmodern world*. New York. Oxford University Press.

Waldinger, Roger. 1986: *Immigrant Enterprise: A critique and reformulation*. In Theory and Society. 15:249-285.

Waldinger, Roger, Howard Aldrich & Robin Ward. 1990: *Ethnic Entrepreneurs: immigrant business in industrialised countries*. Sage Publications: Newbury Park.

Waldinger, Roger. 1993: *The ethnic enclave debate revised*. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 17(3): 444-452.

Weber, Kirsten & Henning Salling Olsen. 2001: *Alle disse historier – livshistorie(r) som pædagogisk metode, kulturbeskrivelse eller problematisk realitetsorientering*. Dansk Pædagogisk Tidsskrift, nr. 1. pp. 34-43.

Weber, Max. 1958: *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*.

Wengraf, Tom. 2000: Uncovering the general from within the particular. In *The Turn to Biographical Methodes in Social Science*. Routledge. London.

Willig, Rasmus. 2003: *Behovet for anerkendelse*. København. Hans Reitzels Forlag.

SPIRIT PhD Series: