The Intersection of Entrepreneurial Identity and Ethnic Identity: An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis of Black African Migrant Entrepreneurs in the UK

By

Olutayo Korede

A Thesis

Submitted to Newcastle University Business School

in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

January 2019

Abstract

Recently, entrepreneurship research is beginning to identify how identity shapes the practice and discourse of entrepreneurship. This burgeoning stream of research explores how multiple dimensions of identity intersect, to create and reproduce inequality in entrepreneurship. This study builds on such area of research to explore the role of identity in entrepreneurship. In particular, it explores the intersection of entrepreneurial identity and ethnic identity among black African migrants practising entrepreneurship in Britain. The research focuses on the question: 'how do black African migrant entrepreneurs balance, negotiate and experience their (potentially disparate) identities as 'entrepreneurs' and 'ethnic minorities' within their lives?' Qualitative data was elicited by phenomenologically exploring the narratives of the lived experiences of participants. The analysis is based on the different ways black migrant entrepreneurs perceive, interpret and make sense of their identity in entrepreneurship. Research findings show the pervasiveness of whiteness in entrepreneurship. The entrepreneurial space in Britain structurally excludes black ethnic identity. Structural forces that create and sustain inequality in the labour market are also at play in entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship is a site of identity negotiation. To navigate this entrepreneurial space, they employed different dramaturgical performances and enacted certain identity work such as hard work and different masking strategies, in their attempt to be seen as legitimate entrepreneurial actors. Ethnicity plays different roles in entrepreneurship. It is perceived as a source of advantage for exploring ethnic and co-ethnic markets and as a source of disadvantage for accessing mainstream markets in the host country. Findings show the gendered nature of identity work, as black female migrant entrepreneurs tend to compensate more for their identity in entrepreneurship. This research contributes to the study of migrant entrepreneurship by showing how intersectional identities influence entrepreneurial venturing and activities.

Dedication

This project is dedicated to the memory of my late brother Ayobamidele Korede who died during the course of my doctoral programme. Your death brought untold pain and gave me the motivation to step up and complete my research. Thank you for all you did for us, you will always be remembered.

Acknowledgement

I am heartily thankful to my supervisors, Dr Andreas Giazitzoglu and Dr Simon Parry, for their encouragement, guidance, prompt feedback and support throughout the entire research project. I am particularly grateful for the immense support provided by Dr Andreas Giazitzoglu and for the hands-on mentorship I received from him, which has greatly improved this research and my experience as a researcher.

I want to appreciate Newcastle University for funding this doctoral research through the Newcastle University Overseas Research Scholarship (NUORS). Thanks to all the support received from the HaSS faculty, especially from Professor Robin Humphrey. The support and guidance received from staff and colleagues at the Newcastle University Business School has contributed to the success of this work, and I say a big thank you to all, too numerous to name.

A warm appreciation goes to my wife Grace Olubunmi Korede and my daughter Rhema Korede for their supports, endurance and contributions towards the success of this project.

Lastly, I say a big thank you to all the participants who took part in the interview and to friends and family who encouraged and supported me in one way or the other. Thank you all and God bless you mightily.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Background to the Research

Entrepreneurship has been constructed as a discourse of privilege. A space delineated for the privilege discourse of white hegemonic masculinity and Western forms of entrepreneurship. The discourse of enterprise and business venturing is being expressed as an activity with essentialist norms and idealized attributes, which is selective in legitimizing entrepreneurship in certain people and places while ignoring entrepreneurial actors and activities among certain groups of people. In recognition of this, Gartner (2013) argues for scholars to create a community of difference in the scholarship of entrepreneurship. By doing this, he observes that voices and people that have been ignored, unseen, unheard and taken-for-granted may become visible and heard in the discourse and practice of entrepreneurship.

Recently, critical and feminist entrepreneurship scholars, have begun to challenge the hegemonic assumptions and narratives in entrepreneurial discourse (Ogbor, 2000; Essers and Benschop, 2007; Tedmanson et al., 2012; Ahl and Marlow, 2012; Verduijn and Essers, 2013). Entrepreneurship is considered to be hegemonic because it privileges the discourse of whiteness and maleness, while it excludes certain actors because of their atypical identity. They argue that by questioning dominant assumptions and ideologies embedded in the discourse of entrepreneurship, entrepreneurship as a field of study can become inclusive, take into consideration the significance of context in the entrepreneurial process, and explore entrepreneurship in contested spaces and the mundane nature of entrepreneurship. This will not only give voice to marginalised and often ignored entrepreneurs but will also challenge existing “contradictions, paradoxes, ambiguities and tensions at the heart of ‘entrepreneurship’” (Tedmanson et al., 2012: 532).

This critical approach to entrepreneurship is beginning to make salient the voices of migrants in the entrepreneurial discourse. Not because migrants are less enterprising, but because of the structural constraints that limit the productivity and performance of

migrant enterprises. Lately, this critical approach is beginning to question the 'layers of ideological obscuration' (Martin, 1990) and how identity and relations of power are constructed and constituted in entrepreneurship. Essentially, the debate around normative assumptions in entrepreneurship is about identity. Certain ethnic and minority groups including women have been 'labelled' as either unentrepreneurial (Werbner, 1999) or less entrepreneurial (Ensign and Robinson, 2011) due to their origin, ethnicity, race, social class and other intersectional identities. Although there are established bodies of knowledge about the subject of identity in the field of psychology and sociology, it was recently identity started gaining traction in the field of entrepreneurship (Warren, 2004; Shepherd and Haynie, 2009; Leitch and Harrison, 2016; Shepherd and Patzelt, 2018). The construct of identity in the entrepreneurship context has morphed into the discourse of entrepreneurial identity and the identity work, which is the process of identity formation (Leitch and Harrison, 2016). How entrepreneurial actors enact identity, how identity drives entrepreneurial actions and consequently the entrepreneurial legitimacy of ventures are beginning to gain researchers attention (Navis and Glynn, 2011; Swail and Marlow, 2018). While research has established that entrepreneurial identity is shaped by processes of identity work, the majority of research has focused on gendered construction of entrepreneurial identity. However, how ethnic identity shapes and intersects with entrepreneurial identity is still relatively an open area of research. This research aims to contribute to this area of research by exploring how ethnicity is constructed and performed by black African migrants who engage in entrepreneurship in Britain.

To explore the critical role identity plays in migrant entrepreneurship, this study will analyse how the experiences of black migrant entrepreneurs influence their entrepreneurial activities. The analysis will be based on the different ways black migrant entrepreneurs perceive, interpret and make sense of their identity in entrepreneurship. In particular, how they perceive and make sense of their entrepreneurial identity in relation to their ethnic identity.

1.2 Significance of the Study

Studies into entrepreneurship and identity are now beginning to explore new ways to control for identity in enterprise and the important role identity plays in the formation, legitimization and growth of enterprise. In their review of recent research into entrepreneurial identity, Leitch and Harrison (2016) have called for more critical studies that recognize how various processes of identity work shape the formation and the orientation of entrepreneurial identity. Similarly, from ethnic minority entrepreneurship perspective, Romero and Valdez (2016) have called for an intersectional approach to understand how multiple dimensions of identity intersects with agentic and structural forces to influence entrepreneurial activities and outcomes for migrant and ethnic minority groups in western economies. This study builds on these important calls for research and gap in the literature to explore how ethnicity and entrepreneurship intersect for black African migrant group engage in small business and self-employment.

An intersectional lens into how ethnic identity and entrepreneurial identity combine in entrepreneurship will better enhance understanding of the role of group membership, power relations and construction of identity play in the entrepreneurial process of the black migrant group. Also, it will provide an explanation on how 'intersectional entrepreneurs' negotiate identity and the specific ways they 'perform' identity work as they seek legitimacy of identity and enterprise.

Besides, recent work has shown that entrepreneurs may perform, in the Goffmanesque sense, the role of an entrepreneur. In this sense, the entrepreneur is a culturally constructed term that enterprising agents often feel compelled to dramaturgically emulate on their own selves and in their own lives, so as to create a legitimate entrepreneurial identity. This is shown lucidly in the work of Giazitzoglu and Down (2017), whose ethnography focuses on the way white males in a semi-rural locale perform a style of intersectional entrepreneurial masculinity, which they deem to be hegemonic. However, such work has not been extended to look at 'other' types of entrepreneurs and their performances. There is scope for the performances of

entrepreneurs whose identities do not fit the white, male entrepreneurial stereotype (e.g. women, ethnic minorities etc.) to be further analysed; particularly from an intersectionality perspective. Here, I focus on the experiences of black African migrants living in the UK to further explore issues relating to entrepreneurial identity.

1.3 Research Question

At the initial stage of this research, following from literature review on identity, ethnicity and entrepreneurship, various research questions started to emerge. Questions such as do all male entrepreneurs exhibit hegemonic masculinity in entrepreneurship or is hegemonic masculinity in entrepreneurship only a white male phenomenon? To what extent do gender and ethnic identity facilitate or constrain entrepreneurship among black African women entrepreneurs in Britain? What role does ethnicity play for racialized entrepreneurs such as black African migrant entrepreneurs? And how do black African migrant entrepreneurs perceive their ethnic identity and the effect on their entrepreneurial activity?

At a later stage in my study, these questions have been summarized to better reflect the experiences of black African migrant entrepreneurs. The research question is: *how do black African immigrant entrepreneurs balance, negotiate and experience their (potentially disparate) identities as 'entrepreneurs' and 'ethnic minorities' within their lives?*

1.4 Research Objectives

In line with the research question, the research objectives will seek to explore and answer the following research sub-questions:

- To what extent do black migrant entrepreneurs see and experience their identities as entrepreneurs and ethnic minorities as congruent?
- To explore how black migrants' intersectional identities create specific barriers and advantages for them in entrepreneurship?

- To understand how black migrant entrepreneurs balance and negotiate between hegemonic identity (entrepreneurial identity) and non-hegemonic identity (ethnic identity) in enterprise?
- To explore how gender influence the experiences of black migrant entrepreneurs?
- To understand how the perception and construction of black ethnic identity facilitate or constrain entrepreneurship among black migrant entrepreneurs?

1.5 Methodological Overview

In the phenomenological, lived-experience tradition, this research uses data elicited in qualitative interviews to explore the experience of migrant entrepreneurs. A semi-structured interview was used as a method of data collection. Two interviews were conducted for the pilot phase of the study and 24 interviews (excluding pilot interviews) were done from which data was qualitatively inducted. All research participants were first-generation migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa who practice small business ownership and self-employment in Britain. Data analysis was done using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). IPA explores individual lived experiences and the meanings they attached to those experiences to make sense of their personal and social world (Smith and Osborne, 2003).

1.6 Research Limitations and Delimitations

During the course of this study, basic decisions and assumptions have been made which may influence the findings and conclusion of this research. While the initial intention of this study was to have a representative sample from black African and Caribbean migrant entrepreneurs in the UK, however, the scope would have been too broad for this research project, so I decided to narrow it to only Sub-Saharan black African migrant entrepreneurs. I decided not to include removed the black Caribbean population from the sample because I had more access to the black African population. This may have excluded some important perspective and narrative from the study. Therefore, the findings from this research may not be applicable to the black Caribbean migrant entrepreneurs.

Also, all research participants are first-generation migrants who according to research have weak ties to Britain and strong ethnic identity to Africa in comparison with the second-generation (Lam and Smith, 2009). Therefore, research findings may not represent the experience and narrative of second-generation of black African migrant entrepreneurs who have stronger ties to Britain than Africa.

Lack of research participants from London was deliberate to control for the superdiversity of the London city, as initial data collection showed that migrant entrepreneurs from London experience ethnicity differently from other parts of the UK.

1.7 Thesis Structure

This thesis has been organized into nine chapters. Chapter 1 is the introductory chapter, which gives a general overview of the research including the research question and objectives. Chapters 2, 3, 4 & 5 are literature review chapters. Chapter 2 gives a brief overview of the theories of ethnic minority and migrant entrepreneurship. This chapter discusses and criticizes the various theories of ethnic minority and migrant entrepreneurship. It ends by identifying the relevance of intersectionality as a useful theoretical lens in studying how multiple dimensions of identities influence ethnic minority and migrant entrepreneurship. Chapter 3 discusses intersectionality. It explores various approaches to intersectionality and questions which identities are intersectional. It ends by taking a critical perspective to the theory and practice of intersectionality. Chapter 4 explores entrepreneurial identity. It focusses on the ‘what’ and ‘who’ of entrepreneurship. It analyses entrepreneurship through functionalist and identity approaches. It considers entrepreneurial identity as a site for the construction and performance of intersectional identity, by taking a critical look at what constitutes entrepreneurial identity. The later part of the chapter looks at entrepreneurial identity through the lens of hegemonic masculinity and femininity. The chapter ends by positioning entrepreneurial identity as hegemonic identity.

Chapter 5 discusses ethnicity and ethnic identity in relation to other constructs. It focuses on how ethnicity and race are constructed in the British context. It describes the theories of ethnicity, and how these theories constrain entrepreneurship for black African migrant entrepreneurs. It identifies the complexity of self-identification for embodied stigmatized identities, and explores the question of who is black in Britain. Chapter 6 discusses the research design and methodology for this research. It identifies the epistemological and ontological positions of the research. It explains the process of data collection and the use of pilot study for the initial stage of the work. It describes the method of data analysis and the relevance of interpretative phenomenological analysis to the study of migrant entrepreneurship. The final section considers the issues of research ethics, quality, reliability, validity and reflexivity for the research. Chapter 7 presents the findings from the research. The chapter outlines how themes were developed and presents empirical findings of aggregate themes. The chapter discusses the construction, perception and strategies employed by participants in negotiating and normalizing their identities. Chapter 8 is the discussion chapter. It interprets and discusses the results, drawing inferences and implications of the research findings. Lastly, chapter 9 is the concluding chapter. It gives an overall summary of the research and emphasises the important contributions of the research with implications for policy and practice.

Chapter 2. Theories of Ethnic Minority and Migrant Entrepreneurship

In this chapter, I discuss the theories of ethnic minority and migrant entrepreneurship and their basic assumptions. In particular, I look at the evolution of these theories and critically analysed their impacts on the study of ethnic minority and migrant entrepreneurship. In analysing the theories of migrant entrepreneurship, the chapter identifies with the stagnation of theory development in the field of migrant and ethnic minority entrepreneurship as observed by Aliaga-Isla and Rialp (2013). Moreover, issues of Othering and labelling around the term 'ethnic entrepreneurship' are discussed. In doing so, the chapter argues that what is 'ethnic' in entrepreneurship is fuzzy and lacks theoretical grounding. It is contradictory to think entrepreneurship is fundamentally contextual, socially and culturally embedded and then define enterprise with ethnic bias.

2.1 Ethnic Minority Entrepreneurship versus Migrant Entrepreneurship

As consistent with most studies, I have used ethnic minority entrepreneurship and migrant entrepreneurship in this study as a single concept to describe a type of minority entrepreneurship. The terms 'ethnic minority entrepreneur(ship)' and 'migrant entrepreneur(ship)' are used either together or separately and in many places interchangeably to refer to first-generation black African migrant entrepreneurs. I have refrained from using ethnic entrepreneurship or ethnic entrepreneur (in favour of ethnic minority entrepreneurship or ethnic minority entrepreneur). This is based on two important justifications. First, many of my research participants did not like to be referred to as ethnic entrepreneurs. They think the term 'ethnic entrepreneur' is bias and discriminatory. They identified that they were hearing the term 'ethnic entrepreneur' for the first time. For them, such categorisation is a subtle way of illegitimising their entrepreneurial identity, as the term suggests a second-class type of entrepreneurs and Othering of non-white entrepreneurs. However, they were comfortable to be called migrant entrepreneurs, ethnic minority entrepreneurs or entrepreneurs based on their country of origin such as Ghanaian entrepreneur or Nigerian entrepreneur. Second, on reflection, I acknowledged that the term is fuzzy

and since ethnic identity and ethnicity are too fluid, categorisation of entrepreneurs and enterprises based on ethnic affiliation is unnecessary. This position is in line with many scholars who had criticized the concept of ethnic entrepreneurship as too ethnic bias. For example, Glick Schiller and Çağlar (2013: 495) noted that "the majority of researchers assumed without any further reflection that there were real differences between 'ethnic entrepreneurs' and all other business people and sought explanations for migrant entrepreneurial behaviour in ethnocultural traditions, ethnic moral frameworks, behaviour patterns, loyalties and markets."

Following from the work of Ogbor (2000), various scholars have observed that the field of ethnic minority and migrant entrepreneurship is discriminatory (Ensign and Robinson, 2011), riddled with ethnicity bias (Fox and Jones, 2013), reinforces methodological nationalism (Schiller et al., 2006), ethno-theoretical (Schiller and Çağlar, 2013) and at best filled with unexamined contradictions and assumptions (Pécoud, 2010; Ogbor, 2000). As observed by Brubaker (2002), the concepts of grouping and classification are problematic with "tendency to represent the social and cultural world as a multichrome mosaic of monochrome ethnic, racial or cultural blocs" (p. 164). In line with 'common sense groupism' (Brubaker, 2002) I have used and put more emphasis on migrant entrepreneurship other than ethnic entrepreneurship. This is not to totally dismiss the idea of ethnic entrepreneurship but ethnicity is too general to be used to define enterprise or classify entrepreneurs. The question is whether ethnic entrepreneurship is used to mean ethnic majority entrepreneurship or ethnic minority entrepreneurship. I argue that apart from being discriminatory and sustaining stereotypes of minority groups, the ethnic economy (or ethnic entrepreneur) and mainstream economy (or conventional entrepreneur) are not mutually exclusive (Korede, 2019). Rather than pandering towards a hegemonic and ethnocentric view of entrepreneurship as associated with ethnic entrepreneurship, terms such as minority entrepreneurship, migrant entrepreneurship, 'resilient' entrepreneurship, bricolage entrepreneurship etc give better clarity of the contextual description of entrepreneurship.

2.2 Enclave Theory

The enclave theory has been described as the clustering, concentration and localisation of ethnic and migrant groups in a particular geographical area (Osaghae and Cooney, 2019; Werbner, 1999; Wilson and Portes, 1980). Marcuse (1997: 242) defines it as:

> An enclave is a spatially concentration area in which members of a particular population group, self-defined by ethnicity or religion or otherwise, congregate as a means of enhancing their economic, social and/or cultural development

It has its origin in the labour market segmentation literature (Light et al., 1994; Wilson and Portes, 1980). The dual labour market, which is segmented into the primary labour market (more like the mainstream economy), and the secondary labour market (where the ethnic and migrant economy is located) are distinct not only in terms of capital and resources but also in terms of the identity of players and actors. The core assumptions of this theory are space and identity. Portes (1981) describes the enclave as a distinct spatial location where ethnic and migrant firms serve their embedded communities. The enclave theory has been used to play the identity game of which ethnic group is entrepreneurial and which is not. By playing the 'success' and 'failure' identity game, Werbner (1999: 548) argues that this has led researchers into "blind alleys while creating damaging – and unfounded – invidious stereotypes of different ethnic groups". Moreover, globalisation and superdiversity are transforming old ethnic enclave into 'transclave' (Kim. 2018) and there are growing links between the traditional enclave market and the conventional mainstream market.

The limitation of the enclave theory is that it cannot explain the entrepreneurial opportunity and activity of immigrants outside the enclave. For example, the enclave theory cannot explain the entrepreneurial activity of online migrant owned businesses because they are not bound by space and geography. The theory assumes that migrant groups are homogenous groups with the same human, social and economic capital; and that migrants lack individual agency to determine the outcomes of their

lives. Therefore, it does not provide an explanation for migrants who decide to live or do business outside the enclave. Just like other theories of ethnic minority and migrant entrepreneurship, the enclave theory commodifies ethnicity and ethnic identity. It is selective and panders to the stereotype that ethnic and migrant enterprises are situated in the least rewarding ventures and vulnerable spatial locations.

2.3 Middleman Theory

The middleman minority theory of ethnic and migrant entrepreneurship is associated with the works of Blalock (1967) and Bonacich (1973). Middleman minorities are ethnic and migrant entrepreneurs who have intermediate agency between the majority group and the segregated ethnic minority groups. Bonacich described them as sojourners with the intention of returning to their home country but have social and cultural ties with minority groups in the host country with which they conduct economic activities. The theory has been used to explain the economic activities of Jews, Korean and Chinese migrants in the United States (Bonacich, 1973; Zhou, 2004). However, the changing nature of immigration and the movement of capital due to globalisation has changed the dynamic of middleman minority theory. Recent development and conceptual advancement in the scholarship of migration and entrepreneurship now favour transnational and diaspora entrepreneurship as a link between country of origin and settlement (Zhou, 2004; Baubock and Faist, 2010).

2.4 Cultural Theory

The cultural theory is an ethnocultural approach to explaining entrepreneurial behaviour and activity of ethnic minority and migrant entrepreneurs. The culturalist perspective suggests that certain cultural markers such as special cultural skills, values and aspirations, heritage, dedication to hard work, strong ethnic community, communal solidarity, close family network, religious belief and socio-cultural backgrounds explain the orientation of migrants groups towards entrepreneurship and self-employment (Volery, 2007; Piperopoulos, 2010; Tsui-Auch, 2005). Culture does not only play a central role in the entrepreneurial orientation of ethnic minority and migrant entrepreneurs but also explains the difference between entrepreneurial

activities of different ethnic and migrant groups (Piperopoulos, 2010). However, while culture may create a specific advantage in entrepreneurship, it may be insufficient to explain why migrants venture into entrepreneurship. As culture is a form of ethnicity (Cheung, 1993), the cultural theory, therefore, uses ethnicity to conceptualise migrant entrepreneurship. The cultural theory is therefore limited to cultural products, services and firms. It is inadequate to explain migrant entrepreneurial activity in the mainstream economy and even less significant in the age of superdiversity.

2.5 Disadvantage Theory

The disadvantage theory focuses on how socio-economic exclusions, discrimination and lack of opportunity migrants experience in the host country 'push' them towards entrepreneurship. It suggests that disadvantages within the migrants' new environment do not only push them into entrepreneurship but also limit their entrepreneurial outcomes (Volery, 2007). Closely associated with the disadvantage theory is the block mobility theory, which emphasises the disadvantages migrants experience due to labour market segmentation, lack of opportunity and racial discrimination in the economy (Piperopoulos, 2010). This theory can be summarised in two ways. Firstly, some migrants may lack the capital to compete in the host labour market. For example, the lack of human capital and social network may create specific disadvantages for migrants in the host country labour market. This may also be associated with poor language skill, low education and specific individual disadvantages. In this sense, entrepreneurship becomes a necessity for survival among these migrant groups. Secondly, there are structures and systems within the host country that prevent migrants from accessing opportunity for their upward mobility. Thus creating specific disadvantages and blocking their social mobility (Zhou, 2004; Jones and Ram, 2013; Virdee, 2006). However, this theory fails to explain entrepreneurship among migrants who are not 'disadvantaged' in terms of capital and resources. Migrants who ventured into entrepreneurship because of passion and specific market opportunity. For example, some of my research participants had resigned from their jobs and positions in the labour market to start their business and pursue their entrepreneurial dreams.

2.6 Mixed Embeddedness

The mixed embeddedness goes beyond the essentialist narrative of ethnic resources and the structural and cultural factors to identify the wider social, economic and institutional contexts in which migrant businesses are embedded (Kloosterman et al., 1999; Kloosterman and Rath, 2001). The mixed embeddedness theory is significant to the study of ethnic and migrant entrepreneurship in that it departs from the over-reliance on ethnicity as the major explanation for migrant entrepreneurial activities (Jones et al., 2014). It considers how the interplay of macro factors (institutions, structures, regulations etc.), meso factors (market, social class, social capital etc.) and micro factors (agency, human capital, financial capital, cultural capital etc.) potentially influence the opportunity structure of migrant firms (Wang and Warn, 2017). Although it provides a more nuanced explanation of migrant firms, critics have described the mixed embeddedness as fuzzy, offering no significant departure from the previous theoretical perspectives (Razin, 2002; Angla-Isla and Rialp, 2013). The mixed embeddedness does not account for the significant role of identity in entrepreneurship and the gendered nature of migrant entrepreneurship (Ram et al., 2017). Peter (2002) argues that the mixed embeddedness does not provide an explanation of how multiple identity and inter-ethnic differences affect and influence migrant entrepreneurial activities and orientations.

Other theories that are recently being used to theorise migration and entrepreneurship include translocational positionality (Anthias, 2002), intersectionality (Romero and Valdez, 2016), superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007), kinship theory of entrepreneurship (Verver and Koning, 2017) and the critical race theory (Gold, 2016). The theory of intersectionality is gaining traction in explaining how the interplay of identity, agency and structure influence enterprise formation and development among minority and migrant groups. It moves beyond the stereotypes and misconceptions to consider how the interplay of structure and agency affects entrepreneurial activity and outcomes of migrant entrepreneurs. In this context, the intersectional approach considers how interdependent identities (e.g. ethnicity and gender) are negotiated among black African migrant entrepreneurs. The next chapter will consider the theory of

intersectionality more extensively. It will examine the various approaches to intersectionality and its relevance to the discourse of migrant entrepreneurship.

Chapter 3. Intersectionality

In this chapter, I review the theory of intersectionality in sociological and entrepreneurial discourses. I discuss types of intersectionality, the criticisms of intersectionality, and how an intersectional approach can enhance the discourse of migrant and ethnic minority entrepreneurship.

As a way of departure from existing classical and ethnic-based theories of migrant entrepreneurship; Romero and Valdez (2016) have suggested intersectionality as an appropriate framework for theorising migrant entrepreneurship. This research heeds their call by using intersectionality as a theoretical lens to study how multiple identities and intersecting social categories influence the entrepreneurial venturing of black African migrant entrepreneurs.

The way in which privilege is embedded within the society and its perpetuation over generations is gaining attention in the critical management studies. The experiences of those living at the borders and margins of society, which are often concealed by classical social theories are now being acknowledged through the intersectional perspective. The unsavoury past in western development has created a system that fosters inequality and discrimination. Addressing the issues of inequality and injustice requires that society owns up to its history of slavery, oppression, segregation, colonialism and racism. While society has achieved significant progress in addressing these social issues, their effects on people's lives linger until today. This effect is also observable at the intersection of entrepreneurship and ethnicity.

The social construction of identity has delineated certain identity as superior to others. In this sense, opportunities in society are oriented towards groups with hegemonic identity. Among those at the bottom of the society are black Africans, with a history of slavery, oppression and segregation; and are still being affected and socially excluded from opportunity because of their identity. As society tends towards multiculturalism, calls for inclusion is making researchers to rethink and reconsider their approach and recognise the social and cultural context in which entrepreneurship occurs. The

challenge to create a community of difference in the scholarship of entrepreneurship (Gartner, 2013), is now shifting the academic debate from normative entrepreneurial identity to consider entrepreneurship in unlikely places and people, and how multiple dimensions of identity influence the entrepreneurial process (Hamilton, 2013).

Recently, intersectionality is emerging as a useful theoretical framework in the field of critical entrepreneurship study. Intersectionality is increasingly being used in gender and feminist entrepreneurship studies (Fielden and Davidson, 2012; Martinez Dy, Marlow, and Martin, 2017; Essers et al., 2010), ethnic minority entrepreneurship (Barrett and Vershinina, 2017), migrant entrepreneurship (Kynsilehto, 2011), and black and racial entrepreneurship studies (Harvey, 2005; Wingfield and Taylor, 2016). Although the majority of intersectional studies in entrepreneurship are associated with feminist theory and are focused on the experiences of women (Martinez Dy, Marlow, and Martin, 2017; Essers et al., 2010), intersectionality is gradually being used to study social inequality among stigmatized and marginalized masculine groups (Barrett and Vershinina, 2017; Coston and Kimmel, 2012). The gendered nature of social inequality suggests that both men and women can experience inequality. While masculinity is perceived as a site of privilege, for stigmatized men such as black men, masculinity is also an intersectional site of identity negotiation (Coston and Kimmel, 2012). Contrary to the expected normative hegemonic of male identity (Giazitzoglu and Down, 2017), black men may perform the role of entrepreneurs differently because of the stigma associated with their ethnicity. Conceptualizing the experience of marginalization and inequality among black men will enrich academic debates and extend the theoretical application of intersectionality beyond feminism. In this study, intersectionality is used to theorize the experience of both masculinity and femininity in the context of entrepreneurship.

3.1 Theory of Intersectionality

Although intersectionality is gaining attention and increasingly being used among scholars, intersectionality does not have a unilateral application. Researchers have used intersectionality in diverse ways, however, towards a common objective of theorizing social categories and how multiple identities overlap to reproduce inequality

and discrimination. The various ways intersectionality has been used include: as a *concept* (Knapp, 2005); as a *metaphor* (Acker, 2011); as a *perspective* (Browne and Misra, 2003); as a *research paradigm* (Dhamoon, 2011); as an *analytical strategy* (Collins, 2015); as a *theoretical lens* (Hulko, 2009); as a *methodological tool* (Atewologun and Mahalingam, 2018); and as a *methodological approach* to critical research design (Mountian, 2017).

To understand intersectionality, I attempt to identify and explain the various approaches to intersectionality in the literature.

3.1.1 *What is intersectionality?*

Intersectionality is an analytical tool used by sociologists in theorizing the subjective experience of identity (Nash, 2008). It is often use to draw attention to the multidimensional variables determining the experience of minority and marginalised groups in the society. It explains the multiple forms of inequalities, discriminations and the oppression of excluded groups in society. It was initially used by feminist scholars to explain how the experiences of African American women are unique and different from the experience of white American women.

Crenshaw (1989) is notably regarded as the pioneer of intersectionality theory. She showed how the intersection of race and gender affect black women differently. She observed that a black woman would experience a different form of discrimination because of the intersection of her gender and race. Although, scholars started out by using intersectionality as a feminist theory to explore dual social identities of race and gender (Crenshaw, 1989; Collins, 2000), it has developed as a mainstream theory in the fields of sociology, anthropology and psychology for discussion around race, ethnicity and class. As society becomes more diverse, intersectionality is becoming more relevant to explain the complex and diverse identities of social groups. It has recently been extended to explain the interactions among other different social constructs such as sexuality, age, gender, disability, nativity and religion.

As a critical management theory, intersectionality is used to show the interconnections and interdependence of identities. It criticizes the conventional and normative ideology of social phenomena and processes. By a way of giving voice to marginalised and excluded groups, it reflects the holistic representation of modern super-diverse society. Intersectionality as a theory "calls for critical consideration of the normative cases as well as the excluded or marginalized" (Choo and Ferree, 2010: 133). Brah and Phoenix (2004: 76) describe it as "the complex, irreducible, varied, and variable effects which ensue when multiple axes of differentiation—economic, political cultural, psychic, subjective and experiential—intersect in historically specific contexts." Minow (1997: 38) defines it as the ''way in which any particular individual stands at the crossroads of multiple groups.'' Similarly, Fernandes (2003: 309) describes it as a concept that unmasks the "hidden acts of multiple discrimination and how they obfuscate damaging power relations, and it also brings to the fore how they construct, while paradoxically obviating, identities of the self.'' Generally, it expresses the power relations with social structures and systems and exposes often ignored and neglected practices and processes that keep minority groups from achievement, attainment and social mobility. Intersectional scholars identify its potential to provide a nuanced and deeper understanding and its ability to offer "different explanations of the same facts" (Clarke and McCall, 2013: 351).

Different scholars have used the intersectional perspective of understanding social inequality and multiple identities in various ways by different scholars. For example, Glenn (1999) describes it as an integrative framework. Razack (1998) used the term interlocking to explain the historical relations of power between white and non-white groups. Kirkness (1987) describes it as discrimination-within-discrimination; King (1988) used multiple jeopardy to describe layers of oppression. She argues that multiple jeopardy is "racism multiplied by sexism multiplied by classism" (King 1988: 47). Recently, other terms have emerged such as translocational positionality (Anthias, 2001), multidimensionality (Hutchinson, 2001), multiplex epistemologies (Phoenix and Pattynama, 2006: 187), and "race-class-gender" approach (Pascale

2007). In a metaphoric depiction, intersectionality is commonly explained with the imagery of a crossroad:

> Intersectionality is what occurs when a woman from a minority group . . . tries to navigate the main crossing in the city (…) The main highway is 'racism road'. One cross street can be Colonialism, then Patriarchy Street (…) She has to deal not only with one form of oppression but with all forms, those named as road signs, which link together to make a double, a triple, multiple, a many layered blanket of oppression (Crenshaw in Yuval-Davis 2006: 196).

Beyond the academic domain, the United Nations and different human right groups have adopted intersectionality. For example, the Australian Human Rights and Equality Opportunity Commission describes intersectionality as:

> An intersectional approach asserts that aspects of identity are indivisible and that speaking of race and gender in isolation from each other results in concrete disadvantage. (Australian Human Rights and EOC, 2001: 2)

3.1.2 *Types of intersectionality*

Scholars have identified different approaches and perspectives to intersectionality. In this section, I summarised the different approaches to intersectionality and provide a coherent understanding of the various ways intersectionality is represented and its various applications.

Table 1 contains a brief summary of major intersectional scholars' approach to intersectionality. This section reviews four major work on intersectionality: (i) Collins (2015) on *Intersectionality's Definitional Dilemmas*; (ii) Choo and Ferree (2010) on *Practicing Intersectionality in Sociological Research: A Critical Analysis of Inclusions, Interactions, and Institutions in the Study of Inequalities*; (iii) McCall (2005) on *The Complexity of Intersectionality,* and (iv) Crenshaw (1991) *Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity, and Violence Against Women of Colour*. Identifying and engaging with these various perspectives and approaches to intersectionality does not

only bring clarity but also enriches the debate on the wider socio-cultural cum socio-economic applications of intersectionality.

Collins (2015) identifies three perspectives to intersectionality, which are: (i) as a field of study, (ii) as an analytical strategic tool for explaining social phenomena and (iii) as a critical way of practising social justice. Firstly, intersectionality is emerging as an important field of study, and the interest among academic scholars across diverse fields indicates its level of acceptance. This acceptance is noticeable by the various special editions of journals dedicated to intersectionality and intersectional approaches. Collins claims that its rapid growth has "fostered a dynamism that has encouraged creativity within and across academic disciplines" and "catalysed productive avenues of investigation" (p. 6). With sociology being in the forefront, other fields such as criminology, public policy and education have embraced intersectionality as of great value to understanding social inequalities. However, with this acceptance has come various criticisms and misrepresentations. Intersectionality as a critical intellectual project has been weakened by self-proclaimed experts. This, Collins argues is indicative of the travelling theory effect which claims the possibility of theories losing their originality and criticality as they travel through different domains. Secondly, intersectionality is becoming a useful analytical strategy. Intersectionality sheds critical light on social constructs such as work, identity and family. The literature on race, class and gender have benefited from an intersectional analysis. Intersectional analysis has aided the structural analyses of racism, capitalism, nationalism, sexuality, patriarchy and transnational processes. As an analytical tool, intersectionality has been used to rethink complex social problems such as violence and social inequality. Epistemologically, intersectionality is being positioned as a methodological approach (e.g. Yuval-Davis 2006) for the analysis of inequality within social sciences. Lastly, outside the academic setting, intersectionality is a form of critical praxis. For practitioners, lawyers, clergy, community organisers and activists, intersectionality is more than a methodological approach, it is a tool used in fighting for social justice and inequality. Social institutions and human right organisations are in constant touch with intersectionality as a critical analysis of social systems and structures. However, this area is under-researched because it does not appeal to scholars. Collins claims that "the under emphasis on intersectionality as critical praxis

within academia most likely reflects efforts to avoid the implicit political implications of intersectionality itself" (p. 16).

From an interpretative sociological frame, Choo and Ferree (2010) identify three forms of intersectionality as: (i) group centred, (ii) process centred, and (iii) system centred. As a group centred concept, Choo and Ferree argue that intersectionality is used to give voice to marginalised groups. By placing intersecting identities at the heart of the academic debate, often excluded groups are gradually being included in social and political space. Inclusion moves the experiences of subordinated groups "from margin to centre of theorizing" (p. 132). Intersectionality as a process "highlights power as relational, seeing the interactions among variables as multiplying oppressions at various points of intersection, and drawing attention to unmarked groups" (p. 129). This is a multilevel analysis of intersectionality and how it interacts with other social forces within a particular context. By placing attention on the interactive, comparative and contextual, process intersectionality reveals "structural processes organizing power" (p. 134). Finally, Choo and Ferree identify systemic intersectionality based on institutional interpenetration shaping the entire social system. Social institutions have a long history of systemic inequality which is perpetuated into different fragments of the society. It is, therefore, not enough to isolate or associate inequality with a specific institution, but as a complex, co-existing structural processes "embedded in multiple, mutually dependent institutions". (p. 136).

In a way to manage the complexity associated with intersectionality, McCall (2005) identifies three categories of intersectional complexities: (i) anticategorical complexity, (ii) intracategorical complexity and (iii) intercategorical complexity. The anticategorical complexity is closely connected with feminist post-structuralist theories. It is based on the idea that all groups and categories of identity are fluid, will be challenged and eventually fractured. According to McCall,

> Social life is considered too irreducibly complex—overflowing with multiple and fluid determinations of both subjects and structures—to make fixed categories anything but simplifying social fictions that produce inequalities in the process of producing differences (p. 1773).

Table 1: Types of intersectionality			
Authors	**Type/approach to intersectionality**	**Description**	**Application**
Collins 2015 *Intersectionality's definitional dilemmas*	Field of study	As a course of study towards understanding social inequality within academic disciplines such as sociology, criminology, public policy and education.	As a subject or course of study among students, researchers and those interested in social justice and social inequalities.
	Analytical strategy	A strategy for analysing structural concepts such as the analyses of racism, capitalism, nationalism, sexuality, patriarchy and transnational processes.	Use by researchers as a methodological framework to study intersecting identities and structures, and their relationships.
	Critical praxis	As an instrument for fighting social injustice beyond academia, especially by social institutions and human right organisations.	Use by practitioners, activists, social institutions, etc. in a critical and practical way of analysing social systems and structures.
Choo and Ferree (2010) *Practicing intersectionality in sociological research*	Group centred intersectionality	Intersectionality as a way of giving voice to excluded groups in social and political space.	Comparable to intracategorical intersectionality. Use as an instrument of inclusion to mainstream excluded and marginalised groups.
	Process centred intersectionality	This places emphasis on the interactive, comparative and contextual processes of inequality and discrimination.	Use as a multilevel analysis of structural processes.
	System centred intersectionality	Intersectionality embedded within social systems and institutions and their cascading effect of perpetuating inequality.	Comparable to structural intersectionality. Use to study intersecting social identities embedded in a social context.
McCall (2005) *The complexity of intersectionality*	Anticategorical	The complexity of social life means people cannot be studied as a social group but as an individual.	As a methodological approach to deconstructing social categories. Use to study individual life history by feminist and post-structuralist theorists.
	Intracategorical	Intersectionality as a way of studying the relationship that exists within a single group.	As a methodological approach to study a single group and category. Usually, it is used by black feminists to study personal narratives and case studies.
	Intercategorical	Intersectionality as a way of establishing the inter-relationship among existing social categories.	As a methodological approach to study multiple groups and identities. Use in the macro analysis of intersecting

			identity, and in a quantitative and mixed methods research.
Crenshaw (1991) *Mapping the margins: intersectionality, identity, and violence against women of colour*	Structural intersectionality	The systemic forces shaping and sustaining oppression and inequality among women of colour	Use to study intersecting structural inequality and racism among marginalised groups.
	Political intersectionality	How politics and political institutions have been used to marginalised women of colour	To study intersectionality within political discourse and context.
	Representational intersectionality	The use of certain images, narratives and (mis)representations to reproduces racism among women of colour.	To identify negative construction (e.g. stereotypes and biases) and negative depiction and misrepresentation of people of colour

Source: Compiled by me

This approach challenges the singularity and simplistic view of social categories. As no social group has the sameness of experience and identity. This lack of unity within and across social categories indicates how complex and problematic it is to dissect identity, and therefore social categories should be deconstructed and rejected. The intracategorical complexity considers the account of a single group and this is related to the broader social position in which individuals are embodied. Although this approach is also critical of social categories, it recognises “people whose identity crosses the boundaries of traditionally constructed groups” (Dill, 2002: 5). It restricts the boundary of identity to a manageable single category. For examples, a single group of black women, or professional black women or black gay men. In the intercategorical approach to managing complexity, McCall calls for researchers to strategically and carefully adopt existing analytical categories so as to observe inter-relationships among different levels of inequality and the “changing configurations of inequality along multiple and conflicting dimensions” (p. 1773). By comparing already constituted social groups, researchers are able to use intersectionality to understand and explain the difference in inequality. Unlike intracategorical, which is on the analysis of a single group, intercategorical is based on the analysis of multigroup. This perspective, she argues, “leaves open the possibility that broad social groupings more or less reflect the empirical realities of more detailed social groupings, thus minimizing the extent of complexity” (p. 1785).

In *Mapping the Margins,* Crenshaw shows three dimensions to intersectionality: (i) structural intersectionality, (ii) political intersectionality and (iii) representational intersectionality. She identifies structural intersectionality as the systemic forces shaping and sustaining oppression and inequality among women of colour. These forces such as race, gender and class domination; make women of colour experience rape, battering, and domestic violence qualitatively different from white women. The social structure in which women of colour are embedded put them at the margins of society and limit their life chance. Political intersectionality describes how politics and political institutions have been used to marginalised women of colour. She argues how anti-racism and feminism have reproduced racism instead of resisting it due to conflicting political agendas. According to Crenshaw, political strategies are used by opposing groups to further jeopardise the interest of women of colour by suppressing

intersectional issues and thereby advancing domestic violence and rape. Representational intersectionality is the way images and narratives are used to (re)produce racism among women of colour. She argues that this objectification and misrepresentation of women of colour further marginalise them and often neglect their intersectional interests.

3. 2 Criticisms of Intersectionality

The intersectional approach has been criticised for its limitations and challenges in theories and practices of intersectional methodology. It is described as a messy and murky concept (Zack, 2005; Nash, 2008). Chang and Culp (2002) identify the complexities and contradictions of intersectionality. Nash (2008) questions the general applicability of the theory, and whether intersectionality is a marginalised or a generalised theory of identity. She queries "whether all identities are intersectional or whether only multiple marginalized subjects have an intersectional identity" (p. 9). Its criticism includes not being suitable for explaining the experience of privilege people especially white male, and only limited to disadvantaged and marginalised groups. Kwan (1996) claims that being white and being male is a multiple identity, which proponents of intersectionality have excluded based on their assumptions of exclusive or partial privileges of white men. McCall (2005) addressed the complexity in the methodological study of intersectionality and Hancock (2007) worked on its fluidity across multiple categories.

The irreducibility of the social world is a weak point in intersectionality. In her critique of intersectional approaches, Ludvig (2006) claims that the list of observable variation in identity is infinite and questions "*who* defines *when*, *where*, *which* and *why* particular differences are given recognition while others are not?" (p. 247). She argues that this "endlessness of differences" is a significant limitation in intersectional theory. Other researchers think that as a theory, intersectionality promises more than it can deliver. Theorising complex structure and systems may lie beyond the scope of intersectionality. Zack (2005) argues the extent intersectionality can be said to be inclusive without fragmenting the experiences of oppression. In another criticism, intersectionality has been described as a static theory which is inadequate to capture

the different dynamic processes of identity formation (Carbado, 2013). Similarly, Davis (2008) contends that intersectionality is a buzzword, ambiguous, open-ended and incoherent in definition and contextual usage. Intersectionality has also come under serious scrutiny from social commentators and right-wing activists and scholars. Notably among them is Jonathan Haidt. In his Wriston Lecture for the Manhattan Institute, he asserts:

> Intersectionality: all of the binary dimensions of oppression are said to be interlocking and overlapping. America is said to be one giant matrix of oppression, and its victims cannot fight their battles separately. They must all come together to fight their common enemy, the group that sits at the top of the pyramid of oppression: the straight, white, cis-gendered, able-bodied Christian or Jewish or possibly atheist male. This is why a perceived slight against one victim group calls forth protest from all victim groups. This is why so many campus groups now align against Israel. Intersectionality is like NATO for social-justice activists. (Haidt, 2017).

However, intersectionality is a work in progress and moves within and across disciplines and national boundaries. This understanding gives researchers the flexibility to extend it to other fields of study and unexplored places (Carbado et al., 2013). In response to criticisms, they acknowledge that “intersectionality is not fixed to any particular social position” (p. 306); and its relevance and social dynamics. Looking beyond feminism to other important areas of social discourse such as masculinity, disability, politics and technology. This research extends intersectionality to the hegemonic field of entrepreneurship and explores the identity of black African migrants doing business in the UK from an intersectional perspective. By exploring the often neglected intersection of masculinity, ethnicity and enterprise, this study broadens the perceived narrow application of intersectionality to consider the role of intersectionality in the hegemonic discourse of entrepreneurship.

3.3 Intersectional Ethnic and Entrepreneurial Identities

Just as in the general domain of entrepreneurship, identity is becoming an important part of theoretical debate in the field of ethnic minority and migrant entrepreneurship.

Researchers are now beginning to account for the important role identity and multiple dimensions of identity play in the analysis of social construct. While few studies have used intersectionality as a theoretical approach in the field of entrepreneurship, intersectionality is gradually gaining traction among entrepreneurship scholars. This may be due to the obvious lack of theory in this field of entrepreneurship (Aliaga-Isla and Rialp, 2013; Ram et al., 2017), or the increase in feminist awareness such as the "me too movement". Also, researchers are now more open to engage with the socio-cultural dimensions of entrepreneurship as a way of creating a community of difference in entrepreneurship scholarship (Gartner, 2013).

In extending research in this field to accommodate other multiple forms of social identities among ethnic minority entrepreneurs such as class, gender and race which cannot be explained by mixed embeddedness; scholars have turned to intersectionality to make meaning of the highly stratified social structure in which immigrants are embedded (Wang and Warn, 2017; Romero and Valdez, 2016). An intersectional approach to ethnic minority and migrant entrepreneurship offers a useful perspective on the role of identity and shows how power relations are constructed in an enterprise. It provides an explanation of how different interdependent variables in structure and agency affect entrepreneurial pursuit among immigrants (Romero and Valdez, 2016). The complexity of how multiple identities inform entrepreneurial action and outcome is often generalised among diverse groups of ethnic minority entrepreneurs. Intersectional approach exposes this structural inequality in the understanding of immigrants entrepreneurial activities. Browne and Misra (2003) argue that a "unidimensional understanding of inequality thus breakdown with an intersectional lens".

Prominent studies that have used intersectionality to explain entrepreneurial identities include: Wingfield and Taylor (2016) observe how black business owners use the counterframes of race and other intersectional identities to construct entrepreneurship for economic benefit and in fighting perceived inequality. Black people in America going into entrepreneurship to conceal their racial identity; fight social injustice and maximise economic potentials. They argue about the significance of race in the

experience of African American entrepreneurs. Their work points to how racialized social structure embedded within America institutions frame entrepreneurial opportunities and outcomes among black entrepreneurs in America. Similarly, Beasley (2011) identifies how intersectional identities of race, class and gender force young African American into entrepreneurship. Harvey (2005) observes how the intersection of race and class among black women influence their entrepreneurial decision. How these working class black women negotiate their ethnic identities and resources to become entrepreneurs, suggesting that entrepreneurship among black women is a developmental process starting with some form of apprenticeship.

Valdez (2016) shows how class and gender shape entrepreneurial resources among middle class Mexican entrepreneurs. She identifies that difference in gender and social class dynamics conditions access to resources, which subsequently impact on the type of entrepreneurial venture immigrants undertake. A similar study, using Latino/a shows how social identities of race and gender interact with social class to shape the business ownership experience and access to capital (Vallejo and Canizales, 2016). Barrett and Vershinina (2017) use the Bourdieu concept of habitus to observe the intersectionality of ethnic and entrepreneurial identities among post-war Polish business owners in Leicester, England. They found that entrepreneurial identity is not bound by ethnic identity. Their accounts suggest the ambivalent nature of identity, where both positive and negative feelings of identity overlap. Although proud of their Polish origin, and how it has fuelled their achievement; they are concern about how Polish identity in the UK has become a liability and an attraction for discrimination. There is a mutual adaptation at the point of intersection where ethnic and entrepreneurial identities fuse and change over time during enterprise development. Their study further confirms how entrepreneurship among immigrants cannot be understood through a unidimensional approach based on their ethnic identity. Martinez Dy et al (2017) explore digital entrepreneurship among women from an intersectional perspective. They found that offline disadvantages and inequalities are reproduced in the online digital space. Their finding unsettles the idea that technology is neutral in the construction of identity and the reproduction of inequality.

This chapter has taken a critical approach to the concept of intersectionality. It has provided justification to why intersectionality is a suitable theoretical lens for this research. The next chapter will explore review the literature on entrepreneurial identity. It will consider what constitutes entrepreneurial identity and why entrepreneurial identity is a site for the construction of intersectional identity.

Chapter 4. Entrepreneurial Identity

This chapter begins by looking at 'who' an entrepreneur is and 'what' constitutes an entrepreneurial identity. Taking a critical approach to the discourse of entrepreneurship, I explore entrepreneurial identity in relation to hegemonic identity and intersectional identity. I reviewed the burgeoning literature on entrepreneurial identity and argued that entrepreneurial identity is itself an intersectional identity.

4.1 What is Entrepreneurship?

What is entrepreneurship and who is an entrepreneur? These are two of the most important questions in the field of entrepreneurship. As basic and simple as they seem, they are quite complex to unpack. Entrepreneurship scholars have diverse views and opinions on these two questions. Defining entrepreneurship is notoriously problematic (Busenitz et al., 2003) that entrepreneurship scholars have agreed there is no universal definition (Gartner, 1990). What is entrepreneurship has evolved over time from simply creating value (Say, 1971), creative destruction (Schumpeter, 1942), opportunity and innovation (Drucker, 1985), continuous innovation and creativity (Kuratko, 2014), creation of organisations (Gartner, 1988), the discovery, creation and exploitation of opportunity (Venkataraman, 1997), pursuit of opportunity regardless of resources (Stevenson and Jarillo, 1990) to small business ownership (Walter and Heinrichs, 2015). Entrepreneurship has grown vastly both as a field of practice and as a buzzword that it can no longer be limited to a specific definition or be exclusively viewed as only a business context (McKenzie, Ugbah and Smothers, 2007).

According to Conger and York (2012), entrepreneurship is the expression of values and identity. Therefore, to understand entrepreneurial identity it is important to understand who an entrepreneur is. To answer this question, I analysed 21 definitions of the entrepreneur (see table 2) in order to understand who an entrepreneur is and what constitutes entrepreneurial identity. From my research and literature review, I realised that most scholars would rather define entrepreneurship than define the entrepreneur. On one hand, it may be that entrepreneurship is so important that who

an entrepreneur is becomes insignificant, or perhaps, Gartner (1988) was right, researchers should not just border on who the entrepreneur is. According to Gartner (1988), the question of who is an entrepreneur is a wrong question because it focuses on the personality and not the functionality of the entrepreneur. However, to remove the concept of identity from the entrepreneurship debate is to stifle debate and ignore the critical role identity plays in the entrepreneurial process. Likewise, Wellington and Zandvakili (2006: 616) sided with Gartner and observed that “the word entrepreneur has no meaning”. Contrarily, McKenzie, Ugbah and Smothers (2007) revisit the question of whether who an entrepreneur is, is still the wrong question and concludes that who an entrepreneur is, is no longer a wrong question and researchers should consider the entrepreneur as a unit of analysis. The next section contributes to the debate on the identity of the entrepreneur.

Table 2: An Analysis of Various Definitions of the Entrepreneur

Authors	**Definitions**	**Functional Analysis**	**Identity Analysis**
Wainer and Rubin (1969)	The entrepreneur in McClelland's scheme is "the man who organizes the firm (the business unit) and/or increases its productive capacity." (p. 178)	Entrepreneur organizes and increases firm productivity	The man
Say (1816)	The agent who unites all means of production and who finds in the value of the products . . . the reestablishment of the entire capital he employs, and the value of the wages, the interest and the rent which he pays, as well as the profits belonging to himself. (p. 28-29)	Entrepreneur creates value by combining factors of production	The agent
Palmer (1971)	…the entrepreneurial function involves primarily risk measurement and risk taking within a business organization. Furthermore, the successful entrepreneur is that individual who can correctly interpret the risk situation and then determine policies which will minimize the risk involved ... Thus, the individual who can correctly measure the risk situation, but is unable to minimize the risk, would not be defined as an entrepreneur. (p. 38)	Entrepreneur as a risk bearer	That individual
Liles (1974)	We have examined the entrepreneur who is involved in substantial ventures and have considered what we found in light of traditional thinking that he is a special type of individual-somehow an unusual and	N/A	Special type of individual. Uncommon man. A man apart

	uncommon man-a man apart. It probably is true that very successful entrepreneurs become men apart. But, at the beginning, when they make the decision to start an entrepreneurial career, they are in most respects very much like many other ambitious, striving individuals. (p. 14)		Men apart
Litzinger (1965)	The distinction is drawn between "entrepreneurs" who are goal and action oriented as contrasted "managers" who carry out policies and procedures in achieving the goals. . . Owners of mom and pop motels appear as the entrepreneurial type c: .... who have invested their own capital and operate a business (p. 268)	Differentiate between entrepreneur and a manager	N/A
Hull, Bosley, and Udell, (1980)	A person who organizes and manages a business undertaking assuming the risk for the sake of profit. For present purposes, this standard definition will be extended to include those individuals who purchase or inherit an existing business with the intention of (and effort toward) expanding it. (p. 11)	Entrepreneur organizes, manages and bears risk in business	A person
Scarboro ugh (2014)	One who creates a new business in the face of risk and uncertainty for the purpose of achieving profit and growth by identifying significant opportunities and assembling the necessary resources to capitalise on them (p. 20).	Entrepreneur creates a business through opportunity while taking risk	One
Shane (2008)	The typical American entrepreneur is a married white man in his forties who attended but did not complete college. He lives in a place like Des Moines or Tampa, where he was born and has lived much of his life. His new business is a low-tech endeavour, like a construction company, or an auto repair shop, in an industry where he had worked for years. The business that the typical entrepreneur has started is a sole proprietorship financed with $25,000 of his savings and maybe a bank loan that he guarantees personally. The typical entrepreneur has no plans to employ lots of people or to make lots of money. He just wants to earn a living and support his family. In short, the typical entrepreneur is your neighbour- he's the entrepreneur next door	Entrepreneur starts a new business	Married white man
Kuratko (2016, p.3)	Entrepreneurs are individuals who recognize opportunities where others see chaos contradiction, and confusion. They are aggressive catalysts for change within the marketplace (p. 3)	Entrepreneur as opportunity spotter	Individuals

Bull & Willard (1993)	Entrepreneur is the person who carries out new combinations, causing discontinuity. The role is completed when the function is completed. The person may be an employee with an existing organisation or may start a new venture. An investor per se only risks capital for a return (p. 186)	Entrepreneur as an innovator and disruptor	The person
Hartman (1959)	A distinction between manager and entrepreneur in terms of their relationship to formal authority in the industrial organization . . . The entrepreneur may justify his formal authority independently or he may describe it as delegated from others, notably from the stockholders. But within the organization he alone is the source of all formal authority. Management is defined residually as "not being the source of all authority." The borderline between the entrepreneur and the manager is thus relatively precise. (p. 450-451).	Entrepreneur as the legitimate source of formal authority in an organisation	N/A
Hornaday and Aboud (1971)	The “successful entrepreneur" was defined as a man or woman who started a business where there was none before, who had at least 8 employees and who had been established for at least 5 years. ...	Entrepreneur start a new business and manages employees	A man or woman
Howell (1972)	Entrepreneurship-the act of founding a new company where none existed before. Entrepreneur is the person and entrepreneurs are the small group of persons who are new company founders. The term is also used to indicate that the founders have some significant ownership stake in the business (they are not only employees) and that their intention is for the business to grow and prosper beyond the self-employment stage. (p. 1).	Entrepreneur as founder of a company	The person or group of persons
Brockhaus (1980)	… an entrepreneur is defined as a major owner and manager of a business venture not employed elsewhere. (p. 510	Entrepreneur manages a business	Owner and manager
Collins and Moore (1970)	… everyone is an entrepreneur only when he actually 'carries out new combinations,' and loses that character as soon as he has built up his business. (p. 10).	Entrepreneur carries out new combinations	Everyone
Stauss (1944)	This paper is an argument to advance the proposition that the firm is the entrepreneur.	N/A	The firm
Casson (1982)	Someone who specializes in taking judgemental decisions about the coordination of scarce resources (p. 23)	Entrepreneur as a decision maker of scarce resources	Someone

Begley and Boyd (1987)	A person who has founded his or her own enterprise (p. 100)	Entrepreneur as a founder	A person
Masters and Meier (1988)	major owner of a small business or the major owner and manager of a small business (p. 32)	Entrepreneur as owner and manager	N/A
Walter and Heinrichs (2015)	an individual independently owning and actively managing a business (p. 226)	Entrepreneur as owner and manager	An individual
Casson (1982)	We all of us know someone who is an entrepreneur. He may be a property developer, a small businessman, or just someone who knows how to "make a fast buck"' (p. 1).	Entrepreneur makes money	Someone He

Source: Compiled by me

4.2 Who is an Entrepreneur?

Are entrepreneurs unique individuals with special skills? Why do some individuals become entrepreneurs and others do not (who becomes an entrepreneur)? Are important questions scholars have to answer in their definition of an entrepreneur. Previous research has established that entrepreneurs are different from non-entrepreneurs (Palmer, 1971; Carland et al., 1984, De Carlo and Lyons, 1979; Carland et al., 1988). Some even went further to differentiate between entrepreneurs and small business owners (Carland et al., 1984). A distinction between the entrepreneurial self and non-entrepreneurial self is the difference between a risk-taker and a risk-averse individual. The process of becoming an entrepreneur is an important entrepreneurial discourse, as entrepreneurship is about *being, doing* and *becoming*. Gartner (1988) argues against the *being* part (which he called the trait approach) and embraced the *doing* part (he called this the behavioural approach) and concludes that the question: who is an entrepreneur? is a wrong question. Although this claim has been rejected by some researchers (Carland et al., 1988; McKenzie, Ugbah and Smothers, 2007), others have followed in this tradition. In an attempt to re-introduce the study of the entrepreneur into academic debates, the journal of Entrepreneurship Theory & Practice ran a special issue on *Finding the Entrepreneur in Entrepreneurship* in 1994. The guest editors led by William Gartner re-affirmed the importance of the

entrepreneur to the subject of entrepreneurship. Gartner et al (1994: 6) observe that "entrepreneurs can be identified on the basis of 'being' (e.g., in such positions as owner, founder, investor) and/or on the basis of 'behaving' (e.g., undertaking certain behaviours such as developing the venture's concept, acquiring resources, setting up business operations)".

The concept of *self* plays an important role in defining the entrepreneur. The identity of the entrepreneur may stem from self-identity or from other components of identity such as ideological inclinations, beliefs, behaviours, intentions or motivations. Entrepreneurial identity is developed through interaction with self and other components of identity. Identity influences how individuals perceive and practice entrepreneurship (Leitch and Harrison, 2016). For example, the kind of business started, how value is created, how business is structured and managed, what values are created, the scope of profit in business, sustainability measures, how opportunity is explored etc. are all being influenced by the identity of the entrepreneur. The more researchers focus on the role, functionality or behaviour of the entrepreneur, the further away we are, from grasping the identity of the entrepreneur. Giddens (1991: 54) affirms that "a person's identity is not to be found in behaviour, nor – important though this is – in the reactions of others, but in the capacity to keep a particular narrative going". From Gidden's perspective, the behaviour or what the entrepreneur does, such as creating an organisation, is not the identity of the entrepreneur. The behavioural approach to the subject of entrepreneurship makes the definition of who is an entrepreneur elusive. Thus, the identity of the entrepreneur is found in his (or her) entrepreneurial story. The entrepreneurial story helps to capture identity not as fixed and unchanging property but as a dynamic property that is being shaped and reshaped during the entrepreneurial process (Leitch and Harrison, 2016).

During my literature review, I analysed and reviewed some of the definitions of an entrepreneur (table 2) so as to establish the identity of the entrepreneur. My conclusion is similar to that of Gartner (1988) in his analysis of the definition of an entrepreneur from 32 authors, and to that of Kamineni (2002) in his literature review of "Who is an Entrepreneur?". Gartner observed that the majority of definitions of the entrepreneur

are rather vague, some scholars even shy away from giving any definition and there is no agreement on the definition of the entrepreneur. Kamineni (2002) research found that there is no conclusive definition of the entrepreneur. Just as defining entrepreneurship is complex and problematic, defining “who is an entrepreneur?” is also problematic. There is no universal or generally agreed definition of the entrepreneur. This may be because who an entrepreneur is, is strongly linked to the concept of identity, which itself is difficult to define. However, my analysis of existing definitions of an entrepreneur identifies two definitional approaches (i) the functionalist approach and (ii) the identity approach.

4.2.1 *The functionalist approach*

Many scholars adopted the functionalist approach as suggested by Gartner. Based on this approach, they defined the entrepreneur from purely a behavioural perspective (see table 2). For example, as the founder of a new venture (Begley and Boyd, 1987). This common approach in defining who the entrepreneur is, places emphasis on the entrepreneurial functions (roles and behaviour) and not on the identity of the entrepreneur. While the role of the entrepreneur might change during the entrepreneurial process, as the business goes through different phases of growth (Greiner, 1972; Churchill and Lewis, 1983), the identity of the entrepreneur might influence these changes or be influenced in the process. This suggests that the identity influences the behaviour, just as *being* comes before *doing*. By placing emphasis on the behavioural approach, researchers view the entrepreneur as part of the concept of entrepreneurship. For example, Stauss (1944) even asserts that the “firm is the entrepreneur”. By focusing on the functional approach, researchers fail to recognise the important role identity plays in business formation and development (Phillips et al., 2013). The functional approach does not give any distinguishing feature of the entrepreneur but relies on a specific entrepreneurial context to define the entrepreneur. The functional approach is quite useful because it offers a broader approach to the definition of the entrepreneur beyond a business context. Focussing on what the entrepreneur does, also gives researchers the theoretical room to critique the concept of entrepreneurship and extend it beyond the narrow focus of neo-classical theory. However, critical entrepreneurship scholars have decried the

functionalist nature of entrepreneurship for its essentialism and non-inclusivity as it favours the hegemonic and ideological narrative of the entrepreneur (Ogbor, 2000; Tedmanson and Essers, 2016).

4.2.2 *The identity approach*

We cannot remove identity from the definition of the entrepreneur. To successfully define the entrepreneur, identity must be given adequate attention. As argued by functionalist scholars, the identity of the entrepreneur cannot be limited to personality traits, such as the need for achievement, locus of control and risk-taking propensity (Kamineni, 2002; Thomas and Mueller, 2000). Identity is a multidimensional construct consisting of an individual's experience, beliefs, values, background and personality (Down and Giazitzoglu, 2014). From my analysis (table 2), the identity of the entrepreneur was characterised as "the man", "the agent", "that individual", "special type of individual", "a person", "one", "married white man", "the person", "a man or woman", "the firm" etc. This suggests that the identity of the entrepreneur is contextual and relates to the dominant role the entrepreneur plays within such contexts.

The construction and negotiation of the identity of the entrepreneur are in the presentation of self and narratives within an entrepreneurial context. Identity is a complicated and contested concept. It is so dynamic and subjective, that it is difficult for entrepreneurship researchers to capture it theoretically into the definition of the entrepreneur. I argue in this thesis that the focus should not be on the identity per se, but on the entrepreneurial identity of the entrepreneur in the context of the entrepreneurial process. The identity that an entrepreneur takes on within the entrepreneurial context is not a sum of his (or her) identity; it is "inherently relational" (Wendt 1992: 397) to the entrepreneurial activity and process. The identity of the entrepreneur is different from personal identity or his (or her) self-concept; the identity of the entrepreneur is the entrepreneurial identity. As pointed out by Wendt (1992) identity is role specific. Entrepreneurial identity is mutually constructed, it is interactive and it is the salience identity within an entrepreneurial context. Whether this (entrepreneurial) identity is unique to the entrepreneur or constructed for the purpose of entrepreneurship is a different debate. It is similar to questioning whether

entrepreneurs are born or made. However, what I try to establish is that entrepreneurial actors use their entrepreneurial identities to perform entrepreneurial tasks and that this identity is contextual and specific to the entrepreneurial task being performed.

So, who is the entrepreneur? Just as Howorth et al (2005: 38) argue that "entrepreneurs' identities were wrapped up with those of their organisation and they also found it difficult to separate what they are from what they do". I argue that the entrepreneur is an individual who utilises the identity narrative to perform an entrepreneurial role. The question of who is the entrepreneur, is a combination of both the entrepreneurial identity and the entrepreneurial behaviour. The entrepreneur cannot be defined outside of his or her entrepreneurial role and identity. The entrepreneurial role only does not define the entrepreneur, just as only the entrepreneurial identity does not define the entrepreneur. Figure 1 shows that both the entrepreneurial identity and the entrepreneurial role intersect to give expression to the identity of the entrepreneur.

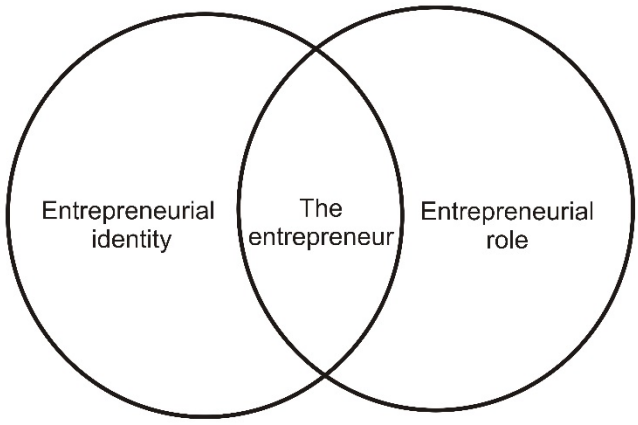


Figure 1:The Entrepreneur as an Intersection of Entrepreneurial Identity and Entrepreneurial Role

The identity approach to conceptualizing entrepreneurship does not only provide a useful theoretical perspective on entrepreneurial identity but also, helps to better understand the context and environment under which entrepreneurial actors engage

in enterprise. By engaging both the functionalist approach and the identity approach, entrepreneurship scholars may be able to eliminate certain ideological stereotypes and biases in the discourse of entrepreneurship.

In the next section, I will look at the entrepreneurial identity in more details and what constitutes the entrepreneurial identity. Specifically, I will seek to argue that entrepreneurial identity is an intersectional identity.

4. 3 Entrepreneurial Identity

Identity is a social phenomenon, which is constructed through the interaction of structure and agency. Gecas and Burke (1995: 42) describe identity as "who or what one is, to the various meanings attached to oneself by self and others." As a dynamic social construct, identity involves "negotiating the meanings of our experience of membership in social communities" (Wenger, 1998: 145). Entrepreneurial identity is based on the premise that entrepreneurs are 'special' individuals with unique talents and identities, which enhance their propensity to take risk and for creativity (Shepherd and Haynie 2009). After many years of silence on the identity debate, the scholarship of entrepreneurship is now gradually engaging with the question of identity. To act entrepreneurially, the entrepreneur needs a set of defined capabilities and identities that distinguish him or her from non-entrepreneurs (Obrecht, 2011). However, just like identity, entrepreneurial identity is a complex, dynamic and multidimensional phenomenon, and quite a problematic area in entrepreneurship study. Entrepreneurial identity is still in the "embryonic theory development" phase (Leitch and Harrison, 2016). Navis and Glynn (2011: 480) assert that "scarce attention has been paid to entrepreneurship as a site of identity creation and interpretation". The discourse of inclusion and diversity in management studies is re-introducing identity into enterprise creation and venturing. Attempts are now being made to define and theorise the concept of entrepreneurial identity, so as to make more nuanced meaning of entrepreneurship and the entrepreneur.

Early studies based the construction of entrepreneurial identity on the psychological traits of the entrepreneur such as creativity, autonomy, innovation, risk-taking, and desire for achievement as archetypical identity features of an entrepreneur (McClelland, 1987). This was further extended to include the identity of internal locus of control (Thomas and Mueller, 2000). However, the discourse of entrepreneurial identity in the literature has moved from a simplistic focus on the personality or behavioural attributes of an entrepreneur to a more nuanced analysis of social context and self-narration. For example, entrepreneurial identity has been portrayed with the use of visual symbols, oral representations, self-presentation, accent and other different forms of discursive practices (Clarke, 2011; Down and Warren, 2008). Although there is no agreed definition of entrepreneurial identity, however, there are floating definitions. Hoang and Gimeno (2015: 1) describe entrepreneurial identity as a "person's set of meanings, including attitudes and beliefs, attributes, and subjective evaluations of behaviour, that define him or herself in an entrepreneurial role". From an embodied perspective, Kasperova and Kitching (2014: 443) conceptualise entrepreneurial identity as "a set of concerns emergent from the embodied practices of agents committed to new venture creation and management in relation to their natural, practical and social environments". Navis and Glynn (2011: 480) define it as "the constellation of claims around the founders, organization, and market opportunity of an entrepreneurial entity that gives meaning to questions of 'who we are' and 'what we do'". For an extensive review on entrepreneurial identity and its various definitions, see Down and Giazitzoglu (2014), and Greene and Bush (2018).

Entrepreneurial identity is an affiliative construct used in the context of entrepreneurial function or role. It is a subset of individual identity. It is a micro identity within a bundle of identity (Shepherd and Haynie, 2009; Newbery et al., 2019). Studies have found that entrepreneurial identity is constructed through stories and narratives (Down and Warren, 2008; Foss, 2004). Stories and narratives do not only play an important role in the construction of entrepreneurial identity but also very significant in identifying salient identities that constitute an individual entrepreneurial identity. Clarke and Holt (2017) show that entrepreneurial identity can be constructed through metaphor and imagery. Anderson et al (2018) observe the significance of place and context in entrepreneurial identity. They show that alongside economic processes, both social

and spatial processes are important factors in entrepreneurial identity. Clarke (2011) identified how entrepreneurs use setting (office furniture and interior and exterior decorations) and dress to convey professional identity. The construction of identity is also reflected in the use of clichés and discursive practices, to project entrepreneurial identity (Down and Warren, 2008). Zhang and Chun (2018) identify the three stages in the development of migrants' entrepreneurial identity as identity exploration, building an entrepreneurial mindset and narrative development. Their research shows how migrant entrepreneurs demonstrate agency as they change identity during the entrepreneurial process. Bjursell and Melin (2011) identify the construction of entrepreneurial identity to be both complementary and contradictory. It is a mixture of reactive and proactive plots among women in a Swedish family business.

The entrepreneurial identity of black entrepreneurs may be influenced by their racial identity (Gold, 2016). The entrepreneurial identity is often associated with processes of identity formation and identity work (Leitch and Harrison, 2016). Identity work has been described as practices and strategies individuals and organisations employ in crafting and constructing a coherent concept of self (Brown, 2015). Research along this line has identified how identity work is performed by individuals as they negotiate their intersectional identities (Corlett and Mavin, 2014). For example, Watson (2009) observes the importance of identity work in enacting entrepreneurial identity within a rapidly changing family business. These studies suggest that entrepreneurial identity is best understood through the performance and enactment of identity work (Leitch and Harrison, 2016; Watson, 2009). The concept of identity work in relation to entrepreneurial identity is even more important for non-white entrepreneurs as they negotiate their intersectional identities during entrepreneurship and venture creation.

Mathias and Williams (2017) observe that entrepreneurial identity plays a strategic role in how entrepreneurs select and identify opportunities. Fauchart and Gruber (2011) assert that entrepreneurial identity shapes and influences venture formation and growth strategy. Navis and Glynn (2011) show the significance of entrepreneurial identity in a business venture as a source of legitimacy and distinctiveness. They observe that entrepreneurial identity is more prominent under pressure and conditions

of high uncertainty in their study on how immigrants developed entrepreneurial identity. They conclude that entrepreneurial identity is a source of entrepreneurial legitimacy. Although studies have established that nascent ventures require legitimacy for growth and success (Delmar and Shane, 2004; De Clercq and Voronov, 2009; Dobrev and Gotsopoulos, 2010; Middleton, 2013), entrepreneurs also require legitimacy to achieve success, increase competitive advantage and attract resources (Lounsbury and Glynn, 2001). However, entrepreneurship research has focussed on the construction of legitimacy by classical Schumpeterian entrepreneurs. Legitimacy is especially important for non-normative and unconventional entrepreneurs to navigate the entrepreneurial process. Ethnic minority and migrant entrepreneurs require legitimacy to provide their entrepreneurial offerings to the mainstream market. How entrepreneurial identity and ethnic identity facilitate or constrain entrepreneurial legitimacy for unconventional, non-hegemonic and unassuming entrepreneurs is hugely unexplored in the scholarship of minority entrepreneurship. Swail and Marlow (2018) have identified that women entrepreneurs tend to embrace masculine identity in their pursuit of entrepreneurial legitimacy. Similarly, Lewis (2013) found that feminised entrepreneurial identity is contradictory in nature as women business owners search for authenticity as entrepreneurs. Legitimacy and the sense of belonging in entrepreneurship are performed and negotiated through different coping strategies and practices (Stead, 2017; Middleton, 2013).

In an attempt to theorise entrepreneurial identity, scholars have majorly used identity theory including social identity theory and role identity theory (Mathias and Williams, 2017). Social groups shape entrepreneurial identities (Tajfel and Turner, 2004). Apart from using social identity theory to explain entrepreneurial identity, social identity has also been used to explain entrepreneurial behaviour (de la Cruz et al., 2018) and entrepreneurial self-efficacy (Brändle et al., 2018). Jones et al (2008) refer to entrepreneurial identity among social-activist entrepreneurs as social entrepreneurial identity, suggesting that an entrepreneur identity is role specific. Role identity theory focuses on “the differences in perceptions and actions that accompany a role (Mathias and Williams, 2017: 894). Role identity theory has been used to show how individuals become entrepreneurs and the different role entrepreneurs take on during venturing (Hoang and Gimeno, 2010; Fauchart and Gruber, 2011). Bell et al (2019) used both

social identity theory and role identity theory to examine entrepreneurial identity in different contexts and differentiate between entrepreneur-as-role" and "self-as-entrepreneur".

Donnellon et al (2014) identify that socialisation and collectivity play a critical role in the construction of entrepreneurial identity. Waldinger et al (1990) suggest that socialisation is a significant part of immigrants' entrepreneurial identity formation. Through socialisation, new migrants learn new and acceptable norms, adjust behavioural patterns, take on new accent and language, and cultivate other appropriate social skills. Identity construction through socialisation may take place within the ethnic community and outside of the ethnic enclave (Wakil et al., 1981; Dong et al., 2006). This may result in a blend of cultures, which promotes venturing and entrepreneurship for enterprising migrants (Dong, 1995). Also, Obschonka et al (2012) observe how social communities (e.g. ethnic groups) influence entrepreneurial intention and identity. Similarly, Falck et al (2010) argue that entrepreneurial identity is a direct result of an individual's socialisation. The idea that entrepreneurial social group impact on an individual entrepreneurial intention and consequently entrepreneurial identity suggests that immigrants' entrepreneurial identities may come from 'identification with' (Gecas and Burke, 1995) social norms within the immigrant ethnic community. While socialisation and collectivity are important identity markers among immigrants, they fail to accommodate individual agency and variations due to education, class, and other forms of human and economic capitals. This idea also assumes that identity is fixed and not dynamic across ethnic groups, but as a dynamic construct, the intersection of ethnic and entrepreneurial identity is influenced by multiple factors within the domain of the immigrant entrepreneur.

In a dramaturgical performance of how entrepreneurial identity is displayed at a social gathering in a local entrepreneurial fraternity (*The Magpie*), Giazitzoglu and Down (2017) show how white male entrepreneurs perform entrepreneurial masculinity. This ethnographic account reveals the construction of hegemonic identities and how entrepreneurial masculinity is performed. These men use of hierarchical structures and respectable persona of self, encapsulate their entrepreneurial identity. Although

many of these white male entrepreneurs are engaged in low-value businesses similar to those of ethnic entrepreneurs, their entrepreneurial identity was not defined by their entrepreneurial activity as most scholars suggest for ethnic entrepreneurs. The hegemonic tendency observed in conventional urban white male entrepreneurs (Ogbor, 2000; Shane, 2008) was also observed in these local white male entrepreneurs. This calls to question the significance of ethnicity in entrepreneurial activities, and in this context, the entrepreneurial activities of immigrants. It raises the question as to whether the hegemonic tendency observed in this white male entrepreneur is also observable in black male entrepreneurs. It is unclear as to what extent immigrants see and experience their identities as entrepreneurs and ethnic minorities as congruent and how they balance and negotiate these intersectional identities in entrepreneurial activities. Although, a study by Barrett and Vershinina (2017) on Polish entrepreneurs in Leicester looked at intersectional ethnic and entrepreneurial identities, and establish the salience of entrepreneurial identity over ethnic identity. However, these Polish entrepreneurs possess similar hegemonic attributes observed in white males.

The role migration plays in the development of the entrepreneurial identity of migrant entrepreneurs has received little attention in the literature. Recent research in this direction shows the application of superdiversity as a useful concept in exploring entrepreneurial opportunity and accessing new markets (Yamamura and Lassalle, 2019). However, previous studies have focused on block mobility in the labour market, discrimination of opportunity and cultural factors to explain why migrants venture into entrepreneurship (Portes, 1995; Ram and Carter, 2003). Ethnic minority entrepreneurship is hugely defined based on the ethnic identity and origin of the owner. Researchers have focused on ethnic identity and neglected the entrepreneurial identity of minority groups. Thomas and Mueller (2000) observe that ethnic minority and migrant entrepreneurs may show different entrepreneurial traits from those of conventional entrepreneurs, thereby suggesting that ethnic minority entrepreneurs are non-conventional entrepreneurs. This ethnocentric view of entrepreneurship seems to suggest that women and ethnic minorities need to change their identity to succeed as entrepreneurs. This may account for why there are few studies on gender and ethnic entrepreneurial identities. Recent studies in this area show how entrepreneurs with

multiple identities have to silence one identity and make apparent the other to negotiate social structures. One study observes how female entrepreneurs often jettison their entrepreneurial identity and take on their female identity to seek acceptance and appeal to potential markets (Nadin, 2007). Another related study identifies how ethnic minority female entrepreneurs from the Netherlands have to negotiate different social identities to establish their entrepreneurial activity (Essers and Benschops, 2007). The normative identity in entrepreneurship (a typical Schumpeterian entrepreneur) is that of white masculinity. Other identities apart from this will have to negotiate for legitimacy, and this often comes with a price. Attesting to this, Ogbor (2000: 608) argues that the entrepreneurial "discourse has delineated a certain space that privileges the dominance of the Western male mentality in Western discourse". Swail and Marlow (2018) observe that female entrepreneurs have to embrace the masculine and attenuate the feminine as they seek entrepreneurial legitimacy. This is often a conflicting process as they negotiate between feminine identities and prototypical identity. The case of black entrepreneurs is even more precarious as they struggle with stigmatised identity (Solanke, 2018; Goffman, 2009).

The question of identity, which borders around *being, doing* and *becoming,* is a complex phenomenon to unpack. Entrepreneurial identity is discursively constructed between *being, doing* and *becoming* (Bredvold, 2011). As such, there are dormant potentials and identity traits which individuals are yet to explore. Some of these potentials and identities are activated during "conditions of high uncertainty and ambiguity" (Navis and Glynn, 2011: 480). The fact that someone has not ventured into entrepreneurship yet, does not mean that individual lack entrepreneurial identity; just as individuals who are temporarily or permanently off business do not lose their entrepreneurial identity. It may mean that the entrepreneurial identity is not operational yet or temporarily passive. For example, some employees become entrepreneurs after lay off or recession. Studies (e.g. Figueroa-Armijos et al., 2012) already suggest the propensity for individuals venturing into entrepreneurship during an economic recession. Entrepreneurial identity becomes activated during an economic emergency whether it is individual, national or global. This may be due to internal or external force driving the individual, and, either pulling or pushing the potential entrepreneur towards entrepreneurship. As such, the potential entrepreneur activates his or her

entrepreneurial identity through a combination of internal and external factors, including values and identities. These interactions significantly affect and influence the type of entrepreneur they become, their entrepreneurial role and their entrepreneurial identity.

Entrepreneurial identity is not predetermined but emergent and dynamic (Zhang and Chun, 2018). An employee can activate his entrepreneurial identity to become an entrepreneur; an entrepreneur can reconstruct and adapt his entrepreneurial identity to become a manager or project this identity as an investor (Mathias and Williams, 2017). For example, Zhang and Chun (2018) found that migrants who had no previous business ownership experience and had never thought about starting a business were pushed into entrepreneurship in the host country. These migrants had to construct their entrepreneurial identities from their experiences as professional skilled workers, who chose to become entrepreneurs. Entrepreneurial identity emerges through an on-going interaction between inner and outer environments, in consideration of resources and available capital. As observed by Bredvold (2011: 3) “an entrepreneur is not something one *is* but something one *becomes*”. Morris, Pryor and Schindehutte (2012) also suggest that an individual does not start as an entrepreneur but *becomes* an entrepreneur by venturing into entrepreneurship. In their book *Entrepreneurship as experience* they argue that while entrepreneurs create ventures, venture experiences also create entrepreneurs. As entrepreneurs create ventures, their entrepreneurial identities emerged which in turn shape the entrepreneur and the venture.

The *activation*, *construction* and *identification* of entrepreneurial identity are important areas of engaging with the concept of entrepreneurial identity. At present, scholars have only focused on the construction of entrepreneurial identity. Activation suggests a way of making active otherwise passive identities within the repertoire of the potential entrepreneur. On the other hand, identity construction deals with building and development of activated identities. While identification gives information on types of identities at work in a particular entrepreneurial context or during an entrepreneurial process. Since identity is dynamic, it means a typical entrepreneur could employ and deploy different entrepreneurial identities in different entrepreneurial contexts. In this

sense, entrepreneurial identity thus becomes a resource that can be constructed, reconstructed and combined in various ways making the entrepreneur more resourceful and more entrepreneurial.

It is my view that this knowledge will give us a better understanding of who the entrepreneur is, and consequently enrich our understanding of the concept of entrepreneurship. As I round-up this section of the thesis, it is important to say that there are many perspectives to what entrepreneurial identity is. The role it plays in different entrepreneurs and business contexts, and factors that determine the interplay of identity in a given entrepreneurial activity. I, therefore, conclude by defining entrepreneurial identity as an aggregate of salient identities performed by the entrepreneur during the entrepreneurial process. It is constructed and conveyed through stories, narratives, images, metaphors, clichés and visual symbols. These stories and narratives are then enacted through processes of identity work as the entrepreneur seeks to project a coherent identity of self. Thus, entrepreneurs at the intersection of social categories like black migrants entrepreneurs can identity work to negotiate their entrepreneurial identity.

4.4 What Constitute Entrepreneurial Identity?

Entrepreneurial Identity as an Intersectional Identity?

Entrepreneurial identity is part of the various multiple identities of an entrepreneur. It is part of the total identity mix of an entrepreneur. It does not exist or stand alone, it is influencing and being influenced by other sets of identities. In this section of the thesis, I attempt to identify what constitutes entrepreneurial identity and more importantly, argue that entrepreneurial identity can be an intersectional site of identity negotiation.

As a site of identity negotiation, I mean that the entrepreneurial identity is a space and a nexus where the different identities within the repository of the entrepreneur seek expression, in such a way that the dominant identity becomes the salient part of the entrepreneurial identity. Apart from being a composite of multiple identities,

entrepreneurial identity is also an intersectional identity. It consists of multiple intersecting identities competing for expression within the entrepreneurial context. It includes identity factors such as ethnicity, race, age, gender, sexuality, age, class etc. these are intersecting identities that shape the entrepreneurial identity. As entrepreneurial identity does not exist alone, it evolves and changes as it constantly interacts with other intersecting identities (Chasserio et al., 2014). Entrepreneurs draw upon varying intersectional identities in the construction of their entrepreneurial identity.

To demonstrate that entrepreneurial identity is an intersectional identity, I draw on a few examples from the literature. In his Americanised version of the entrepreneur, Shane (2008: 4) defines the entrepreneur as follows:

> The typical American entrepreneur is a married white man in his forties who attended but did not complete college. He lives in a place like Des Moines or Tampa, where he was born and has lived much of his life. His new business is a low-tech endeavour, like a construction company, or an auto repair shop, in an industry where he had worked for years. The business that the typical entrepreneur has started is a sole proprietorship financed with $25,000 of his savings and maybe a bank loan that he guarantees personally. The typical entrepreneur has no plans to employ lots of people or to make lots of money. He just wants to earn a living and support his family. In short, the typical entrepreneur is your neighbour- he's the entrepreneur next door

This definition shows the interplay of multiple and intersecting identities in the construction of entrepreneurial identity. The typical American entrepreneur is a *married white man* (sexuality, race, ethnicity, masculinity, gender) … *in his forties* (age) …*did not complete college* (education)…. *lives in a place like Des Moines or Tampa* (social class)…*support his family* (family status). A surface analysis of the typical entrepreneur shows intersecting identities such as race, ethnicity, sexuality, gender, age, social class and family status. These intersecting identities inform the entrepreneurial identity of the typical entrepreneur. In *Enterprising Identities*, Essers and Benschop (2007) show how the entrepreneurial identity of female entrepreneurs of Moroccan and Turkish descent in the Netherlands are shaped by gender, ethnicity, migration and religion. Giazitzoglu and Down (2017) later extend this debate to show

the relationships between masculinity, hegemony and entrepreneurial identity. A performance of entrepreneurial identity in a socially constructed way shows how gender, class, entrepreneurship and identity culturally intersect for a group of white business men. Thus indicating that multiple dimensions of identity available to individuals shape their entrepreneurial venturing differently than those of others with different identity compositions. There is now a growing body of literature challenging the dominant white male archetype in the discourse of entrepreneurship (Ahl and Marlow, 2012; Essers, 2009; Ogbor, 2000; Tedmanson et al., 2012; Verduijn and Essers, 2013).

By referring to entrepreneurial identity as an intersectional identity, I mean, within the entrepreneurial identity is embedded multiple positions of disadvantages and inequalities, as well as opportunities and privileges. These intersectional sites within the entrepreneurial identity are potential sources of exploitation for entrepreneurial ventures. The way the market is organised can also privilege certain entrepreneurial actions and individuals due to structural and systemic impediments. Therefore, to succeed in entrepreneurial venture goes beyond entrepreneurial trait (such as passion and creativity) but largely due to intersectional identity within the entrepreneurial identity. For example, the business environment during apartheid and post-apartheid in South Africa has privileged the white and disadvantaged the black (Preisendörfer et al., 2012). Besides, research shows how venture capitalists are more likely to fund white males over minorities and women (Kaufman, 2014). Intersectional sites of advantages and disadvantages that are embedded within the society are also reflected in the entrepreneurial identity of the entrepreneur, as social identity plays a critical part in the construction of entrepreneurial identity (Obschonka et al., 2012). Racial, class, sexual, religious and ethnic identity are sites of negotiation and contestation, which endear entrepreneurial identity as intersectional identity.

Besides, identity can be commoditised through what Leong (2013: 2152) describes as racial capitalism. Racial capitalism is the “process of deriving social and economic value from the racial identity of another person”. Those who are consciously aware of their hegemonic and privilege entrepreneurial identity may use it to further their

business interest or engage in racial capitalism (Leong, 2016). On the other hand, those who are aware of their disadvantaged backgrounds may use their entrepreneurial identity to fight for social justice by creating organisations that address social inequality. Similarly, there may be those with hegemonic and masculine entrepreneurial identity who chose to use it to support the less privileged and vulnerable minorities. The point is, all entrepreneurs do not have the same entrepreneurial identity. They may have similar personality traits such as passion and risk-taking; however, other factors within their lives will shape their entrepreneurial identity differently. An entrepreneurial identity that is significantly influenced by religion (e.g. Islam) may be limited and not find full expression in a predominantly Christian community. The same may apply to an entrepreneurial identity that is constructed and influenced by the experiences of racism and homophobia. Enterprise can be constructed on inherent privilege or disadvantage, in a bad or good way. Leong (2016) refers to the entrepreneurs who "leverages his or her identity as a means of deriving social or economic value" as identity entrepreneur. A dysfunctional entrepreneurial identity will exploit vulnerable and disadvantaged groups for economic benefits. Identity is becoming more important in the entrepreneurial discourse, as society is becoming more ideological driven about race, ethnicity, religion, sexuality, politics and (neo)liberalism. The multiple dimensions of identity of the entrepreneur will play a critical role in determining his or her aggregate entrepreneurial identity, and how it is deployed in an entrepreneurial venture will depend on its salient components.

So what constitutes entrepreneurial identity? In figure 2, I show the various composite constituents of entrepreneurial identity. The entrepreneurial identity of an entrepreneur may include their cultural identity, social identity, religious identity, ethnic identity, personal identity, class identity, sexual identity, self, concept, values and ideologies. While certain identities are predominant at a given time and context, however, the multiple identities at the disposal of the entrepreneur influence the entrepreneurial identity and shape the enterprise formation and development. Because certain identities among these aggregate of identities are sites of privilege or disadvantage as the case may be. If certain identities, which are sources of disadvantage to the entrepreneur become salient within the repertoire of entrepreneurial identity, the

entrepreneurial identity may, therefore, becomes an intersectional site of identity negotiation and shape the business venturing and the entrepreneurial process.

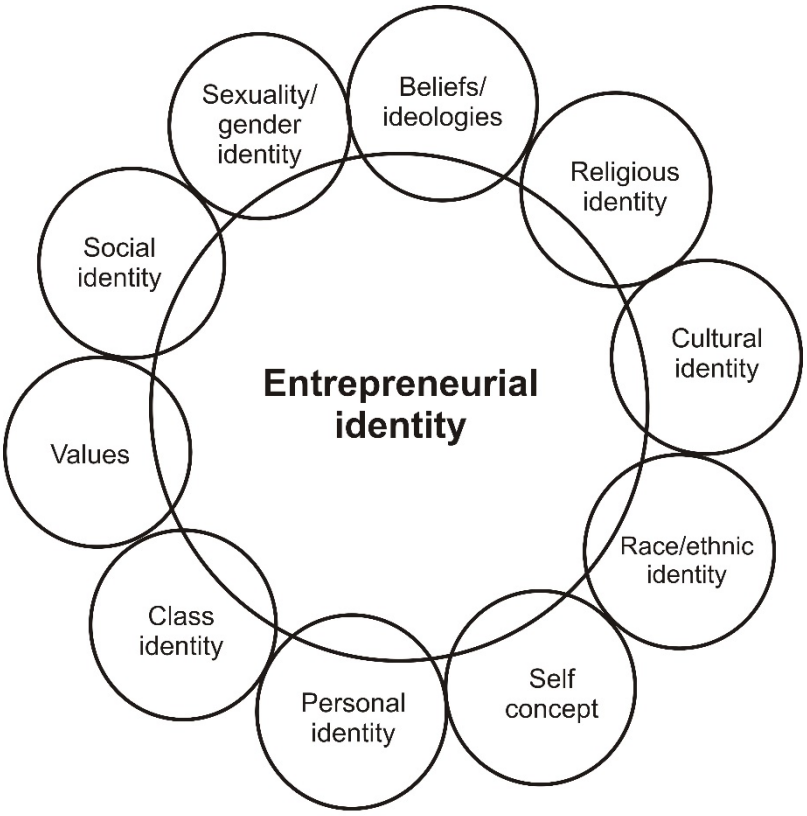


Figure 2: Constituents of Entrepreneurial Identity

4.5 Hegemonic Masculinity and Femininity

Hegemony as used in this thesis, describes the dominance of whiteness and maleness in entrepreneurial discourse. Recently, scholars have started questioning and challenging the dominant assumptions, ideologies, grand narratives and structural constraints embedded in the study of entrepreneurship (Tedmanson et al., 2012). One of the several assumptions being challenged and questioned is the male archetype and stereotypes of entrepreneurship. Classic literature of entrepreneurship tends to portray entrepreneurship as a male experience (Hamilton, 2013). Several studies have also portrayed the entrepreneur as a heroic figurehead with some special masculine qualities (Johnsen and Sørensen, 2017; Williams and Nadin, 2013). Yet, some researchers think the exclusion of certain actors from entrepreneurial discourse shows

how discriminatory, ideological and hegemonic entrepreneurship study is (Ogbor, 2000; Verduijn and Essers, 2013). However, the majority of studies demanding for more inclusion in entrepreneurship study are feminist studies. There is now burgeoning research on female entrepreneurship, in an attempt to deconstruct entrepreneurship from inherent masculinity tendency and gendered normative practices. This emerging area of research in entrepreneurship focuses on feminist theories, practices and methodologies.

Yet, what is not being discussed and included in these discourses is black male entrepreneurs. The assumption that masculinity and whiteness are synonymous, have resulted in black male entrepreneurs being under-researched in critical entrepreneurship studies, especially among European scholars. However, hegemonic masculinity does not represent black masculinity (Wesley, 2015). The representation and reproduction of masculinity in the field of entrepreneurship are that of white masculinity. An over generalisation of masculinity means the experiences and voices of black male entrepreneurs are often neglected. Although this research explores the experiences of both male and female black African entrepreneurs, it is important to identify that black males are being ignored in entrepreneurial discourse because of their perceived hegemonic masculinity. Just like women and other minority groups, black male entrepreneurs also suffer exclusion and stigmatisation. However, how black African male entrepreneurs respond to the problematisation of their identity is a question that has received little or no attention in the entrepreneurial discourse in Britain.

Specifically, for black migrant men engage in entrepreneurship, they have to negotiate their intersectional, non-hegemonic identity. The stigma of being black in a predominantly white society (Solanke, 2018), may cause them to ‘perform’ entrepreneurship in a way that is congruent with their identity construction. A presentation of weak masculinity or lack of hegemonic masculinity may impair their performance as entrepreneurs (Giazitzoglu and Down, 2017). According to Conston and Kimmel (2012), statuses that marginalise masculinity include class, race, gender and sexuality.

Hegemonic masculinity refer to the “socially preferred and dominant style of masculinity that exists in a given space and time” (Giazitzoglu and Down, 2017: 42). Jewkes and Morrell (2012: 40) describe hegemonic masculinity as:

> a set of values, established by men in power that functions to include and exclude, and to organize society in gender unequal ways. It combines several features: a hierarchy of masculinities, differential access among men to power (over women and other men), and the interplay between men’s identity, men’s ideals, interactions, power, and patriarchy.

The normative notion of how ‘real’ men are supposed to perform masculinity and fraternise in an entrepreneurial community exclude certain groups of men and disenfranchise others from opportunity (Giazitzoglu and Down, 2017). Hegemonic masculinity excludes black male and other non-white men (Wesley, 2015). It is built on the structural system of oppression in which certain group of men, mostly white men seek to control, dominate and subjugate other social groups including women and non-white men (Donaldson, 1993). It is a power relationship that does not only marginalise certain men but also frame the narratives of entrepreneurial discussion to perpetuate inequality and poverty. Those with hegemonic power (e.g. white, heterosexual, middle-class males) use it to legitimise their identity and reproduce inequality in a dysfunctional system (Kimmel and Ferber, 2000). The construction of black males by the media as aggressive and promiscuous are strategic ways of weakening their masculinity and perpetuating hegemonic masculinity (Collins, 2004). Even among white males, those from working-class background do not possess the hegemonic traits observed in their middle-class counterparts (Giazitzoglu, 2014). Hegemonic masculinity is difficult to emulate and replicate, as those with power and privilege tend to prevent others from access by protecting their privilege and “doing difference” to continue to reproduce established social structure (West and Fenstermaker, 1995). This is reported in how the *Changers* observed by Giazitzoglu (2014) endure tension and anxiety as they manage to appear middle-class.

Messerschmidt (2012) suggests a distinction between hegemonic masculinity and non-hegemonic forms of masculinity. Non-hegemonic masculinity in entrepreneurial discourse is not only under-researched but also under-theorised. According to Messerschmidt (2012: 73) “to conceptualize fully hegemonic masculinities, then, scholars must unravel dominant, dominating, and other types of non-hegemonic masculinities from hegemonic masculinity”. To unpack how the hegemonic and non-hegemonic identities intersect for men, Christensen and Jensen (2014) suggest researchers should use intersectionality as a theoretical lens. Conston and Kimmel (2012) identify three strategies marginalised men used to reduce, resist and neutralise stigmatised masculinity- namely: minstrelization (act like a minstrel and over-conform to stereotypes of the dominant group); normification (exaggerating the similarities and downplaying the differences) and militant chauvinism (turn the tables on dominant group by maximizing differences). Black men often result to overcompensation to reduce their marginalised masculinity (Wesley, 2015). However, how this is played out in an entrepreneurial setting is under-explored. I, therefore, extend the debate by showing how entrepreneurial black men balance and negotiate between hegemonic and non-hegemonic identities.

The construction and enactment of hegemony are both gendered and dynamic (Conston and Kimmel, 2012). Hegemony is not exclusive to men as Connell (1987, 1995) suggested. According hegemony to only men is a denial of the privileged position of dominance occupied and perpetuated by some women. Hegemonic femininity is active just as hegemonic masculinity; and “rather than being opposites, may actually have a considerable number of characteristics in common” (Paechter, 2018: 127). The Gramscian conceptualisation of hegemonic femininity shows that the culturally normative form of femininity can legitimise and protect the interests of the dominant group while marginalising the claims of minority groups (Gramsci, 1971). Karupiah (2016: 114) describes hegemonic femininity as a “form of femininity that holds ascendancy when compared to other forms of femininity”. In the western context, hegemonic femininity may take the form of hegemonic masculinity, where socially constructed norms produce differential access to power and opportunity among women. Dominant women groups such as white women are socially preferred, while marginalised groups such as black women suffer exclusion and discrimination.

Challenging the dominant hegemonic discourse in entrepreneurship studies is not a call to replace hegemonic masculinity with other forms of hegemony or to embrace hegemonic femininity. Extending the boundaries of entrepreneurial discourse (Calás et al., 2009) should be that inclusive as to accommodate non-hegemonic intersectional identities and give voice to both marginalised masculinity and marginalised femininity. While the feminist perspective is gaining traction in entrepreneurship debate, there has been sparse inquiry into the experiences of black African women entrepreneurs.

4.6 Entrepreneurial Identity as Hegemonic Identity

In this section, I discuss how the discourse of entrepreneurial identity has been constructed as hegemonic identity; especially in relation to the concept of mainstreaming, ethnocentrism and how 'innovation' has been used as a tool to marginalise entrepreneurial activities of certain groups.

Entrepreneurial identity is often portrayed as a hegemonic identity in the literature. It is masculine, ethnocentric, heroic and functionalist in nature (Hamilton, 2013; Verduijn and Essers, 2013; Ogbor, 2000). In that sense, entrepreneurial identity is not just the salient identity in the entrepreneurial process, but an identity that has to be 'given' by the dominant group. Idealised entrepreneurial identity is socially constructed and given to marginalised entrepreneurs (Hechavarria and Ingram, 2016). It requires that the entrepreneur seek legitimacy to become a normative entrepreneur in the Schumpeterian sense. Gill (2014: 50) argues that the construction and performance of entrepreneurial identity are "ultimately shaped in ways that legitimize some entrepreneurs while marginalizing others". A neo-classic model of entrepreneurship (Schumpeter, 1942; Kirzer, 1979) attributes certain characteristics to the entrepreneur. According to this model, entrepreneurs are economic actors, who create value, innovate the market and exploit market opportunity through capital in exchange for economic benefits. Typically, they are Schumpeterian entrepreneurs. However, not all entrepreneurs fit this archetype. Minority groups especially migrants, women, black and ethnic minority entrepreneurs are not often included in this classical concept of entrepreneurship (Lassalle and McElwee, 2016).

The notion of mainstreaming entrepreneurial activity before it is considered 'normal' entrepreneurship only serves as a "tapestry for unexamined and contradictory assumptions and knowledge about the reality of entrepreneurs" (Ogbor, 2000: 605). In the real sense, the global economy is hugely connected and cannot be separated into mainstream, migrant and ethnic economies. The mainstream economy, migrant economy and ethnic economy are not mutually exclusive. The idea that some entrepreneurs are mainstream entrepreneurs while other are ethnic entrepreneurs furthers the discriminatory and hegemonic discourse of entrepreneurship (Korede, 2019). Werbner (2001) argues that the ethnic economy and the mainstream economy are symbiotic and interlinked. The 'labelling' of an economy as ethnic or migrant is not only discriminatory but perpetuate hegemonic discourse. The mainstreaming concept of entrepreneurship suggests that ethnic minority and migrant entrepreneurs can only succeed by breaking-out into the mainstream economy (Ensign and Robinson, 2011). By implication, migrant and ethnic entrepreneurs need to change their entrepreneurial identity to transition from the migrant economy to the mainstream economy. The reconstruction of entrepreneurial identity before it gains acceptance suggests that ethnic minority and migrant entrepreneurs are not legitimate entrepreneurs and need to embrace idealized hegemonic identity to succeed as entrepreneurs.

Innovation has been described as the creation and implementation of new ideas and creative solutions (Kuratko, 2014). Especially neoclassical theorists have constructed innovation as the hallmark of entrepreneurialism. This essentialist view seems to suggest that innovation, value creation and risk-taking are exclusive to a certain group of entrepreneurs. To explain why certain entrepreneurs are different from others, researchers have come up with different reasons and arguments to substantiate their claims. For example, some people have argued that an entrepreneur is different from a business owner (Carland et al., 1984). To them, entrepreneurs disrupt the market through innovation and creativity while business owners are risk averse, limited and survival driven (Kruger, 2004). This is even more prominent in the field of ethnic and migrant entrepreneurship, where innovations within the migrant economies are often perceived as inferior, ethnic, and non-classical because of their origin (Ensign and

Robinson, 2011). The neo-classical model of entrepreneurship has been used to perpetuate inequality and further marginalised certain people by normalising the stereotypic notion of innovativeness in enterprise. The suggestion that entrepreneurial innovation is lacking among certain groups is illusive and far from reality. DeTienne and Chandler (2007) observed the role of gender in opportunity identification and found no difference in the innovativeness of opportunities. They conclude that while women and men explore opportunity differently, none of the processes is inherently superior. Similarly, in *Barefoot Entrepreneurs,* Imas et al (2012) study the "entrepreneurial practices and narratives of individuals who live primarily in marginal, poor and excluded places and contexts" (p. 563). Their findings encourage researchers to rethink not just the identity of the entrepreneur, but also the nature of innovation. The creativity and novelty observed among street entrepreneurs challenge the fixedness of capitalist hegemony in entrepreneurial discourse.

Entrepreneurship as a field of study is full of preconceptions and assumptions, especially in relation to ethnicity and identity (Rosa and Caulkins, 2013; Ogbor, 2000). The prevalence of western ideas of entrepreneurship and business success has forced African entrepreneurs to adopt westernised ideals of success in enterprise. This has resulted in capitalistic confusion with a huge propensity for profit and a departure from the spirit of *ubuntu* on which Africa enterprise was established (McDonald, 2010). Ethnocentric and essentialized ideals in entrepreneurship discourse may cause African migrants in Britain to struggle about business venturing. According to Baumann (2004: 12), "ethnocentrism is a belief that your cultural community or ancestry is superior to all others, resulting in dislike or hatred of any material, behavioural, or physical characteristics different than your own". The mainstream discussion of entrepreneurship tends to portray entrepreneurial identity with some form of white hegemonic personality absent in non-white people (Tedmanson and Essers, 2016). As such, any enterprising venture that is not of Western 'standard' is despised as non-entrepreneurial or less entrepreneurial (Ensign and Robinson, 2011). The entrepreneurial identity for black and ethnic minority entrepreneurs has to be reconstructed with significant identity work to fit the established socially constructed idealized prototypical identity of the entrepreneur. The ethnocentric notion of entrepreneurship seems to portray entrepreneurship as a western phenomenon and

suggest that women and ethnic minorities need to change their identity to succeed as entrepreneurs (Korede, 2019). The suggestion that migrants and ethnic minorities are backward in enterprise and not as smart as their white counterpart is prejudicial, undermines the discourse of entrepreneurship and a typical display of hegemony.

In conclusion, this chapter has explored the concept of entrepreneurial identity. In particular, it has discussed how identity is constructed, manifested and negotiated in the context of entrepreneurship. Rather than defining *what* is entrepreneurship, it has contributed to the discussion in the literature about *who* is the entrepreneur, by emphasizing that entrepreneurial identity is not a possession, but a construct that is enacted within an entrepreneurial space and context dependent. The next chapter will explore the concept of ethnicity, ethnic identity and race in the British context. It will attempt to bring clarity to how race and ethnicity are constructed in Britain, and answer the question: who is a black African in Britain?

Chapter 5. Ethnicity and Ethnic Identity

In this chapter, I review the literature on ethnicity, ethnic identity and race, especially as it relates to the black Africans. I differentiate between ethnicity and race, and why ethnic identity is used in this study rather than racial identity. Also, I discuss the theories of ethnicity and the complexity of self-identification for intersectional identities.

5.1 What is Ethnicity and Ethnic Identity?

Ethnicity is a contested concept in the sociology of identity. Arguably, ethnicity and race are considered the two most controversial concepts in social science (Vertelyte, 2015). Ethnicity can be both subjective and objective. It is subjective because it is a phenomenon based on the sentiments of the human mind and the social categorisation of people. At the same time, it can be objective because of certain ascriptive and ancestral features. Ethnicity as a social construct can be expressed in the forms of race, ancestry, appearance, regionality, nationality, cultural practices, language, religion and citizenship (Nagel, 1994; Ashcroft et al., 1998; Aspinall, 2009). The word ethnicity has evolved over time; from the Latin background *ethnicus* (meaning heathen or others), to its regular usage in English (where it was referred to someone who is neither Christian nor Jew) and to a more general and subjective usage in sociology, where it assumes complex meanings and interpretations (Cornell and Hartmann, 2007). Some claim the origin of “ethnicity” is from the Greek word “ethnos” which refers to band, tribe, race, or people (Baumann, 2004). The complexity around race and ethnicity is a tension between the understanding of identity and social stratification (Burton et al., 2008). Recent changes in global migration have reduced ethnicity to “Us” and “Them” phenomenon. Where the majority are viewed as the “Us” (or as mainstream and non-ethnic), and the minority and migrants are described as “Them” (or as ethnic).

Ethnicity, ethnic group and ethnic identity are simple but slippery words, which are often complex and extremely difficult to define. According to Horowitz (2013), ethnicity is difficult to define because of its uncertainty; what constitutes ethnic identity is open to debate and how people perceive themselves changes over time. In the literature,

though there were differences in definitions, there was a consensus around the 'common descent' proposed by Weber (1968) in his definition of ethnicity. However, subsequent sociological studies have moved away from a common origin to 'shared culture', where social and cultural characteristics were used as the basis for ethnic affiliations. Today, ethnicity has emerged as some form of shared commonalities with a distinctive set of claims (Cornell and Hartmann, 2007). Though there is no consensus as to what ethnicity is, however, there are common definitions in the literature. In the twentieth century, Max Weber defined ethnicity as:

> We shall call "ethnic groups" those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration; this belief must be important for the propagation of group formation; conversely, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists. Ethnic membership (Gemeinsamkeit) differs from the kinship group precisely by being a presumed identity, not a group with concrete social action, like the latter" (Weber, 1978: 389).

From a viewpoint of common origin and culture, Yinger (1976: 200) described ethnicity as:

> A segment of a larger society whose members are thought, by themselves and/or others, to have a common origin and to share important segments of a common culture and who, in addition, participate in shared activities in which the common origin and culture are significant ingredients.

Schermerhorn (1978) gave another commonly cited definition. He defined ethnicity as:

> A collective within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past and a cultural focus on one of more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood. Examples of such symbolic elements are: kinship patterns, physical contiguity (as in localism or sectionalism), religious affiliation, language or dialect forms, tribal affiliation, nationality, phenotypical features, or any combination of these. A necessary accompaniment is some consciousness of kind among members of the group (p. 12).

Phinney (2003) gives a more contemporary definition of ethnicity. She defines ethnicity as a “dynamic, multidimensional construct that refers to one’s identity, or sense of self as a member of an ethnic group” (p. 63).

Ethnicity is not the same as race or culture. It, however, intersect with other forms of identity such as race and culture. While ethnicity is a product of an interaction between self and social groups (Baumann, 2004) race is constructed through birth and associated with physical and cultural characteristics as defined by outside groups (Burton et al., 2008). According to Gordon (1988), the term “ethnic group” is inclusive of a racial group. He argues that as a sociological construct, the larger phenomenon is not race but ethnicity. He claims that both race (often associated with a physical difference) and ethnicity (associated with a cultural difference) are constructed terms and based on perception.

Although the concepts of ethnicity and race are different, they overlap and are often used interchangeably (Agyemang et al., 2005; Baumann, 2004; Cornell and Hartmann, 2007). Similarly, attempts have been made by some researchers to differentiate between ethnicity, ethnic identity and ethnic group (Eller, 1997; Jones, 1997; Sollors, 1996). For example, Jones (1997: xiii) differentiated between these constructs as:

> Ethnic identity: that aspect of a person’s self-conceptualization which results from identification with a broader group in opposition to others on the basis of perceived cultural differentiation and/or common descent.
>
> Ethnic group: any group of people who set themselves apart and/or are set apart by others with whom they interact or co-exist on the basis of their perceptions of cultural differentiation and/or common descent.
>
> Ethnicity: all those social and psychological phenomena associated with a culturally constructed group identity as defined above. The concept of ethnicity focuses on the ways in which social and cultural processes intersect with one another in the identification of, and interaction between, ethnic groups

According to Hutchinson and Smith (1996), ethnicity consists of six major features: proper name, common ancestry, historical memories, elements of a common culture, a homeland and a sense of solidarity. Nagel (1994) describes identity and culture as the two most important components of ethnicity. Yinger (1985) identifies the basic components of ethnicity to include: common origin, common culture and shared activity. Similarly, Cheung (1993) describes ethnicity as an affiliative construct based on four conceptual approaches: racial (colour), cultural (ethnic culture), natal (place of origin) and symbolic identity (ethnic identification). An attempt to unpack ethnicity and its composite concepts was made by Jean Phinney. To differentiate between ethnicity, ethnic group and ethnic identity; Phinney (1990) identifies components of ethnic identity. The first component is *ethnic self-identification*, which she also refers to as self-definition and self-labelling. This concerns how an individual perceives himself ethnically. She argues that self-identification can be either chosen or imposed. Example of imposed identity is Black American. The second component is a *sense of belonging*. This implies the feeling and degree of connectedness associated with an ethnic label. The third is the *ethnic attitude* towards an ethnic group, which may be positive and negative. Finally is the *ethnic involvement,* which includes social participation and cultural practices. Phinney identifies the indicators of ethnic involvement as language, friendship, religious affiliation, political ideology, cultural traditions, social groups and area of residence. Other closely associated indicators include ethnic dances, music, songs, dress, traditional celebration and knowledge about ethnic culture and history.

5.2 Race

The concept of race is a highly contested term. There are debates on its continuous usage and its relevance today. Ligali (2005) argues that race is a discredited term as modern genetics shows that all human race are greatly connected. The social markers on which race is constructed are open to debate as race is not a product of natural selection but based on the biased categorisation of humans (Cornell and Hartmann, 2007). Race and ethnicity are conceptualised based on culture and thus differ from culture to culture. Stephan and Stephan (2000) argue that using the current racial

classification systems, “the same individual could be viewed as White in Brazil, Coloured in South Africa, and African-American in the United States” (p: 542).

In the Medieval and Renaissance periods, people were classified on the basis of *gens* – a Latin word for people or nation – indicating common ancestry and groups of people with shared origin (Hudson, 1996). An example of such common classifications includes "the Romans are serious, the Greeks light, the Africans crafty (*uersipelles*), the Gauls proud and fierce." (Hudson, 1996: 248). In Britain, before the nineteenth century, racial identity was not used to distinguish among various people (Spickard, 1996). By the late eighteenth century, biologists began to use the same classification for plants and animals to classify people (Stephan and Stephan, 2000). Over time, race has become a physical attribute and characterisation, used for political and social identity. It has been constructed based on biological and phenotypic expression of physical difference. This biological construct has metamorphosed into a social construct as it is commonly used today (Stephan and Stephan, 2000). Race construction and consequently race prejudice was a representation of the perceived purity of the human soul (Montagu, 1997). Although race was hardly used as a focus of classification in Britain, however, political interest and social stratification have given legitimacy to the concept of race as a tool for propagating social inequality (Spickard, 1996). The UK Race Relations Act 1976 defined a 'racial group' as a group of persons defined by reference to colour, race, nationality or ethnic or national origins. This politically motivated construction of race gives some racial categories the degree of freedom and choices, which others do not have. Groups with less freedom and choices are socially constrained to take on the identity bestowed on them (Espiritu, 1994).

Some researchers have argued that racial and ethnic groupings should be abandoned because of its racist origins and its apparent lack of objectivity for social research (Kertzer and Arel, 2002; Britton, 1999). While some are of the opinion that measurement of race and ethnic identity could serve some purposes, such as determining population trends and ethnic difference in health care and treatment of disease (Agyemang et al., 2005). Yet some argue that racial and ethnic classification should be based on self-identification (Stephan and Stephan, 2000). In a total

dismissal of the concept of race, Burton et al (2008) argue that race has no biological basis and does not exist. This deduction is an inference from previous studies by Cornell and Hartmann (1998) and Banton (1998). Cornell and Hartmann (1998: 23) argue that "most contemporary scholars dismiss the entire idea of race as a meaningful biological category that can be applied to separate groups of human beings". Similarly, Banton (1998) forcefully rejects the concept of race as a sociological construct. He encourages researchers and sociologists to avoid the language of race in sociological discourse and theorising as the concept lacks scientific and theoretical groundings. However, Loury (2004) argues that race is a social reality; "to establish the scientific invalidity of racial taxonomy demonstrates neither the *irrationality* nor the *immorality* of adhering to a social convention of racial classification" he says (p. 76). In Britain, race is less frequently used in comparison with the US. While researchers tend to refrain from its usage, it is used freely in the general public and policy circles (Burton et al., 2008).

The above arguments explain the reason ethnic identity is used in this study instead of racial identity. Though my study sample population is a visible racialized group, they differ in many aspects of their identities. For example, though all participants are migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa, they vary in their phenotypic identity (their degree of blackness or skin colour differs significantly). Ethnic identity or group has been used as an umbrella construct to accommodate identity, shared culture, sense of self, and ethno-racial similarity among participants as suggested by Nagel (1994) and Phinney (2003). This is also consistent with the British context where ethnicity is often used among scholars rather than race. Unlike the United States, Britain uses ethnic identity and not racial identity for identification during census exercise. Those who have the opinion that racial identity is more appropriate than ethnic identity for black migrant entrepreneurs, seem to suggest that black people only have a racial identity and not an ethnic identity. This will undermine the theoretical development of identity and its dynamic properties; and the reality that identity is a construction and not a possession (Brubaker, 2002).

5.3 Theories of Ethnicity

Generally, there are three major approaches to the theory of ethnicity. The primordialist approach, the instrumentalist approach and the constructionist approach. These theories are summarised in table 3. Primordialist school of thought describes ethnicity as a natural phenomenon purely due to biology. It comes with birth and therefore unchanging. It is inherited from ancestral root and bloodline. It is based on lineage, family, kinship, language and cultural ties (Shils, 1957; Yang, 2000). While this approach offers an explanation as to why some ethnic groups have endured for generations, it does not account for the dynamic nature of ethnicity (Phinney, 2003).

According to the instrumentalist school of thought, ethnicity is a deliberate creation for the purpose of power, gain and privilege. It is a superficial classification of people for the purpose of political and economic advantages (Jones, 1997; Cohen, 1974). Omi and Winnat (1994) affirm that ethnic classification is a highly intensely political process. According to the instrumentalist approach, individuals identify and affiliate with an ethnic group because it is beneficial to them; while others deny the membership of certain ethnic groups because it disadvantages them (Yang, 2000). Similarly, Eidheim (1969) suggests that individuals make salient their identity in some situations and suppress it in others depending on the prevailing perception of such identity within a given context. By breaking away from the essentialist notion of ethnicity associated with the primordialist approach, the instrumentalist approach offers a descriptive explanation underlying social and political processes of ethnic identity. By approaching ethnicity from a socio-economic and political stance, the instrumentalist approach fails to account for cultural factors in ethnic identification.

Constructionists argue that ethnicity is socially constructed. This view of ethnicity is quite common in the twenty-first century in which people believe that ethnicity is dynamic and multidimensional. In this sense, Yang (2000) argues that ethnicity is constructed through social interactions and processes. This approach claims that ethnicity is not a possession but a construction based on certain societal narratives; thereby contradicting the primordialist approach. The constructionist perspective is based on the subjective nature of ethnicity. Many prominent scholars of ethnicity and

identity including Jean Phinney, Joane Nagel and Werner Sollors are constructionists in their approach to ethnic discourse. For example, Nagel (1994) argues that in modern society, ethnicity is created and recreated as individuals negotiate societal and cultural forces that shape ethnic boundaries. Similarly, Sollors (1996) suggests that ethnicity is embedded in tradition, which is subjective, dynamic and constantly changing. According to Omi and Winnat (1994: 3) racial and ethnic categories are "created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed". Although the constructionist approach provides people with multiple identities to choose their ethnic affiliation, it however, has its limitation. For example, critics of the constructionist approach have argued that it fails to acknowledge the primordial entity of ethnicity and makes ethnicity too ambiguous for any scientific inquiry (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000).

Table 3: Theories of Ethnicity

Theory	**Description**	**Sources (Authors)**	**Weakness**
Primordialist approach	Ethnicity is viewed as a naturally occurring phenomenon. It is an ascribed identity. It is ascribed from birth; it is fixed, innate and unchanging. Views ethnicity as a principle of social structuring. It is based on kinship and family ties. Ethnic boundaries are fixed and immutable. Determines by common ancestry.	Geertz (1963) Shils (1957) Yang (2000)	Too static and cannot account for social and cultural factors. Does not account for changes in ethnicity and why some ethnic identities wane, disappear or grow.
Instrumentalist approach	Ethnicity as a strategic tool for power, control and acquisition of resources. In this sense, an ethnicity is a form of capital. Ethnic groups are interest groups. Ethnicity is created based on historical and symbolic memory. It is based on the relational, interactional and situational nature of ethnicity. It can be changed, constructed or even manipulated for political or economic advantages.	Barth (1969) Cohen (1974) Yang (2000)	Neglect of psychological and cultural dimensions of ethnicity.
Constructionist approach	Ethnicity is socially constructed. It is not a possession, it is a construction. It is fluid, subjective, dynamic, pragmatic and a choice. Ethnic affiliation and identification determine by society. Ethnicity is ascribed by society. Ethnicity as an agentic process	Burgess (1978) Yang (2000) Nagel (1994) Phinney (2003) Brubaker and Cooper (2000)	Ethnicity can take whatever form people perceive it to be. It becomes too ambiguous to define and use for social research. Allows the proliferation of putative identities.

Source: Compiled by me

5.4 Migrants, Ethnic Identity and Entrepreneurship

This section on ethnic identity focuses on the literature of ethnic identity among migrants and ethnic minority groups and the role of ethnicity in entrepreneurship. It tends to explore how migrants and minority groups construct and negotiate their ethnic identity within the society, especially how they navigate between ethnic otherness and the notion of assimilation.

What makes an identity ethnic is open to different interpretations. Chandra (2006) in her research on ethnic identity in explaining societal outcomes (such as violence, democracy and patronage) argues that “ethnicity either does not matter or has not been shown to matter in explaining most outcomes to which it has been causally linked by comparative political scientists” (p. 397). In ethnic entrepreneurship study, ethnicity defines who is expected to be an ethnic entrepreneur or a mainstream entrepreneur (Korede, 2019). Immigrants and minority groups especially non-white groups are typically labelled as “ethnic” entrepreneurs (Ensign and Robinson, 2011; Volery, 2007). De Rudder (1987) argues that the ethnic is always the minority and that the ethnic majority is obscured. Pécoud (2010) identifies the issue of over-ethnicising in migrant and minority entrepreneurship. He argues that researchers need multiple explanations to capture why migrants become entrepreneurs; explanations beyond cultural and ethnic identity. In theorising migration and experiences of migrants, Fox and Jones (2013: 386) argue that “ethnicity has stood in the limelight, impairing, at times, our ability to see and appreciate other modalities of difference”. They maintain that a preoccupation with ethnicity has produced an ethnic bias and has given ethnicity “a fixity in both popular and scholarly imagination that is at odds with its contingent and socially constructed nature” (p. 385). Similarly, Ma et al (2013: 36) observes that “research on ethnic entrepreneurship has emphasized more on the demographic features of ethnic entrepreneurs ... and less on their roles as entrepreneurs involving in business activities.” Furthermore, Samers (1998: 124) claims that the “use of ‘ethnicity’ and ‘ethnic minority’ can be colonialist, victimizing and patronizing”. The key argument here is that ethnic identity has been used as a tool for social exclusion and marginalisation. A balanced approach is needed in the conceptualisation of a highly subjective and dynamic concept such as ethnic identity. As Brubaker and Cooper

(2000: 1) argue that identity “tends to mean too much (when understood in a strong sense), too little (when understood in a weak sense), or nothing at all (because of its sheer ambiguity)”.

Ethnicity is a dynamic concept indicating one sense of self-identification and feeling of belongingness. The ethnic identity of migrants in the host country is shaped by their multiple identities. It is contextual, situational and intersectional (Chandra, 2006). The success and social mobility of migrants in host community have been attributed to their assimilation and integration in the host community, which in return is a function of migrant ethnic and social identity (Schimmele and Wu, 2015). Li et al (1995) used ethnic identity and cultural identity interchangeably. They observe that migrants’ ethnic identity is location and context dependent. Liu (2015) found that migrants can adapt their ethnic identity to different cultural contexts. He observes that identification with the host culture is not the same as belonging to that culture. Ethier and Deaux, (1994) establish that ethnic identity may be salient in one cultural context and insignificant in another. Manning and Roy (2010) show in their research that second-generation migrants tend to think of themselves as British, while new migrants do not see themselves as British. They suggest that the longer immigrants stay in the host country the more they take on the identity of the host nation. Constant et al. (2009) identify that the age of arrival affects migration outcomes. As the age of arrival increases, migrants are likely to experience an increase in separation and marginalisation; and a decrease in assimilation and integration. Casey and Dustmann (2010) found education to significantly affect ethnic identity. Constant et al. (2006) observes that religion and education also affect migration outcomes. For example, they found that Christian migrants with a high level of education integrate more with the host community, while females, who earn less, assimilate less than males do. Female Muslims show a higher level of separation and lower level of assimilation and integration than Muslim men. Jongkind (1992) observes how migrant social integration contributes to the feeling of alienation rather than emancipation.

A study on African and Caribbean adolescents in Britain by Lam and Smith (2009) found the salience of ethnic identity over national identity. British young people of

African and Caribbean origin find more pride in their ethnic backgrounds than their British identities. The dynamic construction and evolution of identity were observed in how immigrants change ethnicity over time in foreign countries. For example, in the United States, Rumbaut (1994) and Waters (1990) observed how immigrants' identification go from single ethnic-oriented identity (e.g. Chinese) to dual identification (e.g. Chinese American) and then to the single national identity (e.g. American). This describes the multiple identities an immigrant takes on in a foreign country. A similar study conducted in Canada by Schimmele and Wu (2015) found that the ethnic identity of migrants is constructed through interaction with members of the host community. They observe that positive interactions tend to increase migrants assimilation or integration, and negative interactions lead to migrants' separation and marginalisation. First generation and new migrants identify with national identity (e.g. Chinese), while more integrated second-generation migrants tend to adopt dual identity (e.g. Chinese-Canadian). Deaux et al (2007) observe that first-generation Afro-Caribbean immigrants who are less racial and most likely to identify as non-African Americans have better performance in education and occupation than second-generation Afro-Caribbeans who are more racial and identify as African American. The subjective nature of ethnic identity influences the sense of belongingness and association among individual of common origin (Waters, 1990). In affirming the progressive and subjective definition of ethnicity using West Indian immigrants, Waters (1994, 1999) found that 31% of these immigrants referred to themselves as West Indian with primary attachment to their country of origin. Another 41% identified as African America using their specific context as their source of identity and the remaining 27% identified as immigrants with little or no attachment to national identification categorisation. The construction of immigrants' ethnic identity may influence their entrepreneurial identity and the kind of venture they create. However, how the construction of ethnic identity intersects with entrepreneurial identity in migrant entrepreneurship is still open to scholarly investigation.

In the literature, two theoretical approaches have been used to explain ethnic identity among immigrants and minority groups. The first theoretical and commonly used approach is the social identity theory. The social identity perspective considers ethnic identity as a social construction of self, following from the constructionists' viewpoint.

The presentation of self is a reflection of society (Tajfel and Turner, 1986; Phinney, 1990; Phinney and Ong, 2007; Padilla, 2008). In this sense, ethnic identity is an individual property, as the individual claims a sense of belonging and self-identity with a certain ethnic group and culture (Constant, 2014). The second theoretical approach is acculturation or assimilation approach. Gans (2007: 154) define acculturation and assimilation as "processes by which immigrants become more like non-immigrants culturally and socially". Early acculturation theorists were of the opinion that as migrants become more integrated within the host society; they will give up their ethnic identity for a more conventional mainstream identity (Warner and Srole, 1945). Ensign and Robinson (2011) contend that migrants do not have to change their ethnic identity to succeed. They consider the suggestion that migrants have to change their ethnic identity to assimilate in their new environment as being paternalistic. The emergence of superdiversity and multiculturalism (Vertovec, 2007) has discredited the assimilation theory and is less popular now in ethnic and migrant studies. Crul (2016) has argued that superdiversity theory replaces assimilation theory. Recently, Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore (2018) have asked scholars to rethink the concept of migrant integration, adaptation and settlement, offering new insights of conceptualising integration. Assimilation theory has also been linked to upward social mobility. From this perspective, migrants' ethnicity is considered as a drawback for upward social mobility, and hinders socio-economic attainment. However, recent studies have shown that assimilation does not necessarily lead to social mobility (Gans, 2007; Waters et al., 2010).

While other theoretical perspectives such as translocational positionality (Anthias, 2002) are beginning to emerge, intersectionality is becoming the frequently used approach, especially among feminist scholars. Recent studies have argued for an intersectional approach to understand the multiple identities embedded within an ethnic group (Romero and Valdez, 2016; Martinez Dy and Agwunobi, 2018). An intersectional approach offers a nuanced understanding of how the interplay between identity and power shape migrants identities and experiences within the stratified economies. Also, provide a way to conceptualise how social structure and agency influence ethnic identity and the entrepreneurial process. The extent to which social and structural processes combine with intersectional identities (such as ethnic and

entrepreneurial identities) to influence the experience and entrepreneurial outcomes of African migrant entrepreneurs in Britain have received insufficient attention. This study seeks to bridge this gap in knowledge.

5.5 Ethnic Identity: The Complexity of Self-identification and Intersectional Identity

In the section, I examine the various dimensions of ethnic identity and questioned whether identity is optional, imposed or chosen. In particular, I question the constructionist theory of ethnicity and the concept of self-identification for visibly stigmatized identities such as the black identity.

The constructionist approach to ethnic identity claims that ethnicity is fluid and dynamic, that people are free to self-identify and choose their ethnicity (Yang, 2000; Nagel, 1994; Phinney, 2003). This simplistic approach to ethnic identity did not account for how intersectional identities including spoiled identities (Goffman, 2009) and unsettled identities (Brubaker, 2016) can self-construct their stigmatised identity. Amidst the constructionists' claims on ethnic identity formation and the concepts of chosenness, fluidity and self-identification of identity; is an omission that not everyone can freely self-identify with any ethnic group. Identities that are socially constructed may be difficult to self-construct.

The concept of self-identification has been used to blur the argument of structural inequality and marginalisation inherent in identity classification and construction. For example, how do homosexual priests (Creed et al., 2010), people with bisexual identity (Callis, 2013), stigmatised Muslim American youths (O'Brien, 2011) or stigmatised black identity in Britain and western societies (Solanke, 2018) self-identify? Changing ethnic affiliation does not reduce the potential threats to their self-identity. The debate around self-identification has rather been used by the dominant and privileged groups to take advantage of the vulnerable and marginalised groups. Whether it is in the case of Rachel Dolezal or Anthony Ekundayo Lennon who are white but self-identify as black. This is not an attempt to illegitimise people with certain ethnic preferences, but

a cautious argument that the concept of identity self-identification will further perpetuate structural, representational and political inequality of stigmatised identities (Crenshaw, 1991).

Black ethnic identity in a western context is a site of intersectional identity salience. It embodies multiple intersectional sites of disadvantages (Atewologun, 2014). There is also an often neglected factor in the discourse of identity and theory of ethnicity. The interplay between intersectional identities and stigmatised identities; and how the interaction between visible and hidden identities makes it difficult if not impossible for black people to self-identify and choose their identity. I argue that the complexity of identity construction between self-identification, intersectional identities and visible forms of stigmatised identities creates further tension in the discourse of identity. The tension between the social construction of identity and the self-construction of identity. Due to the complexity and conflicting tenet of identity, self-identification, as argued by constructionist scholars, may not apply black ethnic identity. Brubaker (2016: 414) observes this as a "sharpened tension between idioms of choice, autonomy, subjectivity, and self-fashioning on the one hand and idioms of givenness, essence, objectivity".

If an individual has certain identity features that enable him or her to make claims of certain ethnic affiliation and ethnic privilege; such an individual can freely identify and shift from given identity to chosen identity such as the case of Rachel Dolezal (Brubaker, 2016). Contrastingly, individuals with certain visible forms of stigmatised identity markers have less liberty to self-identify and will lose out in the identity game thereby reinforcing inequality through intersectional sites of identity. At the intersection of multiple identities, marginalised and vulnerable individuals with visible forms of stigmatised identities will have a qualitatively different experience than privilege individuals. This inequality of experience according to Crenshaw (1991) will affect the life chance of marginalised and stigmatised individuals structurally, representationally and politically. These intersecting identities mutually affect the construction and classification of ethnic identity, endearing it as an intersectional site of negotiation and

contestation for social inequality. Intersecting identity may therefore, be manipulated for gain and only people with advantageous identity markers can self-identify.

The social classification by self-identification poses a problem for concrete analytical power of identity, ripping it of its very essence and uniqueness, drowning debates in the ocean of commonality rather than the richness of diversity. How you attain inclusion is not by denying difference but promoting the strength and richness of diversity. Brubaker and Cooper (2000: 2) argue that "conceptualizing all affinities and affiliations, all forms of belonging, all experiences of commonality, connectedness, and cohesion, all self-understandings and self-identifications in the idiom of 'identity' saddles us with a blunt, flat, undifferentiated vocabulary". A false notion of self-identification and belonging does not reduce this stigma. The real conversation about the management of spoiled identities will focus on practical measures of inclusivity and socio-cultural equality and not on the flimsy notion of self-identification and self-affiliation.

5.6 Black Ethnic Identity

What is a black ethnic identity? Who is a black person? What is the difference between black African American, black Africans and black African-Caribbean? And what does it mean to be black in Britain? These are some of the questions that require clarifications when the term black identity is used in the literature. Generally speaking, black ethnic identity is a contested and problematic terminology in the sociology of identity and ethnicity (Aspinall, 2011). Black ethnic identity is an imposed identity (Phinney, 1990). Black is a political and ideological concept (Modood, 1994) used by colonialists to perpetuate slavery, inequality and oppression. Apart from being used as an identity marker, blackness is also used as a form of collective resistance (Britton, 1999). Previously, in Britain, black ethnic identity was an 'ethnic otherness' identity, used for non-white people. Black was used in referring to people from Africa, Caribbean and South Asia origins (Modood, 1994). As migration increases and settlement of various ethnic groups became distinct, South Asians are now categorised based on their national identity e.g. Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis

being the prominent groups. However, the term “black” continue to be used for Africans and Caribbeans.

There are different shades of ‘black’ to the extent that it needs classification when it is used to identify who is being referred to as black. Shades of ‘black’ include black African, Afro-Caribbean, black Caribbean, African Asian, black British, black American, African American and black Others. The interface between ‘blackness’ and ‘Africanness’ is ambiguous (Aspinall, 2011). What is commonly used in academic research and in the general public is over-generalisation of ‘blackness’ as the opposite of ‘whiteness’. The simplistic use of the term “black” does not reflect the diversity within this ethnoracial group. The term used to refer to how people with ancestry origin from Sub-Saharan Africa differ from country to country. In the United States, black and African American are the descendants of North American slaves. In Britain, black African, black Caribbean and Afro-Caribbean (African-Caribbean) are used to refer to people of African origin. Black British often used to refer to people with long settlement in the UK and children of migrants of second and subsequent generations (Hylton 1999; Lam and Smith, 2009). In South Africa, black is an umbrella name for African, Indian and coloured (mixed race) people (Adams et al., 2012; Adams et al., 2014). In Australia, black is used to refer to the Aboriginal and people of African descent (Keen, 1991).

Table 4 summarises the various ways black identity has been used and conceptualised in different contexts. People from continental Africa have diverse ethnic groups. For example, black Africans are majorly from Sub-Saharan Africa; white Africans from South Africa and Zimbabwe; African Indians in East Africa; North Africans from the from North of the Sahara and mainly Muslims. Afro-Caribbean/African Caribbean from the Caribbean islands (Aspinall, 2011; Lam and Smith, 2009; Agyemang et al., 2005). Even in the United States census, people from North Africa are racially classified as White (Njaka, 2016). While the United States Census Bureau uses Black, African American or Negro to classify ‘non-white’ people from African origin (see Appendix 1). The United Kingdom uses black African, black Caribbean and black British (see Appendix 2). Although there are reservations in some

quarters, the term “black” is generally acceptable in America especially among African American (e.g. Black Lives Matters Campaign). However, using the same term to refer to Africans in Britain is still a subject of huge academic and policy debates (Aspinall, 2011; Ligali, 2005). Black is considered by African as a social construction which is a testimony to the legacy of colonialism and enslavement of the African people. Britton (1999) argues that the term “black” is synonymous with undesirable qualities and embedded with negative connotations. Similarly, Aspinall (2011) argues that the continuous usage of such term exposes people to racism; its overly simplistic generalisation is in total disregard for culture, class, gender and their complex intersectional identities. There are also concerns in some quarters that the term is offensive and derogatory (Ligali, 2005; Britton, 1999; Agyemang et al., 2005). The recent debate is engaged in conversations about shifting from “classifications framed by colour to those privileging ethnic background” (Aspinall, 2009: 1417). As the Black African ethnic minority group is considered one of the fastest growing groups in Britain, this debate, which is far from ending. will be more prominent in the future.

Table 4: Analysis of Terms Currently in Use to Describe African Origin Populations

Terms	**Meaning**	**Strengths**	**Weaknesses**	**Comments and recommendations**
Negro (Negroid, Homo Afer)	People of black or dark skinned race of mankind	Socially recognised and historically lasting concept.	Defined populations by physical features in the distant past. Used to describe heterogeneous Populations Unrelated to ethnicity. Considered offensive, associated with slavery and contemptuous.	Considered inappropriate and derogatory. Abandon in scientific writings.
Black	As for Negro	Used in USA and UK censuses: gives denominator; ‘‘usually tested’’ Socially recognised and historically lasting concept	Used to describe heterogeneous populations. Unrelated to ethnicity.	In practice it refers to persons with sub-Saharan African ancestral origins with brown or black complexion.
African/origin	Applies to a native of Africa.	Signifies geographical origin.	Geographically (continental) based. Used	This term is currently the preferred prefix

			to describe heterogeneous populations	for more specific categories, such as African America, African Caribbean. Using on its own should be avoided.
Black African	Refers to people, and their offspring with African ancestral origins who/family migrated directly from sub-Saharan Africa.	Used in UK censuses. Signifies sub-continental origin.	Very broad Unrelated to ethnicity	Avoid if possible.
Afro-Caribbean/ African Caribbean	Applies to descents people, and their offspring, with African ancestral origin but migrated via the Caribbean islands.	Used in censuses Signifies geographical origin Attempts to describe a cultural group	Inaccurate unless it is a truly representative population. Used to describe heterogeneous populations	Useful and preferred if other ethnic groups are not included. Avoid combining other African groups
Afro-American/ African American	Applies to people, and their offspring, with African ancestral origin (many are descendants of persons brought as slaves).	Used in USA censuses. Signifies geographical origin. Attempts to describe a cultural group. In practice, North Africans from Algeria, Morocco and such countries are excluded from this category.	As for African Caribbean.	Useful and preferred if other ethnic groups are not included.

Source: Agyemang et al., (2005)

The sense of belonging that migrants have towards their host country may differ according to legal status, the degree of integration and establishment, and level of acceptance received from the host community (Vertovec, 2001). Being British and African at the same time is a sense of belonging that is dependent on many factors. While first generation migrants may not consider themselves British, even after

citizenship; their children and subsequent generations born in Britain, may have stronger ties and attachment to Britain and claim Britishness (Lam and Smith, 2009). Whether ethnic identity becomes salience or not during the acculturation process depends on how individuals negotiate identity as a function of agency, structure and system (Schwartz et al., 2006).

Brubaker and Cooper (2000) suggest that identity may not exist, as what is termed "identity" is too ambiguous to make sense of social analysis. A constructionist approach to ethnic identity gives liberty for self-identification, self-affiliation and a sense of belonging. However, less attention has been paid to processes of self-disidentification and identity deconstruction (Stone, 1962; Hall, 1996; McCall, 2003). The social construction and reconstruction of identity have generated some concerns lately. For example, in the US, Rachel Dolezal, the self-acclaimed black woman was accused of fraudulent and exploitative identity claims (Brubaker, 2016). In the UK, there was an uproar when Anthony Ekundayo Lennon was awarded a special grant meant for the development of Art and Theatre by the Art Council England. He was accused of masquerading as a black man and using this self-imposed ethnic identification to opportunistically receive art grants meant for black people (The Times, 2018). These two examples pose the question between 'chosenness' and 'givenness' (Brubaker, 2016). To what extent are people allowed to self-identify without causing a conflict of identity and identity theft? As Brubaker and Cooper (2000: 2) argue, identity will be meaningless if there is no balance between the "essentialist connotations and constructivist qualifiers". Who is black, or who is a black African in the UK is open to interpretation. However, in this study black African is used as first-generation migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa.

5.7 Black Africans in Britain

According to Daley (1998: 1703) "The UK's Black-African population is relatively understudied compared to other groups among Britain's visible ethnic communities". This lack of research into this group has been reiterated by other few researchers who have studied this group (e.g. Aspinall, 2011; Okonta and Pandya, 2007; Theuri, 2016). The UK census for both 2001 and 2011 has used the term "black African" to refer to

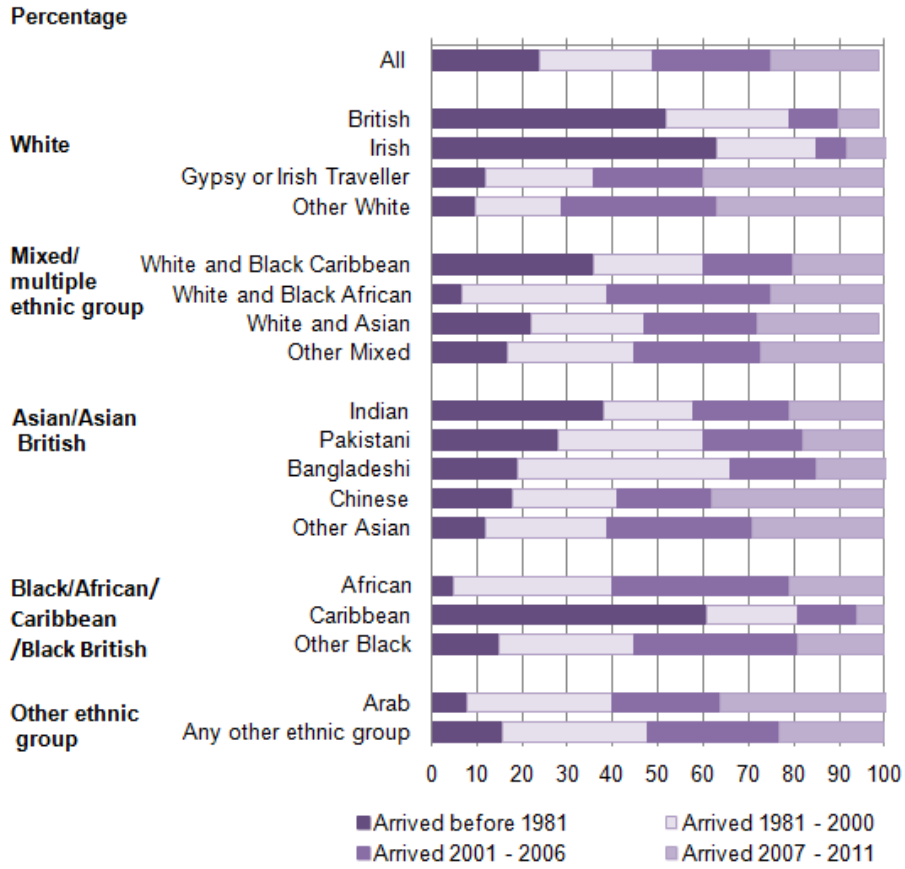
British and immigrants from Africa and their British-born descendants. While the United States has always had race on every US census since 1780, Britain recently started including ethnicity in 1991 to categorise racial groups (Njaka, 2016).

The history of black Africans in Britain can be traced to the late 1940s (Connolly and White, 2006). Aspden (2008) suggests that the history of black Africans in Britain is traceable to 1950s. Daley (1998) argue that Africans have been in Britain since antiquity, although few in numbers. In Britain, research into black Africans has been subsumed within that of black Caribbeans due to racial and cultural similarities (Daley, 1998). Black Africans and black Caribbeans (Afro-Caribbeans) have different migration history in the UK. According to Rassool (1999: 26):

> Afro-Caribbeans represent the first major group of immigrants to arrive from former colonies in the aftermath of mass immigration policies in the 1950s when, during a period of economic boom, workers were recruited to work in the service industries. The identities and subjectivities of this group of people have been shaped very powerfully by the social dislocation effected by slavery, and subsequently, the experience of colonialism followed by immigration settlement in the UK.

However, black Africans migration to Britain is recent. The 2011 census analysis shows that out of the total population of black Caribbeans in Britain, more than 60% of this population arrived Britain before 1981; compare to about 5% of black Africans population in Britain before 1981 (figure 3). According to the 2011 census figure, the majority of black Africans in Britain arrived between 2001 and 2006. This wave of immigration has been attributed to political instability, economic changes (including economic growth and decline) and the increase in educational pursuit among young Africans (Daley, 1998; Lam and Smith 2009). By 2011, black African ethnic group population in Britain has surpassed the black Caribbean group. Between 1991 and 2011, black African population has grown faster than any other minority group in Britain (Jivraj, 2012). Also, the estimated number of immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa to Britain has almost doubled from 692,000 in 2001 to 1,271,000 in 2017 (ONS, 2001; 2017).

Figure 3: 2011 Census Analysis



Source: ONS (2011)

Theuri (2016) defines black African as “all those who would situate their heritage as being Sub-Saharan African as opposed to the Caribbean”. Black African is used in a similar way in this study. Lam and Smith (2009) observe that because the immigration of black Africans was recent, their ethnic identity is connected to African culture than black Caribbean who have settled in Britain for much longer. Brändle et al (2018) demonstrate that entrepreneurs pursue opportunities that are in congruence with their identity. This suggests that different identities such as gender, class, migration, religion and legal status may influence entrepreneurial activities. However, little is known of how black ethnic identity influences and shapes entrepreneurial activities among black African migrants entrepreneurs. There is the scarcity of research in the sociology of entrepreneurship, ethnicity and identity capturing the experience of black African ethnic group in Britain. Earlier, Daley (1998) has attributed this to a lack of data. However, Aspinall (2011) thinks that racialised and essentialised identity as that of black African is problematic to theorise and operationalise. Aspinall (2011) has

pleaded for more research on black African identity construction. This study will contribute to the relatively few research of this ethnic group.

Besides, context plays an important role in the construction of identity. Indeed, Verkuyten and De Wolf (2002) observe that identity construction depends on contextual claims. Oakes et al (1999: 71) argue that “attributes are context-specific, mutually defining outcomes of the categorisation process”. This indicates that identities which are salient in one context may become insignificant in another context. Research shows that migration changes people identity and influence how they self-identify (Varjonen et al., 2013). The spatial and socio-political contexts in which migrants are embedded affect their identity construction. For example, an individual may identify as a Nigerian in Africa, and take on a new identity as a black migrant in Britain. In that sense, how black African perceive their identity is not fixed, it changes based on social, political and spatial contexts.

In this chapter, I have discussed the different perspectives to ethnicity and ethnic identity. I have looked at how race and ethnicity are constructed and their differences. The theories of ethnicity and the complexity of self-identification for intersectional identities reviewed. The black ethnic identity also reviewed and its various usage in Britain. The next chapter will discuss research methodology, including the philosophical assumptions for this research; the data collection process and the method of data analysis.

Chapter 6. Research Methodology

As Shulman (1981: 5) observes “there are few subjects that generate as much passion among scientists as arguments over methods”. This chapter explores the research methodology employed for this research. It begins with an explanation of the philosophical assumptions that frame this study, and further discuss the research methods and design. Data collections strategy and method of data analysis also discussed.

6.1 Philosophical Assumptions

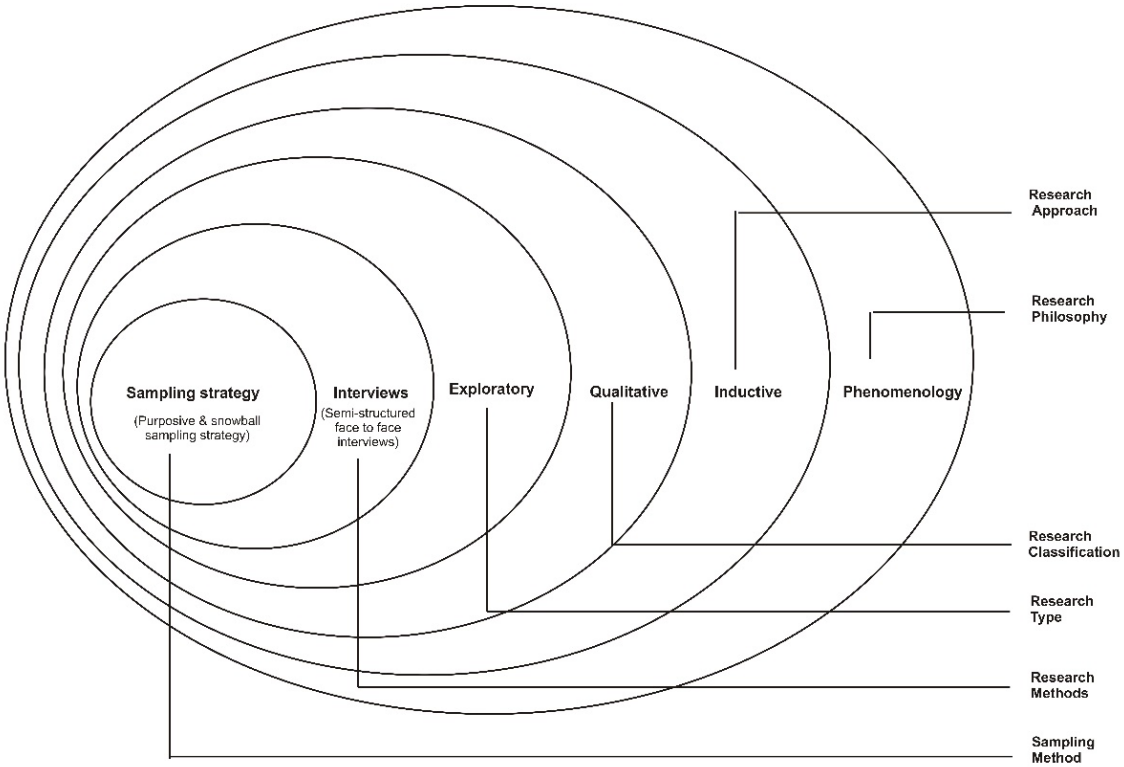
A philosophical paradigm is fundamental to the nature of research. It underpins the approach to the development of knowledge, shapes the research question, reveals inherent assumptions in the research design, and provides an overarching framework to the development of knowledge (Heron and Reason, 1997; Saunders et al., 2007). The philosophical assumption used for this study is phenomenology otherwise known as interpretivism. Phenomenology is both a philosophical paradigm and a range of methodological approaches for conducting qualitative research (Gill, 2014). Phenomenology provides knowledge about everyday lives and experiences and the meaning such experiences have on individuals. The ontological position of this paradigm views reality as being constructed by individuals as they interact with their social worlds. Epistemologically, knowledge is subjective, multiple and mind-dependent (Merriam, 1997). As opposed to positivism where knowledge is based on an objective and measurable phenomenon, phenomenology argues that how the world is perceived is through meanings and interpretations we give to them (Berglund, 2007). In this sense, the mind acts as a “passive interpreter of sense data” (Berglund, 2007: 77). The aim of phenomenology is not to generalise about the experience and the meaning people give to experience, but to situate such experience and meaning within a social context (Neuman, 2003).

Sokolowski (2000: 2) describes phenomenology as the “study of human experience and of the ways things present themselves to us in and through such experience”. It is concerned with how people understand, perceive and give meaning to their

experience. Phenomenology inquiry is particularly useful to explore the unique meaning individuals attach to their identity and how they make sense of social structures and subjectivities (Smith, 2004). Gill (2014) explores different phenomenological methodologies based on different underlying phenomenological philosophies. He identifies five types of phenomenology - Sanders's phenomenology, Giorgi's descriptive phenomenology, van Manen's hermeneutic phenomenology, Benner's interpretive phenomenology and Smith's interpretative phenomenological analysis. This study is based on Smith's interpretative phenomenological analysis. Phenomenological studies are inductive and exploratory in nature (Gioia, Corley and Hamilton, 2013). Inductive research develops a theory based on a 'bottom-up' approach, using participants accounts and narratives to develop themes and generate a theory (Woo, O'Boyle and Spector, 2017). In that sense, this research is inductive as it explores participants narratives to develop codes and themes through pattern finding.

Phenomenological research in entrepreneurship studies has observed the significance of going beyond experience, to consider the context of such experience, as different structural, historical and social contexts may influence the interpretation of experience (Welter, 2011; Martinez Dy and Agwunobi, 2018). This research employs a phenomenological paradigm to construct reality and frame how research participants interact, interpret and give meaning to their social worlds. Ontologically, the findings and conclusions from this research are based on how black African migrant entrepreneurs understand and perceive the social environment in which they are embedded. Epistemologically, their experiences are subjective, evolving and contextual. It engages society as a subjective reality in which social actors make sense of their worlds and give meanings to their experience. This study acknowledges the structural and social contexts in which migrant entrepreneurs are embedded by accounting for how intersectional identities such as gender and ethnicity influence entrepreneurial activities and outcomes (Martinez Dy and Agwunobi, 2018). The summary of the research methodology including the philosophical assumptions, research design and the data collection method is shown in figure 4.

Figure 4: Research Design Summary (The Research Onion)



Source: Adapted from Saunders et al. (2009)

6.2 Research Approach

The concept of entrepreneurship has been studied from various methodological approaches including quantitative and qualitative approaches. As a young and emerging discipline, scholars have tended towards the quantitative approach in theorising and explaining entrepreneurial processes. Bygrave (2007) argues that over-reliance on quantitative approach and complex statistical analysis in theorising entrepreneurship is a way of gaining legitimacy and competing with other established fields of study in social science and natural science. Recently, there are calls for a more qualitative approach to theorising entrepreneurship. Gartner and Birley (2002) in their *Introduction to the Special Issue on Qualitative Methods in Entrepreneurship Research,* argue that the majority of important questions in entrepreneurship can only be addressed through a qualitative approach. They contend that “some questions simply do not get asked, or cannot be asked, when undertaking quantitative studies” (p. 388). A shift from positivist to a phenomenological philosophy of entrepreneurship

would enable researchers to explore and engage the study of entrepreneurship with a critical eye in uncovering unfounded assumptions and ideologies (Gartner and Birley, 2002). As Berglund (2007: 75) observes:

> Phenomenological theory and methods thus seem to suit the needs of entrepreneurship researchers since the field is young, struggles with conceptual definitions and faces questions regarding its proper focus and identity, and since entrepreneurship is increasingly becoming theoretically infused with personal meaning and interpretations via terms such as emergence, enactment and effectuation.

In line with the above argument, this research adopted an inductive approach to data collection and theory building; and qualitative research approach was employed as a research methodology.

6.3 Inductive Approach

An inductive approach was chosen for this research because it is in consonance with the overarching research framework and consistent with the phenomenological philosophical paradigm. An inductive approach is concerned about theory development and often associated with qualitative research (Saunders et al., 2007). As opposed to the deductive approach, where hypotheses are used in testing theories, the inductive approach begins with a research question, collect data and develop theoretical concepts from the data. An inductive approach is significant to this study as it aligns with the research objectives and captures the experiences of participants from qualitative data. The research objective is not about hypothesis and theory testing but about the subjective experience of identity and how intersectional identities are negotiated within the context of entrepreneurship.

6.4 Qualitative Research

Qualitative research is commonly viewed as the opposite of quantitative research, where words are used instead of numbers. Morgan and Smircich (1980) have argued that research methodology is not a choice of techniques but rather a function of the

ontological and epistemological orientation of the research. Therefore, a qualitative approach to this study aligns with its philosophical assumption and position. The qualitative approach becomes a useful social instrument for exploring subjectivities and experience that cannot be captured objectively. According to Hammarberg et al (2016: 499), qualitative research is used "to answer questions about experience, meaning and perspective, most often from the standpoint of the participant". As a typical phenomenological paradigm, Denzin and Lincoln (1994:2) define it as:

> Qualitative research is multimethod in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials – case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts – that describe routine and problematic moments and meaning in individuals' lives.

In entrepreneurship study, qualitative research is used to explore concepts in their natural setting (observable phenomenon) and study the meanings entrepreneurs give to their experiences as they pursue entrepreneurial opportunities (Neergaard and Ulhøi (2007). In this study, qualitative research was used to explore how migrant entrepreneurs negotiate their identity in entrepreneurship. In particular, how they perceive and make sense of their entrepreneurial identity in relation to their ethnic identity. It shows how the intersectional sites embedded within the entrepreneurial identity can be a source of disadvantage for some and privilege for others. Thus, qualitative research helps to explore "uncharted depths in the field of entrepreneurship and to contribute significantly to the advancement of the field" (Neergaard and Ulhøi, 2007: 4).

6.5 Pilot Study

A pilot study is a prototype of the main study. It is a mini methodological test usually involving a small sample carried out by the researcher before the main study is done. It shows the feasibility of the projects and possible problematic areas of the research (Kim, 2010). It is defined as a "small-scale versions of the planned study, trial runs of

planned methods, or miniature versions of the anticipated research in order to answer a methodological question(s) and to guide the development of the research plan" (Prescott and Soeken, 1989: 60). At an initial stage of this research, pilot study was conducted to (i) test the research questions (ii) gain some practical experience in conducting interviews (iii) anticipate what sort of data might be generated (iv) anticipate what sort of challenges and barriers may be encountered during data collection and analysis and (iv) explore possible options of analysing the elicited data.

The pilot study took place between April and June 2017. Two face-to-face interviews were conducted with two black African male migrant entrepreneurs. The first interview lasted 25 minutes and the second was 38 minutes. At the time of the pilot study, the research question was not fully developed and framed. The pilot interview questions were more general questions about business motivation, ethnicity and social mobility (see Appendix 5). The pilot interview was more about me, as the researcher asking the right questions, than it was about me exploring participants' answers and probing their answers with respect to the research questions. The pilot interviews were transcribed and general data analysis was done together with my supervisors. My supervisors also used the data as a general guide to explain to me how to conduct data analysis. The two important feedbacks on the pilot study from supervisors were the length of interviews as they thought interviews were too short, and that the data elicited may be too superficial. Because of the superficial level of the data, the two pilot interviews were not included in the interview data used for this study.

The pilot study had two important impacts on the research process. The first and more significant was on me as a researcher. I realised my lack of confidence to ask certain questions, my inexperience at conducting interviews and my inability to probe deeper beyond the surface to elicit deep-seated responses. Another important lesson for me was how to manage listening, writing and what question to ask next during the interview process. This interview process showed I needed to improve on my ability to multi-task during the interview. The second impact was on the research process itself and especially on the research questions and gaining access to research participants. I soon realised that some interviewees may not be prepared to voice their opinions on

certain questions and to get their opinions I have to ask the same question in a different way. My interview questions were not robust enough to elicit the kind of responses I wanted, so I developed backup questions to elicit responses from participants. The questions were too descriptive in the sense that I was asking too many "what" questions and less "why" and "how" questions. Another important signal I got was the barrier of gaining access to potential participants. I did not think this to be a problem initially, but during the pilot, I realised gaining access and trust from my sample population may constitute a serious challenge for the research project. I discussed this more in the section on gaining access.

Based on my experience from the pilot study, the main research interview questions were modified, to include "what", "why" and "how" questions. I dropped any irrelevant questions from the interview. I realised the importance of referrals and snowballing in accessing research participants. Personally, I read more articles on how to conduct interviews; attended training on how to conduct qualitative interviews and watched online videos on how to probe deeper during an interview. As suggested by researchers (De Vaus, 1993; Maxwell, 1996; Kim, 2010) I found the pilot study useful and significant part of the research project.

6.6 Research Method

6.6.1 *Interview*

A research method is a tool or technique used to make inquiry during the research process (Mir, 2018). Interview was used as a research method during this research study. Interview is a well-established research method for collecting qualitative data. Interview embodies a social instrument for studying social phenomena, which cannot be studied as numeric data with the aid of hypothesis and scientific laws (Saunders et al., 2009). Apart from aligning with my ontological and epistemological positions, an interview is significant as a data collection instrument for answering the research question for this project. This is because, through interviews, participants' experiences can be elicited in such a manner as to make sense of their subjective world (Smith and Osborne, 2003). Using a survey for this research would result in superficial

findings, as the construct of identity exploration requires further probing beyond the surface or ticking a questionnaire box.

An interview is a conversation between two people in which the researcher known as the *interviewer* asks the question and the responder known as the *interviewee* provides feedbacks in the form of opinions and experiences. These feedbacks are then used to elicit meaning and infer interpretation of the described phenomena. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) describe it as a “conversation whose purpose is to gather descriptions of the (life-world) of the interviewee”. An interview is more than a casual conversation between two people. It is a purposeful discussion and interaction involving the exchange of useful and valuable information otherwise refer to as “data” (Kahn and Cannell, 1957).

An interview does generate an enormous amount of data – “the critical mess” – (Singer, 2001) from which the researcher could draw valuable conclusions and “theorize the untheorizable” (Mir, 2018). In this research, I used interviews to “draw out” information from the participants as a way of probing and searching for answers. While I had participants who were prepared and open to talk about their experiences, and issues relating to the black ethnic identity, there were participants who would prefer to gloss over the questions, and were not willing to share their experiences or say something substantive. For example, when I asked the question: *what is your perception and experience of discrimination in this country?* There were occasions when participants would say “it is everywhere” but on further probing, they will share their experiences of discrimination. Then, when I asked: *how did you feel about this?* they will now finally open up and narrate the impact of such experiences on them. This type of probing and digging would not have been possible with questionnaires and quantitative surveys.

The type of interview used for this research was a semi-structured interview. Semi-structured interviews are interviews in which the interviewer has some prepared questions and ideas of possible questions to explore during the interview. However,

the predetermined questions are just a guide and the interview is open to explore possible areas of interest and deviate from the predetermined questions (Fylan, 2005). A semi-structured interview was used in this research because it is flexible, allows the researcher to probe deeper unlike structured interview, and gives room to explore emergent useful responses from participants. During the interview process, I used some of the suggestions offered by Zorn (2001) for conducting semi-structured interviews. Some of these suggestions and my own unique approach are explained below in the interview process.

6.6.2 *The Interview Process*

The interview process I used for this research is divided into three:

1. Starter: At the beginning of the interview, after greeting the participant and thanking him or her for taking out time to participate in the interview. Then I usually started out by introducing myself. Obviously, they know my name by now. However, I did more than just telling them my name; I told them where I 'really come from', my country of birth, why I migrated to Britain, how long I have been in Britain, why I am doing this research etc. This is usually something I think might interest them and 'settles' them, or give them some form of connection with me to make them comfortable and share their own experience with me. Then I will proceed to give them more information about the research and explain an aspect of the research they might find difficult. This was usually followed by the duration of the interview; assurance that the information provided will be anonymous and confidential; the interview will be recorded on the phone; informed them they were free to decline any question they consider too personal to answer; and go through the general housekeeping. This process usually ends by asking if the participant has any question to ask before the main interview begins.
2. Main course: This is the interview proper, where I engaged with research participants and tried to elicit answers to already prepared questions. Because it was a semi-structured interview, there is the opportunity to explore interesting answers from participants, which I found useful to the research question. Appendix 3 contains interview questions used during the interview process.

3. Dessert: This usually consisted of three parts. Firstly, I thanked the participants for attending the interview again and for the information and experiences shared. Secondly, I asked if there was anything I did not ask they felt was important to say, and lastly, I asked if there was any question they would like to ask me. This part of the interview usually generated lots of information both relevant and irrelevant to the research question. On many occasions, I have had to put the phone back on record to capture some of the information arising from this informal exchange and general discussion after the interview.

In total, 24 interviews were conducted for this research. All the interviews except five interviews were done as face-to-face interviews at the agreed place between the interviewer and the interviewee. Apart from face to face interviews, I conducted five online interviews. The online interviews were done with computer-mediated communications technology such as Skype and WhatsApp. These were video online interviews where I was able to see and observe participants during the interview process. The video sessions were not recorded only the audio was recorded as agreed with participants. Online interviews were done because the participants had previously cancelled scheduled interviews due to their busy schedule. Two of the participants requested specifically to do an online interview because of their busy schedule and because the researcher had indicated the possibility of doing an online interview in the research introductory letter (Appendix 4) previously sent to participants. Although online interview may not be as effective as face-to-face interviews, Seymour (2001) argues that it allows for more participatory research by including those who would otherwise be left out of the research process.

The profile of research participants is summarised in table 5. Pseudonyms were used to hide the identity of research participants and to ensure confidentiality. At the beginning of the study, it was my intention to make the sample as representative as possible by collecting data across the United Kingdom. This was a difficult task because of access, resources and time allocated to the project. Initial contacts and interviews with participants showed that participants from London had different experiences of black ethnic identity than those from outside of London. How I identified

this was in their conversations, as participants seem to suggest and acknowledge that they may have a totally different experience because they live in London. So I decided (with permission from supervisors) to control for London by leaving London participants out of the study. Apart from London, the choice of location was a practical choice based on access and referrals. Due to proximity, Newcastle (where the research was conducted) and other cities in the North of England were major locations. However, I used referrals to access other research participants across different locations in the UK. Unlike London, the levels of ethnic diversity in the North of England are low (Parks and Askins, 2015), and this may influence the experiences of black migrant entrepreneurs and how they practice entrepreneurship.

The interview for this research was done between September 2017 and August 2018. All participants were interviewed at their preferred locations ranging from homes, offices, cafes, Newcastle University Business School etc. All the interviews were conducted in English language, and interviews were recorded with the aid of the researcher's Samsung Galaxy S8 smartphone. I later transcribed each interview manually. The transcription process was an extremely boring and tedious process; however, it makes me to become familiar with research data. Transcribed interviews were later analysed using interpretative phenomenological analysis IPA.

6.6.3 *Interview Question*

Unlike the pilot study (section 6.5), the interview questions and process were more exploratory. In the sense that I tried to explore certain parts of my participants' experiences rather than sticking to the prepared research questions. The interview questions were structured into five sections: preliminary questions, questions on ethnic identity, questions on entrepreneurial identity, questions on social mobility and other general questions about ethnic and migrant entrepreneurship. Appendix 3 contains a sample of research questions used for this study. I kept updating this research questions during the interview process as more relevant ideas about the subject surfaced. The data on social mobility was not used for this thesis because my supervisors decided it was better to focus on identity and entrepreneurship. The data on social mobility was presented at the annual conference of the Academy of

Management 2019 (Korede and Giazitzoglu, 2019). This paper is contained as Appendix 6.

6.6.4 *Research Interview Invitation Letter*

After referrals, the next step was to make initial contact with the potential participants. This usually involves introducing myself, and giving an overview of the research study. This first contact with the potential participant (which could be through direct phone calls, WhatsApp, text message or email) usually ends with a request for interview appointment. Then an invitation letter is sent to prospective participants explaining the scope of the research, how long the interview will take, its format and other necessary information. This simple gesture, in my view, helped to build credibility with potential participants. It gave them an idea of what to expect during the interview, by so doing lowered initial barriers to access. Although not all participants required an invitation letter, the majority of participants did. A sample of the invitation letter sent to participant pre-interview is contained in Appendix 4.

6.6.5 *Scheduling Interview Date*

Few days after the invitation letter is sent to potential participants, a follow-up call is made to ask if the potential participants understand the content of the letter and if there was any question that required clarification. This was then followed by asking for an appointment for interview. The day, time and place would then be agreed for the interview. A reminder usually followed this at an agreed date or three days before the interview, to perfect arrangement before travelling.

Table 5: Participants Demographic Profile

Pseudonyms	Age	Gender	Nature of business	Business location	Business age/ years	Number of staff	Legal status	Academic qualification	Year of migration to the UK	Country of origin
Mohammed	40 - 45	M	Consulting & property	Newcastle	7	2	British passport	MA	2004	Nigeria
Bobby	40 - 45	M	Social enterprise, leisure & education	Cardiff	11	12	ILR	HND	1988	Malawi
Dada	35 - 40	M	Barbing salon	Newcastle	3	2	Refused to say	BSc	2005	Nigeria
Jamir	40 - 45	M	Photography	Bristol	6	2	British passport	BSc	1996	Uganda
Lawal	40 - 45	M	Money transfer & property	Essex	5	3	British passport	MSc	2008	Nigeria
Apiyo	35 - 40	F	Facility management	Newcastle	5	10+	ILR	MBA	2008	Zimbabwe
Amanda	40 - 45	F	Food production & food e-commerce	Manchester	5	3	Refused to say	BSc	2006	Nigeria
Kwame	25 - 30	M	IT recycling	Greater Manchester	3	2	British passport	MSc	2006	Ghana
Chuma	35 - 40	M	IT Consulting	Glasgow	9	1	British passport	MSc	2005	Nigeria
Grace	55 - 60	F	Child minding	Leeds	6	None	ILR	BSc	2006	Nigeria
Mandela	NA	M	Digital marketing	Essex	5	3	Entrepreneurship visa	MSc	2010	South Africa

Buhari	25 - 30	M	Facility management	Portsmouth	4	4	British passport	MSc	2007	Nigeria
Jamila	35 - 40	F	Food manufacturing	Bristol	2	2	ILR	MSc	2005	Ghana
Madiba	25 - 30	M	Software services	Newcastle	2	2	Entrepreneurship visa	MSc	2015	Zimbabwe
Mbeki	45 - 50	M	Barbing salon	Leicester	3	3	Refused to say	Higher diploma	2000	South Africa
Ali	35 - 40	M	IT	Newcastle	3	2	British passport	BA	1992	Nigeria
Kenyatta	40 - 45	M	Catering & hospitality	Newcastle	6	3	ILR	NVQ	20+	Kenya
Bambi	30 - 35	F	Domestic & commercial services	Hertfordshire & Bedfordshire	4	20+	British passport	MA	2002	Zambia
Junior	35 - 40	M	Barbing salon	Bolton	5	2	ILR	NA	2007	Cameroon
Kayode	40 - 45	M	Computer design & installation	London & Manchester	9	25	British passport	BSc	1983	Nigeria
Ngozi	50 - 55	F	Food manufacturing	Essex	11	3	ILR	MSc	1994	Nigeria
Ochuko	50 - 52	M	Financial services	Essex	8	2	British passport	MSc	2001	Nigeria
Kalifa	45 - 50	F	Social enterprise & financial services	Newcastle	4	Only volunteers	British passport	BSc	2002	Zimbabwe
Amina	35 - 40	F	Social enterprise	Edinburgh	3	None	British passport	MSc	1981	Sierra Leone

NA = Not available ILR = Indefinite Leave to Remain

6.6.6 *Gaining Access*

At the start of the research project, I started out to explore the experiences of African Caribbean small business owners in the UK. This was based on the notion that this population represents a significant proportion of black ethnic identity in the UK. My first point of call was to search online for African Caribbean business directories, with the hope of generating enough database and contacts for interview. When I explored online platforms of African Caribbean businesses in the UK, I realised that although such platforms were scarce, the few available were not detailed enough. Online platforms I encountered during my search include beanslist, African Caribbean Business Network (ACBN) and British Afro Caribbean. I tried to contact some of these businesses but the feedback was poor. For example, I compiled a list of African Caribbean business owners from beanslist in 2017 (the beanslist website seems to have disappeared at the time of writing this paper in 2019) and sent out emails about my research project and requested volunteers for interview. But out of twenty emails to various business owners, I got only one response back. Then encountered various barriers in scheduling interview with this sole participant. After this first process, I realised the sample population was too broad and decided to narrow it down to Sub-Saharan African migrant entrepreneurs.

After I judged the first attempt at gaining access to participants was unsuccessful, I started a direct approach method. This approach was used during the pilot stage of this research. It involves walking straight to shops, offices and restaurants of African businesses; introducing myself, telling them about my research and requesting permission to interview them for the research project. This approach was not particularly successful either. Approached business owners came up with several excuses why they could not grant me interview time. Excuses such as I'm too busy, I will consider your request and get back to you (they never did) etc. From a standpoint theory perspective (Harding, 1991), being a black African migrant myself, I had thought that gaining access would be relatively easy, but the same obstacles I experienced online, I had offline.

In all, I approached six small business owners in the city of Newcastle upon Tyne and got one favourable response for interview. This positive response was used as a starting point for my pilot study. It was during my interactions with him I realised why many of the small business owners I had approached might have refused to show interest in my research or let alone be available for interview. Apparently, I had been to this barber's shop to have my hair cut previously before I approached him, so informally he recognised me and we have had a conversion and informal discussions during a barbing session.

On one of the occasions, I had been to the barber's shop to ask for my potential participant who I now refer to as Ali. Ali was not in the shop but one of the people in the shop said I should wait for him, as he was somewhere close. Good for me, Ali showed up within 10 minutes, not long after Ali showed up, one elderly black woman (in her mid-60s or so) came around and distributed a flyer about an engagement workshop the Home Office was planning and so on. She had requested they put the flyer in a conspicuous place for everyone who comes into the shop to see. Because of her age, they respectfully collected the flyer and as soon as she was gone the flyer ended up in the bin. I was amazed because I thought this was a good opportunity for those who had issues with the Home Office to ask questions and get clarifications. When I asked Ali why he did that, then he explained the reason to me. Ali said that flyer was "going to spoil business" for him (drive customers away from coming to his shop). Practically, he meant that people coming into the shop once they see anything Home Office would stop coming, and said he had thought I was also fronting for Home Office and HMRC before. Then it dawned on me that the informal business practices of some migrants might constitute a huge barrier in gaining access. On reflection, I came up with the following reasons why I found it difficult to gain access to black business owners:

- Home Office and illegal status: Some of the migrant entrepreneurs I approached were not sure of my intentions and they had genuine concern about my research. They weren't sure if I was sent by the Home Office to find out questions about their business. Although all of these business owners have legal status in the UK (they won't openly operate a business if they didn't) they

were concern about their clients or workers who may have issues with the Home Office and the impact of my interview on such people and indirectly on their business.

- Tax and HMRC: Just like above, the migrant business owners have serious doubt about my intention as to whether I was fronting for HMRC because of the various informal business practices in their business. Research already showed that ethnic businesses are a “mosaic of formal and informal activities” with tendencies for extra-legal business practices (Lazaridis and Koumandraki, 2003). Thus, an informal business practice associated with tax prevented them from granting access to interview.
- Business secrets: Some participants were concerned I wanted to ‘steal’ their business secrets. Even after assuring them otherwise, they were not convinced of my intentions.
- Busyness: Some of the businesses especially African shops were busy and the business owners were also the attendant staff. So they practically had no space for interview. When I had suggested doing an interview on Sunday, they strictly objected as Sunday is for family.
- Trust: All the above reasons for lack of access can be summarised as a lack of trust. The trust factor was connected to the reasons I was refused. Simply put, they did not know me. Although I thought my sample population would easily accept me because I am an African, I soon realised it takes more than ethno-racial identity to gain access; after all, I was just another stranger to them. This confirms Giddens (1990) observation that trust and risk are correlated in social relations, and when the perception of risk is high, trust is not given.

To overcome these observed barriers, I started asking people I already knew within the African community for referrals. This approach was successful. Friends, family and colleagues referred me to business owners they know who eventually allowed me to interview them.

6.7 Sampling Method

6.7.1 *Sample population*

As stated above, my initial sample population was African Caribbean first-generation migrant small business owners in the UK. Based on initial barriers to accessing participants for interview, more clarity in research scope and after consultation with supervisors; the sample population was narrowed down to Sub-Saharan African migrant entrepreneurs. According to the Office for National Statistics, the estimated number of immigrants coming to Britain from Sub-Saharan African has grown by nearly 100% between 2001 and 2017 (ONS, 2001; 2017). Increase in migration from Sub-Saharan Africa has been attributed to various reasons (see the section on Black Africans in Britain); however, an area which has been left out is the youthful population of the Africa continent. According to research by the World Economic Forum, the world's 10 youngest populations are all in Africa. They are not just in Africa, but the world's 10 youngest populations are all from Sub-Saharan Africa (WEF, 2016). This suggests that Africa has a good potential for entrepreneurship (Kayondo, 2016). This enterprising attitude of young Africans may contribute to an increase in migration, as young Africans now seek opportunity in the former colonial empire.

Fowler (2009) defines the research sample population as every person or business that falls within the sample criteria for inclusion in the study. While there is no exact figure of Black African migrant small business owners in the UK, the CIPD estimates that 11% of all self-employment in Britain is from the Black/African/Caribbean ethnic minority group (CIPD, 2018). This sample population of black migrant entrepreneurs are in business of varied sizes, forms and types; operating in various part of the United Kingdom in different sector of the economy. The sample population used for this study is any first-generation migrant entrepreneur from Sub-Saharan Africa.

At the beginning of the study, it was gender sensitive. I had thought I would look at the experience of only male black migrant entrepreneurs because I was finding it difficult to get female participants for interview. However, with more engagement and referrals I started having female entrepreneurs to interview. So my sample population included

both male and female black African migrant entrepreneurs engage in self-employment and small business ownership in Britain.

6.7.2 *Sampling*

Two sampling strategies were adopted for this research, namely: purposive sampling and snowball sampling. Purposive sample otherwise known as judgement sample is a sampling strategy where the researcher considers and selects the most productive sample for the research question (Marshall, 1996). Schatzman and Strauss (1973: 39) identify the purposive sample as a practical sampling strategy which is "shaped by the time the researcher has available to him, by his framework, by his starting and developing interests, and by any restrictions placed upon his observations by his hosts". Purposive sampling was used as a sampling strategy based on two factors.

Firstly, based on the literature, I divided the migrant and ethnic minority entrepreneurs into three: professional migrant entrepreneurs, traditional migrant entrepreneurs and survival migrant entrepreneurs. These categories are based on the nature of business observed among participants and established prior to data analysis. Table 6 gives the features of each of these groups. My intention was to get a proportion of samples from each of these categories to interview for the study. Most of the samples came from the traditional migrant entrepreneur group as expected. There were some samples as well from the professional migrant entrepreneurs. The majority of samples from the survival form of migrant entrepreneurship as identified in this study were mostly women. The second reason for using purposive sampling was to have a good representation of the major UK cities in the sample categories. After I controlled for London, I wanted participants from different cities represented in the sample to have a balance sample proportion and not just the experience from a particular part of the country.

Table 6: Typology of Migrant Entrepreneurs Used for this Study

Characteristics	**Professional**	**Traditional**	**Survival**
Description	These are migrant entrepreneurs with	These are conventional migrant entrepreneurs	These are migrant entrepreneurs who practice

	high human and social capital doing business in the high growth sector of the economy.	doing business in low growth and low value added sector of the economy.	precarious forms of entrepreneurship. They are pushed into entrepreneurship by personal and legal conditions, barely surviving at the margins of our society.
Sector of the economy	Formal: business not limited to the ethnic economy.	Semi-formal: business mainly operates in the ethnic economy	Informal: co-ethnic businesses, deeply embedded within the ethnic enclave economy
Education and human capital	High skilled	Moderate/ low skilled	Low skilled/ unskilled
Example of business	Businesses in IT, accounting, real estate, financial services and consulting services etc.	Businesses established in the traditional service sector of the economy such as retail, catering, transport, cleaning, barbing salons, typical African shops and restaurants etc.	Home-based entrepreneurs such as childminders, hair stylists, nannies, domestic workers, day labourers etc.
Journal articles	Edward et al (2016), Vallejo and Canizales (2016)	Jones et al (1994), Edward and Ram (2006), Raijman and Tienda (2000)	Boyd (2000), Martin (2014), Zlolniski (2006), Valenzuela (2001), Ramirez and Hondagneu-Sotelo (2009), Ram et al (2007), Bhimji (2010), Estrada (2016).
No of samples used	10	11	3

Source: Compiled by me

After the initial drawback in accessing participants, snowball became a useful sampling strategy to recruit participants for the study. Snowball sampling is a chain referral technique used in qualitative research to access hidden and hard to reach population (Cohen and Arieli, 2011). Vogt (1999) described it as “a technique for finding research subjects. One subject gives the researcher the name of another subject, who in turn provides the name of a third, and so on”. Although I would not describe the sample population as hard to reach, however, snowball became a useful

sampling strategy because of the lack of willingness of the sample population to participate in interviews. The snowball samples used were also purposive samples in that I considered the factors used in the purposive sampling during referrals. Referrals for this study came from the Sub-Saharan Africa Research Society at Newcastle University. Members of this society were useful in providing potential participants for the study. Other sources of referral include churches, personal network and family networks. Interviewees also referred participants to me, some without even asking. Penrod et al. (2003) have observed the use of chain referral sampling as a way of overcoming limited social networks and reaching a 'hidden' population. While purposive sampling is common in qualitative research, some researchers have used a combination of purposive and snowball in researching ethnic and migrant entrepreneurs (Daniel and Anwar, 2014).

6.7.3 *Sample size*

Sample size has been a contested area in qualitative research. How many sample is sufficient to answer the research question is a contextual and subjective question. Also, there is a comparison and competition with quantitative research, for qualitative researchers to use large sample. Even within qualitative research, there is a clear schism between positivist qualitative researchers, non-positivist qualitative researchers and critical anti-positivist qualitative researcher as to the appropriate sample size in qualitative research (Mir, 2018). Seidman (2012) suggests that the sufficient sample size is when the collected data reaches saturation – a point where no new knowledge is generated and the interview becomes repetitive. However, Mir (2018: 310) argues that qualitative researchers must not subject themselves to positivists standards and methodologies and "throw away the yokes of reliability, validity, sample size and a simplistic understanding of the falsifiable and the tautological".

IPA, the method of data analysis used for this study has a preference for small sample size. Smith and Osborn (2003) establish that there is no right or wrong sample size in IPA studies. IPA studies have been conducted with one, four or fifteen sample (Pietkiewicz and Smith, 2012). Sample size in entrepreneurship studies that have used

IPA vary from eight (Cope, 2011), eleven (Munoz and Cohen, 2018) to twenty (Rehman and Roomi, 2012). Although there is no general rule as to sample size, Pietkiewicz and Smith (2012) argue that sample size should be based on whether the researcher "wants to give a comprehensive and in-depth analysis about a particular participant's experiences or present a more general account on a group or specific population". In the bid to present a more general account of the sample population and make the sample as representational as possible, I have used 24 samples for this study.

6.8 Method of Data Analysis

6.8.1 *Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA)*

Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) is a recent type of phenomenological approach to qualitative studies which has gained popularity among scholars especially in the field of psychology (Smith, 2011). Since its emergence, IPA has gained recognition in other social science and management fields including the field of entrepreneurship, migration and identity. "IPA is concerned with the detailed examination of personal lived experience, the meaning of experience to participants and how participants make sense of that experience" (Smith, 2011: 9). Apart from exploring any experience, IPA is commonly used to analyse and interpret the existential experience of significance to the participants (Smith, 2011). The central goal of IPA is to get beyond mere description by engaging with and exploring individual experiences and meanings attached to those experiences. By acknowledging that people are 'self-interpreting beings' (Taylor, 1985), who are able to make sense and interpret their own experiences. It uses the fundamental principles of phenomenology, hermeneutics and idiography (Smith, 2011).

IPA is double hermeneutic, idiographic and inductive (Smith, 2004). As a phenomenological hermeneutic (as opposed to just being descriptive) IPA acknowledges that meanings are not fixed but emergent. Explanations and meanings are contextual, agentic and historical (Finlay, 2009). It is not just hermeneutic, it is double hermeneutic or a dual interpretation process; in the sense that the researcher

is trying to make sense of the respondents trying to make sense of their social world (Smith, 2004; Smith and Osborn, 2003). During the analytical process, the researcher is able to switch in his or her role from a phenomenological insider position to an interpretative outsider position (Pietkiewicz and Smith, 2012). Therefore taking into consideration the perspective of the researcher in the interpretative process and acknowledging the researcher as an active agent in the construction of knowledge. It is idiographic because it is committed to the detailed examination of an individual case as an exemplar of the studied population. It explores every single case before generating themes and enables the researcher to make a specific statement from the detailed case analysis of participants (Smith, 2004; Pietkiewicz and Smith, 2012). It is inductive as "IPA researchers do not attempt to verify or negate specific hypotheses established on the basis of the extant literature; rather they construct broader research questions which lead to the collection of expansive data" (Smith, 2004: 43).

IPA is an attempt to make qualitative research rigorous, systematic and detailed; while giving the researcher some flexibility and creativity to make sense of the research data (Larkin, Watts, and Clifton, 2006). While it is grounded in the text and voices of participants, the researcher is able to move beyond the text to a wider social context and relevant literature to make sense and give meaning to participants' experiences (Smith, 2004). In the context of this study, it examines how migrant entrepreneurs narrate and make sense of their ethnic identity as they negotiate intersecting structures within entrepreneurial ventures. As opposed to other methods of data analysis such as discourse analysis and thematic analysis; IPA was used for this study because it overcomes the observed limitation in ethnic minority and migrant entrepreneurship of the lack of agency of migrant entrepreneurs to negotiate structures of inequality (Cederberg and Villares-Varela, 2019; Laer and Janssens, 2017). IPA promotes the agency of migrant entrepreneurs by giving voice to their experiences as they navigate structural constraints. Thereby giving a meaningful account of how intersectional identities are experienced and enacted in everyday life. Also, IPA has gained popularity and is now being extensively used in the study of identity, resulting in a more nuanced understanding of subjectivity and lived experience. Using IPA in this study does not only provide more nuanced understanding to the discourse of identity and enterprise but also gives voice to the

“subjective nature of lived experience from the perspective of those who experience it” (Cope, 2005: 168).

There is a significant difference in the use of IPA in psychology and in entrepreneurship. In the field of psychology, IPA has been used more in relation to cognitive experiences and processes. Emerging literature in the field of entrepreneurship has tended to use the principles of IPA to explore lived experience in relation to the entrepreneurial process. This is not to say IPA does not explore the lived experience of participants in psychological studies, however, most studies tend to focus on mental processes and cognitive behaviour reflecting the context of the subject area. Entrepreneurial studies that focus on entrepreneurial cognition and identity will benefit significantly from the use of IPA. This will enable entrepreneurship scholars to combine psychological inquiry with lived experience in a way that will enhance the development of theory and accommodate the diverse manifestations of entrepreneurship.

The analytical process adopted for this research was based on following previous studies that have used IPA in entrepreneurship research. For example, Cope (2011) combines the principles of IPA with seminal work on the phenomenological analysis of interview data from Hycner (1985) to develop themes and show the coding process. In another study, Munoz and Cohen (2018) combined the principles of IPA with the Gioia method of data analysis (Gioia et al., 2013) to develop conceptual and theoretical themes. In this research, I have adopted both Cope (2011) and Munoz and Cohen (2018) work to find patterns across participants narratives and develop themes. In essence, the analytical process used for this research is a combination of the iterative IPA principle of analysis of interview data, used alongside the seminal work of Hycner (1985). To enrich IPA with qualitative rigour and systematic approach to theme development, IPA was combined with pattern-finding as illustrated by the Gioia method. This is important because I have used QSR NVivo 12 to organise the coding process and make theme development systematic (see figure 5 for the analytical process). In all, I used a seven-stage analytical process to develop codes and

superordinate themes. The seven-stage levels of the analytical process applied to the transcribed interviews are described in table 7.

The analysis focused on the interpretation participants ascribed to their experiences. While participants may have similar experiences, they do not give the same meaning to their experiences. In this sense, the phenomenon is not different experiences, it is the different ways of perceiving, interpreting and making sense of similar experiences. This accounts for the different ways (ethnicity as a barrier, as a resource, and ethnicity does not matter) participants perceive their ethnicity in entrepreneurship as contained in Table 9. For example, participants who described ethnicity as a resource did not deny the experiences of racism and discrimination, but those experiences did not inform their interpretation of the role of the black ethnic identity in entrepreneurship.

Table 7: IPA Seven-stage Analytical Process

Level of analysis	**Process step**	**Description of analysis**
Familiarisation	Reading and re-reading the manuscript	Reading and re-reading the transcribed interviews give familiarity with the data. This occasionally involves listening to recorded interviews to gain clarity. The aim of this process is to become 'intimate' with the data (Senior et al., 2002).
Gaining insight	Initial noting	This involves a free textual analysing done by highlighting and colour coding significant excerpts from the data (Smith and Osborn, 2008).
Importation of data	QSR NVivo 12 Pro	Data transferred into NVivo 12 (computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software) where further analysis took place. Interview data imported one at a time.
Categorisation	Developing emergent themes	Descriptive exploration of data done, followed by developing initial and emerging codes.
Pattern recognition	Developing inter-case themes	Steps 1- 4 were completed for every case individually. Then, themes were compared to identify similarities and differences. This involved aspect of shared experiences and re-configuration of themes.

Interpretation	Writing up	The formal write up of the research findings done at this stage. This requires a balance between representation, interpretation and contextualisation of data as the researcher makes sense of the data (Smith, 2004; Larkin et al., 2006).
Abstraction and Explanation	Converging literature	An abstraction from the individual case and in relation with relevant literature was used to produce a theoretical explanation for the research.

Source: Adapted from Cope (2011)

Based on the analytical process (figure 5) aggregate themes were developed from representative quotes and narratives of participants. The exploratory coding tends to make sense of the accounts and narratives of participants in the best possible way. The first order themes and second order themes are conceptual and interpretative themes developed as the researcher tends to make sense of participants making sense of their social worlds (Smith, 2004). The aggregate theme is the umbrella theme which accommodates various conceptual and interpretative themes. It was used to better manage and organise the overall theme development.

6.8.2 Criticisms of IPA

However, IPA is not without criticisms. Critics have argued that, like any other phenomenological analysis, IPA is not different; it is too descriptive and laden with ambiguities (Giorgi, 2010). Positivist oriented qualitative researchers have expressed the lack of standardisation in IPA studies (Tuffour, 2017; Giorgi, 2010). To this, Smith (2004: 40) argues that “one cannot do good qualitative research by following a cookbook”. Van Manen (2017) has argued the credibility of IPA as a phenomenological approach and questioned whether IPA is interpretative psychological analysis or interpretative phenomenological analysis. Smith (2018) has described these arguments as misrepresentations. He contends that phenomenological theorists have “complex nexus of convergences and divergences” approaches to phenomenology citing Moran (2000). Zahavi (2018) has contributed to this debate, arguing that both van Manen and Smith are to blame for “promoting various confusions concerning the

nature of phenomenology" (p. 1). Perhaps there will be a rejoinder from van Manen and (or) Smith to Zahavi's assertion on 'genuine' and 'original' phenomenological inquiry. However, to my understanding, this is a debate between phenomenology as a philosophy and as a qualitative research methodology. A debate in which phenomenological philosophers try to question and query the practical ways in which phenomenological researchers use phenomenology as an approach for conducting qualitative research. Smith (2009: 32) has rebuffed this criticism by claiming that "philosophy does not own phenomenology". Gill (2014) compares five different types of phenomenological methodologies, differentiating between descriptive phenomenology (Husserlian) where he placed van Manen's hermeneutic phenomenology; and interpretative phenomenology (Heideggerian) where he placed Smith's IPA. He argues that "while different types of phenomenology exist, often with differing assumptions or processes, their differences should not obscure their fundamental similarities" and that "all phenomenological methodologies operate within a broad tradition of phenomenological thought and associated principles" (p. 129). Whether philosophers will agree on what is phenomenology in its 'original' sense is beyond the scope of this study, however, what qualitative researchers are looking for is practical, adaptable, flexible and creative ways to use phenomenological methodologies, and these they found in IPA. These criticisms have not limited the use of IPA as a method of phenomenological analysis; rather IPA is becoming popular among social scientists, just as Pringle et al., (2011: 20) observe, "the use of IPA seems certain to expand in coming years".

6.9 Ethics

Ethics has become an important consideration in qualitative research (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008) and even more significant in the era of the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR). Ethical consideration influences the research plan, gaining of access, method of data collection and the analysis of collected data (Saunders et al., 2009). Some interview participants were also interested in how their data will be used and the confidentiality of shared information. The first task was to get ethics approval from the University research ethics team. This involved completing online

documentation about the research and potential risk to participants. The research was categorised as low risk and given green light by the ethics team.

Other ethics concerns during the interview process involved informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity of participants. Informed consent was achieved by giving participants sufficient details about the research project. Why it is being carried out, how the information will be used and permission to audio record the interview. Since participants were adults, not vulnerable and research is low risk, verbal consent was obtained from research participants. MRCC et al (1998) have argued that such form of consent does not require signing. Gray (2004) suggests that if the interview questions should make participants uncomfortable, upset or angry, such interview should be cancelled. Part of the informed consent was to guarantee the right of the interviewees to decline any question they were not comfortable with. Confidentiality and anonymity were resolved by protecting the information, business secret, family backgrounds, business income and the legal status of participants during the communication of research findings. This was done by providing assurance that sensitive information will be protected. To keep up with this commitment, pseudonyms have been used to represent the participants and other sensitive and traceable details removed from research findings.

6.10 Quality, Reliability and Validity in IPA

There are no clear-cut criteria on how to determine the quality of qualitative research (Leung, 2015). General guidelines given by scholars include a good fit between construct, theory, and methodology (Winter, 2000); rigour of interpretation (Lincoln et al., 2011); and the dual core criteria of transparency and ‘systematicity’ as noted by Meyrick (2006). The nature of phenomenological research is not to produce the truth, but a coherent and legitimate account of what participants consider to be truthful (Pringle et al., 2011; Golafshani, 2003). Researchers have argued that the use of reliability and validity in qualitative research is an attempt to subject phenomenological research to the same logical empiricism of quantitative research (Mir, 2018; Beck et al., 1994; Golafshani, 2003). Winter (2000) argues that the concept of validity in qualitative research is controversial. He contends that “reliability and validity are tools

of an essentially positivist epistemology." Before the concepts of validity and reliability are used in qualitative research, Golafshani (2003) states that they should be redefined so as to reflect the many ways of approaching and establishing the truth.

According to Leung (2015), validity is a way of measuring the appropriateness of the research. This includes the choice of methodology, the sampling, data analysis and whether the findings aligns with the research question. "Validity determines whether the research truly measures that which it was intended to measure or how truthful the research results are" (Joppe, 2000: 1). Reliability has been defined as the "extent to which results are consistent over time and an accurate representation of the total population under study is referred to as reliability and if the results of a study can be reproduced under a similar methodology, then the research instrument is considered to be reliable" (Joppe, 2000: 1). Even in quantitative research what is valid or reliable is subjective, as a method can be valid in an instance and invalid in another (Maxwell, 1992).

My goal in this research is not to demonstrate reproducibility, generalisability or implicit accuracy of participants' accounts. But present a coherent argument of the phenomenon being studied in relation to its theoretical and philosophical underpinnings. Giorgi and Giorgi (2003) argue that concerning phenomenology and IPA, the lived experiences of participants are valid, legitimate and credible target of inquiry. The double hermeneutic principle of IPA means that interpretation is subjective and two researchers might end up with different analysis (Smith, 2004). In the bid to achieve validity and ensure accurate interpretation of findings, some researchers (e.g. Rehman and Roomi, 2012) sought feedbacks from field participants as suggested by Stiles (1993). However, Smith et al (2009) have identified this to be unnecessary, as they argue that IPA is double hermeneutic and gives the researcher the flexibility to make sense of participants' experiences. This study agrees with this position and did not seek clarification on the interpretation giving to participants' experiences.

The goal of validity in this research is not a claim to unilateral truth but an attempt to show transparency and 'systematicity' as argued by Meyrick (2006). Attempts made in this study to demonstrate quality and validity include: (i) transparency in how participants were selected; how access was gained; an explanation of the interview process and a clear analysis of data based on the analytical process. (ii) NVivo was used to aid transparency and systematic development of themes and research findings. (iii) The use of independent audit as argued by Smith et al (2009) to check the claims and themes developed by researcher in relation to transcribed data. My supervisor and a fellow doctoral student acted as independent auditors in this research to ensure quality and transparency.

6.11 Reflexivity on Research Methodology

In this section, I explore my influence on the research process as being aware that my ethnic identity being the same with my participants may influence the production of data and analysis. Also, my reflections on the co-production of knowledge during the interview process based on my interactions with participants.

Reflexivity has been described as a good practice in qualitative research and especially in IPA (Shaw, 2010). Reflexivity has been defined as an "explicit evaluation of the self" within the context of a research process (Shaw, 2010: 234). It is also the "process of continually reflecting upon our interpretations of both our experience and the phenomena being studied so as to move beyond the partiality of our previous understandings and our investment in particular research outcomes" (Finlay 2003: 108). Smith et al. (2009) observe the importance of reflexivity as a way for the researcher to reflect on how their involvement might have influenced data interpretation and the whole research process. Apart from being a good academic practice, reflexivity is considered as a hermeneutic reflection because of its grounding in phenomenological reflection (Finlay, 2003). Also, Finlay (2002) identifies that reflexivity increases the integrity and trustworthiness of qualitative research.

Although gaining access was initially difficulty, once access was granted, participants were open to sharing their experiences as they perceived me as an ‘insider’ and as ‘one of them’ (Giazitzoglu, 2018; O'Mullan et al., 2019). Giazitzoglu (2018) identifies that being an insider enhances research participation and enables the researcher to gain the trust of participants. The insider status, allowed me to better explore the topic of identity, understand jargons used by participants, questioned narratives and other cultural nuances, as participants ‘feel more at home’ with me to share genuine concerns regarding the intersection of ethnic identity in their entrepreneurial activities. As participants shared their experiences, sometimes there was an inner voice saying to me ‘you could relate with that’ and at that point both the researcher and participants viewed the subject being explored from the same lens. However, our narratives differ in many ways, as I found some narratives strange (I never thought like that), some interesting (interpretations giving to experiences within their lives) and others as exaggerations of their experiences as members of black ethnic identity. I have had to challenge some claims participants made about discrimination and perception of black ethnic identity. Likewise, some participants had tried to differentiate to me between prejudice and discrimination when at the time I had muddled these concepts together. For example, I once challenged a participant about his narrative on discrimination of opportunity when he had applied for a bank loan prior to getting his British citizenship. He later acknowledged that such a narrative may be because he had no citizenship status as at the time. He then went on to narrate another experience about institutional discrimination he experienced with the police. He ended by saying:

> So, I just felt this is discrimination in action, that’s why I said upon reflection I might be wrong, because lately I was, erhm, listening to a programme about policing in the UK, and the police boss said they now prioritise cases to deal with in the UK, because the government has cut down their budget (Lawal).

At this point, it was not only the researcher that was reflective of the participant’s narratives, but also the participant became aware of his assumptions about discrimination. In this sense, my objective as a researcher was to proactively minimise the effect of my beliefs, preconceptions and assumptions on my interpretation. Also,

to manage myself as I interact with participants and the narratives of participants account of their experiences (Shaw, 2010).

Reflexivity also played a role in my choice of data analytical method. At the initial stage of the research, I had contemplated the choice of data analysis method to be used for the research. I was caught between thematic analysis and IPA. After initial reading on both methods, I found that IPA would offer me some flexibility around conceptual coding and also provides a framework for conducting research, which thematic analysis might not offer me. In my research on studies that have used IPA, I also found that IPA has been used extensively to study identity, unlike thematic analysis. To clear my doubt and criticism about IPA, and to 'master' how to use IPA in research, I attended a workshop on *introduction to IPA* conducted by Professor Paul Flowers and Dr Adele Dickson at the Glasgow Caledonian University. This workshop cleared my doubts and my rigid perspectives of how to use IPA. After the workshop, I was certain I was going to use IPA for my data analysis and more confident about using IPA for data analysis.

Another significant role of using reflexivity during my research is what I called active co-production of knowledge. My observation during the interview was that participants were not passive actors during the interview process. Some participants had a certain point of views they wanted to express and make salient during the interview process. By doing so, the interview exercise becomes a platform for the co-production of knowledge between the interviewee and the interviewer. It was interesting to observe that some participants had anticipated which questions I would ask and had planned how to answer those questions. They were conscious of the important role they play in the production of knowledge. It was common to hear participants asking: "did I answer that question well?", "I hope I have answered them right?" or saying "I don't think I answered that very well". These suggest that the interview process is more than participants sharing their experiences or just answering questions; the interview is not just a question and answer session. It is a platform for the construction and co-construction of knowledge. Some of my participants saw the interview process as an exchange of knowledge and were quite conscious of their role in performing this role.

This chapter has given an overview of the research methodology employed for this research. It has explained the philosophical assumptions to the research and the process of data collection. The method of data analysis was discussed and its relevance to the research was justified. The next chapter will focus on the research findings.

Chapter 7. Black Identity Construction, Negotiation and Compensation in Entrepreneurship

This chapter presents the main findings of the research project. Drawing on the interpretative phenomenological data analysis, findings were constructed from participants experience in such a manner as to make sense of their narratives. Based on representative data from interviews, exploratory coding was developed. Following the exploratory coding, the descriptive, interpretative and aggregate themes have been identified using cluster analysis. The main findings have been summarised into three aggregate parts using as follows:

(i) Construction and Perception of Black Ethnic Identity in Enterprise
(ii) Compensation for Black Ethnic Identity in Enterprise
(iii) Associated Themes of Intersectional Black Ethnic Identity in Enterprise

The analytical process (figure 5) contains a framework of the research findings. It contains representative quotes which illustrate how research participants make sense of their experiences and their social world in which they do business. This is followed by exploratory descriptive coding which seeks to describe and make sense of the representative quotes. The interpretative first order themes were developed from the exploratory codes. The different interpretative first order themes were then clustered to produce the conceptual second order themes which further simplified emerging themes and categorised them. The last column is the aggregate theme which is a combination of the interpretative first order and conceptual second order themes. In all, there are three aggregate themes; these aggregate themes and their sub-themes are further discussed in the sections below.

7.1 Construction and Perception of Black Ethnic Identity in Enterprise

The first aggregate theme of the research findings is the construction and perception of black ethnic identity and how this impacts on the entrepreneurial activities and outcomes of African migrant entrepreneurs. This aggregate theme is further divided into two parts: the societal construction and perception of black ethnic identity in enterprise and the migrants' interpretation and perception of societal construction of

black ethnic identity in enterprise. These two conceptual categories are now further explained below:

7.1.1 *Societal construction and perception of black ethnic identity in enterprise*

How the society in which African migrant entrepreneurs are embedded constructs and perceive black ethnic identity is critical to entrepreneurial venturing and development. Data from the majority of research participants suggest that black ethnic identity is incongruent with entrepreneurship. The construction and perception of black ethnic identity have significant impacts on the performance of African migrant entrepreneurs. Their identity as non-normative and non-hegemonic entrepreneurs implies that they require some form of legitimacy to operate within the host business environment and gain trust with customers as 'normal' and trustworthy entrepreneurs. Three themes were identified relating to how the social construction and perception of black ethnic identity affect the entrepreneurial identity and activity of African migrant entrepreneurs in the UK:

A. Identity legitimacy
B. Identity interference
C. Identity masking

The way black ethnic identity is constructed and perceived in Britain as non-normative identity requires some form of legitimisation to negotiate the entrepreneurial space and be seen as 'real' entrepreneur (identity legitimacy). This stereotypic construction creates specific barriers and conflict of identity for black migrants engage in entrepreneurship (identity interference), resulting in entrepreneurs adopting different strategies to mask black ethnic identity so as to reduce or neutralise the potential disadvantage of black ethnic identity in business (identity masking). Each of these concepts is further discussed below. Table 8 gives a summary of the analytical coding and themes development.

Figure 5: Analytical Process

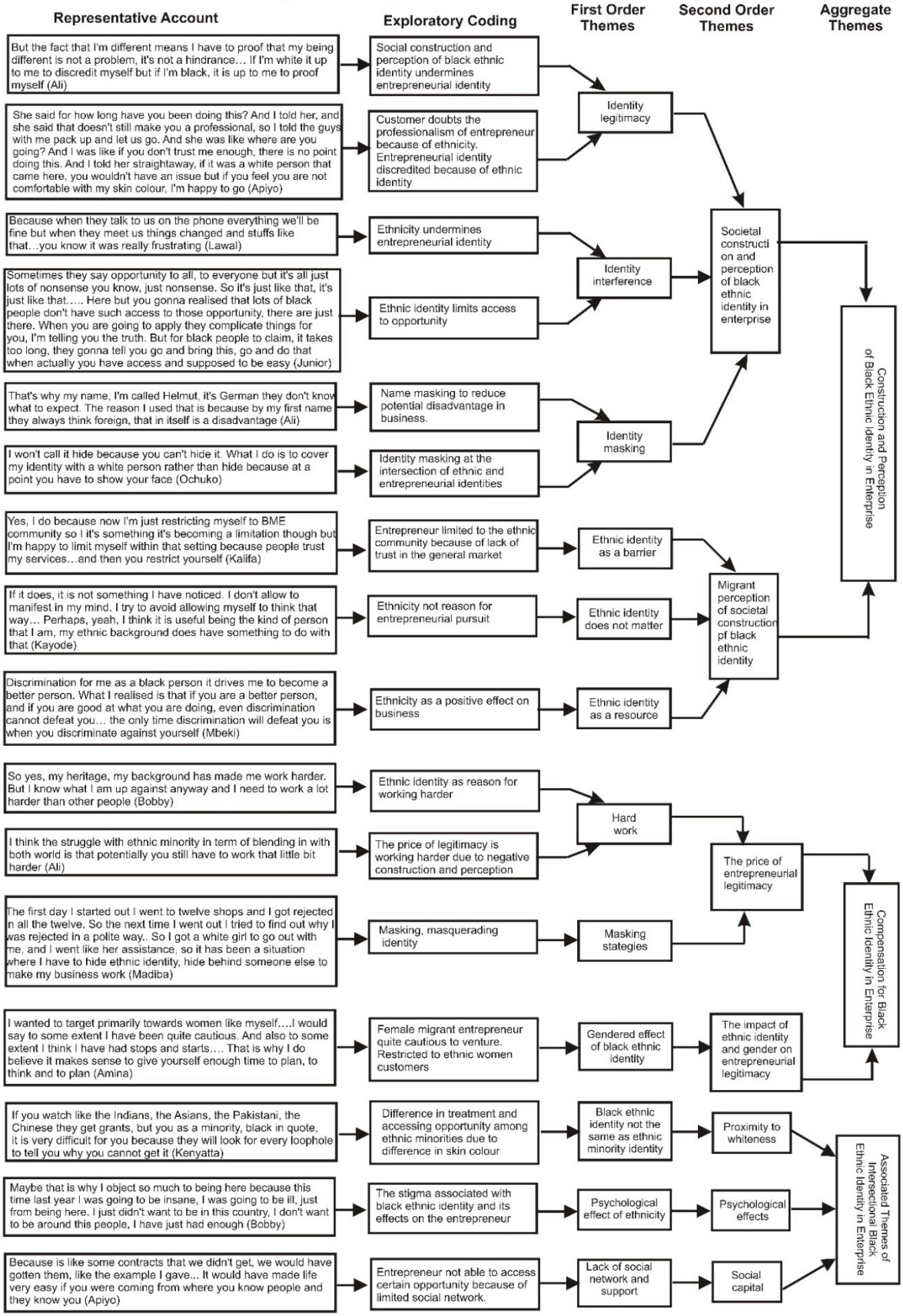


Table 8: Societal Construction and Perception of Black Ethnic Identity in Enterprise

Representative account	**Exploratory coding**	**Interpretative First Order Theme**	**Conceptual Second order Themes**
Yes definitely I wanted to proof a point because (laughter) the worst thing you can do to yourself is not to give yourself a chance to try something. I want to let white people know that black people can be good entrepreneurs too….Yeah sometimes I feel the pressure to proof myself (Dada)	Pressure to proof the legitimacy of black identity in entrepreneurship	Identity legitimacy	Societal construction and perception of black ethnic identity in enterprise
There was a day we walked into the place and the customer was shocked and the normal thing, like we need to get water, and she was just like no, no, no, don't do this, don't do that. She said for how long have you been doing this? And I told her, and she said that doesn't still make you a professional, so I told the guys with me pack up and let us go. And she was like where are you going? And I was like if you don't trust me enough, there is no point doing this. And I told her straightaway, if it was a white person that came here, you wouldn't have an issue but if you feel you are not comfortable with my skin colour, I'm happy to go, you can call in another person. And she was like no and everything. At the end of the day I did what I was meant to do. At that point she was now trying to make a conversation after the job was done, and she saw I was sure of what I was doing. At that point I was like there is no point, but I have proven to you that I am able to do it (Apiyo)	Customer doubts the professionalism of entrepreneur because of ethnicity. Entrepreneurial identity discredited because of ethnic identity		
Because when they talk to us on the phone everything we'll be fine but when they meet us things changed and stuffs like that…you know it was really frustrating (Lawal)	Ethnicity undermines entrepreneurial identity	Identity interference	
Sometimes they say opportunity to all, to everyone but it's all just lots of nonsense you know, just nonsense. So it's just like that, it's just like that….. Here but you gonna realised that lots of black people don't have such access to those opportunity, there are just there. When you are going to apply they complicate things for you, I'm telling you the truth. But for black people to claim, it takes too long,	Ethnic identity limits access to opportunity		

they gonna tell you go and bring this, go and do that when actually you have access and supposed to be easy (Junior)			
Those are the things I found challenging in the UK. Where you will have to do your proposal and do everything and even with that there is no guarantee that somebody will call you or even if they call you that you will be given a chance to say let try what you're saying….which is why I try to leverage on one of my white friends. One of the things I kind of do is to align very much with that white guy and put his face forward, in some situations at least they give us budget. I will give you a typical example, there was something we did for Bupa. Ordinarily I would have gone to make the application myself and go through the website, but I had to go through my white friend…The guy then set up a meeting with us and that was it, done! But I knew if it was just me they will probably go through the application and throw the paper away because I'm black (Ochuko)	Ethnicity limits access to opportunity. Identity masking at the intersection of ethnic and entrepreneurial identities.	Identity masking	
That's why my name, I'm called Helmut, it's German they don't know what to expect. The reason I used that is because by my first name they always think foreign, that in itself is a disadvantage (Ali)	Name masking to reduce potential disadvantage in business.		

The interpretative first order themes are further discussed below, with quotes from participants to support findings and make sense of their experiences.

Identity Legitimacy

This refers to ways in which African migrant entrepreneurs negotiate their identity so as to convince the market to perceive them as 'equal' and 'legitimate' entrepreneurial actors. This is due to the construction and perception of black ethnic identity as non-entrepreneurial and lacking normative entrepreneurial ideals. This social construction is manifested in the lack of trust in the entrepreneurial offerings of black migrant entrepreneurs and consequently on the need for approval in a white dominated western economy. Evidence from research participants suggests that black ethnic identity and identity markers are incongruent with the established mainstream British

market. At the intersection of entrepreneurial and ethnic identities, African migrant entrepreneurs struggle for acceptance and require some form of performative construction of identity to acquire legitimacy as they negotiate their potentially disparate identity. This is seen in the constant need to 'prove' themselves as legitimate entrepreneurial actors in a society that undermines their entrepreneurial identity as eccentric. This proof of belongingness, constitutes a significant weight on their entrepreneurial potential as they operate in a market that is socially constructed to racialise black identity and undermine their capacity for entrepreneurship.

These entrepreneurs do not only lack entrepreneurial legitimacy but they also suffer from a lack of identity legitimacy. Their sense of belonging and to what extent they can claim Britishness is being questioned based on their identity. The constant struggle between belonging and not belonging put them in a state of flux and conflict with their entrepreneurial self. The lack of recognition of black ethnic identity potentially impairs the entrepreneurial identity of African migrant entrepreneurs as they do not meet the normative expectation of prototypical entrepreneur who is expected to be white and male.

The following quotes from a research participant further discuss this theme:

> *But the fact that I'm different means I have to proof that my being different is not a problem, it's not a hindrance… If I'm white it up to me to discredit myself but if I'm black, it is up to me to proof myself…So, do I think my ethnicity hinders me directly? Maybe somewhat indirectly. I will tell you why. Not because I'm black but because anything good you do is clouded by your ethnicity. Even especially when you make your money legitimately, you still get tag…. it's society mentality and anything black is not good (Ali)*

Ali (an IT entrepreneur) identified being different as a source of identity legitimacy. His ethno-racial identity put him at odd with a predominantly white society. He has to convince the market and his potential customers that his skin colour is not a threat to his entrepreneurial capability. He observed that society is too ethnic conscious and

often blinded to the entrepreneurialism among black people. Identity legitimacy put pressure on black African migrant entrepreneurs to 'perform' so as to demonstrate that their 'blackness' is congruent with a culture dominated by whiteness.

Also, many research participants have recounted experiences in which society doubted their professionalism and capability because of their ethnic identity. In his interview, Junior (a barbing salon owner) identified how white young people doubted his ability to cut their hairs because of his ethnicity, and the associated mockery and frustration he got from them. This made Junior to 'proof' his capability as a professional barber by displaying pictures of celebrities he had cut in the past, before he could be accepted as a 'serious' barber. This is expressed in the following vignette:

> *When I started this business, lots of white people thought I can't cut white people hair and started mocking at me at the beginning. Lot of kids around here came here and I was really, it was frustrating you know. When I started this business here, a lot of them guys never come, a lot of them guys they were going in town to cut hair and going everywhere. When the teenage boys and girls wanted to laugh, they were coming here mocking at me, they never knew my background you know. They never know I was cutting celebrities, they never knew, but I had lots of pictures of celebrities I used to cut like Ross Barkley, Tony Bellew who is world champion boxing, Steven Pienaar and lots of guys playing for Everton and Liverpool and stuff and like others too (Junior)*

Similarly, Apiyo (a facility management entrepreneur) narrated her experience of how a certain white customer questioned her ability to do her job because of her ethnicity. She observed how the customer was shocked when she realised the manager of the facility company was a black woman. The customer asked for various proofs to satisfy she was able to do the job. After giving her proofs of her professionalism, the customer was still not satisfied until Apiyo confronted her with her prejudice. The black ethnic identity had triggered stereotype and negative social construction in the customer and

affected her perception of Apiyo's entrepreneurial identity to the point Apiyo needed to proof herself as a legitimate entrepreneur. Her narrative is as follows:

> *There was a day we walked into the place and the customer was shocked and the normal thing, like we need to get water, and she was just like no, no, no, don't do this, don't do that. She said for how long have you been doing this? And I told her, and she said that doesn't still make you a professional, so I told the guys with me pack up and let us go. And she was like where are you going? And I was like if you don't trust me enough, there is no point doing this. And I told her straightaway, if it was a white person that came here, you wouldn't have an issue but if you feel you are not comfortable with my skin colour, I'm happy to go, you can call in another person. And she was like no and everything. At the end of the day I did what I was meant to do. At that point she was now trying to make a conversation after the job was done, and she saw I was sure of what I was doing. At that point I was like there is no point, but I have proven to you that I am able to do it (Apiyo)*

Identity legitimacy is a theme that was common to many participants of this study. It shows the lack of trust for black ethnic identity resulting in black African migrant entrepreneurs in search of legitimacy and normative identity. Legitimacy thus becomes a form of capital by which black entrepreneurs acquire trust and gain acceptance, in their entrepreneurial pursuit and their aspiration for enterprise development.

Identity Interference

This refers to the specific barriers black ethnic identity creates for black entrepreneurs in western environment during the process of entrepreneurship. The embodiment of race and the identity markers that are unique to black ethnic identity create specific barriers during business venturing. Embodied identity markers such as names, accent, skin colour and symbolic codes are intersectional sites of disadvantage and inequality. For example, some of my participants refer to how their 'unconventional' African names affect their access to opportunity and negatively impact their venture success.

Participants' narratives suggest that there is a conflict between their ethnic self and entrepreneurial self, limiting their entrepreneurial opportunity and social mobility. The social construction and perception of black ethno-racial identity with its embedded stereotypes and prejudices constitute a glass ceiling which blocks black African migrant entrepreneurs from accessing business opportunity for upward mobility.

The conflicting perception of the congruency of black ethnic identity with entrepreneurial identity creates tension between black migrant entrepreneurs and the host society. For black entrepreneurs, their ethnic identity and their entrepreneurial identity is in a constant state of tension. This tension is a conflict between the salient identity and the suppressed identity. While black migrant entrepreneurs want to project their entrepreneurial identity as the salient feature of their entrepreneurial venture, society is rather concentrating on their ethnic identity and ignoring their entrepreneurial identity. It appears the society is so ethnic conscious that acts of entrepreneurialism among black African entrepreneurs are ignored because of their identity. Identity interference thus becomes a source of continuous frustration for black migrant entrepreneurs who sees western society as a land of opportunity. This dilemma is described in figure 6. At the intersection of ethnic and entrepreneurial identities, is the conflict between the salient and the suppressed identity. The intersectional site of disadvantage (ethnicity) interferes and undermines entrepreneurial identity and opportunity. In this way, intersectional identities act as a potential site of disadvantage and inequality for black African migrant entrepreneurs.

Identity interference is problematic for those who experience it and often results in an identity crisis. For research participants, identity interference connotes mixed feeling and creates conflict of identity for black entrepreneurs as they struggle to overcome and manage their spoiled identity (Goffman, 2009). The interference between ethnic and entrepreneurial 'self' creates self-doubt and confusion for black ethnic identity entrepreneurs as they are unsure what to expect from their entrepreneurial input. They are unsure of how society will receive their entrepreneurial offerings. The desire to pursue entrepreneurial opportunity is often checkmated by the scepticism surrounding the potential barrier their ethnicity may create. Some have come to a position of

neutrality where they don't care anymore. They have come to accept it as their fate and 'move on'. Others have seen it as an additional 'baggage' they have to manage in their entrepreneurial pursuit. While identity interference may not be unique to black ethnic identity, it is common to racialised black identity. Apart from the black ethnic identity, identity interference may also be associated with other stigmatised identities.

Ngozi (a food manufacturing entrepreneur) in her narrative of identity interference acknowledged the mixed feelings her ethnic identity creates for her in business. It is both a source of determination and discouragement pushing her towards a state of neutrality, where she doesn't care anymore. Ethnicity constrains business opportunity and certain doors will not open because of ethnic identity markers such as name and skin colour.

> *It gives me a determination to succeed and at the same time discourages me. It is both ways, it swings both ways. There is a bit of it that I don't really care. The other side of it as well is that there is silent racism in this country, and this comes up in business as well. Certain doors will not open because of the colour of your skin no matter how good you are. Certain doors will not open because of the name that the person put within the email or the letter, once they see the name, do you understand what I mean?…. From my years of experience, that is very obvious in this country, it is not something that is hidden. If you write a letter as John Paul to the CEO of ASDA, and you write the same letter as Ngozi Akam to the CEO of ASDA; John Paul might get a response, but Ngozi most likely won't get a response, if she gets a response, the response will be no or sorry kind of response (Ngozi)*

Bambi corroborates Ngozi's account by suggesting that ethnic identity markers such as name, may hinder entrepreneurial opportunity for ethnic minority and migrant groups.

> *For example in the UK if someone comes in and say my name is Mr John, as opposed to another who is Mr Sanusi, a name they can't pronounce. Mr John has better chance of getting the contract (Bambi)*

In a typical example of how ethnicity undermines and obstructs entrepreneurialism among black African entrepreneurs in Britain, some of my participants established that they had more success in getting business deals when their ethnicity is unknown, or when they conceal their ethnicity through online or faceless business interactions. For example, Lawal (who runs a money transfer and property business) claims that initial phone contacts and interactions with potential customers seem successful until they realised his ethnic identity. A business conversation that seems to be successful on the phone apparently becomes difficult when he meets his clients. He suggests that his ethnic identity interferes with his entrepreneurial prospects and limit business growth and development. His narrative is given below:

> *Because when they talk to us on the phone, everything we'll be fine. But when they meet us things changed and stuff like that…you know it was really frustrating (Lawal)*

It is important to mention that not all participants identify with the theme of identity interference. However, the majority of research participants did. Some participants only acknowledged the potential benefits their ethnicity creates for them in business. For example, Mbeki (a barbing salon owner) thinks his ethnic identity has empowered him as an entrepreneur to reach people of diverse backgrounds. When asked about the impact of his ethnicity on his business, he answered: "*Yes it does affect it, but it is not a negative effect. For me, it is more positive effects".* The theme of identity interference has brought to the open how structure and power relations suppress the entrepreneurial potentials of black African migrant entrepreneurs and limits their agency.

Identity Masking

Identity masking is an attempt to conceal black ethnic identity and identity markers in entrepreneurship, in order to prevent identity interference. It refers to the use of

images, symbols, associations, representations and normative identity markers by black entrepreneurs to conceal their 'blackness' so as to reduce or neutralise its potential barriers. This arises due to the tension of whether to project or not to project black ethnic identity in business as a result of the perceived lack of trust and legitimacy of black entrepreneurs. Research participants think this is necessary to overcome the psychological and emotional barriers associated with black ethnic identity markers and the misconception and misrepresentation of black ethnic identity. Identity masking is important for black migrant entrepreneurs who don't want to be limited to the ethnic economy. Accessing opportunity in the mainstream economy requires the entrepreneur to navigate unfamiliar territories; negotiate social structures and certain cultural differences and nuances. This sometimes requires the entrepreneur to perform certain identity work of masking to gain access to resources and markets that could otherwise have been difficult.

Black migrant entrepreneurs often adopt various masking strategies to conceal their identity. The different masking strategies are discussed later in section 4.2. The decision to mask or not to mask identity sometimes depends on the type of business, the nature of market the business is embedded, and the perception of the entrepreneur to the potential impact of his or her ethnicity on the business success and growth. Masking is done in such a way to align the business as close as possible to 'whiteness', and to create a sense of 'mainstream' identity for the business. This may include the entrepreneur taking a back seat and using white faces as contact points to enhance the image of the organisation as mainstream and non-ethnic. The ethnocentric nature of entrepreneurship requires that entrepreneurs who lack the normative identity produce some form of identity legitimacy by 'performing' certain identity work to counter their deficient entrepreneurial identity.

Ali identified why he uses a name that is difficult to associate with his ethnicity. According to him, the name overcomes the potential barrier associated with his African ethnic identity. He stated:

That's why my name, I'm called Helmut. It's German, they don't know what to expect. The reason I used that is because by my first name they always think foreign, that in itself is a disadvantage (Ali)

According to Ali, identity masking is necessary because non-western names create a feeling of difference and unfamiliarity which prevent 'entry level' opportunity. He believes, if he could overcome the initial barrier associated with his ethnicity, his professionalism and skill will get the rest of the job done. Ali considers identity masking as an important part of identity legitimacy which removes entry barriers and gives black African entrepreneurs a chance to access opportunity. When asked why he thinks so, he replied:

May be there will always be racism or something. The only way that is going to stop is by me understanding the game, playing the game….I think part of that is, I have to play that game, so I'm not disadvantaged

He described identity masking as a 'game' black and ethnic minority play to avoid discrimination associated with their ethnicity. It increases the chance of accessing opportunity, as it decreases the psychological and emotional barriers associated with strangeness. Other research participants also identify with the notion that identity masking removes ethnic bias and facilitates access to entrepreneurial opportunity. For example, Ochuko (a financial services entrepreneur) indicates that through identity masking, he has been able to access opportunity that otherwise would have been difficult to access. He describes his experience below:

Those are the things I found challenging in the UK. Where you will have to do your proposal and do everything and even with that there is no guarantee that somebody will call you, or even if they call you that you will be given a chance to say let try what you're saying….which is why I try to leverage on one of my white friends. One of the things I kind of do is to align very much with that white guy and put his face forward, in some situations at least they give us budget. I will give you a typical example, there was something we did for Bupa. Ordinarily I would have gone to make the application myself and go through the website, but I had to go through my white friend…The guy then set up a meeting with us

and that was it, done! But I knew if it was just me they will probably go through the application and throw the paper away because I'm black (Ochuko)

How the market and potential customers perceive identity masking is an important discussion for future research. Although identity masking reduces potential barriers associated with ethnicity, however, some black African migrant entrepreneurs consider identity masking as false characterisation of self. They identified that identity masking does not guarantee success in business, as what is most important is the value the entrepreneur brings to the market. They suggest that value is colour blind and cannot be discriminated against. So, rather than entrepreneurs working on masking identity, they should rather work on creating competitive value for their products and services. However, value creation and innovation are not devoid of ethnic bias and liability of identity (Ensign and Robinson, 2011; Das et al., 2017). The proposition that value is more important than ethnicity is summarised in the following quotes:

I feel if you know how to create value and you know how to package the value. Because there is a thing about nature that says if you know how to create value nature will pay you for it. If you understand the market, you know what the market needs and you can give the market what they need and package it very well. My dear brother, no matter your name, the market will chase you and pay you for it (Bambi)

Jamila also supported this statement, she said:

No evidence that you will be successful by hiding your face (laughter); that it will make it better. I don't believe that, I believe that once you have a good product, regardless of who you are, people will buy it, the more reason why you should project yourself and obviously people should see you, hear your story and you will be successful. It is about the image, what they see and what they taste and not about the colour of the person (Jamila)

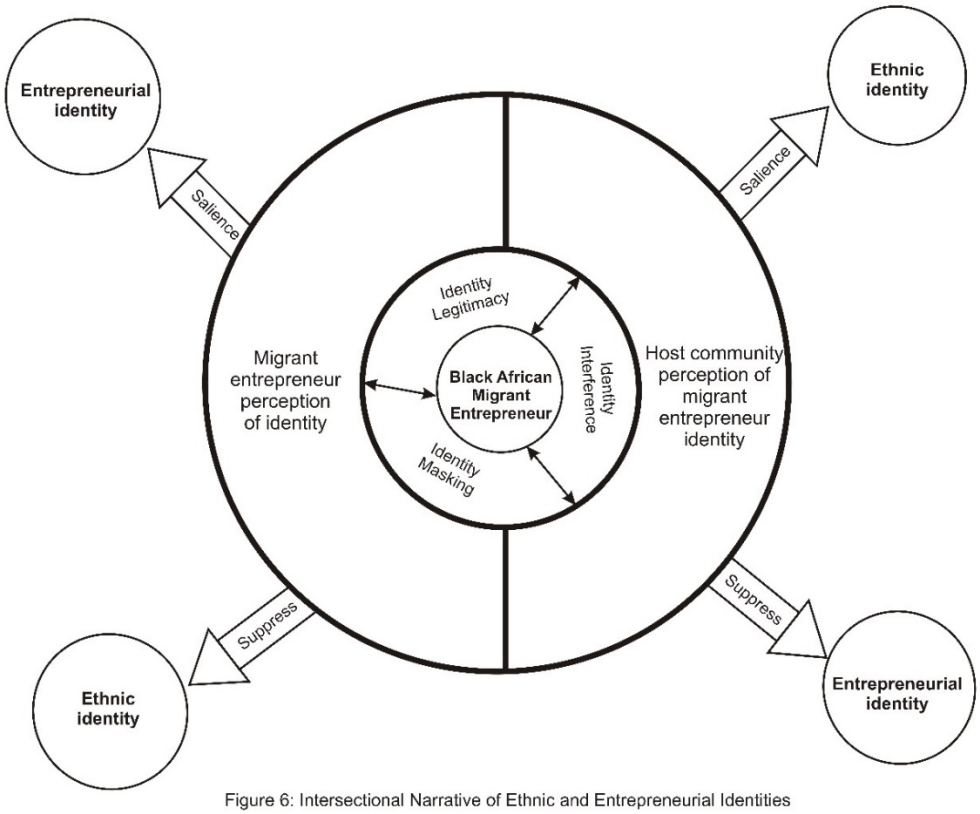


Figure 6: Intersectional Narrative of Ethnic and Entrepreneurial Identities

Figure 6 summarises the intersectional narrative of ethnic and entrepreneurial identities. It illustrates the conflict and tension at the intersection of ethnic and entrepreneurial identities. The narratives of these entrepreneurs show that their ethnic identity is more visible than their entrepreneurial identity. It identifies how the difference in the perception of ethnic identity and entrepreneurial identity creates tension between the salient identity and the suppressed identity. The conflict in the perception of identity between the migrant and the host society results in a different interpretation of ethnic and entrepreneurial identity. While black African migrant entrepreneurs want the market to focus on their entrepreneurial identity and not their ethnic identity. However, the market is partly blinded to the entrepreneurial identity of black entrepreneurs and rather focuses on their ethnic identity. This tension between salient and suppress identities sometimes creates frustration and disenchantment for black entrepreneurs.

7.1.2 *Migrants' interpretation and perception of societal construction of black ethnic identity in enterprise*

The migrant entrepreneur is not totally immune to the social construction of black ethnic identity in western societies. How black ethnic identity is represented and constructed consequently influence and affect the perception and interpretation of the role ethnicity plays in enterprise venturing, growth and success. How black migrant entrepreneurs interpret the way society represents black ethnic identity may have significant psychological barriers on the entrepreneurs and their entrepreneurial activities. This conceptual theme has three interpretative themes:

A. Ethnicity as a barrier
B. Ethnicity does not matter
C. Ethnicity as a resource

Table 9 gives a summary of the conceptual theme. These findings consider how black migrant entrepreneurs perceive the representation and construction of ethnicity on their business. They identify the impacts the social construction and perception of ethnicity have on the migrant entrepreneurs. How migrant entrepreneurs interpret and internalise the construction of ethno-racial identity has significant impacts on the entrepreneurial activities and outcomes of black African migrant entrepreneurs.

Table 9: Migrant Entrepreneurs Perception and Interpretation of Societal Construction of Black Ethnic Identity

Representative account	**Exploratory coding**	**Interpretative First Order Themes**	**Conceptual Second order Themes**
Yes, I do because now I'm just restricting myself to BME community, it's becoming a limitation though but I'm happy to limit myself within that setting because people trust my services…and then you restrict yourself (Kalifa)	Entrepreneur limited to the ethnic economy because of lack of trust by the general market	Ethnicity as a barrier	

I have friends and I mentor those who are from white ethnic background that are more successful than me, and it's because they are white (Buhari)	Entrepreneur has less success than white counterparts because of ethnicity		Migrant entrepreneurs perception and interpretation of societal construction of black ethnic identity in enterprise
If it does, it is not something I have noticed. I don't allow to manifest in my mind. I try to avoid allowing myself to think that way (Kayode)	Ethnicity not reason for entrepreneurial pursuit	Ethnicity does not matter	
In my own opinion, doing well in business is not tied to your colour and background…. So I don't want to believe that how far you go in business has anything to do with your background (Amanda)	Success in business not a function of ethnic identity		
It plays a very big role, yes, it is true because I can tell you vividly that 90% of people that come here are from my own ethnic group, so it plays a big role in the business for the business to be able to succeed (Dada)	Ethnicity as a source of customers	Ethnicity as a resource	
Yes it does affect it but it is not a negative effects. For me it is more positive effects…. For me coming from another country when you are here you have got an advantage in terms of your experience from where you were coming from (Mbeki)	Ethnicity as a positive effect on business		

Ethnicity as a Barrier

This is a psychological construction and interpretation of societal construction of black ethnic identity by the black migrant entrepreneur to a point where black ethnic identity becomes an excuse for lack of success and entrepreneurial development. Apart from the way black ethnic identity has been constructed as a potential source of stigma and disadvantage, wrong perception and internalisation of 'blackness' by a black migrant entrepreneur limits entrepreneurial venture and outcome. The way society constructs ethnic 'otherness' and perceives 'difference' has real life effects on people and their life chances. While some black entrepreneurs do not consider ethnicity as a major ingredient for enterprise success, there are those who think ethnicity significantly affects their chance of success in entrepreneurship. Some even think that societal misconception and misrepresentation of black ethnic identity is the reason for lack of progress in their entrepreneurial venture. It is quite difficult to conclude whether this construction of ethnicity as a barrier is due to the psychological internalisation of racism or the continuous experience of discrimination.

Ethnicity as a barrier is expressed by research participants in terms of diminished opportunity for success, lack of growth in enterprise and lack of upward social mobility. Participants with this mindset seem to link their ethnic identity to their lack of growth and entrepreneurial success. They fundamentally think that the reason they are limited in business is due to their ethnicity and ethnic identity markers. This suggests they have internalised wrong societal construction and representation of black ethnic identity and use it as an excuse for their entrepreneurial limitations. Entrepreneurs with this mindset are not quite open to exploring other avenues for ventures' growth and development, as they think society is 'punishing' them for their ethnicity. This mindset along with the barriers associated with their ethnicity constrain these black migrant entrepreneurs, limiting them to the ethnic economy and co-ethnic market. They believe the society discriminates against their entrepreneurial offerings because of their ethnic identity and this limits their opportunity for success, scaling and social mobility. This is not to ignore the potential barriers associated with black ethnic identity in entrepreneurship as discussed in the section on identity interference, however, the extent to which this becomes the ultimate reason for lack of success is questionable. Nonetheless, this is not enough reason to make these entrepreneurs quit their entrepreneurial pursuit, as they believe they will eventually overcome the limitations of their ethnicity.

According to Kenyatta's (an entrepreneur in the catering and hospitality sector) narrative of ethnicity as a barrier, he described how society ignores Afro-Caribbean restaurants because of black ethnic identity. Although this may be due to the location of the restaurant, as this particular restaurant is located within the ethnic enclave. However, Kenyatta thinks that this is largely due to his ethnicity. He stated:

> *Like we blacks now, let me use it in quote 'blacks', we go out; we go to white restaurants, we go to Chinese restaurants, we go to Indian restaurants. But I don't think you will see more English, or Chinese coming here to eat. I have been here and lot of white people have been in here, and once they see the owner as a black person, they'll say, 'sorry we thought you sell tea'. And it is*

written there Afro-Caribbean restaurant! And they come in and say I thought you sell tea, when they see that colour, they walk out. How can you? But we are confidence and positive, that slow and steady we'll get there (Kenyatta)

Similarly, Kalifa (a financial and social entrepreneur) thinks her ethnicity as a black minority undermines her professional and entrepreneurial identity and limits her to the ethnic community. When asked whether her ethnicity affects her chance of success in business, she responded:

Yes, it does. Because now I'm just restricting myself to BME community. So, I, it's something; it's becoming a limitation though. But I'm happy to limit myself within that setting because people trust my services. So socially yeah, I think you then end up networking within the BME as well . I do have outside networks but again, you spend more time building relationships for them to understand you, before you can do something constructive. So it's worries me, I feel maybe if I was a local woman with my qualifications, it should be easy for me and adhere straight to the professional standards of doing work rather than spending all the time to building a relationship, before we can professionally act on what needs to be done (Kalifa)

Bobby (an education and social entrepreneur) explained how he would have become a multi-millionaire if not for his ethnicity. He identified the gap between entrepreneurial input and the expected profit output as the ethnicity gap. Bobby identified that he was unable to access some support and business opportunity because of the colour of his skin and the inherent discrimination in British society. When I asked him if he thought he would have made more success if he was from a white Caucasian background, he responded:

When you look at the work that I have put into my business, easily, easily. I would have become a multi-millionaire now. In terms of the business, I would

have worth much more because I have worked 10 times harder than other people would have to, to achieve the same thing. People have promised to help but they have not been enthusiastic, once they see who you are and the colour of your skin, it changes things. So some of the other businesses, we know around the UK that are European led are doing very, very well but they do one thing, we do a number of things, we should be a lot more successful than them but we are in a very messed up European country that doesn't really know what it is. If you ask my customers whether it makes any difference that I'm darker skin than them, they will say no. Absolutely no way! because nobody wants to be called racist you know. But then, the same customers would say they don't think I was the boss, they thought I was just a worker when they met me. And even when I have introduced myself as the person who owns the place to a few people. ..They wouldn't believe that I was the owner. Why is that such a big thing to believe or a hard thing to believe; because I am not like them (Bobby)

Figure 7 explains how perception and interpretation of discrimination, racism, stereotype, and social construction of black ethnicity by black African migrant entrepreneurs can adversely affect migrant entrepreneurs and significantly impact their entrepreneurial activities and outcomes. It shows that negative perception and internalisation of the social construction of black ethnic identity limit entrepreneurial venture and also the entrepreneur.

Ethnicity does not Matter

This theme is quite common among research participants. It underplays ethnicity as a major factor for business venturing and success. Participants who identified with this theme did not ignore identity interference and possible discrimination due to their black ethnic identity; however, they did not think ethnicity is a significant factor for enterprise growth and success. During the research interviews, I had questioned participants about the potential impacts of ethnicity on their ventures and their motivations for starting a business. Research findings show significant evidence which suggests that ethnicity does not matter, and not the motivation for venturing. Some participants even find the questioning of their ethnicity in relation to entrepreneurship as insulting and

offensive. They identified that they did not suddenly become entrepreneurial because they migrated to the UK. They observed that they have always been entrepreneurial and their entrepreneurial orientation was not based on migration or their ethnic affiliations.

Research participants identified skill, professionalism, value, passion, opportunity, capability and meeting needs as what matters in business and not the ethnic origin of the entrepreneurs. They established the salience of entrepreneurial identity over ethnic identity and denounce ethnicity as the reason for entrepreneurial pursuit. They also identified ethnicity as not the reason for business success or failure. They did not deny the potential of identity interference and possible discrimination due to ethnic identity. However, they think business success is tied to agency and not ethnicity. Ethnicity matters as long as it is used to enhance business competitiveness and not as an excuse for lack of success.

According to Ngozi, ethnicity is not a top reason for business success or failure as there are people who are successful in spite of their ethnicity:

> *Success in business is tied to individuals rather than the colour of their skin….There are some barriers, but at the same time in our own community there are lots of people who have succeeded. There are people who are extremely successful in spite of that barrier. It seems to be a genuine barrier, but if you were to put up ten reasons why businesses don't succeed it will not be in the top five, if you get what I mean? That barrier is there, but is not the reason why businesses don't succeed or why businesses fail. But the colour of the skin is still, there; it can be in the top ten, somewhere there in the top ten but not in the top five (Ngozi)*

When I asked whether she was in business to serve the ethnic community, she responded:

I do not think so, I don't think so. Well the product serves my community, but that wasn't my first business. When I went into business, our intention was not to serve our community. It has nothing to do with our ethnicity. When we first started, our first business was solely directed to white British companies. We didn't start business to serve our community, it was just that the product we have now is an ethnic product. My suppliers are British, but my clients are Africans. I deal with African shops all over the UK (Ngozi)

Likewise, Mbeki identified the importance of not focusing on ethnic and cultural orientations in business. He suggests that ethnicity is neutral, and if migrant entrepreneurs perceive skin colour as a disadvantage, it can limit them. However, with the right mindset and attitude, he claims ethnicity does not matter in migrant entrepreneurship.

I think every person can become successful regardless of whether you are white or black. It is a mindset I think. Because a lot of black people when they start doing something they limit themselves saying because I am black or because I am from another country, I cannot achieve it. But if your mindset is different and you don't look at your colour but you focus on your skills and what you want to achieve. What you begin to see is that you draw certain people who have the same mindset to you. But if you limit yourself in terms of cultural things, but you have to embrace other culture. For example, if I say I am South African and only relate with South African culture, I limit myself. But if I can adapt into how white people think, then I can get into the market of white people. If I can adapt to how Indians think then I can get into the Indian market. So it is how you approach it, rather than your colour, if it makes sense (Mbeki)

Findings from this theme are quite significant as it contradicts ethnic-based theories in ethnic and migrant entrepreneurship. While ethnic-based theories in ethnic and migrant entrepreneurship focused on ethnicity as the explanation for entrepreneurship among ethnic and migrant groups, Mbeki's narrative shows that the role of ethnicity in

ethnic and migrant entrepreneurship may have been exaggerated. Although ethnicity may not matter in entrepreneurship, some participants' accounts suggest that they are forced to pursue ethnic-oriented opportunity because of specific prejudice associated with black ethnic identity. Ochuko expressed this as follows:

> *I didn't become an entrepreneur because I came to the UK, I have been entrepreneurial all the while. When I started off, it's more of you're trying to serve the country (UK) but as you go along, you realised you may be wasting your time trying to convince white people. You decide to go into a niche that will acknowledge what you have to offer and in certain way speak your language and can be sympathetic (Ochuko)*

Ethnicity as a Resource

Despite associated disadvantage with black ethnic identity, some participants have constructed the black ethnic identity as a source of advantage. They acknowledged that what matters is not how people perceive you but how you perceive yourself. They identify the importance of positive self-perception in business. From this perspective, they see their ethnic identity as a resource and not as a barrier. Whether as a drive for success, as a source of motivation to work harder, as a way to proof to others that black people can succeed in business too, or as a source of customer and community for niche products and services. Research participants looked beyond the narrative of identity interference and ethnic barriers to take personal responsibility for their success or failure in business and not make their ethnicity as an excuse for lack of progress. Participants in this category established that the perception and interpretation of black ethnic identity can be a source of advantage or disadvantage; however, they have chosen to focus on the specific advantage associated with their ethnicity.

Based on this theme, Mohamed (a consulting and property) identified his ethnicity as a source of black privilege. He refused to see himself being disadvantaged because of his ethnicity. He noted:

No matter what, I will use my ethnicity as an advantage, even if it has disadvantage, I will use it as a way to push myself forward whether it is for motivation or connecting with other people that are part of ethnic minority. No matter how it is, I will pretty much use it to my advantage because we have black privilege. It is not like white privilege is everything and we don't have anything, we have got to unlock the power that is within us and help each other to be able to move ourselves forward as a brotherhood and as a family. Again I said I don't know because I have spoken to a lot of people around at different events and obviously and some people have said NO, they don't want to work with me, and I don't know whether that is because they don't like my product or whether it is because of race issue. But I don't want to spend too much time thinking about it, because dwelling on it will get me nowhere, I just want to move forward with my brand and product because that is the only way to go. Yeah there is white privilege but at the same time you have got to belief there is black privilege. We have got advantages that other people don't have, and if we use our community together, if we have that sense of community around us, then the opportunity should be able to come for us. And we should be able to take advantage of them (Mohamed)

He observed that there is so much emphasis on white privilege and no one is speaking about black privilege. He identified black privilege as resources exclusive to the black community. When I asked him to explain further about black privilege and how black ethnic identity can be a resource, he responded:

Essentially, I know we like to throw white privilege and racism around as the reason why black people aren't at the top. While they might be valid points, we have got to stop using that as an excuse, we have got to look at ourselves and say what do I have that the white man, Asian man and other people don't have? What do I have that I can use to my advantage that other people don't have? When you find that out, then you play that card, then you wouldn't need to use excuses such as white privilege. You should unleash that privilege you have got in yourself and just move forward (Mohamed)

On the other hand, Ngozi identified ethnicity as a resource because it gives her the advantage to sell to a specialised niche market. By this, ethnicity creates a specific advantage for her in business. The black ethnic community becomes a hub and a platform for supporting entrepreneurship among black African migrants. Ngozi noted how the black community was a niche market for her business:

> *The positive side of it is the fact that I have a market that I am able to serve very well; I understand that market and that market understands me. I speak the language of that market and that market understands my language too, that is very positive. We supply African shops and we understand the African shops and the services we provide and the kind of services or what they want. I don't think a white man can go in there and serve the market like we do or meet their needs like we do. That is the positive side of it, there certain things that we do, only we can do it (Ngozi)*

Figure 7 shows that black migrant entrepreneurs who exhibit positive perception of ethnicity tend to explore more options for success beyond the excuse of their ethnic background. By this, ethnicity enhances entrepreneurial outcomes and they are able to achieve a breakout strategy by doing business beyond the ethnic economy to the mainstream economy. This finding relates to the importance of psychology in enterprise development. The construction and perception of black ethnic identity may create both positive psychological capital or negative psychological barrier depending on the agency of the entrepreneur, and the interpretation given to their experience within the host community. Observations and research evidence suggest that migrant entrepreneurs' perception and interpretation of discrimination, racism, stereotype and prejudice inherent in the western society can significantly affect entrepreneurial opportunity and outcome.

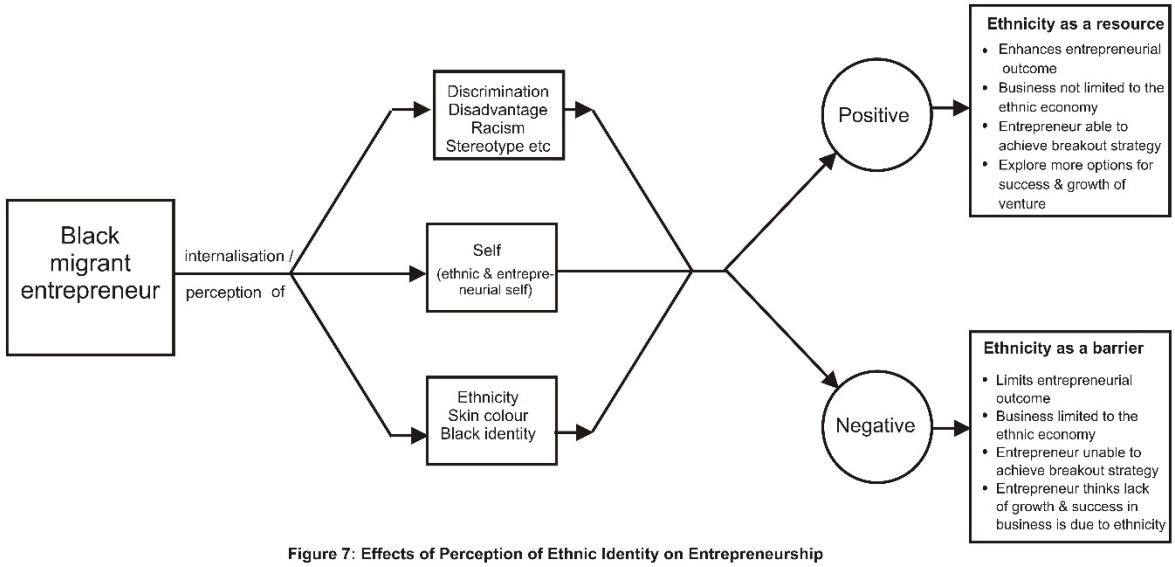


Figure 7: Effects of Perception of Ethnic Identity on Entrepreneurship

7.2 Compensation for Black Ethnic Identity in Enterprise

This aggregate theme explores the different ways and strategies black African migrant entrepreneurs used to compensate for the potential disadvantage associated with their ethnicity in enterprise. Research participants identified specific ways they tend to reduce identity interference and ethnic barriers so as to gain approval and increase their chance of accessing opportunity. Figure 5 above, gives an overview of themes development and coding for this aggregate theme. The aggregate theme comprises two conceptual themes (i) the price of entrepreneurial legitimacy and (ii) the impact of ethnic identity and gender on entrepreneurial legitimacy. These are further discussed in the sections below.

7.2.1 *The price of entrepreneurial legitimacy*

What price do black migrant entrepreneurs have to pay to compensate for their stigmatised identity? At the intersection of ethnic and entrepreneurial identities, black entrepreneurs must negotiate access into the hegemonic and ethnocentric world of entrepreneurship in order to survive. This section identifies the price for lacking

normative identity in enterprise. Table 10 summarises the development of codes for this conceptual theme. Two themes identified in this category are:

A. Hard work
B. Masking strategies

Table 10: The Price of Entrepreneurial Legitimacy

Representative account	**Exploratory code**	**Interpretative First Order Themes**	**Conceptual Second Order Themes**
I think sometimes that my work pattern is affected…At first, too much work with little to show for it. Black people are not lazy people…The problem is we don't get enough compensation for our hard work (Kenyatta)	Hard work enacted as a compensation for ethnic identity	Hard work	The price of entrepreneurial legitimacy
So yes, my heritage, my background has made me work harder. But I know what I am up against anyway and I need to work a lot harder than other people (Bobby)	Ethnic identity as reason for working harder		
So you have to keep putting extra work to proof yourself… work is a lot tougher, to get into the work normal job market is a lot tougher… …. because when I do get opportunity to work with clients or work with any establishment, I have seen that sometimes my skill, my work ethics is above and beyond what every other person has but getting there is a real challenge initially… and but when you get in, is basically your work that speaks for you and then it becomes easier (Buhari)	Hard work to compensate for difficulty in getting clients and accessing opportunity due to ethnicity		
Basically, my personal identity makes people less receptive to me. So when I started my market research, I knew it was going to be difficult. The first day I started out I went to twelve shops and I got rejected in all the twelve. So the next time I went out I tried to find out why I was rejected in a polite way. Basically, I didn't approach them like a person that should be taken seriously. It was my fault and not their fault. Just because I realised that if I dress up better and I look I am in business, it will be better. So I got a white girl to go out with me, and I went like her assistance, so it has been a situation where I have to hide ethnic identity, hide	Masking/masquerading identity		

behind someone else to make my business work (Madiba)		Masking strategies	
Unfortunately, a black man has to go into that meeting a lot more aesthetically pleasing. If I walked into a meeting I could be a multimillionaire, but John is going to look at my shoes, my worth, my head, my face. Then he goes, is this the right black person to do business with. So, you have to look as if you're already there – a serious person. And that doesn't mean suit and tie, you have to learn brand yourself as looking wealthy, without being wealthy. You need to understand the way you dress, they are looking at you on little subtle things. Are you wearing trousers with a suit or are you wearing nice denim jeans, with nice shoes, nice shirt and a blazer? (Ali)	Compensation for lack of normative entrepreneurial identity. (Re)construction of identity through appearance		
At some point, when I had an English guy working with me, what I do is that we used his name for business communication, all they see is his name. He was the one responding to emails, so seeing his names, nobody will find out that. I thought that that may be the reason why I'm not closing some deals (Mandela)	Use English employee name in business communication		

Hard Work

To be perceived as legitimate actors of enterprise, black migrant entrepreneurs must perform certain identity work and conform to societal expectation of a normative entrepreneur who is expected to be white and male. The first price for entrepreneurial legitimacy is hard work. This is a common theme among research participants. Hard work is the price black migrant entrepreneurs have to pay to compensate for their stigmatised identity. Hard work in this sense is more than just working hard; it is a social construct for negotiating stigmatised identity. It is a necessary 'capital' for gaining legitimacy and navigating the hegemonic world of entrepreneurship. Black entrepreneurs who are deficient of social acceptance must perform an identity work (i.e. hard work) and gain acceptance as 'deserving' entrepreneurs. The agency of hard work is enacted as a way of reconstructing the deficient black ethnic identity and as a proof of worthiness.

Hard work is also used to demonstrate a sense of belonging and to counter the socially constructed identity of the black person as being lazy and unentrepreneurial. Hard work is used to compensate for lack of access to opportunity which was denied them because of their ethnicity. Hard work is thus constructed as a permissive tool for legitimising identity. The majority of research participants identify with hard work as an important factor for legitimacy. Howbeit, hard work as a social construct in this context, put pressure on participants in performing their entrepreneurial role. The pressure to perform and negate the burden of identity is daunting and sometimes leading migrant entrepreneurs to embrace precarity as they negotiate and navigate intersectional identities. However, how much work is needed to gain societal acceptance and approval is unknown, as there seems to be continuous pressure to work hard and constantly proof their deservingness of opportunity they are over-qualified for. Hard work has been normalised within the black ethnic community as the price for success and upward social mobility. Research participants identified that they work harder and earn less than their white counterparts. Overworking is a way of compensating for their identity, with little resources and support from the government. Overworking induced by societal pressure to conform to certain entrepreneurial stereotypes often wears out the entrepreneurial resilience and determination of black migrant entrepreneurs and constrains them to survival forms of entrepreneurship.

The following vignettes look at the narrative of hard work among black migrant entrepreneurs as they negotiate entrepreneurial legitimacy and opportunity.

> *Yes, my ethnic identity gives me extra courage to succeed, I just know, for me I need to put in extra work, and I need to put in extra work. Its makes me, it encourages me to keep going and especially when I see other people from my ethnic background, people who have succeeded it encourages me and know that one day the story will change (Buhari)*
>
> *Because young black male in the UK are not in the positive light, you have to work harder to show that you're a young black male. That you're serious, it's just take a bit of hard work and you don't have to be a footballer (Ali)*

What makes me strong is my determination. No matter the opposition I'm gonna (going to) do it… Actually, I have already bought four chairs; I have already bought some stuff to start a new barber's shop. It is the determination, you cannot just let people and the fact that I'm a black guy turn me down, no way! I'm a man like other guys, sometimes some of them are not even smarter than me or other black guys, we are smarter than most of them. If you are smart enough and depending on your determination, you're gonna (going to) get to where you want, you know (Junior)

Buhari constructed hard work as a price for future success and social mobility. Ali identified it as a proof that separates you from other black people and that you deserve acceptance. Junior constructed hard work as the determination to succeed in enterprise. He seems to suggest that with persistent hard work, black migrant entrepreneurs can achieve upward social mobility through entrepreneurship. All of their stories and experiences point to the fact that black migrant entrepreneurs in Britain are engaged in excessive work, which is burdensome and often overbearing.

In the vignette below, Ali describes hard work as a 'game' and a mean of overcoming disadvantage in entrepreneurship. By using the words 'play that game', he seems to suggest that the societal expectation from black people before opportunity is given to them is working extra hard. His narrative shows he understands the requirement, and therefore, willing to work harder and quicker to convince the marketplace and to gain legitimacy as an entrepreneur. His narrative suggests that hard work has been conceptualised as a legitimising tactic for black people engage in entrepreneurship. He stated:

Do I have to work harder and quicker to make you feel I am not a threat and I am actually at the same level as you? Yes. I think part of that is I have to play that game, so I'm not disadvantage (Ali)

While hard work is required to attain success in life, hard work among black entrepreneurs is excessive work and precarious work. It constitutes a burden of proofs and undue license for legitimacy. This burden of proof is gendered, as black women entrepreneurs tend to overcompensate, not knowing the extent they have to go to compensate for their identity in their new environment. The concept of overcompensation is common among women participants. According to Amina's (a social entrepreneur) narrative, she often has to overcompensate because she is conscious of her spoiled identity as needing some form of repair and often has to look for ways to show to others that she is normal as everybody else.

> *It makes you feel like you need to proof yourself, may be you might overcompensate. You might overcompensate by explaining what you have done to other people. So, it might make you overcompensate… So I feel like for example, you need to let people know what you are capable of doing… because some people will talk down on you like you are stupid or they assume you don't know some things… That means I will spend more money on my appearance and certain clothes or dressing in certain ways to signal to other people, to proof my acceptability…So it is overcompensating for the fact that how people perceive you in terms of your identity, and people's prejudices. So it is almost like they see that you are a bit behind, so you have to show that you are at the same level with them or further advance, and that could be in terms of age, gender, race or class or whatever (Amina)*

When I asked her whether overcompensation helped her to gain acceptance, she responded:

> *Not so much of gaining acceptance, I think it is more (long pause) like respect. It is like somebody might look at you and might say this person drinks too much or you are from working class background. That means I will spend more money on my appearance and certain clothes or dressing in certain ways to signal to other people and to proof my acceptability (Amina)*

Masking Strategies

A good way to compensate for blackness in a dominantly white society is identity masking. Identity masking is achieved through various masking strategies. Black migrant entrepreneurs use different masking strategies to overcome potential barriers associated with their ethnicity. Masking involves the use of positive western images, symbols, names and associations which connote whiteness or have a close alignment with whiteness. It is important to note that masking strategies are not the same as coping strategies which have been identified by previous researchers (González-González and Bretones, 2013; Datta et al., 2007). Masking strategy is employed to reduce and neutralise the damaging and limiting effects of stigmatised identity in enterprise. Masking strategies are stigma management strategies that seem to conceal visible attributes, which disqualify an individual from full social acceptance. Participants' narrative of masking strategy suggests that black migrant entrepreneurs are not passive victims of stigmatisation (Moroşanu and Fox, 2013). They seem to rework stigma in such a way as to minimise its effects on self and enterprise. Based on data from research participants, five masking strategies were identified from this research. They include: (i) whiteness (ii) femininity (iii) faceless online business (iv) appearance and (v) shared ownership.

Whiteness

The first identified masking strategy is whiteness. Research participants tend to use white mainstream identity to mask their black identity. This involves using white faces in business marketing, white and English names in business communication, dropping African names in favour of English names and leveraging on white symbolic cultural and social capital. Vignettes from participants relating to this strategy include:

> *At some point, when I had an English guy working with me, what I do is that we used his name for business communication, all they see is his name. He was the one responding to emails, so seeing his names, nobody will find out that… I understand why people use such names and engage in such practices, and I*

had considered something similar too. I had thought that might be the reason why I'm not closing some deals (Mandela)

When I realised that, I started putting pictures of celebrities I cut in the shops and the more nice haircut pictures I put in the shop, the more they see the pictures, the more people start coming here for business. I used the pictures and my nice cuts to change their attitude (Junior)

But there is a problem when black people tend to do business with the general public, there's huge barrier. I can remember a friend like my senior, he is a huge property developer here in Newcastle, he set up a payment processing company, he said to me 'if you want to do business here, don't do business with a black face. People don't want to do buy from a black face' (Ali)

These white images, representations and associations often lower ethnic barriers, and can be successful in gaining entrepreneurial legitimacy, and accessing business opportunity that would have been difficult to access. However, by adopting whiteness, these entrepreneurs become culpable in reinforcing whiteness and normalising discriminatory practices in entrepreneurship.

Femininity

The second masking strategy identified is femininity. Some research participants suggest that embracing femininity and using names, faces and symbols of white girls in business tend to significantly reduce ethnic barriers, increase legitimacy and enhance entrepreneurial opportunity. Madiba and Ali appear to suggest that apart from whiteness, they use of feminine names and symbols in business communications matter and often help them to gain acceptance with potential customers. Vignettes in this category include:

The face of my business has to be a white woman. The ethnicity projected should be what people want to see. It is business, it has nothing to do with ethnicity…If I can solve a problem and bring someone who can convince them to accept my solution, I will project that face to them. I don't mind who is the face of the business, it is the person behind the decision making. Is like me showing them the solution to their problem in a more acceptable way (Madiba)

When I send emails out to potential business partners who don't know me. I send emails like they are receiving it from a white girl, I used different aliases, like Laura Asher, Hellen Davies, Sarah Miller. So, if I email you for business, the first email you will get is from Sarah. If you receive an email from Sarah Miller, there is no barrier (Ali)

Faceless online business

Black migrant entrepreneurs sometimes use online platforms for business operations; not out of necessity, but to minimise the potential effects of discrimination due to their ethnicity. They identified that the internet is colour blind and they are less likely to experience discrimination by doing business solely on the internet without physical interactions. Online business enables faceless interactions with customers and makes ethnicity a negligible factor to consider in business operations. When I asked Kwame (an IT recycling entrepreneur) about the impact of ethnicity on his business, he answered:

Luckily for me, my business is faceless. It's very much online, my ethnicity is not known, so nobody can say I can't buy from him because I don't like his skin colour (Kwame)

Likewise, Amanda (an e-commerce food manufacturer) ignored the possibility of ethnic barrier affecting her business, because her business is done mostly online. She observed:

First of all, a lot of people might not even know who I am. I have a business that is basically online, it is an e-commerce business… May be I would be border about that if I'm doing a face to face business, then there might be slight discrimination (Amanda)

Buhari (a facility management entrepreneur) identified with this strategy as he acknowledged that he got more customers through social media marketing than through direct face-to-face marketing.

Again, another way I know it's a serious issue is that on social media when we market it's a lot much different response than when we market physically, face to face, business to business. They see your face and they see that … they feel that you are not sort of part of them in a way, they see, you get to introduce yourself with your name and they know that you are not…. On social media whereby you present a totally different persona to them and package your brand, package your product a lot more better and package your product. You see that response is quite high in that regards unlike when you actually go out to do any direct marketing (Buhari)

While this is an effective masking strategy for those who adopt it, however, it is not applicable to everyone. Some businesses cannot be operated purely online without physical contacts. According to Ochuko, the nature of his business requires engagement with customers and not online based.

Yes, it also depends, do you get? On the part of the sector. The sector I'm into is where you have to engage with people, you have to sell yourself, do a business case. If it is internet, nobody cares about which colour you are; the internet entrepreneur doesn't have that problem (Ochuko)

Appearance

The fourth masking strategy from research findings is physical appearance. The physical presentation of self during business interaction for black entrepreneurs either reinforces stereotypes or reduces it. Appearance tends to deconstruct established misconceptions and makes it possible for the entrepreneur to recreate his or her own respectable personal identity. Participants observed that while a white entrepreneur is free from this burden of appearance, a black entrepreneur is judged based on appearance. For example, Ali seems to suggest that black entrepreneurs have to camouflage their appearance and appear wealthy without being wealthy so as to get the 'rite of passage' in enterprise. His narrative is as follows:

> *Unfortunately, a black man has to go into that meeting a lot more aesthetically pleasing. If I walked into a meeting I could be a multimillionaire, but John (a typical white man) is going to look at my shoes, my worth, my head, my face. Then he goes, is this the right black person to do business with? So, you have to look as if you're already there – a serious person. And that doesn't mean suit and tie, you have to learn to brand yourself as looking wealthy, without being wealthy. You need to understand the way you dress; they are looking at you on little subtle things. Are you wearing trousers with a suit or are you wearing nice denim jeans, with nice shoes, nice shirt and a blazer? (Ali)*

Shared ownership

The last masking strategy identified from research participants is shared ownership. Shared ownership is when a black migrant entrepreneur tends to invite a white entrepreneur, a white associate or a white person to have a stake in business so as to leverage on their white identity. Ordinarily, the white person is not a stakeholder in the business and has little or no contribution to the business formation. However, he or she is invited to be a part of the business because of the symbolic capital associated with whiteness. The major reason for this shared ownership is to project whiteness in enterprise. This potentially overcome or reduce identity interference and ethnic barriers.

Which is why I try to leverage on one of my white friends. One of the things I kind of do is to align very much with that white guy and put his face forward, in some situations at least they give us budget. I will give you a typical example, there was something we did for Bupa. Ordinarily I would have gone to make the application myself and go through the website, but I had to go through my white friend…The guy then set up a meeting with us and that was it, done! But I knew if it was just me they will probably go through the application and throw the paper away because I'm black (Ochuko)

The quote above (repeated from page 137) shows how Ochuko invited his white friend to be part of the business. While Ochuko leverage on the identity of his white friend, in return his white friend becomes a joint-owner in the business.

7.2.2 *The impact of ethnic identity and gender on entrepreneurial legitimacy*

This section discusses the impact of ethnicity and gender on the entrepreneurial identity and legitimacy of black migrant entrepreneurs. It especially focuses on the gendered effect of ethnicity on the entrepreneurial identity and legitimacy of black migrant women entrepreneurs. This conceptual theme has only one interpretative theme, identified as a gendered effect of black ethnic identity. Table 11 summarises the code development and description for this conceptual theme. This is now discussed further below.

Table 11: The Impact of Ethnic Identity and Gender on Entrepreneurial Legitimacy

Representative account	**Exploratory code**	**Interpretative First Order Themes**	**Conceptual Second Order Themes**
I was the only black guy in Entrepreneurial Spark for nine months, there was no other black person. I did feel out of place most times, there was a black lady at a point but she left. She said she stopped because the place is not for her (Madiba)	Black female migrant entrepreneur disengaged from entrepreneurial space		
But now, I wanted to target primarily towards women like myself….I would say to some extent I have been quite	Female migrant entrepreneur quite	Gendered effects of	The impact of ethnic identity and gender on

cautious. And also to some extent, I think I have had stops and starts…. That is why I do believe it makes sense to give yourself enough time to plan, to think and to plan (Amina)	cautious to venture. Restricted to ethnic women market	black ethnic identity	entrepreneurial legitimacy
So to me, that sort of came clear that it's actually, my environment can actually limit my progression as well in terms of what I'm doing because if business I started eight months in Zimbabwe, it's grown faster and I have employed 28 people now but here I'm still having volunteers …. This environment is so hard to penetrate (Kalifa)	Migrant entrepreneur transitioned to diaspora entrepreneur due to ethnic barriers		

Gendered Effect of Black Ethnic Identity in Enterprise

This finding shows how gender and identity intersect with those of race and ethnicity, and how their interplay with entrepreneurship constrain entrepreneurial venturing and activities. Female research participants tend to show certain nuanced ways of negotiating ethno-racial identity and gender in enterprise. They suggested that the experience of discrimination and disadvantage based on their ethnic identity caused them to perform 'extra' identity work. For black African migrant women engage in entrepreneurship in Britain, the promise of freedom and profit associated with entrepreneurship are clouded with the conflict of legitimacy and burden of identity. Thus, entrepreneurship becomes a false promise through commodification of femininity and gendered social relations (Ahl and Marlow, 2019). This finding confirms that both the discourse and practice of entrepreneurship tend to exclude black women from entrepreneurial space. Leaving them to enact diverse identity work and develop various coping strategies, as they negotiate their sense of belonging in an entrepreneurial space (Stead, 2017).

Intersectional identities often result in additional identity work for black women entrepreneurs as they go above and beyond to compensate for their lack of hegemonic, non-masculine and non-normative identity. An intersectional lens provides an understanding of the experiences of black women entrepreneurs and the specific barriers associated with their ethnic identity and gender. The identity work required to negotiate embedded ethnic identity and gendered preferences in entrepreneurship often put pressure on black female entrepreneurs and constrains them to low growth

feminised work in the ethnic economy. This sometimes frustrates aspiring black women entrepreneurs and limits the entrepreneurial potentials of some women. Research findings show that the nature of entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial preferences are constrained by intersectional identities for black migrant women in entrepreneurship, pushing them to precarious self-employment and survival forms of entrepreneurship.

Among others, research findings identify four gendered effects of ethnic identity in entrepreneurship. I identified them as the 4Rs effects of gendered and intersectional identities in entrepreneurship. They are: *Restrict, Resilience, Resistance and Refrain*.

Restrict

Firstly, black migrant women entrepreneurs in Britain tend to restrict themselves in enterprise. The different ways black women restrict themselves in entrepreneurship include: (i) restriction to the ethnic community and economy, (ii) restriction to home-based business and (iii) restriction to women based products and market within the ethnic economy. For example, Kalifa who had worked previously as an accountant in a financial consulting firm in the North East of England identified how she was unable to progress due to her ethnic identity because the company didn't want her to be the face of the organisation in the North East. When I asked if she thought her ethnic identity prevented her from promotion and progression, she said yes. This conversation took place during the interview:

> ***Me***: Do you think you didn't get the position because you are from BME (Black and Minority Ethnic)?
>
> ***Kalifa***: Yes, yeah. That is what I think…So because I had a grievance to think that was the reason why I wasn't being considered and offered the position. Because I had worked for the organization for 10 years and have the qualification, experience and knowledge but I just have been told that they wanted me in the position that I was in.
>
> ***Me***: They didn't want you to progress?

Kalifa: Yeah, yeah, yeah (laughter!). So, if I had gone to court then maybe I would have the tangible evidence to say that, but it proves it was the BME context that's kind of stopped my progression because I asked for that answer and I couldn't be given, and in the end we just agreed, I left and they paid me what we agreed.

Me: Do you think is because you are BME or a woman or BME and a woman?

Kalifa: I think BME. The post was held by a woman before and the woman that held the post was quite confident I will do the job. She worked with me for a number of years so she actually recommended me to the head office which is in London. She gave a reference in terms of how she worked with me but it was the head office that didn't work with me that had doubtful thought of me being the flagship of the organisation in the North East. So, in essence, the person that replaced the position was also a woman but I think it's that BME.

Although Kalifa has moved on to start her own enterprise, she identified how her ethnic identity restricts and limits her entrepreneurial offering to the black community, which often creates frustration for her in entrepreneurship.

Yes, it does. Because now I'm just restricting myself to BME community. So, I, it's something; it's becoming a limitation though. But I'm happy to limit myself within that setting because people trust my services. So socially yeah, I think you then end up networking within the BME as well. I do have outside networks but again, you spend more time building relationships for them to understand you, before you can do something constructive. So it's worries me, I feel maybe if I was a local woman with my qualifications, it should be easy for me and adhere straight to the professional standards of doing work rather than spending all the time to building a relationship, before we can professionally act on what needs to be done (Kalifa)

This is also similar to the narrative of Amina in which she identified the restriction her gender and ethnicity have on her entrepreneurial pursuit. This restriction is making Amina limit her entrepreneurial offerings to women within the ethnic community. She said:

> *But now, I wanted to target primarily towards women like myself….(Amina)*

Resilience

Secondly, findings indicate that black African women entrepreneurs tend to show more resilience in business to compensate for the lack of normative entrepreneurial identity and legitimacy. Resilience as a form of identity work in enterprise involves showing more than required grit, courage and tenacity, which does not translate into profit and enterprise development. Resilience is exhibited and enacted in enterprise to manage entrepreneurial self; demonstrate entrepreneurial worthiness; and wade off negative stereotype and discrimination of their stigmatised identity. Research participants seem to suggest that the entrepreneurial space in Britain is a 'battleground' requiring them to fight in order to survive. This is contained in such narratives as:

> *You know… each one of us is going to **fight** to have what we want (Apiyo)*
>
> *So it's kind of a constant struggle to **fight** for your recognition unless you move to London which most people do, most people give up and move to London because they feel maybe they get a better opportunity there (Kalifa)*
>
> *For me if you **fight** for anything that you want you can excel, you can succeed, you can defeat anything that is standing on your way (Mbeki)*

Amina described how she has to show resilience and keep 'running' because her subconscious mind has been programmed in a way that her environment tends to hold her back. She also identified the peril of succeeding 'too much' as this may have a negative counter effect.

So subconsciously, I might have been aware that people are trying to hold me back, that people are trying to block your progress. So I have to develop that kind of resilience, I'm still going to have to keep on running...So a little bit too afraid to shine because you think there may be some counter attack somewhere, yeah! (Amina)

This finding is significant as it shows the struggle minoritised and marginalised groups experience in entrepreneurship. Amina's narrative suggests that migrant women who venture into entrepreneurship are resilient due to the normative conception of entrepreneurship as a masculine profession. When she said "I have to develop that kind of resilience" it suggests an unusual form of resilience needed for people like her to navigate spaces that her incongruent with her gender and ethnicity.

Resistance

The process of restriction and resilience is associated with resistance. Black women do not only resist the narrative that women are less entrepreneurial but they also tend to resist the narrative that black women are unentrepreneurial. Their entrepreneurial energy is torn between resistance and reframing. Resisting established structures and institutional systems of oppression and suppression have resulted in a disjointed form of entrepreneurship, where their ambivalent position is partly shared between activism and entrepreneurialism.

Amina who studied Law at the university was forced to abandon Law because she felt she couldn't make it as a lawyer because of institutional barriers of class and control. She later studied community and youth development at the Master's level to be able to support disgruntled people within her community. Her entrepreneurial narrative is a mixture of activism and entrepreneurialism as she tries to resist a system that has restricted her life chances. Likewise, Kalifa a chartered accountant has taken on a social venture of supporting refugees and asylum seekers in a bid to resist the system which has denied refugees and asylum seekers their rights. Her hybrid model of entrepreneurship as an accountant and community development entrepreneur reflect

how she combines activism with entrepreneurialism. Narratives regarding resistance include:

> *In my own opinion, I just think the typical Black is always at the bottom of …. very undermined in every way most of the time, yeah, you kind of have to fight for who you are within that context (Kalifa)*

Refrain

Black women tend to refrain from entrepreneurship as they consider the environment hostile and not supportive of their entrepreneurial aspiration. The processes of restriction, discrimination and stigmatisation could lead to a position where black women refrain from enterprise or consider their options. Being restricted to the ethnic community means they refrain from the mainstream markets. In this sense, the mainstream economy becomes a contested space of enterprise for black women as they negotiate their intersectional identities. By refraining from the British hostile market environment, they explored entrepreneurial opportunities outside of Britain, mostly in Africa. The frustration of entrepreneurial identity and the stigmatisation of ethnic identity make them question their sense of belonging as they seek entrepreneurial opportunity outside the host society. Research participants seem to come up with the narrative of 'going back' to Africa to do business. One of the gendered effect of ethnic identity in entrepreneurship is the transformation of migrant entrepreneurs into diaspora entrepreneurs, as black migrant women entrepreneurs explore entrepreneurial opportunity in Africa to compensate for their lack of business progress in the host community.

Amina contemplates how her journey back to Africa would seems, as she complained of being tired of living in the 'system'. She recounted her imagined life when she goes back to Sierra Leone:

> *A place that is close to my village in Sierra Leone, where I have got peace. Food is grown naturally. Yeah, basically a good life has to be not so much earning a particular salary or having certain possessions, it is a sense of peace. And I feel like I can have that peace if I was away from certain things that I do*

which create stress, which is living in the system, which can be stressful. I feel if I live in a community environment where people take care of each other you know! …. be somewhere on the continent, living an organic life (Amina)

Kalifa expressed how racism and lack of opportunity for business growth in the host country have caused her to seek opportunity in her home country Zimbabwe. Due to a lack of business growth in Britain, she has explored entrepreneurial opportunity in Zimbabwe, and the business has seen growth and profit far more than her business in Britain. This confirms her narrative that her British environment is limiting her entrepreneurial success. She recounted:

But I started a business in Zimbabwe eight months ago because I just thought things are slower here. I started the business in Zimbabwe in February and till now have reached up nearly £200,000 in eight months for the project started in Zimbabwe. So to me, that sort of came clear that it's actually my environment can actually limit my progression as well in terms of what I'm doing because if business I started eight months in Zimbabwe, it's grown faster and I have employed 28 people now but here I'm still having volunteers…. This environment is so hard to penetrate (Kalifa)

Refraining, as an effect of gender and ethnic identity does not necessarily mean black women entrepreneurs quit entrepreneurship, which is a possibility. However, it does mean that black women are very cautious to venture into entrepreneurship and for those who had ventured; their relationship with the market is quite constrained.

Figure 8 summarises the impact of gender and ethnic identity on the entrepreneurial legitimacy of both male and female African migrant entrepreneurs. It is a conceptual model demonstrating how entrepreneurial legitimacy is achieved at the intersection gender and ethnic identities. It shows how intersecting identities can produce a different experience of entrepreneurial legitimacy and enact different coping strategy between gender and identity. It builds on the studies by Giazitzoglu and Down (2017), and Swail and Marlow (2018) to illustrate how entrepreneurial legitimacy is acquired

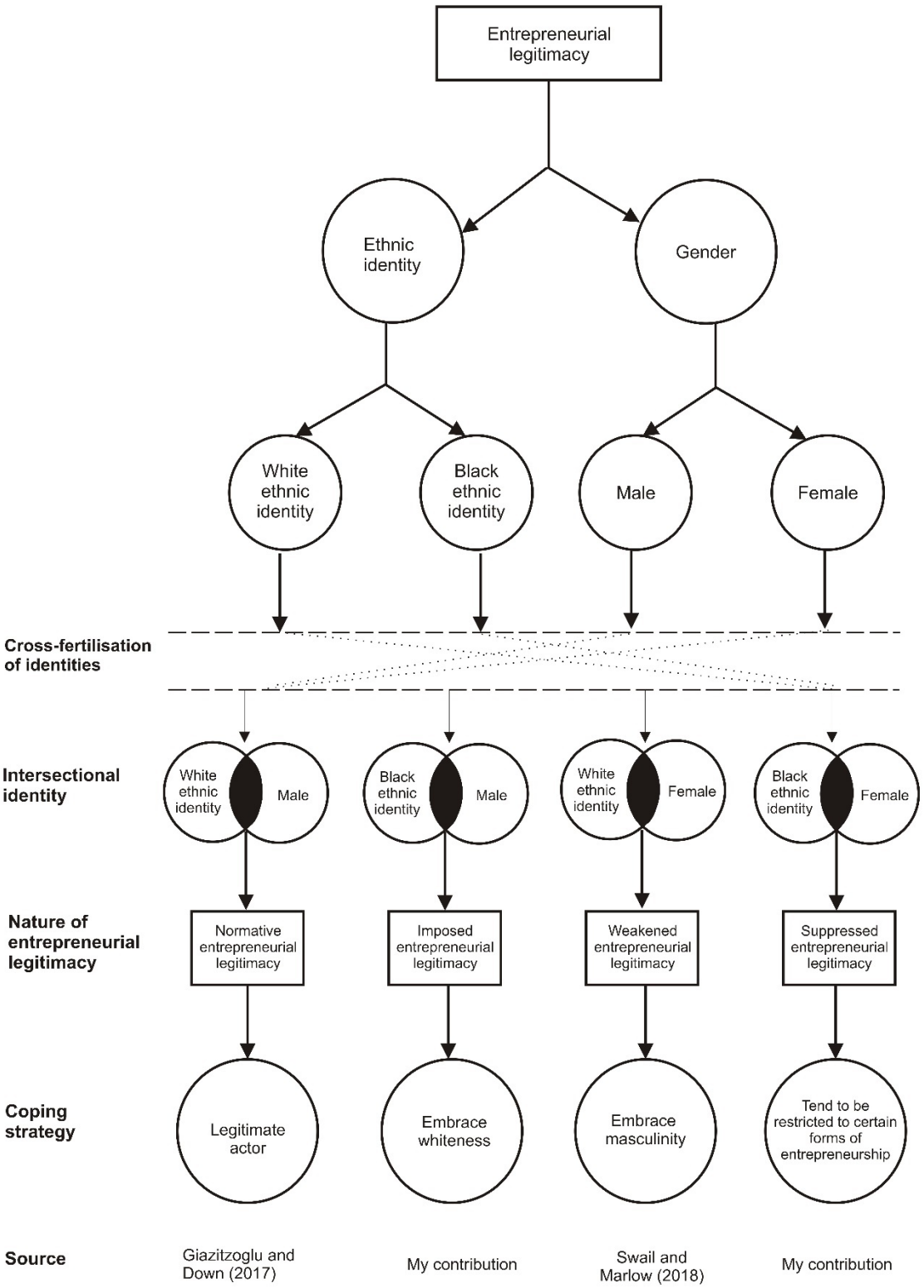
and negotiated at the intersection of identities. While both male and female gender were used; and both white and black ethnic identity represented; these are used as an exemplar of the research context. This is to paint a picture of how intersectional identities affect entrepreneurial legitimacy and does not subscribe to the notion of binary logic of identity between white and black, and male and female.

A typical white male entrepreneur has a hegemonic identity and possesses normative entrepreneurial legitimacy. Although white male required legitimacy in entrepreneurship too, however, such legitimacy is not based on their ethnic identity. The entrepreneurial legitimacy of a white male is based on his entrepreneurial identity and the prospect of their entrepreneurial offerings. However, other entrepreneurs (non-male and non-white) require both identity legitimacy and entrepreneurial legitimacy. They have to 'do' certain identity work in addition to their entrepreneurial venture to gain acceptance as legitimate entrepreneurs. At the intersection of ethnic identity and gender, white male entrepreneurs require no identity legitimacy in their pursuit of entrepreneurial legitimacy. I therefore, refer to them as legitimate entrepreneurial actors, possessing *normative entrepreneurial legitimacy* (figure 8). This conclusion is backed up by the work of Giazitzoglu and Down (2017) and many other entrepreneurial scholars.

On the other hand, I refer to the nature of entrepreneurial legitimacy among black male entrepreneurs as *imposed entrepreneurial legitimacy*. Their non-hegemonic identity, together with their 'spoiled' ethnic identity requires them to accept already constructed westernised identity from their host society before they are perceived as legitimate entrepreneurs. Their legitimacy is acquired from normative societal standard, and imposed on them as idealised notion of entrepreneurship. Their ethnicity constrains their masculinity, and prevent them from being perceived as legitimate entrepreneurial actors. In search of legitimacy, black men are forced to accept certain symbolic legitimising norms as dictated by the host society before they gain approval and trust from the market. To conform to these social norms, black male embrace whiteness to gain legitimacy and reduce the potential impact of their ethnic identity on their entrepreneurial identity (figure 8).

White female entrepreneurs are not exempted from identity work associated with gaining entrepreneurial legitimacy in entrepreneurship. Swail and Marlow (2018) show that white female entrepreneurs possess *weakened entrepreneurial legitimacy*. They identified that white women entrepreneurs attenuate the feminine and embrace the masculine in their pursuit of legitimacy in entrepreneurship (figure 8). The nature of entrepreneurial legitimacy among black female entrepreneurs is what I refer to as *suppressed entrepreneurial legitimacy*. At the intersection of gender and ethnicity, black women are marginalised in entrepreneurship. Their vulnerable identity tends to constitute a higher barrier to gaining legitimacy as entrepreneurs. Black women entrepreneurs seem to lack entrepreneurial space and suffer from entrepreneurial exclusion in Britain. They are being restricted to edges of precarious forms of entrepreneurship. The stigmatisation and marginalisation associated with the intersectional identities of black women cause them to consider their options of venturing into entrepreneurship, as they tend to be restricted to limited forms of entrepreneurship (figure 8).

Figure 8: The Impact of Ethnic Identity and Gender on Entrepreneurial Legitimacy of Black Migrant Entrepreneurs



7.3 Associated Themes of Intersectional Black Ethnic Identity in Enterprise

This aggregate theme is a combination of other factors associated with the intersection of ethnic and entrepreneurial identities. Although the components of this aggregate theme were not the focus of the research interview, they, however, emerged as an associated theme, which participants identified as significant during the data collection process. The aggregate theme includes three conceptual themes, identified as (i) proximity to whiteness (ii) psychological capital and (iii) social capital. Table 12 gives a summary of codes development for this aggregate theme. The various conceptual themes are now discussed below:

Table 12: Associated Themes of Intersectional Black Ethnic Identity in Enterprise

Representative account	**Exploratory code**	**Interpretative First Order Themes**	**Conceptual Second Order Themes**
If you watch like the Indians, the Asians, the Pakistani, the Chinese they get grants, but you as a minority, black in quote, it is very difficult for you because they will look for every loophole to tell you why you cannot get it. I have got like Indian friends that have shops, I've got Pakistani friends, they will tell you, they gave us grants to open business. But the same process you want to use to get your own grants, it is not available. They don't respect you as a black, or they don't see you as part of them (Kenyatta)	Difference in treatment and accessing opportunity among ethnic minorities due to difference in skin colour	Black ethnic identity not the same as ethnic minority identity	Proximity to whiteness
People that are from the East and even some Arabs they take them more seriously than we that are black with our skin. They take them more seriously you understand. Wherever you go they gonna say no racism but I know what I'm talking about. Bro I have been here working in this country, since I have been here I worked in Liverpool, working here I know what I'm talking about you know…. That is why the opportunity is taken by the people coming from the East and sometimes Arabs because they look like white, ok that is good; but that black guy is not, he doesn't look like us (Junior)	Difference in perception of identity between different ethnic minority groups	Black ethnic identity not the same as ethnic minority identity	

But then with the programming, and brain washing you get from living in a European society. I started to hate my ethnicity, I started to think why wasn't I just born like them then there wouldn't be any problem…Maybe that is why I object so much to being here because this time last year I was going to be insane, I was going to be ill, just from being here. I just didn't want to be in this country, I don't want to be around this people, I have just had enough (Bobby)	The stigma associated with black ethnic identity and its effects on the entrepreneur	Psychological effect of ethnicity	Psychological effects
And that's another thing; when black people go into some of these meetings, they go with subservience already, I never do. I belong to be here, I have enough scars to be here. Until we are confidence enough to let people know I don't have to be subservience, but where do you draw the line? (Ali)	Pressure for legitimacy affects entrepreneurial performance resulting in lack of confidence and subserviency.	Lack of self esteem	
It was shocking, because when I was in Zimbabwe, your colour is not something that comes to you. So you never think you can offend anyone because of your colour. So that was really traumatic for me to think of this trying to catch the train. I didn't say anything wrong. Then somebody so offended by my presence to an extent that I could lose my life if the dogs had come for me. So that's really made me scared (Kalifa)	Episodic experience of trauma due to past experience of racism	Psychological effect on the perception black ethnic identity	
Because is like some contracts that we didn't get, we would have gotten them, like the example I gave... It would have made life very easy if you were coming from where you know people and they know you (Apiyo)	Entrepreneur not able to access certain opportunity because of limited social network.	Lack of social network and support	Social capital
But I feel like if I am James Gordon, and I have the same level of experience, of course my network will be a lot better. If I have the same network as the country I grew up, I will find opportunity a lot easier … it is not about the experience but the quality of your network……Even regardless of ethnicity as long as you have a better network, even if you are black and your parents are GP and middle class, you have a better network than someone who grew up in an inner city and in social housing you know (Chuma)	Name as an identity marker, which may affect opportunity. Social network more important than ethnicity	Social network as determinant of opportunity	
There are business clubs, business forum, and regional related networks. If you were to try that club after a while you will notice that you are not really getting anything from the business forum. The white	Socio-cultural networking does not guarantee business success or opportunity	Difficulty of accessing opportunity	

guy will be getting business from the business forum but not the black business guy. You tend to find out that after a few months, the black people just leave the business club because they are not getting any value out of it (Ngozi)		through social network	

7.3.1 *Proximity to whiteness*

Research findings indicate that proximity to whiteness could be an advantage over blackness in entrepreneurship. White privilege is sometimes extended to people within the minority group with lighter skin colour. Research participants suggest that the closer you are to whiteness, the less ethnic barriers you experience in business. The classification of ethnic minority groups into a monolithic group covers hidden layers of oppression and marginalisation within inter-ethnic minority groups. This suggests that the more the degree of deviation from whiteness, the more inequality one experiences. Research participants identified that identity markers that are closer to whiteness have a better chance of accessing opportunity in comparison to identity markers that are further away. This implies that Asians and other minority groups including the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) migrants are likely to receive more opportunity and less discrimination from the system. The price of legitimacy becomes higher the darker your skin colour becomes. The embodiment of inequality at the intersection of identities exposes the different shades of inequality. Based on the social construction of identity, it is more advantageous to be 'off-white' and 'mixed' than to be black. This finding suggests that the construction of ethnic minority identity as a unitary group may perpetuate marginal inequality due to the social positioning of different groups, as black ethnic identity is not the same as an ethnic minority identity.

Research participants identified proximity to whiteness in two ways. Firstly, how minority groups that are non-white and non-black have better access to opportunity in Britain. They specifically identified how Asian migrants are better perceived, and positioned to access opportunity in comparison to migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa. For example, Kenyatta narrated how his Asian friends accessed opportunity that was

difficult for him to access. He believed this was due to his skin colour and ethnic identity. According to him:

> *If you watch like the Indians, the Asians, the Pakistani, the Chinese they get grants, but you as a minority, black in quote, it is very difficult for you because they will look for every loophole to tell you why you cannot get it. I have got like Indian friends that have shops, I've got Pakistani friends, they will tell you, they gave us grants to open business. But the same process you want to use to get your own grants, it is not available. They don't respect you as a black, or they don't see you as part of them (Kenyatta)*

Similarly, Junior identified how proximity to whiteness benefits migrants from the East and Arabs and exclude black people because of ethnicity. He recounted:

> *People that are from the East and even some Arabs, they take them more seriously than we that are black with our skin. They take them more seriously you understand. Wherever you go they gonna (going to) say no racism but I know what I'm talking about. Bro I have been here working in this country, since I have been here I worked in Liverpool, working here, I know what I'm talking about you know…. That is why the opportunity is taken by the people coming from the East and sometimes Arabs. Because they look like white, ok that is good; but that black guy is not, he doesn't look like us (Junior)*

The second way research participants identified proximity to whiteness was in their relationship with other non-white ethnic minority groups. They suggest that prejudice and stereotype due to black ethnic identity were not exclusive to white people, but within ethnic minority groups also. They identified how other ethnic minorities think less of them because of their ethnicity. Discrimination has been constructed as a white to black phenomenon; however, research findings indicate that discrimination and stereotyping is not a white and black phenomenon but exist within ethnic minority groups too. Bambi (a domestic and commercial services entrepreneur) described it as follows:

Because we get some clients particularly some Asian people who think, Africans don't know what they are doing especially in cleaning because it is a low skilled kind of job (Bambi)

Kalifa narrated her experience of discrimination with a woman from the ethnic minority group when they were working on a project together:

Then there is this project we are working on and the other lady is from Iran, so when you look at discrimination sometimes it happens within minorities and not just from the Caucasian community. She was going to the other guy talking about me and when she first met me her attitude was like, you were going to do my paperwork for me. So I said, 'why do you think I'm going to do your paperwork for you'? But to me it flagged out that being a black person, you are always recognised as the lowest rank among minorities; it is not just the Caucasian. I think it goes back to slavery past. So you supposed to just do what they say, and she has not even had a conversation with me to know who I am. So you see those perceptions can be within minority groups as well. I think we also do it among ourselves (Kalifa)

7.3.2 *Psychological effects*

Psychological effects describe the various mental impacts of black ethnic identity in entrepreneurship. The social construction and stigmatisation of black ethnic identity affect the entrepreneurial behaviour and orientation of black migrant entrepreneurs. Negotiating black identity in enterprise is mentally exhaustive and emotionally draining when the environment is hostile. Research findings identified the various psychological effects at the intersection of ethnic and entrepreneurial identities on research participants. The psychological effects can be both positive and negative. Positive psychological effects which are part of the psychological capital (Luthans et al., 2007) include resilience, hope and optimism. Although, the social construction of black identity creates specific barriers in enterprise, however, the majority of our participants

exhibit mental toughness in the midst of disadvantage. Vignettes indicating positive psychological effects include:

> *Then we have to fight to have what we want, it's just how ambitious we are, and what we have got in our heart. For me, I believe it is a matter of determination… You cannot let people's attitude turn you down. What makes me strong is my determination. No matter the opposition I'm gonna (going to) do it. Actually, I have already bought four chairs, I have already bought some stuff to start a new barbershop. It is the determination, you cannot just let people and the fact that I'm a black guy turn me down, no way! I'm a man like other guys, sometimes some of them are not even smarter than me or other black guys, we are smarter than most of them. If you are smart enough and depending on your determination, you're gonna get to where you want, you know (Junior)*

> *….when they see that colour black, they walk out. How can you? But we are confident and positive, that slow and steady we'll get there (Kenyatta)*

Negative psychological effects of black ethnic identity in enterprise include lack of self-esteem, lack of confidence, confusion and trauma among others. One of the major negative psychological effects of black ethnic identity in entrepreneurship is confusion. There is confusion of identities, as black entrepreneurs are not sure the extent to which they can be entrepreneurial without a clash of identity. The confusion of whether their ethnic identity will interfere and undermine their entrepreneurial pursuit. There is uncertainty about the outcome of an entrepreneurial venture due to the liability of identity. Their ethnic identity tends to checkmate their entrepreneurial aspiration, creating self-doubt and mixed emotions. There seems to be a mental construction of undeservingness of success in entrepreneurship. Closely associated with confusion are lack of confidence and lack of self-esteem. The pressure for acceptance and legitimacy creates a lack of confidence in entrepreneurial identity and affect the self-esteem of black entrepreneurs as they navigate intersecting identities. The self-doubt around their sense of belonging affects their confidence and self-esteem. There is a

lack of both self-confidence and market-confidence because of the perception of ethnicity. Ali described how this makes some black entrepreneurs subservient during business interactions and engagements.

> *And that's another thing; when black people go into some of these meetings, they go with subservience already, I never do. I belong to be here, I have enough scars to be here…Until we are confidence enough to let people know I don't have to be subservience, but where do you draw the line? (Ali)*

Bobby identified an extreme negative psychological effect. He narrated how the psychological and emotional trauma associated with being black was almost making him ill and driving him towards insanity. He stated:

> *But then with the programming and brainwashing you get from living in a European society. I started to hate my ethnicity, I started to think why wasn't I just born like them, then there wouldn't be any problem…Maybe that is why I object so much to being here because this time last year I was going to be insane, I was going to be ill, just from being here. I just didn't want to be in this country, I don't want to be around these people, I have just had enough (Bobby)*

Kalifa also identified the episodic experience of trauma due to past experience of racism. According to her narrative of how a certain white guy was so displeased by her presence in the train and told his big vicious dogs to go and get that 'black cat'. Her narrow escape from dogs attack left her traumatised and affected her mental orientation as to what extent she is free to explore entrepreneurial opportunity in a hostile environment. She recounted:

> *It was shocking, because when I was in Zimbabwe, your colour is not something that comes to you. So, you never think you can offend anyone because of your colour. That was really traumatic for me to think of this trying to catch the train. I didn't say anything wrong. Then somebody so offended by my presence to an*

extent that I could lose my life if the dogs had come for me. So, that's really made me scared. And then, you restrict yourself, I think it takes away your confidence in your environment, is in it? Because you become so cautious and aware of who is around you because you don't trust what they're gonna (going to) do, even if you have not done something wrong. (Kalifa)

7.3.3 *Social capital*

Some research participants have rejected the notion that ethnicity and discrimination affect their chance of success in entrepreneurship. However, they have acknowledged a lack of social network as a disadvantage in business. They identified that irrespective of their names and identity markers, if they had the right social network and belong to certain social class, their chance of success would have improved greatly. While Chuma (an IT consulting entrepreneur) did not ignore the possibility that his ethnicity might create specific barriers for him in business, he, however, refused to accept that ethnicity was a major factor in business success. He considers social networks and social class as more important than ethnicity. He recounted:

But I feel like if I am James Gordon, and I have the same level of experience, of course, my network will be a lot better. If I have the same network as the country I grew up, I will find opportunity a lot easier… It is not about the experience but the quality of your network…Even regardless of ethnicity as long as you have a better network, even if you are black and your parents are GPs and middle class, you have a better network than someone who grew up in an inner city and in social housing, you know (Chuma)

Likewise, Amina identified the importance of social network as a source of opportunity, which is necessary for business success. She observed:

Maybe I might have had a different social network to be informed about opportunity because you don't realise what opportunity you are not being told about until you find out from other people (Amina)

However, Ngozi identified that social networking does not guarantee business opportunity, as social and business networking do not deliver much for black entrepreneurs. He said:

> *There are business clubs, business forum, and regional related networks. If you were to try that club after a while, you will notice that you are not really getting anything from the business forum. The white guy will be getting business from the business forum but not the black business guy. You tend to find out that after a few months, the black people just leave the business club because they are not getting any value out of it (Ngozi)*

This chapter has presented the major findings from this research. It has explored how black migrant entrepreneurs negotiate and compensate for their identity in entrepreneurship. In particular, it has identified the lack of legitimacy black entrepreneurs experience because of their identity and the various ways they compensate for their identity through hard work and masking strategies. Ethnicity plays a dual role in entrepreneurship, it could be a source of advantage for exploring ethnic and certain niche markets, however, it could also be a source of disadvantage for accessing mainstream markets in the host country. The findings show that entrepreneurship is a site of identity negotiation. The nature of identity negotiation is gendered as female black migrant entrepreneurs compensate more for their identity than male black migrant entrepreneurs; affirming how intersectional identities shape entrepreneurship. The next chapter will discuss and interpret research findings in relation to existing literature.

Chapter 8. Discussion

This chapter discusses the research findings identified in chapter 7. Research findings are discussed in relation to existing literature and contribute to the debate in the literature concerning identity, intersectionality and entrepreneurship. The chapter provides explanations of results and gives interpretations to research findings. The discussion chapter is divided into four sections. The first section considers the relevance of intersectionality to this study. Each of the aggregate theme is discussed in the remaining three sections. The four parts are:

A. Intersectional Entrepreneurship
B. Construction and Perception of Black Ethnic Identity in Enterprise
C. Compensation for Black Ethnic Identity in Enterprise
D. Associated Themes of Intersectional Black Ethnic Identity in Enterprise

8.1 Intersectional Entrepreneurship

In this section, I discuss the importance of intersectionality as a theoretical lens in this research. How intersectionality has guided my findings and interpretations of findings, and the wider application of intersectionality in theorising entrepreneurship and identity.

In an introduction to the special issue of Ethnic and Racial Studies, Romero and Valdez (2016) made salience the importance of identity in entrepreneurial discourse. They argue that multiple dimensions of identity intersect to reproduce and sustain inequalities and disadvantages for minority groups in entrepreneurship. They observe that intersectionality “holds the promise of a paradigm shift in our understanding of the role of group membership on economic action in advanced economies” (p. 1554). As identified by Romero and Valdez (2016), this study finds that the interplay of agentic processes and structural forces significantly affect the entrepreneurial capacity and activity among black African migrant groups. Combining black ethnic identity and entrepreneurial identity in a business venture is problematic in British society. The agency of the black entrepreneur is often challenged by structural forces, pushing them to the margins of entrepreneurship and restrictive forms of business activities.

As Giddens (1991) observes in his structuration theory, social structures and pattern of practices embedded within the society shape its relationship with social and economic actors (in this context, entrepreneurs). This interdependent relationship between structure and agency becomes more visible at the intersection of identities. For black African migrants engage in entrepreneurship in Britain, the socio-cultural environment and the market dynamics in which they operate seem to immobilise their ability to foster needed resources and supports in entrepreneurship.

Although entrepreneurship scholars have argued for the importance of context in entrepreneurship discourse (Welter, 2011; Gaddefors and Anderson, 2017; Martinelli, 2004; Martinez Dy and Agwunobi, 2018), context becomes even more important at the intersection of migration, identity and entrepreneurship. For example, Martinelli (2004) identifies how institutional discrimination, cultural backlash and ethnic marginality constrain entrepreneurialism among migrants. This research finds context to be critical in entrepreneurship since both identity and entrepreneurship are constructed within a context. The combination of context and intersectional identity may therefore, influence entrepreneurial orientation differently for black migrant entrepreneurs. Research findings indicate that the social context of migrant entrepreneurs should be taken into consideration when explaining migrant entrepreneurship. As observed by Martinelli (2004), black migrant entrepreneurs are constrained to marginal forms of entrepreneurship due to institutional discrimination and racism. The social and institutional context in which black African migrant entrepreneurs are embedded undermines their entrepreneurial potential. Their identity as both migrant and black tend to limit their entrepreneurial potential. This aligns with the theory of intersectionality that multiple dimensions of identity reproduce multiple inequalities. Male research participants were constrained by both migrant and black identities (Crenshaw, 1991). While female participants were constrained by migrant, black and gender identities. Intersectionality makes it possible to provide a separate explanation and reach new conclusions on the entrepreneurial activities of black entrepreneurs in the UK, and by extension, other western economies.

While previous research has placed emphasis on productivity and performance of migrant firms (Baycan-Levent and Nijkamp, 2011; Sahin et al., 2014), this research identifies that intersectionality shapes entrepreneurial outcomes and determines productivity and performance. The social construction of black ethnic identity makes it difficult for research participants to maximise their entrepreneurial potential, thereby affecting their business growth and performance. Structural forces that create and sustain inequality in the labour market are also at play in entrepreneurship. The existing conditions of migration often intersect with multiple identities such as race, ethnicity, gender, class, religion and legal status to lower the entrepreneurial opportunity that migrant can access in their host community. Due to structural and representational intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1991), black African migrants are being marginalised in the labour market and suppressed in entrepreneurship. Intersectional entrepreneurship cast a different light on the practice of entrepreneurship. It moves beyond questioning dominant assumptions and ideologies in the field of entrepreneurship (Verduijn and Essers, 2013; Ogbor, 2000) and makes whiteness visible as the driving force of entrepreneurial productivity and success (Frankenberg, 1993). Through an intersectional lens, this study has shown that entrepreneurship in the British context is predominantly a 'white phenomenon'. The entrepreneurial space has been constructed as both a domain and discourse of whiteness, which reproduces stereotypic hegemonic assumptions. While feminist entrepreneurship scholars are beginning to emphasise the embedded masculinity in entrepreneurial discourse (Swail and Marlow, 2018; Marlow and McAdam, 2012; Ahl and Marlow, 2012), yet whiteness and white ideology in entrepreneurial discourse have received little attention. For intersectional entrepreneurs, whiteness has silenced their voices in entrepreneurial discourse. It has excluded and precluded certain non-white entrepreneurial orientations through processes of identity construction, "classification, codification, categoriza-tion and taxonomies" (Ogbor, 2000: 608). Thereby marginalising entrepreneurialism among certain culture and people, and delineated the entrepreneurial space not only as the domain of white masculinity but also as a discourse of white hegemonic ideology.

This research shows that black migrant entrepreneurs have to embrace whiteness to acquire legitimacy and progress as entrepreneurs. This is noticeable among many

research participants irrespective of social or human capital they possessed. While not trying to underplay the importance of agency in migrant entrepreneurship (Cederberg and Villares-Varela, 2019), an intersectional lens shifts our attention to how structure (and not agency) constrains entrepreneurship among black African migrant entrepreneurs in Britain. There is an existing body of work on the agentic capital of migrants entrepreneurs (Cederberg and Villares-Varela, 2019; Villares-Varela, Ram and Jones, 2018). The majority of these studies have identified the lack of adequate capital within the migrant economy. These discourses have been used to divert attention from structural and institutional factors that have undermined the participation of migrants in entrepreneurship. For example, Beckers and Blumberg (2013) observe that high levels of human and social capital do not guarantee success in entrepreneurship for second-generation of immigrants in the Netherlands. This study supports such a proposition by arguing that structural forces at the intersection of identities affect the entrepreneurial potential of black migrant entrepreneurs and not necessarily the lack of capital.

As the subject of identity is becoming increasingly important in the entrepreneurial discourse, intersectionality will gain prominence as a theoretical framework for dissecting inequality and the underachievement of minority groups in entrepreneurship. Intersectionality will even be more useful in the critical entrepreneurship study where we tend to give voice to entrepreneurialism in context and contested spaces. Studies using intersectionality in the European context are gaining traction (e.g. Martinez Dy et al., 2017; Barrett and Vershinina, 2017; Martinez Dy and Agwunobi, 2018); and gradually intersectionality is finding its place in the field of entrepreneurship and management studies, as management scholars tend to address the subtle inequality in management practice and research. Unlike other theoretical lenses (e.g. mixed embeddedness and disadvantage theory), intersectionality has made it possible to focus on issues of identity, hegemony and inequality in entrepreneurship, which have legitimised masculinity and whiteness as normative entrepreneurial identity and discriminate against non-white entrepreneurs. An intersectional intervention in entrepreneurship study will bring clarity to the difference between identity entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial identity. The study of ethnic minority and migrant entrepreneurship has been constructed as the study of

identity entrepreneurship. Where the identity (race, ethnicity, culture etc.) of certain groups has been exaggerated over their entrepreneurial identity. By focusing on entrepreneurial identity of migrant groups (and not on identity entrepreneurship), we can identify how intersectional sites of identity can be strengthened to support vulnerable and minority groups in entrepreneurship.

This study has used the theory of intersectionality to theorise the experiences of both men and women. By so doing, it has shown that intersectionality can be extended beyond the narrow scope of feminism, to conceptualise and understand the experience of inequality among men. While women may experience more social inequality and discrimination than men, the experience of inequality among marginalised and stigmatised men should not be ignored. By using intersectionality as an analytical framework to understand the experiences of both male and female black entrepreneurs, it shows that intersectionality can be used not only as a gendered framework but also as a group centred framework for giving voice to excluded groups in social and political space (Choo and Ferree, 2010). In line with the observations of intersectionality scholars (Crenshaw, 1991; Collins 2015), this study establishes that the higher the degree of multiple socially excluded identities, the greater the experience of social inequality. The social inequality and discrimination black people experience in western society is also reproduced in entrepreneurship as suggested by Romero and Valdez (2016). Thereby, constraining entrepreneurial activities and making entrepreneurship an intersectional site of identity negotiation.

However, the challenge with intersectionality as it relates to entrepreneurship is what I refer to as *Racial Opportunity Syndrome* (ROS). There is a thin line between the lack of access to opportunity and the lack of access to opportunity due to ethnic identity. How do black migrant entrepreneurs differentiate between when an opportunity is denied due to lack of skills or inadequate competencies, and when it is due to social and institutional forces? This subtle part of intersectional identity may itself create a disadvantage for black ethnic minority groups in entrepreneurship. Thus, intersectionality might promote ROS, thereby perpetuating inequality and mediocrity among minority and vulnerable groups rather than exposing it. For example, if a white

entrepreneur is refused an opportunity, he or she may think the process was competitive and then enhance his or her competency and proposal and try again. However, if a black entrepreneur that perceives ethnicity as a barrier in entrepreneurship is denied an opportunity, he or she may think it was denied because of ethnicity and refuse to enhance his or her skills and try again; thereby limiting the chances of future success. ROS may not be applicable to black entrepreneurs who perceive ethnicity as a resource or who think ethnicity does not matter in entrepreneurship. ROS is similar to the concept of self-fulfilling prophecy (Merton, 1957). This is not to put the blame of racism on racialised identities, however, it is to encourage black migrant entrepreneurs to be aware of ROS in their judgement and evaluation of opportunity in the market place. This is a grey area in the study of intersectionality and entrepreneurship. The fact that society makes certain people believe their ethnicity is holding them back is problematic, and how marginalised people could specifically identify ethnicity as the factor responsible for not accessing specific opportunity, on the other hand, is questionable. This ambiguity, I argue, further increases the precariousness of black migrants in entrepreneurship.

Based on the explanation above, I define ROS as the tendency for socially excluded groups and individuals such as racialised and minoritised groups to perceive their lack of opportunity as due to their identity and not due to their lack of required skills or capital. When racialised individuals are denied opportunity whether in employment or entrepreneurship, they have a tendency (a very tempting one) to rationalise this experience to their identity. The interpretation some give to this experience has a limiting effect in their pursuit of future opportunity. The awareness of racism influences how racialised individuals explore opportunity and the type of opportunity they seek. Hence, ROS further disadvantages racialised group by giving a false notion of opportunity deprivation.

8.2 Construction and Perception of Black Ethnic Identity in Enterprise

The social construction and perception of black ethnic identity in enterprise influence how black African migrant entrepreneurs negotiate ethnic and entrepreneurial identities. At the intersection of ethnic and entrepreneurial identities are sites of tension

and ambiguity. The ambiguity of intersectional identities implies that some research participants experience ethnicity as a conflict between ethnic and entrepreneurial self. This conflict of identity identified in this study shows that for some participants, black ethnic identity is incongruent with entrepreneurship. In their view, while white ethnic identity enhances legitimacy in entrepreneurship, black ethnic identity seems to produce an opposite effect. It delegitimises entrepreneurialism among some black migrant entrepreneurs, making them in need of some form of acceptance before they are considered as 'proper' entrepreneurs. In this sense, the British business environment may be considered as a contested entrepreneurial space for black migrant entrepreneurs who perceive their ethnicity as a barrier in entrepreneurship. Negotiating these entrepreneurial space and context is complex and problematic for intersectional entrepreneurs.

Ethnicity has been weaponised in the market place to marginalised black ethnic identity and suppressed their entrepreneurial potentials. According to the Instrumentalist theory of ethnicity (Geertz, 1963; Yang, 2000), ethnicity is a strategic tool of power, which can be used for economic advantage as well for economic disadvantage. Power and privilege associated with white ethnic identity are not associated with back ethnic identity. This research agrees with scholars of intersectionality that ethnicity is a tool of exclusion for black African migrants engaged in entrepreneurship. The more composite an individual identity becomes, the more discrimination and inequality the person will experience. Multiple dimensions of identity mean multiple layers of inequality you experience in business (Romero and Valdez, 2016). As long as social structures perpetuate inequality, entrepreneurship will continue to be a white project within the British society. Not because migrants are less entrepreneurial, but because structural forces exclude them in participating in enterprise. In Britain today, an individual social and ethnic origins largely determine their success in entrepreneurship. Whiteness and masculinity are resources of entrepreneurial legitimacy and advantage; they continue to reproduce inequality of experience among non-white and feminine groups in entrepreneurship (Martinez Dy et al., 2017). The constructionist approach to ethnicity (Phinney, 2003; Brubaker and Cooper, 2000) suggests the fluidity of ethnicity, identifying people are free to construct and reconstruct their ethnicity. However, black ethnic identity is an embodied identity.

It is an identity that sticks and differentiates you, or at least the way it has been constructed in the western context. While it may be possible for individuals with white ethnic identity to self-identity and reconstruct their ethnic identity based on the constructionist theory of ethnicity. However, it is difficult for black ethnic identity to self-identity. While the black ethnic identity can be 'refined' and westernised, it cannot be superimposed with whiteness. Blackness is a visible form of identity; it is not the same as the identity of religion, nationality or sexuality. While these identities are dynamic and fluid, the same conclusion cannot be made about the black ethnic identity. Likewise, the black ethnic identity is disadvantaged in the use of ethnicity as a strategic tool for power, control and acquisition of resources. With very little power or a small amount of power, the black ethnic identity may not consider ethnicity as an instrument of power to be used for political or economic advantage. In a world where democracy and the majority rules, institutional powers enshrined in social structures and systems may continue to marginalise black ethnic identity. Obviously, the existing theories of ethnicity are insufficient to provide an explanation of the ethnic identity of black entrepreneurs in enterprise. The primordialist, instrumentalist and constructivist approaches are overly simplistic and do not account for the intersectional identities of black entrepreneurs. While they are useful in how identity is constructed and perceived, they are not sufficient to explain how identity is negotiated among entrepreneurs with multiple dimensions of identities.

For the majority of research participants, they are torn in between perceiving their ethnicity as an advantage or perceiving it as a disadvantage. For example, Ngozi identified that her ethnic identity is both a source of advantage and disadvantage in enterprise. This ambiguity create conflict between her ethnic and entrepreneurial self. The extent to which this affect her life chances is open to future research. Research findings tend to support the notion of "fluctuating relevance" of ethnicity among stigmatised migrant groups as observed by Moroşanu and Fox (2013). Rather than enhancing enterprise, ethnicity creates dilemma and anxiety for black migrant entrepreneurs, as they constantly have to struggle with identity interference in entrepreneurship. For black migrant entrepreneurs, before entrepreneurial legitimacy comes identity legitimacy. Their intersectional identities require them to perform double identity work before they gain acceptance and approval as entrepreneurs. The

entrepreneurial legitimacy for stigmatised identities is both an identity work and an entrepreneurial work. This creates tension for migrant entrepreneurs to manage and convince stakeholders of their entrepreneurial venture (Navis and Glynn, 2011). As Swail and Marlow (2018: 257) argue that for gendered and non-normative entrepreneurs, “entrepreneurial legitimation is a multifaceted process requiring the enactment of a convincing identity plus, access to resources but also, a credible actor who fits field expectations”. Accordingly, black migrant entrepreneurs have to proof themselves as credible entrepreneurial actors, in addition to enacting convincing normative identity through identity work processes (Leitch and Harrison, 2016). This support the analysis of Stead (2017) on belonging and legitimacy where she identifies legitimacy practices and identity work as ‘continual accomplishment’. For black migrant entrepreneurs, identity work in entrepreneurship is a continuous project. This study contributes to the debate on entrepreneurial legitimacy and identity work. More importantly, it shows how identity work is enacted in the process of acquiring entrepreneurial legitimacy. Thereby identifying the complexity of negotiating intersectional identities (Chasserio et al., 2014).

The ethnic barrier identified in this study indicates a situation of lack of opportunity based on the ethnic origin of participants, which consequently affect the social mobility of these migrant entrepreneurs. This may be comparable to many of the various research around the social mobility of different social groups, which indicate social origin as the determinant of opportunity, and upward social mobility (Hout, 2015; Massey 2010). Studies looking at the social origin and access to opportunity suggest that talent and hard work were not enough as long as you did not come from a privileged social background. They argue that concepts such as race, ethnicity, citizenship and social class are sites of privilege that either facilitate or constrain the advancement of certain groups. Findings from this research show a similar pattern; how intersectional identities may significantly affect the opportunity or upward social mobility among black African migrant entrepreneurs. Cheng and Heath (1993) extend the concept of social origin by identifying that ethnic origin, which is a form of social origin, limits achievement and the pursuit of upward social mobility. Individuals from ethnic majority were found to be privileged in comparison with individuals from an ethnic minority. Cheng and Heath (1993) describe ethnic penalty as the price ethnic

minority pay for their social origin. This research supports their analyses that ethnic origin is a significant factor for black migrants in entrepreneurship, and ethnic penalty as the compensation for ethnic origin. Findings from this study show that ethnic penalty in the form of ethnic barrier and identity interference is also being experienced by black African migrants engage in entrepreneurship. The social construction and perception of black ethnic identity limit entrepreneurialism and constrain social mobility. This demonstrates how the issues of ethnicity and identity continue to affect the life chances of members of ethnic minority groups, not only in employment but also in entrepreneurship.

Participants also used their ethnicity to foster entrepreneurship in certain ways by perceiving ethnicity as a resource. This becomes necessary to manage the psychological impact of negative construction of black ethnic identity. Research findings indicate that constructing and perceiving ethnicity as a resource enhances the entrepreneurial outcome while perceiving and interpreting ethnicity as a 'stigma' limits entrepreneurialism. Research participants referred to ethnicity as a resource in the form of black privilege. Their ability to sell to a specific niche market and provides the needed experience of diversity to market to people of different backgrounds. For research participants who consider ethnicity as a barrier in business, they have consciously or unconsciously accepted the 'popular' social construction of the black ethnic identity. This apparently has negative consequences on business venturing and entrepreneurial outcome. The negative social construction of the black ethnic identity has a brainwashing effect on black migrant entrepreneurs, which often leads to self-stereotyping. The internalisation of the negative social construction of the black ethnic identity is similar to what Pyke (2010) refer to as internalised racism. Internalised racism is a form of racial oppression, which involves both conscious and unconscious acceptance of whiteness as a superior racial hierarchy. Research evidence shows that some black migrant entrepreneurs are victims of internalised racism, as their narratives tend to construct their ethnicity as a barrier in entrepreneurship. In some way, the venturing of migrants into low valued-added and low growth businesses may be the manifestation of internalised ethno-racial inequality. If migrants consider the British entrepreneurial space as a white space, this may 'push' them to marginal forms of entrepreneurship within the ethnic economy which is usually a low value-added

business. On the other hand, for black migrant entrepreneurs, internalised racism may reinforce and reproduce the pursuit of a certain kind of entrepreneurial opportunity that limits their entrepreneurial potential and constrain them to a survival mode of entrepreneurship.

Just as Pyke (2010) identifies, internalised racism is associated with hidden injuries. Black migrant entrepreneurs may experience hidden injuries specific to their ethnic identity in enterprise. As evidenced by this research, hidden injuries may arise from despising one's identity in favour of whiteness, rationalising racism and the reality of inequality based on ethnic identification and not on entrepreneurial capability. In *The Hidden Injuries*, Sennett and Cobb (1977) established the struggles and hidden cost associated with social class movement and the pursuit of upward social mobility. They acknowledged that discrimination will persist as long as a man is valued and rewarded for what he can contribute to the neoliberal capitalistic society, rather than for who he is. Some of my research participants also show signs of hidden injuries. Hidden injuries due to unmet expectations based on discrimination of their identity. Hidden injuries based on scars of racism and stigmatisation. Hidden injuries because of experiences of marginalisation. Hidden injuries of unexplored entrepreneurial potential based on structural, political, institutional and representational forces.

Managing hidden injuries requires both identity work and psychological work. High mental quotient is needed to overcome the negative social construction of identity and its stereotypes. Evidence from research shows that positive psychological capital (Luthans et al., 2007) is essential to overcome the ethnic barrier and enhance entrepreneurial outcome. Participants who think ethnicity does not matter are likely to engage more positively with entrepreneurship in spite of the experience of discrimination. The extent to which ethnicity facilitates or constrains black migrant entrepreneurs may depend on individual agency involving both human and psychological capital. Yet high levels of both human capital and psychological capital only reduce but does not remove the potential constraint of ethnicity in entrepreneurship.

At the intersection of entrepreneurial and ethnic identities, black migrant entrepreneurs enact identity work. This is an ongoing project and performance of self, involving the crafting and re-crafting of identity to conform to certain normative identity expectation (Bjursell and Melin 2011; Stead, 2017). Black migrant entrepreneurs perform identity work in the Goffmanesque sense (Goffman, 1959) in their pursuit of identity legitimacy. Just as Goffman's analogous of the social space to the theatrical stage for the performance of identity, for black migrant entrepreneurs, entrepreneurship is constructed as the space for the performance of identity. They employ different dramaturgical performances in their entrepreneurial narratives, in their attempt to be seen as legitimate entrepreneurial actors. They perform identity masking as a form of identity work, which they enact to gain both identity legitimacy and entrepreneurial legitimacy. While identity masking is a visible expression of identity work, identity work can also be internal and invisible. The invisible form of identity work involves the various mental and cognitive processes, including both psychological and emotional work. The internal dialogue taking place in the mind of black migrant entrepreneurs as they negotiate their identity in the entrepreneurial process may lead to stress and mental fatigue and a feeling of being emotionally drained. These visible and invisible forms of identity work are similar to the internal and external manifestations of identity work as described by Watson (2008). Watson shows that identity work is a mutually constitutive process between the internal self-identity and the external social identity. This study extends this debate by showing identity work as a cognitive process. In the same way, Watson (2008) identifies identity work as a *bridge* between self and social identities. Similarly, evidence from research participants shows that identity work is a *bridge* between ethnic and entrepreneurial identities. This implies that identity work is the bridge between intersectional identities and normative identity such as entrepreneurial identity. As Goffman (1959) observed, this identity work can be performed in various dramaturgical ways. Identity work can also be gendered, leading to a difference in the way male and female perform and negotiate identity. This is expressed in the coping strategy of figure 8, showing that while black male entrepreneurs embrace whiteness; black female entrepreneurs tend to restrict themselves to certain forms of entrepreneurship.

The finding on ethnicity is significant as it negates the ethnicity-based theory of migrant entrepreneurship. Although, researchers have used the ethnic lens to explain migrant entrepreneurial orientation and motivation. This study agrees with the works of Schiller et al., (2006), Schiller and Çağlar (2013) and Fox and Jones (2013) to establish that there is no evidence that ethnicity is the reason for migrants entrepreneurship venturing. Migrants do not suddenly become entrepreneurial because of migration, as Ensign and Robinson (2011) argue that migrants are not entrepreneurs because of migration, rather it is because they are entrepreneurs that they migrated. Entrepreneurship and migration are both risk taking adventure and both require some form of resilience in the pursuit of opportunity. Likewise, Das et al (2017) argue that ethnicity only becomes important to entrepreneurship when it delivers strategic competitive advantage for the firm and the entrepreneur. This research, therefore, supports the works of Ensign and Robinson (2011) and Das et al. (2017) to establish that ethnicity does not matter in migrant entrepreneurship and business venturing, except when it delivers strategic social and market positioning for the entrepreneur. This study establishes clearly that migrants are entrepreneurial and opportunity seekers and do not venture because of their ethnic identity, rather it is their ethnic identity that is preventing them from venturing or constraining them in enterprise when they ventured. Chandra (2006) argue that ethnicity does not matter or has not been shown to matter in explaining most outcomes which have been causally linked to it by political scientists. I argue in a similar way, that ethnicity does not matter or has not been shown to matter in explaining the entrepreneurial intention and orientation of migrants.

Existing theories of ethnic and migrant entrepreneurship that have focused on ethnicity as the explanation for migrant entrepreneurship are based on the assumption that all migrants perceive ethnicity as a disadvantage. It is also partly due to what Ogbor (2000: 605) describes as “unexamined and contradictory assumptions and knowledge about the reality of entrepreneurs”. Considering the typical migration of Africa migrants to Britain may debunk some of these unexamined and contradictory assumptions of migrant entrepreneurship. The British immigration process is expensive and comparable to raising capital for business. Migrants are required to show a substantial amount of money in their bank account to prove they are able to sustain themselves

in Britain. Even some migrants are required to show proofs of owning houses, property and investment before they are given visa to travel. This is comparable to requesting for collateral for business investment. Even for the few that came to Britain as refugees and asylum seekers, the process is excruciatingly painful and draining. Migrants had to leave the known for the unknown; leave friends and family and stepped out of their comfort zone. This risk-taking process that requires huge sacrifice to a place where you will face discrimination and disadvantage. The migration experience itself is comparable to business venturing in many ways. An average African migrant is entrepreneurial, because their migration experience is comparable to the entrepreneurial process in many ways. Migrants are better experienced and equipped with the traits and personality of an entrepreneur. However, structural and institutional forces often hinder them from excelling because they face huge barriers due to their ethnicity and institutional factors. Therefore, for any theory to suggest that migrants are less entrepreneurial or are entrepreneurs because of their ethnicity is inaccurate.

The block mobility theory (Piperopoulos, 2010; Jones and Ram, 2013) which suggests migrants venture into entrepreneurship because of lack of mobility and access to opportunity in the labour market is also insufficient as a theory of migrant entrepreneurship. While there is empirical evidence to suggest that migrants are often 'pushed' into entrepreneurship because of lack of opportunity in the labour market, however, migrants face higher discrimination and disadvantage in enterprise than in employment. The labour market at least is regulated to increase access to opportunity for minority and vulnerable groups. Policies and regulations on equality, inclusion and diversity such as The Equality Act 2010 prevent migrants and minority groups from discrimination in the labour market. However, there is no such policy that prevents migrant entrepreneurs from structural and institutional discrimination. The British neoliberal free market policy makes it harder to protect the economy from issues of discrimination and disadvantage. The forces and factors that constrain opportunity in employment are even greater in entrepreneurship. The effect of this is that it has constrained some migrant entrepreneurs to the ethnic economy and others are forced to operate online 'faceless' business. Those who operate in the mainstream economy have to compensate for the deficient identity.

8.3 Compensation for Black Ethnic Identity in Enterprise

Black migrant entrepreneurs are not passive victims of negative identity construction and stigmatisation. They have developed some forms of strategic and individual approach to managing racialisation and stigmatisation. The various reactive mechanisms are used to negotiate their intersectional identities and navigate the business environment in which they are embedded. To compensate for their spoiled identity requires black migrant entrepreneurs to do considerable identity work not only to legitimise their identity but also to legitimise their entrepreneurial venture. Evidence from this research shows that black migrant entrepreneurs do not compensate for their identity in one particular way, but they use different ways and strategies to compensate for their lack of privilege identity. By employing different and mixture of strategies to overcome ethnic barriers, black migrant entrepreneurs demonstrate their social positioning as it relates to broader power relations and social structures. While compensational approaches are strategic and highly individualised, however, they show similarity in patterns and indicate their position of power and agency in the society. This also reflects on the specific ways their entrepreneurial activities are situated and the type of business they do.

The idea that identity has to be compensated for in one way or the other, can be compared to the commodification of identity as observed by Leong (2016). The commodification of identity can be seen as a way of trading the stigmatised identity for an acceptable normative identity. Black ethnic identity must be compensated for in entrepreneurship. Compensation is thus, the price black migrant entrepreneurs have to pay to attain legitimacy. This identity commodification engenders entrepreneurship as an intersectional site of identity negotiation. The notion that there is a price to pay implies that ethnicity can be commoditised, where certain people pay and certain people derive ‘value’ from that exchange. In *Racial Capitalism*, Leong (2013) argues that white individuals and white institutions derive benefits from non-white racial identity. This is in consonance with the instrumentalist theory of ethnicity, where ethnicity as a strategic tool for power, can be manipulated for economic advantage (Cohen, 1974; Yang, 2000).

Compensation in the form of hard work becomes necessary as a coping mechanism for discrimination. Hard work in this study is enacted not as working hard but as identity work. It is similar to those observed by Bruni et al (2004) as doing “ceremonial and remedial work”. Hard work is enacted during the entrepreneurial process to show the deservingness of opportunity (Chauvin et al., 2013; Rodriguez, 2018). The construction of ‘good deserving immigrant’ (Rodriguez, 2018) leaves black migrant entrepreneurs in tension between overcompensation and overworking. Hard work is also used as a way of reconstructing the black identity which is associated with laziness, to proof that black people are not lazy but hard working. However, black entrepreneurs tend to overcompensate due to the pressure on them to perform and manage their stigmatised identity. While researchers have identified various strategies for the management of identity, hard work is hardly mentioned as a strategy of identity management. Rather than ‘using’ resistance or what Goffman identified as militant chauvinism (Goffman, 1963) to manage identity, research participants used hard work. By enacting hard work in this sense, they over-conform to stereotypes and stigmatisation. This is similar to the minstrelization strategy identified by Goffman where the stigmatised are alone and lack the social power to challenge and change their position. It indicates the lack of collective agency among black migrant entrepreneurs. This lack of collective agency weakens their ability to resist oppressive structural forces and further enhances their precarious conditions (Cleaver, 2007; Berntsen, 2016). This study contributes to the research in identity work by identifying hard work as an intersectional site of identity construction.

Although research evidence suggests that migrant entrepreneurs lack collective power, they are, however, not without individual agency, which they enacted in different ways to reduce stigmatisation and manage their identity. Masking strategies observed in this research are the different ways research participants tend to overcome the potential disadvantage associated with their ethnic identity. According to Goffman (2009), stigmatised identities are disqualified from full social acceptance. Stigma is associated with identity maker “that is deeply discrediting” (Goffman, 1963: 3). Black ethnic identity is a source of stigma in Britain (Solanke, 2018). Identity masking as a way of compensating for blackness involves enacting various masking strategies similar to the normification strategy identified by Goffman. Unlike

minstrelization, normification allows the stigmatised to lower their identity barrier and enter structural institutions, which may be otherwise inaccessible. It is used by individuals and groups with a small amount of power to minimise the difference between the stigmatised and the normalised; by exaggerating similarities and downplaying differences. In this study, black entrepreneurs tend to exaggerate entrepreneurial identity as the contour of similarity and downplay ethnic identity as a marker of difference. The power dynamics involved in the management of intersectional identity by stigmatised entrepreneurs constitute entrepreneurship as a domain of power and privilege; where power is localised in privilege social locations and institutions (Severs et al., 2016). Intersectionality as a critical praxis (Collins, 2015) becomes a useful perspective for analysing the pattern of power and domination in entrepreneurial discourse and the structural constraints about what is entrepreneurial or not, and who can or cannot be an entrepreneur (Spicer, 2012).

Masking strategy as a form of identity work is separate from the coping strategy (Datta et al., 2007) which is often not associated with identity formation and construction. Masking strategy as a form of stigma management strategy for embodied identity are common practices as observed by Atewologun and Singh (2010) among UK black Africans in professional employment. The faceless online business observed in this research is similar to those identified by Nkrumah (2016) among Ghanaian female migrant entrepreneurs in Canada. Where entrepreneurs find the digital space as a ‘safe’ space and a way to ‘escape’ ethnic barriers and identity interference in business. Although, research by Martinez Dy et al (2017) among digital women entrepreneur observe that the same inequality offline is being reproduced online too. However, my research participants identified technology as a way of masking identity and the internet as having the potential to significantly reduce their experiences of discrimination and inequality. The observe difference regarding online inequality may be due to the difference in ethnic and gender in the research sample population. This observed difference in online experience of inequality also support the claims made by Crenshaw (1991) and Romero and Valdez (2016) that multiple dimensions of identity attract different levels of inequality.

A major masking strategy adopted by research participants was whiteness. Whiteness was used to compensate for their blackness. By adopting whiteness as a masking strategy, I argue that black migrant entrepreneurs reinforce the same stereotypes they are trying to overcome. Embracing whiteness in business practices is both contradictory and concessionary. It is contradictory in the sense that it reinforces the hegemonic and essentialist practice of whiteness as the idealised norm in entrepreneurial discourse and practice. However, it becomes a necessary concession to build business relationships and overcome the potential barriers associated with their ethnic identity. The construction of whiteness in entrepreneurship not only reproduces white dominance in enterprise but also support research which identifies entrepreneurship as sustaining prevailing societal biases (Ogbor, 2000) and privileging the dominance of whiteness and white ideologies (Essers and Benschop, 2007). Whiteness as an identity project is in between false characterisation of identity and passing. According to Kennedy (2003: 283), passing is a ‘‘deception that enables a person to adopt specific roles or identities from which he or she would otherwise be barred by prevailing social standards’’. Blackness as a visible embodied identity cannot be hidden, however, taking on whiteness helps research participants to overcome the initial barriers associated with their identity and access to entrepreneurial opportunity. Whether it is through whiteness, appearance make-up, and other masking strategies, identity camouflaging is a form of identity work that allows members of the black ethnic groups to ‘pass’ and minimises identity interference. The concealment of black ethnic identity shows the ambivalence and complexity of managing and negotiating identity. While whiteness has not been identified as a normative response to identity management, research participants find it useful as a symbolic strategy of identity management in entrepreneurship.

Another form of masking strategy closely identified with whiteness was femininity. Black migrant entrepreneurs, especially black male entrepreneurs use of feminine attributes, symbols and names as a representational identity in business practices and communications call for a rethink of the role of masculinity and femininity in entrepreneurial discourse. Black male entrepreneurs use white femininity as an identity work in a way black female entrepreneurs are unable to use femininity (either white or black femininity) to compensate for their identity. While previous studies have

identified hegemonic masculinity as the archetype of entrepreneurial identity (Hamilton, 2013; Verduijn and Essers, 2013; Ogbor, 2000), the role of feminine entrepreneurial identity in entrepreneurial activity has been scarcely articulated. Research findings suggest there are certain feminine attributes that appeal to the market and help black migrant entrepreneurs connect with potential clients. It seems there are certain ways in which feminine entrepreneurial identity may foster entrepreneurialism in a way masculine entrepreneurial identity cannot. This finding is similar to study by Orser et al (2011) where they establish how feminist attributes are expressed within entrepreneurial discourse, and contribute to the debate on the gendered nature of entrepreneurship.

Female black migrant entrepreneurs have to compensate for their black identity as well as for their gender. This gendered nature of identity compensation in entrepreneurship requires them to compensate twice. Compensating twice requires double identity work, which leads to double disadvantage. By enacting both masculine and white identity markers they distant themselves from their entrepreneurial identity and engage in extra identity work. As findings from this research suggest that black female entrepreneurs tend to restrict themselves, show resilience, exhibit some form of resistance and activism or even refrain from entrepreneurship altogether if the price of compensation is too much to bear. The expectation of discrimination and disadvantage due to their ethnic identity and gender may affect their entrepreneurial wellbeing as they constantly seek for ways to overcome identity interference. While their precarious position may constrain entrepreneurialism, it may also stimulate and motivate them to perform entrepreneurial acts. Although their resilience trumps their disadvantage, they are, however, limited and practice restrictive forms of entrepreneurship. De Clercq and Honig (2011: 355) observe that for disadvantaged persons, “their unprivileged position in society does not prevent their entrepreneurial undertakings”. They argue that disadvantaged identity may cause them to perform the dual role of compliance and resistance. Evidence from this research support this assertion, as research participants tend to show both compliance and resistance in entrepreneurship. This is also in line with research by Miller and Breton-Miller (2017) where they observe that sociocultural disadvantage may stimulate entrepreneurship for underdog entrepreneurs.

Gendered identity work by black female entrepreneurs threatens their sense of belonging and legitimacy. The suppressed entrepreneurial legitimacy (figure 8) observed among black female entrepreneurs shows how their double disadvantage and overcompensation tend to exclude them from the entrepreneurial space in Britain. Evidence from research shows that for black women entrepreneurs, entrepreneurial legitimacy is a function of gender positioning and identity work (Bruni et al., 2004). The dualism of 'doing gender and doing entrepreneurship' (Bruni et al., 2004) often result in pressure to meet certain normative expectations of masculinity and whiteness. This also affects their sense of belonging as to what extent they can succeed as entrepreneurs in Britain and whether they should consider going back to Africa. As a way of negotiating and navigating gender and identity, they enact practices of legitimation which Stead (2017) describes as modelling the norm. By this, they replicate and reproduce the prevailing societal norms of entrepreneurial identity.

At the intersection of entrepreneurial and ethnic identities, the interplay of structure and agency may influence how entrepreneurship is done depending on the degree of intersectional identity exhibited by the entrepreneur. This can be observed when the findings from this research are compared with the research by Barrett and Vershinina (2017). Their study on the intersectional identities of Polish entrepreneurs in Leicester shows the salience of entrepreneurial identity over ethnic identity. However, unlike this research, less identity work was done by Polish entrepreneurs, in comparison with black African entrepreneurs who have to do considerable identity work. This shows that difference in ethnic identity influence the enactment of identity work. The higher the degree of intersectionality and vulnerability, the more identity work there is to be done to negotiate multiple positions of disadvantages and inequalities. Intersectional identity may also be responsible for the difference in the way entrepreneurial identity is performed between white entrepreneurs and non-white entrepreneurs. Unlike the non-hegemonic and compromising identity shown by my research participants, Giazitzoglu and Down (2017) identify that white male entrepreneurs (with comparable ventures as participants in this research) demonstrate hegemonic identity and

respectable presentation of self. This indicates that intersectional identities influence not only how masculinity is performed but also how entrepreneurship is constructed.

The various compensational strategies identified in this study demonstrate how ethnicity and identity shape entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial practices. It influences business models, business practices and constrains entrepreneurial activities and outcomes. While the individual agency may reduce the extent to which ethnic identity constrains entrepreneurial identity, the individual agency does not prevent identity interference.

8.4 Associated Themes of Intersectional Black Ethnic Identity in Enterprise

The impacts of ethnic identity on entrepreneurship are multi-faceted. In this section, I discuss other important findings associated with the intersection of entrepreneurial and ethnic identities.

Entrepreneurship scholars are beginning to explore the important role of psychological wellbeing in entrepreneurship. While entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship have been portrayed as a positive force for good, research on the 'dark side' of entrepreneurship is beginning to show that entrepreneurship can have negative effects on the psychological and emotional wellbeing of entrepreneurs. Wiklund et al. (2019: 579) define entrepreneurial wellbeing as "the experience of satisfaction, positive affect, infrequent negative affect, and psychological functioning in relation to developing, starting, growing, and running an entrepreneurial venture". Findings from the narratives of black migrant entrepreneurs suggest that managing identity in entrepreneurship may have negative effect on the entrepreneurial wellbeing of these entrepreneurs. The psychological and emotional pain related to managing identity and the experiences of racism and discrimination often affect their entrepreneurial wellbeing and entrepreneurial behaviour.

The 'burden of proof' associated with identity legitimacy and the considerable identity work in reconstructing and managing black ethnic identity in enterprise have serious

psychological effects on black migrant entrepreneurs. While the research participants show some positive psychological traits (such as resilience and hope), they also exhibit worrying negative psychological traits, which impact negatively on their entrepreneurial behaviour and outcome.

The negative psychological effects of inferiority complex, lack of self-esteem, lack of confidence, confusion, anxiety, stress, trauma, and to the extreme, insanity were observed among research participants. The extent to which these constrain entrepreneurship is not known yet. However, there is evidence that they hinder the entrepreneurial potential of black migrant entrepreneurs and limit entrepreneurialism. Negative psychological effects around identity and acceptance erode confidence and increase uncertainty in entrepreneurship, and consequently affect the wellbeing of black entrepreneurs. The psychological effects influence how entrepreneurs acquire resources and develop social networks, which are critical to business growth and success. If black migrant entrepreneurs are not sure whether their entrepreneurial offering will be accepted because of their ethnicity, it may affect the venturing process and the entrepreneurial potential of those who managed to venture. This may be one of the reasons the rate of venturing, and productivity is low among the black ethnic group (Ram and Jones, 2008). This low rate has been attributed to various reasons such as finance, management and market (Carter et al., 2015); however, the impact of multiple dimensions of identities on the psychological wellbeing of ethnic minority and migrant entrepreneurs has been scarcely explored.

Research by Wiklund et al (2019) establish that psychological factors play a major role in entrepreneurial success. Psychological factors such as high self-concept, self-esteem and self-efficacy have been linked to entrepreneurial success (Brockhaus, 1982; Frese and Gielnik, 2014). At the intersection of ethnic and entrepreneurial identities, these psychological factors may become heightened, affecting both psychological wellbeing and entrepreneurial success. This may explain why minority and migrant groups experience huge entrepreneurial barrier and less entrepreneurial success (Carter et al., 2015). This psychological dimension to business venturing has received less attention in the literature of migrant entrepreneurship. There are

indications that psychological factors associated with intersectional identities may affect the entrepreneurial venturing and activities of migrant firms.

The psychological entrepreneurship theories such as locus of control, personality traits theory and need for achievement theory are insufficient to understand the psychological effects of intersectional identity in entrepreneurship. As these theories cannot explain how the interplay of psychological traits with intersectional identity influence entrepreneurial outcome. Identity may play a significant role in understanding the wellbeing of an entrepreneur. Although, research into migrant entrepreneurial wellbeing has received little attention, however, an understanding of how the relationship between migration, ethnicity, identity, citizenship and other intersectional identities affects entrepreneurship may provide a more nuanced explanation into how psychological factors affect entrepreneurial venture and wellbeing (Wiklund et al., 2019).

Proximity to whiteness is significant in the study of ethnic minority entrepreneurship. This is not just in relation to ethnicity, but in relation to how social positioning may result in different experience of privilege and inequality among vulnerable and minority groups. As it relates to this research, how ethnicity is constructed and perceived may affect the experience of entrepreneurs depending on their closeness to whiteness. The diversity and inclusion policy for ethnic minority groups in Britain is likely to favour those who have identity markers that are closer to whiteness. Research participants suggest that the closer an individual is to whiteness the less discrimination the person will experience. This was also observed along the gender line. This implies that for black female entrepreneurs, the closer the entrepreneur is to whiteness and masculinity, the less discrimination the entrepreneur will experience; however, the further apart the entrepreneur is to whiteness and masculinity, the more inequality the entrepreneur will experience. The variation in the levels of inequality based on ethnic identity and gender support the theory of intersectionality that multiple identities attract multiple inequalities.

In the spectrum of racial and ethnic categories, how ethnic identity is positioned in relation to whiteness matters. Race is not just a binary logic between whiteness and blackness, however, the relative position one occupies may influence the experience of inequality and privilege. The experiences of research participants suggest that ethnicity is hierarchical. This hierarchical concept of ethnicity indicates that entrepreneurial inequality is also hierarchical. Levels of intersectional identities determine the level of inequality an entrepreneur experiences. This perspective has received little scholarly and policy focus. The needs and supports an entrepreneur requires should be related to how their multiple identities exclude them from entrepreneurship. The implication of this is that generalising ethnic minority group as a homogeneous group may perpetuate inequality as the social position and 'hierarchy' of ethnicity matters. From an intersectional perspective, black ethnic identity is not the same as an ethnic minority identity. A collective identity for members of minority groups, robs the most vulnerable members of that group. While a collective identity provides members of an ethnic minority with the collective agency to resist and fight social inequality (Cleaver, 2007), variation in ethnic composition, which result in variation in the experience of privilege and inequality should become prominent in the struggle for equality.

There is an extensive body of research on social capital in migrant and ethnic minority entrepreneurship (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993; Turkina and Thai, 2013; Cederberg and Villares-Varela, 2019). Generally, it has been observed that the lack of growth in migrant entrepreneurship is due to a lack of social capital. Assimilation theorists have argued that migrants' integration would enhance their social mobility and economic wellbeing. Strongly linked to economic capital is social capital, which is a way social groups acquire beneficial resources that give access to upward mobility (Gans, 2007). This study extends this debate from an intersectional perspective, showing how constructed social structure interplays with agency, and ways in which this constrains entrepreneurial outcomes for black migrant entrepreneurs.

This study shows the relationship between social capital and ethnic identity. Since research participants were all first-generation migrant entrepreneurs, they have limited

social network and lack of established connections, which are essential for accessing entrepreneurial opportunity. They identified how ethnicity is less significant in relation to social network and capital. By this, they establish the important role social capital plays in migrant entrepreneurship. This supports various research that has established the criticality of social capital to migrant enterprise (Cederberg and Villares-Varela, 2019; Ram et al., 2008; Pieterse, 2003). However, an intersectional lens shows the significance of acceptance, belonging and identity interference in the discourse of social capital. Visible identity markers limit the extent to which migrant entrepreneurs can assimilate, socialise and claim Britishness (Modood et al., 1994). Evidence from this research shows that ethnicity has been perceived to constrain the extent to which black migrant entrepreneurs can build social networks and develop connections with their host community. It suggests that the challenge of the social relationship between the migrants and their host community is not about sociability but socialisation due to the perceived difference in ethnic identity. Social factors such as trust, acceptance, belonging, and identity are important considerations in explaining how migrants assimilate and acquire social capital in the host country.

Barber (1983: 165) defines trust as “socially learned and socially confirmed expectations that people have of each other, of the organizations and institutions in which they live, and of the natural and moral social orders, that set the fundamental understandings for their lives.” In the context of entrepreneurship, Welter (2012:195) describes trust as an elusive concept and defines it as “trust is based on a perception of the probability that other agents will behave in a way that is expected and benevolent”. Trust is an essential component of social capital (Turkina and Thai, 2013). Lack of trust due to construction and perception of ethnic identity affect the notions of acceptance and belonging, which in effect make access to social capital difficult and constrain assimilation and social mobility. The uncertainty around identity and acceptance in social arenas makes black migrant entrepreneurs constrains the social integration and this often results in weak social ties. One of the participants (Chuma) had narrated how he was refused access to a social gathering (Christmas dinner) because of his ethnic identity. The white security guard refused him the opportunity to acquire much needed social capital, and Chuma had to return to his home that day. Rethinking important components of migration, such as assimilation,

belongingness, social acceptance and identity may imply that social structures within the host country prevent migrant assimilation and access to social capital. While the majority of studies in migrant entrepreneurship have been about lack of social capital in the migrant enterprise, attention should shift to the social structure that disempowers migrants from accessing required social capital for enterprise development. Since social integration does not only enhance migrants socio-economic wellbeing but also that of the host community and their native citizens, I suggest both inward and outward integration as a two-dimensional approach to migrant social integration. Outward integration on the part of the host community will reduce social barriers and increase trust and acceptance, which facilitate the exchange of social capital and the entrepreneurial outcome of both migrant entrepreneurs and their host community. Just as Tolciu (2011: 409) observes about the social capital of migrant entrepreneurs, for black African migrant entrepreneurs, “entrepreneurial outcomes can be viewed as a matter of optimisation under constraints”.

To summarise, this chapter has extensively discussed research findings. It has provided explanations to the ways research participants constructed and made sense of their experiences. The findings from the research has been extended to previous work in the study of migrant entrepreneurship, identity and intersectionality. It has made various attempts to contribute to existing literature in entrepreneurship, identity and intersectionality, while identifying possible areas for future research. The next chapter will summarize the research project by highlighting research conclusions, implications and limitations.

Chapter 9. Conclusions and Implications

9.1 Research Conclusions

Recent research in entrepreneurship, especially in the field of critical entrepreneurship studies has started questioning and challenging the dominant assumptions embedded in the discourse of entrepreneurship (Ogbor, 2000; Verduijn and Essers, 2013; Tedmanson et al., 2012; Tedmanson and Essers, 2016). Among many other things, they argue that the classical and westernised view of entrepreneurship is hegemonic, and has resulted in the exclusion of certain people and voices from the entrepreneurial discourse. In particular, Ogbor (2000) argues that the discourse of entrepreneurship is discriminatory, gender-biased, ethnocentric and ideologically controlled. To further this argument, Gartner (2013) calls for researchers to embrace a community of difference in the scholarship of entrepreneurship. He argues, that this will make often ignored entrepreneurial actors and entrepreneurial practices visible and enhance the scholarship of entrepreneurship. The field of ethnic minority and migrant entrepreneurship is one of the major entrepreneurial spaces for such voices to be heard. However, certain stereotypes and ideological perspectives expressed in the classical view of entrepreneurship are being reproduced in the field of ethnic minority and migrant entrepreneurship. This is particularly expressed through ethnic-based and ethnic-biased theoretical perspectives, which are majorly used in the discourse and explanation of entrepreneurship among ethnic minority and migrant groups.

This ethnic-focused theoretical perspective has resulted in the stagnation of theory in the field of ethnic minority and migrant entrepreneurship (Aliaga-Isla and Rialp, 2013; Ram et al., 2017). While researchers are exploring various theoretical approaches to theorise entrepreneurship among migrant and ethnic minority groups, Romero and Valdez (2016) have suggested intersectionality as a useful theoretical framework for providing an explanation for the entrepreneurial activities of migrant and minority groups. Apart from deviating from the established ethnic-based theoretical lens, intersectionality recognises how the interplay of agentic and structural forces may constrain or otherwise facilitates entrepreneurship among entrepreneurs with multiple

dimensions of identities. This research used intersectionality to study how the multiple identities of first-generation black African migrant entrepreneurs are expressed in relation to entrepreneurship. Here, the intersection of two identities is analysed: the identity of ethnicity and the identity of entrepreneurship. Recently, Leitch and Harrison (2016) have called for more critical studies that recognise how various processes of identity work shape the formation and the orientation of entrepreneurial identity. Thus, this research extends previous work by showing how the intersection of ethnic and entrepreneurial identities shape the entrepreneurial ventures of migrant entrepreneurs in Britain.

The research question focused on 'how do black African immigrant entrepreneurs balance, negotiate and experience their (potentially disparate) identities as 'entrepreneurs' and 'ethnic minorities' within their lives?'. To answer the research question, semi-structured interviews were conducted with black African migrant entrepreneurs across various cities in the UK. The analysis is rooted in the narratives and discourses of 24 black African migrants, living in the UK and engaged in self-employment and small business ownership. In the phenomenological tradition, the research explores the experiences of black African migrant entrepreneurs in relation to how they make sense of their identity as entrepreneurs, and how their ethnic identity intersect with their entrepreneurial identity. The analysis is based on the different ways black migrant entrepreneurs perceive, interpret and make sense of their identity in entrepreneurship. In particular, it explores how the intersection of ethnic and entrepreneurial identities influence the practice of entrepreneurship. Elicited data was imported to the QSR NVivo 12 Pro and data analysis done using the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA).

Research findings show the pervasiveness of whiteness in entrepreneurship in Britain. Whiteness has been normalised and constructed as an entrepreneurial property in both research and praxis. The narratives of these black migrant entrepreneurs show that entrepreneurship is a white phenomenon, sustaining whiteness and incongruence with black identity. Just as Ogbor (2000) observed, the entrepreneurial space has been delineated as a white space favouring entrepreneurship among groups with

white ethnic identity and structurally excluding black ethnic identity. The voices of black migrant entrepreneurs have been silenced in both entrepreneurial research and entrepreneurial practice. To negotiate the entrepreneurial space, black African migrant entrepreneurs who often experience identity interference have to embrace whiteness and perform other forms of identity work to negotiate legitimacy. Although identity work in the Goffmanesque sense helps racialised black migrant entrepreneurs to gain identity legitimacy and to be seen as legitimate entrepreneurial actors; it however, often cause them to overcompensate. This affects them psychologically and impact on their entrepreneurial wellbeing (Wiklund et al., 2019). The negative perception of the black ethnic identity in entrepreneurship is a potential source of stigma, which constrains entrepreneurship to the ethnic economy and survival forms of entrepreneurship. The social construction and perception of black ethnic identity constitute a barrier, which limits the entrepreneurial activities and outcomes of black migrant entrepreneurs.

Aside from the negative social construction and perception of the black ethnic identity, the way an individual perceives and interprets the social construction of ethnicity matters. For black migrant entrepreneurs, research findings indicate that their interpretation and internalisation of discrimination, racism, and disadvantage in business may determine whether ethnicity enhances or limits entrepreneurial outcome (figure 7). There are mixed feelings as to how participants balance and negotiate their identities in entrepreneurship. Some research participants identified that ethnicity does not matter, while few perceived their ethnic identity as a resource, yet others considered their ethnic identity as a barrier. For those who considered their ethnic identity as a barrier, they enacted certain identity work to manage the potential barriers their ethnicity may create in business. While there are various ways of managing their identity, common ways as identified in this study include hard work and masking strategy. Hard work in this sense is more than just working hard. It is overworking. It is a social construct for negotiating stigmatised identity. It is a necessary capital for gaining legitimacy and navigating the hegemonic world of entrepreneurship. The agency of hard work is enacted as a way of reconstructing the deficient black ethnic identity and as a proof of worthiness. On the other, the masking strategy involves the use of positive white and western images, symbols, names and associations that

connote whiteness or have a close alignment with whiteness. Masking strategies are stigma management strategies that seem to conceal visible attributes that disqualify an individual from full social acceptance. Common masking strategies among research participants include faceless online business, whiteness, femininity, appearance and shared ownership. However, whether an individual mask ethnic identity or not, and whether one thinks ethnicity is a barrier or considers ethnicity as a resource; the reality is once you are black in Britain, your black ethnic identity is going to affect your life chances and entrepreneurial outcomes. While the individual agency can reduce the potential impact of ethnic identity, the individual agency does not remove it (Beckers and Blumberg, 2013).

Additionally, this research found that intersectionality can be both gendered and group centred. Group centred intersectionality (Choo and Ferree, 2010) as a way of giving voice to the collective exclusion of black African migrant entrepreneurs in entrepreneurial discourses and practices. Intersectionality can also be gendered as a way of differentiating between the experiences of black African male migrant entrepreneurs and those of black African female migrant entrepreneurs. Female research participants tend to show certain nuanced ways of negotiating ethno-racial identity and gender in enterprise. They suggest that their experiences of discrimination and disadvantage based on their ethnic identity cause them to perform 'extra' identity work to accommodate for gender and ethnic otherness. While black men tend to embrace whiteness as a coping mechanism for identity work, black women tend to be restricted to certain forms of entrepreneurship as a way of negotiating identity in enterprise. Male research participants were constrained by both migrant and black identities, while female participants were constrained by migrant, black and gender identities (Crenshaw, 1991). Other important findings in this research include proximity to whiteness, psychological effects and social capital. Proximity to whiteness indicates that white privilege is sometimes extended to people within the minority group with lighter skin colour. Research participants suggest that the closer you are to whiteness, the less ethnic barriers you experience in business. Psychological effects describe the various mental impacts of black ethnic identity in entrepreneurship. It shows that negotiating black identity in enterprise is mentally exhaustive and emotionally draining. While black African migrant entrepreneurs exhibit some positive psychological capital

such as resilience, hope and optimism, however, they show signs of negative psychological effects of ethnic identity. These negative psychological effects include lack of self-esteem, lack of confidence, confusion, self-doubt, trauma and to the extreme one participant identified psychological and emotional trauma driving him towards insanity. The social capital of the entrepreneur was observed to be important at the intersection of ethnic and entrepreneurial identities.

Among others, this research makes six main theoretical contributions to the study of intersectionality, identity and entrepreneurship. One, it identifies the nature of entrepreneurial legitimacy required by intersectional entrepreneurs as they negotiate acceptance and belonging in entrepreneurship. The four nature of entrepreneurial legitimacy are normative, imposed, weakened and suppressed entrepreneurial legitimacy (figure 8). This is significant to the study of entrepreneurship, as previous studies tend to assume that entrepreneurial legitimacy is negotiated in the same way for intersectional identities. By showing how the construction of ethnic identity and gender influence entrepreneurial legitimacy, this study contribute to the debate on gender, ethnicity and entrepreneurship. Second, this research contributes to the existing debate on how identity work is enacted in the entrepreneurial process (Lewis, 2015; Stead, 2017; Swail and Marlow, 2018). It conceptualises the nature of identity work at the intersection of ethnic identity and gender. While previous research which is mostly gendered and feminine based showed how white women perform identity work by embracing masculinity (Swail and Marlow, 2018) and modelling the norm (Marlow and McAdam, 2012; Stead, 2017). This study extends this debate by showing that at the intersection of ethnic identity and gender, black male entrepreneurs tend to embrace whiteness and black female entrepreneurs tend to engage in restrictive forms of entrepreneurship. This is significant as it shows that intersectional identities influence the nature of identity work that is performed by an entrepreneur in search of legitimacy and belonging. Third, this research contributes to the study of entrepreneurship by showing how the perception and construction of identity influence the identity of the entrepreneur. There is a tension between the salient identity and the suppressed identity (figure 6). This tension arises from the difference in perception between the migrant entrepreneurs and their host community. While black migrant entrepreneurs tend to make their entrepreneurial identity salient and suppress their

ethnic identity, the host community, on the other hand, make salient the ethnic identity and suppress the entrepreneurial identity. This shows the conflicting and subjective nature of identity in entrepreneurship. It shows the lack of congruency in the perception of the black ethnic identity with entrepreneurship. This suggests that the entrepreneurial identity of ethnic minority and migrant entrepreneurs may not be hegemonic due to their intersectional identities. This is seen in the way some research participants seek legitimacy and struggle to articulate the typical entrepreneurial identity because of their black ethnic identity. Although scholars have perceived the entrepreneurial identity as a hegemonic identity (Giazitzoglu and Down, 2017; Hamilton, 2013;), this study argues that the entrepreneurial identity of ethnic minority and migrant entrepreneurs is not perceived to be hegemonic due to their intersectional identities. In this sense, their ethnicity masks some aspects of their identity such as masculinity and their identity as entrepreneur which may have been considered to be hegemonic.

Fourth, it contributes to the existing literature on identity and entrepreneurship by showing how internalised perception and interpretation of identity may affect entrepreneurial outcomes (figure 7). Depending on whether the internalisation of negative social construction of identity is positive or negative, ethnicity can become a resource or be perceived as a barrier. This contributes to the literature on how the cognitive process of ethnic identity may interfere and affect entrepreneurial activity. If the internalisation is negative, it reinforces the existing social construction of ethnic identity and limits entrepreneurial outcomes. Fifth, this research extends the theory of intersectionality through the concept of Racial Opportunity Syndrome (ROS). As identified in this study, there is a thin line between the lack of access to opportunity and the lack of access to opportunity due to ethnic identity. The ability or inability to differentiate between these may determine the strength of intersectionality or undermines it. Thus, intersectionality might promote ROS, making inequality a self-fulfilling prophecy. Thereby perpetuating inequality and mediocrity among minority and vulnerable groups rather than preventing it. Lastly, this research contributes to the literature on ethnic minority and migrant entrepreneurship. Indeed, it reveals the role of identity work in the discourse of ethnic minority and migrant entrepreneurship. It shows that identity work is required for migrants in entrepreneurship to sustain and

maintain legitimacy in entrepreneurship. While previous research (Jones et al., 2014) has identified that discrimination and structural barriers push migrants to entrepreneurship, this research adds a nuanced perspective to this dimension, by showing that having created enterprise, migrants must engage in identity work to construct and gain legitimacy in entrepreneurship. For some black migrant entrepreneurs, this identity work is oriented towards whiteness, which they enact to mask their blackness and construct a coherent entrepreneurial identity.

9.2 Research Limitations

This research is not without its limitations. One of the limitations of this study is the notion of putting people into categories before they can be studied. A good number of research participants object to the idea of categorisation. They don't want to identify as black or ethnic entrepreneurs but rather as simply entrepreneurs. They don't want to be grouped based on their social class, social status or country of origin. They simply want to be seen as equal entrepreneurial actors and equal participants in the society they live in. Intersectionality as a theory seems to put people into categories before they can be studied. While it is effective to provide a more nuanced understanding and experiences of a particular segment of the society, it nonetheless, isolate, differentiate and categorise people, which many research participants were uncomfortable with. This limitation is overcome by using IPA as the method of data analysis. IPA gives voice to participants and substantiates individual experience so that it is not lost in the crowd. It does not treat people as a group, but as an individual, and in this way counter the limitation inherent in the theoretical framework.

The findings of this study may not be generalised as the experience of all black migrant entrepreneurs in the UK. Also, these findings cannot be generalised for all black identity, these findings are limited within the contexts of migration, Britain, and the Sub-Saharan African black identity construction. For example, the findings from this research may not be applicable to black Caribbean migrant entrepreneurs in the UK. Although black African and the black Caribbean share similar culture and tradition, however, the findings of this research may not be the same for the black Caribbean due to their longer length of settlement in the UK and their history of migration.

Besides, findings from this research may not be extended to white Africans and North Africans. Also, second generations of black African migrants may have a different experience as research shows that they have stronger ties and affiliation to Britain than Africa. This research did not account for the difference in capital and social class among research participants. Factors such as level of education, socio-economic status and social capital may produce variation in the experiences of participants. Black ethnic identity used in this study is in the context of western society and culture. Some of the assertions made in this study may not be applicable in Sub-Saharan Africa or in a black dominated society. Lastly, not using participants from London may itself be a limitation as the research could be accused of excluding this important demographic. However, earlier data collection from London indicates that the nature of multiculturalism and a high level of diversity in London may dilute the effects of ethnic identity on entrepreneurial identity. Therefore, the findings from the research may not be applicable to black African migrant entrepreneurs in London. This limitation is indicative of the contextual nature of this research. In particular, it shows the importance of spatial context in the study of ethnic minority and entrepreneurship, as Welter (2011: 171) observes that "socio-spatial context can either be a liability, an asset or… irrelevant".

9.3 Research Implications

This research has various implications for practice and policy. Based on the various findings from this research, entrepreneurial discourse needs to be decolonised to embrace entrepreneurship in contexts and contested spaces. A conscious effort to deconstruct and disaggregate entrepreneurship as a white phenomenon will make the discourse of entrepreneurship more inclusive and create a community of difference in the scholarship of entrepreneurship (Gartner, 2013). This deconstruction can be done in the practice, theory and teaching of entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurial definitions and discourses that are hegemonic and ethnocentric in nature should be reviewed to be more inclusive and culturally diverse. Scholars as gatekeepers of knowledge should question and challenge dominant assumptions and existing stereotypes in the scholarship of entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship scholars should be careful about making stereotypic claims and invidious comparisons about culture and contexts they

do not fully understand (Werbner, 1999). Cultural and historic forms of entrepreneurship should be taught to students to identify that entrepreneurialism is not a western phenomenon. In parts, leading entrepreneurship journals have contributed to the ideological discourse of entrepreneurship. Editors' acts of omission and commission have sustained discriminatory ideologies, prevailing societal biases and contradictory assumptions about the reality of entrepreneurship (Ogbor, 2000). These acts have perpetuated false construction of the entrepreneur and entrepreneurship. Special issues focusing on entrepreneurialism in the Global South and often ignored contexts and people may rejuvenate the scholarship of entrepreneurship and provides useful knowledge for the advancement of entrepreneurship and management studies.

Policy makers may also find the results of this research useful for making inclusive policy that benefits migrants and entrepreneurs. Since findings from this research indicate that black migrant entrepreneurs may suffer exclusion of opportunity due to their ethnic identity, policies that promote 'non-identity' based opportunity will encourage black African migrant entrepreneurs to flourish in entrepreneurship. For example, programmes that are designed to support entrepreneurs should be reviewed to remove ethnic identity markers such as names and ethnicity. Such required information may be supplied separately to prevent bias and ensure fairness. To boost the level of entrepreneurialism among the black ethnic group in Britain will require taking their identity into consideration. Policies that identify the significance of identity in the entrepreneurial venturing and that provides identity support to black ethnic migrant groups will play a crucial role in the entrepreneurial development of black migrant entrepreneurs and other ethnic minority groups. Support programmes should not only include financial support but also policies that support disoriented black migrant entrepreneurs to manage psychological and emotional complexes associated with their ethnic identity.

The different institutions and bodies that support entrepreneurs such as financial institutions, Department for Works and Pensions, Institute of Enterprise and Entrepreneurs and Government Equality Office; can use research findings in developing immigrant and ethnic-oriented policies and business support programmes.

Other bodies that promote racial equality and foster enterprise development among ethnic groups such as Equality Commission, Race and Equality Foundation, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, Runnymede Trust etc. may draw implications from this research to look beyond social and economic capital and consider how racial inequality affect black entrepreneurs in the UK. Systemic racial discrimination and exclusion in the formal economy disenfranchised black immigrant entrepreneurs and this calls for better policy. There are no regulations yet against entrepreneurship and market based discrimination. Such policy will enhance participation in entrepreneurship for migrant and minority groups.

In conclusion, this research agrees with scholars of intersectionality that an identity is a tool of exclusion, and the more composite one identity becomes, the more discrimination and inequality the person experiences. Multiple dimensions of identity mean multiple layers of inequality an individual experience in business. The more an identity deviates from the norm, the more likely for that identity to experience barriers in enterprise. In Britain, just as social origin, ethnic origin and ethnic identity determine success and upward social mobility in entrepreneurship. That is not to say non-white people cannot be successful in enterprise, however, they may have to embrace institutionalised ideas of success and work very hard to achieve less than what their white counterparts would achieve.

While previous research has placed emphasis on the low participation of migrants in entrepreneurship (Baycan-Levent and Nijkamp, 2011), this research suggests that intersectional identities may account for such low participation and the nature of entrepreneurial activities among migrants. The social construction of black ethnicity makes it difficult for research participants to maximise their entrepreneurial potential, thereby affecting their business growth and performance. Structural forces that create and sustain inequality in the labour market are also at play in entrepreneurship. The existing conditions of migration often intersect with multiple identities such as race, ethnicity, gender, class, religion and legal status to lower the entrepreneurial opportunity that migrant can access in their host community. Due to structural and representational intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1991), black African migrants are being

marginalised in the labour market and suppressed in entrepreneurship. Intersectional entrepreneurship cast a different light on the practice of entrepreneurship. It moves beyond questioning dominant assumptions and ideologies in the field of entrepreneurship (Verduijn and Essers, 2013; Ogbor, 2000) and makes whiteness visible as the driving force of entrepreneurial productivity and success (Frankenberg, 1993).

REFERENCES

Adams, B. G., Van de Vijver, F. J. R., and De Bruin, G. P. (2012) Identity in South Africa: Examining Self-descriptions Across Ethnic Groups. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations,* 36, pp. 377-388.

Adams, B. G., Van de Vijver, F. J. R., de Bruin, G. P., and Bueno Torres, C. (2014) Identity in Descriptions of Others Across Ethnic Groups in South Africa. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology,* 45(9), pp. 1411–1433.

Agyemang, C., Bhopal, R. and Bruijnzeels, M. (2005) Negro, Black, Black African, African Caribbean, African American or what? Labelling African Origin Populations in the Health Arena in the 21st Century. *Journal of Epidemiology Community Health*, 59, pp. 1014 –1018.

Ahl, H. and Marlow, S. (2012) Exploring the Dynamics of Gender, Feminism and Entrepreneurship: Advancing Debate to Escape a Dead End. *Organization,* 19(5), pp. 543 – 562.

Ahl, H. and Marlow, S. (2019) Exploring the False Promise of Entrepreneurship through a Postfeminist Critique of the Enterprise Policy Discourse in Sweden and the UK. *Human Relations*, 00(0), pp. 1–28. DOI: 10.1177/0018726719848480

Aliaga-Isla, R. and Rialp, A. (2013) Systematic Review of Immigrant Entrepreneurship Literature: Previous Findings and Ways Forward. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development,* 25(9-10), pp. 819-844.

Anderson, A. R., Warren, L. and Bensemann, J. (2018) Identity, Enactment, and Entrepreneurship Engagement in a Declining Place. *Journal of Small Business Management,* 00(00), pp. 00-00.

Anthias, F. (2001) Beyond Feminism and Multiculturalism: Locating Difference and the Politics of Location. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 25, pp. 275 - 86.

Anthias, F. (2002) Where Do I belong?: Narrating Identity and Translocational Positionality. *Ethnicities,* 2(4), pp. 491–51.

Antonsich, M. and Petrillo, E. R. (2018) Ethno-cultural Diversity and the Limits of the Inclusive Nation. *Identities,* DOI: 10.1080/1070289X.2018.1494968

Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. and Tiffin, H. (1998) *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies*. London; New York: Routledge.

Aspden, K. (2008) *The Hounding of David Oluwale*. London: Vintage

Aspinall, P. J. (2009) The Future of Ethnicity Classifications, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* 35(9), pp. 1417-1435.

Aspinall . P. J. (2011) Who is 'Black African' in Britain? Challenges to Official Categorisation of the Sub-Saharan African Origin Population. *African Identities*, 9(01), pp. 33 - 48.

Atewologun, D. and Mahalingam, R. (2018) Intersectional Reflexivity: Methodological Challenges and Possibilities for Qualitative Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion Research. In: Cassell, C., Cunliffe, A. L., and Grandy, G. (eds) *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Business and Management Research Methods* (pp. 149 - 170). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Atewologun, D. and Singh, V. (2010) Challenging Ethnic and Gender Identities: An Exploration of UK Black Professionals' Identity Construction. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal,* 29(4), pp. 332 – 347.

Australian Human Rights and EOC (Equal Opportunities Commission) (2001) HREOC and the World Conference Against Racism. Available at: www.hreoc.gov.au/ world conference/aus_gender.html. (Accessed: 12 November 2018).

Banton, M. (1998) *Racial Theories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Barber, B. (1983) *The Logic and Limits of Trust*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.

Barrett, G., Jones, T. and McEvoy, D. (2003) United Kingdom: Severely Constrained Entrepreneurialism. *In: Kloosterman, R. and Rath, J. (eds), Immigrant Entrepreneurs: Venturing Abroad in the Age of Globalisation*. Oxford: Berg. pp. 1011-122.

Barrett, R. and Vershinina, N. (2017) Intersectionality of Ethnic and Entrepreneurial Identities: A Study of Post-War Polish Entrepreneurs in an English City. *Journal of Small Business Management,* 55(3), pp. 430 – 443.

Barth, F. (1969) Introduction. *In: Ethnic Groups and Boundaries, edited by F. Barth*, pp. 9 –38. Boston: Little Brown.

Bauböck, R., and Faist, T. (Eds.). (2010). Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods. Amsterdam University Press. Retrieved from: http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt46mz31

Baumann, T. (2004) Defining Ethnicity. *The SAA Archaeological Record*, 4(4), pp. 12 – 14.

Baycan-Levent, T. and Nijkamp, P. (2011) Migrant Female Entrepreneurship: Driving Forces, Motivation and Performance. In: Desai, S., Nijkamp, P. and Stough, R. (eds) *New Directions in Regional Economic Development: The Role of Entrepreneurship Theory and Methods, Practice and Policy.* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar

Beasley, M. A. (2011) *Opting Out: Losing the Potential of America's Young Black Elite.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Beck, C. T., Keddy, B. A., and Cohen, M. Z. (1994) Reliability and Validity Issues in Phenomenological Research. *Western Journal of Nursing Research*, 16(3), pp. 254 – 267.

Beckers, P. and Blumberg, B. F. (2013) Immigrant Entrepreneurship on the Move: A Longitudinal Analysis of First- and Second-generation Immigrant Entrepreneurship in the Netherlands. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, 25(7-8), pp. 654 - 691.

Begley, T. M. and Boyd, D. P. (1987) Psychological Characteristics Associated with Performance in Entrepreneurial Firms and Smaller Businesses. *Journal of Business Venturing,* 2(1), pp. 79 - 103.

Bell, R., Liu, P., Bozward, D., Fan, J., Watts, H. and Ma, X. (2019) Exploring Entrepreneurial Roles and Identity in the United Kingdom and China. *The International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Innovation,* 20(1), pp. 39 – 49.

Booysen, L. A. E., Bendl, R. and Pringle, J. K. (eds.) *Handbook of Research Methods on Diversity Management, Equality, and Inclusion at Work*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.

Berglund, H. (2007) Researching Entrepreneurship as Lived Experience*. In: Neergaard, H. and Ulhøi, J. (2007). Handbook of Qualitative Research Methods in Entrepreneurship*. Northampton, Mass: Edward Elgar.

Berntsen, L. (2016) Reworking Labour Practices: On the Agency of Unorganized Mobile Migrant Construction Workers. *Work, Employment and Society*, 30(3), pp. 472 – 488.

Bhimji, F. (2010) Struggles, Urban Citizenship, and Belonging: The Experience of Undocumented Street Vendors and Food Truck Owners in Los Angeles. *Urban Anthropology*, 39(4), pp. 455 – 492.

Bjursell, C. and Melin, L. (2011) Proactive and Reactive Plots: Narratives in Entrepreneurial Identity Construction. *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship*, 3(3), pp. 218 -235.

Blalock, H. M. (1967) *Toward a Theory of Minority-Group Relations*. New York: Wiley.

Bonacich, E. (1973) A Theory of Middleman Minorities. *American Sociological Review*, 38(5), pp. 583 - 594.

Boyd, R. L. (2000) Race, Labor Market Disadvantage, and Survivalist Entrepreneurship: Black Women in the Urban North during the Great Depression. *Sociological Forum*, 15(4), pp. 647- 670.

Brah, A. and Phoenix, A. (2004) Ain't I a woman? Revisiting Intersectionality. *Journal of International Women's Studies,* 5(3), pp. 75 - 86.

Brändle, L., Berger, E. S. C., Golla, S. and Kuckertz, A. (2018) I am What I am - How nascent Entrepreneurs' Social Identity Affects their Entrepreneurial Self-efficacy. *Journal of Business Venturing Insights*, 9, pp. 17– 23.

Bredvold, R. (2011*). Entreprenørens Fortellinger: En identitetsstudie i det opplevelsesbaserte reiselivet* (The entrepreneur's stories: A study of identity in experience-based tourism). Karlstad University, Thesis. Available at: http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2%3A439860&dswid=-9969 (Accessed: 18 March 2019).

Bredvold, R. and Skålen, P. (2016) Lifestyle Entrepreneurs and their Identity Construction: A Study of the Tourism Industry. *Tourism Management*, 56, pp. 96 - 105.

Britton, N. J. (1999) Racialized Identity and the Term 'Black'. In: Roseneil S., Seymour J. (eds) *Practising Identities. Explorations in Sociology. British Sociological Association Conference Volume Series.* Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Brockhaus, R. H. (1982) The Psychology of the Entrepreneur. *Encyclopedia of Entrepreneurship,* pp. 39-57 1982. Available at SSRN: https://ssrn.com/abstract=1497760

Brown, A. D. (2015) Identities and Identity Work in Organizations. International *Journal of Management Reviews*, 17, pp. 20 - 40

Browne, I. and Misra, J. (2003) The Intersection of Gender and Race in the Labour Market. *Annual Review of Sociology,* 29, pp. 487-513.

Brubaker, R. (2002) Ethnicity without Groups. *Arch.europ.sociol*.,XLIII, 2, pp. 163 – 189.

Brubaker, R. and Cooper, F. (2000) Beyond "Identity". *Theory and Society,* 29, pp. 1-47.

Brubaker, R. (2016) The Dolezal Affair: Race, Gender, and the Micropolitics of Identity. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39(3), pp. 414 - 448.

Bruni, A. , Gherardi, S., and Poggio, B. (2004) Doing Gender, Doing Entrepreneurship: An Ethnographic Account of Intertwined Practices. *Gender Work and Organization*, 11, pp. 407–429.

Burton, J., Nandi, A. and Platt, L. (2008) Who are the UK's Minority Ethnic Groups? Issues of Identification and Measurement in a Longitudinal Study. *Working paper, Institute for Social and Economic Research University of Essex*. Available at: https://www.understandingsociety.ac.uk/sites/default/files/downloads/working-papers/2008-02.pdf. (Accessed: 24 January 2019).

Busenitz, L. W., West, G. P., Shepherd, D., Nelson, T., Chandler, G. N., and Zacharakis, A. (2003) Entrepreneurship Research in Emergence. Past Trends and Future Directions. *Journal of Management*, 29, pp. 285 – 308.

Butler, J. S. (1991) *Entrepreneurship and Self-help among Black Americans*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Bygrave, W. D. (2007) The Entrepreneurship Paradigm (I) Revisited. In: Neergaard, H. and Ulhøi, J. (eds). *Handbook of Qualitative Research Methods in Entrepreneurship.* Northampton, Mass: Edward Elgar.

Calás, M., Smircich, L. and Bourne, K. (2009) Extending the Boundaries: Reframing "Entrepreneurship as Social Change" Through Feminist Perspectives*. Academy of Management Review,* 34(3), pp. 55 2– 569.

Callis, A. S. (2013) The Black Sheep of the Pink Flock: Labels, Stigma, and Bisexual Identity. *Journal of Bisexuality*, 13(1), pp. 82-105.

Carbado, D. W. (2013) Colorblind Intersectionality. *Signs*, 38(4), pp. 811- 845

Carbado, D. W., Cremshaw, K., W., Mays, V. M. and Tomlinson, B. (2013) Intersectionality: Mapping the Movements of a Theory. *Du Bois Review*, 10(2), pp. 303 – 312.

Carland, J. W., Hoy, F., Boulton, W. R. and Carland, J. A. C. (1984) Differentiating Entrepreneurs from Small Business Owners: A Conceptualization. *Academy of Management Review,* 9(2), pp. 354-359.

Carland, J. W., Hoy, F. and Carland, J. A. C. (1988) Who is an Entrepreneur? Is a Question Worth Asking. *American Journal of Small Business*, (12), pp. 33 – 39.

Carter, S., Mwaura, S., Ram, M., Kiran, T. and Jones, T. (2015) Barriers to Ethnic Minority and Women's Enterprise: Existing Evidence, Policy Tensions and Unsettled Questions. *International Small Business Journal,* 33(1), pp. 49 – 69.

Casey T. and Dustmann, C. (2010) Immigrants' Identity, Economic Outcomes and the Transmission of Identity Across Generations. *Economic Journal*, 120(542), pp. F31 – F51.

Cederberg, M. and Villares-Varela, M. (2019) Ethnic Entrepreneurship and the Question of Agency: The Role of Different Forms of Capital, and the Relevance of Social Class. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* 45(1), pp.115-132, DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2018.1459521

Chandra, K. (2006) What is Ethnic Identity and Does it Matter? *Annual Review of Political Science*, 9, pp. 397 – 424.

Chang, R. S. and Culp, J. M. (2002) After Intersectionality. *University of Missouri-Kansas City Law Review,* 71, pp. 485 – 491.

Chasserio, S., Pailot, P. and Poroli, C. (2014) When Entrepreneurial Identity Meets Multiple Social Identities: Interplays and Identity Work of Women Entrepreneurs. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research,* 20(2), pp.128 -154.

Chatters, L. M., Taylor, R. J., Bullard, K. M. and Jackson, J. S. (2009) Race and Ethnic Differences in Religious Involvement: African Americans, Caribbean Blacks and Non-Hispanic Whites. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 32(7), pp. 1143-1163.

Chauvin, S., Garcés-Mascareñas, B. and Kraler A (2013) Employment and Migrant Deservingness. *International Migration*, 51(6), pp. 80 – 85.

Cheung, S. Y. and Heath, A. (2007) Nice Work if You Can Get it: Ethnic Penalties in Great Britain. *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 137, pp. 507– 550.

Choo, H. Y. and Ferree, M. M. (2010) Practicing Intersectionality in Sociological Research: A Critical Analysis of Inclusions, Interactions, and Institutions in the Study of Inequalities. *Sociological Theory,* 28(2), pp.129 -149.

Christensen, A. and Jensen, S. Q. (2014) Combining Hegemonic Masculinity and Intersectionality. *NORMA: International Journal for Masculinity Studies*, 9(1), pp. 60 – 75.

Churchill, N. C. and Lewis, V. L. (1983) The Five Stages of Small Business Growth. *Harvard Business Review*, 61(3), pp. 30 – 41.

CIPD. (2018) Megatrends More Selfies? A Picture of Self-Employment in the UK. Available at https://www.cipd.co.uk/Images/more-selfies_2018-a-picture-of-self-employment-in-the-UK_tcm18-37250.pdf (Accessed: 21 May 2018).

Clarke, A. Y. and McCall, L. (2013) Intersectionality and Social Explanation in Social Science Research. *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race*, 10(2), pp. 349 – 363.

Clarke, J. (2011) Revitalizing Entrepreneurship: How Visual Symbols are Used in Entrepreneurial Performances. *Journal of Management Studies*, 48(6), pp. 1365-1391.

Clarke, J. and Holt, R. (2017) Imagery of Ad-venture: Understanding Entrepreneurial Identity Through Metaphor and Drawing. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 32, pp. 476 – 497.

Cohen, A. (1974) Introduction: The Lesson of Ethnicity. In Urban Ethnicity, edited by A. Cohen, pp. lx–xxiv. Tavistock Publications, London.

Cohen, N. and Arieli, T, (2011) Field Research in Conflict Environments: Methodological Challenges and Snowball Sampling. *Journal of Peace Research,* 48(4), pp. 423 – 435.

Collins, P. H. (2000) *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment*. New York: Routledge.

Collins, P.H. (2015) Intersectionality's Definitional Dilemmas. *Annual Review of Sociology,* 41(1), pp. 1 - 20.

Conger, M., and York, J. G. (2012) We Do What We Are: Entrepreneurship as the Expression of Values and Identity. *Working Paper*, University of Colorado.

Connell, R. W. (1987) *Gender and Power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Connell, R. W. (1995) *Masculinities*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Connolly, H. and White, A. (2006) The Different Experiences of the United Kingdom's Ethnic and Religious Populations. *Social Trends*, 36, pp. 1– 8.

Constant A., Gataullina L., Zimmermann, L., Zimmermann K. F. (2006) Clash of Cultures: Muslims and Christians in the Ethnosizing Process. *IZA Discussion Paper* No. 2350.

Constant, A., Gataullina, L., Zimmermann, K. F. (2009) Ethnosizing Immigrants. *Journal of Economic Behaviour Organisation,* 69(3), pp. 274 – 287.

Conston, B. M. and Kimmel, M. (2012) Seeing Privilege Where It Isn't: Marginalized Masculinities and the Intersectionality of Privilege. *Journal of Social Issues*, 68(1), pp. 97 – 111.

Cope, J. (2005) Researching Entrepreneurship Through Phenomenological Inquiry: Philosophical and Methodological Issues. *International Small Business Journal,* 23(2), pp. 163–189.

Cope, J. (2011) Entrepreneurial Learning from Failure: An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis*. Journal of Business Venturing,* 26(6), pp. 604 – 623.

Corlett, S. and Mavin, S. (2014) Intersectionality, Identity and Identity Work: Shared Tenets and Future Research Agendas for Gender and Identity Studies. *Gender in Management: An International Journal* 29(5), pp. 258–276.

Cornell, S. and Hartmann, D. (1998) *Ethnicity and Race: Making Identities in a Changing World*. Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press.

Creed, W. D., DeJordy, R. and Lok, J. (2010) Being the Change: Resolving Institutional Contradiction Through Identity Work. *Academy of Management Journal*, 53(6), pp. 1336 -1364.

Crenshaw, K. (1989) *Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics.* Chicago: University of Chicago Legal Forum.

Crenshaw, K. (1991) Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity, and Violence Against Women of Color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), pp. 1241–1300.

Crul, M. (2016) Super-Diversity vs. Assimilation: How Complex Diversity in Majority–Minority Cities Challenges the Assumptions of Assimilation. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42(1), pp. 54 - 68, DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2015.1061425.

Daley, P, O. (1998) Black Africans in Great Britain: Spatial Concentration and Segregation, *Urban Studies*, 35(10), pp. 1703 -1724.

Daniel, E. and Anwar, M. (2014) Ethnic Entrepreneurs and Online Home-Based Businesses. Paper presented at Institute for Small Business & Entrepreneurship (ISBE) Conference, Manchester.

Das, D., Kwesiga, E., Sardeshmukh, S. R. and Juma, N. (2017) To Be or Not to Be an Ethnic Firm: An Analysis of Identity Strategies in Immigrant Owned Organisation, *New England Journal of Entrepreneurship*, 20(1) pp. 1 -16.

Datta, K., C. McIlwaine, Y. Evans, J. Herbert, J. May and J. Wills (2007) From Coping Strategies to Tactics: London's Low-pay Economy and Migrant Labour. *British Journal of Industrial Relations,* 45(2), pp. 404 – 432.

Davis, K. (2008) Intersectionality as Buzzword: A Sociology of Science Perspective on What Makes a Feminist Theory Successful. *Feminist Theory*, 9(1), pp. 67–85.

Deaux, K., Bikmen, N., Gilkes, A., Ventunea, A., Joseph, Y., Payne, Y. A., and Steele, C. M. (2007) Becoming American: Stereotype Threat Effects in Afro-Caribbean Immigrant Groups. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 70(4), pp. 384–404.

De Carlo, J. F. and Lyons, P. R. (1979) A Comparison of Selected Personal Characteristics of Minority and Non-minority Female Entrepreneurs. *Journal of Small Business Management,* 17(4), pp. 22

De la Cruz, M. E., Jover, A. J. and Gras, J. M. G. (2018) Influence of the Entrepreneur's Social Identity on Business Performance Through Effectuation. *European Research on Management and Business Economics,* 24, pp. 90–96.

Delmar, F. and Shane, S. (2004). Legitimating First: Organizing Activities and the Survival of New Ventures. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 19(3), pp. 385 – 410.

Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (1994) Handbook of Qualitative Research. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, Chapter 1: 1–17.

Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (1994) Introduction: Entering the Feld of Qualitative Research. In: Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (eds) *Handbook of Qualitative Research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, pp. 1–17.

De Clercq, D. and Honig, B. (2011) Entrepreneurship as an Integrating Mechanism for Disadvantaged Persons*. Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, 23(5-6), pp. 353-372.

De Clercq, D. and Voronov, M. (2009) Toward a Practice Perspective of Entrepreneurship: Entrepreneurial Legitimacy as Habitus*. International Small Business Journal*, 27(4), pp. 395 -419.

De Rudder, V. (1987) Autochtones et immigr.& en quartier populuire. L'Harmattan, Paris.

DeTienne, D. and Chandler, G. (2007) The Role of Gender in Opportunity Identification. *Entrepreneurship Theory & Practice*, 31(3), pp. 365 - 86.

De Vaus, D. A. (1993) *Surveys in Social Research.* London: UCL Press.

Dill, B. T. (2002) Work at the Intersections of Race, Gender, Ethnicity, and Other Dimensions of Difference in Higher Education. *Connections: Newsletter of the Consortium on Race, Gender, and Ethnicity*, (Fall) 5–7. Available online at http://www.crge.umd.edu/publications/news.pdf. (Accessed: 12 January 2019).

Dobrev, S. D. and Gotsopoulos, A. (2010) Legitimacy Vacuum, Structural Imprinting, and the First Mover Disadvantage. *Academy of Management Journal*, 53(5), pp.1153 – 1174.

Donaldson, M. (1993). What is Hegemonic Masculinity? *Theory & Society*, 22(5), pp. 643 – 657.

Dong, Q. (1995). *Self, Identity, Media Use and Socialization: A Study of Adolescent Asian Immigrants to the United States*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Washington State University, Pullman WA.

Dong, Q., Gundlach, P. and Phillips, J. C. (2006) The Impact of Bicultural Identity on Immigrant Socialization through Television Viewing in the United States. *Intercultural Communication Studies*, XV(2), pp. 63-74.

Donnellon, A., Ollila, S. and Williams-Middleton, K. (2014) Constructing Entrepreneurial Identity in Entrepreneurship Education. *The International Journal of Management Education,* 12, pp. 490-499.

Down, S. and Giazitzoglu, A. (2014) Identity and Entrepreneurship, In: Welter, F. and Baker, T. *(eds.) Routledge Companion to Entrepreneurship.* London: Routledge, pp. 102-115.

Down, S. and Warren, L. (2008) Constructing Narratives of Enterprise: Clichés and Entrepreneurial Self-Identity. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research,* 14(1), pp. 4-23.

Drucker, P. F. (1985) *Innovation and Entrepreneurship: Practice and Principles*. New York: Elsevier

Edwards, P. and Ram, M. (2006) Surviving on the Margins of the Economy. Working Relationships in Small, Low Wage Firms. *Journal of Management Studies,* 43(4), pp. 895–916.

Edwards, P., Ram, M., Jones, T. and Doldor, S. (2016) New Migrant Businesses and Their Workers: Developing, But Not Transforming*. The Ethnic Economy, Ethnic and Racial Studies,* 39(9), pp. 1587-1617. DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2015.1116702

Eidheim, H. (1969) When Ethnic Identity is a Social Stigma. *In: F. Barth (ed.) Ethnic Groups and Boundaries, pp. 39–57.* Boston: Little Brown.

Eller, J. D. (1997) Ethnicity, Culture, and The Past. *Michigan Quarterly Review*, 36(4), pp. 552 – 601.

Ensign, P. C. and Robinson, N. P. (2011) Entrepreneurs Because They Are Immigrants or Immigrants Because They Are Entrepreneurs? *The Journal of Entrepreneurship*, 20(1), pp. 33 - 53.

Eriksson, P. and Kovalainen, A. (2008) *Qualitative Methods in Business Research*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Espiritu, Y. (1994) The Intersectionality of Race, Ethnicity and Class: The Multiple Identities of Second-Generation Filipinos. *Identities,* 2-3, pp. 249 - 273.

Essers, C. (2009) New Directions in Postheroic Entrepreneurship: Narratives of Gender and Ethnicity. Malmö: Liber AB.

Essers, C. and Benschop, Y. (2007) Enterprising Identities: Female Entrepreneurs of Moroccan or Turkish Origin in the Netherlands. *Organization Studies*, 28(1), pp. 49–69.

Estrada, E. (2016) Economic Empathy in Family Entrepreneurship: Mexican Origin Street Vendor Children and their Parents. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39(9), pp. 1657-1675, DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2016.1159709

Ethier, K. A. and Deaux, K. (1994) Negotiating Social Identity When Contexts Change: Maintaining Identification and Responding to Threat. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 67(2), pp. 243 - 251.

Falck, O., Heblich, S. and Luedemann, E. (2012) Identity and Entrepreneurship: Do School Peers Shape Entrepreneurial Intentions? *Small Business Economics*, 39(1), pp 39–59.

Fauchart, E. and Gruber, M. (2011) Darwinians, Communitarians, and Missionaries: The Role of Founder Identity in Entrepreneurship. *Academy of Management Journal*, 54, pp. 935 - 957.

Fernandes, F. (2003) A Response to Erica Burman. *European Journal of Psychotherapy, Counselling and Health*, 6, pp. 309 – 316.

Fielden, S. and Davidson, M. J. (2012) BAME Women Business Owners: How Intersectionality Affects Discrimination and Social Support. *Gender in Management: An International Journal,* 27(8), pp. 559 – 581.

Finlay, L. (2002) Outing the Researcher': The Provenance, Process and Practice of Reflexivity. *Qualitative Health Research,* 12, PP. 531 – 545.

Finlay, L. (2003) Through the Looking Glass: Intersubjectivity and Hermeneutic Reflection. In: L. Finlay and B. Gough (eds.) *Reflexivity: A Practical Guide for Researchers in Health and Social Sciences, pp. 103–19*, Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing

Finlay, L. (2009) Exploring Lived Experience: Principles and Practice of Phenomenological Research. *International Journal of Therapy and Rehabilitation*, 16(9), pp. 474 – 481.

Foss, L. (2004) Going Against the Grain ...': Construction of Entrepreneurial Identity Through Narratives. In: Hjorth, D. and Steyaert, C. (eds), *Narrative and Discursive Approaches in Entrepreneurship*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, pp. 80-104.

Fox, J. and Jones, D. (2013) Migration, Everyday Life and the Ethnicity Bias. *Ethnicities,* 13(4), pp. 385 – 400.

Fowler, F. J. (2009) *Survey Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Frankenberg, R. (1993) *The Social Construction of Whiteness: White Women, Race Matters*. London: Routledge.

Frese, M. and Gielnik, M. M. (2014) The Psychology of Entrepreneurship. *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior,* 1, pp. 413 – 438.

Fylan, F. (2005) Semi-structured Interviewing. *In: J. Miles and P. Gilbert (Eds.), A Handbook of Research Methods for Clinical and Health Psychology*. New York, USA: Oxford University Press.

Gaddefors, J. and Anderson, A. R. (2017) Entrepreneursheep and Context: When Entrepreneurship is Greater than Entrepreneurs*. International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research*, 23(2), pp. 267- 278.

Gans, H. J. (2007) Acculturation, Assimilation and Mobility. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30(1), pp. 152 - 164.

Gartner, W. B. (1988) Who is an Entrepreneur? Is the Wrong Question. *American Journal of Small Business*, 12(4), pp. 11–32.

Gartner, W. B. (1990) What are we Talking about when we Talk about Entrepreneurship? *Journal of Business Venturing*, 5, pp. 15 - 28.

Gartner, W. B. (2013) Creating a Community of Difference in Entrepreneurship Scholarship. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, 25(1-2), pp. 5 - 15.

Gartner, W. B. and Birley, S. (2002) Introduction to the Special Issue on Qualitative Methods in Entrepreneurship Research. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 17, 387–395.

Gartner, W. B., Shaver, K. G., Gatewood, E., and Katz, J. A. (1994) Finding the Entrepreneur in Entrepreneurship. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 18(3), pp. 5 – 9.

Gecas, V. and Burke, P. J. (1995) Self and Identity. In: K. S. Cook, G. A. Fine and S. House (eds), *Sociological Perspectives on Social Psychology*. (pp. 41-67). Needham Heights MA: Allyn and Bacon.

Giazitzoglu A (2014) Qualitative Upward Mobility, The Mass-Media and ‘Posh’ Masculinity in Contemporary North-East Britain: A Micro Sociological Case-study. *Sociological Research Online,* 19(2), pp. 1 – 12.

Giazitzoglu, A. and Down, S. (2017) Performing Entrepreneurial Masculinity: An Ethnographic Account. *International Small Business Journal*, 35(1), pp. 40 –60.

Giazitzoglu, A. (2018) Being and Naughtiness: An Account of Being an Ethnographic-Insider Studying White, Working Class Gym-Users. *The Qualitative Report*, 23(3), pp. 696-709.

Giddens, A. (1990) *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giddens, A. (1991) *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Polity, Press, Cambridge.

Gill, M. J. (2014) The Possibilities of Phenomenology for Organizational Research. *Organizational Research Methods*, 17(2), pp. 118 -137.

Gill, R. (2014) If you're Struggling to Survive Day-to-day': Class Optimism and Contradiction in Entrepreneurial Discourse. *Organization,* 21(1), pp. 50 – 67.

Gioia, D. A., Corley, K. G. and Hamilton. A. L. (2013) Seeking Qualitative Rigor in Inductive Research: Notes on the Gioia Methodology. *Organizational Research Methods* 16(1), pp. 15–31. Doi:10.1177/1094428112452151.

Giorgi, A. and Giorgi, B. (2003) Phenomenology. *In: J. A. Smith (Ed.) Qualitative Psychology: A Practical Guide to Research Methods* (pp. 20 -25). London, UK: Sage.

Glenn, Evelyn N. (1999) The Social Construction and Institutionalization of Gender and Race: An Integrative Framework. In: Myra M. Ferree, J. L., and Beth B. H. (eds) *Revisioning Gender*. New York: Sag, pp. 3 – 43.

Goffman, E. (1959) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Penguin Books

Goffman, E. (1963) *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Goffman, E. (2009) *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Golafshani, N. (2003) Understanding Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research. *The Qualitative Report,* 8(4), pp. 597-606.

Gold, S. J. (2016) A Critical Race Theory Approach to Black American Entrepreneurship. *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* 39(9), pp. 1697-1718.

González-González, J. and Bretones, F. D. (2013) Pushed or Pulled? Entrepreneurial Behaviour among Immigrants as a Strategy to Cope with Negative Social Identity, *Identities*, 20(5), pp. 633-648, DOI: 10.1080/1070289X.2013.832680

Gordon, M. M. (1988) *The Scope of Sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Graham, L. O. (1999) *Our Kind of People: Inside America's Black Upper Class*. New York: Harper Collins.

Gramsci, A. (1971) In: Q. Hoare, and G. Nowell-Smith (eds.). Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci. London: Lawrence and Wishart Trans.

Greene, P. G., and Brush, C. G. (2018) A Research Agenda for Women and Entrepreneurship: Identity Through Aspirations, Behaviors and Confidence. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Greiner, L. E. (1972) Evolution and Revolution as Organisations Grow*. Harvard Business Review,* 50, July – August 55 – 67.

Grzymala-Kazlowska, A. and Phillimore, J. (2018) Introduction: Rethinking Integration. New Perspectives on Adaptation and Settlement in the Era of Super-diversity. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* 44(2), pp. 179-196, DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2017.1341706

Haidt, J. (2017) The Age of Outrage: What the Current Political Climate is Doing to our Country and our Universities. Available at: https://www.city-journal.org/html/age-outrage-15608.html (Accessed: 19 November 2019).

Hall, S. (1996) Introduction: Who Needs 'Identity'? In: Hall, S. and du Gay, P. (eds) *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Sage. pp. 1-17.

Hammarberg, K., Kirkman, M. and de Lacey, S. (2016) Qualitative Research Methods: When to Use them and How to Judge them. *Human Reproduction*, 31(3), pp. 498 – 501.

Hamilton, E. (2013) The Discourse of Entrepreneurial Masculinities (and Femininities). *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, 25(1-2), pp. 90 – 99.

Hancock, A. (2007) Intersectionality as a Normative and Empirical Paradigm. *Politics & Gender,* 3(2), pp. 248-254. doi:10.1017/S1743923X07000062

Harding, S. (1991) *Whose Science? Whose Knowledge? Thinking from Women's Lives*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Harvey, A. (2005) Becoming Entrepreneurs Intersections of Race, Class, and Gender at the Black Beauty Salon. *Gender & Society*, 19(6), pp. 789-808.

Hechavarria, D. M. and Ingram, A. E. (2016) The Entrepreneurial Gender Divide: Hegemonic Masculinity, Emphasized Femininity and Organizational Forms. *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship,* 8(3), pp. 242 - 281.

Heinze, I. (2013) Entrepreneur Sense-making of Business Failure. *Small Enterprise Research*, 20(1), pp. 21 – 39.

Heron, J. and Reason, P. (1997) A Participatory Inquiry Paradigm. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 3, pp. 274 – 294.

Hoang, H., and Gimeno, J. (2010) Becoming a Founder: How Founder Role Identity Affects Entrepreneurial Transitions and Persistence in Founding. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 25, pp. 41 - 53.

Hoang, H. and Gimeno, J. (2015) Entrepreneurial Identity. *Wiley Encyclopaedia of Management,* 3, pp. 1–6.

Horowitz, A. L. (2013) *Ethnic Identity*. The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Globalization.

Howorth, C., Tempest, S. and Coupland, C. (2005) Rethinking Entrepreneurship Methodology and Definitions of the Entrepreneur. *Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development,* 12(1), pp. 24-40.

Hudson, N. (1996). From `Nation' to `Race': The Origin of Racial Classification in Eighteenth-Century Thought. *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 29, pp. 247 - 264.

Hutchinson, D. L. (2001) Identity Crisis: Intersectionality, Multidimensionality, and the Development of an Adequate Theory of Subordination*. Michigan Journal of Race and Law,* 6, pp. 285 - 317.

Hutchinson, J. and Smith, A. D. (1996) Introduction. *In: Ethnicity, edited by J. Hutchinson and A. D. Smith, pp. 1–14*. Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York.

Jones, R., Latham, J. and Betta, M. (2008) Narrative Construction of the Social Entrepreneurial Identity. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour & Research*, 14(5), pp. 330 – 345.

Jones, T., McEvoy, D. and Barrett, G. (1994) Labour Intensive Practices in the Ethnic Minority Firm', in J. Atkinson and D. Storey (eds) *Employment, the Small Firm and the Labour Market*, pp. 172-205. London: Routledge.

Jones, T. and Ram, M. (2013) Entrepreneurship as Ethnic Minority Liberation. In: Baker, T and Welter, F. (eds) *Routledge Companion to Entrepreneurship.* New York: Routledge.

Jones, T., Ram, M., Edwards, P., Kiselinchev, A. and Muchenje, L. (2014) Mixed Embeddedness and New Migrant Enterprise in the UK. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development,* 26(5-6), pp. 500 - 520, DOI: 10.1080/08985626.2014.950697

Joppe, M. (2000) The Research Process. *The Quantitative Report Journal*, 8(4), pp. 597 -607.

Jivraj, S. (2012) *How Has Ethnic Diversity Grown 1991-2001-2011?"* Dynamics of Diversity: Evidence from the 2011 Census. Manchester, UK: Centre on Dynamics of Ethnicity (CoDE).

Kahn, R. and Cannell, C. (1957) *The Dynamics of Interviewing*. Chichester: Wiley.

Kamineni, R. (2002) Who is an Entrepreneur? A Review. *Small Enterprise Research*, 10(1), pp. 88-99.

Karupiah, P. (2016) Hegemonic Femininity in Tamil Movies: Exploring the Voices of Youths in Chennai, India. *Continuum,* 30(1), pp. 114 – 125.

Kašperová, E. and Kitching, J. (2014) Embodying Entrepreneurial Identity. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research*, 20(5), pp. 438- 452.

Kaufman, A. (2014) The Startling Statistics That Prove Venture Capitalists Are More Likely To Fund White Males Over Minorities And Women. *Elite Daily*. Available at:

https://www.elitedaily.com/money/venture-capitalists-still-overwhelmingly-fund-white-male-entrepreneurs-minorities-women. (Accessed: 10 January 2019).

Kayondo, D. M. (2016) Africa: Emerging as an Enterprise Ecosystem. Available at: https://www.eship.ox.ac.uk/africa-emerging-enterprise-ecosystem. (Accessed: 16 January 2019).

Keen, I. (1991) *Being Black: Aboriginal Cultures in 'Settled' Australia*. Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.

Kempster, S., Cope, J. (2010) Learning to Lead in the Entrepreneurial Context. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 16(1), pp. 5 – 34.

Kennedy, R. (2003) *Interracial Intimacies*. New York: Vintage Books.

Kertzer, D. and Arel, D. (2002) Census, Identity Formation, and Political Power. In: Kertzer, D. and Arel, D. (eds.). *Census and Identity: The Politics of Race, Ethnicity, and Language in National Censuses.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-42.

Kim, J. (2018) Manhattan's Koreatown as a Transclave: The Emergence of a New Ethnic Enclaves in a Global City. *City and Community*, https://doi.org/10.1111/cico.12276

Kim, Y. (2010) The Pilot Study in Qualitative Inquiry. *Qualitative Social Work*, 10(2): pp. 190 –206.

Kimmel, M. and Ferber, A. L. (2000) White Men are this Nation: Right- wing Militias and the Restoration of Rural American Masculinity. *Rural Sociology*, 65(4), pp. 582 – 604.

King, Deborah K. 1988. Multiple jeopardy, multiple consciousness: The context of a black feminist ideology. *Signs,* 14(1), pp. 42 - 72.

Kirkness, V. (1987) Emerging Native Woman. *Canadian Journal of Wornen and the Law*, l 2, pp. 408 - 415.

Kirzner, I. M. (1973) *Competition and Entrepreneurship*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Kloosterman, R., Van Der Leun, J. and Rath, J. (1999) Mixed Embeddedness: (In)formal Economic Activities and Immigrant Businesses in the Netherlands. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* 23, pp. 252–266.

Korede, T. (2019) What do we Talk about When we Talk about Ethnic Entrepreneurship. Paper presented at Institute for Small Business and Entrepreneurship Conference, Newcastle.

Korede, T. and Giazitzoglu, A. (2019) Precariat and Loving it: Sensemaking and Narratives in Migrants' Self-Employment and Social Mobility. *Academy of Management Proceedings,* 2019(1). doi.org/10.5465/AMBPP.2019.13146abstract

Kruger, M. E. (2004) Creativity in the Entrepreneurship Domain. Unpublished PhD thesis in Entrepreneurship, University of Pretoria. Available at: https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/27491/02chapter2.pdf. (Accessed: 15 September 2018).

Kuratko, D. F. (2014). *Introduction to Entrepreneurship*. United States: South-Western, Cengage Learning.

Kvale, S. and Brinkmann, S. (2009) *Interviews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kynsilehto, A. (2011) Negotiating Intersectionality in Highly Educated Migrant Maghrebi Women's Life Stories. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 43(7), pp. 1547–1561.

Kwan, P. (1996) Jeffrey Dahmer and the Cosynthesis of Categories. *Hastings Law Journal*, 48, pp. 1257–1292.

Laer, K. V. and Janssens, M. (2017) Agency of Ethnic Minority Employees: Struggles Around Identity, Career and Social Change. *Organization,* 24(2), pp. 198 – 217.

Lam, V. and Smith, G. (2009) African and Caribbean Adolescents in Britain: Ethnic Identity and Britishness. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 32(7), pp. 1248-1270.

Larkin, M., Watts, S., and Clifton, E. (2006) Giving Voice and Making Sense in Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. *Qualitative Research in Psychology,* 3(2), pp. 102–120.

Lassalle, P. and McElwee, G. (2016) Polish Entrepreneurs in Glasgow and Entrepreneurial Opportunity Structure. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research,* 22(2), pp. 260-281.

Lazaridis, G. and Koumandraki, M. (2003) Survival Ethnic Entrepreneurs in Greece: A Mosaic of Informal and Formal Business Activities. *Sociological Research Online*, 8(2). Available at: <http://www.socresonline.org.uk/8/2/lazaridis.html> (Accessed: 26 January 2019).

Leitch, C. M. and Harrison, R. T. (2016) Identity, Identity Formation and Identity Work in Entrepreneurship: Conceptual Developments and Empirical Applications. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development,* 28(3-4), pp. 177 - 190.

Leong, N. (2013) Racial Capitalism. *Harvard Law Review*, 126, pp. 2151- 2226.

Leong, N. (2016) Identity Entrepreneurs. *California Law Review*, 104(6), pp. 1333 - 1400.

Leung, L. (2015) Validity, Reliability, and Generalizability in Qualitative Research. *Journal of Family Medicine and Primary Care*, 4(3), 324 – 327.

Lewis, P. (2013) The Search for an Authentic Entrepreneurial Identity: Difference and Professionalism Among Women Business Owners. *Gender, Work and Organization,* 20(3), pp. 252 - 266.

Li, F. L.N., Jowett, A. J., Findlay, A. M. and Skeldon, R. (1995) Discourse on Migration and Ethnic Identity: Interviews with Professionals in Hong Kong. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 20(3), pp. 342- 356.

Ligali, O. (2005*) Race to Ethnicity: The Classification of African identity in Britain*. London: The Ligali Organisation.

Light, I., Sabagh, G., Bozorgmehr, M. and Der-Martirosian, C. (1994) Beyond the Ethnic Enclave Economy. *Social Problems*, 41(1), pp. 65–80, https://doi.org/10.2307/3096842.

Lincoln, Y. S., Lynham, S. A., Guba, E. G. (2011) Paradigmatic Controversies, Contradictions, and Emerging Confluences, Revisited. In: Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (eds) *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Liu, S. (2015) Searching for a Sense of Place: Identity Negotiation of Chinese Immigrants. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations,* 46, pp. 26 – 35.

Lounsbury, M. and Glynn, M. A. (2001). Cultural Entrepreneurship: Stories, Legitimacy, and the Acquisition of Resources. *Strategic Management Journal*, 22(6–7), pp. 545 – 564.

Ludvig, A. (2006) Differences Between Women? Intersecting Voices in a Female Narrative. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 13(3), pp. 245 – 58.

Luthans, F. Youssef, C. M. and Avolio, B. J. (2007) *Psychological Capital: Developing the Human Competitive Edge*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ma, Z., S. Zhao, T. Wang, and Y. Lee (2013) An Overview of Contemporary Ethnic Entrepreneurship Studies: Themes and Relationships. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research,* 19(1), pp. 32 – 52.

Marcuse, P. (1997) The Enclave, The Citadel, and The Ghetto: What has Changed in the Post Fordist US City. *Urban Affairs Review*, 33 (2), pp. 228 – 264.

Manning A. and Roy, S. (2010) Culture Clash or Culture Club? National Identity in Britain. *The Economic Journal,* 120(542), pp. F72 – F100.

Marlow, S. and McAdam, M. (2012). Analyzing the Influence of Gender upon High–Technology Venturing within the Context of Business Incubation. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice,* 36(4), pp. 655 – 676.

Marshall, M. N. (1996). Sampling for Qualitative Research. *Family Practice*, 13(6), pp. 522 – 525.

Martin, J. (1990) Organizational Taboos: The Suppression of Gender Conflict in Organizations. *Organization Science*, 1(4), pp. 339 – 359.

Martin, N. (2014) Food Fight! Immigrant Street Vendors, Gourmet Food Trucks and the Differential Valuation of Creative Producers in Chicago. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 38(5), pp. 1867–1883. doi:10.1111/1468-2427.12169.

Martinelli, A. (2004) The Social and Institutional Context of Entrepreneurship. In: G. Corbetta, G., Huse, M. and Ravasi.D. (eds*) Crossroads of Entrepreneurship.* New York: Springer, pp. 58–74.

Martinez Dy, A. and Agwunobi, A. J. (2018) Intersectionality and Mixed Methods for Social Context in Entrepreneurship. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research,* https:// doi.org/10.1108/IJEBR-12-2017-0498.

Martinez Dy, A., Marlow, S. and Martin, L. (2017) A Web of Opportunity or the Same Old Story? Women Digital Entrepreneurs and Intersectionality Theory. *Human Relations*, 70(3), pp. 286 – 311.

Mathias, B. D., and D. W. Williams (2017) The Impact of Role Identities on Entrepreneurs' Evaluation and Selection of Opportunities. *Journal of Management*, 43(3), pp. 892–918.

Maxwell, J. A. (1992) Understanding and Validity in Qualitative Research. *Harvard Educational Review,* 62(3), pp. 279 – 300.

Maxwell, J. A. (1996) *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

McCall, G. J. (2003) The Me and the Not-Me: Positive and Negative Poles of Identity. In: Burke, P. J., Owens, T. J., Serpe, R. T. and Thoits, P. A. (eds) *Advances in Identity Theory and Research pp. 11 – 25*. New York: Plenum.

McCall, L. (2005) The Complexity of Intersectionality. *Signs*, 30(3), pp. 1771–1800.

McClelland, D. C. (1987) Characteristics of Successful Entrepreneurs. *Journal of Creative Behaviour*, 21(3), pp. 219–233.

McDonald, D. A. (2010) Ubuntu Bashing: The Marketisation of 'African values' in South Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*, 37(124), pp. 139 -152.

McKenzie, B., Ugbah, S. D., and Smothers, N. (2007) Who is Entrepreneur? Is it Still the Wrong Question? *Academy of Entrepreneurship Journal*, 13, pp. 23 – 43.

Medical Research Council of Canada, Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada, & Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

(1998). Tri-council policy statement: Ethical conduct for research involving humans. Ottawa: Medical Research Council of Canada.

Merriam, S. B. (1997) *Qualitative Research and Case Study Applications in Education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Merton, R. K. (1957) *Social Theory and Social Structure*. New York: Free Press

Messerschmidt, J. W. (2012) Engendering Gendered Knowledge: Assessing the Academic Appropriation of Hegemonic Masculinity. *Men and Masculinities*, 15(1), pp. 56 – 76.

Meyrick, J. (2006) What is Good Qualitative Research? A First Step Towards a Comprehensive Approach to Judging Rigour/Quality. *J Health Psycholo*gy; 11, pp. 799 – 808.

Middleton, K. L. W. (2013) Becoming Entrepreneurial: Gaining Legitimacy in the Nascent Phase. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research*, 19(4), pp. 404 - 424, https:// doi.org/10.1108/IJEBR-04-2012-0049

Miller, D. and Breton-Miller, L. (2017) Underdog Entrepreneurs: A Model of Challenge-based Entrepreneurship. *Entrepreneurship Theory & Practice*, 41(1), pp. 7 – 17.

Minow, M. (1997) *Not Only for Myself: Identity, Politics and the Law*. New York: The New Press.

Mir, R. (2018) Embracing Qualitative Research: An Act of Strategic Essentialism. *Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management: An International Journal,* 13(4), pp. 306 – 314.

Mitton, L. (2011) The Languages of Black Africans in England. *Journal of Intercultural Studies,* 32(2), pp. 151 -172.

Modood, T. (1994) Political Blackness and British Asians. *Sociology,* 28, pp. 859 – 76.

Moran, D. (2000) *Introduction to Phenomenology*. London: Routledge.

Morgan, G. and Smircich, L. (1980) The Case for Qualitative Research. *The Academy of Management Review,* 5(4), pp. 491 – 500.

Moroşanu, L. and Fox, J. E. (2013) No Smoke without Fire': Strategies of Coping with Stigmatised Migrant Identities. *Ethnicities,* 13(4), pp. 438 – 456.

Morris, M., Pryor, C. G. and Schindehutte, M. (2012) *Entrepreneurship as Experience*. Edward Elgar Publishing, Cheltenham.

Mountian, I. (2017) Borders and Margins: Debates on Intersectionality for Critical Research. *Qualitative Research Journal,* 17(3), pp.155 – 163.

Muñoz, P. and Cohen, B. (2018) Entrepreneurial Narratives in Sustainable Venturing: Beyond People, Profit, and Planet. *Journal of Small Business Management*, 56(S1), pp. 154 – 176.

Nadin, S. (2007) Entrepreneurial Identity in the Care Sector: Navigating the Contradictions. *Women in Management Review*, 22(6), pp. 456-467.

Nagel, J. (1994) Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture. *Social Problems*, 41(1), pp. 152-176.

Nash, J. C. (2008) Re-Thinking Intersectionality. *Feminist Review*, 89, pp. 1-15.

Navis, C., and Glynn, M. A. (2011). Legitimate Distinctiveness and the Entrepreneurial Identity: Influence on Investor Judgments of New Venture Plausibility. *Academy of Management Review,* 36(3), pp. 479 - 499.

Neergaard, H. and Ulhøi, J. (2007). *Handbook of Qualitative Research Methods in Entrepreneurship.* Northampton, Mass.: Edward Elgar.

Neuman, W. L. (2003) *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Newbery, R., Lean, J., Moizer, J. and Haddoud, M. (2018) Entrepreneurial Identity Formation During the Initial Entrepreneurial Experience: The Influence of Simulation Feedback and Existing Identity. *Journal of Business Research*, 85, pp. 51 – 59.

Njaka. C. (2016) *Constructing Mixed Race: Racial Formation in the United States of America and Great Britain*. University of Manchester. Unpublished thesis. Available at: https://www.research.manchester.ac.uk/portal/files/57431003/FULL_TEXT.PDF. (Accessed: 10 December 2018).

Nkrumah, A. (2016) Ghanaian Female Immigrant Entrepreneurs in Canada: Experiences, Challenges, and Coping Strategies. *Open Journal of Social Sciences*, 4, pp. 59 - 78.

Norris, A. N., Murphy-Erby, Y., Green, A., Willis, K. and Jones, T. (2013) An Intersectional Exploration: The Experiences of Southern, Rural, Black and White Women Participating in an Empowerment-Based Entrepreneurial Program. *Intersectionalities*, 2, pp. 88 -106.

Oakes, P. J., Haslam, S. A., and Reynolds, K. J. (1999) Social Categorization and Social Context: Is Stereotype Change a Matter of Information or Meaning? In D. Abrams & M. A. Hogg (Eds.), *Social Identity and Social Cognition* (pp. 55–79). Oxford: Blackwell.

Obrecht, J. (2011) On the Relevance of the Concept of Entrepreneurial Capabilities. *International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small Business*, 13(2), pp. 107 – 125.

O'Brien, J. (2011) Spoiled Group Identities and Backstage Work: A Theory of Stigma Management Rehearsals. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 74(3), pp. 291 – 309.

Obschonka, M., Goethner, M., Silbereisen, R. K. and Cantner, U. (2012) Social Identity and the Transition to Entrepreneurship: The Role of Group Identification with Workplace Peers. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, 80(1), pp. 137-147.

Ogbor, J. (2000) Mythicizing and Reification in Entrepreneurial Discourse: Ideology-Critique of Entrepreneurial Studies. *Journal of Management Studies,* 37(5), pp. 605 – 635.

Oguibe, O. (1994) *Sojourners New Writing by Africans in Britain*. London: Africa Refugee Publishing Collective

Oguibe, O. (1999) Art, Identity, Boundaries: Postmodernism and Contemporary African Art. In: O. Oguibe and O. Enwezor (eds) *Reading the Contemporary, African Art from Theory to the Market Place*. London: Institute of International Visual Arts (inIVA), 18-29

O'Mullan, C., Doherty, M., Coates, R. and Tilley, P. J. M. (2019) Using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) to Provide Insight into Female Sexual Difficulties.

Sexual and Relationship Therapy, 34(1), pp. 75 - 86, DOI: 10.1080/14681994.2017.1386300

ONS (2001) Population by Country of Birth and Nationality 2001, Table 1.1 (Accessed: 17 June 2018)

ONS (2011) 2011 Census analysis: Ethnicity and religion of the non-UK born population in England and Wales: 2011. Available at: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/ethnicity/articles/2011censusanalysisethnicityandreligionofthenonukbornpopulationinenglandandwales/2015-06-18. (Accessed: 7 January 2019).

ONS (2017) Population by Country of Birth and Nationality 2017, Table 1.1 (Accessed: 18 June 2018).

Orser, B. J., Elliott, C. and Leck, J. (2011) Feminist Attributes and Entrepreneurial Identity. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, 26(8), pp. 561 - 589.

Osaghae, O. and Cooney, T. M. (2019) Exploring the Relationship Between Immigrant Enclave Theory and Transnational Diaspora Entrepreneurial Opportunity Formation. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2018.1560001

Padilla, A. M. (2008) Social Cognition, Ethnic Identity, and Ethnic Specific Strategies for Coping with Threat due to Prejudice and Discrimination. In: Willis-Esqueda*,* C. (ed) *Motivational Aspects of Prejudice and Racism, pp. 7 – 4.* Nebraska Symposium On Motivation Volume 53. New York: Springer.

Paechter, C. (2018) Rethinking the Possibilities for Hegemonic Femininity: Exploring a Gramscian Framework. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 68, pp. 121 – 128.

Parks, J. and Askins, K. (2015) Narratives of Ethnic Identity among Practitioners in Community Settings in the Northeast of England. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38(1), pp. 92-108.

Pascale, C. (2007) *Making Sense of Race, Class and Gender: Commonsense, Power and Privilege in the United States*. New York: Routledge.

Penrod, J., Preston, B. D., Cain, E. R. and Starks, M. T. (2003) A Discussion of Chain Referral as a Method of Sampling Hard-to-Reach Populations. *Journal of Transcultural Nursing*, 14, pp. 100 – 107.

Phillips, N., Tracey, P. and Karra, N. (2013) Building Entrepreneurial Tie Portfolios Through Strategic Homophily: The Role of Narrative Identity Work in Venture Creation and Early Growth. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 28(1), pp. 134 – 150.

Phinney, J. S. (1990) Ethnic Identity in Adolescents and Adults: Review of Research. *Psychological Bulletin*, 108(3), pp. 499 - 514.

Phinney, J. S. (2003) Ethnic Identity and Acculturation. *In: K. Chun, P. B. Organista, & G. Marin (Eds.), Acculturation: Advances in theory, measurement, and applied research (pp.63- 81).* Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Phinney, J. S. (1996) Understanding Ethnic Diversity: The Role of Ethnic Identity. *American Behavioral Scientist,* 40(2), pp. 143 - 152.

Phinney, J. S. and Ong, A. (2007) Conceptualization and Measurement of Ethnic Identity: Current Status and Future Directions. *Journal of Counselling Psychology*, 54(3), pp. 271-281.

Phoenix, A. and Pamela P. (2006) Editorial. *European Journal of Women's Studies,* 13(3), pp. 187- 192.

Pieterse, J. N. (2003) Social Capital and Migration: Beyond Ethnic Economies. *Ethnicities*, 3(1), pp. 29 – 58. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796803003001785.

Pietkiewicz, I. and Smith, J. A. (2012) Praktyczny przewodnik interpretacyjnej analizy fenomenologicznej w badaniach jakościowych w psychologii. Czasopismo Psychologiczne, 18(2), 361-369.

Piperopoulos, P. (2010) Ethnic Minority Businesses and Immigrant Entrepreneurship in Greece. *Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development*, 17(1), pp. 139 – 158.

Portes, A. (1981) 13 Modes of Structural Incorporation and Present Theories of Labour Immigration. *International Migration Review,* 15(1_suppl), pp. 279 – 297.

Portes, A. (1995) *The Economic Sociology of Immigration*. New York: Russell Sage.

Portes, A. and Sensenbrenner, J. (1993) Embeddedness and Immigration: Notes on the Social Determinants of Economic Action. *American Journal of Sociology*, 98(6), pp. 1320 - 1350.

Preisendörfer, P., Bitz, A. and Bezuidenhout, F. J. (2012) In Search of Black Entrepreneurship: Why is there a Lack of Entrepreneurial Activity in South African Townships? *Journal of Developmental Entrepreneurship*, 17(1), pp.1 – 18.

Prescott, P. and Soeken, K. (1989) The Potential Uses of Pilot Work. *Nursing Research*, 38(1), pp. 60 – 72.

Pringle, J., Drummond, J., McLafferty, E. and Hendry, C. (2011) Interpretative phenomenological analysis: A Discussion and Critique. *Nurse Researcher*, 18(3), pp. 20 -24.

Pyke, K. D. (2010) What is Internalized Racial Oppression and Why Don't we Study it? Acknowledging Racism's Hidden Injuries. *Sociological Perspectives*, 53(4), pp. 551– 572.

Raijman, R. and Tienda, M. (2000) Immigrants' Pathways to Business Ownership: A Comparative Ethnic Perspective. *International Migration Review*, 34(3), pp. 682 - 706.

Ram, M. and Carter, S. (2003) Paving Professional Futures: Ethnic Minority Accountants in the United Kingdom. *International Small Business Journal*, 21(1), pp. 55-71.

Ram, M., Edwards, P. and Jones, T. (2007) Staying Underground: Informal Work, Small Firms and Employment Regulation in the UK. *Work and Occupations*, 34(3), pp. 318 – 344.

Ram, M. and Jones, T. (1998) *Ethnic Minorities in Business*, Small Business Research Trust Report. Buckingham: OU Publications.

Ram, M. and Jones, T. (2008) *Ethnic Minorities in Business*. Milton Keynes: Small Business Research Trust.

Ram, M., Jones, T. and Villares-Varela, M. (2017) Reflections on Research and Practice. *International Small Business Journal,* 35(1), pp. 3 –18.

Ram, M., Theodorakopoulos, N. and Jones, T. (2008) Forms of Capital, Mixed Embeddedness and Somali enterprise. *Work, Employment and Society*, 22(3), pp. 427 – 446. https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017008093479

Ramirez, H. and P. Hondagneu-Sotelo (2009) Mexican Immigrant Gardeners: Entrepreneurs or Exploited Workers? *Social Problems*, 56(1), pp. 70 – 88.

Razack, S. (1998) *Looking White People in the Eye: Gender, Race, and Culture in Courtrooms and Classrooms*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Rehman, S. and Roomi, M. A. (2012) Gender and Work-life Balance: A Phenomenological Study of Women Entrepreneurs in Pakistan. *Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development,* 19(2), pp. 209 - 228, https://doi.org/10.1108/14626001211223865

Reid, K., Flowers, P., and Larkin, M. (2005) Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis: An Overview and Methodological Review. *The Psychologist,* 18, pp. 20 - 23.

Report of the WCAR meeting as presented by Indira Patel to a day seminar in London organized by WILPF UK, November 2001, cited by Yuval-Davis, Nira. (2006) Intersectionality and Feminist Politics. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 13, 193 – 209.

Rodriguez, S. (2018) Good, Deserving Immigrants' Join the Tea Party: How South Carolina Policy Excludes Latino and Undocumented Immigrants from Educational Opportunity and Social Mobility. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 26(103). http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.26.3636.

Romero, M. and Valdez, Z. (2016) Introduction to the Special Issue: Intersectionality and Entrepreneurship. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39(9), pp. 1553 -1565.

Rosa, P. and Caulkins, D. D. (2013) Entrepreneurship Studies. In: Caulkins, D. D. and Jordan, A. T. (eds) *A Companion in Organizational Anthropology.* Malden. MA: Wiley Blackwell, pp. 98 -121.

Rumbaut, R. (1994) The Crucible Within: Ethnic Identity, Self-Esteem, and Segmented Assimilation Among Children of Immigrants. *International Migration Review*, 28, pp. 748 –794.

Sahin M., Nijkamp P. and Suzuki S. (2014) Contrasts and Similarities in Economic Performance of Migrant Entrepreneurs*, IZA Journal of Migration*, 3(7), pp. 1 - 21.

Samers, M. (1998) Immigration, “Ethnic Minorities”, and “Social Exclusion” in the European Union: A Critical Perspective. *Geoforum*, 29(2), pp. 123 – 144. doi:10.1016/S0016-7185(98) 00003-7.

Saunders, M., Lewis, P. and Thornhill, A. (2007) *Research Methods for Business Students*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.

Saunders, M., Lewis, P. and Thornhill, A. (2009). *Research Methods for Business Students*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.

Say, J. B. (1971) *A Treatise on Political Economy or the Production, Distribution and Consumption of Wealth*. New York: A.M. Kelley Publishers.

Severs, E., Celis, K., and Erzeel, S. (2016) Power, Privilege and Disadvantage: Intersectionality Theory and Political Representation. *Politics,* 36(4), pp. 346 – 354.

Shane, S. A. (2008) *The Illusions of Entrepreneurship: The Costly Myths That Entrepreneurs, Investors, and Policy Makers Live By*. London: Yale University Press.

Schermerhorn, R. A. (1978) *Comparative Ethnic Relations. A Framework for Theory and Research.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Schiller, N. G. and Çağlar, A. (2013) Locating Migrant Pathways of Economic Emplacement: Thinking Beyond the Ethnic Lens. *Ethnicities,* 13(4), pp. 494 – 514.

Schiller, N. G., Çağlar, A. and Guldbrandsen, T. C. (2006) Beyond the Ethnic Lens: Locality, Globality, and Born-again Incorporation. *American Ethnologist*, 33(4), pp. 612 – 633.

Schimmele, C. and Wu, Z. (2015) The New Immigration and Ethnic Identity, Population Change and Lifecourse. Strategic Knowledge Cluster Discussion Paper Series/ Un Réseau stratégique de connaissances Changements de population et parcours de vie Document de travail: Vol. 3 : Iss. 1 , Article 1. Available at: https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/pclc/vol3/iss1/1. (Accessed: 22 February 2019).

Schumpeter, J. (1942) *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*. New York: Harper & Bros.

Schwartz, S. J., Montgomery, M. J. and Briones, E. (2006) The Role of Identity in Acculturation among Immigrant People: Theoretical Propositions, Empirical Questions, and Applied Recommendations. *Human Development*, 49, pp. 1 – 30.

Senior, V., Smith, J. A., Michie, S. and Marteau, T. M. (2002) Making Sense of Risk: An Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis of Vulnerability to Heart Disease. *Journal of Health Psychology,* 7(2), pp. 157 – 168.

Seymour, W. S. (2001) In the Flesh or Online? Exploring Qualitative Research Methodologies. *Qualitative Research*, 1(2), pp. 147 – 168.

Shaw, R. (2010) Embedding Reflexivity within Experiential Qualitative Psychology. *Qualitative Research Psychology*, 7(3), pp. 233 – 243.

Shepherd, D., and J. M. Haynie (2009) Birds of a Feather Don't Always Flock Together: Identity Management in Entrepreneurship*. Journal of Business Venturing*, 24(4), pp. 316 –337.

Shepherd D. A. and Patzelt, H. (2018) Entrepreneurial Identity. *In: Entrepreneurial Cognition.* Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

Shulman, L. S. (1981) Disciplines of Inquiry in Education: An Overview. *Educational Researcher,* 10(6), pp. 5-12, 23.

Singer, M. (2001). The Book Eater. *New Yorker*, 5, pp. 62 – 71.

Smith, J. A. (2004) Reflecting on the Development of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis and its Contribution to Qualitative Research in Psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology,* 1(1), pp. 39 - 54.

Smith, J. A. (2011) Evaluating the Contribution of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. *Health Psychology Review*, 5(1), pp. 9 - 27, DOI: 10.1080/17437199.2010.510659

Smith, J. A. (2018) "Yes it is Phenomenological": A Reply to Max Van Manen's Critique of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, 28, pp. 1955 – 1958. doi:10.1177/1049732318799577.

Smith J. A., Flowers, P. and Larkin, M. (2009) *Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis: Theory, Method and Research.* London: Sage.

Smith, J. A. and Osborn, M. (2003) Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. *In: Smith, J.A., editor, Qualitative Psychology: A Practical Guide to Methods.* London: Sage.

Smith, J. A. and Osborn, M. (2008) Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. *In: Smith, J. A. (Ed.), Qualitative Psychology: A Practical Guide to Research Methods.* London: Sage Publications.

Sokolowski, R. (2000) *Introduction to Phenomenology*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Solanke, I. (2018) The Stigma of Being Black in Britain*. Identities*, 25(1), pp. 49 - 54.

Sollors, W. (1996) *Theories of Ethnicity*. New York: New York University Press.

Spicer, A. (2012) Critical Theories of Entrepreneurship. In: Mole, K. and Ram, M. (eds) *Perspectives in Entrepreneurship*. London: Palgrave.

Stead, V. (2017) Belonging and Women Entrepreneurs: Women's Navigation of Gendered Assumptions in Entrepreneurial Practice. *International Small Business Journal*, 35(1), pp. 61 – 77.

Stephan, C. W. and Stephan, W. G. (2000) The Measurement of Racial and Ethnic Identity. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 24, pp. 541 – 552.

Stevenson, H. H. and Jarillo-Mossi, J. C. (1990) A Paradigm of Entrepreneurship: Entrepreneurial Management. *Strategic Management Journal*, 11, Summer, pp. 17 - 27.

Stiles, W. B. (1993) Quality Control in Qualitative Research. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 13, pp. 593 – 618.

Stone, G. P. (1962) Appearance and the Self*.* In: Rose, A. M. (ed) *Human Behavior and Social Processes, pp. 86 -118.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Swail, J. and Marlow, S. (2018) Embrace the Masculine; Attenuate the Feminine – Gender, Identity Work and Entrepreneurial Legitimation in the Nascent Context. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development,* 30(1-2), pp. 256 - 282.

Tajfel, H., and Turner, J. C. (2004) *The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior*. New York: Psychology Press.

Taylor, C. (1985) *Self Interpreting Animals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Taylor, R. J., Chatters, L. M. and Levin, J. (2004) *Religion in the Lives of African Americans: Social, Psychological and Health Perspectives*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Tedmanson, D., Verduyn, K., Esser, C. and Gartner, W. B. (2012). Critical Perspective in Entrepreneurship Research. *Organizations*, 19(5), pp. 531-541.

Tedmanson, D. and Esser, C. (2016) Entrepreneurship and Diversity. In: Bendl, R.; Bleijenbergh, I.; Henttonen, E. (eds.) *Oxford Handbook of Diversity in Organisations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

The Economist (2016) Black Britons: The Next Generation. January Edition.

The Times (2018) Anthony Ekundayo Lennon: My Genes are White but I'm Black. Available at: https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/anthony-lennon-my-genes-are-white-but-im-black-v7tmnw7xw. (Accessed: 7 January 2019).

Theuri, S. (2016) *Black African students and the Art and Design Education Space: Narratives of Journeys to Higher Education Art and Design*. Unpublished Thesis, College of Arts and Social Sciences, The University of Salford, Salford UK. Available at: https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Black-African-students-and-the-art-and-design-space-Theuri/b38a865016b048d05eed882400051147129 37ced. (Accessed: 12 January 2019).

Thomas, A. and Mueller, S. (2000) A Case for Comparative Entrepreneurship: Assessing the Relevance of Culture. *Journal of International Business Studies,* 31(2), pp. 287–301.

Tolciu, A. (2011) Migrant Entrepreneurs and Social Capital: A Revised Perspective. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research*, 17(4), pp. 409 – 427. https:// doi.org/10.1108/13552551111139647

Tsui-Auch, L. (2005) Unpacking Regional Ethnicity and the Strength of Ties in Shaping Ethnic Entrepreneurship. *Organization Studies*, 26(8), pp. 1189 –1216.

Tuffour, I. (2017) A Critical Overview of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis: A Contemporary Qualitative Research Approach. *Journal of Healthcare Communications*, 2(4:52), pp. 1 – 5. DOI: 10.4172/2472-1654.100093.

Turkina, E. and Thai, M. T. T. (2013) Social Capital, Networks, Trust and Immigrant Entrepreneurship: A Cross-country Analysis. *Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy,* 7(2), pp.108 -124.

United States Census Bureau (2017) Race & Ethnicity. Available at: https://www.census.gov/mso/www/training/pdf/race-ethnicity-onepager.pdf. (Accessed: 14 January 2019).

Valdez, Z. (2016) Intersectionality, the Household Economy, and Ethnic Entrepreneurship, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39(9), pp. 1618-1636.

Valenzuela, A., Jr. (2001) Day Laborers as Entrepreneurs? *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* 27(2), pp. 335 - 352.

Vallejo, J. A. and Canizales, S. L. (2016) Latino/a Professionals as Entrepreneurs: How Race, Class, and Gender Shape Entrepreneurial Incorporation. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39(9), pp. 1637-1656.

Van Manen, M. (2017) But is it Phenomenology? *Qualitative Health Research*, 27, pp. 775 -779.

Varjonen S, Arnold, L. and Jasinskaja-Lahti I. (2013) 'We're Finns here, and Russians there': A longitudinal Study on Ethnic Identity Constructions in the Context of Ethnic Migration. *Discourse & Society* 24(1), pp. 110–134.

Venkataraman, S. (1997) The Distinctive Domain of Entrepreneurship Research. *Advances in Entrepreneurship, Firm Emergence and Growth*, 3, pp. 119 -138.

Verdaguer, M. (2009) *Class, Ethnicity, Gender and Latino Entrepreneurship*. New York: Routledge Publishing.

Verduijn, K. and Essers, C. (2013) Questioning Dominant Entrepreneurship Assumptions: The Case of Female Ethnic Minority Entrepreneurs. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, 25(7-8), pp. 612 – 630.

Verkuyten, M. and De Wolf, A. (2002) Being, Feeling and Doing: Discourses and Ethnic Self-definitions among Minority Group Members. *Culture & Psychology*, 8(4), pp. 371–399.

Vertelyte, M. (2015) Key Concepts in Race and Ethnicity. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38(13), pp. 2482 - 2484.

Vertovec, S. (2007) Super-diversity and its Implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30(6), pp. 1024-1054, DOI: 10.1080/01419870701599465.

Verver, M. and Koning, J. (2017) Toward a Kinship Perspective on Entrepreneurship. *Entrepreneurship. Theory and Practice*, 42(4), pp. 631 - 666.

Villares-Varela, M., Ram, M. and Jones, T. (2018) Bricolage as Survival, Growth and Transformation: The Role of Patch-working in the Social Agency of Migrant Entrepreneurs. *Work, Employment and Society,* 32(5), pp. 942 - 962.

Virdee, S. (2006) Race Employment and Social Change: A Critique of Current Orthodoxies. *Ethics and Racial Studies*, 29(4), pp. 605 - 628.

Vogt, W. P. (1999) *Dictionary of Statistics and Methodology: A Nontechnical Guide for the Social Sciences.* London: Sage.

Volery, T. (2007) Ethnic Entrepreneurship: A Theoretical Framework. In: Dana, L. P. (ed) *Handbook of Research on Ethnic Minority Entrepreneurship*. Pp. 30 – 41. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Wakil, S. P., Siddique, C. M. and Wakil, F. A. (1981) Between Two Cultures: A Study in Socialization of Children of Immigrants. *Journal of Marriage and Family,* 43(4), pp. 929 - 940.

Waldinger, R., H. Aldrich and R. Ward (1990) Opportunities, Group Characteristics and Strategies. In: R. Waldinger, H. Aldrich and R. Ward (eds), *Ethnic Entrepreneurs: Immigrant Business in Industrial Societies*. London: Sage, pp. 13–48.

Walter, S. G. and Heinrichs, S. (2015) Who Becomes an Entrepreneur? A 30-years Review of Individual-level Research. *Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development*, 22(2), pp. 225 - 248.

Wang, Y. and Warn, J. (2017) Chinese Immigrant Entrepreneurship: Embeddedness and the Interaction of Resources with the Wider Social and Economic and Context. *International Small Business Journal: Researching Entrepreneurship,* 00(0), pp. 1 –18.

Warner, W. L. and Srole, L. (1945) *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Warren, L. (2004) Negotiating Entrepreneurial Identity—Communities of Practice and Changing Discourses. *The International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Innovation*, 5(1), pp. 25 – 35.

Waters, M. C. (1990) *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

Waters, M. C. (1994) Ethnic and Racial Identities of Second-Generation Black Immigrants in New York City. *International Migration Review,* 28, pp. 795–820.

Waters, M. C. (1999) *Black Identities: West Indian Immigrant Dreams and American Realities*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Waters, M. C., Tran, V. C., Kasinitz, P. and Mollenkopf, J. H. (2010) Segmented Assimilation Revisited: Types of Acculturation and Socioeconomic Mobility in Young Adulthood. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 33(7), pp. 1168 - 1193, DOI: 10.1080/01419871003624076

Watson, T. J. (2008) Managing Identity: Identity Work, Personal Predicaments and Structural Circumstances. *Organization*, 15(1), 121–143.

Wellington, D. C. and Zandvakili, S. (2006) The Entrepreneurial Myth, Globalization and American Economic Dominance. *International Journal of Social Economics*, 33(9), pp. 615 –624.

Welter, F. (2011) Contextualizing Entrepreneurship-Conceptual. Challenges and Ways Forward. *Entrepreneurship Theory and. Practice*, 35, pp. 165 -184.

Welter, F. (2012) All you need is Trust? A Critical Review of the Trust and Entrepreneurship Literature. *International Small Business Journal*, 30(3), pp. 193-212.

Wendt, A. (1992). Anarchy is What Stated Make of it. *International Organization*, 46, pp. 391 – 426.

Wenger, E. (1998) *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning and Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Werbner, P. (1999) *What Colour 'Success'? Distorting Value in Studies of Ethnic. Entrepreneurship, The Editorial Board of The Sociological Review.* Blackwell Publishers: Oxford.

Werbner, P. (2013) Everyday Multiculturalism: Theorising the Difference Between Intersectionality and Multiple Identities. *Ethnicities*, 13(4), pp. 401-419.

Wesley, L. (2015) The Intersection of Race and Gender: Teaching Reformed Gender Ideologies to Black Males in the Context of Hegemonic Masculinity. *Journal of Black Sexuality and Relationships,* 1(4), Spring, pp. 63 – 84.

Wiklund, J., Nikolaev, B., Shir, N., Foo, M. and Bradley, S. (2019) Entrepreneurship and Well-being: Past, Present, and Future. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 34, pp. 579 – 588.

Williams, C. C. and Nadin, S. J. (2013) Beyond the Entrepreneur as a Heroic Figurehead of Capitalism: Re-representing the Lived Practices of Entrepreneurs. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development,* 25(7-8), pp. 552 - 568.

Wilson, K. and Portes, A. (1980) Immigrants Enclaves: An Analysis of The Labour Market Experiences of Cubans in Miami. *American Journal of Sociology*, 86, pp. 295 – 319.

Wingfield, A. H. and Taylor, T. (2016) Race, Gender, and Class in Entrepreneurship: Intersectional Counterframes and Black Business Owners. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39(9), pp. 1676-1696.

Winter, G. (2000) A Comparative Discussion of the Notion of Validity in Qualitative and Quantitative Research. *The Qualitative Report*, 4(3&4).

World Economic Forum, WEF. (2016) *The World's 10 Youngest Populations are all in Africa.* Available at: https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2016/05/the-world-s-10-youngest-countries-are-all-in-africa/. (Accessed: 22 January 2019).

Woo, S. E., O'Boyle, E. H. and Spector, P. E. (2017) Best Practices in Developing, Conducting, and Evaluating Inductive Research. *Human Resource Management Review*, 27, pp. 255 - 264.

Yamamura, S. and Lassalle, P. (2019) Approximating Entrepreneurial Superdiversity: Reconceptualizing the Superdiversity Debate in Ethnic Minority Entrepreneurship. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 46(11), pp. 2218-2239.

Yang, P. Q. (2000) *Ethnic Studies: Issues and Approaches*. Albany, State University of New York Press.

Yinger, J. M. (1976) Ethnicity in Complex Societies. In: Coser, L. A. and Larsen. O. N. (eds) *The Uses of Controversy in Sociology*, pp. 197-216. New York: Free.

Yinger, M. J. (1985) Ethnicity. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 11, pp. 151–1 80.

Yuval-Davis, N. (2006) Intersectionality and Feminist Politics. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 13(3), pp. 193 - 209.

Zack, N. (2005) *Inclusive Feminism: A Third Wave Theory of Women's Commonality*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Zahavi, D. (2018) Getting It Quite Wrong: Van Manen and Smith on Phenomenology. *Qualitative Health Research*, pp. 1 – 8.

Zhang, Z. and Chun, D. (2018) Becoming Entrepreneurs: How Immigrants Developed Entrepreneurial Identities. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research*, 24(5), pp. 947 - 970.

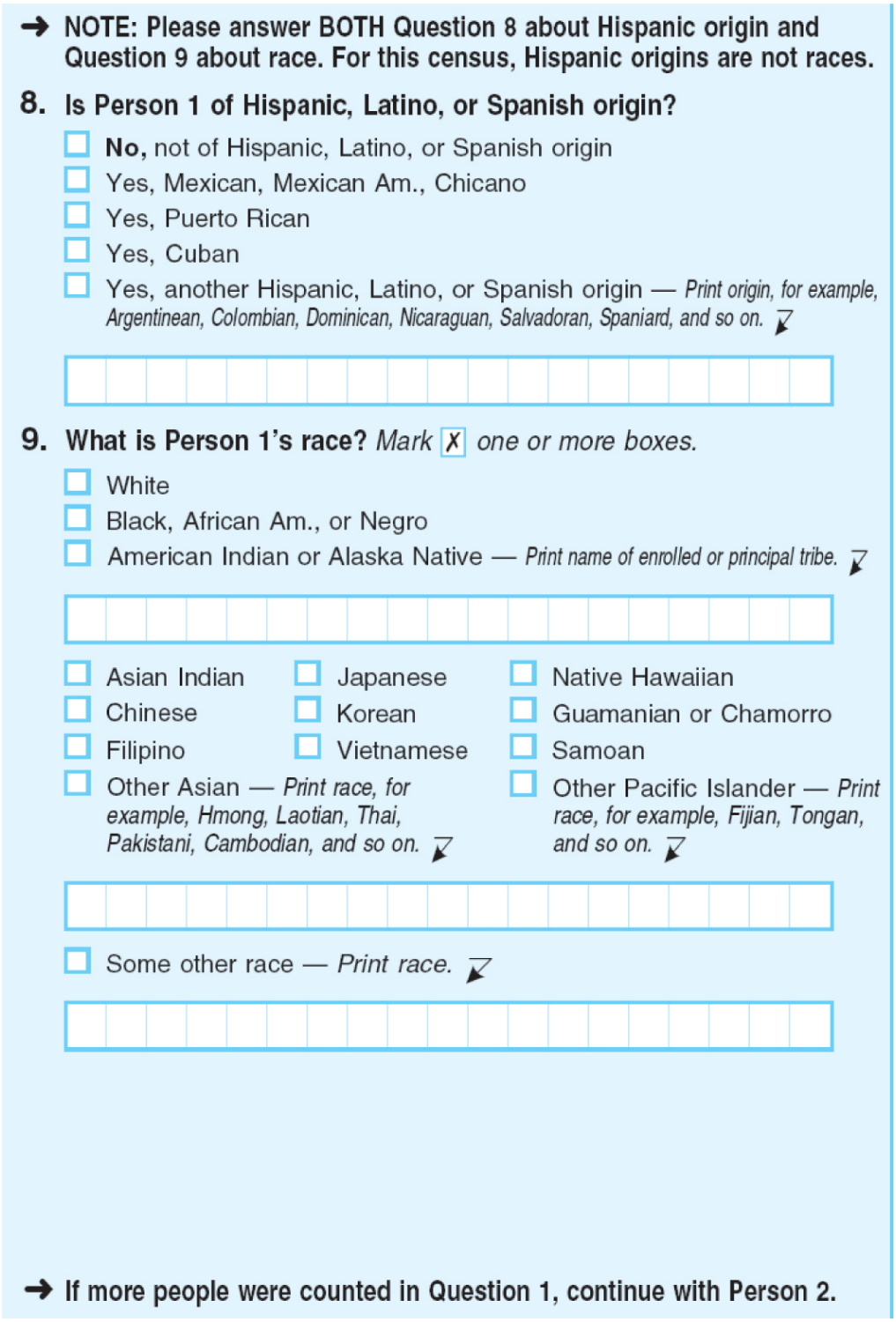
Zhou, M. (2004) Revisiting Ethnic Entrepreneurship: Convergencies, Controversies, and Conceptual Advancements. *International Migration Review*, 38(3), pp. 1040 - 1074.

Zlolniski, C. (2006) *Janitors, Street Vendors, and Activists: The Lives of Mexican Immigrants in Silicon Valley*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Zorn, T. E. (2001) *Lecture Notes on Ethnography (unpublished),* Hamilton, NZ: B. Johnstone

APENDICES

Appendix 1: US 2010 Race and Ethnicity Census Form



➜ **NOTE: Please answer BOTH Question 8 about Hispanic origin and Question 9 about race. For this census, Hispanic origins are not races.**

8. Is Person 1 of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?

- ☐ **No,** not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin
- ☐ Yes, Mexican, Mexican Am., Chicano
- ☐ Yes, Puerto Rican
- ☐ Yes, Cuban
- ☐ Yes, another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin — *Print origin, for example, Argentinean, Colombian, Dominican, Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Spaniard, and so on.*

9. What is Person 1's race? *Mark ☒ one or more boxes.*

- ☐ White
- ☐ Black, African Am., or Negro
- ☐ American Indian or Alaska Native — *Print name of enrolled or principal tribe.*

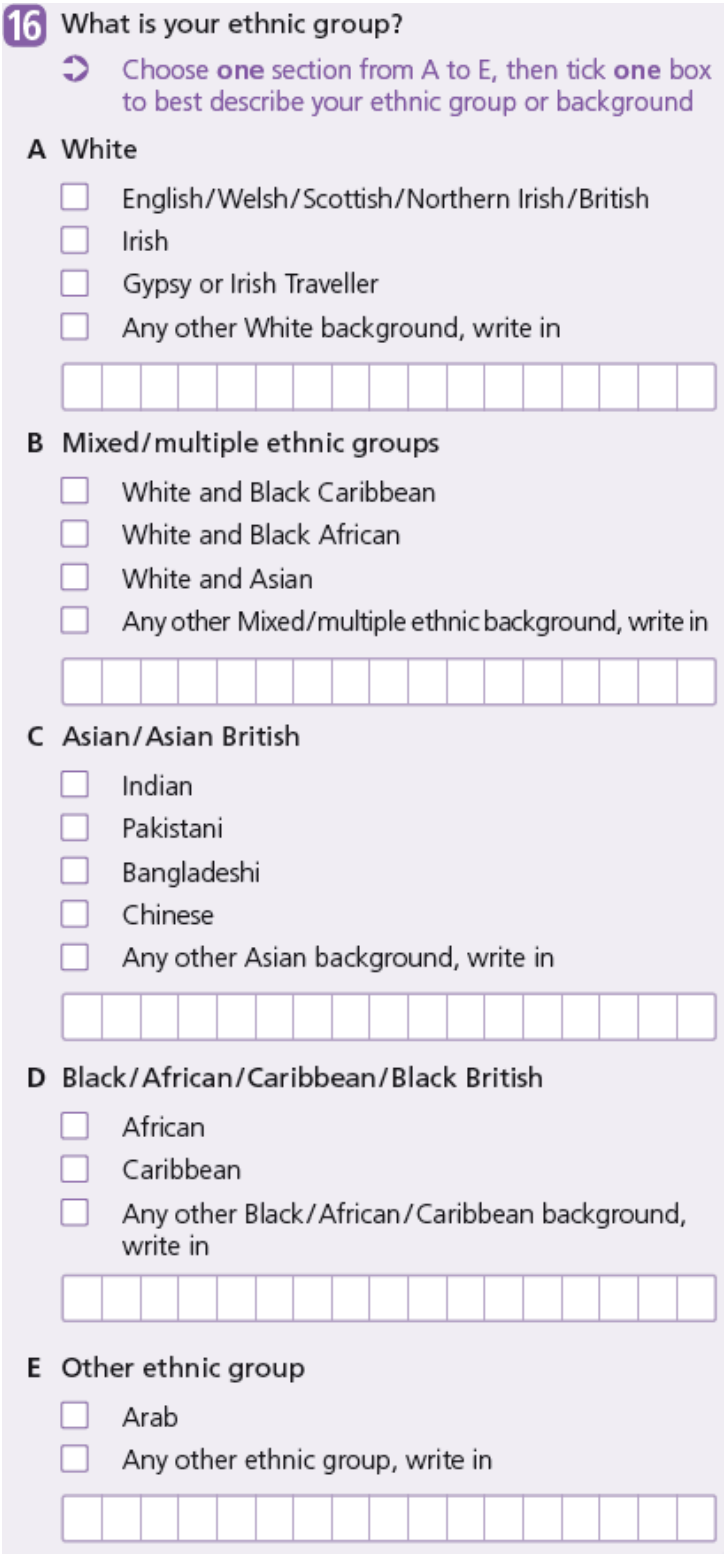
- ☐ Asian Indian
- ☐ Chinese
- ☐ Filipino
- ☐ Japanese
- ☐ Korean
- ☐ Vietnamese
- ☐ Other Asian — *Print race, for example, Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on.*
- ☐ Native Hawaiian
- ☐ Guamanian or Chamorro
- ☐ Samoan
- ☐ Other Pacific Islander — *Print race, for example, Fijian, Tongan, and so on.*

- ☐ Some other race — *Print race.*

➜ **If more people were counted in Question 1, continue with Person 2.**

Source: US Census Bureau

Appendix 2: England and Wales 2011 Census Ethnic Identification Form



16 What is your ethnic group?

Choose **one** section from A to E, then tick **one** box to best describe your ethnic group or background

A White

- ☐ English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish/British
- ☐ Irish
- ☐ Gypsy or Irish Traveller
- ☐ Any other White background, write in

B Mixed/multiple ethnic groups

- ☐ White and Black Caribbean
- ☐ White and Black African
- ☐ White and Asian
- ☐ Any other Mixed/multiple ethnic background, write in

C Asian/Asian British

- ☐ Indian
- ☐ Pakistani
- ☐ Bangladeshi
- ☐ Chinese
- ☐ Any other Asian background, write in

D Black/African/Caribbean/Black British

- ☐ African
- ☐ Caribbean
- ☐ Any other Black/African/Caribbean background, write in

E Other ethnic group

- ☐ Arab
- ☐ Any other ethnic group, write in

Source: Office for National Statistics

Appendix 3: Interview Questions

DOCTORAL RESEARCH INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Preliminary

- Why did you start your business? (***Motivation***)
- Tell me about how you felt when you first arrived this country
- What were your aspiration when you first arrived this country?
- Was starting a business part of your dream when you first arrived this country?

Ethnic identity

- Do you think your ethnic background is affecting your business success or upward social mobility? Explain and give examples.
- In terms of business and economic progress, do you think you would have made more success (business and economic) if you were from white ethnic background?
- How do you feel about this?
- Does your ethnic identity give you extra determination to succeed in business or discourages you?
- Do you think being a business owner helps you to project your identity in anyway?
- What does being black in a predominantly white community (or country) like the UK means to you?
- Can you reflect on any experience that made you aware of your identity as an ethnic minority (black/African) entrepreneur?
- **Discrimination**: What would you say is your perception of discrimination as immigrant and as a business owner in this country?
- Does your religion influence your business in anyway and does your business affect your religious practices?

- Is your entrepreneurial decision based on your ethnicity (black African, cultural practices, religion, immigration etc.)?
- Does your ethnic identity create specific advantages for your business (may be in terms of customer base, employees, business support, entrepreneurial networks, etc.)?
- Does your ethnic identity create specific barriers for your business (may be in terms of customer base, employees, business support, entrepreneurial networks, etc.)?
- To what extent do participants see and experience their identities as entrepreneurs and ethnic-minorities as congruent?
- To what extent do participants' intersectional identities create specific barriers and advantages?
- How do participants' identities as entrepreneurs create significant cultural experiences for them in their communities of origin and among other ethnic minorities?
- How do participants' identities as ethnic minorities create significant cultural experiences for them within their entrepreneurial networks, and when 'doing business'?

Entrepreneurial identity

- How would you define yourself as an entrepreneur?
- Would you consider yourself to be better off doing business than going into paid employment?
- Would you consider yourself to be successful as a small business owner?
- What is your experience as an entrepreneur within your ethnic community?
- What is your experience as an entrepreneur among other ethnic communities?

Social mobility

- Do you think your ethnic identity (as black) affect your access to opportunity in this country? WHY. Examples.
- Do you think your ethnic background is affecting your business success or upward social mobility? Explain and give any example.

- As an ethnic minority small business owner would you say you have more social acceptance now compare to before you started your business?
- What impact does your business has on your lifestyle, taste, emotional life and cultural practices?
- What does a picture of a good life look like to you? Describe what an ideal perfect life looks like to you?
- How much do you make on the average per month?
- Your background: Previous occupation before coming to the UK. Family background (parent occupation, how many siblings, up-bringing, family socio-economic class, etc.)

Others

- How do you feel about this? (*This can go with any question*)
- How would you describe your transition from paid employment to self-employment (entrepreneurship)?
- **Block mobility**: Did you start a business because of lack of opportunity in accessing the kind of employment you desire?
- What are the things you couldn't do before, but you can now do as a business owner? Pros and cons of going into business?
- How would you describe access to information for black people in this country?
- Are you aware of your social class and which class will you place yourself?
- If you were to describe the trajectory of your life, how would you describe it?
- Would you describe yourself as an ethnic entrepreneur?
- What would you say is the highest goal (dream) for your business?
- Since starting a business, would you say things have changed for good, bad or remain the same?
- Do you plan to extend your business beyond the ethnic community to mainstream community?
- I have got a paper here, if this is the starting point and you were to draw the trajectory of your life, what would you draw?

Appendix 4: Interview Introductory Letter

INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH INTERVIEW ON THE PROJECT: ETHNICITY, ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

My name is Tayo Korede, and I am a doctoral research student from Newcastle University Business School, UK. I am conducting an interview as part of a research study to understand how social mobility is perceived and experienced by African migrant self-employed and small business owners in the UK. The interview is centred around your business story and seeks to find out how ethnic and entrepreneurial identities influence social mobility experience.

Social mobility is about creating opportunity for everyone to succeed in the society. It is measured by the quality of life people live from the one they were born into. This interview will capture your thoughts and perspectives on how ethnicity, being self-employed and starting a small business impact on your experience of social mobility.

The interview will be anonymous, very informal and should last between 45 – 60 minutes. The interview can be face-to-face, or on the internet (Skype or WhatsApp). A break is allowed in between, and you are free to decline any question you don't want to answer.

Through your participation, this study will help us to identify important challenges that are unique to African migrants entrepreneurs. This will lead to useful recommendations for the government, equality commission, financial institutions and associated policy bodies in the UK on how to make policies that will improve business

outcomes and enhance the quality of lives among the African ethnic community in the UK.

Thanks very much for your willingness to participate. I will contact you to know which day and time will be convenient for you. I am available on 07448156687 (Mobile and WhatsApp).

Thanks.

Appendix 5: Pilot Interview Questions

Pilot Study Interview Questions

- How and why did you start your business?
- What would you say your experience has been since you started the business?
- Do you think that your ethnic background is affecting your business success?
- Would you say you have more social acceptance now compare to before you started your business?
- What role does discrimination play in the advancement of your business?
- Would you consider yourself to be better off doing business than going into paid employment?
- What impact does your business has on your lifestyle, taste, emotional life and cultural practices?
- How would you capture the memories of what you have gone through since the day you arrived in this country to this point of being a business owner?
- What would you describe as major limitation to your business success?
- Where do you see your business in the next 5 years?

Thanks

Appendix 6:

Precariat and Loving it? Sensemaking and Narratives in Migrants' Self-employment and Social Mobility

ABSTRACT

This article explores the mobility experience of 21 black African migrants in the UK, who were all once employed in organisations, but who left their 'standard' employment to become self-employed small-business owners. Self-employment is often perceived as an alternative route to social mobility for migrants and ethnic minorities who suffer block mobility and discrimination of opportunity in the labour market. However, the precarious nature of some work among the self-employed call this assumption into question. Using precarity as both a class and a condition, our research question focuses on 'how migrants in self-employment make sense of precarity, and how their precarity relates to their social mobility experience'? Our work uses data elicited in qualitative interviews and personal narratives to explore how the discourse of upward mobility and precarity intersect for migrant entrepreneurs involved in unstable work. Our analysis shows a contradictory and metaphoric nature of precarity and challenges the dominant discourse of social class. In a departure from economic narratives of social mobility, we identify other essential narratives of mobility. These entrepreneurs embrace uncertainty in exchange for a more rewarding future, by this they enact projective agency as social actors negotiating future trajectories.

Keywords: Social mobility, social class, African migrant entrepreneurs, self-employment, precarity

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, self-employment has been on the rise in Britain. The Office for National Statistics reported that the number of people in self-employment has risen from 3.3 million in 2001 to 4.8 million in 2017 (ONS, 2018). While these small scale entrepreneurs are responsible for driving job productivity and growth in the UK labour market, it was recently reported by the media that about 80% of people in self-employment live below the poverty line (The Independent, 2016). A significant proportion of this population is migrants, as migrant and ethnic minorities are more

likely to practice self-employment because of labour market discrimination. For example, Pakistani men have the highest self-employment rate in Britain (JRF, 2015; CIPD, 2018). Previous studies in migrant entrepreneurship have suggested that self-employment is an alternative pathway to upward social mobility among immigrants. However, the precarious condition and increasing economic insecurity of migrants in self-employment raise concern as to how enterprise contribute to social mobility. Our research explores this in detail, by analysing the everyday experience of social mobility among self-employed migrants using the concept of precarity as both a class and condition.

The traditional articulation of social class was formulated during the industrial age and based on the employment status of workers in the society. In this old and fading class structure, people were classified into proletariat (working class), bourgeoisie (middle class) and elite (upper class). However, during the information age, globalisation and technology have opened up new paths (e.g. self-employment and entrepreneurship) towards socio-economic mobility. The unfolding socio-economic route has unleashed on the global economy different possibilities of economic activities and changed market and labour dynamics. Consequently, this has dramatically changed the social class structure and the way people define themselves (Standing, 2011). As observe by Savage, Devine, Cunningham, Taylor, Li, Hjellbrekke, Le Roux, Friedman, and Miles (2013) globalisation, unemployment and immigration have resulted in social class fragmentation. The consequent social inequality has given rise to precarious working conditions. There is now a growing concern about the pervading nature of precarity in the future of work (Seymour, 2012). While some workers tend to fight precarity, others especially migrants tend to embrace it for different reasons (Axelsson, Malmberg & Zhang, 2017). Given that immigrants are susceptible to social inequalities in the host country and experience multiple forms of socioeconomic disadvantages in vulnerable employment. Some have turned to entrepreneurship to manage precarity and seek progressive opportunity for mobility. However, how migrants in self-employment make sense of precarity is hugely unexplored in the literature.

In their Foreword to the special issue *'In, Against and Beyond Precarity'* Alberti, Bessa, Hardy, Trappmann, and Umney (2018) identify precarity as both subjective and objective concept of insecure work. They observed the need for more research that explores the experiences of precarity. This study extends this debate by drawing on the experiences of Africa migrants in the UK practicing self-employment.

Self-employment is often perceived as an alternative route to social mobility for immigrants and ethnic minorities who suffer block mobility and discrimination of opportunity in the labour market (Jones & Ram, 2013). However, the precarious nature of work among the self-employed call this assumption into question.

The motivation and drivers for self-employment are different for different ethnic and migrant groups (Clark & Drinkwater, 2010). Although black Africans and Caribbeans have the lowest self-employment rate in Britain (Clark & Drinkwater, 2010). A recent report shows that they have the highest growth rate in self-employment compare to any other ethnic group. The self-employment rate for the black ethnic group has increased from 8% in 2011 to 12.3% in 2017 (GOV.UK, 2018). In this study, we explore the everyday experience of first-generation African migrants who were previously in paid employment in different sector of the economy. But have recently resigned from their jobs to go into self-employment. Our analysis of these entrepreneurs in search of upward social mobility provides a more nuanced experience of precarity. We ask the questions 'how do migrants in self-employment make sense of precarity? what is their conception of social class and how do they perceive and interpret their mobility experience?'

The Concept of Social Mobility

According to Sorokin, social mobility is the "transition of an individual or social object or value... from one social position to another" (Sorokin, 1927:133). Aldridge (2001:1) describes social mobility as "the movement or opportunities for movement between different social groups, and the advantages and disadvantages that go with this in terms of income, security of employment, opportunities for advancement". From a

policy perspective, The Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) defines social mobility as a society where “people have an equal chance to define, pursue and achieve their conception of the good life, and where reward reflects talent and effort, not an accident of birth or persistent injustice. This requires both individual liberty and collective equality” (IPPR, 2008:4).

Social mobility has been measured with respect to occupational mobility, financial mobility, residential mobility and mobility perceptions and aspirations (Westoff, Bressler, & Sagi, 1960). Earlier studies in Britain focussed on class and professional occupational status (Glass, 1954; Goldthorpe, 1980). However, social mobility is not a unitary index of social class but a complex multifaceted phenomenon. Loury, Modood, and Teles (2005) looked beyond occupation and income to position social mobility as a power relationship between different factions of society. They identify it as a “cluster of interdependent social processes”. Their third and fourth approaches to the definition of social mobility place emphasis on social recognition, social citizenship and the bargaining position of social and ethnic groups to influence social institutions and resources. This perspective is significant as it considers how the interplay of social context (e.g. ethnicity and enterprise) influences social meaning and experience of mobility (Bertaux & Thompson, 1997). This suggests that the dynamics and power relations in which immigrants are embedded within the host community may result in a different conceptualisation of social mobility. How migrant groups negotiate social resources and institutional barriers may influence their experience and interpretation of social mobility. Rather than looking at the rate of mobility, this article explores the everyday experience and mundane nature of social mobility among immigrants and ethnic minorities. We argue that for migrants, the precariat is not a class below or above the working class, it’s a marginal and transitional class between established class structures. How immigrants navigate and negotiate this transition is hugely a function of individual agency and strategy. By exploring the intersection of entrepreneurship, social mobility and precarity; this study positions precarity and the everyday experience of social mobility among migrants from a transitional perspective.

Precarity and the Migrant Economy

There are discrepancies in the literature about the direction of social mobility in Britain. Although class has not disappeared, social class has become fragmented, resulting in blur boundaries within the conventional sociological classification (Savage et al., 2013; Standing, 2011). In their analyses of the class structure, both Standing (2011) and Savage et al (2013) identify the precariat as one of the social classes in modern neoliberal Britain. Standing (2011) considers the precariat as a new and emerging social class in between the traditional working class and the unemployed. On the other hand, the new British class analysis by Savage et al (2013) identifies the precariat as the lowest and poorest class group in Britain, slightly above the emergent service workers. Recently, precarity has become an increasingly used concept embodying different forms of social inequalities, vulnerabilities and exploitative work practices. Apart from being a social *class* group, precarity has been conceptualised as a *process* of work casualisation, a *condition* of living and working in the neoliberal economy, a form of *resistance* for social protection, and as a *strategy* for upward social mobility (see Table 1). However, these studies have considered precarity in the context of employment, our study examines precarity in the context of enterprise and self-employment. We position precarity in this context as a *transitional* period in migrants' self-employment towards upward social mobility.

Table 1: Conceptualisation of Precarity

Precarity as	Description	Authors
Class	The precariat as one of the social classes in modern neoliberal Britain	Standing (2011); Savage et al (2013)
Process	A process of work casualisation and informalisation	Smith & Pun, 2018; Rogers & Rogers, 1989
Condition	A condition of living and working in the neoliberal economy	Senses, 2016; Mathisen, 2017
Resistance	A form of resistance which is a movement for mass mobilisation and continue struggle for social protection	Manky, 2018; Schierup & Jørgensen, 2016
Strategy	As a strategy especially among immigrants for achieving upward mobility	Axelsson et al., 2017; Wang et al., 2017

Migrants are exposed to precarity on many fronts. Anderson (2010) suggests that precarity is the intended consequence of global immigration. Schierup and Jørgensen (2016) describe migrant workers as the "quintessential incarnation of precarity".

Scholars have also used terms such as ‘advanced marginality’ and ‘post-industrial precariat’ (Wacquant, 1999, 2008); and ‘hyper-precarity’ (Lewis et al., 2015) to describe the work experience and the increasing exploitative conditions of migrants at the bottom end of the labour market; including well educated and highly skilled immigrants who work in vulnerable jobs. From a gendered perspective, Trimikliniotis and Fulias-Sourroulla (2013) argue that marginalised migrant women in informal work constitute the core of the global precariat. Similarly, Standing (2011: 90) confirms that:

> Migrants make up a large share of the world’s precariat. They are a cause of its growth and in danger of becoming its primary victims, demonised and made the scapegoat of problems not of their making. Yet, with few exceptions, all they are doing is trying to improve their lives.

As a living and working condition, precarity is not a new phenomenon to most migrants, especially economic migrants from the Global South (Munck, 2013). The critical discourse of precarity among migrants highlights the manifestations of precarity to include: de-qualification, discrimination, child labour, and poor working conditions among Turkey’s migrants (Şenses, 2016); the experience of forced labour and unfreedom in the Global North (Lewis et al., 2015); the lack of citizenship, everyday discrimination, and structural and institutional exclusions (Paret & Gleeson, 2016); the racialisation of the labour market forcing black and ethnic minority migrants to work in low paid and low skilled jobs regardless of their qualifications in sandwich factory in London (Holgate, 2005); the sweatshops experience of Hispanic immigrants in the New York garment factories (Waldinger, 1984); and devalued work, low wages, unpredictable working hours among migrant nannies in North-eastern US cities (Wu, 2016).

The majority of research on precarity in the migrant economy has concentrated on the constrained position of immigrants. They tend to describe immigrants as lacking individual agency to reposition themselves within the labour market and constrained institutional forces. Research has shown that although migrant workers may not collectively protest precarity, they are not passive victims of it. Unlike native workers, migrants have a strategic and individual approach to precarity (Bressán & Arcos, 2017). As opposed to a collective agency, migrant workers exercise unorganised

individual agency which is active, intentional and future-oriented (Axelsson et al., 2017). This projective agency to achieve long-term goals, we argue constitutes subjective mobility experience for migrant workers in precarious conditions. In this sense, precarity becomes a starting point toward achieving future prospects. This contradicts the sceptical view of Standing (2011) about the future prospects of migrants in precarious conditions. Standing claims that migrants "keep their heads down, hoping not to be noticed as they go about their daily business of survival" (2011:113).

One of the ways immigrants reposition themselves within the neoliberal economy is through entrepreneurship. Jones and Ram (2013) identify self-employment as migrants' reactive survival mechanism and vehicle for social mobility. In this sense, migrants are seen as entrepreneurial, and self-employment as an exclusive panacea for socioeconomic disadvantages. Although there are mixed findings about the potential for upward mobility in the migrant economy (Zhou, 2004; Portes & Stepick, 1985). However, research suggests that most migrants are in low-paid self-employment and have irregular income compared to regular employment (JRF, 2015). Therefore, recent discussion in migrant entrepreneurship is changing from upward socio-economic mobility to the discourse of precarity, economic insecurity and working poverty (Paret & Gleeson, 2016). Yet, some scholars observe that migrants 'use' precarity as leverage for social mobility and as a strategy for managing marginalisation within the migrant economy.

Research in this direction positions migrants as using precarity as an agentic strategy for social mobility. Waldinger (1984) suggests that although migrants work in a precarious condition, they acquire useful skills in the informal migrant economy which provide a ladder for social mobility. In their work on Chinese chefs in Sweden's restaurant industry, Axelsson et al (2017) confirm that precarity is a temporal condition for migrants. They argue that migrants are not passive victims of precarity but rather 'turn lemon into a lemonade' by using precarity as a strategy and stepping stone towards upward mobility. Comparing precarity within the Global North and the Global South, Jordan (2017: 1456) shows that migrants' precarity is not an "imposed condition but sometimes a potential strategy for longer term goals". Likewise, Wang et al (2017)

argue that highly educated migrants in Beijing perceived precarity as a temporal and long-term strategy towards achieving future success and upward social mobility. However, there is a gap in the literature for an empirical study that explore how self-employed migrants make sense of precarity and how precarity is used as a strategy for upward mobility. To examine this, we draw our samples from migrants who intentionally resigned from paid employment to practise self-employment. How these migrant entrepreneurs interpret and negotiate their experiences can enhance understanding of social mobility and the social meaning of precarity. Drawing on the research gap observe by Alberti et al (2018) and the concept of precarity as both a class and a condition (Frase, 2013), this research explores the subjective analysis of the everyday experiences of precarity among self-employed Africa migrants in the UK.

METHODOLOGY

We did not set out to research the experience of the migrants who resigned from their jobs in pursuit of entrepreneurial opportunities. We set out to explore the lived experience of mobility among African migrant entrepreneurs. We started with the general assumption that migrants are in business because of the lack of good jobs, lack of opportunity and ethnic penalty in the labour market. However, to challenge our assumptions, participants were asked during the interview whether they become self-employed because of block mobility and lack of opportunity in the labour market. This question elicited different responses such as: *"but I resigned from my job", "I have never had a problem with interview or getting a job", "I have been in paid employment but decided it was time to chase my dream", "for me the job is a fall back option, the business is what I have always wanted", etc*. Realising this 'pull factor' as a common trend among our sample population as opposed to our expected 'push factor', we decided to focus our study on this group of migrant entrepreneurs who were all once employed in organisations, but who left their 'standard' employment to become self-employed small-business owners. Their profile is summarised in Table 2.

Table 2: Migrant Entrepreneurs Profile

Pseudonyms	Nature of self-employment	Business age	Academic qualification	Age	Gender	Business Location	Country of origin

Ayo	Software development	3	MSc	29	M	Essex	Nigeria
Mohammed	Barbing salon	4	NVQ	34	M	Liverpool	Cameroon
Kwame	Cleaning and facility management	3	MSc	31	M	London	Ghana
Junior	Food manufacturing	2	MSc	37	M	Newcastle	Zimbabwe
Shona	Training and recycling	2	MSc	38	F	Durham	Sierra Leone
Lola	Cleaning and facility management	4	MBA	39	F	Newcastle	Nigeria
Mzuzu	Leisure park	8	HND	44	M	Newcastle	Malawi
Duma	Restaurant	5			M	Leicester	Kenya
Chuma	Mobile applications	2	BSc	39	M	Essex	Nigeria
Mensah	Property/ Currency exchange	5	MSc	41	M	London	Ghana
Bambi	Recruitment	3	BSc	44	F	London	South Africa
Aisha	Catering and childminding	5	HND	49	F	Newcastle	Nigeria
Kungawo	Financial services	6	MSc	47	M	Bristol	Uganda
Amahle	Community service	2	MSc	45	F	York	Zimbabwe
Obi	Hairdresser	3	BSc	36	M	Newcastle	Nigeria
Kofi	Recruitment	3	MSc	49	M	Newcastle	Ghana
Madiba	Barbing salon	2	NVQ	42	M	Essex	South Africa
Bobby	Photography	4	MSc		M	Leicester	Zambia
Ashante	Cleaning	4	MSc	35	F	Manchester	Congo
Kayode	Restaurant	3	BSc	36	M	Bolton	Nigeria
Adama	Facility management	5	MSc	44	M	Preston	Nigeria

The interview participants were recruited through purposive sampling strategy followed by snowballing (Noy, 2008). In total, this research conducted 21 semi-formal interviews (15 male and 6 female). Some of the participants were recruited through formal and informal social networks. For examples, nine participants were recruited through African churches in London (Barking and Dagenham), Newcastle and Essex (Basildon and Chelmsford). Another three samples recruited through an event of Diaspora Africa Business Support Network. Other interviewees came through personal contact and referrals from willing participants. All participants were first-generation migrants from sub-Saharan Africa with different migration history to the UK. To enrich the discourse, we sourced participants from different cities and regions of UK. All interviews were done in English, recorded and transcribed.

The discourse was based on participants' narratives, perceptions and interpretations of their experiences. Participants used personal narratives to express their transition from employment to self-employment and to explore how the discourse of social mobility and precarity intersect. Narrative as a discourse activity has been used extensively in qualitative studies (see Larty & Hamilton, 2011: 223 for different approaches to narrative analysis in entrepreneurship research). What constitutes a narrative ranges from "brief, tightly bounded stories told in answer to a single question, to long narratives that build over the course of several interviews" (Riessman, 2008: 23) and this can be captured in narratives of everyday conversation or experience (Ochs, 2011). Georgakopoulou (2006) argues that contrary to conventional narrative analysis, personal narratives of future events or projections told within research interviews are valid and important source of data for narrative analysis. Personal narratives often deconstruct social processes and provide an opportunity to challenge assumptions. It gives participants the opportunity to enact the social world in which they are embedded and construct personal realities (Linde, 1993). "To study personal narrative is to value the mundane, everyday, private, informal, and often conversational uses of language by diverse and ordinary people. In so doing, we also listen on the margins of society and give voice to muted groups" (Langellier, 1989: 272). Scholars have identified personal narrative as a way of making sense of lived experiences (Ricoeur, 1988; Riessman, 2008). Participants' accounts of themselves is a deviation from the patriarchal discourse of social mobility and elicit a more

nuanced approach to the study of precarity and social mobility. The data analysis was done through content analysis of research data to identify themes and patterns (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005). The analysis drew on vignettes from participants to identify common themes across the sampled population.

FINDINGS

Making Sense of Social Mobility

The subjective concept of social mobility allows ordinary people to frame and interpret their experience and life trajectory. All our participants consider themselves to be better-off in business than in employment. However, 'being better-off' is not linked to economic status or financial benefits but to personal ideas and narratives of achievement. While there are those who acknowledged they now make more money than they used to make in paid employment, the majority of participants did not associate social mobility to economic benefit or monetary rewards. We identified four mobility narratives and four social class category (see Table 3).

Table 3: Sensemaking and Narratives of Social Mobility

	Conventional concept of social mobility ⟷			Subjective concept of social mobility
Narratives	Economic narrative	Social narrative	Collective narrative	Personal narrative
Social class markers	- Economic capital - Business success - Income - Turnover	- Social relationships - Family ties - Happy homes and marriages - Upbringing and wellbeing	- Race/ethnicity - Cultural capital - Heritage - Class as a colonial project for perpetuating social inequality - *Ubuntu*	- Sense of achievement - Active contribution to society - Personal aspirations and desires - Upward mobility tied to a reference point
Social class category	**Class blind** Don't believe in class classification and unwilling to be categorised into class. Classless concept of social class	**Declass** One status at home (Africa) another status abroad (UK). Reduction in class position due to migration and change of environment	**Class dissociation** Strong objection to the concept of class. They believe the class system is colonial, oppressive, perpetuate injustice and designed to keep black people down	**Marginal class** Believe in the concept of class but do not fit to any of the conventional class structure

Vignettes	I am not interested in putting myself in classes, I don't class myself in any way, I don't believe in classes – *Madiba* A lot of people that even go to school in this country, you see them have a job of £24,000, and that is like a jackpot for them. (…) The money I'm making quarterly is what he is making in a year and happy, I earn about £70k a year, and I'm just a barber - *Mohammed*	Am content with the people surrounding me right now, am content with the way our life is going, and am content with the love of the people in my life – *Bobby* So what happen to a lot of immigrants when they come to this country, to a lot of middle class or upper middle class migrants is that their class position tends to go down when they migrate to the UK – *Shona*	Our social class is at the very bottom because that is where we are naturally…individual success and collective failure is still failure – *Ayo* Success to me has to be collective, it has nothing to do with money, family or stuffs – *Mzuzu*	I think the class line has been blurred (…) at times it is tough to say I'm in the middle class, not because I can't go on holiday or do basic things – *Kungawo* I'm happy being in business, I'm happy with what I'm doing, which I'm working towards achieving my dream, I'm making progress - *Duma*
No (%) of participants associated with this narrative	4 (19%)	11 (52%)	8 (38%)	15 (71%)

Economic narrative vs Class blind. The economic narrative is the perception of social mobility as a function of economic status. Participants describe social mobility in terms of economic capital, turnover, income and business success. Although these participants have a conventional understanding of social mobility, they however, dislike classification based on conventional social class structure. We categorise this group as being class blind, as they do not believe in class classification and are unwilling to associate with any existing social class structure. They believe their classless position relief them of societal pressure and the demand to commoditize their lives. One participant put it this way:

> I find some of these stuff excuses, it's a barrier, because the moment you start putting yourself in a box, you now have walls to break down. In my mind I have no wall. So, I don't really see myself as a class person – *Obi*

According to the class blind conception of social class, conventional class classification limits life chances because it is deeply connected to social and ethnic origins where mobility is largely determined by inherited opportunity, exposes people to undue comparison and creates tension between individual expectations and societal expectations. Participants in this category prefer to describe their mobility experience as being comfortable, happy and satisfied with the outcomes of their lives.

Social narrative vs Declass. In the social narrative, participants tied the discourse of social mobility to social relationships and their social wellbeing. Their conception of social mobility is rooted in how well they perceive their social connections. They identify loving family, happy homes, family ties, healthy relationships and good upbringing as markers of mobility. They recognise the ambivalence nature of conventional social class and would not describe social class based on economic status but on past and present realities of their social relationships. Chuma explains how his relationship with his family is vital to his business:

> Being an entrepreneur doesn't define me because things are out of my control (…) My heart is with my family and because of the happiness and experience I have with my family, I can transfer it to my business. So that when things are not working properly in the business, I can go home, look at my kids, give them a hug, go out and play some football.

We observe that most participants in this group share a common perception of social class, which we identify as declass. As immigrants, they acknowledge changes in their class position in the UK, where their class status go down due to migration irrespective of their occupational or economic status back home. This declass status means they are one class at home and another class abroad.

> I know I came from a middle class heritage in Malawi, but here we are not classed as middle class because we're Africans, we are classed as poor- *Mzuzu*

This reduction and conflict in their social class make them embrace the strength of their social relationships as markers of social mobility.

Collective narrative vs Class dissociation. The collective narrative is based on a critical discourse of social mobility and precarity. This approach defies individualism and capitalism and embraces collectivism and socialism. Participants in this category describe their business as a social enterprise, based on the concept of "ubuntu" meaning I am who I am because of who we all are. They have a strong sense of community, based on shared resources and identity and therefore see enterprise and social mobility as a collective project. Mzuzu observes:

> My philosophy in life is ubuntu. In social enterprise, there is no competition because they are your brother and family, you have to help them and they have to help you (…) focus on social enterprise and forget capitalism completely because everyone is fighting against somebody else. So I don't want my dream to die with capitalism because I know that if I help people and get them to help people, my dream will always be alive.

Markers of collective narrative include race, ethnicity, heritage, cultural capital, brotherhood and solidarity. Based on their narratives, we identify their social class as class dissociation. Participants in this social class have a strong objection to the concept of class. They believe the class system is colonial, European, oppressive, perpetuate injustice and designed to keep black people down. As such, Africans will always be at the bottom of the ladder. Vignettes from participants in this category include:

> But the fact that we want individual success is a major problem in the black community – *Ayo*

> In the UK our class is almost the same. As long as you are black you just fit in there, because it was designed to keep people in their place – *Amahle*

The subjective conception and interpretation of class among these entrepreneurs dematerializes social mobility and tends towards activism, solidarity and resistance as a way of managing their precarity and mobility experience.

Personal narrative vs Marginal class. This is the story of content, happiness, gratitude and satisfaction where economic capital plays little or no part in their mobility experiences. In the personal narrative, social mobility is intrinsically linked to and motivated by personal ideas of 'achievement'. Participants describe their trajectory with personal satisfaction. Their mobility experience was a reflective process based on certain reference points over their life course. For example, participants described how they used to be single but now have a family; how they used to seek employment when they first arrived in the UK but now own business; how they used to worry about legal status but now have permanent residence or are now British citizens etc.

> I'm content with what I have because I have come to realise that money though answers all things but money does not give happiness. So you might be rich but not happy, so I'm not trying to project any class. I have come a long way and I know where I am going. The most important thing for me is to be happy with what I have – *Lola*

Although this group believes in social class, they do not fit into any of the conventional class structure. Narratives from this group resonate with a social class we identify as the marginal class. The marginal class is a transitional class from where people move to a more established sociological class and this can be temporal or persistent depending on individual strategy and agency. These non- Schumpeterian entrepreneurs are neither poor nor rich but living at the edge of precarity. They have less confidence in the neoliberal socio-economic structure. To them, social mobility is highly subjective and based on a personal sense of achievement. It is the experience of achieving something or that progressive steps towards achieving it. They are hesitant to describe themselves as either working class or middle class and seem to suggest that they are satisfied with the outcomes of their lives in anticipation of better future prospects.

Precarious Narratives of Mobility

It is normal to assume that migrant entrepreneurs who voluntarily pursued entrepreneurial opportunities would have success stories of profitable ventures as their narratives. However, many of our participants identify the precarious condition in self-employment and how their aspirations of business ownership make them

vulnerable to precarious living. The narratives of these entrepreneurs indicate the complexity, insecurity and ambiguity associated with working for oneself. Research findings identify different forms of migrants' precarity which are expressed through the narratives of contradictions, hybridity, metaphors and clichés. These narratives of precarity are summarised in Table 4.

Table 4: Narratives of Precarity in Migrants Self-employment

Themes	Sub-themes	Vignettes
Contradictions	Freedom vs unfreedom	With self-employment is like I'm free, there is freedom (…) in private business, you hardly have time to do other things. You believe that if I don't do it or I'm not there, my clients may go to other customers. So you don't have much freedom unless your business has grown to a certain level - *Aisha*
	Working harder vs earning less	I can manage my income (…) because what you do in business is that you have got target and you only defeat yourself if you don't work hard, with business just work hard, when you work hard then you can achieve anything you want to achieve It may not be enough but I still enjoy it– *Madiba*
	Expectation vs reality	I thought within a year you are going to be doing so well but it is not that way (…) It's a lot different to what I thought. I didn't quite understand the level of responsibility that comes with it at the time when I had started out – *Kwame*
Hybridity	Self-employment vs employment	If business doesn't work out, I'll go get a job but always get you back to your business (…) Even when I get a job, it's a ticking clock. I just need the stability to pay the bills and provide for my family. When I get home from job I get back to my work and get on the project I'm working on – *Chuma*
	Weekdays vs weekend jobs	I do this child minder and I do catering. Most catering I do it on weekends – *Aisha* Sometimes I took a part-time job to support myself on weekends - *Lola*
	Job satisfaction vs Job insecurity	I am satisfy with where I am going (…) also in terms of I don't know when people talk of security, job security, financial security I don't really see a businessman especially in the early days of business having that … *Kwame*
Metaphors	Scars	I may not be able to show you a room full of money but what I can show you is a back full of scars (…) That doesn't mean I won all the fight, but you can see the battle scars. The scars don't hurt, they heal

		but they are still feasible, that's what entrepreneurship is all about – *Chuma*
	Scary	It is scary because you are trying to do something that you have not done before and you don't know how it is gonna end up - *Madiba*
	David and Goliath	Individual success and collective failure is still failure. So it is like David and Goliath, Goliath was an individual success and the day Goliath died the rest of the army run away - *Ayo*
	Pain	True entrepreneurship is all about the passion, because the pain is a lot of sacrifice – *Adama*
	Tied to	So rather than get tied to a job to pay a mortgage in this country I'll rather save or have a business and buy some land (…) and I didn't want to be tied to a mortgage like I said, and tied to a salary - *Shona*
Clichés	Ups and downs	And also to some extent I think I have had stops and starts – *Amahle* There is too much ups and downs and too much variables and inconsistency – *Mensah*
	Pay the price	There is a lot of advantages and disadvantages, so you do this you pay the price, you do that you pay the price – *Duma*
	Life is not all about money	Life is not all about money and money does not give happiness (…) so I'm not in business because of the money, if it was for the money, I would have pulled out long ago – *Lola*
	Calculated risk	The best you can make is a calculated risk and you can make it a calculated risk but there is always going to be a risk of not doing very well – *Kwame*
	Putting food on the table	As long as it can put food on the table and pays the bill – *Amahle*

Contradictions

It's time consuming being an entrepreneur. You have freedom on one side, you don't have freedom on the other side – Duma

Participants used contradictory narratives to tell stories of precarity. They describe the transition from employment to self-employment as a way of managing and negotiating contradictions. This involves the tension between freedom on one hand and lack of freedom on the other hand. The dream of freedom and flexibility associated with self-employment was soon confronted with the dilemma of unfreedom and how time demanding entrepreneurial ventures could be. The trade-off between freedom and unfreedom becomes a constant struggle for those who aspire to succeed in self-

employment. Contradictions are also expressed as managing between expectation and reality. Business is about taking risks which can sometimes be complicated and problematic. Precarity was discursively constructed as a way of managing expectations and balancing realities. Lack of coherence in their narratives reveals deferred expectations and inability to translate opportunities to realities. These entrepreneurs described how business has been a tough process and the high level of responsibility, however with future hope of realising their expectations. The final sub-theme in this category identifies precarity as a motivation for working hard. The discourse of working harder and earning less embodies competing and contradictory narratives. Their precarity is expressed in the forms of worries and fluctuations in income if monthly targets are not achieved.

Hybridity

The fulfilment of working for myself and having my own business, because I enjoy serving other people with my own product (…) I think the challenges are also not knowing what's going to come out of it, not knowing what tomorrow is gonna be; you might think that you're getting into one place here and you find out that you are not really there – Junior

Hybridity in this sense describes the manifestation of precarity by combining two different elements. Our participants express precarity as a hybrid of self-employment and employment, week days and weekend jobs and a mixed feeling between job satisfaction and job insecurity. For example, Lola has a passion for her business and believes it is going to be more economically rewarding in the future but occasionally had to compliment self-employment with employment to put food on the table. Chuma describes employment as an open possibility in the process of stabilizing entrepreneurial venture. The hybridity of weekdays versus weekends jobs describes when an entrepreneur manages precarity by combining two different ventures. Aisha is a childminder during the week and a caterer on weekends. Income from her weekend job is used to supplement what she makes from childminding. This sometimes means she has conflict in her marriage because she spends little time with her husband though she works from home. Finally, hybridity in precarity is express through the mixed feeling that comes with job satisfaction in self-employment and its inherent insecurity. This creates a constant tension as participants contemplate future

possibility. On one hand is the job satisfaction and love for what they do, on the other hand, is the insecurity and uncertainty of what the future holds. As migrants with settled legal status in the UK, they are aware that self-employment comes with associated risk, however, they find it compelling enough as a vehicle to explore entrepreneurial opportunities.

Metaphor

I may not be able to show you a room full of money but what I can show you is a back full of scars – Chuma

Our analysis observes the use of metaphors to show the relational interplay between precarity and entrepreneurship. Metaphorical constructs are often used in entrepreneurial narratives to aid understanding and make sense of everyday experiences (Down & Warren, 2008; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Participants' discourse exemplifies the reality of precarity and its manifestations in everyday entrepreneurial practices. Chuma used metaphors to describe and summarise his entrepreneurial experience. Words such as "back full of scars" and the "pain of failed ventures" are the metaphorical expressions of his disappointment, loneliness, uncertainty and his wealth of experience. Ayo used the metaphor of David and Goliath to describe the collective precarity and the insignificance of individual success of black Africans in the UK. Other common metaphors include "tied to", "in bondage of" and "scary" use to express their concerns and uncertainty about the prospect of self-employment. Their accounts represent how migrant entrepreneurs balance economic pressure with their desires to be independent and explore entrepreneurial opportunities. They are not in denial of the struggles and precarity associated with self-employment but they choose to embrace it for self-sufficiency, autonomy and hope of a better socio-economic status.

Clichés

There is a lot of advantages and disadvantages, so you do this you pay the price, you do that you pay the price – Duma

Clichés have been identified as a narrative repertoire in entrepreneurial discourse (Down & Warren, 2008). These entrepreneurs convey their precarious conditions by employing clichés to show how the mundane and the ordinary is reproduced in their lives. Cliched narratives such as "life is not all about money", "putting food on the table"

and “ups and downs” demonstrate not only the challenges of venturing into entrepreneurship but also used to communicate the feeling of precarity associated with their mobility experience. The participants’ use of cliched narratives paint a metaphoric imagery and connection between enterprise and social mobility which are indicative of how their precarity relates to their mobility experience.

Business as a Strategy for Future Upward Mobility

Time is an important factor in the discourse of self-employment and social mobility. By employing the concept of time, our participants broaden their agency beyond earnings and employment to establish the significance of future projective agency in their mobility experience. The narrative of time was conveyed by the frequent use of the verb “will” and the adverb “when” (see Table 5). Sometimes, both the verb and the adverb of time were used together to express imagined future mobility. For example, Bambi said “I am not earning as much as I earned in employment but ***when*** I work hard and get more clients, I ***will*** be better off financially”.

Table 5: Time Narratives of Future Mobility

Narrative of time	Verb	Adverb
	“Will”	“When”
Vignettes	It *will* pay off along the line – *Kwame* So for me I have planted and they haven’t, so I *will* have the opportunity to reap, they don’t have that same opportunity – *Adama* I *will* use the future as the reference point to my success because …most of the business you see doing well now started from somewhere – *Duma* If I can give the service and do it very well, money will come. I think financially I *will* be far, far better off being a hairdresser – *Obi*	*When* I maximise the opportunity in from of me, a lot more down the line I will now have the opportunity to have the kind of the social life without much of a financial burden – *Ashante* I’m am still working for money now, but *when* you can sit at home and money is entering your account when you are sleeping, then you are upper class – *Bobby*
Frequency of use in connection with future social mobility	21	13

Importantly, this futuristic approach to upward mobility is not inherently linked to financial success, but to other personal ideas and narratives of mobility. For example, Kayode claims that future happiness and satisfaction are not depended on money.

> But, if you're not fulfilled, you're not satisfied, you're not happy with what you're doing, you can have million from that place but you will still be miserable. I am happy right now but I ***will*** be happier with where I am going.

Irrespective of their conception and perception of social mobility, the majority of our participants demonstrate how their upward mobility is oriented towards the future. By doing so, they enact the concept of hope and aspiration as subjective elements of mobility. Hence, their mobility experience not defined by past and present realities but by future aspiration to achieve their desired long term goals.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The recent call for micro-analysis of social mobility (Lawler & Payne, 2017; Friedman, 2013) is injecting more nuanced approach to the discourse of social mobility. Social class cannot be explained in a uni-dimensional way. Migrant entrepreneurs choose precarity associated with self-employment as a strategic pathway to upward social mobility. Although their conditions may be precarious, there is nothing to suggest that they regret their decision or are unhappy. Their stories are stories of contentment, happiness and satisfaction. This agrees with the experiences of the upwardly mobile men studied by Goldthorpe (1980) where he concludes that the upwardly mobile were overwhelmingly satisfied with their life's trajectories. However, in contrast to Goldthorpe's work, these migrant entrepreneurs did not see their mobility as a straight forward journey, neither do they have smooth narratives of their accounts. Chan (2018) recently revisited the dissociative thesis on social mobility and argues that upward mobility does not have a negative experience on the wellbeing and social relationship of the upwardly mobile. Comparably, our participants' mobility

experiences are intrinsically linked to the strength and wellbeing of their social relationships.

Our study gives new insights and more nuanced dimension to the nature of precarity. It conceptualises precarity as a *transitional period* characterised by uncertainty as individuals take a 'leap of faith' by using available capital and resources to achieve their desired future goals. In this context, entrepreneurship acts as a vehicle for future social mobility and for managing precarity. Precarity in self-employment is a narrative of contradiction and hybridity, where metaphors and clichés are used to embody how the mundane and ordinary is reproduce in participants' lives. Precarity is complex and multi-faceted in nature, prompting different responses and reactional mechanisms. Social actors have a divergent approach of managing and negotiating precarity. While labour movement approach is that of resistance (Manky, 2018); other than fighting precarity, migrants have developed resilience and agentic strategy to manage it (Axelsson et al., 2017; Bressán & Arcos 2017). This is evident in the narratives of contradictions and hybridity in this study. Migrant entrepreneurs embrace precarity by managing contradictions and using hybridity as a strategy to combine self-employment with employment and working in multiple jobs. However, we observe the strategy of cultural resistance among collective narrative participants. The growing ideology about the danger of neoliberal capitalism is shifting migrants' strategy towards socio-cultural activism and increasing attention to social enterprise and socialism.

According to Standing (2011) which suggests that precariat migrants are low-spirited and victims of precarity. This study finds that although migrant entrepreneurship may be precarious, migrant entrepreneurs are happy with their life trajectories. Happiness not induce only by socio-economic narratives but by the strength of social relationships and progressive narratives of personal achievements. In this study, we position precariat migrants in self-employment in a marginal class, which is a transitional class between established class structures. We argue that for migrants, the precariat is not a class below or above the working class, it's a transitional class towards upward social mobility. Migrants are not totally constrained by precarity but demonstrate projective agency by embracing and using precarity as a future strategy within the neoliberal economy.

Research in migrant entrepreneurship and especially by Jones and Ram (2013) posit entrepreneurship as a survival mechanism and vehicle for upward mobility among immigrants. Our findings indicate that migrants are not solely driven into entrepreneurship but also pursue entrepreneurial activity to explore opportunity and realise inherent dream and passion. Our participants do not claim improved economic status as their motivations for venturing into entrepreneurship. However, they embrace uncertainty in exchange for a more rewarding future. By this, they enact projective agency as social actors negotiating future trajectories (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998). To them, enterprise thus becomes a strategic vehicle for achieving conceived future upward mobility. Several studies (Wang et al., 2017; Jordan, 2017; Axelsson et al., 2017; Bressán & Arcos, 2017) support this conclusion. Transitioning from employment to business ownership becomes a strategic pathway by which migrants project their human agency to construct and negotiate a desirable future. We argue that this sense of upward movement in time constitutes subjective mobility for migrants.

The classic assimilationist perspective to migrant upward mobility is inadequate to explain migrants' subjective mobility experience. This narrow perspective does not account for how migrant entrepreneurs construct their realities, perceive their mobility experiences and the social context in which they are embedded. The experience of mobility among our participants was not associated with assimilation or integration. The identified social class categories (class blind, declass, class dissociation and marginal class) are incongruent with the established hierarchical class structure. This critical discourse, therefore, shows that the conventional class system is a deviation from reality, devoid of cultural and contextual embeddedness, and perpetuates dominant societal ideologies which have sustained generational inequalities.

In a departure from economic narratives of social mobility, we identify personal, social and collective narratives as other essential forms of narratives in social mobility. These narratives and its associated social class provide a critical shift in theory and practice to the discourse of social class and the experience of social mobility. It reinstates the fluidity and subjectivity of social class and the nature of precarity by giving voices to non-Schumpeterian entrepreneurs in the migrant economy. By engaging with these narratives, voices and individuals that are often ignored and left out are seen and

heard. As society gradually rethink neoliberal practices, future debate will tend towards these subjective narratives of mobility; a social mobility study not conceived by politicians and researchers and impose by policymakers, but a social mobility that is individually constructed, in which personal ideas of meaningful and progressive life trumps societal demands and economic-centric approach.

REFERENCES

Alberti, G., Bessa, I., Hardy, K., Trappmann, V., & Umney, C. 2018. In, Against and Beyond Precarity: Work in Insecure Times. ***Work, Employment and Society***, 32(3): 447 – 457.

Aldridge, M. 2001. ***Social Mobility***: A Discussion Paper. Cabinet Office Performance and Innovation Unit, London.

Anderson, B. 2010. Migration, Immigration Controls and the Fashioning of Precarious Workers. ***Work, Employment & Society,*** 24 (2): 300–317.

Axelsson, L., Malmberg, B., & Zhang, Q. 2017. On Waiting, Work-time and Imagined Futures: Theorising Temporal Precariousness among Chinese Chefs in Sweden's Restaurant industry. ***Geoforum,*** 78: 169–178.

Bertaux, D., & Thompson, P. 1997. ***Pathway to Social Class. A Qualitative Approach to Social Mobility***. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Bressán, J. M., & Arcos, A. 2017. How do Migrant Workers Respond to Labour Abuses in "Local Sweatshops"? ***Antipode,*** 49(2): 437–454.

Chan, T. W. 2018. Social Mobility and the Well-being of Individuals. ***The British Journal of Sociology,*** 69(1): 183-206.

Chiswick, B. R., & Miller, P. W. 2011. The "Negative" Assimilation of Immigrants: A Special Case. ***Industrial and Labor Relations Rev,*** 64(3): 502–25.

CIPD. 2018. Megatrends More Selfies? A Picture of Self-Employment in the UK. Available at https://www.cipd.co.uk/Images/more-selfies_2018-a-picture-of-self-employment- in-the-UK_tcm18-37250.pdf (accessed 21 May 2018).

Clark, K., & Drinkwater, S. 2010. Recent Trends in Minority Ethnic Entrepreneurship. ***International Small Business Journal,*** 28(2): 136-146.

Dohlmann, C. 2001. ***Self-employment among Male Immigrants in Denmark. Social Integration and Marginalisation***. Working Paper, 08. The Danish National Institute of Social Research, Denmark.

Down, S., & Warren, L. 2008. Constructing Narratives of Enterprise: Clichés and Entrepreneurial Self-identity. ***International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research,*** 14(1): 4-23.

Emirbayer, M., & Mische, A. 1998. What is Agency? ***American Journal of Sociology,*** 103(4): 962-1023.

Frase, P. 2013. The Precariat: A Class or a Condition? ***New Labor Forum,*** 22(2): 11–14.

Friedman, S. 2013. The Price of the Ticket: Rethinking the Experience of Social Mobility. ***Sociology,*** 0(0): 1–17.

Gans, H. J. 2007. Acculturation, Assimilation and Mobility. ***Ethnic and Racial Studies,*** 30(1): 152-164

Georgakopoulou, A. 2006. The Other Side of the Story: Towards a Narrative Analysis of Narratives-in-interaction. ***Discourse Studies,*** 8(2): 265–287.

Glass, D. 1954. ***Social Mobility in Britain***. London: Routledge.

Goldthorpe, J. H. 1980. ***Social Mobility and Class Structure in Modern Britain***. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

GOV.UK. 2018. Ethnicity Facts and Figures. Available at: https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk/workforce-and-business/business-and-self-employment/self- employment/latest (accessed 7 October 2018).

Holgate, J. 2005. Organising Migrant Workers: A Case Study of Working Conditions and Unionisation in a London Sandwich Factory. ***Work, Employment & Society***, 19(3): 463–480.

Hsieh, H-F. and Shannon, S. E. (2005). Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis. ***Qualitative Health Research***, 15(9), pp. 1277-1288.

Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR). 2008. Social Mobility: A Background Review, Available online at: http:// www.socialmobilitycommission.org (accessed 12 June 2017).

Jones, T., & Ram, M. 2013. Entrepreneurship as Ethnic Minority Liberation. In T. Baker, & F. Welter (Eds.), ***Routledge Companion to Entrepreneurship***: 391-405.New York: Routledge.

Jordan, L. P., 2017. Introduction: Understanding Migrants' Economic Precarity in Global Cities. ***Urban Geography,*** 38(10): 1455-1458.

JRF. 2015. Self-employment and Ethnicity: An Escape from Poverty? Available at https://www.jrf.org.uk/report/self-employment-and-ethnicity-escape-poverty (accessed 12 July 2018).

Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. 1980. ***Metaphors We Live By***, Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.

Langellier, K. M. 1989. Personal Narratives: Perspectives on Theory and Research, Text and Performance. ***Quarterly,*** 9(4): 243-276.

Larty, J., & Hamilton, E. 2011. Structural Approaches to Narrative Analysis in Entrepreneurship Research: Exemplars from two Researchers. ***International Small Business Journal,*** 29(3): 220–237.

Lawler, S., & Payne, G. 2017. ***Social Mobility for the 21st Century: Everyone a Winner?*** Abingdon: Routledge/BSA.

Lewis, H., Dwyer, P., Hodkinson, S., & Waite, L. 2015. Hyper-Precarious Lives: Migrants, Work and Forced Labour in the Global North. ***Progress in Human Geography,*** 39(5): 580 – 600.

Linde, C. 1993. ***Life Stories: The Creation of Coherence***. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Loury, G. C., Modood, T., & Teles, S. M. 2005. ***Ethnicity, Social Mobility, and Public Policy***. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Manky, O (2018) Resource Mobilization and Precarious Workers' Organizations: An Analysis of the Chilean Subcontracted Mineworkers' Unions. ***Work, Employment and Society***, 32(3): 581–598.

Mathisen, B. R. 2017. Entrepreneurs and Idealists. ***Journalism Practice,*** 11(7): 909-924.

Munck, R. 2013. The Precariat: A View from the South. ***Third World Quarterly,*** 34(5): 747– 762.

Noy, C. 2008. Sampling Knowledge: The Hermeneutics of Snowball Sampling in Qualitative Research. ***International Journal of Social Research Methodology,*** 11(4): 327-344.

Ochs, E. 2011. Narrative in Everyday Life. In T. A. Van Dijk (Ed.), ***Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction:*** 64-84. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Okonta, P., & Pandya, K. 2007. Entrepreneurial Potentials of African-Caribbean in the United Kingdom. ***Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development,*** 14(4): 702-718.

ONS 2018. Trends in Self-employment in the UK. Available at https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentande mployeetypes/articles/trendsinselfemploymentintheuk/2018-02-07 (accessed 10 July 2018).

Paret, M. & Gleeson, S. 2016. Precarity and Agency Through a Migration Lens. ***Citizenship Studies,*** 20(3-4): 277-294.

Portes, A., & Stepick, A. 1985. Unwelcome Immigrants: The Labour Market Experiences of 1980 (Mariel) Cuban and Haitian Refugees in South Florida. ***American Sociological Review,*** 50(4): 493-514.

Ricoeur, P. 1988. ***Time and Narrative.*** Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press

Riessman, C. K 2008. ***Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences***. London: Sage.

Rogers, G., & Rogers, J. (Eds.). 1989. ***Precarious Jobs in Labour Market Regulation: The Growth of Atypical Employment in Western Europe.*** Geneva: International Institute of Labour Studies.

Savage, M., Devine, F., Cunningham, N., Taylor, M., Li, Y., Hjellbrekke, J., Le Roux, B., Friedman, S. & Miles, A. 2013. A New Model of Social Class? Findings from the BBC's Great British Class Survey Experiment. ***Sociology*****,** 47(2): 219 – 250.

Schierup, C. U., & Jørgensen, M. B. 2016. From "Social Exclusion" to "Precarity": The Becoming-Migrant of Labour. An introduction. In C. U. Schierup & M. B. Jørgensen (Eds.), ***Politics of Precarity:*** 1–29. Leiden: Brill.

Şenses, N. 2016. Rethinking Migration in the Context of Precarity: The Case of Turkey. ***Critical Sociology,*** 42(7-8): 975 –987.

Seymour R. 2012. We are all Precarious – On the Concept of the "Precariat" and its Misuses. New Left Project, 10 February. Available at: http://tinyurl.com/85s9rtz (accessed 16 August 2017).

Smith, C., & Pun, N. 2018. Class and Precarity: An Unhappy Coupling in the Case of China's Working Class. ***Work, Employment and Society,*** 32(3): 599–615.

Sorokin, P.A. 1927. ***Social and Cultural Mobility***. New York: Harper Bros.

Standing, g. 2011. ***The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class***, London: Bloomsbury Academic.

The Independent. 2016. 80% of Self-employed People in Britain live in Poverty. Available at https://www.independent.co.uk/money/spend-save/80-of-self-employed-people-in- britain-live-in-poverty-a7070561.html (accessed 13 October 2018).

Trimikliniotis, N., & Fulias-Sourroulla, M. 2013. Informalisation and Flexibilisation at Work: The Migrant Woman Precariat Speaks. In A. Floya, M. Kontos, & M. Morokvasic- Müller (Eds.), ***Paradoxes of Integration: Female Migrants in Europe:*** 59–78. London: Springer.

Vidal-Coso, E., & Miret-Gamundi, P. 2014. The Labour Trajectories of Immigrant Women in Spain: Are there Signs of Upward Social Mobility? ***Demographic Research,*** 31(13): 337−380.

Wacquant, L. J. D. 1996. The Rise of Advanced Marginality: Notes on its Nature and Implications. ***Sociologica*****,** *39*(2): 121–139.

Wacquant, L. 2008. Relocating Gentrification: The Working Class, Science and the State in Recent Urban Research. ***International Journal of Urban and Regional Research***, 32(1): 198–205.

Waldinger, R. 1984. Immigrant Enterprise in the New York Garment Industry. ***Social Problems,*** 32(1): 60-71.

Wang, H., Li, W., & Deng, Y. 2017. Precarity among Highly Educated Migrants: College Graduates in Beijing, China. ***Urban Geography,*** 38(10): 1497-1516.

Waters, M. C., Tran, V. C., Kasinitz, P., & Mollenkopf, J. H. 2010. Segmented Assimilation Revisited: Types of Acculturation and Socioeconomic Mobility in Young Adulthood. ***Ethnic and Racial Studies,*** 33(7): 1168-1193.

Westoff, C. F., Bressler, M. & Sagi, P. C. 1960. The Concept of Social Mobility: An Empirical Inquiry. ***American Sociological Review,*** 25(3): 375-385.

Wu, T. 2016. More than a Paycheck: Nannies, Work, and Identity. ***Citizenship Studies,*** 20(3- 4): 295-310.

Zhou, M. 2004. Revisiting Ethnic Entrepreneurship: Convergencies, Controversies, and Conceptual Advancements. ***International Migration Review,*** 38(3): 1040-1074.