University of Strathclyde

Department of Management

Ethnic entrepreneurship in the hospitality sector: exploring meanings, implications and contexts

Azin Mostajer Haghighi

A thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Management at the University of Strathclyde

July 2012

Declaration of Authenticity and Author's Rights

This thesis is the result of the author's original research. It has been composed by the author and has not been previously submitted for examination which has lead to the award of a degree.

Signed: Date:

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

ABSTRACT

This research is a phenomenological study of ethnic entrepreneurship in the hospitality catering sector based on self-definition of ethnic entrepreneurs. Most research in both the fields of EE and hospitality entrepreneurship is formed on a foundation of taken-for–granted, unquestioned assumptions; with a positivist stance towards entrepreneurship and small business; and often utilising functionalist research philosophies and methodologies based on positivist, quantitative approaches, with little reflection by researchers (Blackburn and Kovalainen, 2009).

This study has questioned these dominant approaches by aiming to develop a phenomenological understanding of ethnic entrepreneurship in the hospitality catering sector as a socially constructed phenomenon. This is done through an in-depth investigation of ethnic entrepreneurs' lived experiences and their self-definitions of their business and its meanings, implications, and role in shaping their personal and social worlds. Within a phenomenological perspective, this research has used a qualitative methodology to gain in-depth data on the phenomenon. It gives voice to a marginalized population, namely Iranian owner-managers of micro catering businesses. It aims to emancipate the worldviews of the respondents towards EE to explore some of the hidden dimensions of the EE phenomenon.

This approach results in findings that critically challenge the dominant EE research, which has mostly examined the phenomenon from a positive ideological perspective and has been mainly concerned with economic and management concepts such as the causal relationships that lead to formation of entrepreneurship for ethnic minorities. Through unraveling of the meanings and values of ethnic entrepreneurs associated with EE, it is found that EE in hospitality could have a destructive effect on the social, familial, and personal lives of ethnic entrepreneurs in addition to the well-known constructive economic roles that are widely acknowledged in previous research.

The study shows that in order to gain a more exhaustive and holistic knowledge of the phenomenon, its roles, and its implications, it is vital to examine it within its

contexts and from the perspectives of the people who have living experience of the phenomenon.

The findings show that EE should be considered as a heterogeneous social phenomenon that is context specific and sector specific.

This research contributes to knowledge by focusing on marginalized themes, subjects, and methodologies. The focus on the self-definitions of the entrepreneurs studied and giving them a voice leads to a more in-depth and emancipatory understanding of the phenomenon. The specific epistemological and methodological perspectives employed help to uncover some of the ignored, concealed, and silenced aspects of the EE phenomenon and its different social implications. Consequently, the research opens potential avenues for more informed policy making and a more harmonic and just society.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INDEX OF FIGURES

INDEX OF TABLES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EME	Ethnic minority entrepreneur
EE	Ethnic Entrepreneurship
EMB	Ethnic minority businesses
NMW	National minimum wage
WLB	Work life balance
GEM	Global Entrepreneurship Monitor
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research background

This research explores the phenomenon of ethnic entrepreneurship (EE) and the processes and dynamisms that contribute to the roles, meanings, and values this phenomenon holds for the ethnic entrepreneurs under study. The aim of the thesis is to explore self-definitions and the views of ethnic minorities on their situations as entrepreneurs, as well as the substantive meanings they associate with entrepreneurship and its role in their social and personal worlds. These self-definitions and perceptions are explored and analysed in terms of the theoretical implications of the concept of EE and its importance in shaping the lives of ethnic minorities, who form a considerable part of British society.

Ethnic entrepreneurship has become a popular field of research in academia and by policy makers. This is a result of the growing number of refugees/migrants in the developed countries, including the UK, and the high proportion of ethnic minority businesses within society, which have made EE an inseparable feature of modern urban life in developed economies (Ram and Jones, 2008). Generally, research in this area has been mostly informed by conventional wisdom, often within a positivist framework, and has focused on issues related to conceptualisation of the creation of EE and the management of ethnic businesses. Thus, less research has been carried out on the social, cultural, historical, and political dimensions of EE, and consequently on the meanings and implications of entrepreneurship for ethnic minorities and its role in the building of their social, familial, and personal worlds. In particular, less research has deeply focused on and questioned the position, role, implications, and functions of entrepreneurship in the lives of ethnic minorities. It has just been assumed that entrepreneurship is the solution to social and economic problems such as lack of employment opportunities.

This research questions this assumption by looking at EE in context and from the perceptions of ethnic minorities themselves, in an attempt to understand its socio-

cultural effects and roles. This study is a response to the above-mentioned research gap and is carried out using an interpretive paradigm; it targets this aspect of EE with the aim of uncovering some of the hidden socio-cultural dimensions of EE through exploring the views, perceptions, and voices of ethnic entrepreneurs themselves about their lived experiences of the phenomenon of EE.

In addition, this research argues that self-employment and entrepreneurship are social phenomena and that entrepreneurs are products of the conditions and contexts within which they are placed. Drawing upon the specific sector of hospitality, this research explores some of the neglected areas in hospitality research by contextualising it and focusing on one of the less-researched sub-sectors within the hospitality field, namely the small-scale catering sector. By converging the two fields of EE and hospitality and exploring EE with a contextualised focus on a specific sector and culture (Iranian), this research sheds light on both the hospitality and EE fields. It shows some of the masked complexities of EE and thereby enhances our understanding of EE. The thesis shows that through this contextualisation and by putting attention on the voices and self-definitions of the ethnic entrepreneur a more detailed, illuminating, and in-depth knowledge can be produced and accumulated over time.

The present research argues for recognition of the influence of industry (hospitality) and especially the industry sub-sector (catering), and it also recognizes the power of social and political systems and cultural contexts in the formation and identification of EE. The research is exclusively focused on the context of Iranian ethnic minorities, an under-researched population within both EE and hospitality research who own and manage micro- (less than 10 employees based on European Commission criteria, 2003) hospitality businesses in the catering sector in Greater Glasgow, Scotland. Iranian-owned catering micro-businesses were the focus of this research; therefore, Iranian-owned and -managed take-aways, kebab-shops, pizzerias, bistros, coffee shops, and small restaurants with less than 10 employees are the subjects of the study.

The interpretive orientation of this research scrutinises the implications of dominant and powerful conventional frameworks, paradigms, and methodologies that lead to production and reproduction of more technical knowledge (Habermas, 1978). These conventional frameworks influence the shaping and creation of knowledge and push other methodologies and paradigms to the margins. With its phenomenological framework, this research, therefore, uncovers some marginalised themes and issues in the subject area and opens discussion on these issues, creating agendas for debate for further and deeper understanding of the processes, mechanisms, and dynamics that create the phenomenon of EE in a particular context.

1.2. Research Justification

The present research is fundamentally a response to different gaps found in relation to the field of EE, and thus it contributes to the development of knowledge in this field by responding to these gaps.

At a conceptual level, the assumptions that underpin EE are mainly informed by the conventional wisdom of economics, entrepreneurship, and business management. This dominant framework has led to creation of knowledge that is mostly concerned with technical, managerial, and economically driven models, conceptualisations, and patterns. Even if cultural issues and social dimensions have been examined in the past, it has been with the aim of explaining and understanding reasons leading to the creation of ethnic businesses and modes of management or their failure.

These studies are mostly done based on the taken-for-granted and unquestioned assumption of entrepreneurship as the saviour. Blackburn and Kovalainen (2009) highlight this gap in the area of entrepreneurship and small-business research and point to the need for the researchers to question these taken-for-granted assumptions. The present research questions this positive ideological stance towards entrepreneurship, and it addresses this significant issue by focusing on the functions, roles, and meanings of entrepreneurship based on the understandings, views, and self-definitions of ethnic entrepreneurs themselves. Although the positivist

conceptualisations have been much needed to build up research and accumulate knowledge in the salient and relatively new field of EE, there has been a call by scholars for further research on 'the substantive meaning and practical implications of EE' (Zhou, 2004: 15). This study goes further than this and questions the very existence and position of EE and its role in building the lives of ethnic minorities. Unlike most previous research, this research does not start from issues of creation of ethnic businesses and does not stop there either. It questions the ideal positive position assumed for and given to entrepreneurship for ethnic minorities. This is done through exploring the functions, roles, and meanings of EE, looking at the non-economic effects of EE through an interpretive paradigm, and using qualitative approaches, in response to the statements of researchers who call for investigation. An example is: 'through what mechanisms and under what conditions these non-economic effects are produced are unclear, leaving a substantial conceptual gap' (Zhou, 2004: 15). The present study not only is a response to this conceptual gap in EE but it also steps beyond this and investigates and explores the existential relativity (its necessity or non-necessity of existence) of EE for the studied ethnic entrepreneurs.

At the methodological and philosophical levels, not questioning the epistemological assumptions and following the normative epistemological path leads to the use of normative and dominant methodologies and methods of data collection and data analysis. It is hard to step beyond the boundaries of quantitative and positivist paradigms in an atmosphere in which non-positivist approaches are looked at as rather unscientific and therefore get published with more difficulty. Most research in the areas under study are based on objectivist perspectives, looking for regulations and causal relations between defined variables in an attempt to prove or disprove a hypothesis. These approaches are taken for granted by academics and followed by them without much reflection on or questioning of their prominent stance within academic production (Eriksson and Kovalaienen, 2008; Grant and Perren, 2002; Blackburn and Kovolaienen, 2009).

This is indeed not to condemn these approaches, but rather it is meant to emphasise that the domination of this type of research has led to overlooking other areas, and hence it has limited the level and depth of created knowledge with regards to social phenomena. Despite the use and dominance of these so called "scientific" frameworks and methodologies, with regards to theoretical advancement of the entrepreneurship and small-business field, it has struggled to move ahead in disciplinary theory building. Therefore, instead of producing research based on these variable-centred methods as ideal scientific approaches, more research needs to be done to explore mechanisms underlying economic and social phenomena (Blackburn and Kovolaienen, 2009).

As discussed before, this research questions the basic assumptions about the position of entrepreneurship and its effects in society for the ethnic entrepreneurs. This conceptual position naturally diverges from quantitative, statistical, and positivist approaches. The nature of the research aim and objectives locate it within the realm of exploratory and qualitative phenomenological research. With its epistemological and methodological orientation, this study attempts to reject going with the flow of simply accepting and adopting prevailing conventional wisdom in both the fields of EE and small-hospitality-business research. In other words, it aims to put new issues into debate and shed more light on some of the neglected dimensions of these fields through placing them into a wider social science context. By adopting this approach and examining EE small-hospitality-research within a larger social field through the use of theories of integration in migrant research, and by using qualitative methods and uncovering the marginalised lived experiences of ethnic minorities, this research reveals deeper layers of EE as a social phenomenon. It reveals gaps in our understanding of the phenomenon and attempts to explore and explain the meanings of EE, and it looks for ways to improve the social conditions regarding EE. A qualitative, exploratory methodology provides the much-needed depth for data collection and analysis, and it facilitates interpretations that are emergent and grounded in the data.

From a contextual standpoint, Clark and Drinkwater (2010) point out that EE research shows there is an over-representation of ethnic minority and immigrant groups in self-employment. However, there is a broad generalisation in this field, which according to Clark and Drinkwater (2010: 323) 'disguises considerable variation in self-employment rates by racial origin, gender, and over space and time'. This leaves a contextual gap in the area of EE. The diversity of different ethnic groups involved with EE should be considered important if we aim to gain a better understanding of the phenomenon. This research addresses the call for measuring self-employment in a way that takes adequate account of this diversity. There is a limited amount of research in the field of EE on newcomers to the UK, such as Iranians. Most research is carried out on those ethnic populations that have been living in the UK for a longer time, such as Indians, Pakistanis, Turks, Chinese, and Afro-Caribbeans. In response to this gap, this research is focused on one ethnic population that has received less attention in academic research in EE. Iranians get considerable attention from the media, but there is limited research on them. Specifically, this research targets Iranian entrepreneurs in the hospitality industry who create, own, and manage catering businesses (for a detailed account of reasons for choosing Iranians, see Section 2.5.5).

To sum up, this research is a response to different conceptual, contextual, and methodological gaps found in the literature. The research addresses these gaps by attempting to bring to the centre the marginalised epistemologies, perspectives, and methodologies of a context in which the voices of people are not heard and their faces are not seen. This research may provide considerable interest for policy makers and academics. Also, it explores the lived experiences of ethnic entrepreneurs and the self-defined characteristics of EE in the hospitality sector, thus revealing contextual factors that may affect, constrain, or shape the phenomenon of EE and its roles and functions.

1.3 Research aims and objectives

Aims:

- To develop a phenomenological understanding of EE in the hospitality catering sector as a complex, socially constructed phenomenon through an in-depth investigation of ethnic entrepreneurs' lived experiences and their self-definitions of their business and its meanings, implications, and role in shaping their personal and social worlds.
- To contribute to the creation of knowledge by focusing on exploring the marginalised epistemologies, themes, methodologies, and unheard voices of Iranian ethnic entrepreneurs in the context of the catering sector and through the voice of the researcher as a female ethnic minority member.

Main research question:

- *What are the implications, roles, and functions of the phenomenon of EE for Iranian entrepreneurs in the catering sector?*

Research objectives are set to help in achieving an answer to the main research question, as follows:

1. To explore and understand the lived experience of becoming and being an ethnic entrepreneur in the hospitality catering sector by focusing on the marginalised voices of the ethnic entrepreneurs themselves;

2. To explore and understand what the essence of the socially constructed phenomenon of EE is in the hospitality catering sector for Iranian ethnic entrepreneurs;

3. To explore the social, historical, and cultural contexts, structures and processes related to and influencing the EE phenomenon in hospitality;

4. To explore the meanings and values Iranian ethnic entrepreneurs associate with the phenomenon of EE in catering based on their self-definition of their situations;

5. To critically analyse the phenomenon of EE and explore the role of hospitality EE in the social and personal lives of Iranian ethnic entrepreneurs.

1.4 Outline of the thesis

Chapter 2 examines the relevant literature and theoretical conceptualisations and definitions of the ethnic and migrant studies and of the phenomenon of EE. It introduces the different conceptual theories created to describe and explain ethnic entrepreneurs and EE. Since the study investigates EE in the context of hospitality, this chapter also presents a review of the relevant literature on hospitality small businesses and examines the literature on the nature of hospitality businesses, conceptualisations regarding issues of success and motivation, and consequently further and more recent conceptualisations within the hospitality field, namely lifestyle entrepreneurship and hospitality as a social lens.

Chapter 3 presents the underlying theoretical orientations of the thesis and explains the philosophical and methodological grounds of the research. Ontological, epistemological and methodological perspectives are explained in detail. Moreover, it outlines the methods of data collection, selection of respondents, and interviewing methods, and it further discusses the challenges and methodological issues that were raised during the process of qualitative research. It further presents the reflexive nature of the methodology of this research through discussion of the position of the researcher in the process of the research.

Chapter 4 presents and discusses different stages of data analysis, explaining the steps taken for phenomenological analysis of transcribed textual data. Different steps of the analysis are explained in detail to clarify how interpretation of data is achieved.

Chapter 5 is the result of the analysis, which is grounded in the data. The resultant findings derived from the process of phenomenological analysis are presented and provide a composite detailed comprehensive portrait of self-definitions and world views of the ethnic entrepreneurs with the researcher's interpretation, which is a result of the analysis.

Chapter 6 presents a further discussion on the emergent themes of findings and their relation to the wider theoretical concepts. The findings are placed within the broader context of social theories related to EE and hospitality studies.

Chapter 7 provides a summary of the research and arrives at theoretical, methodological, policy, and practical conclusions and the study's overall contribution to knowledge. It also points to limitations of this research and puts forwards suggestions for further research and tentative policy recommendations.

2. CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REIVEW

2.1. Introduction

The main objectives of this chapter are to review the extant literature on EE and to develop a framework for understanding the dimensions of the literature on conceptualisations of this young field. To reach this understanding and to inform the research process, it is necessary to study key concepts and theories associated with EE. The EE literature has been substantially engaged with factors influencing the establishment of an ethnic enterprise. These factors are multifaceted and form the complex and dynamic nature of EE. Hence, to explain this complex phenomenon, a number of conceptualizations from different perspectives have been produced by scholars of EE. In this chapter, the evolution of conceptual considerations of this phenomenon is examined first, and consequently, in a critique of the literature, the gap and areas for future research are highlighted. However, before engaging with the EE literature, an overall review of the evolution of the concept of entrepreneurship is provided to facilitate better understanding of the concept of EE and its roots. Furthermore, a brief review of hospitality studies is presented to highlight the context within which the specific EE of this study is situated.

2.2 Conceptual framing of entrepreneurship: Definitional issues

To be able to understand a phenomenon in a deeper manner, it is important to look at the more general concept of entrepreneurship and to uncover the broad nature of this multi-disciplinary concept. The section continues with an investigation of various definitional issues relating to EE to inform the research process and prepare a context for a better understanding of various conceptualizations of EE by different schools of thought.

Entrepreneurship is a complex concept with many different definitions provided by different disciplines throughout its history. Since the importance and influence of entrepreneurship is increasing in academic and practical environments, a review of

the conceptual development of entrepreneurial thought provides a lens for researchers to interpret and explain their research and formulate new questions.

Entrepreneurship belongs to a broad theoretical domain that is interdisciplinary and bordered by the economics, sociology, psychology, history, and management fields. However, it is basically influenced by an economic framework of mind and was first used in economic discourse. At the same time, within economics the concept and its theoretical conceptualisations have been subject to change. Even economic schools of thought such as the classical, neoclassical, and Austrian market-process movements could not present a single robust theory of entrepreneurship and instead produced different perspectives and definitions of the concept. The issue of ambiguity of the concept still exists nowadays, while more recently entrepreneurship has spread into other soft-science disciplines. It has been studied from not only an economic perspective but also from a more multi-disciplinary perspective that uses different disciplines such as psychology, sociology, and anthropology to explain this phenomenon from different perspectives that include qualitative factors in the study of entrepreneurship as well (Morrison, 1999). However, entrepreneurship research is still dominated by the positivist-functionalists' perspective, and there is a need to encourage new perspectives to gain a better understanding of the concept (Jennings et al., 2005; Grant and Perren, 2002).

Traditionally, within the economic framework, the term entrepreneur has been associated with different factors at different times. For example, based on classical economic thought, Canttillon (1755) used the risk and uncertainty factor as a defining boundary of entrepreneurship. In the classical movement, the entrepreneur was described as having a directing role in the context of production and distribution of goods in a competitive marketplace (Say, 1803). However, in the neoclassical economic framework in 19th century, entrepreneurship was regarded as a mechanism of change. An entrepreneur was a person who had the ability to transform resources into unforeseen products and services. This perspective gave entrepreneurship a new dimension because it focused less on capital accumulation and more on novel combinations of existing or possessed resources (Schumpeter, 1934). By combining these factors, entrepreneurship could be defined as introducing new goods, markets,

sources of raw materials, modes of production, or organizational forms (Kirzner, 1973). In this conceptualisation, alertness to profit-making opportunities, which entrepreneurs discover and use, becomes important.

These largely economics-based approaches to definition and conceptualisation of entrepreneurship started to shift in the middle of the 20th century when scholars turned their attention to human and environmental factors for explaining entrepreneurial activity in addition to economic ones. For example, entrepreneurship was studied from a psychological perspective that compared entrepreneurs with other types of people, looking at the importance of psychological traits such as the need for achievement, the desire to accept responsibility in complex situations, and the willingness to accept risk under conditions of skill-based performance. Burns (2007: 11) says, 'Entrepreneurs use innovation to exploit or create change and opportunity for the purpose of making profit, and they do this by shifting economics resources from an area of lower productivity to an area of higher productivity and greater yield, accepting a high degree of risk and uncertainty in doing so'. The more recent multi-disciplinary perspective shows that entrepreneurship exists at all levels of an economy, including the entrepreneur, firm, industry, and system. The individual and the environment both participate in the formation of entrepreneurship (Venkataraman, 1997). Multiple research perspectives have contributed to the creation of knowledge in entrepreneurship research (Gartner, 2001). However, they also impede efforts to define a conceptual domain.

As entrepreneurship research developed within a multi-disciplinary paradigm, entrepreneurship conceptualizations formed sub-areas, which have developed as a result of the multi-disciplinary perspective (Welsch and Maltarich, 2004). However, as Bull and Willard (1993) assert, various theories of entrepreneurship do not rest on a defensible and distinctive theoretical base, and the field has been criticized for having an ill-defined paradigm (Shane and Venkataraman, 2000) and for an inability to create a balance between theory emergence and paradigmatic foundations (Bygrave and Hofer, 1991; Gartner, 2001). The various ranges of theories and frameworks that have emerged from the field of entrepreneurship have led its literature to become divergent; to this we must add the wide range of stakeholders

within the field with conflicting agendas and interests (Curran and Blackburn, 2001). According to Burns (2007: 11), since there are many different definitions and views for an entrepreneur, there is no one universal definition of an entrepreneur.

These factors contribute to the difficulty of creation of one robust theory of entrepreneurship, and as a result it becomes an ambiguous concept. It is important that research into the subject of entrepreneurship takes into account its ambiguity, complexity, and multi-disciplinary nature.

As seen, the concept applies to a broad inter-disciplinary theoretical sphere, and its definitions and implications have evolved over the years. The dynamic nature of the concept of entrepreneurship is reflected by the diversity of definitions and interpretations of the term and the fact that there is no universally accepted definition or unified theory of entrepreneurship. The practice of entrepreneurship takes a variety of forms, including serial entrepreneurship, high-technology firms, network marketing, social entrepreneurship, lifestyle entrepreneurship, franchising, EE, women in entrepreneurship, and so on. This broad range and heterogeneity could be related to the lack of a unique conceptual framework for entrepreneurship. The term entrepreneurship is used in conjunction with other concepts to seize its essence in different contexts and to specify its implications, applications, and characteristics in different conditions. At the same time, the emergence of these different branches of entrepreneurship shows the importance of the contexts, environments, and social structures within which these different forms of entrepreneurship take shape, since these contextual factors and environmental and social structures present different opportunities or obstacles to different entrepreneurs. Therefore, the scholars have narrowed down the study of entrepreneurship to its different branches to reduce the ambiguity associated with the concept and in order to attain a better understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. These different forms of entrepreneurship such as social, serial, lifestyle, or EE have been formed in an attempt to create a more detailed and precise knowledge that has the ability to explain and explore various dimensions and applications and implications of entrepreneurship. It has been a response by scholars to the heterogeneity and broad nature of entrepreneurship, since the recognition of this heterogeneity prevents researchers from being too general in

the study of entrepreneurship (Morrison, 1998). The sheer existence of these different fields of entrepreneurship indicates the importance of considering specific contextual factors such as groups of people; political, social, cultural, geographical, and historical contexts; and specific industry sectors within which the subject exists and performs.

A variety of social, political, and economic influences shape the complex environment of entrepreneurship, including cultural and ideological influences, the institutional environment, political intervention, and financial resources (Morrison 1998; Morrison et al., 1999). These influences can inhibit or encourage entrepreneurship. It is important to take note of these different social, political, and economic factors and conditions that either foster or impede the entrepreneurship phenomenon. Any attempt to understand and define entrepreneurship must encompass a broad range of this variety of influences that exist in an entrepreneur's social, political, and economic environment. As a result, a better understanding of this phenomenon requires considering different conditions, motives, and characteristics that may produce entrepreneurship in its various shapes and forms. As noted, entrepreneurship is affected by and connected with wider conditions, and as Verheul et al. (2002) point out its essences or determinants can change based on the specific sector of a particular industry or the entrepreneur as an individual. For example, Goffee and Scase (1985) suggest that it is important to consider broader social patterns when studying entrepreneurship and to observe that entrepreneurs may be more likely to appear from those groups in society that are marginal, including ethnic minorities and women, who are looking for ways to fulfil dreams that cannot be easily realised in other contexts.

As mentioned, EE has emerged as one of the branches of entrepreneurship research. EE conceptualisations have evolved based on the work different scholars. Ideas such as the value systems produced, the social structure of society, and the religious tenets were developed by early scholars (Butler and Greene, 1997). Simmel, in the late 1800s, is cited by Wolff (1950) as one of the early researchers into ethnicity and entrepreneurship. Weber (1905/2001) and Schumpeter (1934) also made outstanding

contributions in this area. EE research originates in the classic works of scholars such as Weber (1905/2001), Sombart (1914), and Simmel (1950). Simmel introduced the concept of the stranger as a trader and analyse the concept within the socio-political, religious and traditional context of societies. Simmel's concept influenced subsequent literature on EE.

EE is loosely defined as business ownership by ethnic-group members and immigrants (Light and Bonacich, 1988; Waldinger et al., 1990a). Ethnic group affiliation and the relationship of the ethnic group to the opportunity structure of the economy explain ethnic entrepreneurial outcomes (Waldinger et al. 1990b). Aldrich and Waldinger (1990) define the ethnic entrepreneurs as owner-managers of their own businesses who are characterised by their cultural heritage or racial origin. They are distinguished from others through that cultural trait, and their individual behaviour, social relations, and economic transactions are constrained by a specific social structure (Yinger, 1985). In the context of EE, 'ethnic' refers to 'a set of connections and regular patterns of interaction among people sharing common national background or migration experiences' (Waldinger et al., 1990b: 33). Ethnicity refers to a sense of kinship, group solidarity, common culture, and self-identification with an ethnic group (Hutchinson and Smith, 1996). In other words, 'self-identification with a particular ethnic group, or a label applied by outsiders' is perceived as ethnicity (Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990: 131). Ethnic 'social structures' refers to 'networks of kinship and friendship around which ethnic communities are arranged, and the interlacing of these networks with positions in the economy (jobs), in space (housing), and in society (institutions)' (Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990: 127). Therefore, in this perspective, the ethnic group is considered to be the central focus of EE studies. Accordingly, patterns of interaction between ethnic groups become important in the formation of theoretical frameworks that have attempted to explain this phenomenon.

According to Yinger (1985: 27), an ethnic group is 'a segment of a larger society whose members are thought, by themselves or others, to have 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'. The extent to which these cultural traits are influential in the formation and management of ethnic businesses has been the subject of numerous studies. Also, the ways of placement and settlement of these people in the new society and the different socio-political implications and complications have been the subject of other studies in the context of EE. Based on this, concepts such as ethnic economy, ethnic ownership, enclave economy, and middleman minority have formed different trends of research on EE, which will be discussed later.

'Ethnic entrepreneurs', 'immigrant entrepreneurs', and 'minority entrepreneurs' are terms often used when discussing non-Caucasian entrepreneurs. However, it is noteworthy to mention that the immigrant entrepreneurship and EE literatures often encompass each other. This is because these two terms often have been used as alternatives. Nonetheless, there is a fundamental difference between immigrant and ethnic, as immigrant excludes the people who have been living in another country but who have another origin. 'Immigrant' is used to explain conditions of life and business in the early stages of EE. 'Ethnic', on the contrary, does not exclude immigrant or minority groups. When ethnic as a prefix is added to the term entrepreneurship, at first sight it implies a kind of entrepreneurship that is distinguished by the identity or culture of the entrepreneur. It also connotes the distinguished pattern of entrepreneurship that is created through a different identity or culture. Consequently, the role of the entrepreneur becomes important in this regard.

Evidently, based on factors defining EE, this concept is formed around the ethnic entrepreneur, who is individually identified by the ethnicity factor, which is embedded in its various contexts and accordingly has different implications and functions in society. Different conceptualizations of EE in the literature are formed around this distinguishing factor of ethnicity and its different effects and influences in the creation and formation of ethnic minority businesses. Before engaging with a detailed review of the literature on theoretical conceptualizations of EE, it is beneficial to give an introductory account of the role and importance of EE in the

socioeconomic sphere of the host societies in order to understand the importance of studying this subject.

2.3 Introduction to EE

The impact of ethnic minority businesses on the economies of developed countries is evident in a large number of studies since the 1980s. For example, Blaschke et al. (1990) state that the presence of ethnic minorities is an apparent feature of advanced economies. Light (1984) points to over-representation of selected cultural minorities in self employment and its effects on the normal laws of social relationship in advanced societies. Barret et al. (1996) point to over-representation of ethnic minorities in small businesses since 1980 in the UK.

In Britain, ethnic diversity has a rather long history. Today British society consists of people with different historical and cultural backgrounds (Altinay and Altinay, 2008). Basu and Altinay (2002) suggest that this diversity is a result of immigrants and refugees who came to the UK either seeking economic opportunities or escaping from political and religious persecution in their countries of origin. These people have migrated in pursuit of a better life in the receiving society. They might be economic, political, or social migrants; however, the shared goal among all of them is achievement of a better lifestyle. Nonetheless, this is different from the notion of lifestyle migration in which a lifestyle migrant moves for a more relaxed and informal way of life (Rodriguez et al. 1998), escapes from a hectic life (Puzzo, 2007), or wishes to find better health, climate, and lifestyle (Casado-Diaz et al. 2004). Lifestyle migration implies an escape from 'the shallowness, individualism, risk and insecurity of contemporary (western) lifestyle in the perceived authenticity of meaningful places' (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009: 3). Conversely, these migrants migrate to the more developed countries as a result of an economic, social, or political necessity. Early studies in the EE field have shown a correlation between migration and high levels of self-employment and entrepreneurial activities (Bonacich and Modell, 1980). The effect of this on the economy, along with the

cultural and social effects of ethnic minorities on the host society, makes it an attractive subject to be further explored.

The changing industrial structure of Europe has encouraged the creation of SMEs, and this has also led to a better opportunity structure for ethnic business (Blaschke et al., 1990). In Britain as well, the number of small firms has grown, and a significant number of these small firms have been owned and managed by migrants or ethnic minority groups (Barret et al., 1996). During the 1980s, the British government promoted an enterprise culture to introduce entrepreneurialism as the national economic salvation (Keat and Abercrombie, 1991), and, with their high rates of self-employment, South Asians have been seen as embodying that 'enterprise culture' (Barret et al., 1996).

The literature shows that EE has become an inseparable feature of modern life in developed economies (Volery, 2007). The Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) study shows highly positive attitudes among ethnic minorities towards entrepreneurship in comparison with indigenous populations (Harding et al., 2005). NatWest (2000) and ONS (2001) show rapid growth of ethnic-minority-owned businesses in the UK over the last two decades. In 1999, the Bank of England stated that ethnic minorities have been responsible for about 10% of business start-ups, while comprising approximately 6.4% of the total population of Great Britain (ONS, 1999). It is also estimated that Britain's ethnic communities have an income of ten billion pounds per year (Natwest, 2000), which illustrates their economic significance. These figures show a greater propensity of ethnic minorities towards self-employment compared with their white counterparts.

Ethnic businesses employ over 200,000 people on a full- and part-time basis (DTI, SME Statistics for the UK, 1998). A large number of studies have pointed to the entrepreneurial renaissance that was seemingly led by racialised and displaced ethnic minorities (Ram and Jones, 1998; Ishaq et al., 2010). Basu (1998) indicates that an economically active South Asian is twice more likely to be an employer than is his or her average British counterpart. South Asians' quality and quantity of

entrepreneurship in Britain presented a prototype for other marginalised minority groups. The stories of success of some ethnic groups and the failure of others also contributed to the enthusiasm for studying EE. However, ethnic entrepreneurship is mostly associated with upward socioeconomic mobility by policy makers and academics and is often portrayed as a remedy for ethnic minority problems (Light, 1984; Portes and Zhou, 1992; Sanders and Nee, 1996; Waldinger et al., 1990).

More recent statistics also show the economic prominence of ethnic businesses in the UK. According to an HM Treasury report (2008), the self-employment rate of ethnic groups increased from 5.6% in 2002 to 7.1% in 2007, and ethnic minority self-employment is growing at a faster rate than among white groups (a rise of 69 percent since 2001, compared with a 9 percent rise for other white and British groups). There are an estimated 275,000 ethnic minority SMEs in the UK, contributing an estimated £20 billion to the UK economy per year—5 percent of total SME GVA (£369bn) (Department for Business Enterprise and Regulatory Reform, 2008). Ethnic minority businesses are responsible for 6 percent of the total SME population (218,0000) in the UK, comprising an increasingly diverse range of businesses (Fraser, 2005). They generated revenues of over £58 billion for the UK economy in 2004 and employed almost a million people (Fraser, 2005). In 2004 black and ethnic minority entrepreneurs started 50,000 new businesses—up a third from the figure in 2000 of 32,000—and they accounted for 11 percent of all new firms in 2005 (Osborne, 2005). In 2007, there were almost 330,000 self-employed ethnic minority people in the UK (HM Treasury report 2008).

Self-employed immigrants make a significant contribution to the UK economy and are highly concentrated in the hotel and restaurant industries, with 36 percent of all immigrants active in this sector (Dustmann et al., 2003). Atkinson and Hurstfield (2003) point to the popularity of the independent restaurant sector, including restaurants as well as take-aways and cafes, among ethnic minority businesses in the UK. Low skill requirements (Basu and Goswami, 1999), low financial start-up capital required compared with other sectors, and the cultural business traditions of

ethnic groups (Basu and Altinay, 2002) are low-entry-barrier factors, which make this sector attractive for immigrants.

Social roles and advantages of EE are among other reasons that attracted the attention of academics and policy makers. They have advocated self-employment among ethnic minorities and believe that it has helped marginalised people—i.e., the ethnic minorities—to integrate with the host society. It is believed that EE has a capacity to serve as a role model for aspiring entrepreneurs, that the entrepreneurial spirit is fostered through EE, and that prospective entrepreneurs are trained through this practice. According to Zhou (2007), there is a significant earnings advantage of self-employment over other forms of employment, in addition to other observable effects of human capital. Barret et al. (1996) view business ownership as one of the most significant means by which black communities can achieve a claim for full social membership. Several scholars have stressed the role of self-employment, which acts as an appropriate option over unemployment. They believe that self-employment creates job opportunities for the entrepreneur as well as for others, especially those in the ethnic group, for ethnic workers who otherwise are likely to be excluded by mainstream labour markets (Light et al., 1994). It also provides economic resources for the family, empowers group members with economic independence, and creates a viable path to social mobility for individual group members and their groups as a whole (Portes and Zhou, 1992; Light et al., 1994).

In addition to the above, a number of sociological research analyses since the 1980s (e.g. Portes and Jensen, 1987; Portes and Zhou, 1992) suggest that ethnic groups with a high rate of self-employment showed higher-than-average rates of intergenerational mobility in terms of educational and occupational mobility and also that their descendants benefited from higher-than-national-average individual and family incomes. Therefore, EE affects the economic prospects of in-group members as well as out-group members (Zhou, 2007). Evidently, EE has been given a heroic position, one with an idealized status that is considered the solution to the problem of ethnic people and migrants. This idealized image has prevented sufficient academic and policy attention to the source of the ethnic and migrant problems, including their

employment problems. Self-employment has become so romanticised and fantasised that instead of looking to eradicate the sources of the problems of upward social mobility and employment of these people, which could lead to creation of deserved jobs matching their human capital, self-employment is perceived as the best replacement for the lack of employment opportunities for migrants and ethnics and is viewed as equal to upward social mobility without further profound analysis of deeper dimensions of upward mobility.

It seems that most research on EE has focused on economic prospects and earnings and not on the sociology of these entrepreneurs and the non-economic dimensions and effects of EE. With EE bringing the mentioned economic benefits to the ethnic groups, it is worthwhile to investigate the particular lifestyle that is a consequence of EE and self-employment. This will help in the development of an insight for understanding different dimensions of EE. In order to be able to carry out this investigation, it is necessary to examine the existing literature on ethnic entrepreneurial studies to develop a conceptual framework for this research as well as highlighting the gaps.

Factors influencing the establishment of an ethnic enterprise are multifaceted and include education, generation, the local population, the economic situation, job opportunities, location, cultural and religious differences, and the origin country (Jones and Ram, 2010; Volery, 2007). Therefore, to understand the dynamism of EE, the definition and conceptual evolution of the topic will be examined. Thus, this research attempts to explore other dimensions of ethnic business ownership, especially those of a non-economic nature, and the effects of ethnic entrepreneurial activities on the lives of ethnic entrepreneurs in the host society.

The purpose of the next section is to present a review of the existing literature on EE and link the key concepts arising from the literature to the foci of this research project in order to inform the research process and highlight gaps within the literature of EE.

2.4 Conceptualisation of EE

2.4.1 Culturalist approach

Cultural traits of ethnic groups and their influence on the decision to enter self-employment have occupied a considerable space in this discussion and continue to occupy the research arena of the EE field. Business entry motivations of ethnic entrepreneurs and their impact on the business start-up and growth are discussed extensively in these studies (e.g., Basu, 2004; Basu and Altinay, 2002; Basu and Goswami, 1999). Culturalist approaches to EE give prominence to cultural characteristics of ethnic groups, looking at those attributes as pull factors towards self-employment and promoting the idea that cultural and social factors exert a crucial role in explaining growth in ethnic enterprises (Waldinger et al., 1990a). Max Weber (1905/ 2001) was the first to discuss the influence of culture on entrepreneurship. Based on his argument, Protestantism promoted a culture that encouraged individualism, motivation, achievement, rationality, legitimation of entrepreneurial vocations, asceticism, and self-reliance. According to Weber (1905/2001) this culture was a basic element of the spirit of modern capitalism; however, this rational individualism was not necessarily present in other spiritual traditions. Weber (1958) argues that Hinduism does not influence a culture of rational individualism due to its values of the cast system.

2.4.2 Ethnic resources in the culturalist approach

Cultural theory suggests that ethnic groups are equipped with culturally determined characteristics that help them in the creation and operation of new businesses. These theorists hold the opinion that specific ethnic groups are pulled towards entrepreneurship as a result of their cultural predispositions (for example, Gidoomal, 1997; Janjuha-Jivraj, 2003). Within the context of British studies of EE, the ethnic cultural resource approach was used in providing explanations for reasons underpinning Asian business dynamics (for example, studies of Punjabi-Sikhs by Helweg, 1986; and Gujerati-Hindus by Lyon, 1972). South Asians were seen as

entrepreneurial and as the manifestation of the 1980s enterprise culture, with an inherent characteristic for entrepreneurial activities (Patel, 1991). This view was continued through 1990s by studies that showed exceedingly high levels of business start-ups by South Asians, with Modood and Berthoud (1997) reporting that about one third of South Asian economically active people were self-employed.

Dedication to hard work, strong ethnic community inter-relations, economical living, acceptance of risk, compliance with social value patterns, solidarity and loyalty, and orientation towards self-employment are among those beneficial cultural features (Masurel et al., 2004). Fregetto (2004) suggests that an ethnic resource will be created as a result of these cultural or traditional traits, which facilitates and encourages entrepreneurial behaviour and supports the ethnic self-employed. Light and Bonacich (1988) point to the salient role of retention of cultural traditional values in the creation of ethic entrepreneurship and refer to it as 'acculturation lag'. Acculturation lag is defined as the interplay between the cultural baggage of the immigrants and the modern values of the receiving society, which is assumed to form a critical part of the production and genesis of ethnic businesses (Barret et al., 1996). It is argued that as a result of acculturation lag ethnic minorities usually have a higher level of relative satisfaction compared with the indigenous people; consequently, they are prepared to exploit opportunities that are rejected by locals (Light 1984: 199). It is suggested that through their family tradition in business, entrepreneurs acquire the necessary skills for business success (Basu and Goswami, 1999).

Cultural attributes of the entrepreneur such as language, religion, and education are important in developing entrepreneurial abilities and contributing to the survival of the entrepreneur's business (Altinay and Altinay, 2006; Basu and Altinay, 2002; Basu and Goswami, 1999). At the individual level, education has a positive impact on the development of entrepreneurial abilities, which in turn leads to business growth (Storey, 1994; Basu and Goswami, 1999; Smallbone and Wyre, 2000). It is suggested that a higher level of education enables the entrepreneur to communicate with and understand markets, including banks, suppliers, and customers (Altinay and

Altinay, 2008). Also, through English fluency it is easier to attract customers from the mainstream market, and it is also beneficial in gaining access to resources like business advice and start-up bank loans (Altinay and Altinay, 2008).

At the group level, a shared cultural identity strongly influences the formation of EE. Ethnic resources are available to ethnic entrepreneurs as a result of their ethnicity and are considered to form foundations of entrepreneurial activities. Diasporic cultural identity is viewed as a basis for resource mobilization networks that have the ability to pull together entrepreneurial resources (Light and Bonacich, 1988; Waldinger, 1990). Group-specific cultural repertoire, which is manifested in the form of imported cultural values, behavioural patterns, distinct group traits, social structures, collective resources, and coping strategies, become important in the resource model perspective. A shared identity and a powerful communal solidarity are viewed as characteristics of diasporic ethnic communities that are isolated in an alien new society, and the influence of culture on a variety of economic behaviour has been supported by the literature (e.g, managerial behaviour: Hofstede, 1980; championing behaviour: Shane, 1994; entrepreneurship: McGrath et al., 1992; Pio, 2010).

Social capital is perceived to be the most notable ethnic resource and contributor to the creation and success of ethnic businesses (Gonzalez-Alvarez and Solis-Rodriguez, 2011; Tolciu, 2011). According to Adler & Kwon (2002) the advantages derived from belonging to a specific ethnic group and its consequences such as ability to use co-ethnic networks enhance the start-up and business success of an ethnic business (e.g., Ram, 1994; Teixeira, 1998). Social networks comprise a central source of social capital; as a result, ethnic entrepreneurs often use their social networks extensively (for a review of the use of social capital in various ethnic groups, see Menzies et al., 2003).

These advantages act as social capital and include the use of co-ethnic employees, co-ethnic suppliers, co-ethnic markets, community, and family sources of capital, advice, and information (Jones and Ram, 2010). Social capital contributes to the

development of human capital (Portes, 1998) including education, experience, and the influence of the family. Social capital also influences financial capital—i.e., income level and wealth (Portes, 1998).

According to Waldinger (1994) a good social network compensates existing restricted opportunities in the new environment and acts as a facilitator of job search, hiring, recruitment, and, more importantly, exchange of information flows between newcomers and settlers. Bonacich and Modell (1980), in their study, point to host hostility and the importance of cultural strengths of ethnic groups as a reaction to this hostility in retaining them and keeping them within the new society.

The literature on the ethnic cultural resource approach and especially on the applications and implications of co-ethnic networks in EE was reviewed above. To sum up, the major focus of cultural approaches has been on the importance of ethnic culture in pulling ethnic entrepreneurs towards entrepreneurship and grasping the opportunity within the host society's market (Masurel et al., 2004). Relationships and connections with the ethnic community are strongly identifiable and a source of social capital (Greene and Butler 1996). Informal social networks play a key role in minority business success. Butler and Greene (1997) emphasises the importance of 'a community dimension inherent in the business creation process' and the 'significant contributions of community resources to the entrepreneurial activities of group members' (p. 281).

The next section engages with a critique of the culturalist approach and further conceptualizations of EE.

2.4.3 The push-pull dichotomy and critique of the culturalist approach

Criticism of cultural approach has been carried out on several grounds. The focus on 'pull factors' in EE research can be traced back to the1960s. For example, Glazer and Moynihan in 1963 suggested that in their quest for socioeconomic mobility as one of the most effective strategies, certain groups of ethnic minorities are more entrepreneurial and more likely than others to adopt self-employment in the small-

business context. While a large number of studies in the context of EE have emphasized the impact of ethnic culture on entrepreneurship and have highlighted the importance of values like thrift, close family and religious ties, and trust as factors that enable some immigrant groups to compete successfully in business (Section 2.4.2); others have concentrated on different sets of factors influencing EE formation. As ethnic resource cultural approaches advanced, the advocates of this approach started to avoid generalisation of ethnic cultural traits and to distinguish between different ethnic groups in terms of cultural characteristics and their impact on the dynamism of ethnic businesses. For example, contrast and comparison has been done in studies of Pakistanis and Indians, indicating the prominence of cultural features of one ethnic group over another in pulling them towards entrepreneurship. Metcalf et al.'s (1996) study asserts that Pakistanis are less successful in business growth than Indians in self-employment as a result of cultural factors.

It can be said that in explaining the process of formation of EE two major trends can be found in the literature. One is concentrated on push factors and the other is concerned with pull factors as business entry motivations. Cultural theory that focuses on pull factors in ethnic research is concerned with the advantage that ethnic and immigrant groups' culture provides them. However, controversy exists over whether ethnic minorities are pushed into entrepreneurship by negative social and job-market situations or pulled by positive motives and objectives. Care should be taken not to fall into the pool of stereotyping by giving all the credit of success of certain ethnic groups to their cultural characteristics, or by attribution of certain cultural characteristics to specific positive results in entrepreneurial activities. This is also in agreement with Jones et al. (1992), who question the uncritical categorization of underachievers (African Caribbean) and overachievers (Asians). Particular criticism is directed at the stereotypical judgments existing in its portrayals of African Caribbeans compared with Asians. The fallacy of ethnic exceptionalism is another criticism they make towards the culturalist approach. The fallacy of ethnic exceptionalism implies that many of the patterns that are attributed to South Asian ethnic culture and entrepreneurship are not exclusive to EE culture. On the contrary, they are products of a small-business-class culture (Mulholland, 1997).

The concept of multiple identities weakens the force of ethnicity as a strong determinant of one's identity. The idea of multiple identity looks at ethnicity as only one dimension among many other determinants of identity such as gender, generation, sexuality, occupation, and lifestyle (Gunaratnam, 2003; Modood and Berthoud, 1997). Also, the notion of ethnic identity has come under question (Hall, 1996; Gunaratnam, 2003) through studying and presenting issues such as inter-marriage and co-habitation.

In criticism of the cultural resource model, for example, Jones et al. (1994) argue that long hours of work undertaken by Asian businessmen compared with their white counterparts are due to the nature of their businesses (retail and food), which demand long working hours, rather than to cultural reasons and characteristics. However, it can be argued that the sheer presence of these ethnic groups in such hard and demanding businesses is a sign of their cultural characteristic of valuing work and providing for the family in spite of the hard working conditions.

Despite the existing literature (e. g. Janjuha-Jivraj, 2003), which demonstrates the presence of denser social networks among particular ethnic minority groups (Asians), Ram and Jones (2000) deem that ethnic social capital could be presented as a version of a universal theme. Further studies have applied the concept of social capital to ethnic businesses, indicating that enterprise is grounded in social relations and that social capital is not specific to ethnic enterprises and is instead a universal concept (Barbieri, 2003).

Another reason for questioning the credibility of the culturalist approach has been based on the logic that entrepreneurialism is primary and a necessary step for the immigrants to face the host society's labour-market conditions (mostly exclusion and the downfalls of migrant displacement). This view looks at ethnic businesses as a necessity that is more related to immigrant conditions than to ethnic conditions (Ram and Jones, 2007). These researchers suggest that ethnic identity becomes less prevalent as years pass and as the ethnic groups become more stabilised within the host community. EE is viewed as a transitional state that is part of the long process

of immigrant adoption into the new society. Ethnic entrepreneurial activity is perceived as a preliminary stage that makes the immigrants ready to move into professional mobility for later generations (Bonacich and Model, 1980).

2.4.4 Structuralist approach: Disadvantage theory and blocked mobilities

As seen, the culturalist approach is criticized for its ignorance of other factors that influence ethnic businesses (Jones and McEvoy, 1986; Jones et al., 1992; Ram, 1994; Virdee, 2006, Ram and Jones, 2007). On the other hand, the disadvantage theory focuses on push factors in creation and formation of ethnic entrepreneurship. The opportunity structures are those external factors that affect the business process. Market conditions, access to ownership, job-market conditions, and legal and institutional frameworks are among the opportunity structures. In order for an ethnic entrepreneur to respond to an open opportunity for creation of a new business, access to open markets, which are normally saturated and occupied by locals, is often difficult because of high entry barriers, on either a financial or knowledge basis (Volery, 2007). The opportunities that a co-ethnic market offers are limited, and an ethnic entrepreneur needs to face external market conditions to form and sustain a viable business in an alien environment. This requires different kinds of capital—i.e., human, social, and financial capital.

The advocates of push theory deem that ethnic businesses are a clear reaction to blocked opportunities in the labour market. Labour-market discriminations are considered as a cause for high rates of unemployment and the accordingly high levels of self-employment among ethnic minorities. According to Fregetto (2004) disadvantage theory implies that by nature immigration imposes significant disadvantages on immigrant group members that hamper them upon arrival but which at the same time steer their behaviour. Disadvantage theory suggests that self-employment is chosen by some individuals because they may have no other option. It suggests that immigrants are forced into self-employment in order to avoid being unemployed and that even after self-employment they face different obstacles such

as financial problems (Bruder et al., 2011). Additionally, racial discrimination in the labour market is considered to be another salient factor that pushes immigrants into self-employment (Wood and Davidson, 2011).

This perspective holds the idea that EE originates from a context of disadvantage (Muhammad et al. 2011; Omar, 2011), and that speculations on 'culture' and so-called ethnic resources do not explain EE as well as the 'opportunity structure' (Jones et al., 1992). Those members of ethnic groups who do not have real opportunity to become employed are 'pushed' into self-employment, in contrast to individuals who are 'pulled' into self-employment, possibly from an employee status, attracted by potential benefits such as the independence that it offers (Borooah and Hart, 1999). Therefore, lack of mobility due to poverty, discrimination, and limited knowledge of the local culture can be other reasons for ethnic minorities to seek self-employment. However, Ram and Jones (2006) argue that as time passes and ethnic minorities become more settled in the country of destination they acquire more socioeconomic and human capital and move from businesses of necessity to businesses of choice.

Socioeconomic disadvantages faced by ethnic minorities are explained by scholars in terms of economic, social, and human capital. Economic capital is a requirement for business creation, and ethnic minorities in particular are faced with financial barriers since they generally come from a disadvantaged background and get low-paying jobs in the host society (NEP, 2005; Omar, 2011; Ram and Smallbone, 2003; Cabinet Office 2001, 2003). As discussed in the previous section, social capital is needed for ethnic minorities to take advantage of formal and informal networks in findings jobs or forming new businesses (Abu-Asbah, and Heilbrunn, 2011; Lin, 2001; Li, 2005; Zhou, 2005).

Higher levels of human capital are perceived to have a positive relationship with higher levels of social and economic capital. This is also one of the disadvantages of ethnic minority groups since newcomers often do not possess the required level or type of human capital that is relevant in the host country or their experiences and

expertise are not easily transferred to the new environment (Muhammad et al., 2011; Lin, 2001; Li et al., 2005). The disadvantage theory suggests that lack of human capital such as language skills, education, expertise, and related experience is a barrier for ethnic minorities to obtain employment and salary jobs, leaving self-employment as a logical or sometimes as the only choice. Immigrants with limited English proficiency become self-employed for different reasons, especially in a hostile societal reception context.

At the societal level, Zhou (2007) comments that discrimination and racial exclusion build up structural barriers that prevent immigrants and ethnic minorities from competing with the locals on an equal basis in the mainstream economy. Clark and Drinkwater, (1998) point to the covert or overt discrimination that ethnic minorities face in the labour market and view self-employment a result of that discrimination. Immigrants either take jobs that locals are not happy to take or carve out market niches for themselves, meeting the potential demands for products and services unmet by the mainstream economy. Mata and Pendakur (1999) suggest that ethnic minorities or immigrants choose self-employment in greater proportion than natives as a result of discrimination in the larger labour market and human capital depreciation and disadvantages. It is believed that discrimination in different areas has a ripple effect. For example, Kon and Storey (2003) refer to discouraged borrowers as people with reasonable business proposals who fail to seek finance from banks because they believe that their application will be rejected. Women and ethnic minorities are among this group. This situation is maximized as a result of the hyper-cyclical nature of unemployment (Heath and Cheung, 2007). This means that at the times when general rates of unemployment are high members of ethnic groups suffer from this disproportionately more, such as in the mid-1980s and early 1990s (Li and Heath, 2007).

The structuralist approach criticises the ethnic resource approach because of its downplaying of the important role of the political and economic factors which influence ethnic business creation (Jones et al., 1992; Ram, 1992, 1994; Virdee, 2006). Jones et al. (1994) comment on the issue of necessity versus opportunity in

ethnic business formation, indicating that EE is a result of necessity rather than being a positive choice made by entrepreneurs. Virdee (2006) also views Asian business ownership as a consequence contextual necessity rather than an indication of economic advancement.

2.4.5. Criticism of the structuralist approach and the disadvantage theory

Within the structurlaist perspective, it is believed that in the case of ethnic minority business owners, 'class' resources are arguably of more importance than so-called 'ethnic' resources. Class resources refer to the possession of capital and educational qualifications, together with related intangibles such as self-confidence and communications skills (Light and Bonacich, 1988). These assets, rather than cultural traits, account for the differing experiences of ethnic minority communities in self-employment (Ram and Jones, 1998). Ram and Jones (2003) point to growth of higher educational qualification levels of Chinese and Indians (rising human capital of ethnic minorities) as a cause of Asian youth not being willing to continue family businesses. They indicate that this leaves the field less crowded for those potential entrepreneurs who are not choosing self-employment as a result of disadvantage, and this shifts ethnic entrepreneurs' position from entrepreneurs of necessity to entrepreneurs of opportunity.

This argument could be criticized in a number of ways. As Mascarenhas-Keyes (2006, in Hussain et al., 2008) point out, this is not true in the case of Pakistanis, and therefore what happens with Indians and Chinese cannot be generalised to other ethnicities. Second, this argument seems to be pointed at older immigrants whose second generations have reached the age of entering the market or university. There is an ongoing trend of immigration into the UK from Eastern European and Middle Eastern countries. These groups of immigrants are first generations who arrive and mostly start their businesses in labour-intensive sectors like catering as a necessity. So, the shift from necessity to opportunity is not applicable to all immigrants, particularly those who have recently immigrated. Third, overcrowding of the field does not necessarily prevent the newcomers from opening up new businesses.

Generally, in criticising the sturcturalist approach which stresses on necessity and push factors some questions arise, such as: Would ethnic entrepreneurs choose employment if they are presented with employment opportunities? Or would ethnic entrepreneurs give up their self-employment to become employed if they were presented with employment opportunities?

Besides, lack of mobility and human capital cannot be generalized and are not equally applicable to all members of all ethnic groups. Among immigrants there are highly educated individuals who are going through either self-exile or fleeing from their homelands as a result of the difficult political and economic situations. For example, in the case of Iranians, according to the International Monetary Fund, the Islamic Republic of Iran ranks first in 'brain drain' among 61 developing and less-developed countries, and an estimated 25 percent of all Iranians with post-secondary education live abroad in developed countries of the OECD. However, these groups of ethnic minorities do not lack human capital in terms of education or language skill; they choose self-employment as a result of market situations in the host countries— for example, lack of appropriate job vacancies that match with their qualifications.

Despite the structuralist trends, which tend to overlook the role of cultural factors and their importance, the ethnic cultural approach is a part of ongoing research on EE (see Dana, 2007). For example, in more recent studies, Altinay (2008) and Basu and Altinay (2002: 373) point to the influence of the cultural propensity of some ethnic groups to engage in entrepreneurship. Altinay (2008) comments in spite of the significance of the entrepreneurial behaviour of ethnic minority firms, the previous literature continues to be vague and incomplete. Altinay's study (2008) revealed that the cultural backgrounds of the ethnic minority business owners play an equally important role in EE. Basu and Altinay's (2002) study aims to contribute to our understanding of the interaction between culture and entrepreneurship through answering the question of how the cultural attributes of different ethnic groups affect their entrepreneurial behaviour.

Informal institutions, including the norms, beliefs, values, and similar conventions, shape socio-cultural relations within a society (North, 1990). Even if ethnic

businesses are going to be studied in a wider context of small businesses, culture still is an important and decisive factor. Culture may be defined as a set of shared values, beliefs, and norms of a group or community (Basu and Altinay, 2002). Hoftstede (1991: 5) defines culture as 'a collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another'. In this perspective, culture is viewed as a collective phenomenon that is formed by individuals' social environments, and values are perceived to be a critical feature of culture and cultural distinctiveness. Therefore, national, regional, ethnic, social class, religious, gender, and language variations become the roots of cultural differences. The significance of culture questions the wholesomeness of the structuralist approach.

Also, the critical role of culture should not be overlooked, due to a major characteristic of small businesses, which is the prominence of the business owner-managers and their influence in all aspects of business (Tipu and Arain, 2011). Is ethnic enterprise just a small business, or is it a distinct phenomenon with cultural importance that fuels entrepreneurial activities? Critiques of this perspective indicated that the unfavourable elements of the external structural capitalist environment towards all small firms (Barrett and Rainnie, 2002). Generally, the small-business literature shows the critical role of owner-managers' perspectives and values in business entry motives, start-up, business objectives, business strategies, business management and growth, and success (e.g, Lumpkin and Dess, 1996). A small firm is an extension of the individual entrepreneur, and therefore it is influenced by the inherent characteristics of the entrepreneur. Small firms' orientations are grounded in the values, intentions, and actions of the individual who is in charge (Voss et al., 2011). Therefore, in examining small-scale businesses it is necessary to give weight to the significant role of the entrepreneur who owns and manages the business and has absolute control over the strategies and operations of the business.

An entrepreneurial process involves recognition, evaluation, and exploitation of opportunities. The entrepreneur as an individual plays a major role in this process, as he or she is the one who has to have the ability to recognize the opportunity and evaluate it and the capability to exploit and implement the visions. Therefore, the

role of the entrepreneur should not be overlooked in the entrepreneurial process. Thus, the ethnic dimension becomes important in the ethnic entrepreneurial process. The ethnicity factor encompasses the aspects relevant to formation and execution of ethnic business. Nonetheless, the effect that the ethnicity factor exerts on entrepreneurship can vary, and it is based on several variables, such as the cultural differences between host and home society, and following this, the discrimination the entrepreneur is subjected to (religious, social class, racial, sectarian), the level and progression of the social integration of the ethnic group, the experience gained in the new society, age and gender, and the education level of the entrepreneur.

Based on the above, the role of the owner-manager becomes more significant in the context of EE studies as a result of the cultural baggage the entrepreneurs carries. It seems that criticism of the cultural approach fails to recognize the strength of ethnic cultural properties that condition the way the entrepreneurs live and that these cultural features do not easily change over time. The windows through which they look at the world and see and perceive the world are different from those of mainstream small-business owner-managers. Ethnic entrepreneurs have totally different value systems and understanding of cultural factors is a great facilitator in a better understanding of EE. Therefore, it is deemed simplistic to dismiss the effect of cultural characteristics of ethnic groups on their business life in the host society at the expense of disadvantages and blocked mobilities faced by them.

2.4.6 Interactive model

Waldinger et al. (1990a) conceptualised a model which suggests that in the formation and development of EE it is not appropriate to consider a single characteristic as being responsible for the success of an ethnic group. This model is called the interactive model, which highlights the interplay between internal ethnic resources and the external commercial environment in conditioning ethnic business outcomes. Business entry decisions of ethnic entrepreneurs are affected by both cultural factors and structural opportunity factors (Putz, 2003). In this perspective, it is not logical to give the whole responsibility for formation of EE to only cultural or structural

factors. It is in fact a combination of both factors that helps in a better understanding of a complex phenomenon like EE business-entry decision making. The importance of the context of immigration and alien status in signifying and highlighting ethnic identity is indicated by Jones and McEvoy (1986: 199): 'the very act of transferring to a new society with alien customs and incomprehensible language is in itself likely to heighten awareness of one's own cultural national identity.'

The interactive model gives prominence to the complex interaction that exists between the opportunity structures and cultural resources of a group (Piperopoulos, 2010). Ethnic entrepreneurs' strategies are affected by both of these dimensions. In this model, the opportunity structures, such as market conditions and job market situations, and the ethnic group characteristics determine the ethnic strategies, and these factors together influence the entrepreneurship process. Accordingly, the success or failure of an ethnic business depends on a set of different internal and external factors.

The structural problems ethnic entrepreneurs encounter include the gathering of information, capital, training and skills, human resources, customers and suppliers, competition, and the political situation (Boissevain et al., 1990). The other side of the interactive model engages with cultural resources shared by ethnic people of the same origin. However, advocates of this model do not overemphasize the role of cultural recourses. Ethnic social capital (ethnic network) and its constant interaction with opportunity structures influence ethnic strategies in the job market and can contribute to improvement in some aspects of the opportunity structure.
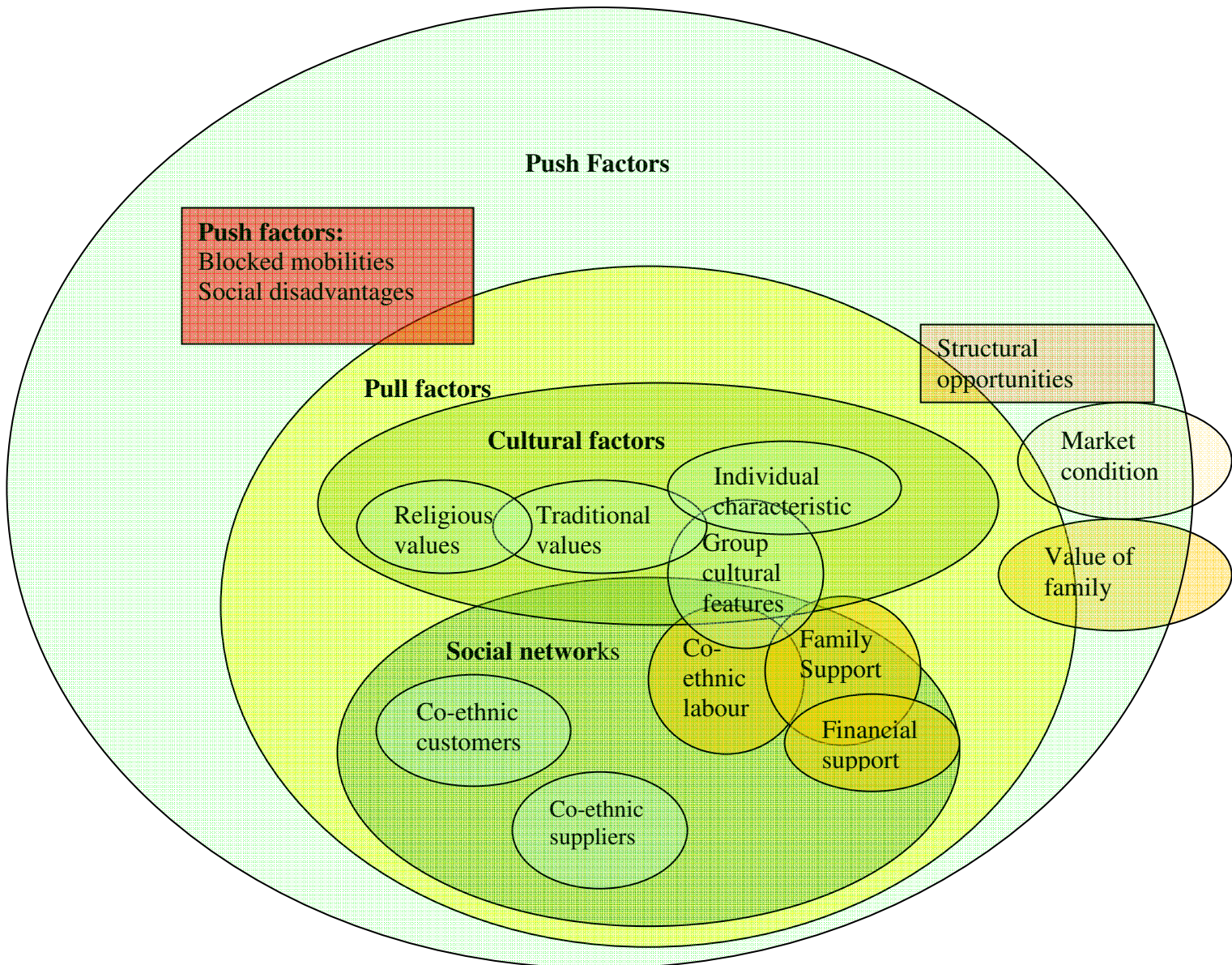
Figure 2.1. Push-Pull dichotomy in creating EE.

Source: Own figure.

2.4.7 Mixed embeddedness

In moving away from pure cultural determinism in the area of EE, the notion of mixed embeddedness is important as a recent evolution of the interactionist model. Mixed embeddedness (Kloosterman and Rath, 2003) gives credit to ethnic social capital but it views these businesses as formed by a wider political economy. In this

perspective, the state regulatory regime becomes important as one of the factors that affect ethnic minority businesses. Mixed embeddeness enables the explanation of the difference in quantity of ethnic businesses in the deregulated systems of Britain and North America and those of highly regulated regimes of mainland Western Europe (Kloosterman and Rath, 2003). Issues such as informal economy activities (invisible, underground, undeclared economic activities) in some western European countries (Williams, 2006) and the impact of national minimum wage in the UK on such activities are also concerns of researchers engaged with the mixed embeddedness subject. Barrett et al. (2003, in Kloosterman and Rath, 2003) argue that while the neo-liberal deregulated regime in Britain favours large quantities of ethnic businesses, the quality of the vast majority of them remain open to question.

The mixed embeddedness model tries to give a wholesome picture of the development of EE by recognizing the strong influence of the structures of a local economy and legal-institutional factors on the formation and existence of the small-business economy in general (Jones and Ram, 2010; Volery, 2007). Razin (2002) suggests that the influence exerted by these factors on the access of ethnic minority groups or immigrants to small business is even greater. Razin and Light (1998) provide evidence for spatial variations among the same ethnic groups and variations between different ethnic groups in the same economic milieus. The local influence is determined by the local economy structure and also by the characteristics of the local ethnic community—e.g., discrimination through the absorbing environment and through the local community. In this regard, the specific location of ethnic networks becomes important. Based on this view, therefore, opportunities should be analysed on a national, regional, and local level (Boissevain et al., 1990).

In their study of Asian businesses in the clothing and catering sectors, Jones et al. (2006) show the instability of these businesses in terms of economic returns. Consequently, these businesses have to use sub-NMW and recruit illegal immigrants for cost-cutting purposes (Jones et al., 2004). Research also has highlighted the growing number of ethnic businesses in higher-value sectors such as IT, healthcare, and broadcasting over the past decade in the UK (Ram et al., 2003). However,

despite this shift to non-labour-intensive businesses, based on more recent surveys, ethnic minority businesses are still heavily concentrated in marginal labour-intensive activities (Mascarenhas-Keyes, 2006, in Hussain et al., 2008; Virdee, 2006). It is true that there have been some changes in the sectors that ethnic minorities have been traditionally involved in; however, this seems to be true mostly for the more established groups of ethnic minorities. The UK is constantly experiencing newly immigrated groups, and labour-intensive sectors such as catering and retail have continued to be attractive options for new immigrants.

The business sector is considered in different studies to be an important factor for growth (see Storey, 1994; Wagner, 1995). Low barriers to entry with regard to required capital and educational qualifications, small-scale production, labour-intensity, and low added value/high competition are among characteristics of a typical ethnic market.

Consequently, to survive in the face of fierce competition informal economic and human resource practices are applied by ethnic entrepreneurs. Rath and Kloosterman (2002) point to the presence and application of informal practices such as non-payment of taxes, ignoring labour regulations and minimum wages, and employing children and immigrant workers without documents. As discussed before, the lack of human capital is viewed as one of the main reasons for concentration of ethnic businesses in labour-intensive sectors; however, this assumption cannot be simply generalised for all ethnic minorities, and further research needs to be done to clarify whether this is the case for all ethnic minority groups who are engaged in low-barrier sectors. The present research attempts to tackle this issue.

The mixed-embeddedness approach has been increasingly influential in the UK (Jones et al., 2002; Peters, 2002), as evidenced in recent research projects on ethnic minority businesses and employment relations (Edwards and Ram, 2006), the informal economy (Jones et al., 2006), and market diversification (Ram et al., 2003). However, the validation of this model has not gone beyond descriptive case studies,

and it is still in the experimental phase. Figure 2.2 shows the different layers of the mixed-embeddedness model.

State regulatory system

Opportunity structures

Group cultural characteristics

Individual characteristics
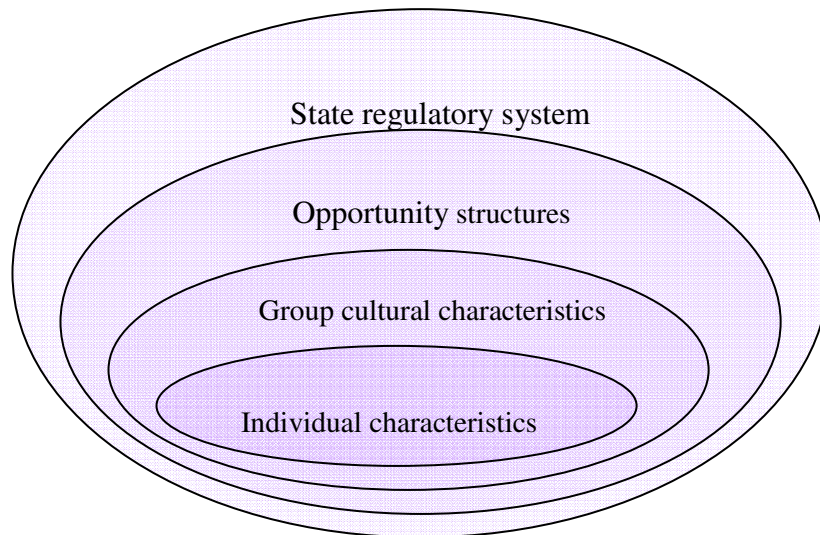
Figure 2.2. Mixed embededness
Source: Own figure.

The following framework (figure 2.3) emerged from the literature review and shows different conceptualisations of EE within the literature:
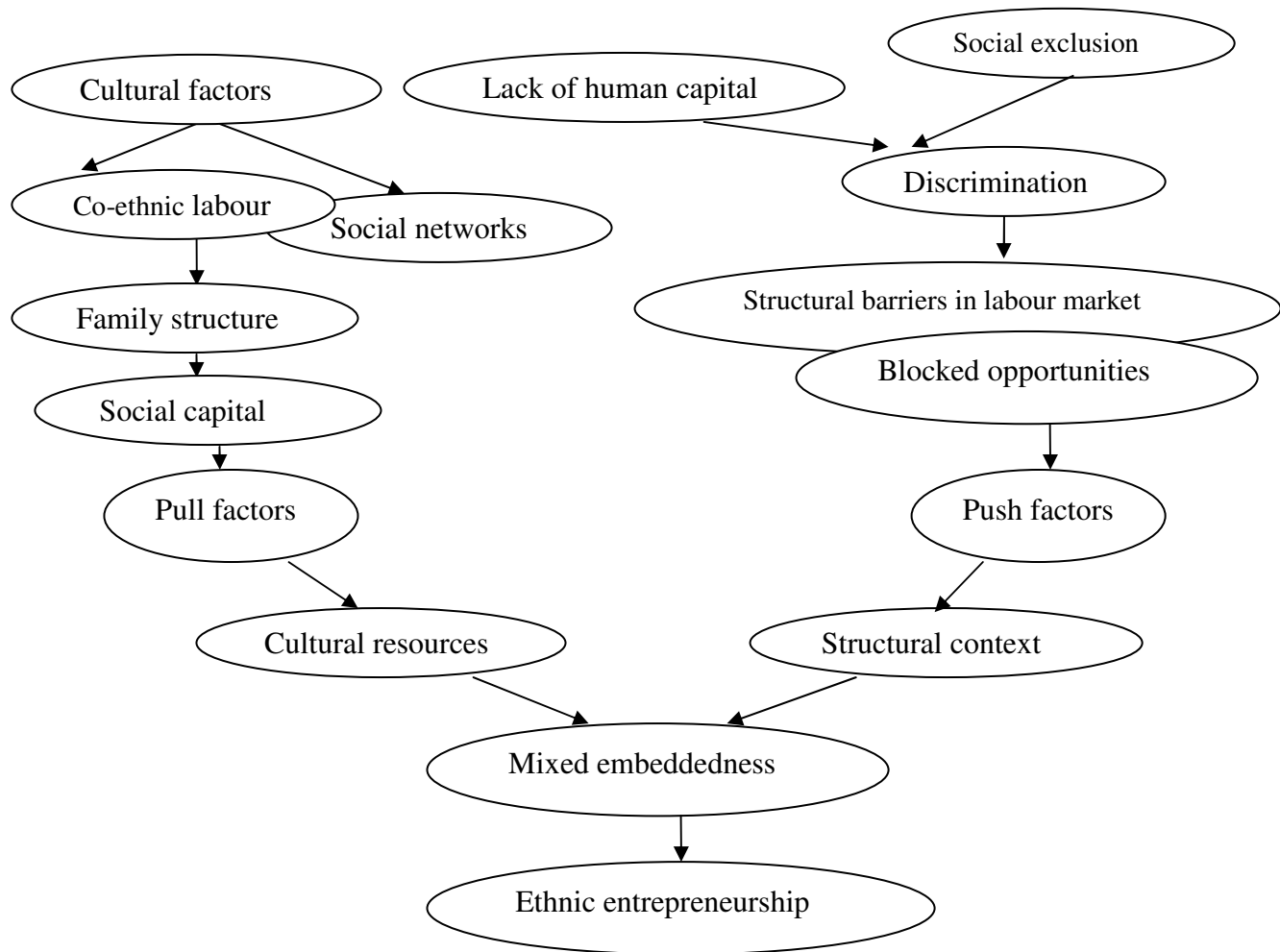
Figure 2.3. Theoretical conceptualisations of EE.
Source: Own figure.

A review of the key concepts and evolution of EE conceptualisations were presented before. As seen these conceptualisations are mainly focused on the issues related to the formation and creation of EE. This leaves a gap in literature. There is a need to study different implications, roles and meanings of EE to facilitate better understanding of the phenomenon (section 2.5.3). A critique of the literature is presented in the next section, which highlights the gaps and discusses the direction of the research in reaching the research aims and objectives.

2.5. Critique of literature: Putting EE in context

2.5.1 Connecting EE with the broader literature: Migrant studies

Seemingly, the EE literature lacks an intellectual integration with its wider context, namely the migrant integration literature and the entrepreneurship literature. Putting the EE literature in its wider context and studying it from external perspectives could be helpful in the creation of knowledge in this field. Ram and Jones (2007) deem that the EE field needs to take advantage of the mainstream literature and that future studies perhaps could benefit from broader literatures and disciplines than hitherto has been the case. The present research attempts to show the importance of context, including industry sector, cultural context of the specific ethnic group, and the socio-political contexts of pre-migration and after migration. It tries to show that to a great extent the context, such as industry sector, defines the characteristics and processes of EE and the meanings and roles it holds for ethnic entrepreneurs.

In an attempt to explore and uncover the complex dynamics of the phenomenon of EE, this research connects EE with the wider sociological literature such as the migrant integration literature. It also converges EE with the sociological and managerial aspects of hospitality research and gives the study of EE a specific sector and contextual focus in an attempt to show the essential importance of the industry context in explaining EE, its meanings, and its roles in the worlds of ethnic entrepreneurs. The following discussion presents a review of the migrant integration literature and development, and the evolution of its key concepts throughout the past decades, to show the complexity of this social concept in a society that is increasingly shaped by migration in contemporary times.

Social issues of ethnic minorities and migrants such as social exclusion/inclusion, integration, and assimilation of these groups into the host society are multifaceted and complex, and these aspects need to be tackled from a variety of perspectives. With the high rates of immigration and rising populations of ethnic minorities, the concepts of social inclusion and integration of ethnic minorities have attracted the

attention of academia and policy makers (Silver, 1994; Hills et al., 2002). The concept of integration of ethnic minorities and migrants into the host society has gained importance among most European countries. Through investigation of the ways they looked at the issue of minority integration in the past, Europeans have been trying to reach a better understanding of the complexities of integration in order to alter their policies to avoid some of the problems exhibited in immigrant and minority communities today. Social exclusion and issues of racism and discrimination are issues of significance for the EU, as evidenced in part by the passage of the European Union's Racial Equality Directive in 2000. In the European Commission's agenda on social inclusion, the social integration of ethnic minorities and new migrants is central (Racial Equality Directive 2000/43/EC and 2000/87/EC). In line with this agenda, the EU has also developed *A Common Agenda for Integration* (the Commission of the European Communities, 2005). In the context of the UK as well, all forms of social injustice are among the concerns of government policies (for example, Cabinet Office, 2001, 2003) since discrimination as a source of social exclusion and injustice causes social disorder and conflict, and as a result is an impediment to the economic and social development of society.

Immigration and ethnic minority research is rather underdeveloped from a theoretical point of view. Instead, it has been largely data driven (Portes, 1997). Assimilation and integration have often been used as synonyms in the literature. However, the contested nature of these concepts has been examined in the literature (e.g., Alba and Nee, 1997; Heckmann and Schnapper, 2003). In the classical paradigm of assimilation theory, assimilation is about immigrants' adaptation to the institutions and culture of their country of residence. Assimilation denotes the total adaptation of ethnic minorities and migrants to all levels of the receiving society. However, concept of integration does not comply with this understanding.

The cultural identity of ethnic minorities and migrants is recognized in the discourse of integration by acknowledging that migrants live with a set of cultural values, social expectations, and patterns of human interaction shaped by more than one economic, social, and political system (Glick, 2003). Berry (2001) perceives

integration as engagement with other groups, which goes hand-in-hand with the preservation of some distinctive cultural traits. Integration is concerned with opening the space for minority ethnic inclusion while maintaining social diversity in the receiving society. Integration is a two-way process and is dependent not only on adaptation by minority ethnic groups but on the receiving society as well (Alba and Nee, 1997; Brubaker, 2001). Integration is a process through which the 'differences between the ethnic/racial groups and the reference population gradually decline across a range of domains, including the housing and job market, education, social and cultural differences, and racial "othering" and exclusion' (Bolt et al., 2009:172).

Integration is a complex concept whose complexity is inherent in its different dimensions, such as the socioeconomic, legal, political, and cultural aspects of the process of integration (Entzinger and Biezeveld, 2003). The idea of social integration entails some fundamental issues such as how the process of integration takes place. Representation of minority ethnic groups in dominant political discourse as outsiders is a salient issue in this regard. If the popular perception of the society is one of alienation and otherness towards these groups, then integration through social mixing becomes a far-reaching goal. Alexander (2002) points to the fact that Muslim minorities are widely depicted as 'alien others' in Western European societies. The importance of this issue is reflected in different European Union documents such as the report of European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (2006), which considers the condition of Muslims in the Europe and discusses issues of discrimination and Islam phobia. In addition, the use of the term 'ethnic' itself seems problematic, in that it may imply and reinforce differences in a negative way, consequently not emphasizing multiple centricities. Therefore, in the findings of this research the term 'migrant' is used instead of 'ethnic'.

The process of integration of minorities in the UK intends to promote ethnic inclusion while maintaining social diversity. Good community relations, eliminating barriers to inclusion and commitment to multiculturalism are grounded in the ideal notion of balancing difference and equality in an inclusive society and responding to cultural diversity (Ratcliffe, 2004). However, if the complexities of the issue of

integration of ethnic minorities are to be properly addressed, then there is a need for a better and deeper understanding of the meaning of integration for minorities. Therefore, minorities' understandings of integration and of how and where they position themselves socially, culturally, and politically are important.

Dealing with problems of social exclusion needs to be done through respecting the diversity of ethnic minority groups within the UK. Acknowledging this diversity leads to understanding of their different worldviews and needs for integration. The focus of this research is on migrant entrepreneurs as socio-cultural actors in their countries of residence. The issues of social inclusion and integration of migrants and ethnic minorities have sector-specific, geographic, cultural, familial, educational, and labour-market dimensions. Self-employment in the form of EE is not capable of dealing completely with these multi-dimensional social issues. Diagnosis of self-employment as a convenient means for social inclusion is insufficient. Indeed, it worth investigating whether and to what extent EE itself becomes a facilitator or a barrier to the social inclusion of ethnic minority group members. This research through a phenomenological analysis of EE in a specific context, attempts to examine the idealized image of EE promoted by conventional research and policy making.

2.5.2. Critique of the fundamental conventional assumption of EE literature: EE as social salvage mechanism

With the high rates of immigration and rising populations of ethnic minorities in the West, academia and policy makers (for example, Silver, 1993; Hills et al., 2002) have paid more attention to the concepts of social inclusion and integration of ethnic minorities. Madanipour et al. (1998, p. 2) note that social exclusion is a multi-dimensional process 'with a combination of various forms of exclusion, including participation in decision making and political processes, access to employment and material resources, and integration into common cultural processes. The combination

of these creates acute forms of exclusion that find a spatial manifestation in particular neighbourhoods'.

EE has been celebrated by policy makers and academics as a significant facilitator of economic security for ethnic minorities in the receiving society (Chaganti and Greene, 2002). Within the European sphere in recent years, issues of social inclusion/exclusion have been a focus of social policy discussions, and the European Commission has recognized entrepreneurship and social exclusion as key constituents of its social policy (Commission of the European Communities [COM], 2002; Entrepreneurship Action Plan—Commission of the European Communities, 2004) . Entrepreneurship in this action plan is recognized to be a means for social cohesion and personal development:

While data for the EU as a whole is not available, statistics from several member states indicate that proportionately more migrants and members of ethnic minorities than nationals start small businesses. It is important that policies to encourage entrepreneurship in Europe take full account of the entrepreneurship potential represented by this group. Support measures and policy initiatives should help to overcome the specific barriers which might discourage migrants and members of ethnic minorities to become entrepreneurs (http://ec.europa.eu/enterprise/policies/sme/promoting-entrepreneurship/migrants-ethnic-minorities/). The mere overwhelming presence of ethnic minorities in entrepreneurship (Hammarstedt, 2004) is considered as a positive factor that needs to be supported by policy without deep analysis of the reasons for ethnic self-employment or the role of entrepreneurship in specific sectors in the lives of ethnic minorities.

Not only in Europe but also in the UK, EE is viewed as the remedy. Within the context of the UK, encouragement of business start-up among ethnic minority members of the society has been evident in the small-firm policy agenda since the 1980s. Small business and entrepreneurship have been viewed as a means for increasing inclusion and confronting social exclusion, including different types of

social disadvantages of ethnic minorities. For example, the UK Secretary of State for Trade and Industry has emphasized the role of enterprise in overcoming problems related to social exclusion, stating that social exclusion is one of the most important contemporary issues of Europe. He said that to ensure a more genuinely inclusive society issues of discrimination that the marginalized or excluded groups in society are faced with need to be tackled (Parliament Publications, 2000).

There are numerous governmental policies and initiatives that view enterprise as a decisive resource for confronting the problem of social exclusion. The government is committed to endorsing entrepreneurship among ethnic minority groups. This is also evident within the more recent governmental policies. According to the Social Exclusion Unit of the government, social exclusion occurs where there is a combination of interlinked social problems ranging from unemployment to low income and poor skills, high-crime environments and poor housing, bad health, and family breakdown (Social Exclusion Unit, Cabinet Office, 2001: 10). Another Cabinet Office strategy document (Cabinet Office, 2003: 94) also points to the relationship between confronting social exclusion and self-employment. In 2004, the Social Exclusion Unit Report states that 'increasing levels of enterprise and economic activity go hand in hand with tackling poverty, unemployment and social exclusion' (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister [ODPM], 2004: 106).

One of the aims of the Small Business Service (SBS) is stated to be the realization of 'the potential of small business to contribute to reducing social exclusion and increasing productivity and economic growth' (SBS, 2004: 29). The government's main objective in encouraging more enterprise in disadvantaged communities and under-represented groups is to increase the overall rate of business start-up and growth. This objective forms part of a wider government agenda to address social exclusion, whether it is caused by lack of access (disadvantage) or a lack of resources (deprivation) (SBS, 2004: 54; brackets in original). Improving the socioeconomic conditions of the ethnic minorities 'through entrepreneurship and upward social mobility is not only an issue of social justice and civic liberty, but is concerned with the economic stability, development, and prosperity of all members in the society' (Li, 2007: 6).

However, it should be noted that high levels of self-employment of some ethnic groups should not be seen as an unqualified indicator of 'upward mobility' (Ram and Jones, 2007). For instance, evidence indicates that many Asian entrepreneurs are concentrated and stuck in highly competitive and unstable market niches (lower-order sectors like catering, retailing); are under-capitalised; work for long, unsociable hours, intensively utilising familial and co-ethnic labour; and are struggling to survive in hostile inner-city environments (e.g, Curran and Blackburn, 1993; Ram and Jones, 2007). In addition, many ethnic minorities, particularly the newcomers, tend to work in their co-ethnic businesses for below minimum national wages (Ram and Jones, 2006). This illustrates a high quantity of enterprises but low quality in terms of turnovers and growth among ethnic entrepreneurs.

Evidently, academic and policy research in EE has been mostly informed by the above-mentioned assumption and within a positivist framework that attempts to explain rather than to criticize the dominant order. Ram and Jones (2007) comment that UK research on ethnic minority business tended to be strongly engaged with explaining and describing the extraordinarily prominent presence of ethnic communities originating in the Indian sub-continent in self-employment. As reviewed earlier, generally the bodies of literature and policy are focused on issues related to conceptualisation of the creation of EE and to promotion of policies of entrepreneurship among ethnic groups, without questioning more deeply the mere existence, functions, and implications of EE in ethnic minority lives, and indeed in the wider society. As a result of this focus on conceptualisation of creation and development of EE, less research is carried out on the social, cultural, historical, and political dimensions of EE, and consequently on the meanings and implications of entrepreneurship for ethnic minorities and its role in building their social, familial, and personal worlds.

Since promotion of business ownership underpins ethnic social neo-liberal policy initiatives, it is beneficial to explore the limitation of EE as a vehicle for eradication of social problems of ethnic minorities in the receiving society. Begg (2002) asserts

that social exclusion is a complex phenomenon that is weakly understood but that does have connections with the process of labour-market change and the education system. There is a need to question deeper dimensions of this relationship, to recognize its limitations, and to investigate the extent to which this idea holds true in the real lives of these marginalized groups. To achieve the above, this research explores the issue from the perceptions of these people based on their self-definitions of their situations. Despite the centrality of small businesses in the rhetoric and substance of social inclusion policy, the evidence of the ability of business ownership and small employers to contribute significantly to tackling social exclusion remains thin on the ground (ODPM 2003).

Therefore the present study attempts to present a critical analysis of the role of EE in the social and personal worlds of ethnic group members including their integration in the host society. This analysis is driven by the uncritical and unequivocal policies that advocate that entrepreneurship for ethnic minorities is a solution for ethnic social problems and is a socioeconomic salvation for ethnic minorities. This research critiques the conventional attitudes towards EE and questions this taken-for-granted assumption by looking at EE in context and from the perceptions of ethnic minorities themselves in looking at its socio-cultural effects. It seeks to analyse the extent to which these policies have been able to address social issues of ethnic minorities, the level at which integration and social inclusion is achieved through these small-business policies, and, consequently, the levels at which integration and social inclusion have not been achieved. Small-business ownership in today's economic and social environment acts as a beneficial and effective mechanism for provision of economic well-being. However, although the positive and constructive role of small businesses in the whole society is appreciated, there is a need to look critically at the role of EE and at the implications and effects of self-employment for ethnic people in a more in-depth manner. In a response to this gap, this research attempts to uncover some of the hidden socio-cultural dimensions of EE through exploring the views, perceptions, and voices of ethnic entrepreneurs about their lived experiences of the phenomenon of EE.

In the following section therefore, the goal is to argue against the over-optimistic role that has been given to EE in policy and the literature as an ultimate means of solving the problems of ethnic minorities, especially social exclusion in the host society. The present research not only addresses the relationship between social inclusion/exclusion and EE but also investigates the broader social implications of EE and its role in building the present and future of ethnic minorities through a contextual analysis of EE.

2.5.2.1. Socio-political structural contexts and EE

The importance of the external context in relation to ethnic minorities lies in its implication in interpretation of the causes of formation of ethnic minority businesses. Much research that was done in this area during the 1980s and early 1990s, which was the result of the social and employment situations of ethnic minorities since the 1960s, and which viewed the post-industrial environment of that time as a good ground for formation of small enterprises (Ward, 1991). An assumption that formed much of British policy-making strategy towards local enterprise formation (Rafiq, 1985; Creed and Ward, 1987) implied that business ownership and self-employment are the best available means of promoting social mobility among ethnic minority communities. These researchers felt that the capitalist context provides a fertile opportunity set for ethnic minorities to enter and perform in their small businesses. A review of employment conditions of ethnic minorities during the 1960s and 1970s helps in a better understanding of the whole context of ethnic business formations and the relevant policies during 1980s and 1990s.

Non-manual work was closed to non-white workers during the 1960s (Daniel, 1968), and this trend continued into the 1970s, when about one in twenty Pakistani, Caribbean, and Bangladeshi workers were in junior non-manual work compared with approximately one in five of white men (Smith, 1977, Table A.19: 73). However, this situation improved during the 1990s, with more ethnic minorities in this type of work (Modood, 1997, Table 4.10: 100). Some studies claim that this change was due to further acquisition of human capital by those ethnic minorities (Modood, 1997:

347), but other studies have refuted the assumption that before that period ethnic minorities did not have required qualifications to enter such employment positions and have held that the element of race and prevailing socio-political and historical structures also played an important part in employment exclusion of ethnic minorities (Daniel, 1968; Smith, 1977).

According Smith's (1977: 58) observation of racialised minorities, even during the mid-1970s there were 'a substantial proportion who [were] qualified for professional or white collar jobs'. However, 'Asians and West Indians with academic qualifications lag far behind whites with equivalent qualifications in getting white collar, professional or management jobs' (Smith, 1977: 76). Nevertheless, during the 1960s and 1970s the qualification factor was not influential enough for securing a job as a result of the dominance of a colour-coded racism that limited entrance of non-whites to this type of work (Smith, 1977). Too much emphasis on the importance of the acquisition of human capital as the primary explanation of upward mobility of some ethnic groups leads to underestimation of contemporary anti-immigrant racism and the racial disadvantages experienced by immigrants (Modood, 1992, 2003), and it may also lead to further racialisation of these marginalized and disadvantaged ethnic groups.

The increase in employment of ethnic minorities in intermediate non-manual work is also ascribed to a decrease of racism since the 1970s. Modood (1997) views this improvement as a sign of openness in British society and evidence that Britain combines continuing racial exclusion with gradual racial openness (Modood, 1977: 350). However, the fact that this improvement has been experienced by some of the ethnic groups like Indians should not be the viewed as total evidence of a sharp decrease in racism. In fact, there are continuous racial disadvantages faced by some other groups like Pakistanis. For instance, two-fifths of self-employed Pakistanis drive mini-cabs and taxis, which is ten times the national average (Brown, 2001: 16). In addition, the conditions of new-comers and their exclusion from the employment system should also be considered, and more research needs to be carried out on

employment conditions of new arrivals to the UK. This research aims to provide knowledge on this front in the case of Iranian migrants and refugees.

Although anti-racist legislation and race relations acts (1965, 1968, and 1976) have contributed to a decline of racism to some extent, it cannot be assumed that racism has been eradicated from the face of society through these acts. Particularly with the events of 2001 and 2005 in the USA and the UK, the most vulnerable to racism have become Muslims who live in these countries. Even in the early 1990s and late 1980s, long before the events of September 2001, there is evidence of continuous racism despite these pieces of legislation. For instance, according to Solomos (1987: 50) 'the weight of existing evidence would seem to support the thesis that race relations policies have functioned largely at the symbolic level since 1965' and that those anti-racist legislations have not covered deeper dimensions that have been continuing discrimination. Also, in a discrimination test, Brown (1992: 60) found 'no evidence during the 1980s to suggest that the extent of discrimination fell at all'.

Transformation of employment patterns of ethnic minorities can be better understood in the light of political and historical events of the early 1980s and the urban unrest in 1980 and 1981. It was after that unrest when race and racism came to the forefront of public policy discourse as the main cause of the unrest. This is while within the press and media this was denied and the unrest was portrayed to be a product of a black criminal existence within society (Gilroy, 1987; Solomos, 1988). However, advocates of anti-racism viewed the causes of unrest as rooted in the prevalent racist discriminatory practices and indifferent policies towards the lives of racialized minority communities, which had served to create a racially defined sub-proletariat (Sivanandan, 1990). During the 1980s, enterprising culture was promoted in British public policy, and ethnic minority business start-ups supported by public funds were on the small-firm policy agenda. In November 1981, Scarman's inquiry into the unrest was reported with the recommendation for the need to confront 'racial disadvantage' in employment. However, Ball and Solomos (1990) report the reluctance of the right-wing conservative administration to introduce more reforms because of its disagreement with the material explanations proposed by Scarman.

Scarman recommended that enterprise be vigorously promoted as socioeconomic salvation for the under-employed, alienated African-Caribbeans (Scarman, 1986). Scarman produced a report on the implications of the Brixton disturbances within which promotion of 'entrepreneurship' as a means of confronting disadvantage and maintaining urban social harmony was recognized as important. A flexible regime of accumulation characterized by an increase of flexibility in the workforce was established in Britain during the 1980s (Ackers et al., 1995). Accordingly, a shift from manufacturing jobs to service sector jobs occurred in the employment profile in Britain (Crompton, 1993: 82). With 3 million jobs lost in the manufacturing industry, 3.6 million jobs were created in the service sector between 1971 and 1988. Ethnic minorities, however, generally fell behind the local white population in socioeconomic achievements (Carmichael and Woods, 2000; NEP, 2005).

As a result of the unrest and anti-racist activism, racial discrimination in employment had to be tackled, and equal-opportunity policies were introduced that opened intermediate non-manual work to ethnic minorities more than was the case during the 1970s (see Ouseley, 1990; Solomos, 1993). Thus, during the 1990s more ethnic minorities, and particularly Caribbeans, entered such employment (Modood, 1997: 109–110). Therefore, the opening of more employment opportunities to ethnic minorities is rather a result of political change and struggle that led to anti-racist actions, which seem to be the basic condition needed to open up employment opportunities to minorities; apparently the acquisition of human capital by ethnic minorities comes second.

Cantle (2001) points to the fact that the south of England, and particularly the Greater London area, benefited most from the anti-racist activism that opened up non-manual state employment. However, it was not as successful in other areas of the UK, especially in areas of the north and northwest of England with their higher concentration of Pakistani populations (Cantle, 2001). The large number of start-ups among ethnic groups is partly due to the characteristics of the markets they enter, and

the liberal claims that equate entry into non-manual state employment with upward social mobility need to be questioned.

The contribution of these capitalist opportunity structures to ethnic businesses is not completely clear. However, high rates of self-employment among ethnic minorities were another reason for the policy makers and academics to believe that EE can greatly ease social problems faced by migrants. The sharp increase in the Asian self-employment rate was perceived as an indication of ethnic upward social mobility. South Asian self-employment increased from 1974 to 1994 from 8 percent in 1974 (Smith, 1997: 92) to 33 percent in 1994 (Modood, 1997: 122). Modood (1997: 139) asserts that this growth 'has benefited ethnic minority men; both within the non-manual and manual job-levels self-employment marks an upward movement for this group'. It is worth noting that generally post-industrial urbanism with its shift of employment from manufacturing to service prepared a good contextual environment for small enterprise in general and that this is the case particularly with ethnic businesses (Ward, 1991). This environment for growth of small firms has attracted the attention of researchers in both academia and policy-making bodies such as central and local governments and enterprise agencies since the1980s (Rafiq, 1985; Creed and Ward, 1987). Such studies are formed based on the assumption that views entrepreneurship and self-employment as the best available mechanism to improve the lives of ethnic minorities and increase of their social mobility.

Higher rates of EE and self-employment should not be considered a sign of upward social mobility of ethnic minorities. This shift to self-employment can be characterized as an attempt by the unemployed to overcome the adverse effects of economic re-structuring, and this was also the case with ethnic minorities who were left unemployed as a result of this situation and were forced into self-employment. Using the change in employment patterns in Britain as evidence of upward social mobility is problematic since the significance of the neo-liberalist policies in reshaping the employment structure of British society should not be underestimated. If a disadvantage theory perspective is adopted, many of the ethnic businesses are created as a result of push factors in an atmosphere of necessity. Even during the

1980s, when these policies and optimistic assumptions about the allegedly fantastic role of EE was conceived, some researchers such as McEvoy et al. (1982) saw Asian self-employment rates as being driven by social exclusion and blocked upward mobility in the wider labour market and explained the overwhelming presence of ethnic groups in self-employment to be 'more a confirmation of subordinate status than an escape from it' (McEvoy et al., 1982: 10) and forecasted that: 'Asian entrepreneurs are entering not an upward ladder leading to material enrichment, but a dead-end on the fringes of the modern economy' (McEvoy et al., 1982: 9). Based on this perspective, much Asian entrepreneurship can be a product of adverse employment conditions faced by the organized working class and its reaction to the unfavourable conditions of employment on offer within the regime of flexible accumulation.

The overwhelming concentration of ethnic businesses during the past 30 years has been located at the low end of the market and in labour-intensive sectors as immigrants have attempted to survive in highly competitive markets (Curran and Blackburn, 1993; Ram and Jones, 1998; Werbner, 2001) with businesses that demand long and unsocial hours of work (Jones et al., 1994; Kalra, 2000). Ethnic businesses are generally less successful than mainstream businesses (Butler and Greene, 1997) as a result of limited human capital, discrimination, and prejudice (Phizacklea and Ram, 1996; Walton et al., 1997). Also, growth in ethnic self-employment could be interpreted as the reaction of these people to the conditions shaped by neo-liberal modernity (Arrighi, 1999).

Although EE has facilitated success in economic advancement for some ethnic minority groups—for example, Gidoomal (1987) and Janjuha-Jivraj (2003) provide accounts of entrepreneurial success by South Asian group members—its effectiveness and extent in addressing social problems and disadvantages faced by ethnic minority people is under question. Based on governmental survey results, Macarenhas-Keyes (2006) shows the marginal nature of small-scale ethnic businesses. For example, Pakistanis who were concentrated in the textile sector were disproportionately affected by the economic recession of the late 1970s and early

1980s, with their unemployment rate increasing from 6 percent—which was in line with other ethnic minority groups at the time (Smith, 1977: 340) to 29 percent (double that of other ethnic minority groups) in 1982 (Brown, 1984: 189). As a result, the increase in self-employment rates among these people during the past 30 years should be viewed as an attempt to overcome the unfortunate consequences of industrial re-structuring, employment conditions under the new regime of flexible accumulation, and continuing racist exclusion from the wider labour market, rather than as an unqualified sign of upward social mobility.

Research needs to go beyond the assumptions of self-employment as the solution and take a critical position rather than a positive one that advocates the very existence of EE as the remedy not only for economic issues but also for social problems of ethnic minority groups.

2.5.3 Conceptual gap

Much of the existing and burgeoning research on EE has been more concerned with the economic aspects of EE such as issues of survival and death, success and failure, rather than with its non-economic aspects. Even within the culturalist approach, the researchers are mostly engaged with the economic effects of cultural factors and questions like why immigrants have more propensities for self-employment and why some ethnic groups are more prone than others to choose self-employment. Culturalist studies, push and pull approaches, the interactive model, and the mixed embeddedness approach are mainly focused on formation of and start up of ethnic businesses and their growth from an economic perspective (figure 2.4).

As discussed earlier, most research is formed based on the assumptions of viewing EE as the saviour, has not questioned the role of this phenomenon, and has stopped at the point of explaining and exploring different factors that lead to the creation and development of ethnic businesses. Conceptualizations of EE, in other words, have been mostly studying mechanisms leading to the formation and growth of ethnic businesses. They have not been mainly concerned with substantive meanings and

values of these businesses and their roles in the process of life of ethnic minorities in the host society.

The complex role of EE is little understood, especially in the context of the UK, and future research could examine 'the substantive meaning and practical implications of EE' (Zhou, 2004: 15; Ram and Jones, 2007). Emphasising the non-economic effects of EE develops an important idea that is noted in the literature but has not been taken seriously, namely that immigrant enterprises can have social effects that go well beyond the economic success of individual entrepreneurs.

Non-economic effects of EE are as important as the economic effects. EE serves as an alternative means to achieve social status recognition, nurture the entrepreneurial spirit, provide role modelling that inspires others, and strengthens social networks locally and internationally. EE can be looked at and investigated through these effects. The mechanisms and conditions that lead to production of these non-economic effects are unclear, leaving a substantial conceptual gap (Zhou, 2004). Examining how ethnic entrepreneurs may be affected by entrepreneurship in terms of social, cultural, and lifestyle aspects and how the individual entrepreneur perceives these issues can help fill this gap. Ram and Jones (2007) assert that developments in the conceptualization of ethnic minority entrepreneurship demonstrate the need for a more integrated perspective that recognizes the complex economic and social relationships in which these businesses are embedded.
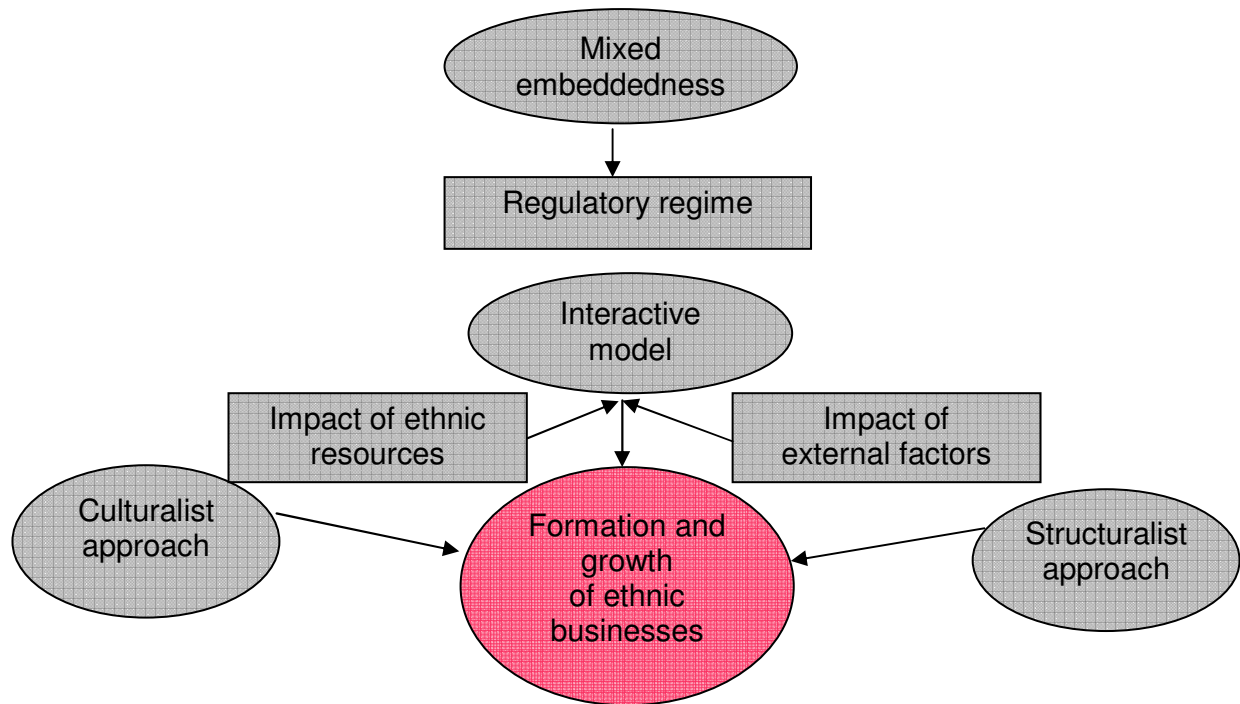
Figure 2.4. Centrality of formation and growth in theoretical conceptualisations of EE.

Source: Own figure.

2.5.4 Methodological gap

As discussed above, entrepreneurship is a young, multi-disciplinary field (Davidsson, 2004; Busenitz et al., 2003) with no universal conceptual framework (Ray and Ramachandran, 1996) that is searching for a unified, comprehensive theory (Bruyat and Julien, 2000; Zahra, 2007), with the need for new methods of research in order to create knowledge (Blackburn and Kovalainen, 2009; Howorth et al., 2005; Nicholson and Anderson, 2005). The inadequacy of a single theory or perspective of EE for explaining this phenomenon was indicated earlier. It was also pointed out that much research on EE to date has followed the conventional framework for understanding and explaining by positivist, value-free, neutral, and objective policy-oriented research like general entrepreneurship research (Blackburn and Kovalainen, 2009). Because of its multi-disciplinary nature, generally, entrepreneurship research

has been methodologically informed by other, more mainstream disciplines like economics, management, and sociology with their dominant positivist and objective perspectives (Grant and Perren, 2002; Gregorie et al., 2006). Accordingly, the research has greatly adopted quantitative methodologies and methods of research (Chandler and Lyon, 2001).

However, Ogbor (2000: 624) argues that the phenomenon of entrepreneurship should be viewed as 'caught within a network of social, historical, and economic forces'. Ram (1997) points out the need for new methodological approaches in this field. Ram and Jones (2007, 2008) and Ram (1997) also indicate that both policy and research practices need to guard against undifferentiated approaches to understanding ethnic minority businesses. They argue for the need to adopt a 'more explicitly qualitative framework' in this area, as this 'should shed much needed light on the day-to-day processes of the ethnic small enterprise; and in so doing, a clearer picture will emerge of the dynamics of such businesses and the extent to which they differ from the general small firm population' (Ram, 1997: 150).

Although the call for qualitative research in this field was made in 1997, the majority of studies have continued to be based on quantitative or mixed-method approaches, with qualitative methods often as a precursor to quantitative studies to date. Quantitative research in entrepreneurship is criticized for its techniques, which lead to descriptive findings and causal relationships and regularities based on hypothesis and multivariate methods of conducting the research (Gartner and Birley, 2002; Blackburn and Kovalainen, 2009). Hindle (2004) warns against lack of methodological variety in entrepreneurship and the prevalence of a positivist research and calls for more qualitative research in this field. This uncritical orientation of the researchers towards one dominant approach can constrain theoretical development of the field (Blackburn and Kovalainen, 2009; Hindle, 2004). Blackburn and Kovalainen (2009: 135) argue that this approach produces too much empirical research in specific areas and that this technical knowledge-(Habermas, 1978), problem-focused perspective is created 'at the expense of focused knowledge building and theorizing'. EE studies are also generally based on the

utilization of secondary databases (e.g., Census data) and large quantitative surveys or case studies (Menzies et al., 2003). Large-scale surveys of minority businesses (Curran and Blackburn, 1993) show the different characteristics of ethnic minorities in business. There have been a few studies that have utilised in-depth investigations of this phenomenon; however, the number of these studies is very small compared with the very high rates of quantitative research in this area. Ram (1997: 151) points to a few in-depth studies and comments that 'In-depth single community studies have deepened understanding of minorities in self-employment'.

For analysis of the long-term prominence of this form of methodology within the area of entrepreneurship, it is enlightening to present a critique of the identity or crisis of identity of business schools. This is because the entrepreneurship field is placed within the business and management disciplines and is part of business schools in academia. To gain academic weight, entrepreneurship research in general and in the EE field in particular has confined itself to the conventional business- and management-oriented positivist and quantitative research, which is the dominant and most respected approach to conducting of research in business schools and academic disciplines such as management and economics (Zahra, 2005; Busenitz et al., 2003).

Critique of business schools

Historically, business schools basically have been more practice-based and professional training places employing experienced managers to teach the students who aspire to a career in business. However, later, under the influence of Ford and Carnegie Foundation reports (Gordon and Howell, 1959), business schools were directed to be more scientific and research oriented to fit into the academic environment. However, Hambrick (1994) argues that as a result of this movement in seeking scientific legitimacy the research has become irrelevant and incestuous, mattering only to academics themselves and valued not mainly for its inherent qualities and usefulness but more for the career-advancing publications in A-list journals.

Business schools accommodate a variety of disciplines and communities with a variety of perspectives about the essence and nature of businesses schools. From a business-oriented perspective, business schools have been mainly providers of consultancy or teaching and research for businesses. From another, more academically oriented view, they are research-led scientific producers of knowledge about business rather than for business (Starkey and Tempest, 2008). The nature of science and knowledge has been point of controversy between different groups of academics.

One main purpose of business schools has always been the training of professionals for the practice of management for enhancing operations and profits with technique-driven programmes like MBAs. To put it in Zemsky, Massy, and Wegner's (2005: 51) words, they are 'market-smart, mission-centred' rather than knowledge-centred. Within this context, knowledge is valued with regards to its translatability into profit at the expense of marginalizing the intellectual quality that values knowledge for its own sake. As Hubbard (2006) puts it, their purpose is to embrace entrepreneurial capitalism to raise productivity. Starkey and Tiratoos (2009) criticise the tendency of business schools to be more oriented towards the business side of the school at the expense of academic side of the school. Bloom (1988), in his cultural critique of business schools, criticizes their instrumental attitudes. He relates a greedy pursuit of profit within the capitalist system. Kirp (2003) discusses the implications and effects of business schools in every part of universities and in commercialization of them and points to the influence of political and market forces rather than educational ones. One of the UK.'s most prominent economists, who has been the Dean of Oxford's Said Business School, John Kay (2003), contends that the key purpose and principle of business schools are characterized by their unrestrained pursuit of self-interest, in accordance with the American business model that is based on market fundamentalism ideology and minimal state intervention.

Kay (2003) argues that management as an academic discipline is still in its infancy and that in terms of scientific rigor it is at the same stage of development as medicine

was in the Middle Ages. He emphasises the complexity of the market and business system and criticizes current one-dimensional understanding of the ways markets function. MacKenzie and Millo (2003) show markets thrive as cultures, networks, and even moral communities and not purely as market exchange. Ulrich Beck (1995), a famous European social scientist, criticizes the current reserved norm in business schools and proposes a broader relationship between business and society through broader exposure to the humanities and social sciences and adoption of wider perspectives and more expansive, more comprehensive hybrid narratives of business. Delanty (2001) points to the importance of making connections between the domains of science, business, and culture and to develop knowledge and practices that support the alignment of economic, social, and ecosystems.

Satkey and Tempest (2008) emphasise the importance of valuing context and other stakeholders apart from the corporate heroes. They highlight the need for new narratives of business and society that concentrate on the ever-important questions of meaning, inequality, and justice that so profoundly mark our age. They call for repositioning of thinking and research in business within a broader system of accountability and a wider sense of meaning. They stress the need for deeper engagement with the fundamentals of knowledge, with self-knowledge, and with reflexivity, which are some of the purposes of a liberal education and focus critical reflection upon the nature and needs of both business and society, offering a more than one-dimensional perspective of business.

Evert Gummeson (2002) asserts that within the business discipline academic research is dominated by an allegedly scientific front of reductionistic and deductive customer surveys that apply increasingly sophisticated statistical techniques for data analysis of decreasing quality. He suggests that research should take a more inductive and systemic approach that confronts the complexity, ambiguity, and dynamism of the real world with more common sense and less ritual. Inductive research makes use of intuition, experience, and tacit knowledge in conjunction with scholarly research that is systematic and that uses everyday observations from practice. 'Observations of practitioners (for example, business owners) and

researchers must be given priority over repositories of old theories, concepts, and axioms' (p. 589).

As seen, the very nature of perspectives and implications of business schools dictate positivist views and in turn have great influence in shaping research within their context. The above discussion helped in clarifying the roots and reasons for dominance of such perspectives and methodologies in entrepreneurship, which is a subcategory of business in business schools, as well. As a result, criticizing this prevalent perspective within entrepreneurship, Blackburn and Kovalainen (2009) argue that research in this field therefore creates a context-driven and problem-focused knowledge that also tends to be extra-disciplinary; hence, the field is largely informed by an empirical business orientation lacking a strong theoretical conceptual framework. The resultant knowledge, therefore, is a product of the examination of the social phenomena through one particular lens and through a certain number of methods, which itself might impede and limit understanding of different dimensions of a complex social phenomenon, since quantitative research attempts to fragment and delimit the social phenomena into measurable or common categories that are applicable to wider and similar situations (Winter, 2000). Quantitative methods involve the 'use of standardised measures so that the varying perspectives and experiences of people can fit into a limited number of predetermined response categories to which numbers are assigned' (Patton, 2002: 14). Subsequently, it is beneficial for the researchers to step further than the already-established scientific boarders based on positivist and quantitative perspectives and methods (Jennings et al., 2005) and adopt more critical and reflexive perspectives that 'do not seek causal determination, prediction, and generalization of findings, but instead seek illumination, understanding, and extrapolation to similar situations' (Hoepfl, 1997: 48).

New methods of qualitative research are needed to shed more light on this complex phenomenon. For example, since the general field of entrepreneurship is dominated by male-oriented perspectives and by the interest in creation of technical knowledge (Ogbor, 2000), a research that echoes female-oriented viewpoints could be useful in

giving new perspectives to the research. Also, a more critical reflexive type of research in this field would put the focus of study on the deep underlying contexts in which the phenomenon of EE is embedded instead of mainly focusing on technical, statistical, and management-driven perspectives.

Entrepreneurship is grounded in the social context (Granovetter, 1985). Focusing on the perceptions of ethnic entrepreneurs as a means of looking at EE will facilitate new, deeper understanding of the dynamics of this phenomenon. Stepping back as the researcher with predefined academic presumptions and assumptions about the object/subject and letting the voice of the entrepreneur be listened to will be helpful as a methodological strategy in creation of new knowledge in EE. Through this approach, the research is able to produce localised views, and this could potentially complement the usual normative grand narratives existing in the field of EE research. Adopting a social constructionist standpoint (Berger and Luckman, 1967) from an epistemological point of view allows this research to appreciate the existence of different realities instead of one single reality in the social context that is EE in this research.

In adopting new approaches and diverging from the dominant ways of production of research and knowledge in entrepreneurship, it is important for the research to unmask the often traditionally ignored or blurred philosophical and methodological stances; to reveal the contextual socio-political, cultural, and institutional influences on the research process; and most importantly to uncover the role and position of the researcher in the production and processes of research. These methodological strategies can help in the development of more in-depth and powerful findings and discussions.

2.5.5 Contextual gap: Importance of diversity

Lack of enough attention to the diversity of ethnic minority groups is a gap within the literature, and the diversity in Britain highlights the importance of paying

attention to this gap. In the previous EE literature, it is pointed out by several scholars that there is a need for research to categorise EE and not to look at immigrant entrepreneurs as a homogenous group. For example, Vertovec (2007) states that in EE research the existing diversity among ethnic entrepreneurs and its implications should be appreciated. The diversity of ethnic businesses and ethnic groups should be appreciated through investigation of inner continent diversity. In earlier studies, South Asians were clustered as one homogenous group for studying EE. In 1996, Metcalf et al. argued about the inadequacy of treating South Asians in business as a homogeneous group, considering some major differences between the experiences of Indians and Pakistanis and between those originating in Africa and the sub-continent. Their study showed that Pakistanis and African-Asians tended to view self-employment as a source of status within the family, while Indians were more financially motivated and attached more importance to the rewards and autonomy that self-employment offered. Sensitivity to this inner continental diversity is illustrated by more recent research on Turkish entrepreneurs carried out by Altinay (2008). However, this is not adequate and has to be continued in order to create a more accurate account of the EE phenomenon.

Investigating differences in entrepreneurial behaviours between ethnic groups has been ignored in earlier trends of EE research. However, later studies have appreciated this differentiation and the effects that focusing upon different paths has on a better understanding of EE and its strategies in the business-creation process. In terms of cultural attributes, care should be taken not to mix different ethnic groups based on one criterion. For example, not all Muslims have the same culture, as Muslims are coming from different continents with different cultural baggage. However, in more recent research this diversity is appreciated. For example, Basu and Altinay (2002) indicate that diversity is not only present in the demographics of EE but also in business entry motives, patterns of start-up finance, the nature of businesses, and the degree of reliance on co-ethnic labour and customers among the different ethnic groups. They further suggest that this diversity may be explained by differences in migration motives, family links, family background, religion, business experience, educational attainment, and other factors. They also point out that self-

employment statistics along with comparisons of national data on occupation types, educational achievement, and unemployment point to the existence of differences among ethnic minority groups. Moreover, although the situation for older ethnic minority groups might be changing as they move into more favourable areas of the market, Ram and Jones (2007) note that the newcomers to the UK are still involved in the process of adapting themselves into the economic and social sphere of the new society. While immigration and its issues are a matter of public and policy concern, there is little research in the context of the UK on the role of entrepreneurship in this process and the constraints faced by newcomers moving into self-employment (Lyon et al., 2007b; Ram and Jones, 2007).

Jones (1993) shows the increasingly divergent experiences of ethnic minority groups in business through highlighting the different patterns of social, cultural, and economic activities of ethnic minorities in Britain (Jones, 1993). The diversity of the ethnic groups dictates that it will be a considerable time before a comprehensive literature on these entrepreneurs can be amassed. The diversity exists at different levels. It is not only about the differences of culture of different ethnic groups but also their social situations in the host country—for example, the level of social exclusion they experience. The extent and nature of disadvantage (racialised) differs significantly by ethnic group. While ethnic minorities are disadvantaged on average, the labour-market successes of the Indians and Chinese show that the old picture of white success and ethnic minority under-performance is now out of date (Strategy Unit, 2003: 19). In addition to this, there are differences between ethnic minority groups in terms of different generations, different sectors, and different stages of development. Therefore, it becomes methodologically crucial for the advance of ethnic minority knowledge to narrow down the field of investigation and also to focus on the voices and perceptions of the entrepreneur. Consequently, this research focuses on a specific sample of under-researched Asians (Iranians), whose rate of immigration to the UK has steadily increased during the past few years.

The reasons for choosing Iranians are twofold. The first is the researcher's interest. As an Iranian migrant to the UK, the researcher is concerned with the issues and

lives of her fellow countrymen; this was the initial interest and curiosity for exploring the lives of these Iranian entrepreneurs. To contribute in bringing them and their issues from the margins to the core of academic research and open up debate on this marginalised group, the researcher wishes to shed light on this neglected ethnic minority population and to facilitate the hearing of their thus-far unheard voices.

The second reason for choosing Iranians was that they are one of the largest populations to have entered the UK in recent years. The UK is one of the top destinations for Iranian migrants and asylum seekers. In 2001, there was a 300 percent increase over the previous year in the number of Iranians seeking asylum in Britain (Spellman, 2004). In 2004, Iran was the top nationality of asylum seekers to the UK, accounting for 10 percent of all applications (Migration Information Source, 2006). These statistics alone make this population interesting to study, especially considering Iran's unique socio-political situation, with the differences between its culture and UK culture giving this population a different background and accordingly distinctive worldviews. Thus they are a unique case for study.

The contextual gap is not only limited to the population but also to the context of the sector within which this population is placed —i.e., the catering sector. This research responds to calls by researchers for more sector-specific, focused research in small-business research and the hospitality sub-sector. Small businesses across different sectors are not homogeneous, so a specific sector in which a small business is created and managed is important especially for policy implications and practical recommendations (e.g., Thomas, Shaw, and Page, 2011; Shaw and Conwey, 2000; Morrison and Thomas, 1999; Blackburn and Jenning, 1996). Lynch and MacWhannell (2000: 109) comment that 'overall, the level of knowledge regarding the hospitality entrepreneur remains low, and this is particularly so regarding small businesses which predominate in the industry'. There has been a call for further research for exploration of the nature and dynamics of hospitality businesses especially in the accommodation sector (Getz and Carlsen, 2000; Thomas 1995; Lynch 1999). Therefore, most research in the hospitality sector and knowledge development in that area have been concentrated on the small accommodation (bed

and breakfast, guest house) sector, and consequently the catering sector, particularly within the context of ethnic minority owned-managed businesses, has been pushed to the margins in this field. Consequently, certain concepts such as the widely researched and popular concept of the lifestyle entrepreneur has been made popular and researched and become somewhat of a conventional wisdom within hospitality research. However, specific, context-driven research is needed to see the extent to which this accommodation-driven research in hospitality is applicable to other contexts and to show the importance of paying attention to diversity within the sectors (e.g., hospitality) in understanding of the phenomenon of EE.

Since the subject of the research is EE in the hospitality industry, the next section presents a review of the literature on hospitality research to contextualise the subject matter and to enable better understanding of the phenomenon under research.

2.6. Hospitality research

2.6.1 Introduction

The subject matter of this research is EE in the hospitality industry. Therefore, it is located in the context of hospitality, and to gain a better understanding of the life-world of these ethnic entrepreneurs, an overview of the key concepts and theories that the previous hospitality literature has provided will be presented in this section. The various contexts within which these people are located are important in disclosing the phenomenon and understanding it. Morrison et al. (1999) also point to the importance of the segmentation approach to entrepreneurship and the significance of the industry sector context, and they indicate that hospitality entrepreneurs can only fit into the broad concept of entrepreneurship. They also indicate that the term 'hospitality entrepreneur' must be 'defined relative to ownership structure, represented as the creation of a new enterprise, which has the entrepreneur as the founder' (Morrison et al., 1999: 5).

The hospitality sector has its own specific characteristics that influence the phenomenon of EE. In this section, the nature of hospitality businesses and sector-specific characteristics of hospitality are discussed first. These sector-specific characteristics are related to hospitality from a management perspective. This includes a discussion of the concept of lifestyle entrepreneur, which is a dominant discourse within small-scale hospitality studies that has been popularised in the past decade in this field. This is followed by a discussion of the more recent debates on hospitality as a social lens that focuses on non-management aspects of hospitality but views hospitality as a social phenomenon.

2.6.2. Overview of general characteristics

Hospitality research as a field of study has traditionally been led by industry and management perspectives. Hospitality and tourism businesses play a big role in the European economy, and especially with the dominance of small firms in the hospitality sector scholars have been attracted to research on the characteristics, mechanisms, and processes of creation and operation of these small-scale hospitality businesses. However, the area of hospitality entrepreneurship is still a largely neglected area of research (Thomas, 2004; Li, 2008; Ioannides and Peterson, 2003; Thomas et al., 2011, in the case of tourism small firms). However, most research on small-scale hospitality businesses has been informed by a management perspective in order to gain better understanding of these businesses. Sector-specific characteristics of hospitality have often been viewed as influential in shaping an understanding of small hospitality businesses. Scholars in this field have emphasised the importance of recognition of these sector-specific characteristics (Morrison and Thomas, 1999; Thomas, 1995) pointing out that public policy creators need to recognise the importance of including sector-specific characteristics. They need to recognise the heterogeneity of this sector and the significance of specific socio-cultural contexts.

In the case of the present research, the specific characteristics of the hospitality sector play a key role in determining the dynamics of the phenomenon of EE in this

context. These characteristics are influential in the creation and operation, and in defining the meanings and values that ethnic entrepreneurs attach to the act of entrepreneurship. Therefore, an overview of characteristics of this sector helps in a better understanding of the phenomenon of EE in this research.

Flexibility and low barriers to entry and exit are among the most salient characteristics of the hospitality sector (Dewhurst and Horobin, 1998; Morrison, 1998; Shaw and Williams 1990; Willimas et al., 1989). There are low professional and legal barriers to entry in the context of the hospitality industry (Szivas, 2001; Morrison, 2006), and this makes it a good option for those entrepreneurial people who are either pushed or pulled towards entrepreneurship and self-employment. Moreover, entry into business is relatively easy because a large amount of financial capital is not required for start up, and there are fewer administrative barriers for creation of these businesses (Morrison, 1996).

For starting up a hospitality small business, the entrepreneur does not necessarily need specific professional requirements or experience (Szivas, 2001; Lerner and Haber, 2001). The industry is perceived as low-skill or semi-skilled (Shaw and Williams, 1994) with little or no qualifications required, and so people can learn on the job (Szivas, 2001) and acquire experience. Therefore, owner-managers have little or no management skills and training, and people with no or little skill become employed in the low end of the industry (Prattern, 2003; Robinson et al., 2010). As a result, there is little or no formal business planning and strategy among this sector, and the management is highly personalised (Ateljevic, 2007).

The sector-specific characteristics such as poor working conditions and low wages lead to high turnover of employees, who can leave their jobs quite easily. Some of the jobs are 3-D jobs (dirty, dangerous, demanding), or in Japanese terms three-K jobs (Connell, 1993) such as cleaning, kitchen, or in front in co-ethnic catering shops. Lack of experienced employees negatively affects business performance (Ateljevic, 2007; Morrison and Teixeira, 2004b), and it also has a negative effect on quality of service provided (Szivas, 2001). Thus, to avoid the consequences of

dealing with less reliable employees, to have a more controlled business environment as well as to lower the business expenditure, the owner-managers employ as few as possible and do much of the work themselves.

2.6.3. Lifestyle as a characteristic of small-scale hospitality businesses

In the context of small-scale hospitality-business research, a large number of studies show the prevalence of non-economic motivations for start-up of the business. During the past decade, the study of these non-economically oriented hospitality businesses has been popularised in the field, and as a result a large body of literature has been engaged with production and enhancement of knowledge about these businesses (e.g., Shaw and Williams, 1987; Hall and Rusher, 2004; Lynch, 2006; Morrison, 2006; Mottiar, 2007; Ajeltevic et al., 2007). Since the first study of lifestyle in hospitality and tourism research (Williams et al., 1989), the concepts of the lifestyle entrepreneur and lifestyle entrepreneurship have been popularised in these studies, and they have been used to denote the non-economic-oriented businesses and preference of lifestyle goals (e.g., Ateljevic and Doone, 2000; Getz and Carlsen, 2000; Ioannides and Peterson, 2003; Morrison and Texeira, 2004a, b; Lashley and Rowson, 2009). However, the concept of lifestyle entrepreneurship is ambiguous, and there have been debates about the use of 'entrepreneur' for these people (for example, Morrison, 2006). Morrison (1999) prefers 'lifestyle proprietor' but at the same time does not reject the term entrepreneur. Lifestyle proprietors are mainly concerned with survival and deriving a sufficient income to allow them to enjoy their desired lifestyle (Morrison et al., 1999). Hall and Rusher (2004) point to the tension that the combination of operating a business and at the same time enjoying life creates.

According to the literature, lifestyle businesses are formed mainly based on non-economic motivations. A wide range of motivations have been revealed for these lifestyle businesses, from fulfilling dreams (Lashley and Rowson, 2009) to enjoying a good lifestyle, for leisure interests, to be one's own boss and independent (Getz and Peterson, 2005; Getz and Carlsen, 2000; Hall and Rusher, 2004), or to maintain a

good work-life balance to be with family (Getz et al., 2004). Hall and Rusher (2004: 94) argue that for the majority of these businessmen/women 'lifestyle is a strategic business objective'. Morrison (2000) suggests that lifestyle businesses are concerned with survival and sufficient income to sustain enjoyment of their chosen lifestyle, with a set of multiple goals (p. 1–2). According to Burns (2007) lifestyle firms 'are businesses that are set up primarily to undertake an activity that the owner-manager enjoys or gets some comfort from whilst also providing an adequate income' (p. 16).

Lifestyle businesses have specific characteristics that make them distinct from economically oriented firms. These include limited innovation (Ioannides and Petersen, 2003), low skill and low education with limited or lack of training (Lashley and Rowson, 2009), no management strategies (Morrison et al., 2001), no involvement in formal organisations (Mottiar, 2007), lifestyle non-economic motivation for start-up (Getz and Petersen, 2005), lack of growth orientation (Goffee and Scase, 1985; Reid et al., 1999; Burns and Dewhurst, 1996), and priority of lifestyle over profit maximisation (Lockyer and Morrison, 1999).

In the literature, lifestyle has often been assumed as being opposed to growth. Lifestyle entrepreneurs choose the hospitality sector usually after a successful career in another sector (Baum, 2006: 201). Desire for growth or otherwise has been used as a criterion for identifying lifestyle businesses (Morrison, 2000). Morrison et al. (1999) showed that small-scale commercial hospitality providers tend to start small and remain small. Dewhurst and Horobin (1998: 25) comment that the majority of tourism and hospitality entrepreneurs 'are not motivated by a desire to maximise economic gain, but they operate with a minimum level of employment, and their managerial decisions are highly personal'. Di Domenico (2003) showed that bed-and-breakfast businesses tend to stay small and even downsize in some cases.

 Reid et al. (1999: 55) suggest that a large number of small businesses 'may be lifestyle as opposed to growth-oriented businesses'. In the more general context of small businesses also, as opposed to the conventional and traditional picture of an entrepreneur, growth orientation might not even be the main and original motivation

and strategy of the business owner-manager. For example, Curran (1986), in a review of a number of studies from 1971 to 1986, showed that growth is not necessarily the original motive of the owner-managers and that they may deliberately want to avoid it. Burns (2007) contrasts lifestyle firms with growth-oriented firms and suggests that lifestyle business owners seek satisfactory income and have not set up their businesses to grow, while growth-oriented firms are set up with the intention of growth. He views these businesses as classic entrepreneurial firms that are focused on the financial dimensions of the business, and his criterion for entrepreneurship is the growth orientation or otherwise of the business owner. Moreno and Casillas (2008) also hold the same view but contend that entrepreneurial orientation and growth orientation are positively related to each other, although this relationship is very complex.

Many small-business owners choose not to grow (Komppula, 2004) since choosing to grow might be in conflict with the desire to maintain control of decision making in the business (Glancey, 1998). Morrison and Teixeira (2004) suggest that distinctive attributes related to smallness might be damaged or lost as a result of growth. Growth is not the only or main influential factor for many people who start a business, since for different people from different backgrounds business start-up may mean different things.

Opportunities and barriers within socio-cultural and economic contexts of different entrepreneurs are also influential in their decision for growth or otherwise. Storey (1994) points to barriers to growth, including finance, employment and markets. Thomas et al. (1997) also view the cost of labour, interest rates, and lack of skilled labour as barriers to growth for UK small tourism and hospitality businesses. Growth might not be desirable for lifestyle entrepreneurs because of financial and human resource poverty (Morrison and Teixeira, 2004). In the case of ethnic minorities' limited human capital, such as lack of proficiency in English or lack of compatible qualifications, a lack of or limited social knowledge of the host country, or a lack of established, effective, and efficient networks, might act as barriers, while these are not issues of concern for a native entrepreneur. Morrison et al. (2003: 423) assert 'a key distinguishing feature of a pro-growth small business is a balanced alignment of

the owner-managers' intention, the abilities of the business and the opportunity environment.' The whole environment of social, cultural, and economic structure within which the small business owners are located defines their motivations for entry, as well as their decisions and strategies towards their businesses. The decision for growth is also a product of all these different factors related to the individual entrepreneur's worldviews and attitudes and his or her social, economic, and cultural contexts.

However, some studies show both economic and non-economic motivation among lifestyle entrepreneurs (Shaw and Willimas, 2004). Morrison and Teixeira (2004b) argue there is a mixture of business and lifestyle entry motives, but that family goals and lack of growth orientation do not imply a lack of interest in profit maximisation. Buick et al.'s (2000) study shows an interest in growth that is contrary to the definition of a lifestyle entrepreneur. Glancey and Pettigrew (1997) show the existence of non-lifestyle characteristics and motives, an opportunistic attitude, and growth orientation among the small hotel sector. However, Shaw and Williams (2004) suggest that lifestyle motives do not conflict with growth orientation. 'Lifestyle entrepreneur' is a complex concept, and new research in lifestyle focuses on 'understanding the interplay of culture context and social processes that provides the architecture for such largely subjective initiatives' (Morrison et al., 2009: 10). Morrison (2006) contends that an understanding of the entrepreneurial process, as it interplays with family business, is best served by reference to the cultural, industry, and organisational contexts within which entrepreneurs are embedded. Indeed, more research is needed in the area of tourism and hospitality entrepreneurship (Thomas, 2004; Li, 2008).

2.6.4. *Hospitality social lens*

Recently, a more multi-disciplinary view of hospitality has been put forward that argues for hospitality as a social phenomenon rather than as a field within management research. Lashley et al. (2007) focus on a multi-disciplinary perspective of hospitality research with a social science view towards hospitality studies. Within

this framework, the dynamics of hospitality is researched from different academic perspectives. Lashley et al. (2007: 174) argue that these multiple perspectives, which are from different intellectual and academic contexts, 'challenge conventional wisdom by bringing to bear multiple eyes all focused on the same phenomenon that is hospitality, but arriving from diverse intellectual starting points and ways of seeing the world.' According to Lashley et al. (2007: 187) the study of the ways that hospitality interacts with society would make the research more fruitful and lead to new knowledge about society. This perspective emphasises the centrality and endurance of hospitality in culture and society. Through this, the orthodox approaches towards the understanding and research of hospitality are challenged, and new knowledge is created through focusing on the social dimensions of hospitality. These dimensions, which have been traditionally pushed to the peripheries of the study of hospitality, are brought to the core of research subject matter by this new multi-disciplinary perspective towards hospitality. This view explores hospitality not as only a context for management but as a phenomenon worthy of study and as a social lens through which different complex social conditions can be analysed and discussed. 'Hospitality has moved from being a topic simply for thematic investigation directly or indirectly for the study of management to one that also locates the study of hospitality as a significant means of exploring and understanding society' (Lashley et al., 2007: 186). Therefore, hospitality can be explored from a variety of perspectives such as culture, anthropology, history, social aspects of linguistics, classics, architecture, etc.

Lashley et al. (2007) have proposed a framework called the hospitality conceptual lens as a means that can be utilised to investigate and analyse social situations in which hospitality exists. This helps in better understanding those aspects of society that are related to hospitality in different ways. This conceptual framework, which contains nine themes, facilitates further research into hospitality as a social phenomenon and is viewed as an emergent conceptual framework for future research into the phenomenon of hospitality. Host/guest transaction is located in the centre of the framework, signalling its importance in shaping the hospitality phenomenon. The nine dominant themes are:

- Host/guest transaction shows the interactional nature of the multi-faceted hospitality transaction that takes place between host and guest.

- Domestic discourse reflects the domestic roots of hospitality and symbolic connotations of practices, language, and gendered roles in relation to host/guest transaction.

- Commerce refers to particular types and sites of commercial hospitality where the host/guest transaction explicitly contains economic dimensions alongside those of the social.

- Inclusion/exclusion refers to the metaphorical symbolism of the host welcoming of an 'other' (guest) across the threshold, signifying inclusion; exclusion refers to unwelcoming of 'others' and leaving them on the outside.

- Laws are those unwritten socially and culturally defined obligations, standards, principles, norms, and rules related to hospitality transactions. They define duties and acceptable or unacceptable behaviours and attitudes of the host and guest.

- Performance implies deliberately constructed roles of hosts and guests as actors to convey symbolism and meaning, thus highlighting authenticity in host/guest transaction.

- Politics of space refers to the concept of boundaries and meanings of a social, spatial, and cultural nature that signifies inclusions/exclusions and determines the level of intimacy/distance within the host/guest transaction once across the threshold.

- Types and sites show the multi-manifestation of forms and locations for experiencing hospitality and host/guest transaction.

- The social and cultural dimensions in which the hospitality occurs cause the host and guest to construct a temporary common moral universe, involving a process of production, consumption, and communication, embedded in which are strong social and cultural dimensions that define the host/guest transaction.

(Lashley et al., 2007:174–175)

All of the above themes are important in the construction of hospitality within different social situations. Based on the social situation, different types of hospitality come into existence, and according to each social setting the degree of the presence of each of these themes varies. Lashley et al. (2007) believe that the host and guest construct a temporary common moral universe as a result of the nature of hospitality, which is the act of giving or receiving. In this common world, the politics of space pushes both the guest and host to the same space for hospitality to occur, and the hospitality transaction is embedded in complex social and cultural dimensions. In this space of hospitality, which is shared by the host and the guest, both of them define certain unwritten laws of hospitality and the extent of inclusion or exclusion of each other. Social and cultural dimensions give a meaning to the hospitality act that is shared by the host and guest and defines their expectations within the shared space of hospitality. The worldviews and values attached to hospitality in different social and cultural contexts influence the attitudes and behaviours of hosts and guests. Therefore, the quality, mechanisms, and processes of hospitality transactions are influenced by these different themes. Through application of this lens, it is possible to examine more deeply the social situations in which hospitality exists according to the socio-cultural environment within which hospitality occurs.

In any hospitality transaction, there are individuals who need to assume certain responsibilities towards others. This responsibility varies between types and sites of hospitality and in domestic and commercial hospitality. Commerce and domestic are two of the themes of the conceptual framework. O'Gorman (2010), in an application of the lens to classical antiquity hospitality, has revised the original conceptual framework based on domestic, civic, and commercial hospitality and has asserted that each of these themes will have different implications in each of these forms of hospitality. In the revised model, the thresholds of hospitality are illustrated by the eight revised themes of the original hospitality social lens (Lashley et al., 2007). The main original themes are brought together into three groups, in which the aspects of hospitality are evidently related. These three groupings are: (1) the location and context of the hospitality relationship (type and sites, inclusion/exclusion, and laws), (2) expectational norms in the hospitality relationship (transactional expectations,

politics of space, social and cultural dimensions), and (3) symbolism in the hospitality relationship (domestic discourse, performance). O'Gorman (2010) emphasises that these converged themes are analogous in nature and that this reflects, identifies, and reinforces their character and function. In this framework, the identified thresholds are normally imposed on the guest by the host and differ greatly depending on the type of hospitality that is being offered, even within the typology of domestic, civic, and commercial hospitality. For the present research, however, another type of hospitality is important and influential, namely social hospitality, which implies the transactions that occur in society between social hosts and guests, including ethnic minorities and local native people.

In the context of social hospitality, the theme of inclusion and exclusion exists strongly. Hospitality always seems to be offered based on certain conditions. Derrida and Dufourmantelle (2000) examine the concept of hospitality from a philosophical perspective, debating the issue of unconditional hospitality in relation to foreigners and locals, concepts of inclusion and exclusion, and relationships between hosts and guests in society. The host is inevitably aware that the other or the guest may intrude or ruin the host's space. Two extremes of hospitality could exist when there is a transaction. For example, in the ancient Middle East, people hosted strangers to prevent them from being their enemy, so this was an attempt to transform 'a stranger to a friend' (Lashley et al., 2007: 188). The relationship between hosts and guests is socially produced and constructed, and it is important to recognise that the host, guest, and hospitality space are co-creators in the process of production, consumption, and communication (Lashley et al., 2007). Therefore, the hospitality process and product and its rules are the production of constant albeit often invisible negotiations taking place between host and guest. This constant invention of hospitality takes different forms based on different social situations. Hospitably comes into existence wherever there is a care-providing relationship required between the self and 'an other', and as a result power structures and control mechanisms are executed by the hosts in hospitality transactions to determine the extent of exclusions and inclusions and to define the boundaries of the space. The hospitable action of the host and the shared hospitality entails some expectations.

The host often expects individual, social, or even spiritual benefits from his or her hospitableness. A level of politics of space is also found between the two sides of the social hospitality transaction, which defines the boundaries and the extent of intimacy or distance within the host/guest relationship.

As aforementioned, based on a hospitality conceptual lens, we study hospitality in order to understand society. In the context of the present research, it is important to see how hospitality occurs in society between the host population and the guest ethnic minorities in the space of commercial hospitality, which in this case is ethnic catering shops. This study gives a unique setting for studying hospitality as it combines commercial hospitality with social hospitality to examine the ways in which hospitality interacts with society. Lashley et al. (2007) propose a series of research agendas for further explorations of the hospitality phenomenon. They suggest exploration of hospitality in an array of contemporary situations (p. 187) and 'examine in which ways different types and sites of commercial hospitality correspond to a concept of hospitableness to expose ways in which different host/guest motives, reciprocity social inclusion/exclusion, and social dynamics and hierarchies present themselves' (p. 189).

This study explores the phenomenon of hospitality in a contemporary setting. With increasing populations of ethnic minorities and a corresponding increase in ethnic minority businesses in developing countries, the issues and dynamics of a shared hospitality become ever more complex and worthy of investigation. In doing so, as proposed by Lashley et al. (2007), the research explores some of the individual components of hospitality thereof as found in conceptual framework such as inclusion/exclusion, laws, and the politics of space in certain types and sites and within non-domestic commercial and social hospitality settings.

Is social hospitality only crafted for selected social groups, in that selected ethnic minorities receive better hospitality, and is this decided by unconscious decision of the public, led by power structures that control the public mind? It is recognised that hospitality includes or excludes, sets boundaries, and determines social boundaries. It

is important to recognize 'the potentiality of a dichotomy of host/guest reference points that may not share a common moral universe, albeit negotiated between the two extremes of hospitality and hostility' (Lashley et al., 2007: 188). Laws and mechanisms of hospitality are involved in determination of social boundaries. This is the reason that one of the research agendas proposed by Lashley et al. (2007) is concerned with exploration of power and control dynamics and mechanisms and processes in host/guest relationships considering 'overt and covert practices to include/exclude, manipulate, and police behaviours towards domestication of the guest' and to explore 'how hospitality is used as a symbolic marker that signifies people's equivalence, difference, distance, and position within society that may offer a sense of identity, distinction, belonging, and social "fit" or degrees of the opposite' (p. 189).

Within the context of the socio-political contemporary world, hospitality is a catalyst through which more light can be shed on complex social and political mechanisms. In the case of this research, small ethnic catering businesses are a type and site of commercial hospitality in which the phenomenon of hospitality takes place; at the same time, this setting demonstrates concepts of hospitableness and hostility between host and guests in both the commercial and wider social space of hospitality. In this site, inclusion and exclusion of the other, social dynamics and hierarchies, and reciprocity of hospitality are exposed. Because of their very nature, ethnic hospitality businesses are a great context for investigation of the phenomenon of hospitality outside its conventional managerial sphere. Lashley et al. (2007) also emphasise the importance of adopting a multi-disciplinary perspective, which needs to be embraced along with associated and more inclusive literatures informing the analysis. In this way, the study of hospitality would not just be 'for understanding hospitality but also for society itself' (p. 191).

2.6.5. *Overview and summary*

This chapter presented a comprehensive review of the EE literature and its key concepts. It discussed how the increasing presence of ethnic minorities in self-

employment as compared with their white counterparts (Daly, 1995) has attracted the attention of academic researchers and policy makers. Different conceptualisations of the EE phenomenon were reviewed, and it was revealed that that there is little consensus in the conceptualization of EE; also, the intellectual discussions show that a stand-alone theory is not likely to be capable of explaining EE as whole. Culturalist approaches, as well as the structuralist, the interactive, and the more recent mixed-embeddedness approaches towards understanding and analysis of EE were discussed in detail, followed by a critique of each of these conceptualisations. Through this, the evolution of this young field of study was shown, and it was stressed that while it is essential not to deny the importance of ethnic culture and religious values and institutions in EE, caution should be practiced so as not to be limited by cultural determinism. The importance of the political-economic context in the process of creation and development of ethnic minority businesses should also not be underestimated.

Gaps in the literature were highlighted. These gaps are divided into conceptual, contextual, and methodological categories. The need for questioning the taken-for-granted assumptions towards EE and its role was highlighted through the literature critique. Also, the call of the researchers for more in-depth qualitative approaches for investigation of the EE phenomenon was identified. In particular, approaches that lead to exploration of meanings and values associated with this phenomenon were emphasized. Also, it was found that there is a homogenisation of different ethnic minorities within the literature, and in this regard some of the more newly migrated ethnicities to the UK such as Iranians have remained under-studied. This diversification needs to be recognised as important in order to be able to develop more localised and specific knowledge in our increasingly diversified and migrant-oriented post-modern society. These gaps help in identification of research aims and objectives and direct the research towards creation of new, emancipatory knowledge that is based on self-definitions of the subjects of the study. This knowledge tends to deconstruct and break the well-established grand narratives and conventional wisdom, but it creates a deeper understanding of the complex dynamics of the social

phenomenon under study and helps initiate change for enhancement of the welfare of the society.

This chapter also presented an overview of the study of hospitality in a different perspective from the more traditional management perspective to the more recent study of hospitality as a social lens that can be used to understand society. From a management perspective, there appear to be significant distinguishing factors specific to the hospitality sector that makes the context different and affects the phenomenon of EE. The needs and wants of hospitality entrepreneurs are complex and broad and are very much context driven. Low skills and qualifications are needed to start up a small hospitality business. Accordingly, one of the main characteristics of this industry is easy entry into the business. This makes hospitality a strong option for ethnic minorities who have limited adaptable qualifications and limited social and language knowledge of the host country. Accordingly, there is an overwhelming presence of ethnic minorities in the hospitality catering sector. Moreover, within the discourse of hospitality management studies, the more recent concept of lifestyle entrepreneur has been the centre of attention of hospitality scholars. Lifestyle entrepreneurship is concerned with maintenance of a certain lifestyle through starting up small-scale hospitality businesses (Thomas et al., 2001). The autonomy and independence desired by lifestyle entrepreneurs is achieved through hospitality small-business creation. The profit motive is not as strong among these people, and they are typically characterised as being non-growth oriented. However, the concept of lifestyle is subjective and complex. Lifestyle could imply different meanings for different people, as it is related to personal views of family, work, and other non-economic goals and the interaction of these factors with one another.

The more recent advancement of hospitality studies goes beyond the traditional hospitality-management research and looks at hospitality as a social phenomenon that can act as a social lens through which one can explore different dimensions of society in a deeper manner (Lashley et al., 2007). New knowledge is created through studying hospitality as a social phenomenon. The relation between host and guest is a

socially constructed one that is produced and reproduced constantly as a result of shared hospitality. The content and facets of the hospitality phenomenon that is manifested in host/guest transactions can be explored from a variety of perspectives. Lashley et al. (2007) have proposed a hospitality conceptual lens for the study of the hospitality phenomenon, including different major themes that give meaning to or set boundaries for host/guest interaction where hospitality takes place.

The present study takes a holistic view towards hospitality. It neither excludes management implications of hospitality nor focuses solely on these aspects. Instead, it looks at both sides of hospitality as small-business contexts with their specific characteristics such as employee issues, motivations and objectives, and growth and profit maximisation orientations. The study also looks at hospitality as a social phenomenon, locating it within its greater context to examine and explore the underlying social relations and contexts within the wider social scene.

3. CHAPTER THREE: FRAMEWORK OF THE RESEARCH

3.1. Introduction

In any research, conceptual orientation, data collection, data analysis, and the resultant interpretations or conclusions are all intertwined and linked with one another at different levels. Through the conceptual framework, the research is placed within specific contexts and clarifies the research processes within the fieldwork; after that, it identifies mechanisms and factors leading to explanation and exploration of the social phenomenon under study—in this case, EE in the context of hospitality. It is of importance, therefore, to put the research into a suitable conceptual framework from the outset to inform the subsequent processes of the research and to identify factors that are relevant to research and that determine research methods of data collection and analysis.

This chapter elucidates the research philosophy, methodology, and methods of data collection and analysis adopted for this study. The goal of this chapter is to show how the research strategy connects with the aims and objectives of the research and how the main research issues are addressed by the adopted methodology and methods. It aims to clarify the relationship between the philosophical and methodological perspectives adopted by this research to fulfil the research objectives. Further, it aims to critically explore the phenomenon of EE in a specific context. The research utilizes phenomenology to be able to fulfil the research goals. Therefore, first, the philosophical and theoretical foundations of the research are discussed, and the theoretical framework of the study is outlined. The phenomenological perspectives are explained in detail to highlight the precise interpretive epistemology of the research. A reasoning informed by interpretive ontology and phenomenological epistemology is applied for the data analysis and interpretation to create a deeper contextual understanding of the phenomenon under study. Accordingly, a detailed description of the adopted structure of the research process is presented. The methodological design of the study, data collection

methods, and analytical design and processes of the research are explained in the second part of the chapter.

Since the reality is assumed to be subjective and socially constructed in this research, the role of the researcher in the processes and production of the research is acknowledged and discussed in this chapter. The reflexive position provides a mechanism through which the subjectivity of reality is recognized and the processes of production of the subjective reality of the studied phenomenon are addressed. Reflexivity not only addresses the above-mentioned issues but also discusses the processes through which the whole research subject matter and its subsequent philosophies, methodologies, and methods were adopted based on the researcher's sociological, cultural, historical, and political background and positions.

The processes of data collection and data analysis are described through a detailed discussion of different methodological phases of the research. Based on the gaps found in the literature review, the chosen methods aim to explore the self-definitions of the ethnic entrepreneurs under study about the phenomenon of EE and its role in their personal and social worlds in order to uncover the essences of this phenomenon. Through ascertaining the views of ethnic entrepreneurs themselves, a more informed definition of the phenomenon of EE and the conditions it shapes in the lives of ethnic minority people is developed. Data collection is carried out based on a phenomenological approach towards interviewing the ethnic entrepreneurs. A precise account of interviewing and its issues within the context of this research is presented, followed by a discussion of ethical considerations involved with the data collection. Accordingly, a detailed account of methods applied for the analysis of qualitative data is provided. After transcribing, the substantive qualitative data is reduced, synthesized, and interpreted according to the produced thematic framework. This facilitates exploration of emerging themes and subsequent development of concepts that are also grounded in the data. The thematic framework and the illustrative quotations extracted from the transcribed interviews form the basis for interpretation of data. The framework, which allows for elaboration on the interviews, extraction of the themes, and a detailed, in-depth, context-driven analysis, is provided. All of these

steps add to the rigour and transparency of the methodological processes of the research. Figure (3.1) shows the philosophical and methodological structure and design of the research.
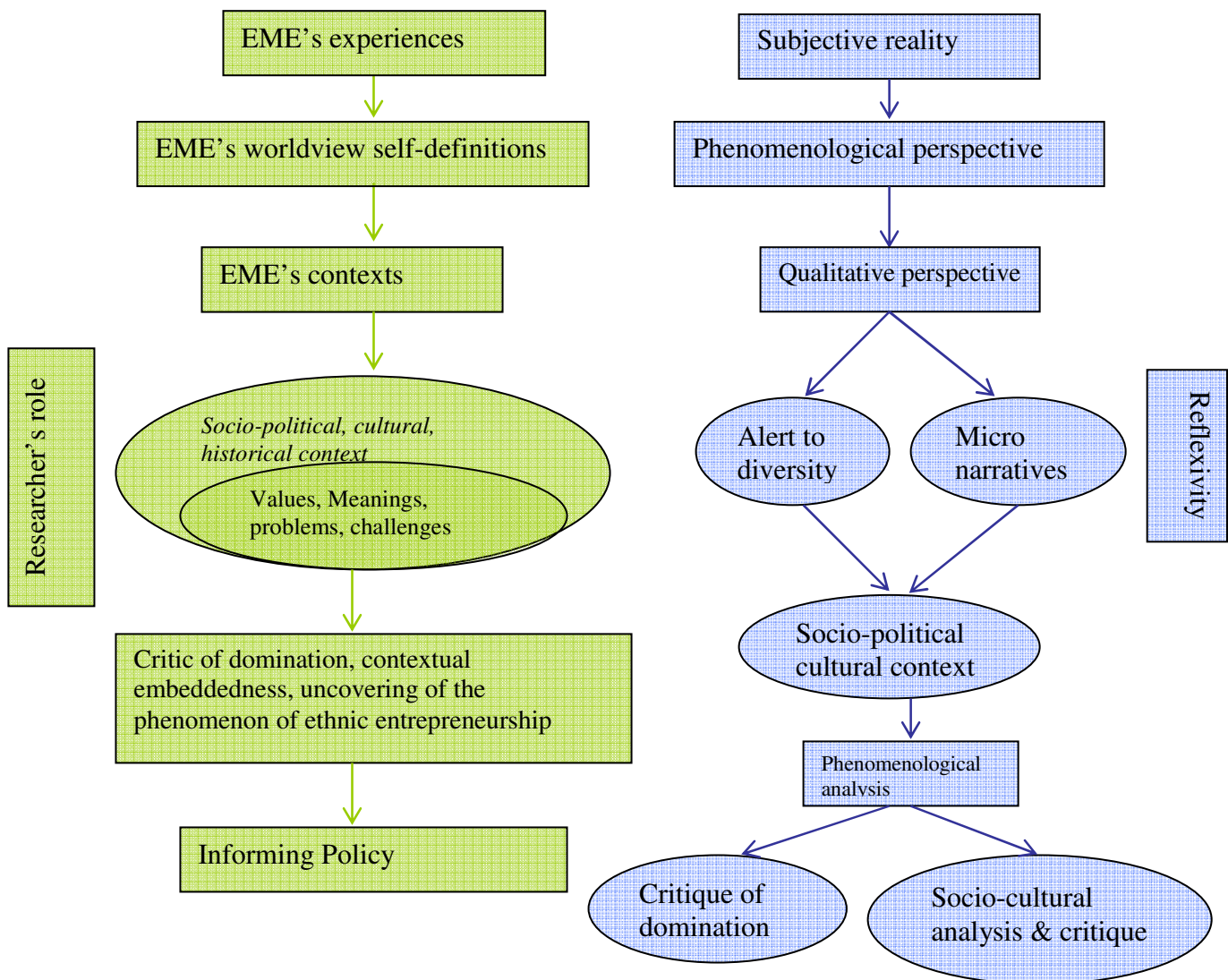
Figure 3.1 Philosophical and Methodological Structure of the Research

Source: Own figure

3.2. From data to knowledge

Any research deals with data and information and is based on a specific philosophical orientation and conceptual framework, and through a set of defined and logical methods attempts to process the information and develop new knowledge about the phenomena under study. Milan Zeleny (1987) identified the distinction and relations between data, information, knowledge, and wisdom describing them with 'know nothing', 'know what', 'know how', and 'know why', respectively. Russell Ackoff (1989), in his article 'from data to wisdom' mapped these categories and added understanding before wisdom, indicating that data simply exists and is processed and given meaning by rational connections providing answers to what, who, when, and where questions. Data exists without meaning or context, and information places data into a context. Knowledge is finding and understanding patterns in information, answering 'how' questions, and synthesizing new information based on the explored patterns. Understanding implies appreciation of the 'why' question and represents a process through which new knowledge can be synthesised. Wisdom is evaluated understanding and goes beyond understanding. When knowledge is accumulated over time, one can learn to understand patterns and principles in human action so that knowledge can be put in context, combined, and applied appropriately (Schuler, 2003: 2) to create wisdom. Understanding of knowledge is 'enhanced by its contextualisation not only relative to the "more basic" concepts of data and information, but also relative to the "more complex and abstract" nature of wisdom'; it involves ethical and social considerations and sophisticated and sensitive use of knowledge, and it accommodates multiple realities (Rowley, 2006: 257). Through the process of wisdom, one discerns, or judges, between good and bad or right and wrong (Bellinger et.al, 2004). According to Ackoff (1989), data, information, knowledge, and understanding relate to the past, since those categories engage with what is known or what has been. When we develop new knowledge about a subject matter, we only have explored something new that had existed, but we did not know about that phenomenon. However wisdom is about the future in that it incorporates vision and design to direct the way forwards

and is inclined to create the future through a greater scope rather than only residing in the present and past.

The main objective of any research is development of new knowledge through systematic and rational methods of conducting research and collection and analysis of data. An abundance of data and information are available to people in the contemporary world. It is important, however, to process data and information and to develop them to create knowledge, which is the main task of a researcher. Contribution to knowledge, nevertheless, should not be considered as the ultimate goal and end point of research, for knowledge itself is the starting point for higher and more abstract, levels such as understanding and wisdom (Zeleny, 1987; Ackoff, 1989). Research, particularly in areas of social studies and humanities, should not only facilitate knowledge but also facilitate development of understanding and wisdom to be able to initiate change. Appreciation and understanding of this fact help the researcher to design and carry out the research in a way that goes beyond, does not stop at the knowledge stage, and goes further towards creation of an understanding that helps in acquisition of wisdom, which is perceived as the highest level of abstraction. Wisdom includes vision, foresight, and the ability to see beyond the horizon (Awad and Ghaziri, 2004: 40). Data, information, and knowledge can be more easily acquired and managed, but wisdom is more complex, abstract, and collective. Research can be directed in a way to help in the development of wisdom within society, and it can help in taking society towards understanding and harmony. Both positivist and interpretive paradigms can achieve this wisdom, each from their own lens. The important fact is to direct the research towards this wisdom. This research study investigates deep into the social phenomena and experiences of people and is able to look at these phenomena holistically through its adopted conceptual framework and methods of a data collection and analysis.

The present research is designed based on the above idea and attempts not only to uncover some unknown aspects of EE in hospitality in order to create or explore new knowledge in the field but also, and importantly, to go beyond this level and contribute to creating a better understanding of the phenomena and their complexities. Consequently, it attempts to further direct the focus of the research in a

way that helps in creation of wisdom about the studied phenomenon to facilitate change and development of the welfare of society. Therefore, in a conscious attempt towards this task, the levels and processes that take the research from data to wisdom are distinguished, and each is matched with one of the steps in the research methodology, from collection of data to its analysis to development of findings and then to further steps of research such as discussion and conclusion. In the following figure (3.2) the researcher shows how the process from data to wisdom (Ackoff, 1989) is matched with research philosophy and research methodology and the whole of the research design. This understanding shapes the skeleton structure and design of the research, based on which the present research is conducted from its beginning to end.

Conceptual framework

Know why,
how, what
(evaluated
understanding)

Know why

Know how

Know what

Start to know

Data

Wisdom

Understanding

Knowledge

Information

Methodology

Field
work

Analysis

Finding

Discussion,
Conclusion

Research paradigm, ontology and epistemology
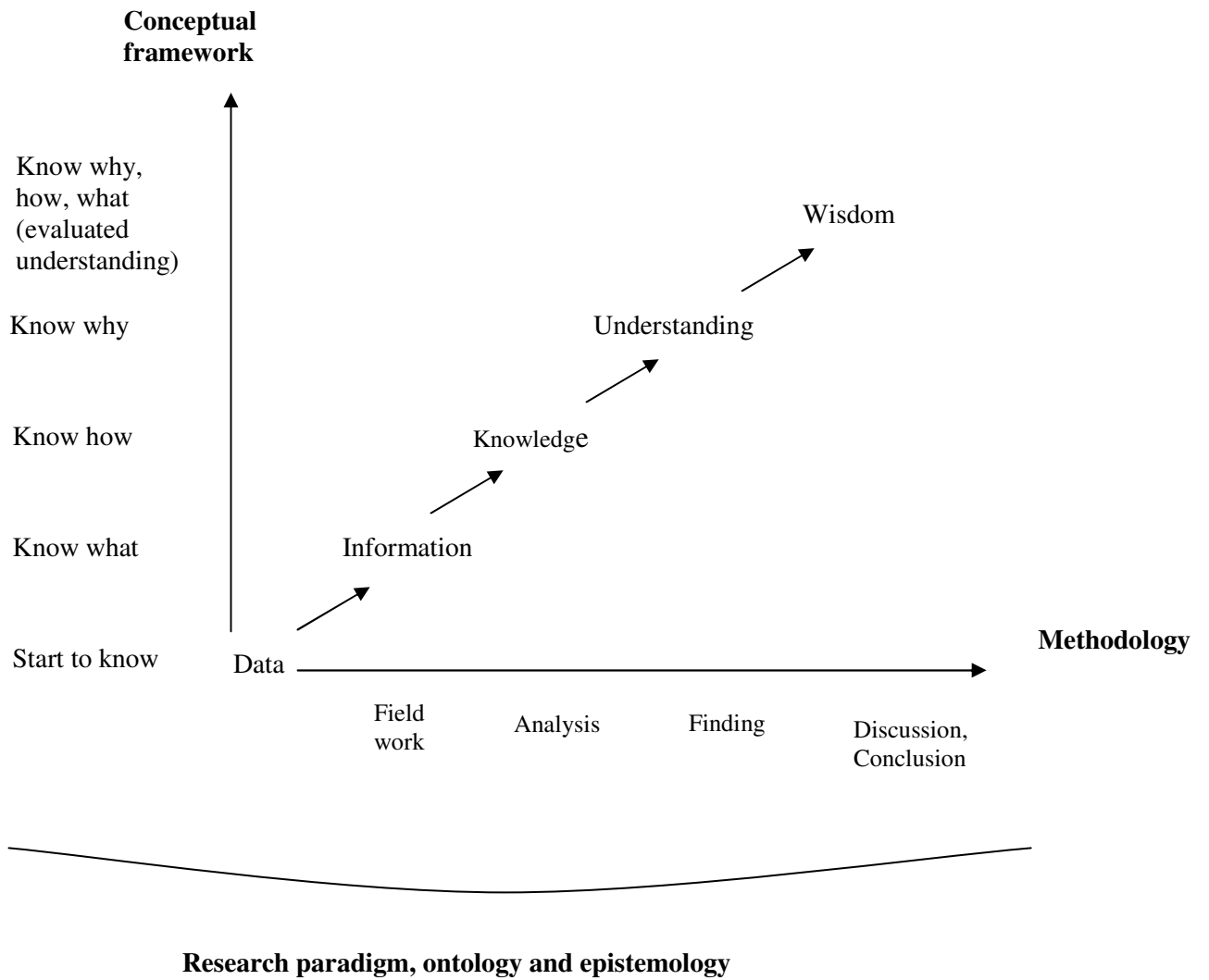
Figure 3.2. Research Process from Data to Wisdom

Source: Own figure

3.3. Research paradigm

3.3.1. Nature of knowledge

The nature of reality and knowledge are among the fundamental philosophical issues that form the primary engagement of researchers when they start to establish the basis and foundations of their research. Researchers need to make their philosophical standpoint clear. Philosophical orientations of researchers about the nature of reality and the ways through which one comes to know and learn those realities are the basis of research and define and shape different dimensions of the research. According to Flick (1998: 17) 'the different ways in which individuals invest objects, events, experiences…form the central starting point for research. The reconstruction of such subjective viewpoints becomes the instrument for analysing social worlds'. The choice of ontological, epistemological, and methodological orientations and approaches, therefore, is a subjective choice by the researcher based on his or her own viewpoints towards the nature of knowledge and reality.

The ways of studying human in their social contexts will be different according to the philosophical positions that the researcher takes. Fundamental beliefs and assumptions are made about the nature of reality, the nature of knowledge acquired about reality, and the nature of different ways to study reality and to gain knowledge, and these beliefs form a standpoint from which one sees, perceives, and acts in the world (Kuhn, 1962/1996). Ontological (nature of reality), epistemological (the nature of knowledge about reality), and methodological (the ways though which one comes to know reality) assumptions are termed a paradigm or framework based on which a researcher acts. Paradigms are a set of beliefs that rule the scientific scene according to Kuhn (1970: 154). To Guba (1990) a paradigm is beliefs about the reality and how it should be understood and studied.

Choosing a paradigm is the starting point of any research project. There is long-standing debate between philosophers of science and methodologists about the nature of reality and knowledge. Two major theoretical perspectives or paradigms exist in

the social sciences. Positivism claims to establish value-free facts and results through objective investigation of facts and causal laws of social phenomena. The unreflective standpoint of positivism is very much in line with the traditions of natural science investigations, in which objectivity is the focal point. Positivism seeks to explain the social world phenomena by searching for causal relationships between their constituent factors (Burrell and Morgan, 1985). It produces a type of knowledge that is objective and has the capacity for generalisation to the wider population (Bryman, 2004). According to Durkheim (Taylor and Bogdan, 1998, in Patton, 2002: 69), social facts should be considered as things with an external effect on people. Durkheim believed pre-notions—i.e., subjectivity and the researcher's role in research—should be banned from scientific inquiry, as it is seen as a distorting fact and bias (Mottier, 2005). The role of the researcher is minimized as much as possible in this culture, and data exists independently. Schwandt (2000) comments that as a result of this tradition of objectivity in positivism, studying cultural social and historical contexts and dimensions becomes a challenging task and even irrelevant because it challenges the ideal of objectivism. Studying atoms or molecules of periodic table or indeed any other natural phenomena is different from studying human and social phenomena. When the subject of the research is human in his or her social, cultural, and historical contexts the measures and perspectives that the natural sciences offer seem inadequate.

Gummesson (2002) contends that the world is complex and ambiguous and that this ambiguity, complexity, and fuzziness should not be shunned as un-orderly and threatening—as it is by quantitative researchers. He points to the fact that even the natural sciences, which are looked at with envy by mainstream social scientists for their richness in objectivity and orderliness, accept chaos and complexity (Stacey, 1996). Gummesson (2002: 589) suggests that 'research must put a halt to the excessive, even obscene indulgence in quantification and surveys. We need less deductive hypothesis-testing of isolated concepts out of context, and more inductive research where true observation is encouraged'. Gummesson (2002) proposes the need for systematic application of common sense in business research that utilizes the researcher's observational capacity in an inductive mode and allows it to receive

the story of life, search for patterns, and build a theory that offers a context, a map that helps researchers to put activities and events into a context.

Montuori (1998) elaborates on Morin's (1994) concept of complex thought as opposed to simple thought, which is a product of modernist thought and is reductive, disjunctive, and foundationalist. He argues that through its disjunctive nature, the simple thought attempts to view order and disorder as existing independently of each other and stresses order and simplicity. In post-modern time, however, ordered organisation of modernity is subject to chaos, uncertainty, and disorder within which disequilibrium, heterogeneity, and complexity need to be recognized (Lyotard, 1984). Within this framework of mind, order and disorder are intertwined and one does not exist without the other. Therefore, the created knowledge becomes contextual. Disjunctive thought seeks to simplify problems by developing either/or propositions to which everything can be reduced. This leads to a mentality of prediction and control. Lyotard (1984) shows the tendency of disjunctive, reductive, simple thought to develop a function of strategies of domination. Complex thought is instead systemic, dialogic, and conjunctive and recognizes that the phenomenon or system and its environment exist in an inter-retroactive and dialogic relationship. According to Morin, a move from simple reductive and disjunctive thought towards complex thought leads to a participative rather than a bystander world. This makes the researcher a participant in the knowledge creation and a part of the larger context in which knowledge appears and is created. Therefore, there is a need to develop a self- reflexive form of knowing within which the knower's participation is included in the production of knowledge at all times (Montuori,1998).

This sense of the inadequacy of the natural sciences' ontological, epistemological, and methodological stances in studying the social, cultural, and historical dimensions of human phenomena led philosophers and social scientists to slowly deviate from positivist perspectives and paradigms and open up new windows through which they thought human phenomena can be better understood and studied.

This inadequacy of the positivist paradigm that has its roots the in natural science traditions and cultures of objectivity and observation has led to the formation of other perspectives for social and human research. There are philosophers of science who believe that to investigate and understand the human and his or her world one needs to take another ontological, epistemological, and methodological standpoint, as the human world is different from the physical and natural world and thus needs to be studied differently (Guba and Linclon, 2005). This philosophical paradigm, interpretivism, questions the usefulness of positivism in explaining the social phenomena and in solving problems in the human and social sciences, while positivism might be a suitable way of researching the natural sciences (Donaldson, 2003). In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, historians and sociologists like Weber (1922), Dilthey (1883), and Simmel (1918) reacted to the dominant positivist philosophical perspective and elaborated on the inadequacy of natural science tools to acquire knowledge. They questioned the basic assumptions of the positivists, arguing that this ordered, objective view underestimates the complexity of social and cultural phenomena and the life-world.

The central point of this reaction was the argument about the fundamental differences between human science and natural sciences in nature and purpose (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). For example, Dilthey (1883/1989) pointed to the aforementioned fact and asserted that human phenomena have to be understood because human and social actions are meaningful, while natural phenomena need to be explained. Therefore, the researcher needs to produce descriptive accounts and interpretive meanings through exploring those meanings related to human phenomena, while for natural phenomena he or she needs to observe. Qualitative interpretive philosophers departed from the reductionist stance that positivism provided that viewed the world in an atomistic form, and they approached the world from a holistic perspective to explore implicit meanings and experiences of phenomena and the world (Dilthey, 1989).

Within this perspective, ontologically, the reality is not understood as a singularity in the interpretive paradigm. The ontology assumes that the reality is subjective to

people and the observer is part of the reality. The nature of reality is not objectively determined, but rather it is socially constructed and given meaning by people to explore and understand 'what is going on' (Easterby-Smith et al., 2002). This paradigm tries to unravel dimensions of social life that have not been institutionalized and systematized. According to the subjective paradigm, people are sense-making subjects and not simply objects of study (Easterby-Smith et al., 2002). Reality is what people perceive it to be (Patton, 2002). Advocates of this paradigm assume that humans have the capacity to construct reality, and as a result in order to understand human perceptions and experiences an interpretive standpoint should be taken. Although human perceptions and experiences are different from physical reality, they are real to people who experience them. In a subjective paradigm, social and cultural constructs become important in shaping the subjective reality as perceived by humans (Patton, 2002). Schutz (1974: 59) comments, 'the constructs of the social sciences are constructs of the second degree, that is, constructs of the constructs made by the actors on the social scene. The exploration of the general principles according to which man in daily life organizes his experiences, and especially those of the social world, is the first task of the methodology of the social sciences'. From this perspective, with their views about a phenomenon, subjects construe a part of their reality. The reality examined by the qualitative researcher is not a given reality but is constructed by subjects.

This research adopts a subjective ontological stance with an interpretive paradigm since the researcher also perceives the reality of the social world as subjective and relative. This ontological perspective is not, however, specific to Western schools of thought. This approach towards understanding of the world is also found in Persian and Islamic philosophies; to cite one example, it was very well manifested in the works of Rumi eight hundred years ago.

The adopted interpretive paradigm aims to understand and interpret the subjective meanings of the social phenomenon and human experiences. The phenomenon of EE like other social phenomena exists within its specific contexts. Human understanding of themselves and the world is historically and culturally situated (Gergen, 1994: 50),

and knowledge is contextualised by historical and cultural influences (Agger, 1991) and produced intentionally by humans (Habermas, 1978). It is important to understand the subjective meaning of human actions, desires, and beliefs through investigation of the everyday inter-subjective world and understanding of the constituents of the life-world.

Qualitative research aims to understand social realities through interpretation (Flick, 2009). Qualitative research adopts a naturalistic approach and seeks to understand phenomena in context-specific settings, such as 'real world setting [where] the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest" (Patton, 2001, p. 39) and produces findings arrived from real-world settings where the 'phenomenon of interest unfold naturally' (Patton, 2002, p. 39). In qualitative research the assumption is that there are concepts related to a social phenomenon which have not yet identified, or at least not identified in a specific population or place (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). In an interpretation of a book on the subject of qualitative research by Glaser (2001) Gummesson (2002, p. 585) says:

'Take the elevator from the ground floor of raw substantive data and description to the penthouse of conceptualization and general theory. And do this without paying homage to the legacy of extant theory'.

Qualitative methodologies enable the researcher to understand the phenomenon under study and to make interpretations about the meanings of the phenomenon (Patton, 2002). Qualitative research seeks to explore 'what is happening; to seek new insights; to ask new questions and to assess phenomenon in a new light' (Robson, 2002, p. 59).

Based on interpretivisim, the social world is subjectively experienced and meaning is found within the social and cultural world (Snape and Spencer, 2003). In this perspective, the search for grand narratives is being replaced by more local, small-scale theories fitted to specific problems and specific situations. Burrell and Morgan (1979: 28) explain interpretivsim as a paradigm that seeks to 'understand the

fundamental nature of the social world at the level of subjective experience'. Social science aims to understand the subjective meanings underlying the social and cultural world and practices , and this is done through interpretation since social reality cannot be studied as an external object from a methodological point of view (Mottier, 2005). Therefore, this research takes a critical position towards conventional knowledge and taken-for-granted assumptions about the understanding of social phenomena, in this case EE. With a specific historical and cultural perspective towards the understanding of the phenomena under study, it is also assumed that knowledge links with social processes and social actions (Burr, 2003).

As is evident in the literature review, culture is an undetectable and essential component of the EE concept. Even those conceptualisations of EE that have tried to focus on other facets of EE could not deny the significant existence of culture and its role in the shaping of EE. Ethnic minorities hold specific values and world views rooted in their cultural backgrounds, and these world views and values are manifested in their social actions and interactions; hence, for the understanding of EE an understanding of these worldviews becomes central to the research process. Culture itself is a profoundly complex and dynamic concept that does not lend itself to closed and causal systems of understanding. It involves values, meanings, and attitudes within a community. Historically evolved institutions such as religion, family, education, and society as a whole are sources of production of these shared values and meanings (Tayeb, 1988). Thus, an understanding of the essence, implications, and role of culture in a social phenomenon like EE, which itself by definition is a concept based on ethnic group membership, requires more in-depth methods of exploration in the attempt to accumulate knowledge. An objective ontology with a positivist paradigm leads to explanation of causal relationships and regularities instead of focusing deeply on the complexities and multi-dimensional and contextual embeddedness of social phenomenon and it does not fulfil the purpose of this research.

The entrepreneurship field generally has been dominated by positivist research (Fillis, 2006). However, since it is a context-specific and heterogeneous concept, as

reviewed in the literature, entrepreneurship research can benefit from investigation of those ideological and socio-political systems that impede or encourage the entrepreneurial process (Ogbor, 2000). The subject matter of this research is the study of a social phenomenon (EE) that involves investigation of human conditions in the context of entrepreneurship. The phenomenon of EE defines the research paradigm—i.e., interpretive to a great extent. As reviewed in the literature section, EE is a complex and dynamic phenomenon with no unified and cohesive conceptual theory, and it is very much context driven. Lack of a strong conceptual framework according to Davidsson (2004) is connected with the relative youth of the field of entrepreneurship in general, and EE in particular, and is an indicator of the need for more qualitative research to enable exploration and understanding of wider facets and dimensions of this social phenomenon. It was noted in the literature that more in-depth and qualitative approaches are needed in this field to shed light on this phenomenon and to focus on substantive meanings and implications of EE (Zhou, 2004: 15; Ram and Jones, 2007). Through an interpretive paradigm, it is possible to understand human viewpoints in the conditions and environment within which the subjects of study live (Snape and Spenser, 2003).

3.3.2. Epistemological frameworks for the research

There are many different traditions of subjective and qualitative research, and a research study's epistemological standpoint is defined by its ontological stance. One of the main forms of qualitative and interpretive studies is phenomenology (Giddens, 1974). This research is based on a phenomenological framework to make the marginalized phenomenon of EE and the marginalized voices of ethnic entrepreneurs better heard and understood in society. Adopting a qualitative framework involves the study of 'things in their natural settings, interpreting phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them, humanising problems and gaining an "emic" or insider's perspective' (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004: 4).

This study aims to uncover and understand the complex and substantive meanings of EE as lived and experienced by Iranian ethnic entrepreneurs in the hospitality sector.

It is about the meanings that Iranian ethnic entrepreneurs in the catering sector associate with their businesses, and the aim of the study is to develop knowledge in the area of EE. A combination or triangulation of perspectives within qualitative enquiry can help in enrichment of the research (Patton, 2002: 134). In this research, within a phenomenological framework, the focus is on lived experiences and letting new meanings emerge from the data. Through critical theory, the attention of the research is directed towards the social and historical context of both the researcher and the researched, including attention to dominant injustice and oppression (Patton, 2002). Therefore a phenomenological and critical framework fits with the objectives of this research. The phenomenological and critical approach adopted will be discussed in this chapter. First, the critical perspective of the research is explained and elucidated; subsequently, the phenomenological framework is discussed to explain the way in which a phenomenon is explored.

3.4. Phenomenology

As seen, the present research's objectives are centred on the subjective experiences of Iranian ethnic entrepreneurs of the EE. The research is looking for these ethnic entrepreneurs' self-definitions of their social worlds, and it attempts to discover their perceptions and highlight their marginalised voices. Through this, the substantive meanings of EE will be uncovered from the perspectives of the people who have lived the experience. Phenomenology aims at acquiring a deeper understanding of the nature or meaning of people's everyday experiences (Van Manen, 1990: 9). In the phenomenological perspective, epistemologically human action is perceived as meaningful, and the life-world *(Lebenswelt)* is acknowledged as an essential aspect for understanding. The emphasis of phenomenology is on the contribution of human subjectivity to knowledge, and it is aimed at understanding social phenomena from the actor's own perspective.

Phenomenology attempts to go "back to things themselves" (Kruger, 1988, p. 28; Moustakas, 1994, p. 26). In phenomenology meaning is achieved through

discovering of subjective dimensions of experience (Smith, 2003). It intends to understand the phenomenon in its own terms in order to present and illustrate a description of human experience as it is lived and experienced by the person him/herself (Bentz & Shapiro, 1998, p. 96) and consequently to allow the essence of the phenomenon and the experience to emerge (Cameron, et al. 2001). In phenomenological research which shapes the conceptual orientation of the present research, the aim is to understand social phenomena from the perspective of people who have lived and experienced it (Welman and Kruger, 1999, p. 189). Therefore, the main concern of the researcher within a phenomenological framework is to grasp the essence of the lived experiences of the people involved with the phenomenon under study (Holloway, 1997; Kruger, 1988; Kvale, 1996; Robinson & Reed, 1998).

To reach research aims and objectives, then, a phenomenological qualitative study is deemed appropriate. Within this perspective the focus is to understand the phenomenon and its explicit and implicit meanings from the inside and the researcher attempts to understand the views of subjects and their social situations or cultural/social rules relevant for a situation (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). According to Denzin (1989: 58–9) the goal of phenomenology is 'to recreate lived experience in terms of its constituent analytic elements'. Studying how the world is experienced requires understanding the meanings of human action and interpretation. Therefore, in order to understand subjective meanings of social and cultural practices and worldviews it is necessary to assume that social reality is not merely an external subject. As a result, the researcher's role in the research process is acknowledged and he or she becomes part of the life-world (Weber, in Mottier, 2005). Central concepts of phenomenology as defined by phenomenological philosophers, which delineate the epistemological framework and methodology of this research, are discussed below.

3.4.1. Phenomenological epistemological concepts

3.4.1.1. Essence

This takes the discussion to another key concept of phenomenology—essence. Merleau-Ponty (1945/1995: vii) says 'phenomenology is the study of essences'. Essence is a phenomenon's way of being. In Husserl's philosophy, the concept of essence is a key concept (1998). The structure of essential meanings, which explains and clarifies the phenomenon, can be understood as essence. The phenomenon becomes that very phenomenon because of this essential structure of meanings. A phenomenon has essential characteristics and essence, which explicate that structure of meanings. Natanson (1973: 13) comments that to Husserl the essence is aspects or qualities of the phenomenon as intended. The essence is the phenomenon when it is grasped in its intentional character. Essence cannot be separated from the phenomenon. Therefore, through intentionality—that is, turning to things themselves in an intentional manner—one will see the phenomenon and its meanings, and thus the phenomenon's essence will be clarified. Husserl's intentionality clarifies that when the phenomenon presents itself as something, it presents its essence. The intentional relationship between the researcher and the phenomenon leads to illumination of essences, and meaning is disclosed in the research process taking place between the researcher and the phenomenon. However, essences are not the outcome of interpretation.

The structure of essential meanings that explains and clarifies the phenomenon can be called the essence of that phenomenon. Essence explicates and illuminates these essential characteristics of the phenomenon without which it would not be that phenomenon. However, essence is more than only characteristics of a phenomenon (Natanson, 1973: 14). With regard to essence, Husserl's idea of intentionality comes to the fore. When the researcher is intentional towards a phenomenon, it presents itself—its essence. Being intentional involves seeing the phenomenon of interest, its meanings, and its essence. The essence and meanings associated with it are disclosed in the process of research that happens between the researcher and the phenomenon,

and essences are present in the intentional relationship between the researcher and the phenomenon. Essence is always understood against its horizons, namely the phenomenon's inner and outer horizons. It is against the background that essence and understanding of the essence of studied phenomenon are uncovered (Dahlberg et al., 2008). A multitude of meanings underlie the data and the research works actively along with the data, so the new meanings emerge. These meanings are interwoven, and they interact with each other. At one time, a part of the text and its meaning is placed against other meanings as its background, and in another moment, the same meaning becomes the background of other meanings. Therefore, historical and cultural contexts of the phenomenon are taken into consideration in order to disclose patterns of meanings. As different meanings emerge, differences and similarities between them are identified, and a pattern of meanings is revealed.

3.4.1.2. Horizon

Phenomenology intends to philosophically examine the human being, his or her world (life-world), and the individual's being in the world and lived experiences. Life-world is a world that appears meaningfully to consciousness in its qualitative, flowing given-ness—not an objective world out there, but a humanly relational world (Todres et al., 2007: 55). The life-world is something more than the world and more than the subject because it is the lived, experienced world. This signifies the importance of context in the discovery of meanings in phenomenological studies, which is called horizon (Merleau-Ponty 1964 b, 1995). Context or horizon is central in the process of understanding the phenomenon in the phenomenological perspective (Husserl, 1970). Based on Husserl (1936/1970) horizon or context is a key to the human's conscious experience and perception of the world. The focus is to go back to things themselves and describe them openly within their horizons.

It aims to make the implicit explicit, and it is heard through description of the lived world in order to understand the humans and their experiences within a particular living context—in this case, EE in hospitality. In phenomenology, the focus is to make the phenomenon present itself and to describe the phenomenon in a meaningful

way. In the context of the present research, discovering the life-world and horizons of ethnic entrepreneurs helps in a better understanding of the meanings associated with the phenomenon of EE. In phenomenology, life-world is considered as a horizon of understanding, since it is regarded as the context of experience (Husserl, 1970). The life-world (Lebenswelt) is the background or horizon of all experiences, the world we live in, which consists of what is self-evident and given. Therefore, consideration of the horizon and the life-world become important in understanding, since every person and phenomenon becomes understandable only in the horizon (Kockelmans, 1994). Phenomenological studies question the life-world instead of taking it for granted. Ashworth (2003) comments in phenomenological inquiries data can be viewed through interlinked and essential fractions of the life-world.

3.4.1.3. Intersubjectivity

Heidegger (1998) takes this further and points to the inter-subjectivity of the human's world. The life-world can be both personal and inter-subjective. The horizon, the background, is inter-subjective in that it is the field of communal experience. Others, through their opinions and experiences, bring a wider range of perspectives and thus individual perception and experience are altered by others (Husserl, 1936/1970). Heidegger's notion of being-in-the world is an expansion of Husserl's life-world and horizon concept and focuses on the nature of human existence and context and the reciprocal relationship between these two. Heidegger with his concept of being-in-the-world implies that the human world or life-world is a world of and with others. Being-in the-world implies a fundamentally intertwined relationship between humans and the world. Heidegger (1998: 155) asserts that the world is always the one that the human shares with others; the world of 'Desein' as Heidegger puts it, is a with-world. Being-in-the-world means being with others. This leads to the concept of inter-subjectivity, which is considered as a total horizon that makes the human world meaningful. Thus, the intersubjective context/world of the human becomes important in the understanding of a phenomenon as, in the context of the life-world, humans are situated in a world of tradition, history, and culture.

Based on the above concepts, in a phenomenological framework, human understandings are subjective and contextually embedded, inter-personally forged, and necessarily limited (Neimeyer, 1993: 1-2). Culture shapes and conditions the ways humans see things, and in this way a unique, definite view of the world is provided for humans (Crotty, 1998). Thus, our worldviews are created based on our inter-subjective and intentional experiences in the horizon or life-world that is embedded in society and culture. In the context of this study therefore, the social and cultural context of the ethnic entrepreneurs, their inter-subjective life-world and horizons, as well as their world views, personal horizons, play a key role in developing understanding of the phenomenon and its meanings. In a phenomenological study, the experience must be explicated, described, and interpreted. However, descriptions of experience and interpretations are very much entwined, so they often become one (Patton, 2002). As a result, interpretation becomes essential to the understanding of experiences, and the experience includes the interpretation. Therefore, it is important to focus on the ways in which people put together the phenomena they experience in such a way as to make sense of the world and, through this, develop a worldview (Patton, 2002) .

3.5. Reflexivity

An inductive approach to research is a characteristic of qualitative inquiry. The researcher enters the field without a pre-determined hypothesis, and understanding emerges from the setting and is grounded in the data. It is important to elucidate context in order to capture the perspectives and views of the subjects. When interpreting meanings, the researcher's perspectives must also be made explicit. Patton (2002: 129) comments that self-reflection and self-awareness are methodological tools to be utilized by the researcher as a result of the epistemological importance of pre-understanding.

According to Husserl and Heidegger, life is manifested in experience, and phenomenology aims to grasp meanings of the experience and the phenomena which

are being studied through exploring patterns of meanings of experience shared by a group of people who have lived the specific experience, analyzing, synthesising, and presenting those patterns of meanings (Dahlberg et al., 2008). Considering the concept of life-world in phenomenological studies, the researcher, the researched, and the research itself are all located in a life-world; also, based on the notion of intersubjectivity, experiences and their meanings are created in the life-world and in the existing relationship between themselves and the world that they experience. It is within this context that the researcher seeks to explore, understand, and describe the phenomenon, and this position provides the individual with an opportunity to contribute to the meaning of the world creatively. Meaning is constructed by subjects and reconstructed by the researcher (Dahlberg et al., 2008).

This is contrary to the positivist paradigm because in phenomenology it is believed that the presuppositions of the researchers cannot be detached from them and that researchers should not pretend otherwise (Hammersley, 2000), since they are living within the life-world. In contrast to the objective paradigm, which promotes value-free approaches and objectifies culture, societies, geographies, and people (Goodson and Phillimore, 2004: 30) the subjective paradigm stands for the position and role of the researcher in the production and process of research. As a result, the awareness of the contribution of the researcher in understanding and description of a phenomenon and its meanings is important in a qualitative study. Therefore, the researcher's position in and relationship to the phenomenon and the world becomes significant in qualitative phenomenological research. In this paradigm it is acknowledged that the research process is significantly influenced by the perspectives, values, and ideologies that the researcher brings to the scene. These include the researcher's cultural background, age, gender, ethnicity, class, etc., and all of these factors contribute to the formation of the research process and the way in which the phenomena is interpreted and the text is constructed (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004).

On the subject of the researcher's position and relationship to the studied phenomenon, Heidegger (1998: 214–15) emphasises adopting an open and

discovering attitude in research, which enables exploration of the meanings of the phenomenon as it presents itself. Maso (1995) defines three forms of openness in qualitative phenomenological attitude: openness to research situation, openness to the research question, and openness to oneself. Openness to the research situation means finding out how the phenomenon hides and reveals itself to the researcher as a consequence of the researcher's characteristics—e.g., gender, ethnicity, and educational background. This form of openness creates awareness for researchers and helps them to methodologically utilize some effective methods to get close to the experience and to give as much opportunity to the phenomenon to reveal itself to the greatest possible extent in the research context. According to Maso (1995) carrying out the research based on a methodology that fits and enables the researcher to answer the research question is openness to the research question. In this type of openness, the researcher needs to be open to how research questions or aims and objectives direct and limit the research. Openness to oneself consists of being self-revealing. It is considered to be the awareness of the researcher and taking into account his or her own contribution to the research. It also implies the awareness of the ways in which one is affected by the research. It is important that the researcher be open to his or her own experience. Smaling (1995) also points to importance of openheartedness and the importance of disclosing one's own thoughts and experiences.

As mentioned before, Heidegger's concept of inter-subjectivity and its implications plays a salient role in phenomenological qualitative research methodology. During the course of this study, the researcher stepped into the life-world experience of the participants, and it is as a result of the inter-subjective encounter between the researcher, the life-world, the phenomenon, and the informants that knowledge is developed. So it is vital for the researchers to (1) adopt an open attitude and to be aware of their inter-subjective encounter in the context of research, and (2) form a relationship in favour of the informant (Giorgi, 2006: 354). It is important reflect upon the whole event. The researcher then is 'a hunter of meaning' who has an open and alert attitude and waits actively for the phenomenon to disclose itself within the relationship with the researcher (Gadamer, 1995: 129-130). Researcher is greatly

involved clarifying and illuminating the meanings, and gives body to the phenomenon (Merleau-Ponty, 1968).

Reflection therefore, becomes a vital part of qualitative research based on the aforementioned philosophical and epistemological perspectives provided by the above-mentioned philosophers. According to Heidegger's (1998) pure consciousness and knowledge do not exist in a vacuum. As humans, researchers can never be totally removed from the life-world, pre–understandings, or implicit understandings. Based on Husserl's (1998) understanding, humans are immersed in a natural attitude and need to understand that they are always part of the life-world; we cannot come out of it but rather have to be critical to of our usual immersion in that attitude through reflection. This is a fundamental phenomenological act and 'the phenomenological method operates exclusively in acts of reflection' (Husserl, 1998: 174). Researchers are naturally involved with phenomena and the world, and they need to realize the importance of awareness of their own experiences and perceptions that contribute to the understanding of phenomena and the world.

Gadamer (1996) views reflection as an ability that is considered an essential and vital aspect of humanity. According to Gadamer 'reflection, the free process of turning in oneself, appears as the highest form of freedom that exists at all. Here the mind is properly in its own element in so far as it relates solely to its own content' (p. 50). The ability to reflect on one's own perceptions, one's own experiences, and one's relationship to the world is considered as self-reflection and self-awareness.

Taylor and White (2000) see reflectivity as the early stage of reflexivity. A reflective attitude makes reflexivity possible. Reflexivity is a process of looking inward and findings out how one's experiences may have affected her/his thinking. Through reflexivity meaning is given to experience (Taylor and White, 2000). 'Reflexivity implies the ability to reflect inward toward oneself as an inquirer; outward to the cultural, historical, linguistic, political, and other forces that shape everything about inquiry; and, in between researcher and participant, to the social interaction they share. (Sandelowski and Barroso, 2002: 220). It implies seeking stories behind the

data and searching for more in-depth and complex understandings (Harris et al., 2007).

As discussed, in qualitative research the researcher is viewed as the active instrument of the research process and product. As opposed to quantitative researchers who attempt to disassociate themselves from the research process, qualitative researchers have come to embrace their role and involvement in their research (Winter, 2000). As Merleau-Ponty (1968) puts it, the researcher is greatly involved in the clarifying and illuminating the meanings and gives body to the phenomenon. This stance can be criticised in that the involvement and role of the researcher in data collection and interpretation affects the credibility and quality of research (Patton, 2002; Bryman, 2004). However, philosophers of science and qualitative research scholars have proposed some measures to confront this criticism (Snape and Spenser, 2003). It is important to note at this point that, as mentioned before, to be able to understand the phenomenon and its meanings, to see the phenomenon and the lived experience in a different light, to understand how it is experienced and to be critical and let the meanings of the phenomenon be revealed (Bengtsson, 1993), the researcher needs to scrutinize this inter-subjective relationships and involvement with the researched phenomenon and its meanings (Gadamer, 1995, Finlay, 2008). Researchers need to have a careful awareness of the fact that our pre-understandings exist and how their effects on the understanding of a phenomenon and its meaning as much as possible (Dahlberg and Dahlbeg, 2004).

This position does not imply imposing of one's own presumptions and pre-understandings on the data at the time of collection, analysis, and interpretation. It is important to be aware of one's own role in all of the processes to be able to systematically produce and present research and analysis are trustworthy and grounded in the data. To put it in Husserl's (1998) words, the important thing is to become distanced from self without negating it. Finlay (2008) contends that the point is that the researcher needs to put an effort towards being open to seeing the phenomenon and the lived experience in a different light, in order to understand how it is experienced. Crotty (1998) comments that personal reflection and verbalizing of

the natural attitude and our experiences is a means of understanding the phenomenon. Therefore, while researchers recognise that the research is not neutral and objective, they also need to make their assumptions transparent; this concept is called 'empathic neutrality' (Snap and Spencer, 2003; Patton, 2002). Through this, the researcher is able to look deep into the phenomenon, to scrutinise the social world and the inter-subjective relationship, and to understand the phenomenon without predetermined theories or hypothesis (Patton, 2002). Reflection should cover the whole process of research. First ideas about the phenomenon, the research question, and the approach and methods should be scrutinized in a reflective stance (Ricoeur, 1976: 163). This attitude reduces the potential danger of imposing one's own presumptions and understanding on the data as the critiques of reflexivity point out. For example, Lynch (2000) holds that reflexivity is inherently potent and undermines the truth.

Therefore, the phenomenon under study is given an agency, and there are not any more objects of the study but the subjects, who have an active part in the creation of knowledge in their interaction with the researcher. Within the context of entrepreneurship research, most research is objective and neutral and less reflexive since the researchers mostly tend to subscribe to what is accepted as the evident truth through the concepts used in entrepreneurial research (Ogbor, 2000). Blackburn and Kovalainen (2009: 132) criticize the dominant approach to research in entrepreneurship and suggest that 'a more concourse engagement with the literature on reflexivity in research' should be adopted by researchers, and they place emphasis on the importance of understanding the ways in which social, political, and institutional forces influence generation of knowledge in small-business and management research.

According to Sandelowski and Barroso (2002), reflexivity is the indicator of excellent qualitative research, which requires the ability and willingness of researchers to recognize and take account of a variety of ways in which they themselves influence the research process, findings, and what is produced to be presented as knowledge. Therefore, it enriches the research with a multiplicity of

voices and perspectives. Being reflexive increases the credibility of research since it clarifies the ways in which the researchers social and cultural background might affect their perspectives and subsequently the ways through which they observe and understand phenomena and attribute meanings to them (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000). Reflexivity, when combined with other systematic methodological tools for collection and analysis of data, helps in the enrichment and transparency of the qualitative research.

Bengtsson (1993) points to importance of engaging with others in order to scrutinize oneself in an inter-subjective manner. When another person listens, reads, and discusses the research and its procedures with the researcher unconditionally, it makes reflection more effective and easier, and thus the process of knowledge development will be clearer. In the case of this research, I have made myself, my ideas, my thoughts, methods of study, analysis, and actions an object of study and have opened them to criticism and scrutiny through regular discussion and dialogues with my supervisor. The role of the supervisor for a Ph.D. research project is important, and this interaction helped me as a researcher to distance myself from the natural attitude through inter-subjectivity.

The following provides a reflexive account of the inter-subjective relationships between the researcher and the informants, with a detailed account of how the insider-outsider dimension was shaped in this communicative relationship and how the informants acted and reacted to different dimensions of the researcher's identity.

3.5.1. A reflexive account

Martha Nussbaum, the American contemporary philosopher, points to the significance of reflexivity in understanding, stating that 'It would be catastrophic to become a nation of technically competent people who have lost their ability to think critically, to examine themselves, and to respect the humanity and diversity of others (Nussbaum, 1997: 300).

Based on the above discussion on the epistemological importance of reflexivity, it is important for any research, particularly a qualitative one, to disclose the ideological, political, and cultural dimensions of the research as rooted in the researcher's worlds. Despite the importance of reflexivity, since most studies of entrepreneurship and EE are dominated by value-free, policy–oriented, and neutral and objective research within a positivist framework, the number of research studies that forthrightly and in detail give attention to this practice is limited (Blackburn and Kovalainen, 2009). The epistemological and methodological importance of reflexivity, as discussed above, makes it necessary for me to be a part of the research process since the research also acknowledges and agrees with the concept of reflexivity and its salience in the credibility of the research. This also clarifies the ways in which research questions and objectives, as well as the philosophy and methodology of research, are achieved.

Adoption of a reflexive approach requires researchers to disclose their own personal historical and cultural background. My ethnicity as an Iranian, my gender as a female, my social class as a researcher within academia, my social position as a migrant and an ethnic minority all are forces that have influenced the research, from the choice of the subject to the research philosophy, methodology, and methods of analysis, as well as the processes of fieldwork and data collection.

When I started my Ph.D., I initially was supposed to continue on my MSc research, which meant expanding my research on the bed and breakfast owner-managers. I wanted to find out more about the type of entrepreneurship they are involved with, namely lifestyle entrepreneurship. In hospitality studies, lifestyle entrepreneurs are those involved in small businesses whose intention of self employment is maintaining a specific lifestyle, which is often to have a more relaxed lifestyle. However, I was never in the deepest parts of my heart satisfied with what I was doing. I had a thirst that this research was not able to eradicate. I was a bit pessimistic about the whole lifestyle entrepreneurship concept. I felt from my MSc research that lifestyle might be a title made up by academics in the hospitality sector and that the reality of some of these micro small businesses might be different from

what lifestyle entrepreneurship represents. I wanted to find out the opposite of lifestyle entrepreneurship in order to prove it wrong. In my search, I came across the EE literature and researched it, and from there I felt I had found the starting point of my research. Non-native people who are labelled ethnic entrepreneurs and who act in an entrepreneurial manner, having started up their own businesses, were labelled as ethnic entrepreneurs. I wanted to research them to see how they perceive their businesses and to explore their life conditions and lived experiences as ethnic minority entrepreneurs in the hospitality industry.

Politically, as a migrant it is important for me to find out how my fellow countrymen live their lives in this society, especially those who are located in the area of my research interest, namely EE. Indeed, the fact that I am interested in this subject is because of my political standpoint about migration and integration of migrants into the new society. Politically, I believed that migrants and their issues needed more attention. Much research and literature is about older migrants like Indians, Pakistanis, and Chinese who have been in the UK for the past fifty years. Therefore, I was interested to investigate how my fellow countrymen who are ethnic entrepreneurs construct their social realities regarding this issue and their businesses. What is this business to them and what does it mean to them? Of course, if I had interviewed Scottish business owners in the field of bed and breakfast I would not have heard all the issues about racism because the conditions that pushed them towards entrepreneurship would have been different—about the difficulties and importance of preservation of their culture, etc. I had studied the bed and breakfast sector in Scotland for my MSc dissertation. I know what is going on in that context and the concerns, conditions, and reasons for self-employment and the issues these entrepreneurs are engaged with. I am interested in people who create small or micro businesses. Although both of these businesses (bed and breakfast and catering) are under the umbrella of hospitality, they are totally different in their issues.

As an Iranian migrant, I have lived in the UK for the past thirteen years. During these years, I have been mixing with particular groups of the Iranian community in Glasgow, namely Iranian students and academics. This is as a result of my and my

husband's backgrounds. We came here to the UK for my husband to study for his Ph.D. I have been studying in the Universities of Edinburgh and Strathclyde for most of my time in the UK. In Glasgow, Iranian students have a community where they gather weekly for social gatherings and national religious occasions. As a student and newcomer, this is the place to go in order to find a community network and friends. In early years after our arrival in the UK, we used to go there and socialize with the Iranian community. Therefore, the friends we have met and made have been among those who were involved in higher education.

About five years ago I became aware of the existence of another Iranian community association in Glasgow. This was called Iranian Scottish association. One of my friends from the student/academic group who is an older migrant suggested participating in this community. They held monthly poetry nights, and since my friend knew I write poetry and that I have an interest in Persian literature, she informed me about those gatherings. I started to participate in those events, and soon I became a member of the literary committee of the association. Through my participation in these gatherings, I came to know that there are other Iranian communities in Glasgow that I had not been aware of. Gradually I got to know these people more. The founders of this association were from the older Iranian migrants who have been in the UK for the past thirty years or so. In the context of Iranian migration, thirty years is an old migration age. However, compared with Pakistani, Indian, and African migration that has been here for the past 50 or 60 years, Iranians are new migrants. I found out that most of the founders and participants to these gatherings are either Iranian students of thirty years ago who have stayed here as a result of the revolution and become successful businessmen or they are doctors, professionals, or businessmen who have migrated to the UK or have taken refuge in this country.

Little by little a new window about Iranian community in Glasgow opened in front of my eyes. I became aware of the fact that one business that has attracted Iranians is a branch of the hospitality sector, namely catering. In fact, two of the most successful individuals in the Iranian community were among these people. As a researcher

interested in entrepreneurship and also in hospitality as a social context of research, and also as an Iranian migrant, I became interested in conducting my research in this area. I did not wish to continue bed-and-breakfast lifestyle entrepreneurship research anymore, as I had found an area of research that could answer my questions better.

With my subjective social constructionist perspective towards the nature of social reality, I was looking to explore and present the role of catering business and their ownership in the lives of Iranian migrants, including their reasons for self-employment and choosing the hospitality (catering) sector for their entrepreneurial activities. I was interested in highlighting the challenges and achievements of my fellow countrymen, who have had the courage to take the path of migration with all issues it entails in search of a new 'thing'. I wanted to know what that 'thing' was for this group of Iranian migrants who have chosen to become self-employed and who are now living in the host society and building new identities.

Being a migrant is a central part of my social identity. The point of interest for me, as a migrant, was to explore and show how migration and entrepreneurial activities work together to make things work for those who have been trying to find their place in the new society. I wanted to research the perceptions of those members of my community who have chosen hospitality and catering to build a life in migration. I wanted to find out how they see their thread within the fabric of the host society. Is their thread woven by the needle of their entrepreneurial activity, does the entrepreneurial activity have nothing to do with it, or has the entrepreneurial activity been a scissors that cuts their tread off the fabric of the new society? Their perceptions of their lives and their businesses with regards to their migration and the meanings they would attribute to these things would shed light on a part of this society which is living under the shadow of ignorance and often neglected both in academic and social circles. I was looking to highlight these marginalized voices and construct their social realities.

The Iranian community comprises a large number of migrants in the UK and Scotland. In the past ten years, particularly, the number of Iranians who were located

in Glasgow has grown considerably. I liked hearing the voices of this community, and I thought there that is a need for that voice to be heard and echoed. As a member of this community and as a researcher of small business and entrepreneurship with an interest in hospitality, I decided to start a journey which would have taken me into the heart of a social context consisting of a group of this community, where I could explore their constructed realities and their self-definitions and perceptions of their worlds. I was politically motivated to find out what is happening with this community in terms of social issues and integration.

At this point it is important to raise the issue of audiencing (Hollingshead, 2004), which is important in reflexive practice. It could be defined as a 'method for how we write and position our voices' (Harris et al., 2007: 45). It is about the ways in which researchers position the research to engage with various groups and the ways they have decided to represent themselves to their audience. It is important for a researcher to condition his or her research for the target audience since different audiences require different forms of representation. Obviously, in order to achieve the optimum effectiveness, depending on the audience, the findings of the same research should be presented in different forms. For example, there is a difference if the audience consists of policy makers or academic journals or ethnic communities. The issue of audiencing is not only about the findings of the research. Even at the time of deciding on the subject of the research, I have experienced the importance and implications of audiencing. When I decided to change the subject of my Ph.D. research, it was a challenging and delicate task to approach the supervisors and bring up the issue and be able to convince them that the decision was reasonable. On the other hand, the considerations of reciprocal relationships and power and control relations between the researcher and the informants are important in this regard. In the case of this research, it was challenging for the researcher to face the potential informants as a co-ethnic woman who is a researcher and steps into a completely male environment of the shops to collect data. This situation is discussed in more detail in the interviewing section of this chapter. Awareness of this fact enabled me to understand the fact that audiencing is an important part of the research process. It enabled me to position myself with my multiple identities (academic, researcher,

migrant, ethnic minority, Iranian British, Muslim, poetess, woman, mother, wife, etc.) within the research situation and facilitate and manage the research process.

Me and my sample

I started this journey having in mind that I am one insider. I am from the same country with the same language. On the other hand, to them, while I was an insider from their own community, who they could speak to in their own language, I was an outsider as well. I was an outsider because I was not a business owner. I was a researcher, and female. So I did not know anything about their business life, its challenges, and its details. Also, I did not know how they perceive their businesses and how they think their businesses influence their lives. I was an insider to the culture of interviewees; therefore, I knew that I should approach them with care and consideration. I needed to gain their trust. It was not easy for me to ensure them that I was not there to judge them as individuals, that I was not going to breach their privacy, and that I was not going to ask them personal questions. I feel the fact that I was a woman helped in gaining their trust. As a woman, I am less intimidating, and the male is culturally less apprehensive towards women. According to the traditional cultural image of a woman, I could not hurt a male because I am a woman. However, still I needed to ensure them about my intentions of doing this research and my position as a researcher within a credible academic setting. I explained to them what my research was about and which university I was working in. I explained a bit about myself and who I am. These initial explanations helped in gaining of their trust. This was not an easy task, because proving oneself and your intentions to a stranger is never easy. I employed interpersonal strategies and from the outset showed utmost respect and etiquette to them, which is important in Iranian culture and showed that I appreciated the time and information they were kindly giving to me (Patton, 2002). In return I was open to their questions and throughout the interview session, especially at the beginning when we had just met, I was a 'good listener' (Patton, 2002) and as the interview progressed they felt open and relaxed in providing me with data. From the beginning of the meetings to the end, I expressed my interest in their lived experiences and I also expressed my willingness to answer their questions.

For example, some of the more newly migrated ones asked me about the ways to enter universities in Scotland and how to make their Iranian qualifications credible for this system. Some asked for my advice about the nature of studying in the business school and how helpful I thought it could be for them, while some asked about the nature of studying for an MSc in this country and the difficulties and challenges of entering a Ph.D. programme. Another one mentioned that his brother is coming from Iran and wants some information about universities, so he asked for my e-mail address. Another one needed translation software from Iran, and since I was travelling to Iran around that time he asked me to bring it for him. Some of them were only interested in having a chat on the political and social situations of Iran, which again I was more than happy to talk about since I am also interested in these types of subjects. I was willing to spend time on these extra questions to build a rapport with the informants and not rush them into the interview, as an act of reciprocity and a compensation (Patton, 2002) for what they were doing for me.

The fact that I am a woman, indeed, has influenced the dynamics of interviewing and the findings. I executed an unstructured interview for the first part of the interview time, and let them be free to express themselves about their perceptions of their businesses, themselves, and their lives in society as ethnic businessmen. Interestingly, one of the issues all of the interviewees raised the role of family in their lives and the role of their businesses in family relations and family life. I am aware of the fact that Iranians are family oriented people, and family is a central part of their lives. However, I think my being a woman might have been influential in getting them to open up and talk about their family issues and their concerns and feelings about their families. It has perhaps helped them to go through deeper levels of expressing their views on their business life and its relation to their personal life. Talking to a woman perhaps has made it easier for them to bring out their feminine sides and enables them to express their emotions better, especially because the interviewer is someone who is not among their circle of friends or in their family, so they would not see her again and she has not the opportunity to judge them or talk about them to the ones they know. This fact made it easy for me to communicate and for them to respond—I was an insider but not a close insider, just somebody from the

community. This to a great extent shows the position of the researcher in subjective research as an instrument for creating knowledge.

In any male-female encounter, the issue of power and control also comes into play. As a woman I was not a competition for these men. They were not intimidated by me and my presence. They did not feel insecure around a woman. They felt that as a woman I could not do them any harm. On the other hand, I was a woman who was working in a well-known university in Glasgow, doing her Ph.D., and who was there to do her research. At the same time, it could be pleasing for them to be interviewed and asked to express their views. They mostly expressed their feelings of marginality and how they feel under-valued and often ignored by the society, including public and state bodies, as well as their customers. They felt that these types of interviews should be done by policy makers to initiate change in their situations. On the other hand, to a woman with higher education they had to express their ideas. Therefore, during the interviews they frequently pointed to the fact that they were highly educated and have studied in the university either in Iran or here. I provided needed spaces for them to present their power, but I remained in control of the situation and especially in emotional control. One of the interviewees pointed to the fact that he thinks one of the reasons of rejection of interviews is that I am a female doing her Ph.D. and it is hard for them to accept this fact. Most of the interviewees asked me about my life situation (i.e. my migrant history, family situation, university and academic position, etc.), and the information made them feel relaxed and non–marginalised, as they would have been with a non-Iranian researcher. This also helped a lot in facilitating the collection of more in-depth data. Particularly, because we spoke in our native language so there were no language barriers, they gave full and detailed accounts of their lived experiences, their stories of being an ethnic entrepreneur, and their personal and social worlds as migrants. Some of them, while talking about their experiences even mentioned that they would not have talked about that particular experience if it was a foreign (non-Iranian) interviewer. Of course, the informants also select which parts of their lived experience they wanted to emphasise more when narrating their stories to me (with my identity). Indeed, this is the case with any qualitative study due to the communicative nature of this type of the

research. However, the important fact was the depth of those chosen narratives and detailed accounts of the phenomenon of EE, which provided this research with immense in-depth data and enriched the research. Femininity was able to extract some subjects that might not have been talked about if the interviewer had been a male. Being an insider also helped in the analysis of the complexities of the essences as well as the horizons (contexts) of the researched phenomenon from the social, political, cultural, and historical perspectives. A detailed discussion of theoretical issues of unstructured interviewing, including issues of language, culture, presentation of the self, and gender is presented in Section 4.2.3. A summary of chapter three is presented at the end of chapter four where a summary of both philosophical and methodological approaches of the research is outlined.

4. CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY AND ANALYSIS: From Data to Information

4.1. Introduction

Chapter three showed the conceptual orientation of a research provides a framework for the methodological processes used in that research. It defines ways through which the researcher views the subject matter, and examines it. The phenomenological perspective of this research defines methods of data collection and analysis. Objectives of the research methodology are to critically analyse the socially constructed phenomenon of EE in the context of hospitality sector and cover the wide range of contextual factors within which the phenomenon of EE is embedded and shaped. Therefore, the methodology and analysis are used to elicit from the respondents their own definitions of their contexts and situations and their own understanding of their social world and contexts. The lived experiences of ethnic entrepreneurs are important and methodologically the research focuses on self-definitions of ethnic entrepreneurs of their business as a means of looking at EE. Objectives of research philosophy and methodology are presented in Appendix one.

A qualitative methodology fits with the methodological objectives of this study. A qualitative methodology which facilitates studying of subjects in their natural settings (Miles and Huberman, 1994) and produces a rich and deep and detailed account of the subjects of study (Geertz, 1973) is deemed appropriate to explore the meanings that ownership of a catering business has for the owner managers and their own definition of their situations. This methodological approach does not only provide description of the self-definitions and perceptions of owner managers of their business and entrepreneurial activities. It goes further to explore and explain the underlying socio-cultural and historical contexts within which these perceptions are created and the meanings they associate with their business are stemmed from. The social processes within which the phenomenon of EE evolves is explored.

This methodological framework aims to disclose how these social processes and context shape and influence their views and their experiences of being an ethnic entrepreneur. It takes the study beyond business related issues because, as the phenomenon discloses itself, it enables exploring of connections with the more profound layers of social issues. Therefore through this methodological strategy, exploration of deeper dimensions of what defines EE as embedded in various social contexts and processes based on perceptions of owner managers is enabled.

4.2. Trustworthiness

Qualitative research, broadly defined, means 'any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification' (Strauss and Corbin, 1990: 17). Quantitative research has traditionally been viewed as a benchmark for qualitative research, since it is perceived as scientific; therefore, qualitative research has often been criticised based on validity and reliability issues. The subjective standpoint of qualitative research leads to methodologies and methods that are questioned for their lack of transparency and the resultant findings that cannot be technically evaluated (Bryman, 2004). This is because qualitative research is compared to positivism or quantitative research, which emphasises the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998) and employ s quantitative measures and experimental methods to test hypothetical generalizations (Hoepfl, 1997). The data are numeric and can be quantified through the mathematical processes of analysis, and the findings or results are also presented in statistical forms and terminologies (Glesne and Peshkin, 1992: 6). Healy and Perry (2000) assert that the quality of a study in each paradigm should be judged by its own paradigm's terms, and since qualitative and quantitative research are based on totally different paradigms it is logical not to look at a qualitative research study with quantitative criteria of validity and reliability (Stenbaka, 2001).

While quality in quantitative research has the 'purpose of explaining', quality in qualitative research has the purpose of 'generating understanding' (Stenbacka, 2001:

551). The difference in purpose of qualitative and quantitative research is a reason for the irrelevance of quantitative reliability for qualitative research. Phenomenological researchers have proposed their criteria for epistemological evaluation of research. For example Hayllar and Griffin (2005) point to Buytendijk's concept of 'phenomenological nod', which according to Van Manen (1990: 27) is 'a way of indicating that a good phenomenological description is something that we can nod to, recognizing it as an experience that we have had or could have had. ... In other words, a good phenomenological description is collected by lived experience and recollects lived experience, is validated by lived experience and it validates lived experience'. Stenbacka (2001: 552) asserts 'the concept of reliability is even misleading in qualitative research. If a qualitative study is discussed with reliability as a criterion, the consequence is rather that the study is no good'.

Nevertheless, qualitative scholars have introduced certain measures and criteria to maintain the quality of qualitative research (Table one). Reliability and validity are concepts rooted in the positivist paradigm and should be redefined for their use in an interpretive paradigm. Thus, qualitative researchers have developed corresponding concepts for validity, such as quality, rigor, and trustworthiness (Davies and Dodd, 2002; Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Mishler, 2000; Seale, 1999; Stenbacka, 2001). Davies and Dodd (2002: 281) argue that since 'there is a quantitative bias in the concept of rigor, we now move on to develop our re-conception of rigor by exploring subjectivity, reflexivity, and the social interaction of interviewing'.

In qualitative research, measures of reliability and validity are replaced by the notion of trustworthiness (Mishler, 2000; Seale 1999), which is 'defensible' (Johnson 1997: 282) and established confidence in the findings (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Creswell and Miller (2000) assert that the validity in qualitative research is affected by the researcher's perception of validity and his or her choice of paradigm assumption. Wolcott (1990: 136) comments, 'validity neither guides nor informs my work. What I seek is not unrelated to validity, but validity 'does not capture its essence and is not the right term'. It is important to search for critical themes aiming to write credible interpretations that reflect learning and understanding.

The question of replicability in the results does not concern them (Glesne and Peshkin, 1992), but precision (Winter, 2000), credibility, and transferability (Hoepf, 1997) provide the lenses for evaluating the findings of a qualitative research study. Therefore, validity and reliability in qualitative research are the credibility of the research, and the demonstration of credibility in qualitative research becomes important; in contrast to quantitative research that depends on instrument construction, in qualitative research, 'the researcher is the instrument' (Patton, 2002: 14).

Clont (1992) and Seale (1999) use the concept of dependability as representing the concept of reliability or consistency in qualitative research. Consistency will be achieved when different steps of the research are verified through examination of such items as raw data, data reduction processes, and products (Campbell, 1996). Lincoln and Guba (1985: 300) used the term 'dependability' in qualitative research, which closely corresponds to the notion of 'reliability' in quantitative research, and trustworthiness was seen as closely representing rigour. Credibility, confirmability, consistency, dependability, and applicability or transferability are the essential criteria for quality in qualitative research (Lincoln and Guba, 1985), and these create trustworthiness.

In this research, the four criteria suggested by Lincoln and Guba (1985) are used to enhance the trustworthiness of the research. Credibility is an evaluation of whether or not the research findings represent a 'credible' conceptual interpretation of the data drawn from the participants' original data (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 296). Credibility is about facilitating a valid understanding of the phenomenon under study, and according to Lincoln and Guba (1985) this is achieved if the participants are given the opportunity to express themselves freely. Stenbaka (2001) suggests that research credibility depends on the informants being part of the problem area. The focal point of this research and what lies at the heart of this research is the self-definitions and perceptions of ethnic entrepreneurs of the phenomenon of EE. The purpose of the research is to explore the phenomenon of EE based on the perceptions

and lived experiences of the ethnic entrepreneurs. Qualitative, unstructured interviews that were carried out with the ethnic entrepreneurs fulfilled this purpose. Subsequently, the whole purpose of the study and the methods used for collection of data correspond to the concept of credibility. Reflexive practice also is important in enhancing of the research credibility. Writing a research diary and field notes in the form of substantive, methodological, and analytical accounts as well as clarification of the researcher's position in the process of the research greatly influence the credibility of the study.

Dependability is about describing the research process so that every step is clear. Dependability is clarification of the quality of the integrated processes of data collection, data analysis, and generation of findings. A detailed description of the steps of research and the research process is given in the present chapter, which fulfils the dependability requirement of quality control in qualitative research.

Within qualitative research, it is assumed that each researcher brings a unique perspective to the study. Confirmability refers to the degree to which the results could be confirmed or corroborated by others. A qualitative researcher can achieve confirmability in a number of ways. Another researcher can play the role of the 'devil's advocate' with respect to the research, and this process can be documented. The researcher can document the procedures for checking and rechecking the data throughout the process of research. In the case of this research, all the steps of the research process and the results of different steps of the research in the form of documented texts or verbal forms were discussed with the supervisor, who always took a critical stance towards what he read or heard and criticized and reflected on the research. The research has also been presented in departmental colloquiums and in conferences, and the reflections and feedbacks of other researchers have been taken into account.

Transferability refers to the degree to which the results of qualitative research can be transferred to other contexts or settings. Transferability can be enhanced by a thorough description of the research context and the assumptions that were central to the research. The person who wishes to 'transfer' the results to a different context is

then responsible for making the judgment of how sensible the transfer is. The generalization of qualitative findings lies in the transferability of findings to a general level. Lincoln and Guba (1985) also point to provision of 'thick description' as a means for facilitating of transferability, since thick descriptions that make data available to others enable them to judge the possibility of transferability of findings to other contexts. The thick descriptions provided about the conceptual and methodological assumptions of the research, about the context of the research and about the informants in the reflexive account and about the methodological processes of the research address the possibility of transferability of the research findings to other settings.

Table 1. Criteria for quality of Qualitative/Quantitative research

Qualitative research quality	Quantitative research quality
Transferability/Credibility	Validity
Conformability	Objectivity/Generalisability
Dependability	Reliability

4.3. Data-collection method

4.3.1. Sampling and access

In phenomenological research, Hycner (1999: 156) states 'the phenomenon dictates the method (not vice-versa) including even the type of participants'. For phenomenological research, the focus of the study is on a particular phenomenon with a particular lived experience, and thus the researcher seeks people with the specific life-world who lived that particular experience. Therefore, with the aim of uncovering lived experiences, experience becomes a source of data in this framework, and thus the voices and views of those who have lived that particular experience become the best source of data (Goulding, 2005). As a result, non-

probability sampling, which does not involve random selection of participants, is suitable for this type of phenomenological research. Purposive sampling is one of the subgroups of non-probability sampling, in which the researcher samples with a purpose in mind. Purposive sampling is deemed the most appropriate method of sampling, through which the researcher gains access to people who have experienced the phenomenon. Bryman and Bell (2007: 444) describe access as 'one of the key and most difficult steps' in business-related research.

Purposive sampling is considered as the most significant type of non-probability sampling, to identify the primary participants (Welman and Kruger, 1999). The primary focus of the present research was to collect data regarding the perspective and views of Iranian ethnic entrepreneurs about the phenomenon of EE and their lived experiences, the meanings they associate with this phenomenon, and the role it plays in their social, cultural, and personal lives in the new society.

As mentioned above, the sample of a phenomenological study has to have lived the experience of the specific phenomenon. With a purposive sample, the researcher is likely to get the worldviews, experiences, and opinions of the target population. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) point to accessing the setting as one of the important elements of interviewing. According to Bryman and Bell (2007: 444), access involves gaining and maintaining entry to a privately managed space to interact with people in it in order to collect data. There are various strategies for gaining access to the setting. At the beginning of the fieldwork, I identified three small catering businesses that I knew were run by Iranian ethnic entrepreneurs. I went to their businesses and introduced myself and my research to them, and I asked if owner kindly would give me time for an interview. Through this, I secured my first three interviews. On the other hand, spotting the rest of the sample was very difficult due to the fact that it is not possible to identify the ethnicity of restaurants, kebab shops, and take-aways by looking at their shops. Therefore, I used another method closely connected to psychogeography (Knowles, 2009), which implies a style of qualitative data collection that gives a layered or textured view of the real world in a particular environment; however, traditionally psychogeography has been a male preserve (Self, 2008, cited in Knowles). Knowles (2009) points to the significance of

highlighting the feminist perspective in research methods to uncover women's position in a patriarchal world when they engage themselves in male-preserve activities, particularly in the practice and conduct of research. She further refers to Roberts (1990) for this salient methodological issue, who asserted that 'to address the "invisibility" of women's experience in academic studies' (p. 52). Knowles (2009: 52) notes that 'the notion of psychogeography as a masculine activity touches two areas of interest to women: essentialists believe that the traditional place of women is in the domestic sphere, while men go about in the outside world, and personal safety…the culture of the outside world may be seen as dangerous to women'.

Craig et al. (2000) point to the vulnerability of women's research working alone and propose planning the research design in a way that reduces potential danger—for example, interviewing in public places instead of informants' homes, keeping appropriate social distance, dressing appropriately, and taking precautions to ensure that assistance may be called. Therefore, improving personal safety is one important issue when the researcher needs to go to places and areas that are unknown to her and perhaps not the best areas of the city to collect data. Psychogeographers suggest taking a companion as a measure to improve safety (Sinclair, 1998). To find my sample, then, like psychogeographers, I needed to 'stroll' in the streets of Glasgow to find small-scale catering businesses owned and managed by Iranians (take-aways, kebab-shops, etc). I needed to walk into the business premises to identify if they were Iranian or not, introducing myself politely and asking them about it. This was a difficult method, both time-consuming and quite challenging. It was difficult for me as an Eastern female to walk in an Eastern take-away or kebab-shop with its masculine cultural context asking for interviews. Using this method, as pointed out by psychogeographers, as a female I felt I needed to put some measures in order to maintain my personal safety. I needed to make sure I 'strolled' during reasonable hours not in the late hours of night, since these businesses are often open until midnight. So, I used daytime hours to stroll round the city. Also, in 'strolling' in unknown areas of the city and those areas that are known for their high rates of crime, like the east end of Glasgow, I did not feel quite safe. Therefore, I definitely made sure that I did my research in the busy hours of the day. The issue of personal

safety was of a great importance even after I gained access and made my interview appointment. Most of the owner-managers did not have time during business hours to have an interview. Therefore, I needed to go to their business premises after or before working hours, when there was nobody in their shops. Sometimes their shops were not even located in city centre but were located in less busy areas of the city. However, I had found them and gained access with much trouble and was not prepared to miss my interview opportunity for this. I knew I had to accept the time and place they proposed. Consequently, I needed to ensure my personal safety and for that I used the most powerful of human possessions, language. I call this method 'language-based strategic positioning of self'.

Through political and sensitive use of language, if I was given an interview schedule at an odd time in an unknown place, in the middle of our chats about other things I indirectly conveyed to the participants that I will be travelling to the area with my husband and he will be waiting for me outside the premises. Indeed for some of the interviews that were placed in non-desirable areas of the city I used my husband's help for transportation and indeed for maximising my personal safety. However, for places in the city centre and west end of Glasgow, where I felt safe, I travelled to the interview place by my own. Also, during the interviews, I used my mobile phone as a device for maximising my safety in that I held my phone in my hand from the beginning, showing it to the participants, and then when interview started I put it in my pocket in front of them.

Besides using strolling to find the sample, I also used snowball sampling. The reason was that the strolling method had a low rate of identification of samples because after some time practicing this method I could not find many samples, and it was proved that Iranian catering owners are scattered around the city, so it was almost impossible to identify enough samples through this method. Consequently, a snowball sampling method was also needed.

Snowball sampling was used to trace more potential participants. Snowball sampling is especially beneficial when a researcher needs to reach populations that are inaccessible or hard to find. Through snowballing, the sample is expanded by asking

already-secured participants to introduce or recommend other potential informants for interviewing (Babbie, 1998). For the present research, at the end of the interviews, after expressing appreciation to the purposive sample interviewees for the time the researcher asked them, if they knew any friends or colleagues who might be interested in having the same interview with the researcher. It was important to ask this after conducting the interview. This is because at the end of the meeting, after an hour or two of talking to the interviewer, the interviewee knows what the interview is about and a level of trust and rapport is already made between the interviewee and the interviewer. Thus, there is more probability that the interviewee will agree to introduce or recommend friends or colleagues for interviewing. This strategy proved successful since for this research most of the interview schedules were secured through this method of snowballing. The interviewees either straightaway gave the researcher the business phone numbers of potential interviewees (telephone numbers of take-aways) or they called them at the moment in the presence of the interviewer to introduce her and the research and ask their friends if they would agree to be interviewed. On other cases, they said they would talk to their friends or colleagues and that if they agreed to talk they would let the interviewer know.

In summary, to choose the sample for phenomenological study, the researcher should be looking for the people who have lived the phenomenon of interest and have experienced it (Kruger, 1988: 150). Based on the researcher's judgment, the sample was selected. The main criterion for this selection was being suitable for the purpose of the research (Babbie, 1998; Schwandt, 1997). I made use of ethnic community knowledge of ethnic entrepreneurs active in catering businesses in Glasgow in order to locate these people, and I used telephone contacts and also strolling down the streets to find them and ask for appointments.

4.3.2. Interviewing

This section explains the framing of the interviews, the type of interviewing selected, the techniques used, and the ways of recording information. Unstructured interviewing is an active, emergent process that seeks to understand rather than

explain and establishes a human-to-human relation with the interviewee (Spradley, 1970, in Denzin and Lincoln, 2000: 654). This type of interview fits the phenomenological ontology and epistemology of the research. As in a phenomenological perspective, the aim is to understand the phenomenon and to 'go back to things themselves' and let the phenomenon disclose itself. Fontana and Frey (1994: 370, in Denzin and Lincoln, 2000) comment that 'the commitment to maintain the integrity of the phenomenon and to preserve the viewpoints of the subjects as expressed in their everyday language is akin to the stand taken by phenomenological sociologies.'

In phenomenological research, the subject matter is to find out what is human experience and how people interpret the world. Phenomenology focuses on the exploration of human experiences, the ways in which people make sense of experience, and the transformation of experience into consciousness, both individually and as shared meaning (Patton, 2002: 104). In order to understand these things methodologically, one needs to capture and describe how people experience some phenomenon; how they perceive the experience of the phenomenon; how they remember and feel about it; and how they describe it, judge it, make sense of it, and talk about it with others. Patton (2002) comments to explore methodologically what people experience, and to gather such data, the researcher must undertake in-depth interviews with people who have lived the experience and directly experienced the phenomenon under study, as opposed to second-hand experience. Obtaining the cooperation of ethnic minority respondents is particularly difficult since many ethnic group members, especially visible minorities, may be immigrants and not predisposed to research participation, particularly survey research (Menzies et al., 2003b)
.
Kvale (1996) points to the fact that the researcher aims to understand and see the world from the 'subjects' point of view, to unfold meaning of peoples' experiences'. He refers to the interview as 'literally an inter-view, an interchange of views between two persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest' (pp. 1-2). According to Kvale (1996: 5), a qualitative research interview aims to attain 'description of the

life-world of the interviewee with respect to interpreting the meaning of the described phenomena'. (Kvale, 1996) considers conversation as the universal means through which people learn about phenomena in the world (Thompson et al., 1989). Accordingly, the method of data collection in the present study is interviewing. Through this, the researcher sought to explore the meaning the interviewees attach to the lived experience of EE in the catering sector.

Based on the concept of inter-subjectivity in phenomenology, understanding occurs in relation with others and in a horizon, and knowledge is produced and the essence of the phenomenon is discovered by getting close to the lived experience. The interview in qualitative research is viewed as a contextually, historically, and politically bound process between two people whose active verbal exchange collaboratively creates a story (Fontana and Frey, 2005; Holstein and Gubrium, 1995). Heidegger's (1998) notion of hearkening is important in conducting the phenomenological interviews. This concept emphasises the goal of free listening that means listening in a way in which a giving-over of oneself to the inter-subjective relationship is present. Within this framework, reflexivity becomes important in order to produce a clearer understanding of the meaning and essences of the phenomenon and the findings. Reflexivity is discussed later in this chapter.

Alvesson (2003) suggests three main positions in qualitative research interviewing (following Fontana and Frey 2000): neo-positivist, romantic, and localist. In a neo-positivist perspective, the researcher is required to maintain a neutral, objective position in the interview process. In the interpretive paradigm, there is an emphasis on accessing the beliefs, life-world, and worldviews of interviewees. The romantic approach to interviewing, however, rejects this stance since in this approach the interview is seen as a form of social interaction. In the romantic approach, the researcher is required to engage with the interviewee in order to establish trust and an atmosphere of rapport, which gives the interviewees the opportunity to give open and more in-depth accounts of the phenomenon and their experiences of the phenomenon. Like the romantic position, the localist approach to interviewing also recognizes the interview as a social and interactional act in nature. The localist

approach is, however, based on postmodern and social constructionist perspectives, and hence interview data are interrelational (Kvale, 1996) and grounded in the particular social context at the moment they take place. This research has not taken the neo-positive approach to interviewing and was more inclined toward the romantic approach to interviewing in order to get the most of the experiences of ethnic entrepreneurs during the interview session.

Scheurich (1995: 241) states, 'the conventional, positivist view of interviewing vastly underestimates the complexity, uniqueness, and indeterminateness of each one-to-one human interaction'. According to the epistemological view of this study, therefore, interviewing is not considered a neutral, value–free, natural-science-based method of asking a series of pre-planned, fixed questions. As a result, for this research, unstructured in-depth phenomenological interviews were conducted. In this type of interview, questions are 'directed to the participant's experiences, feelings, beliefs, and convictions about the theme in question' (Welman and Kruger, 1999: 196). Through unstructured interviews, the attempt is to see everyday experiences and understand how ethnic entrepreneurs experience and interpret reality in their own terms, and to grasp their worldview and their lived experiences. The interview is more like a dialogue and conversation than an interrogation, and it takes place in a context within which the interviewer attempts to create a position of equality and breaks the hierarchy inherent in the traditional interviewing paradigm. The interview is reciprocal. It was attempted to collect data that grasps how the interviewees 'think and feel in the most direct ways' (Bentz and Shapiro, 1998: 96). Bailey (1996: 72) comments that the 'informal interview is a conscious attempt by the researcher to find out more information about the setting of the person'.

In this context it is important for the researcher to provide the opportunity for the interviewees to describe their lived experiences. In qualitative interviews, the emergent dialogue of open-ended questions helps in discovering the lived experiences of the phenomenon from the viewpoint of the people who have lived that experience—i.e., the interviewees (Thompson et al., 1989). The open-ended questions used for this research were exploratory, asking the interviewees about their lived experiences in connection with their entrepreneurial activities and life, and they

were linked to the research objectives and partly guided by gaps that emerged from the literature review. Questions were fluid and flexible rather than solid and fixed, with the purpose of allowing the interviewees to freely and openly express their experience and views and the meanings they attached to the phenomenon of interest. This type of questions fits with the purpose of phenomenological study, which is the discovery of meanings and uncovering lived experiences to enhance understanding of the phenomenon. Therefore, according to the fundamental principles of the phenomenological perspective—that is, to go back to things themselves—the phenomenon should be given the opportunity to disclose and illustrate itself, and the researcher should not limit it with rigid, fixed questions based on theoretical pre-understandings.

4.3.3. Issues of unstructured interviewing

4.3.3.1. Language and culture

An interview is a social situation that is context driven and dependent on many different factors such as the race, age, gender, ethnicity and culture of both interviewee and interviewer (Gubrium and Holstein, 2001). Issues of language and culture are considered important in the process and production and in the successful result of unstructured interviews (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Recent philosophical, methodological, and theoretical trends recognize language as critical to understanding the qualitative interview. Post-structuralist and postmodern philosophies assume a big role for language in shaping meaning as well as power in interviews (Alvesson and Deetz, 2000). Marschan-Piekkari and Reis (2004) note how language used in the interview may have power implications in the relationship between researcher and interviewee. Despite the fact that a large amount of sociological, anthropological, and business research takes place in native/local contexts, it seems that there is not much elaboration about methodological implications of using the native language in the process of research about the use of native language while collecting data and interviewing (Kvale, 1996).

Language is considered to be more than a mere means of communication in sociological fields. Language is a defining component of one's ethnic identity and is considered to have a vital role in construction of shared understanding and to be more than a medium for communication; it is, rather, identified as a cultural resource that (re)produces the social world (Duranti, 1997). It is a key factor in collective self-conceptions of a group (Burns and Engdahl, 1998) since their collective self-understanding is shaped by community, language, institutional and cultural arrangements, and language-based communication (Wiley, 1986). Language is recognized as influencing the researcher's relationship with the community under study (Sherif, 2001).

Language affects data accuracy and authenticity, rapport-building and the construction of shared understanding (Ponterotto et al., 2010). It is considered as a means for communion between the researcher and the interviewee that contributes to the quality of the interaction in the interview process and accordingly conditions the quality of the findings (Douglas, 1985). Conducting interviews in participants' native language reduces the likelihood of misinterpretations or multiple interpretations of questions and discussed issues. It is recognized that even though the interviewees are bilingual, they still feel more comfortable and more confident speaking in their own language.

However, it is not enough for the researchers to only know and learn the language of the interviewees. The important issue is not merely knowing the native language but also being familiar with and being able to understand the communicative norms and underlying layers of language usage in a particular culture and multilayered cultural nonverbal communications. Tsang (1998: 511) argues that 'communicating in the respondent's language is of paramount importance' since it enables the interviewer to interpret the interviewee's comments with 'cultural understanding', and it also helps in establishing 'good rapport' and allows respondents to 'fully express themselves'.

Since the focus of qualitative research is to elucidate meanings in social and cultural contexts, understanding, grasping, and interpretation of meanings conveyed by the

interviewees become particularly sensitive and complex when the interviewees and the researcher are not from the same culture. When language is seen as more than a mere medium of communication, the ability to use the native language of participants plays a big role in the execution of a more insightful and in-depth interview. The researchers, therefore, sometimes try to overcome this obstacle through involving a translator/interpreter in the interview, which itself has its own limitations and hurdles (Craig and Douglas, 2000). The presence of an interpreter who speaks in the native language of interviewees is viewed as adding an unnatural element to the interview that might disturb the natural flow of the interview process and make it artificial (see Wilkinson and Young, 2004 on the use of interpreters). This is the case particularly in the areas of research when the subjects are ethnic people whose native language is not English. In such situations, the methodological importance and implications of language in the quality of research becomes noticeable.

When the interviewer does not share the same culture with the interviewee, there is a higher risk of misunderstanding and misinterpretation. As a result, the interview content becomes vulnerable to added or missed layers of meaning, biases, and interpretations. When a researcher is from the same culture and with the same language as the interviewee he or she can better understand cultural signs, symbols used in language and body language, and the behaviour of the respondents. If the research is from the same cultural, historical, and geographical context, this knowledge helps towards a deeper and better understanding. This was the case in the present study. The fact that the researcher was from the same ethnicity as the interviewees was a major methodological strength of the research and helped tremendously in the understanding of different layers of language and cultural signs and symbols that make up the form and content of interviews.

It is important to point out that all interviews were conducted in Farsi. Since Farsi was the mother language of all the interviewees, this decision was taken in order to allow the interviewees to express themselves more comfortably. Conducting interviews in their native language could help the collection of deeper and more accurate data. The issue of the reliability of the data obtained by the researcher in the qualitative research is debated in relevant literature (e.g. Silverman, 2006). This

problem will become multifaceted when the interviews were to be translated in another language. Based on the experience of this research, the limitations of the translation of qualitative data can be categorised into two. The first one is the literal limitations, and the second is cultural limitations. Words in one language do not necessarily have the exact same matches of translation in another language, and it is sometimes very difficult to judge whether the best match has been used in the translation. Even if the best match has been used, it might not deliver the entire and precise intended meaning. This problem aside, the more complicated problem is the cultural limitation of translation. While words can be translated into other languages, style, tone, mood and expressions are culturally bound and do not necessarily have an equivalent in another culture. Although literal limitations can be somehow rectified by offering explanations, some of the outcomes of the cultural limitations are impossible to be explained.

The researcher transcribed the data in Farsi. Transcribing the interviews in Farsi helped to locate, link and reflect the data in its broader context. In addition to maintaining the richness of data, through transcribing of the data in the native language, the researcher is enabled to become more familiarised with the data and immerse themselves in the data. Familiarisation with the transcribed data enabled the researcher to conduct analysis and apply codes in English. Therefore, the emergent themes, sub-themes, meaning units and the resultant framework, are all in English. The usage of the native language and the problems of translation from the original language to another language (e.g. English) are discussed in literature. Temple (2005) points to the cases where the issue of language is ignored. Temple and Young (2004) state that the decision to use native language and issues related to its translation are grounded in epistemological and methodological standpoints of the research. They emphasise the fact that there is no one way to represent people who speak a native language; however, the epistemological and methodological choices related to language and translation issues should be transparent.

As pointed out before, for this research, it was decided to conduct and transcribe the interviews in the native language of interviewees. The analysis and coding were then conducted in English. It was believed that if the translation was to be conducted

earlier, then the richness and accuracy of the data would have been lost to a great extent. This is especially the case when data is about social, political and cultural issues and words have connotations which are bounded in specific cultural context. Poland (2002) also argues that the dialogue between the researcher and interviewee is framed not only by the immediate micro-context of the interview but also by a wider macro-context of socially and historically located events. To sum up, the translation of data into English in early stages of analysis would remove the data from its natural settings. All the interviews were translated at the end of the analysis in order to use the quotes in the findings chapter. Conducting interviews in the native language has its own limitations as well. The most important of this is the issue of representation of the interviewees. In qualitative research, illustrative quotes are not the exact words of the interviewees and are the translation of their narratives. This is a limitation of data and conditions the understanding of the audience/reader of the interviewees' remarks. No matter how precise the translation, there would still be unavoidable inaccuracies and interpretations.

4.3.3.2. Gender

Although, the practical implications of gender in this research were discussed in detail in the reflexivity section (3.7.1), it is important at this point to outline its theoretical significance in the qualitative interview. The issue of gender and its influence in the interview process is a significant matter when conducting qualitative interviews (O'Muircheartaigh and Campanelli, 1998), especially when conducting qualitative face-to-face interviews. Denzin (1989: 116) comments that 'gender filters knowledge' and that since the interview takes place within a social context, the sex of the interviewer and of the interviewee do make a difference, especially when the interview is carried out within the boundaries of a culture with a paternalistic social system in which masculine identities are differentiated from feminine ones. Patricia Collins (1990) points to the filtering of knowledge through gender, so it is important to take gender into account when doing research. Gender, race, class, status, and age cannot be put aside and considered in isolation since they are all part of the complex elements that shape interviewing (Schaeffer et al., 2010).

Oakley (1981) states that traditionally both the interviewer and the interviewees are considered invisible and faceless. The sex of the interviewee might influence the trust, especially in highly sex-segregated societies. For example, Warren (1988) points to the advantages of the researcher being female, as she is seen as harmless in a male-dominant context of interview. As stated in the discussion of reflexivity, this researcher felt this was also the case for the present research. The fact that she was a female approaching males in a male-dominant context meant that she was perceived as harmless, and therefore she managed to secure more interviews. Also, within the course of interview, the level of trust was built that she feels was due to the fact that she was seen as a harmless female from the same ethnicity who is trying to achieve something in the host society. So the researcher felt they were inclined to help her. This might not have been the case if the researcher had been a male from the same ethnic group with the same research question.

Oakley (1981) states that traditionally interviewing is a masculine paradigm that is embedded in a masculine culture and that emphasizes masculine traits, while at the same time excluding traits that are culturally considered as feminine, such sensitivity and emotion. Feminist researchers thus have tried to deconstruct the traditional interviewing paradigm to allow development of a closer relation between interviewer and interviewee. In an interview, there is a hierarchical relation in that the respondent is in a subordinate position (Fontana and Frey, 2000, in Denzin and Lincoln). As a result, an attempt is made to reduce status differences in an interview and to distance from traditional hierarchical situation during the interviewing. The interviewer's courteous attitude helps in balancing this hierarchical situation. Reinharz (1992: 22) says that this approach that avoids the hierarchical problems and methodologically 'provides a greater spectrum of responses and greater insight into the lives of respondents'. When interviewers show their human side and answer questions and express feelings, it allows them the freedom to use open-ended responses (Oakley, 1981; Reinharz, 1992).

In the case of this research, the fact that the researcher (collector of data and data analyst and interpreter) is a member of the same ethnic minority group with similar lived experiences of emigration and migration is considered as an advantage for the communication during the interviews and for the subsequent analysis. I did not suppress my femininity during the course of the study, nor did I try to ignore it in the male-dominated context. Therefore, reflexivity for this kind of research greatly influences the transparency and clarity of the background research positions, assumptions and processes. The explicit acknowledgement of the paradigmatic assumptions as well as the method of drawing inferences, as discussed earlier, is thus regarded as vitally important because being a migrant ethnic person living in the same society in which the interviewees live is to some extent being part of the interviewees' life-worlds.

4.3.4. Conducting interviews

Interviewees are the prime unit of analysis (Bless and Higson-Smith, 2000). When meeting for the first time, the researcher gave information about the research, what it was about, where it would take place (University of Strathclyde Business School), and for what purpose (accomplishment of Ph.D. project). Obviously, the participants knew that the researcher is a female and from their own ethnic community. This knowledge of the researcher's identity could help in building a sense of community and trust and developed an atmosphere for helping a member of her own community in her work. It also gave the ground for the starting of an open conversation between members of same ethnic community—i.e., the researcher and the interviewees. Because of the shared cultural, ethnic, and historical context, the two parties knew that they could understand each other easier, and all of these elements facilitated an in-depth dialogue and interview that would not have happened if the researcher was non-native. As a result, there was no need to explain the historic or cultural issues, which are obvious facts for members of the community but need explanations and clarifications if the interviewer is from another ethnic and cultural context.

Data collection was stopped when no new themes were emerging anymore and no new views and perspectives were introduced on the topic by the interviewees. As Silverman (2009) puts it, in the earlier stages of qualitative data collection the data generates themes and leads the process, while the later stages are moving toward confirmatory data that bring closure and deepening insights into emergent data and confirming emergent patterns.

4.4. Ethical issues

Any research, particularly research involving human subjects, involves ethical considerations (Bryman, 2004; Bulmer, 2001; Kong et al., 2002). It is important from a methodological point of view to consider carefully the different aspects of ethical issues when conducting research, especially when collecting the data. First of all, the privacy of the informants should be respected and protected. Bulmer (2001) points to the complexity of this issue since recognition of what is considered as private by the subject and what constitutes the private domain varies from individual to individual and from culture to culture. Since the researcher and the interviewees were from the same ethnicity and culture, the researcher knew to a great extent what boundaries of privacy are in this specific culture and obviously did not intrude those areas. For example, issues like political backgrounds of the interviewees were things that the researcher did not raise unless the interviewees talked about. Therefore, the cultural sensitivities were very well known and respected. Moreover, as a methodological strategy for qualitative research interviewing, empathy with the respondents developed, and a rapport was established to build a level of trust. A detailed discussion of this is provided in the interviewing section. As a result, as the interview progressed the interviewees became more relaxed and willingly expanded the boundaries of their privacy, giving more personal stories and information without the researcher's intrusion. The nature of the interviewing method, which was unstructured and face-to–face, in-depth interviews, invoked human interaction and led to the openness of interviewees; in some cases, even the interviewees went further than expected in giving details of their life histories and lived experiences.

Informants' consent is the other salient issue of ethical considerations and a pre-requisite to the interview that needs to be conducted in an overt and ethical manner (Bryman, 2004). As described in detail in the interviewing section, the researcher met the potential respondents face to face or talked to them over the telephone initially to introduce herself, her research and its objectives, and to ask if they would be willing to participate in the project. Verbal consent was deemed appropriate since a written consent would have seemed to the potential participants as an unrealistic and high expectation and could have developed a sense of mistrust and apprehension from their part from the beginning. Particularly within Iranian culture, in which traditionally even great business and social arrangements are done based on word of mouth and verbal promises, asking for a written consent for this issue would have seemed odd and strange. The fact that all of the participants were present at the place and time of the scheduled interview was another sign of their consent to participate in the research. All of the interviews took place at the proposed time and place of the respondents, thus respecting their desires and preferences and making them relaxed and content about the interview.

Confidentiality is the next important ethical consideration (Christians, 2000) in research. It was decided to assign a number to each interview account when analysing and referring to interviews or quoting the narratives to maintain the confidentiality of the interviewees. In this way, while the anonymity of the respondents was maintained, it was possible to identify interviewees for references and retrieval purposes. The researcher has full details of the informants matching each interview transcript for analytical processes, but in order to maintain confidentiality this information will not appear in the thesis. Another point regarding confidentiality was that the researcher took care when using the illustrative quotes to eliminate those names which the respondents had used within their narratives. The researcher felt that those names did not have analytical importance, and at the same time using them within the illustrative quotes might endanger confidentiality; therefore it was decided not to use names of anyone in the chosen illustrative quotes.

Bryman (2004) points to reciprocity as the other aspect of ethical considerations in the interviewing process. From an ontological and methodological perspective in qualitative research, the interview situation is considered as part of a social interaction. Therefore, to engage with the respondents becomes an ontological, epistemological, and methodological, as well as ethical, positioning of the research and the researcher. It was appropriate, then, to engage with the participants based on reciprocity, to reveal the researcher's own person, and to offer some type of reciprocity. This reduces perceived barriers of communication and increase a sense of comfort in the interview situation. Kong et al. (2002: 252) argue for ethical the importance of the interviewer constructing 'an emphatic orientation during the interview process…so the respondents know that interviewer is open to their lived experiences'.

4.5. Putting Reflexivity in Practice: Reflexivity in data collection and data analysis

4.5.1. Researcher's diary

The philosophical grounds for reflexivity were discussed earlier (section 3.7), where it was made clear that the qualitative researcher is very much involved subjectively in all the steps of the research process (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000). The researcher and data are dependent since the data are collected through an interaction with the informants, and also in the processes of interpretation of the data and the explication of meanings. In qualitative research it is the voice of the respondents that forms the findings and conclusions through the researcher's interpretation of that voice (Fink 2000). Fink highlights the complexity of the analysis of qualitative data because the result of coding as well as analysis is dependent on the researcher's interpretation of hidden and explicit meanings of the data. Subjectivity is a salient aspect of qualitative research, which is situated in cultural and social settings. The researcher therefore is encouraged to record his or her involvement in the research

through the writing of a diary, and as a result reflexivity becomes an important aspect of the qualitative research methodology and process.

This is carefully observed as part of the methods of data collection and analysis in the present research. The researcher reflects upon her own thoughts, ideas, emotions, and her own contribution to the process of production of the research. Also, through the writing of her research diary, the interaction of subjective and objective aspects of qualitative research is openly acknowledged. The researcher recorded the diary particular events, wrote purely descriptive observational field notes, theoretical concepts, other leads to follow up, and new ideas. Schatzman and Strauss (1973: 105) refer to notes written by the researcher as 'the vehicle for ordered creativity'; therefore, the researcher can include prior experience, observations, readings, ideas—and a means of capturing the resulting interplay of elements—in the research diary.

A research diary generates a history of the research, and research notes compel the researcher to critically rethink each interview (Caelli, 2001). During the fieldwork, since nonverbal data of the field are important to the act of interpretation, it was important that the interviews, the atmosphere during the interviews, and the interaction between the interviewer and interviewee be recorded and remembered (Kvale, 1996). The researcher's way of thinking and its evolution during the process of the research was also recorded in the diary. Methodological thoughts and observations, diagrams, drawings, and mind-maps are all included in the diary; however, personal reflections were separated from observations. These can include notes on personal reflection, further plans, and observations, and this is a great source of reflection and source of data on the research process and the design of the research. The summary of what happened in each interview; stories of finding gaining access to research situations and participants, and first encounters with them; and stories of conversations and discussions with them were also recorded along with questions and topics for further study, limitations of the research, and policy implications (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973).

The first steps towards analysis of the data in the current study were therefore started during data collection. By writing the field notes, the qualitative researcher begins the analysis while gathering the data. Charmaz (2002: 687) also makes this point by asserting that the researcher begins analyzing and writing early in the process and thus avoids becoming overwhelmed by stacks of undigested data. Writing field notes could be considered as the very early stage of analysis since analytical insights are recorded and ideas for making sense of data are written. Writing the analytical insights in the form of field notes allowed the researcher to deepen data collection and test the authenticity of the noted analytical ideas while in the field (Silverman, 2009). It also enabled the researcher to reflect upon the meaning of the data and helped in development of the index, the production of interpretations, and assigning meaning to text for later stages of analysis. These notes allowed data to be more abstract and transparent about how conceptual blocks of the analysis were made and how data were systematically evolved, moving from empirical to conceptual (Flick, 2009). On this basis, it is apparent that through writing the research diary the researcher already engages in some degree of interpretation; therefore, research notes play a key role in analysis and interpretation of the data (Morgan, 1997). However, as Groenewald (2004: 16) stresses, it is very important that the researcher must, to the greatest degree possible, prevent the data from being prematurely categorised or pushed into the researcher's bias about the phenomenon.

Morse (1994) says that researchers with a personal link to the phenomenon always carry pre-understandings derived from experience and also from the literature. This is relevant to the current study since I am myself a migrant from Iran and an ethnic minority living in the UK. As an Iranian, I shared a cultural and historical horizon and life-world with the interviewees, and as an ethnic minority living in the same context as the subjects I could identify and feel some of their experiences when they talked about their life-world. In addition to this, because of my educational background in hospitality management and small-business entrepreneurship, I cannot claim that I was going to the field with a completely blank mind without any knowledge of the dynamics of small hospitality businesses and EE discourse. Therefore, based on Heidegger's notion of being-in-the world as a human being I am

not situated out with the world but am in the life-world. Therefore, one cannot enter the field with a blank and empty mind. However, I entered the field with an open attitude, searching for exploration of new concepts and complexities of the phenomenon under study and entered the field with an open and free mind rather than an empty mind. Writing reflexive notes and a researcher's diary helped in this process.

In the middle of the interview, while talking at times, the researcher needs to make some notes. In an interview situation, there is no time to write long notes, and therefore notes are made to jog the memory and will be written in full after the interview (Sanjek, 1990). These notes are referred to as 'scratch notes' (Sanjek, 1990). In the present research, scratch notes or jottings were used often to capture the atmosphere and nonverbal communications when there was not enough time to write proper long notes. After the interview, at the first possible opportunity, while the memory of interview was still fresh, the researcher revisited the scratch notes and made them complete or elaborated on them. It is, however, important to organise the different notes under specific categories to help the process of analysis in a more systemic manner. These categorizations of notes emphasise the importance of recording observations and reflexive notes in a conscious and intentional manner to put them in phenomenological terms in order to be able to easily capture the researcher's own and the participants' horizons and life-world.

Schatzman and Strauss (1973) emphasise the vitality of recording observations from the beginning of the research process and set a strategy for recording the field notes. They have suggested an approach that 'packages' these notes into three different categories: 'Observational Notes', 'Theoretical Notes', and 'Methodological Notes'. Observational notes are 'pieces of evidence for some proposition' and statements of events done objectively with little interpretation (p. 100). Theoretical notes 'represent self-conscious, controlled attempts to derive meaning from any one or several observation notes. The observer as recorder thinks about what he has experienced, and makes whatever private declaration of meaning he feels will bear conceptual fruit' (p. 101). Methodological Notes are 'a reminder, a critique of one's

own tactics', reflections on oneself, and notes on the data-collection process. 'Methodological notes might be thought of as observational notes on the researcher himself and upon the methodological process itself' (p. 101).

Following Schatzman and Strauss (1973), Burgess (1981) suggests another categorizing of the researcher's notes through which he identifies three categories: the 'substantive account', the 'methodological account', and the 'analytic account'. The substantive account is a chronological account 'of the events that have been observed and the informants who have been interviewed' (p. 76). The methodological account 'involves autobiographical details outlining the researcher's involvement in the social situation in addition to the methods of social investigation that were employed'. The analytic account 'raises questions that were posed in the course of conducting the research, hunches that the researcher may hold, ideas for organising the data and concepts employed by the participants that can be used to analyse the materials'.

Most diaries and notes may more or less naturally fall into these categories, the important thing is take the notes in a conscious manner to be able to utilize them productively when it comes to interpretation of data. The degree to which any researcher would choose to adopt such categorization of the diary content depends on the particular research and the researcher's preference. It is possible to identify observational, theoretical, and methodological notes when reviewing the research diary. For the current study, the categories suggested by Burgess (1981) were adopted to organize the researcher's diary. Substantive, methodological, and analytic accounts were written during the data-collection process. An example of a typical research diary entry is provided in Appendix two.

4.6. Analysis of phenomenological data

In a phenomenological research–design, the worldview is contextual, the research focus is on experience, the research strategy is holistic, and the research goal is thematic description; sampling is purposive, aiming for saturation; the method of

data collection is interviewing as well as writing researcher diary reflexive and field notes. All of this has the aim of reaching an in-depth understanding of another person's experience of a phenomenon (Kavale 1996) and attaining a deep description of some specific domain of experience (Thompson et al., 1989).

4.6.1. From description to interpretation

4.6.1.1. Description

The aim of analysis in this type of research is to identify recurrent experiential patterns existing in a phenomenon based on collected data. The interview is aimed at conveying a description of experience. During the analysis, the research relies on the interviewee's own terms and tries not to lose sight of lived experience during further steps of the analysis. Emerging pattern within an interview and emerging patterns between interviews are important.

The aim of the analysis is to identify the fundamental structure of the essence and the inner and outer horizons of the phenomenon of EE as lived by Iranians. To explore the lived experience of these ethnic entrepreneurs in the catering sector, it is paramount to research the life-worlds of the people who lived this experience and to explore their worldviews and the meanings they associate with this phenomenon. The methodology has been used to elicit from the ethnic entrepreneurs their own definitions of their situations in terms of their understandings of their social world. There is a focus is on the contexts and the influences a variety of social processes have had on EE. It is aimed to identify essential and general structures and the underlying meanings of a phenomenon—e.g., EE. Phenomenological analysis includes general meanings as well as the individual lived meanings as they are expressed in the voices of the interviewees.

The ultimate aim of phenomenological research is to understand the phenomenon and the lived experience better than before the research takes place. The goal is to 'see what makes the phenomenon that very phenomenon' (Dahlberg et.al, 2008:

245). Through analysis, the researcher tries to see and understand the essence of the phenomenon, the phenomenon's essential meanings, and the structure of its meanings. Therefore, transcription is vital because the phenomenological study aims to 'go back to things themselves'. The phenomenon should be described carefully because it discloses and presents itself to the researcher. Providing descriptions, however, involves interpretation during the process of analysis. Inductive analysis involves discovering patterns, themes, and categories in the data, and the findings emerge out of data through the analyst's interaction with the data. It is important to be immersed in the data so that embedded meanings and relationships can emerge and patterns, themes, and categories can be established through this inductive process (Silverman, 2009).

In phenomenological research analysing data is about understanding phenomena and finding their meanings using life-world descriptions that relate to the phenomenon in focus (Dahlberg et al., 2008: 106). However, it is important to slowly evolve understanding to see a phenomenon's presentations as well as its horizons. This requires avoiding quick decisions on what a phenomenon is and means. Instead, the road to understanding should be carefully planned. Herbert Blumer (1969: 39, 47) uses a metaphor to elaborate on the way to understand a phenomenon in the 'on-going group life of the empirical social world'. The metaphor is 'that of lifting the veils that obscure or hide what is going on. The task of scientific study is to lift the veils that cover the area of the study. The veils are lifted by getting close to the area and by digging deep in it through careful study. The merit of naturalistic study is that it respects and stays close to the empirical domain. Therefore, one needs to get close to this world and to this life and to the phenomenon to be able to lift this veil'.

The above metaphor explains the analytic strategy of this research. In this approach, the description provided through the analysis of data reawakens or illustrates the 'lived quality and significance of experience in a fuller and deeper manner' because it is only then that the 'essence or nature of that experience is adequately described' (Van Manen, 1990: 10). Thick description (Geertz, 1973) is used for this purpose to provide a detailed account of the lived experiences of the sample and the

phenomenon under study. Through this strategy, the patterns of cultural and social meanings and relationships are made explicit by the researcher and are put in context (Holloway, 1997). As a result, to reach the essence of the phenomenon of interest, experiences of people are bracketed to be analysed. In this analysis of experience, then, the researcher identifies the key and basic elements of the lived experience that are common to members of the society under study. Phenomenology uses this type of 'bracketing to search for commonalities between members of a specific community' (Eichelberger, 1989: 6), and through this a description of lived experiences is provided.

4.6.1.2. Interpretation

Interpretation is a basic part of the analytical process. It aims at uncovering essential general meanings. Heidegger and Gadamer focus on interpretation as a tool for extraction of meaning on the phenomenon. To Heidegger (1998), interpreting a text implies finding the meanings of text and extracting what the text states. Interpretation comes to existence as a result of being-in-the-world embedded in the structure of being-in-the-world. Heidegger (1927/1962: 37) contends that the meaning of phenomenological understanding and description as a method lies in interpretation, because when a phenomenon is experienced it is already interpreted. Therefore, description and interpretation are interrelated to each other to form a phenomenological understanding, and a phenomenological study could be descriptive and interpretive at the same time. However, there are no defined and definite boundaries between description and interpretation in a phenomenological study since phenomenological tradition by nature desires to allow and encourage individuality and creativity (Langdridge, 2008: 1131).

Silverman (2009) says interpretation involves explaining the findings attaching significance to particular results and putting patterns into an analytic framework. Before interpretation we need to answer the major descriptive questions of research. In order to be able to clarify the essences during the process of analysis, meaning units, themes, and categories and subcategories should remain 'descriptively

grounded' in interviewees' narratives (Wertz, 2005: 175): 'interpretation' may be used, and may be called for, in order to contextually grasp parts within larger wholes, as long as it remains descriptively grounded. Interpretational explanation elucidates meanings and relationships between different parts of a data set. These interpretations are contextual and provide a background that discovers meanings. The final interpretation concludes the primary findings and interpretations. The interpretation should connect the different perspectives that emerged in the analysis. The descriptive and interpretive approach to analysis therefore is adopted in the process of analysis of data in this research as both are important in eliciting meanings from data.

4.6.2 Methodology of data analysis

The whole $\longrightarrow$ The parts $\longrightarrow$ The whole

According to Patton (2002), there are an abundance of guidelines for qualitative analysis; however, they are not rules, and the application of those guidelines requires judgment and creativity. Each qualitative study is unique and therefore requires it own approach to analysis. Qualitative data are complex and rich, and the researcher needs to stay close to the data to be able to elicit meaning. To illuminate the essence of the phenomenon, qualitative phenomenological analysis takes place between structured analytical guidelines and the state of free discovery (Giorgi, 1997). Although it proposes guidelines, it leaves room for spontaneity and creativity. It aims to allow discovery of meanings and not be bound by rigid structures. The emergence of meanings continues, and the search for the meanings of the phenomenon is continued until the data are exhausted and the essence is explicated as much as possible. It is like being patient in order to dwell with the moment of description as long as possible.

Gadamer (1995) says that in order to explore the implicit meanings of the data and see the meanings, patterns, and essences the researcher should interrogate the data (1995: 240). Therefore, the process of understanding the data in this framework is

not static and passive but is like an active and intensive dialogue with the text. At the same time, it is again emphasised that the researcher should be aware of his or her own bias, so that the data can present itself in all its otherness, and thus the fore-meanings are controlled (Gadamer, 1995: 269). To be able to elicit interpretation, the researcher should adopt a state of flow (Csíkszentmihályi, 2002: 71), which means focusing intensely on the phenomenon so that no attention is given to any irrelevant issue.

Findings should include a description of the whole structure with its most essential parts and its horizons. Findings must be structured and summarized so that the analysis of the data and the presentation of findings are linked together. Analysis within phenomenological research is meaning oriented. To extract meanings, both descriptive and interpretive analyses are used. Meanings belong to their contexts, so a phenomenon should be seen together with its context; even the context must be seen as a phenomenon (Dahlberg et al., 2008). The phenomenological analysis includes general and holistic meanings as well as the individual lived meanings as they are expressed in the voices of the interviewees (Van Manen, 1990). Through this inter-subjective interaction, the essence of the phenomenon under study is illuminated by exploring and disclosing general and essential themes and horizons. The whole structure of meanings should be made explicit because it covers the essential parts and concrete events of the phenomenon. At the same time, during this process, again the researcher must be open and sensitive to the original descriptions provided by the participants about the phenomenon (Dahlberg et al., 2008).

Based on Holstein and Gubrium (1995: 127) data can be analysed to show the dynamic interrelatedness of the whats and the hows. Dahlberg et al. (2008) see the analysis of data as a movement from the whole to the parts and then to a new whole. This movement shapes the process of analysis and is vital to an understanding of the phenomenon. The aim is to identify the recurring idea or themes, which are data-driven. These themes may be of a substantive nature, such as behaviours, motivations, attitudes, or views (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003), and these meanings should be first recognised and then distilled from the original data (Charmaz, 2002).

Gadamer (1995: 291) argues that in order to elicit meaning it is vital to be able to view and understand the relationships in the text, to understand the parts in relation to the whole of the text, and vice versa. Knowledge about the whole leads to questions about the parts, and knowledge about the parts in turn creates new questions about the whole. Dahlberg et al. (2008) suggest that the relationship existing between the whole and the parts is dynamic and not static. The new detailed knowledge and whole knowledge is therefore created within this dynamic relationship between whole and part. As a result of this new knowledge, the new questions are generated. This methodological principle of analysis—movement between whole and parts—therefore leads to an understanding of the phenomenon and the creation of new knowledge.

Following this analytical perspective, analysis of the data started with reading the whole to gain a preliminary understanding of the phenomenon and its context before the parts come into focus (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). In this early stage, a dialogue starts between the researcher and the text that gives hints about the underlying meanings of the data. After this initial understanding, the search for underlying meanings begins with the researcher starting to find themes and sub-themes based on similar meanings and creating a preliminary structure according to these emergent themes and sub-themes. Themes determine the structures that constitute the phenomenon; lived experiences are determined and identified by themes and sub-themes, and those experiences are put into a structured system through distillation of themes to facilitate understanding of the hidden and complex meanings. Through the emergent themes and sub-themes and recognition of their components, understanding of the meanings of the phenomenon and the lived experiences is enabled. At this stage, data with alike and analogous connotations are assembled under specific themes and sub-themes, and small segments of meanings are put together to come to a structure and pattern previously hidden or partly hidden within the data. Through synthesising and conceptualising of the data, meanings emerge from the data, and themes and sub-themes are revealed. Interpretive ability begins at the very first stages of this analytical process, and the ability to see, understand, form, and explain structures and patterns of implicit meanings all involve interpretation. From analysis

of the parts, then, the researcher moves to the new whole and produces a comprehensive interpretation of the phenomenon. This is achieved through thematic-based analysis within which a conceptual framework emerges as a result of the analytical process and includes separate themes and sub-themes synthesised in the framework. Figure 4.1 shows the design of the analysis process.
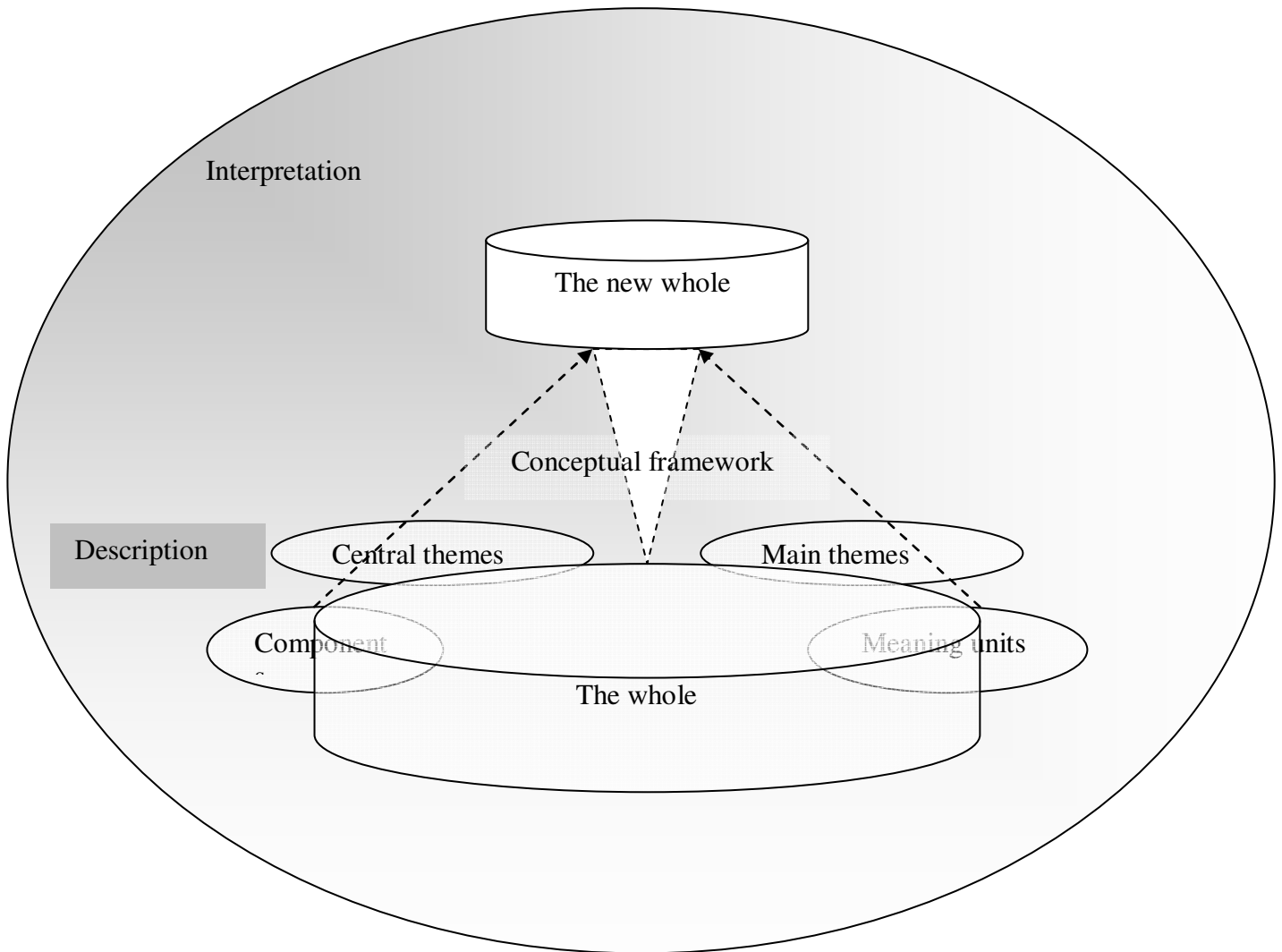
Figure 4.1. Analysis design: The whole ⟶ The parts ⟶ The whole.
Source: own figure.

152

4.6.3. Method of data analysis

4.6.3.1. The whole

Qualitative data are extensive, so it is important to get a sense of the whole before actually starting the analysis of the parts so as not to lose sight of the context. The 33 transcribed interview texts were analyzed following the methodological and analytical conceptions of the phenomenological research explained above. To start from the whole, it is paramount to make oneself familiar with the whole of the data. Gadamer (1995) notes that familiarization is an introductory step towards a new understanding since it allows the data to convey something to the researcher. Also, the first stage of Giorgi's (1985) proposed method is also about familiarization with the data. This initial whole familiarisation with the data happens during data collection and transcription of recorded voices to verbatim data. Through this process, initial understanding of the data is facilitated, and it is possible to get a sense of the whole of the data.

Familiarization with the data is a crucial activity at the beginning of the analysis that provides the researcher with an overview of data coverage and helps in identifying initial themes or concepts and construction of a foundational structure of meanings underlying the data (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). The interviews were all tape recorded and needed to be transcribed in verbatim form. Transcribing the tape-recorded data to text format is a time-consuming task; however, it can be counted as an early stage of analysis. While transcribing, the researcher starts to be familiarised with the data as a whole. This is the reason that manual personal transcribing of data by the researcher has an advantage over giving it to transcribers and transcribing through software (Silverman, 2009). Manual transcribing facilitates an opportunity for the researcher to get immersed in the data. This is an experience that helps in generating emergent insights (Silverman, 2009). Kvale (1996: 165) stresses that transcribing is already part of the analysis process. Therefore, it was decided by the researcher to transcribe data manually. This stage proved to be very helpful in the introductory step of analysis.

4.6.3.2. The parts

The second major phase of analysis is engagement with the parts with the aim of understanding the phenomenon and its essential meanings. The analysis of the substantive content of qualitative data is a continuous and iterative process that establishes order and structures the messy and unsorted data. To explore the meanings of the phenomenon that are grounded in the data, the researcher is required to reduce the long interviewee transcripts to briefer and more succinct formulations based on his or her interpretation and insight (Kvale, 1999 192). Through the process of analysis, the data were classified and organised according to key themes, concepts, and emergent categories. As a result, a series of main themes subdivided by a succession of related sub-topics emerged and were identified. As the analysis proceeded, the themes and sub-themes evolved and were refined based on the new emergent meanings. When themes and concepts were identified, the data were coded, sorted, and compared (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). Within the framework of thematic analysis, thematic concepts are reduced and strained from the raw original data (Hayllar and Griffin, 2005). This process enables the researcher to make sense of evidence and manages the raw data through descriptive and explanatory accounts (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). The search for essence helps in bringing to the fore the phenomenon and the evolving understanding of the phenomenon and helps the researcher to avoid imposing meaning on the data and to let the data be uncovered.

To form a descriptive and interpretive account of the phenomenon and to elicit meanings associated with it, each interview is read, and meaning units are identified. To gain a deeper understanding of the data, focus is given to smaller segments of transcribed data, which are called meaning units (Giorgi, 1997). In an attempt to identify, unpack, and understand the essential meanings of the phenomenon, at this stage the text is divided into parts based on their meanings. To identify the meaning units, each interview was read, and the text was broken into different small segments based on the meaning they carried and conveyed. Each of these segments were marked and labelled in the transcript, and they shaped the basis form of the themes and sub-themes, which were constantly refined as the analysis proceeded. The

resultant themes, sub-themes, and their meaning units or components construct an index with a hierarchy of meaning units, sub-themes and themes. Lewis and Ritchie (2003) note the importance of the possibility of assigning data to multiple locations since a single passage might be related to two conceptually different subjects, and so ignoring this fact would damage the analysis. At the same time, juxtaposition of two apparently unrelated matters may give the very first clues to some later insight or exploration and for explanatory accounts. In this research, this fact was considered. Where it was felt that a passage might have two different implications, instead of preferring one meaning unit to another and limiting the depth of data analysis, it was assigned to those two different concepts.

To capture the essence of themes and sub-themes, codes or index—in the form of letters—are assigned to each of them by labelling and tagging the data to differentiate individual categories (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). The researcher moves back and forth between analysed data and raw data and between different levels of abstraction without losing sight of the raw data (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). The main task is to elicit the meanings of the data, which is highly time-consuming (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Each interview is analysed and indexed separately, and as the process of analysis goes forward gradually, a conceptual framework or index is devised based on the recurrent themes and meanings raised in verbatim data. The conceptual framework is refined repeatedly as a result of analysing the new interviews. As the analysis progresses, some missing categories are added, some categories are sub-divided based on recurrent distinctions within the data, and some categories are collapsed or included into the other categories. This method of analysis has a flexible structure that leads to a clear index, and a clear conceptual framework emerges that is grounded in the data. Interpretation and description are interwoven in this analysis approach. The conceptual framework is both descriptive and interpretive. Ritchie and Lewis (2003) note that interpretation exists throughout the analytic process, with the researcher developing the conceptual framework and searching for meanings continuously.

This process starts from the first interview to identify its meaning units, sub-themes, and themes. In each interview, there are several emergent themes, sub-themes, and meaning units. The first interview is read, and themes, their successive sub-themes, and their components are identified. At this stage of the analytic process, emergent meaning units form a structure, and clusters of meanings are formed in order to create a structured result based on emergent themes, categories, and sub-categories. One key theme or sub-theme includes several meaning units or components that are indexed and brought together (clustered) under one sub-theme. Clustering is done when meanings that seem to belong to one another are put together in the same category to form key themes or sub-themes. As a result, when the whole of the first interview is analysed, an index or framework emerges that includes several themes and sub-themes with their components. These were all transferred to a table that has four columns, including category, sub-category, components, and raw data, along with a summary of the raw data for specific meaning unit. The conceptual framework table is provided in the findings chapter. The address of each meaning unit is given with the line number of the raw data to be able to trace the original data where needed in order to check the interpretation made and add rigour to process.

Each interview is, therefore, carefully read, indexed, synthesized, and categorized in terms of these four categories, which shows which themes and sub-themes are there in that particular interview. Through this, the raw data are synthesised and reduced to more abstract concepts. Even though this process involves interpretation, however, it at the same time consists of descriptive accounts of the interviewees and is grounded in the data. This analytical process ensures that the researcher stays close to the raw data at all times, and the descriptions and interpretation are made through the use of the field notes and the diary at all times in order to make clear interpretations.

Subsequently, the emergent thematic framework becomes an important part of the analysis, although it goes through numerous alterations and changes as the process of analysis progresses and new themes and categories are uncovered. The meaning units, themes, and sub-themes of all other interviews are revealed and identified based on the new meaning units that emerge from the data. The emergent meaning

units and their related themes and sub-themes are constantly included in the framework. Consequently, as analysis moves further, a more improved and holistic thematic framework emerges and develops.

As the framework is revised and improved, the previously coded texts and interviews also need to be revisited based on the new emergent framework. This makes the analysis consistent and the thematic framework inclusive. This process took place repeatedly, and the framework was constantly improved as result. The process of revisiting the previously coded interviews was carried out until no new meaning units, sub–themes, and themes emerged. This is done with the aim of making labelling and indexing consistent. Also, this way all of the interview transcripts are coded based on one refined framework (Appendix three). The process of phenomenological analysis is open to constantly emergent meaning. Therefore, as the analysis develops, further parts of the data are examined. This analytical process is an open and clear one, which has the possibility of revisiting and altering codes, index, and framework at all times, with a structured access to all raw data and their related meaning units, key themes, and main themes through the devised tables. The conceptual framework is grounded in the data and has emerged from the coded texts; it is used to present themes, sub-themes, and their components.

At this stage, all data belonging to the same theme are brought together, so coded texts are grouped together according to code categories. All data belonging to a certain theme or sub-theme are placed together under their related themes. This means that all coded data are sorted based on themes or concepts. At this point, the analysis gets closer to exploring and understanding what happens in the phenomenon that is being studied. All meaning units from all interviews were gathered under the identified emerged themes and sub-themes of the conceptual framework. Sorted data allows the researcher to examine each emergent concept individually and unpack the underlying essential and general meanings (Lewis and Ritchie, 2003). This synthesising of the data pulls together all of the interviews and facilitates the grasp of the whole picture, as well as similarities and varieties of data regarding a theme or sub-theme. The synthesised data are presented in a conceptual framework that is the

result of the distillation of meaning of the phenomenon and the foundation of the findings and results. The conceptual framework includes both the whole and the parts (Van Manen, 1990), based on which the new whole and the phenomenological description and interpretation of data will be achieved in a meaningful way. The conceptual framework is the sign of what Crotty (1996: 169) describes as phenomenological 'Aha,' which 'we give when we finally describe what is of the essence. We have the sense that, at last, the description fits. 'We feel gripped by the phenomenon understood in the way we are describing it' (Crotty, 1996: 169).

The conceptual framework is grounded in the data and has emerged from the coded texts. The interview transcripts contain the owner-managers' own word acts as analytical tools that enable a cross-case comparison between the coded text segments, row and original data, and the analysis and interpretation made by the researcher. Interview texts are interviewees' accounts of them and their situation as ethnic entrepreneurs. However, through interpretation of data, findings go beyond that mere account presented to the researcher in a certain time by the interviewees. The researcher digs deep into the interviews, extracts meanings, forms themes and sub-themes, and connects the different themes and sub-themes together. The researcher constantly refers back to the contexts that produced these accounts (data) to construct meanings and takes the analysis a step further into the deeper layers of meanings hidden in the interview texts.

Therefore, the use of interview script segments and the original words of interviewees is important in the production and presentation of findings because it facilitates a better understanding of the viewpoints and standpoints of the owner-managers who are providing their stories and narratives about their perception of self in the mirror of their social world and their business. Utilising these interview text segments along with interpretation and analysis based on the emergent conceptual framework demonstrates in a more rigorous manner how the owner-managers define and attribute meaning to their lives, their entrepreneurial activities, and their situation in a wider social context of migration. Therefore, the analysis provides a 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) of the research situation that explains the context of the

practices and the discourse within which the subject is or has been placed in the society of the host country and homeland.

4.6.3.3. The new whole

Findings: Presentation and dissemination

At the end of this process, a conceptual framework is distilled that is the core and extract of data that include the essence of the phenomenon as well as its general meanings and that forms the foundation of the findings. This conceptual framework is the result of a descriptive as well as an interpretive process of analysis based on triangulation of raw data interview contents, field notes, diary, and participants' life history. At this stage, the findings can be framed, and data is expanded and interpreted.

To achieve the new whole, the clustered meanings within the conceptual framework are then related to one another and form the basis of the findings chapter, which describes and interprets the uncovered dimensions of the phenomenon of EE in the context of hospitality. Findings convey the thickness of the experiences (Todres, 2007) and illustrate the explored phenomenon, which includes variations of meanings and unique experiences. The researcher discloses the essence of the phenomenon and describes its essential meanings and the structure of those meanings and the contexts within which the phenomenon is embedded and through which it becomes what it is. This is the goal of phenomenological study to illuminate what makes the phenomenon the very phenomenon it is.

When analysing the parts, the researcher needs to be constantly aware of the fact that the whole is more than the sum of its parts (a famous quote by Aristotle), so when analysing the meaning units (parts) the researcher must not forget the larger picture of the whole. Collation of overall findings takes place at this stage of the analysis process through analysis of all the synthesised data; analytical, substantive, and methodological field notes; and the researcher's own diary. Interpretations are made

based on these evidences while staying close to the original data at all times. Therefore, the findings are grounded in the data. The mapping of the concepts and the final conceptual framework is done to show links and relationships between the emergent concepts and to illustrate the meanings and essences of the phenomenon of EE based on self-definitions of Iranian entrepreneurs who have lived the phenomenon and experienced it. This constitutes the basic structure of the findings chapter. This map is for the final interpretation of the phenomenon to disclose its essential and contextual meanings and to present the new whole, which composes the findings chapter. Figure 4.2 shows the methodological design of the analysis that was described above; the colour indigo shows the whole, the colour purple shows the parts, and the colour green shows the new whole.

Collection of raw data

Interviews

Researcher diary
field notes

Data collection progress

Familiarisation with data,
transcribing interviews

Identification of initial emerging concepts during data collection
and transcribing

Data collection ends

Whole of raw data

Deeper familiarisation with the
data

Distillation of meaning: raw data with its summary within each interview and forming a table and identifying
themes, sub-themes, and meaning units

Continuous refinement of categories and
sub-categories

Tagging/labelling data according to emerging
meanings and concepts: indexing

Re-labelling previously labelled data

Sorting labelled data according to refined
concepts: clustering

Continuous identification of themes, sub-themes, meaning units based on emerged concepts

Refining of previous labelled data as analysis progresses and new
meaning units emerge

Formation of initial
conceptual framework

Final refinement of emerged categories and end of last
interview: all data is analysed at this stage

Refining of
conceptual framework

Development of
final conceptual
formwork

Pulling together all data from all interviews under sub-
themes and themes as their headings

Diary
and
field
notes

Emerging patterns and relationships between central theme, subcategories, main
themes, and categories

Developing interpretive accounts and phenomenological
explanations: how and why; findings chapter

Application of findings to theory and policy
recommendations

Figure 4.2. Analysis method.

Source: Own figure

Figure 4.3 shows the continuity and of research methodology in different layers of data collection and analysis process
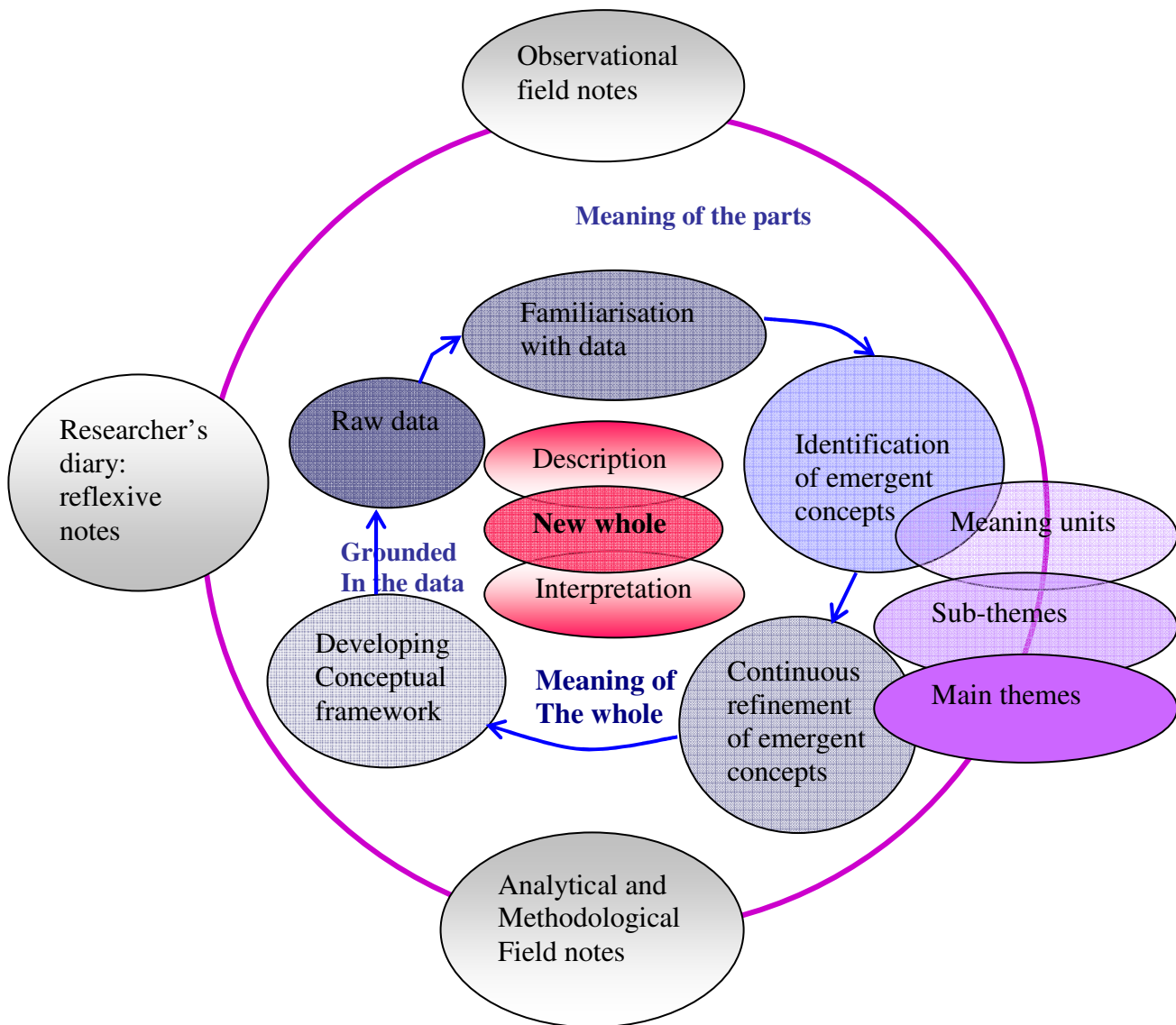
Figure 4.3. Analysis structure: From description to interpretation.
Source: own figure

4.7. Chapter Summary

Chapters three and four outlined and presented the philosophy, including ontological and epistemological positions of the study and the research methodology, including adopted data collection and data analysis methods, in order to achieve the research objectives. For any research, it is important to delineate the philosophical standpoint and to define its theoretical framework. Therefore, it is a central task of the researcher to elaborate on basic assumptions he or she holds about the nature of reality, which is ontology; beliefs about the nature of knowledge about reality, which is epistemology and the nature of the strategies and methods employed to study that reality and to achieve knowledge, which is methodology. Articulating these theoretical frameworks is vital because it shows how employing different paradigms leads to the creation of different forms of new knowledge about the subject. It provides a better understanding of how the creation of new knowledge is crafted through a series of inter-connected theoretical decisions and philosophical and methodological positions taken by the researcher.

The reasons for choosing phenomenology as an appropriate framework for this research were discussed. Also, the phenomenological concepts such as inter-subjectivity, life-world, and intentionality were explained, and their implications for research methodology were discussed. Reflexivity and its epistemological and methodological significance in the creation of knowledge is discussed in detail, highlighting the importance of giving voice to marginalised concepts, methods, and populations within society and in academia. Next, methods of data collection were explained. Sampling and interview strategies were also elaborated. Snowball sampling and unstructured interviews were deemed appropriate for the research. Issues related to qualitative unstructured interviewing such as issues of language and gender were discussed in detailed. Finally, methods of analysis of phenomenological qualitative data were presented, and the steps of framework analysis were outlined.

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS: FROM INFORMATION TO KNOWLEDGE

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the findings achieved based on interpretive analysis using a conceptual framework. Framework analysis has led to the formation of different themes and categories resulting from the analysis of interviews, the researcher's diary, field notes, and life stories of the participants. Research findings are presented through a conceptual framework interpretation of the analysed data. According to Curran and Blackburn (2001: 94) 'data do not speak for themselves: we have to make them speak through the explanations or interpretations we generate from data'. Interpretations are made according to evidence from the aforementioned collected and analysed data. Description and interpretation are linked together in this process. Patton (2002: 504) also points to the links between description and interpretation, stating that there should be sufficient description 'to allow the reader to understand the basis for an interpretation, and sufficient interpretation to allow the reader to appreciate the description'. The research links and relationships between phenomena are represented through the mapping of concepts; this gives transparency to the interpretive process (Miles and Huberman, 1994). At this stage of the analysis, the main findings of the empirical evidence are collated and then linked with theoretical debates related to the subject and considered in this research.

The findings outlined in this chapter present owner-managers' views and perceptions of themselves, their businesses, other minority catering business owners, their lives as minorities, and the role their businesses play in their lives and in their integration into the new society. To present the depth of views, the findings are supported by owner-managers' quotes extracted from coded texts. The interview texts, which contain the owner-managers' own words, are utilised as evidence of interpretation and as analytical tools that enable a cross-case comparison between the coded text segments, raw and original data, and the analysis and interpretation made by the researcher.

The chapter provides the results of interpretive analysis of data that is achieved through the interpretive data-management process explained in the previous chapter in detail. The main themes are formed as a result of the clustering of related themes and categories in order to be able to present the findings in a more conscientious manner and facilitate better insight into the findings and interpretations made. This forms the structure of the chapter. Section 6.2 provides a general profile of the respondents. Then, the rest of the chapter is structured based on the conceptual framework, and the description and interpretation of findings are presented accordingly.

5.2. Overall Profile of the Interviewed Population

The general profile of the research participants helps the readers to have more information about the population being studied, and in turn it contributes to the transparency of research. It is useful to provide some background information about the setting and population. Respondents of this research are profiled and introduced based on their age group, gender, education, length of time in ownership of their businesses, time length of migration, and the specific area of Iran from which they emigrated.

The examination of age distribution of the participants showed that the majority of them were between the ages of 45 and 55 and then from 35 to 45. The least number of interviewees were found to be between 25 and 35 and between 55 and 65. Length of migration varied from 10 years to 35 years, and the majority of the interviewees migrated during the past 10 to 20 years (20 respondents). However, the number of those who migrated during the past 20 to 30 years also was not dramatically different from the previous group (15 respondents).

Regarding gender, all of the interviewed entrepreneurs were male. Within the data-collection process, the researcher did not come across any Iranian female

owner-managers of these small-scale catering businesses. These types of businesses are generally considered to be a male-preserve domain.

With respect to education, the majority of the interviewees had higher education degrees either from Iran or from the U.K, although none of them had hospitality-related education or formal training. The university degrees ranged from engineering to natural science and the social sciences. Most of the U.K.-educated population were engineers who belonged to the age groups of 45 to 55 and 56 to 65. These were the students in the U.K. at the time of Iran's revolution whose lives were financially affected by the revolution (reduced scholarships) and who started their own businesses. The majority of the younger interviewees were educated in Iran.

The length of time interviewees were in ownership of their businesses varied from 1 year to 35 years. However, even those with less time of ownership had at least 5 years of experience of working in similar businesses for co-ethnic people. Therefore, they felt that this experience of working day after day in the business for long hours was almost equivalent to the experience of ownership. The majority of the respondents were in ownership of the business between 5 and 9 years and then between 10 and 19 years.

5.3. Interpretation: Conceptual Framework

As mentioned earlier, a framework provides a base for the structure of this chapter and the presentation of findings, since it consists of themes, sub-themes, and their components (Table 2). The findings are demonstrated first by explaining each main theme/category—which is formed by a grouping of subcategories—based on the conceptual framework, and then the relationships among the categories are discussed. Each section of this chapter is an explanatory account of one main category and its sub-categories and components. Figure 5.1 is a map of the emergent themes and sub-themes resulting from the analysis.

Table 2. Thematic Framework

Category	Definition	Sub-Category	Components and Issues
Conditions of being a migrant ethnic minority	Social and personal conditions and situations resulting from the state of being an ethnic minority migrated from another country	*Migrant motivations and attitudes*	• Migration due to Iran's socio-political situation • Migration as opportunity • Migrant attitude and life history
		Socio- cultural/ integration issues of EE	• Low support and downward social mobility and integration • Otherness, alienation, and integration • Cultural dimensions of integration
		Racism and EE	• Roots and effects of racism
Worldviews and values	A particular philosophy of life or conception of the world; principles or standards of behaviour; one's	*Worldviews* *Values*	• Spiritual view of life • Pluralism, equality, and justice • Family/education/ hard work
Conditions leading to entrepreneur-ship	Social and personal conditions and situations resulting in self-employment by	*Push forces*	• Limited social and employment opportunities • Social and personal conditions of migrant on arrival

167

		Pull forces	• Political unrest of the home country • Co-ethnic support • Rejection of employment system • Cultural role of gender • Market structure
Entrepreneurs' definitions of the nature of the business	Certain characteristics and effects of those characteristics that are associated with this particular business (catering)	*Sector-specific characteristics* *Challenges of ownership*	• Low barriers to entry—low-skill, semi-skill qualifications • Importance of experience • Short-cut to wealth • Long hours, labour intensive, 3-D job—exhaustion of physical and emotional resources of the owner-manager • Staff issues • Customer issues
Business meanings: entrepreneurs' views	Worthwhile quality, value, purpose, and significance that the owners associate with their businesses	*Business orientation: general socio-economic view on business* *Self-definitions of success*	• Low status, temporary view of business, entrapment • Growth orientations • Profit orientations • Self-employment advantages • Motivations for start-up • Taking risk • Conventional • Unconventional

Role of business	The function assumed or part played by the business in the social and personal life of the owner	*Socioeconomic and cultural effects*	• Financial wellbeing • Family social mobility • Social dis/integration role • Social position of a business person • Cultural role
		Personal effects	• Enables feeling of personal fulfilment • Physical and emotional distress • Negative effect on

Figure 5.1 Map of themes and sub-themes based on conceptual framework
Source: Own figure

```
┌─────────────────────────────┐
│ Essences of the phenomenon  │
└─────────────────────────────┘
         │
         │      ┌──────────────────────────────────────┐
         │─────▶│ Entrepreneurs' definitions of the nature of │
         │      │ business                             │
         │      └──────────────────────────────────────┘
         │              │
         │              ▼  ┌──────────────────────────────┐
         │                 │ Sector specific characteristics │
         │                 ├──────────────────────────────┤
         │                 │ Challenges of ownership        │
         │                 └──────────────────────────────┘
         │
         │      ┌──────────────────────────────────────┐
         │─────▶│ Business meanings: Entrepreneurs' view │
         │      └──────────────────────────────────────┘
         │              │
         │              ▼  ┌──────────────────────────────┐
         │                 │ General view on business       │
         │                 ├──────────────────────────────┤
         │                 │ Self-definitions of success    │
         │                 └──────────────────────────────┘
         │
         │      ┌──────────────────────────────────────┐
         │─────▶│ Role of business                      │
                └──────────────────────────────────────┘
                        │
                        ▼  ┌──────────────────────────────┐
                           │ Socio-economic and cultural    │
                           │ effects                        │
                           ├──────────────────────────────┤
                           │ Personal effects               │
                           └──────────────────────────────┘
```
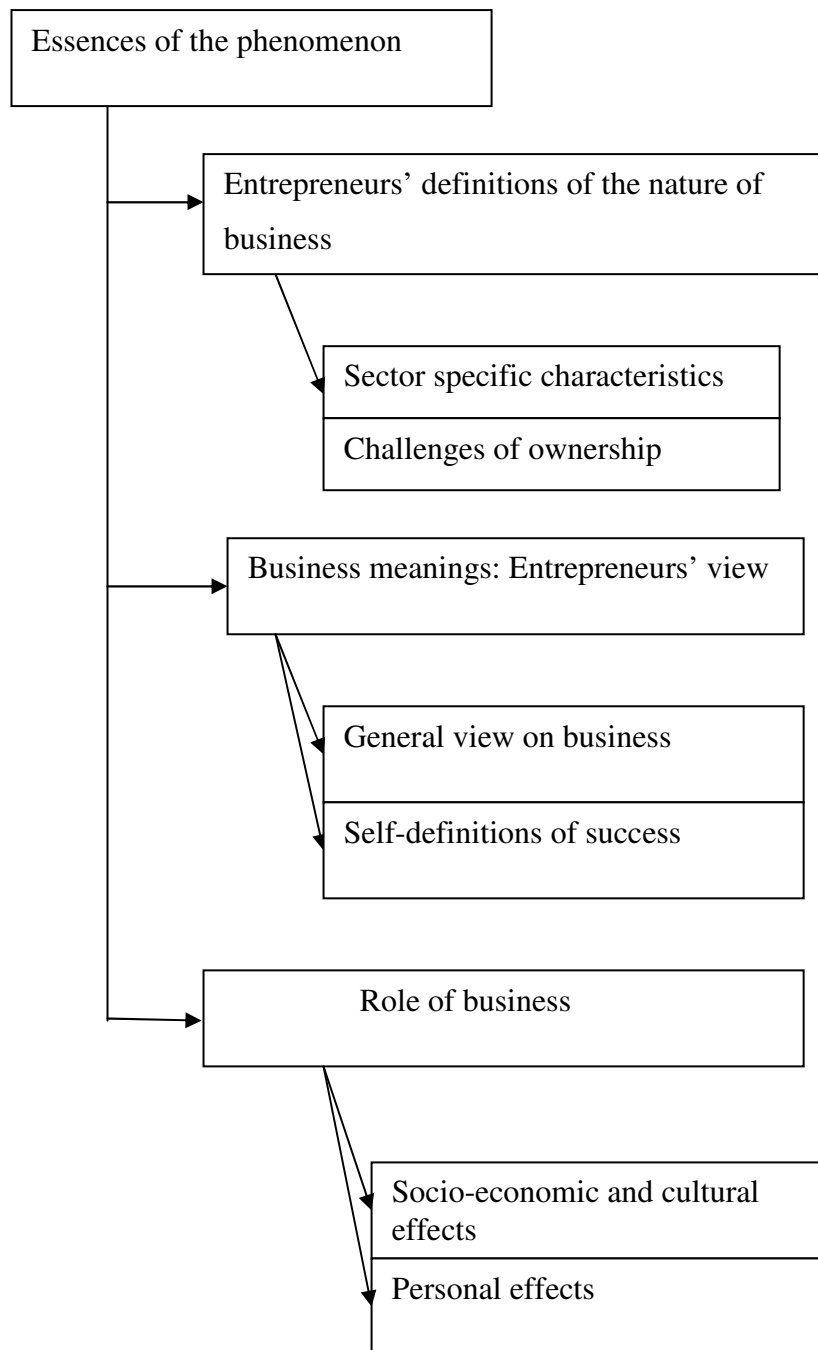
Figure 5.1. (Cont'd) Map of themes and sub-themes based on conceptual framework.

Source: Own figure.

5.4. Conditions of being ethnic minority migrant entrepreneur (CEM)

```
                    ┌─────────────────────────┐
                    │  Conditions of being an │
                    │  ethnic entrepreneur    │
                    │  (CEM)                  │
                    └─────────────────────────┘
```

Conditions of being an ethnic entrepreneur (CEM)

Migration motivation and attitudes and life history

Socio-cultural/integration issues

Migrant Entrepreneurs and Racism

- Migrant attitude
- Migration for Iran's socio-political situation
- Opportunity of migration

- Downward social mobility :
- Low support
- Feeling alienation of otherness:
- First generation integration vs Second generation integration
- Emotional challenges
- cultural issues of integration

- Roots of racism
- Effects of racism
- Different forms of racism
- More towards middle eastern
- Have not experienced racism
- Location factor and racism
- Type of business and racism

Figure 5.2. Conditions of being ethnic minority migrant entrepreneur (CEM).

Source: Own figure.

Conditions that migration imposes on migrants/refugees or asylum seekers are influential in shaping their views about life in the new society and shaping their lives in the adopted society. The decision to start a business, the choice to work in the hospitality catering sector, and staying there are nurtured by conditions of being a migrant.

5.4.1. Migration Motivation and Attitude and Life History

Reasons behind migration define the viewpoint and attitudes of migrants towards life after migration. Understanding the motivations and conditions behind the move of these migrant entrepreneurs might provide a better understanding of their perceptions of their businesses and of the migrants they associate with, in order to explain their social worlds.

- *Migration because of Iran's socio-political situation*

Iran's socio-political situation is one of the main reasons for leaving the country. Beginning 30 years ago, at the time of Iran's revolution, Iranians started to migrate out of the country, usually seeking a more open political and social environment. An extended discussion on this matter is presented in the literature review chapter. Findings show that seeking freedom has been one of the main motivations for migration of this group. Interviewees pointed to the value of free will, which is God given to humans, as the thing that gives meaning to humans' choices. In other words, to live in a society in which its members are allowed to practice their free will is valuable in itself.

NO 35: 58-62
I was looking for a level of freedom, like intellectual freedom and speech, so I packed my suitcase and came here. I chose to live like this myself, and I am not unsatisfied. In Iran, I never would have done this job gone into this business, even if they killed me—not in a million years. But I tolerate all the (social and personal) difficulties of this business because I want to live here. Therefore, I prefer this.

- *Social: Migration for family reasons:*

Among the interviewees, none of them had left their country because of economic reason and lack of work. They all stated that they left the country to seek a better life in the west, escaping from frustrating socio-political situations

prevalent in their homeland's society. Family reasons and improvement of family life are outstanding reasons for migration of the vast majority of the interviewees.

NO 19: 75-80

I knew migration is very good for the kids and my wife. There are certain problems in Iran for ladies that make their lives difficult. Here is much better for ladies. They are safer in society. Even though the ladies here do not cover themselves, nobody intrudes on them. But In Iran, when my sister-in-law walks in the streets the intruders annoy her.

NO 31: 21-15

The condition in Iran was not good. I migrated to here because of my wife and my kids. It was for them to be at ease. It was only for the wife and kids and for the bad situation in Iran that I had to accept the conditions of migration and living in an estranged land. Therefore, when I see that they are happy, I forget about all my frustrations.

Some older interviewees had been in the U.K. studying at the time of the Iranian revolution, and as a result of the socio-political situation in Iran they chose to stay and work in the U.K. to avoid the instability of their home country at that time.

NO 14: 18-20

Generally speaking, for us who were studying during the 1970s and 1980s, we had restrictions with regard to money because of Iran's revolution. The government greatly decreased the amount of money that was supposed to be sent to us from Iran, and in some cases they totally stopped the money. For this reason, I needed to work in other people's restaurants, like Italian restaurants, on weekends to earn more money, and this was the beginning of our long stay in this country.

NO 2: 9-11; 15-17

My intention was to graduate and go back to Iran, but because of the revolution the situation changed, and then I had to stay here and start a new life…. I was going to be a civil engineer, and I wanted to go back and do something for my country, but it did not happen because of the revolution. Everything was distorted at that time, so I had to stay here and get on with my life.

Pre-migration conditions of life for these migrant owner-managers had not been bad. They were mostly from the higher levels of Iran's society, with good financial backgrounds and work profiles. While some of the interviewees had no choice but to leave the country, most of them chose to leave the country for a better life abroad, which does not necessarily mean only financially, but rather they pointed to social reasons. Freedom of women, seeking a more developed environment for bringing up children and for their futures, being able to live in a developed country, having freedom of speech, and refusing to live under a certain type of political rulership are among the interviewees' reasons for migration.

NO 6: 240-245

I basically came to live in Europe because I did not want to be judged or controlled anymore, nor did I want to be situated in a context that I am drawn to judging people anymore. I like being able to live in the way I choose based on my own taste, not on others. I like to worship my God in the way I like, and it is not anybody's business. As well, I do not permit myself to ask anyone else about their thoughts and ideology.

Among the interviewees, those who were among political refugees had different stories to tell about their migration. Some of the political refugees have come out of their country illegally without a passport. Illegal migration has been one of the most devastating experiences of their lives. Based on the interviewees' narratives, they have travelled from Iran to England under the harshest conditions, which left them with long-term physical and psychological issues. The

following passage is one example of the deteriorating conditions of migration they go through to get out of their homeland situations.

NO 29: 116-133

I had a very good financial and social position in Iran. I had a big restaurant. I came out of the country in 1999 because I had to. There were some problems with the regime and I had to come out. I had to leave my mother, my sister, my father, and everybody else behind and go out of Iran. And if anytime I can go back I do not waste even one minute here and will immediately return. I have not seen my family since I have left Iran. Because I have some issues there, I cannot go there and visit them. I had everything there—good job, good car, good money, good social position. On the way to Europe, I had the most difficult three months of my life. I was on my way for three months to reach here. Three months of hunger, thirst, cold, long walks, three months travelling on foot. I have gone through a lot of pain. I had nothing to eat for four days. We were six persons. We only had sugar for those four days. We did not have shelter. We had to be under rain with wet clothes. We were so weak so could not even speak. We started to eat tree leaves. We had to walk in the mud from night until morning. I still have illnesses which were created in those three months. I always feel cold in my spine. I am ill since I have entered this country. It is now nine years that I am here and no doctor could diagnose what is wrong. I had depression for some time. The palms of my hands and the soles of my feet become very hot at times. I am always cold. I had to deal with all of these things to get out of the country.

- *Opportunity of migration*

For all of the interviewees, the decision and act of migration has been both an opportunity and necessity. Findings imply that it cannot be asserted that migration for this group has been a mere opportunity or a mere necessity. It is in fact a combination of these two. It is rather dissatisfaction with the state of their homeland and an image of the life in the West that moved them outside the borders

of their country. However, this necessity ranges from not politically being able to live in the country to the more relaxed necessity of the desire for freedom or taking the family to a more free and prosperous society. Therefore, as a result of feeling this necessity, whenever they had seen the opportunity of migration they had seized it and moved out.

NO 12: 44-47

An opportunity arose, so I grabbed it and came out of the country. My aim was only to get out of Iran, and it was not important what was waiting for us at the other end of this move. When you get here and start living here, then you think of the difficulties of life as a refugee or a migrant. When you are in Iran before moving out, you are only seeking freedom.

NO 5: 181-189

One person moves because he is hungry, he moves to remove his hunger. One person moves because he is unemployed, so he moves to find himself a suitable job. One person moves because he wants to live in a society that is free. He seeks freedom.

- *Migrant attitude*

The interviewees showed through their narratives that their attitude was one of fighting to succeed in life. They followed a dream, and hence they migrated and prepared to undergo hard work to achieve their dream. Some travelled in difficult conditions, in search of a new life. They started from zero in the host country and even with the pressures of migrant life they have not stopped seeking their goals in life.

NO 35: 54-56

We Iranians usually have high aspirations. We have very broad horizons in front of our eyes (denoting: being ambitious). Basically, why have we moved outside the country? We have come here to build a better life.

NO 31: 88-99

Generally, we Iranians are not convinced and satisfied easily. Among us, you can hardly find people who are satisfied with the low money (benefit) that the government gives to asylum seekers. That is why Iranians are usually successful. An Iranian thinks, 'I need to fix and build my life first, and then I will eat, then I will have fun, then I will have a holiday.' But these people here are not like this. They live in the moment. This also has a reason, because historically their government has always supported them—that is why they do not have any insecure feeling about the future. They do not have fears about their future. Iranians are intelligent. They are emotionally dependent on their family and friends. In this environment, with difficult conditions, the Iranian mother and father make every effort so that they build a good future for their kids. Thus, their children also become successful. They go to higher education and become successful individuals and make their parents proud.

5.4.2. Socio-Cultural Integration Issues

The social challenges of being an ethnic minority, migrant, or refugee are multi-dimensional. Being a foreigner and living outside one's native country necessitates the issue of integration into the new society and its different aspects and implications. No matter if foreigners are migrants, refugees, or asylum seekers, because of their alienation with the new society and its culture they find themselves in estrangement, which leads to isolation if it is not dealt with properly. In this situation, integration becomes a vital issue of concern for both migrants and the host society. It is essential for the non-native new members of the society in order to be able to lead a normal life in the new society, and similarly it is essential for the host in order to maintain the social health of the society by harmonising the social context, which is a mixture of new non-native and native members.

Issues concerning integration affect the lives of these owner-managers and consequently have a crucial influence on their decisions for starting up their

businesses. Also, the meanings they associate with their businesses reflect the problems and issues they face.

• *Low support and downward social mobility*

The owner-managers felt that not enough support is given to them by the host country. A large number of interviewees were refugees, and they explained that the conditions of refugees upon arrival and afterward are harsh and difficult to bear. They were placed in undesirable areas and council houses to live with the problematic groups of the society. Their neighbours have been drug users, drug dealers, gang members. They pointed to the fact that their lives back home were not comparable with the life they had at the beginning of their time in the UK. This is one of the reasons they could not easily start to integrate into the new society, and in fact it made them more isolated and estranged. And a non-desirable start leads to undesirable results.

NO 31: 102-107

They (the government) have put a lot of Iranians in the Sighthill area of Glasgow, especially during the past ten years. They have a bad situation there. There were quarrels there, stabbings and killings. If you remember, one Iranian Kurd also was killed in Sighthill. One main problem is this. They put newly arrived people in the worst areas of the city. This is a reason for them to try to do something to get themselves out of that area and that situation. Iranians have not come here to live in these miserable conditions.

To this, add the employment exclusion they had experienced in the U.K. The findings suggest that as foreigners they discovered that finding jobs in the area of their expertise was almost impossible, and hence they were drawn towards self-employment. They have not been able to find suitable jobs, and we assume it is because of employment exclusion that happens to the foreigners in a society. They also expected better support at the time of arrival about learning the language and acquiring knowledge about the new society. Compared to migrants, refugees

and asylum seekers have more problems when they arrive in the country, including getting asylum and being established in the new society. These problems, along with the limited support that is given to them by the state, make it more difficult for them to integrate.

NO 12: 35-42

I have no other choice. The people who have gone to university here still do not have jobs, let alone us. I swear on my father's soul that a girl who was an Iranian surgeon, a specialist doctor, used to work for me as staff of my take-away. We come out of Iran thinking that Europe is paradise; we did not know what is going on here. We did not have any support at that time. I do not mean financial support. I mean that it is hard for a newcomer when he or she has no one to tell them how things work in this new society. We did not know the rules and regulations. Nobody was there to let us know about these things. However, many of us came here with closed eyes. We did not have any idea about the world of this society.

- *Downward social mobility*

As discussed in the literature review, most Iranians going out of the country are from the higher class of the society, well educated, and financially well-off. This was the case with the samples of this research as well. None of the participants were jobless or in low-paid jobs in Iran, and all of them were highly educated with a good financial background.

In fact, as discussed before, the reason for migration of none of them had been economic or financial reasons but rather social and political ones. Based on informants' narratives, for this population then, having to reside in council houses in less-advantaged and poorer areas of the city, employment exclusion, struggling to find jobs, and having to do manual labour in catering businesses to be able to survive are among the reasons that these minorities consider themselves to have gone through downward social mobility. The money that is given to the refugees by the government was not enough for these people since

they were used to a high-quality lifestyle and need more money to live their everyday lives. Besides, being a staff of a take-away shop, mopping floors, and washing dishes, is far below the level of their careers in Iran. Downward social mobility upon arrival pushes them back and does not leave them with space, time, and opportunity to be able to mix with the society as they would like to. Therefore, one of the important barriers for a healthier process of integration is the downward social mobility that these minorities are faced with in the new country.

NO 28: 24-28

Iranians have not migrated out of their country to be labourers. Some nations go out of their country and migrate to more developed countries to work in low-wage jobs. But Iranians are not like that. Iranians migrate with high ambitions. We like to manage. They are not prepared to do low-status jobs. This is because each of them has been somebody important with a good financial situation back home. They are not used to this lifestyle.

NO 31: 120-128

People like me have not been in these businesses originally. We were not used to cleaning and washing chicken or lamb to prepare it for cooking. We even did not do these things at home. Ladies used to do these kitchen duties back home. Then we came to this country and had to do these things. Naturally, it was psychologically frustrating for us to do that as a job. Our job in Iran was totally different from what we had to do here. The amount of the difference is like the distance between earth and sky. This business is a low-status business. Whatever you do, even though you are successful and wealthy, at the end of the day you are only a catering shop owner.

NO 21: 55-59

The respectable Iranian lady is prepared to work in our house as a cleaning lady. You cannot believe where her house is. We give her a ride after her work is finished at night. When I take her in that area I get scared of the people of that

locale. She has had a reasonable life in Iran, but here she is a cleaning lady and living in that sort of area.

NO 12: 244- 246

I do not wish to reside in the council houses with drug addicts for neighbours. I do not feel safe if I want to reside with my wife and my kids in that sort of area. I go out in the morning and come back late at night—how can I leave my family to live there? Every day I have gotten—excuse me—"f... off" from those people when I lived there. How can I locate my family beside those people? No way.

- *Otherness, alienation, and integration*

Interviewees expressed a feeling of non-belonging related to racism and cultural differences. This feeling acts as a barrier to their social integration. Feeling alienated in the society results from the degradation they feel because of their life compared to what they had back home. Their narratives are expressed in a way to state the social status, wealth, and jobs they had in their homeland and how different it has been since migration. This is a reason for them to look back at the decision to move and question its rightness. Findings show a gap between dreams about migration and the reality of life after migration. Cultural differences with the new society, and especially being placed in some of the worst areas of the city, give them a feeling that they are misplaced and that their position should not have been in this situation. Therefore, their social relations would mainly be with members of the co-ethnic group, and hence the level of integration decreases.

NO 9: 112-122

Look, one has to accept this. Even if we have a British passport, we are still here as guests. Even if we live here until the last day of our lives, we will still be guests. We are like an external object. When you go to the dentist he fills your tooth. But when he is putting an external object, the filling into your tooth, every other part of your body is disturbed because of this process, because of that external object and its presence. This is because the body is still not in harmony with that external

object yet. This is the best example for our situation here. Now, the doctor who is putting that lead into your tooth has a positive aim. He has done that to fill in the hole that is a result of decay in the tooth. On one hand, he is doing a beneficial thing, but on the other hand, a new external element has been added to the system that is not necessarily in harmony with the other members in a social system.

NO 31: 301-306

After twenty two years of migration, I have not still stabilised here. I will go back to Iran one day. I do not like it here. I do not feel like I am at home here. Being at a distance from your roots is very difficult. Nowhere is like your homeland. I tell this even after twenty-two years of being here. I like my own country better, because I can speak there in my own language and live with my own culture, with my own people. I am more comfortable there. I am here only for the sake of my family.

My findings showed a great sense of connection between these migrants and their homeland. This was even true in the case of the older generation with long periods of migration. Among the older interviewees, some of them were married to Scottish women yet still felt otherness and alienation. Nevertheless, the level of this feeling of otherness in this group was lower than for the majority of the interviewees, who felt quite alienated. This shows that full and deep levels of integration into the society have not been achieved despite economic and social integration.

NO 17: 99-105

I was born and grew up outside this country, and whatever you do you are an outsider and a foreigner. In my eyes… I have always felt like an outsider. I don't think anybody around me made me feel like that though. I personally have had that feeling, that my culture is different, I am an Iranian. It has been my own sensitive feelings. I have not been forced towards this direction.

This strong sense of connection to one's culture and homeland is itself a barrier and a challenge towards integration, which makes the integration process a longer

and a more difficult one. Emotional challenges that the participants have faced and still face in the migration process are one strong finding that indicates the level of this ethnic minority group's connection to their original culture.

Apparently, being away from one's native soil has its emotional challenges as well as its economic and socio-cultural challenges. According to the findings reminiscing about pre-migration and feeling nostalgia for the homeland cause homesickness for some of these people, especially those who are political refugees and have not gone to Iran for a visit for a long time or in some cases cannot go back there anymore. The findings show, for these people, the emotional challenges of being away from their homeland are not summarised only in a feeling of homesickness. When talking about integration, interviewees emphasised their love for and emotions about their homeland and expressed that nowhere is like home, even if it is heaven. The findings suggest, emotional challenges are not limited to feelings about their country—missing the closeness of family and friends also is an important part of it. Iranians are generally very much attached to their extended family, and they have to deal with the emotional challenge of absence of extended family in migration and lack of their physical and emotional support. Based on Hofstede's ranking, Iran's lowest ranking is 'individuality'. The low ranking on this dimension indicates the society of Iran is collectivist as opposed to individualist. 'This is manifest in a close, long-term commitment to the "group", which includes the family, extended family, and extended relationships. Loyalty in a collectivist culture is paramount and overrides most other societal rules and regulations. The society fosters strong relationships in which everyone takes responsibility for fellow members of their group' (http://www.geert- hofstede.com/hofstede_iran.shtml). This is evident in the participants' expressions about the emotional challenges of being away from extended family, and even from Iran itself.

NO 29: 150-154

When you come here it is really difficult. Everything is different from what you are used to. People are different, day and night (time) is different, and weather is

different. The loneliness! I do not know! There is a lot to say, but you cannot express it. For example, I had gone out of Iran before migration many times but as a tourist. It was holidays and totally different. The reality of life in a foreign land is different from what you see on holidays—especially when do not have any choice and have to live in that country.

Interviewees also pointed to the emotional difficulty of having two homes, stating that on the one hand they become part of the new society and adopt the new social and personal lifestyle and habits according to the new context in which they are set, while they do not completely and truly feel like they are an original part of that society. They feel that they are additional attachments to the society. On the other hand, because of being away from their homeland—although they love it still when they go back for a visit—they feel that their home is somewhere else. Therefore, they have two homes, or rather they are left with no home because they do not feel complete belonging to either of them anymore, which presents them with additional emotional challenges.

NO 31: 67-70

People like us are stuck in their situations. If we go to Iran we do not have a life there. What to do there after twenty years of separation? We sold all our life there and came here. On the other hand, we do not feel home here either. We are stuck.

NO 27: 74-76

It is hard. I personally miss Iran very much, but when I go there for a visit, after a while I miss my life here as well. Then I understand that I have become estranged from my own homeland as well.

NO 2: 90-92

The dream is always to go back home. It is still there. Oh god! I want to be able to go back and live there. I love Iran—it is me, it is in my heart. I am proud to be an Iranian.

- *Cultural dimension of integration*

The findings show that, in some respects cultural factors act as a facilitator for integration. For all interviewees, preserving their own culture and cultural identity was important. This leads to their willingness to make their original culture known to the people they deal with and to the new society. The findings also show that they feel the image of their country and their culture has been damaged and distorted in the West; therefore, they strive to redeem that distorted image and to make themselves known to the new society. They stated that would like to leave a good impression for the people for this reason, and this leads to willingness to have better communication with their environment, which in turn helps towards their integration. However, culture could also act as barrier to integration, when there is much attachment to it. Excessive engagement with one's own original culture results in being more involved with one's own ethnic community, and this has negative effects on integration.

NO 6: 89-92

In having this business, there is an underlying nationalist motive. Iranians are mostly here as refugee and their social status here is lower than back home. The reality of our lives is totally different. An Iranian has honour, an Iranian has a decent cultural identity. An Iranian has ancient history behind him. But this is not the way they (native British) perceive us. I have tried to rebuild our identity in my restaurant and change people's views about us.

NO 14: 184-189

I have said to my daughter that if you want to be successful you need to know your roots and your identity before anything else. There are a lot of Asians who are very successful while at the same time they are proud of who they are and their original culture. So I say to my daughter, you can be successful while keeping your own identity as well. And if you want to be who you are not, you will not be real, and

therefore you will not be successful. You should not try to be fake or to be somebody who is not you.

The findings suggest that although cultural differences felt by this group give them a feeling of otherness, living with difference and enduring social and cultural differences is a significant part of their everyday lives and their struggle towards integration. These differences are manifested and exposed in socio-cultural relations and values. Ethnic minorities try to adapt to the new society, while socio-cultural differences present constant challenges to them.

NO 24: 18-21

There are many occasions on which you miss your home country, but you prefer to live here. It is a choice that we have made to have a better life. When life has certain problems in your own country you have to make difficult choices.

Cultural values related to the importance of family and loyalty and respect for elders have their roots in thousands of years of Iranian culture. Respect for elders, especially parents, is a value that is strongly recommended in Iranian and Islamic culture, and these values have been alive for generations.

NO 29: 155-158

I am from a small city. I have five brothers and three sisters. My brothers are taller than me (metaphor for being strong) but in the presence of my father, when my father is talking to them, their heads are down (out of respect). But you know how it is here—no respect for parents. We can get used to some of aspects of the Western culture. But it is a lie if I say that we can be exactly like them. No, we cannot be exactly like them. We are living according to our culture at home. We have grown up with another culture that is different from this culture. Nowhere is like your own home and your own country. But when you have no choice, you have to convince yourself that this is your life now. You have to. When you have to, you tolerate the situations of being placed in estranged conditions.

NO 19: 109-111

We have certain values in our culture. We have utmost respect for our elders. Family is important to us. We respect family as a live, important organism. Most of us do not drink. These children who grow up in our culture mostly become highly educated and successful.

The findings show that the interviewees consider integration to be a long-term process for them. They think the reason for this is the depth of the differences between their culture and the culture of the host society. The integration level is thus affected by the extent of cultural difference between migrants and the new society's culture. The main elements of Iranian worldviews, communication conventions, beliefs, mores, and social behaviour are fairly dissimilar from those of the West and the U.K.

NO 15: 75-83

I did not start this job straight away after coming here. I started to study, and I worked in other jobs before. So I started to get integrated into the society long before entering this business. But this gives you another level of integration. Being a businessman is like having a good position in society. But integration starts from one point and it never stops. We have been born and bred in another place. Integration is a process—it starts from learning the basics, but I think it never stops because you have to learn more and more! It is not like a book that you read and finish. It is about culture, it is about society. Our culture is also very different from here. So, a hundred percent integration might not happen, but the important thing is to try to get integrated as much as you can.

NO 9: 95-97

We have a lot of challenges from a cultural point of view. It takes a long time to be able to stabilise and adapt yourself to the new society. Our culture is very much different. Also, we are strangers to them as well. One feels at a distance, separated, and estranged.

NO 24: 116-120

After this many years, we still feel different and do not feel at home. Sometimes you feel you are a foreigner in this land although you have been here for so many years. There are people here as well who look at us as foreigners. After all, we never can be a native of this country. You will get adapted and stabilized in the society after some time, but I am not totally comfortable. You never will be like a native.

NO 17: 140-144

Still (after 30 years) I don't think I am 100 percent integrated. This is British society and I don't think I can feel 100 percent integrated. This is a white-dominated society, and we are the minority. I believe this because I am an extremely sensitive person—I don't wish to be asked to prove myself.

The findings show a willingness to integrate into the new society. The migrants value the advantages and values of the host society. The interviewees compared their own country and their culture with the host country's, and while being proud of their own culture they identified its deficits and criticised the system that is prevalent in their homeland. The host country's developed system and the dominant order that is sensed in the society is particularly valued by the interviewees, and the same points give them more motivation to be willing to integrate into the new society and to count themselves as active participants in the system.

NO 27: 178-179

It is really important for us to be able to socially adapt to the new society and its situations. At the same time, it is really difficult.

NO 1: 34-37

In this country, all sorts of facilities are there for one to succeed in his life. You only need to try, and with some effort you can get what you want. It is not like

Iran. There are all sorts of support for you. They lend you money to open a business. So the rest is on you to try and make it work and build your life.

NO 19: 149-163

Every culture has certain advantages and certain downsides. When we come here and live here, we have to try to throw away our cultural weaknesses and learn the good sides of their culture. If we learn those good points of their culture and mix it with the good points of our own culture, we will win and we will succeed. Some of their cultural traits are really good, for example they do not have Ta'arof (an Iranian tradition where people offer some services or compliment somebody just because of respect and etiquette). We should be fair when we judge and compare cultures. People call Britain 'the old colonial order'. But look at India and Pakistan. If they were not colonies of Britain they would have been much worse off than they are today.

5.4.3. Racism: A Dimension of EE in Hospitality

- Roots of racism
- Sector-specific racism (hospitality sector)

Racism is a key element affecting the meanings these ethnic entrepreneurs associate with their businesses and their entrepreneurial activity. The findings show that racism is a dominant feature of ethnic business life in this context and that it has a great influence on their perceptions about their businesses and their level of integration. These informants believe that ethnic catering businesses, especially take-away shops, are harshly under racist attacks. They contend that this has been the case historically since the 1980s, when take-aways and other ethnic businesses came into existence, and it is still the case today. The findings show that dealing with racism on a daily basis affects the owner-managers' perception of their situations as migrants and as ethnic minorities who feel that there is a great need for facing different dimensions of racism in order to facilitate integration.

NO 30: 85-93

Even though it is a long time that we are here, still I feel that in Scotland they do not really know foreigners well who live in their country. They do not seem comfortable with them (ethnic minorities). They still have not really truly accepted a multi-cultural society. They talk about it a lot, but in practice no. Because we are the ones who deal with real people and the reality of society on a daily basis and in real situations, we have experienced the spirit of multi-culturalism very little. We have been here for so long, but why is it that we still do not have a very close Scottish mate? Maybe if we were in London the situation would be different. Perhaps London is better from this point of view. In London, the number of foreigners is so large that you do not feel you are a minority.

- *Roots of racism*

The racism the participants experience is mostly coming from their customers. The interviewees held that the racism they are faced with from their customers has its roots in the envy those customers have when they observe that some minorities are successful business owners and wealthy. They interviewees also felt that for some other customers racism has its roots in their annoyance with the fact they believe that these minorities have come to their country and taken away the opportunities.

NO 35: 90-93

It is difficult for the British person to see that a person who has a kebab shop is driving a late-model BMW. He does not look at us and how hard we work to build our life. He just thinks that we have taken his place.

The findings show that as a result of being a minority and feeling subordinated in the society the participants have historically avoided conflict with locals and accepted their racist behaviour. As a result, they have strengthened and reinforced

the existing racism and sectarianism and its culture. They stated that there is a degree of caution when it comes to confronting racist acts, which is rooted in a lack of confidence as minorities, which causes conflict avoidance. Moreover, the findings show that the interviewees believe that one of the roots of the racism this group of ethnic entrepreneurs' faces lies in the fact that the government, the media, and the police do not do enough about it. They believe that these are the responsible bodies that can play a significant role in eradication or decrease of racism towards these catering businesses. The findings suggest that the interviewees think that the solution to this type of racism can come from the state with implementation of better policies towards this social disorder. They believe that the intervention of government, police, and the media may largely help to reduce the harshness of their situation.

NO 12: 287-293

I think that perhaps the government is not aware of the depth and the type and the details of problems that take-aways are facing. In my opinion, the government does not care and is not concerned enough about this social problem. Perhaps the government thinks it is OK if the glass of the take-away shops is broken by people, because the owners are wealthy and can fix it. But these types of incidents are more than just a broken glass. They cause a sense of insecurity, which in turn leads to stress and pressure. In addition, it is not only the glass because when a window is broken, you need to close the shop to repair it. This can mean a loss of two thousand pounds. Also, when you close the shop, your raw, fresh materials also get rotten and you cannot use them anymore. At the same time, you have to pay the staff even though you are not open for business. These are all headaches. There is pressure from everywhere. And when they (native customers) see that this shop is owned by a non-native they are more sensitive towards it. They see that you are a foreigner and own a business. Naturally they get irritated.

NO 28: 58-59

We (Iranians) are forgiving. We try to prevent a bad atmosphere to be created. Even if a customer is creating problem, we keep silent and try to ignore him as much as possible.

NO 31: 151-155

We have been hurt a lot during the years we have been in this business. There were quarrels. They have called us black bastards or black heads. And if we call the police, it is no use. The most they do is to prepare a report about the incident. At the end of the day, we are looked at with another eye. They say we have come here to this country and have taken their money, ignoring the fact that we are working our socks off.

NO 30: 144-162

When a drug addict goes to McDonalds, he does not act bad, he does not make a noise, he gets his food and goes. But the same person, when he comes here, he shouts and screams. He annoys us. He breaks the glasses and makes a lot of different troubles. I do not know if this is because of neglect and ignorance of the government or police that they do not give enough importance to this issue so these people are free like this to do whatever they want to us. They feel free to make trouble, and nobody is held responsible for these kind of behaviours—not the person, not the police, not the government. Or perhaps the last generation who started to work in this business tolerated whatever harm they were faced with and were oppressed and did not do anything about it. As a result, the people have seen that they can do whatever they want to minority business owners. Perhaps because they have been foreigners in this land they have kept silent and have tolerated all these things to avoid fights and troubles. So these people have learned that they are free to do whatever they want with us. They have learned that a customer can come in and shout and do whatever he likes. These people have been brought up like this as take-away customers perhaps, so they give themselves the right to have that unacceptable behaviour. The media also does not do anything about it. I am not raising it because it is a minorities' problem. It is a social problem. This

is a big social problem, but I think they have never made a programme on television about this problem. They have never asked why there is such problem. It would help if they make a few programmes, if a few people like you but from them (he means ethnic origin British people) make reports about this. They can come and interview us about it to understand our pain. What will happen if a few intellectuals come and investigate this problem as a social issue and propose some solutions? The same people who sit and watch TV, they go to take-aways a few times in a week. These programmes can enlighten people's views and minds. Innocence of the seller, innocence of the owner should be shown. I do not like this oppression. I do not like to be oppressed. Our silence is because of fear of conflict, which makes us feel that we have to tolerate this. Respect is part of our culture, but to what extent should we respect others? How about ourselves? Shouldn't we receive some respect? We are humiliated.

- *Effects of racism*

Racism towards these micro businesses and their owners has its own adverse effects. Breaking the glass of the takeaway shops and other damages made inside the shops has negative financial effects on the business. The owner-managers asserted that these racist acts and behaviours with the use of bad language have a profound psychological affect on them and that they add to the already existing stress and anxiety they have from the pressures of the work. They go to work feeling stress and waiting for something to happen all the time. In addition to this, these racist acts break their pride as human beings. Subsequently, racism towards ethnic minorities has a ripple effect on the whole society.

NO 24: 56-60

We are often bothered by customers. They act differently when they see we are not from here. They feel that they can make trouble easily. It happens a lot that they order food and do not come to collect it or they throw trash in the shop. If they are drunk, that is the worst.

NO 9: 65- 70

They come and break the glasses. They are disrespectful. Why do you think we try to put a Scottish girl in the front of the house? To avoid these types of trouble! That way, the customers have less contact with us. They know that you are foreigner. They intentionally call the shop and order food, you prepare a food of the value of 15 pounds, but they do not come to take it home, and you understand that the order has been fake and that the food and your money are wasted. This is a loss. You yourself have a scarf on your head, you know what I mean. Your scarf is like our black hair.

NO 7: 97-100

When you have a disease, a pain in your body, first your husband is affected, then your kids, then your family. They are all affected somehow by this. Suddenly, a whole family is affected by one member's pain. It is the same in our business case and society. We are a member of this society, and our problems will affect the whole society.

He recites a famous Poem by
sa'di:

If one member is afflicted with pain,
Other members uneasy will remain.

NO 18: 179-183

We are also human beings. These people should look at us as other human beings and not as some sort of aliens or something. It is true that we say it is much better than 20 years ago, but still there is a long way to go. It has been worse, but it is still bad. A lot needs to be done for it to get well. When a British person sees my culture and my Iranian etiquette, he might be pleased, but still deep down he has a differentiated and discriminatory opinion about me. Some of the customers might even smile when they come in, but they think that we have taken their opportunities and their rights.

NO 23: 43-48

I have worked previously in all sorts of take-aways, from the ones in the most rough areas of Glasgow to the luxury ones. Location is very important. In some areas, while we were working in front of the glasses, they came with a hammer and broke the glasses. This happens a lot in areas like Maryhill. It happened that we close the shop for two hours and they had driven into the shop with a jeep. It happened that they burned the place. As for police, it is as if there are no police for us (laugh). If you are in better areas, you experience these racial harassments less because your customers are a bit better and more polite.

- *Different forms of racism*

To these owner-managers, racism towards them and their businesses takes different forms—it can take the form of social discrimination, social exclusion, or harassment. They receive these forms of racism from both customers and staff. They believe that racism starts in the mind and then can be manifested in practice and behaviour, but they state that as long as racism is in the mind and nobody does any racist act they are fine with it.

NO 11: 67-71

If you get Scottish staff, it is better if they get to know you as a person first then they become your staff. Otherwise, they might not have a good opinion about you. They feel that he has come here (foreigner) and now he is our boss. Then they might make trouble for you in the shop in different ways. One gets nervous and stressed because of this issue in this business.

NO 31: 102-08

Last night somebody came into the shop and said 'when do you want to leave our country and get the hell back?' We see and hear these kinds of things a lot here, and they hurt. Emotional and psychological damage. These people themselves are not the sort of people to be willing to work, especially at late night hours or on

weekends when we work. They are not bothered about trying to build a decent life for themselves, yet they swear at us when we work. We work hard, we are prepared to work very hard.

Older migrant owner-managers asserted that racism towards minorities and ethnic businesses was worse during the 1980s than at present. At that time, they stated that there was less awareness about diversity and multicultural societies, and ethnic businesses were not as established as nowadays, and therefore the type and the extent of racism they faced were harsher than they are today.

NO 14:164-173

We have been through a great amount of torment and distress at those times. In conditions of the 1970s and early 1980s in Britain there was a lot of racism going on.

NO 17: 89-90

Years ago, it was really tough. You know, the guys in a pub have a few drinks, and then bad things happen—they start bothering others, especially us. We were good targets.

NO 2: 94-96 & 105-113

There was a lot of racism in those days, and I experienced a lot of it. I have been through racism, but I came out of it by being strong. You fall down, you get up quickly. Then I decided to work for myself…. (105-113) The one thing that I did was that I never stood there for them to call me whatever they wanted to call me. I was strong and stood up for my rights. I don't let anybody ever swear. I was an ethnic minority, but I didn't give them a chance to bully me. Anybody who called me a name would have got a punch in the face. Never, ever took nonsense from anybody, as simple as that. It was hard initially; they called me names, but I got back to them at the same time. In addition, they don't know who I am and it (swearwords) does not mean anything in my language what he says. For example, if he said bastard, so what? I know who my dad is. But I wouldn't tolerate if anybody wants to say something about my mother or my sister.

Some of the ethnic owner-managers believed that racism to these ethnic businesses and owners is worst when the racist people know that the shop owners are from the Middle East. For this reason, some of the interviewees declared that they necessarily hide their true identity in order to avoid harsh racist behaviours. Some of them informed the researcher that they pretend to be from Cyprus or Turkey, and they believed they experienced less racism in this way.

NO 26: 107-109

I do not understand why they have (are willing) to hurt and harass. Why don't they get the food and just go like normal? Here, they really harass us. I am 100 percent sure that they would not have harassed us if we were Scottish. Why do these things not happen to fish-and-chip shops but only to us?

NO 17:150-153

This has been a very big problem before. Some of my friends had to change their identities, their names, so they are not known as Iranians. Some of them shave off their beards. If you work in a local community in a restaurant people find out about your origin, then if you open a shop in that place they know you.

NO 23:144-160

In this business, nationality is really important. I myself as …. (says his name), and I am Iranian, but in business I am not me. My name is Pedro, who is from Cyprus. Now this is interesting that my shop is famous for Pedro. Customers come in Friday nights to see and chat with Pedro. I have lived in Cyprus before. They come to see me because they have been to Cyprus, for example, and talk about their holidays in Cyprus. Or they like to ask about Cyprus. I had to create a business personality and character to avoid conflict. Now it has become a point of customer attraction as well. He is a Pedro who is coming from Kyrenia in north Cyprus, and his parents are there and he was born there. He came to Scotland to study, but he could not, and so now he has this business of take-away. This attracts

customers—it is even interesting for the youth aged 18 to 25. Now, if they know you are Iranian, it would not be like this at all. I have experienced that as well. They are much better with people from Turkey and Cyprus. They are very bad with Pakistanis as well. They have no idea about Iran and Iranians. They do not know us. They have just heard about us in the news.

- *Type of business and racism*

The findings suggest that the type of catering business affects the extent of racism. Interviewees asserted that restaurants experience less racism than take-aways. Take-away shops, because of their very nature, serving cheap food and being open until the very late hours of the night, attract particular customers that restaurants do not. The owner-managers stated that those customers who are rough, drug addicts, and drunk basically cause the racist problems for them. They pointed to the fact that there is particularly a sort of racism only related to take-away or kebab-shops which is also related to the ethnicity of the owners of these businesses. The customer knows that these businesses are owned by ethnic minorities, and as a result they harass them. They contended that the same drunk customers go to McDonalds and do not cause any problems, while they come to take-away shops and break the windows and swear. This particular form of racism is very disturbing for the ethnic owner-managers of these shops and is a key element for their dissatisfaction with their jobs.

NO 26: 28-32

When it is a take-away, the customer believes that he has more power. So, he does whatever he wants. Also, with the excuse of being drunk, he does a lot of damage. Now he is drunk, and in this country a drunken person is not held responsible because he is drunk! Simple as that! Well, he is drunk, he comes in, he swears as much as he wants, he throws his trash, and he does whatever he wants with that drunken excuse. But the same person does not behave like this in other places. For example he breaks his drink bottle in here, or for a bit of delay in service he starts fighting and swears but he does not behave like this at

McDonalds. There, however long his service is delayed, he keeps silent and waits. These are the problems of take-away kebab shops.

NO 23: 27-45

The man is drunk, he comes in and shouts: 'Oh! Give me a kebab you kebab boy!!' This is really bad. I am a highly educated person; he is a lazy, drunken junkie. But he allows himself to talk to me like that. These are the people who if they pass on in the streets we would not even look at them, but now we have to tolerate their ill behaviour and serve them silently. When they see that the shop owner is a foreigner, they will become more aggressive because they know that they can push it a bit further. If they treats a fellow citizen like this, he will not tolerate it and will totally break with them. They would not do this to Scottish people, just to ethnic foreign kebab-shop owners.

NO 35: 144-152

There are customers who are drunk and treat us very badly. At late night hours, the extent of our happiness is to have a customer who enters the shop and is polite and gets his food and goes out without any disturbance. But often we have ill-behaved people. We just want the customer to come in and go out smoothly. We do not want anything more than this. Even if they do not communicate with us it is ok. No more involvement. Just do not hurt us. But unfortunately in reality it is different. This business has changed during the past ten or fifteen years. The level of this business has hugely dropped since then. Accordingly, the level of customers has dropped. So, with those particular customers there come those problems and headaches. The person who comes to get his dinner late at night is naturally different from the one who is asleep in his house at 9 p.m.

NO 9: 63-65

Especially when it is a take-away, the problems are much more. You have problematic customers. They talk with dirty words, and when they are drunk

and their brain does not work, then it is the worst. They create a very bad situation in the shop.

5.5. Worldviews and Values (WVW)
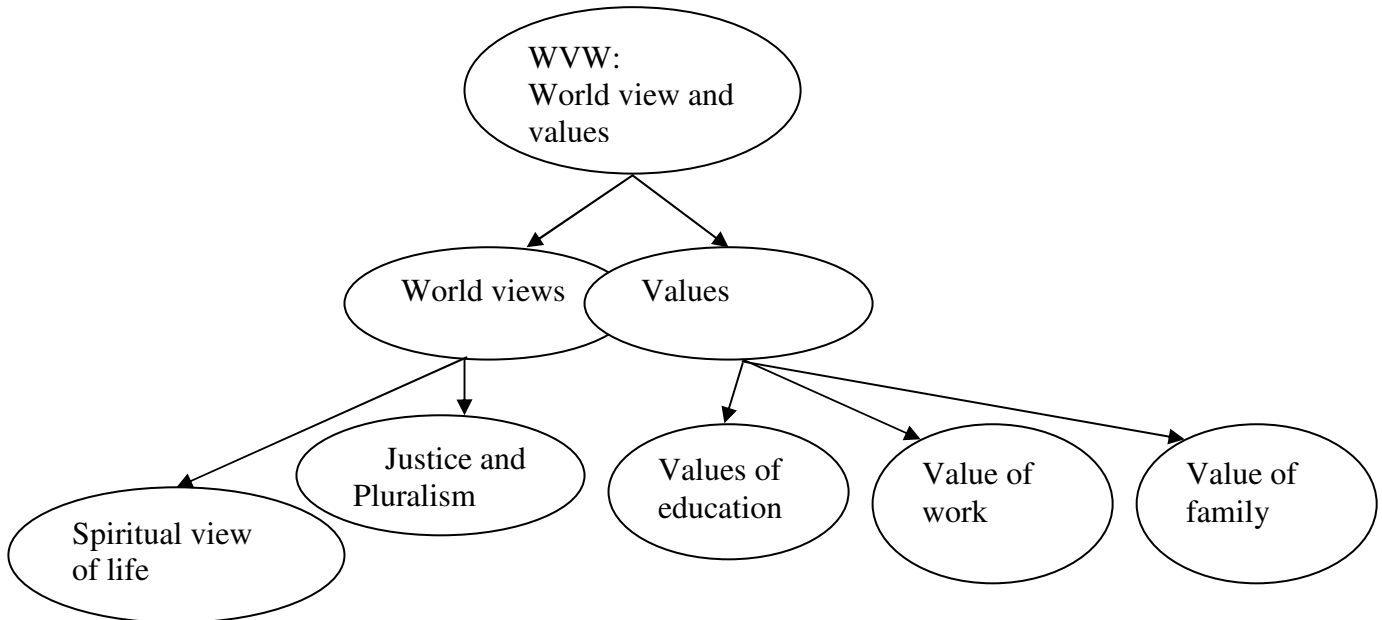
Figure 5.3. Worldviews and values

Source: Own figure

Findings have highlighted a number of significant contexts influencing the ways owner- managers view themselves and their businesses. The meanings they attribute to their businesses and their perceptions and relationships with their businesses are formed under the influence of these salient contexts. Since the subject of this research is humans and their viewpoints and self-definitions of their life worlds and lived experiences, worldviews and values emerged as important themes underlying these views. Worldviews and values are grouped together and form a main category.

During the course of interviews, it became apparent that worldviews and values provide a robust context for the way interviewees perceive themselves and their

business and their position in the new society. It is noteworthy to mention that worldviews and values were not among the issues brought up by the researcher in the interviewee sessions, but they were frequently raised by the interviewees while expressing and discussing their perceptions of their business or their lived experiences as ethnic entrepreneurs and ethnic minorities in the host society. The ways through which they cope with the changes and challenges of their lives and manage their businesses are found to be linked with their worldviews and values. However, the worldview and value themes that are revealed during the research are obviously context driven and related to the context of the study, which are experiences of EE. Obviously, the resultant worldviews and values are only the part of the whole picture of their worldviews and values that are related to the subject of the investigation. If the subject of the study was something else, perhaps they would have talked about other values and worldviews relating to that specific subject.

5.5.1. Worldviews and Cultural Beliefs

- *Spiritual view of life*

Spirituality and having a spiritual approach to understanding and dealing with life and its complexities is found to form an underlying context in the majority of interviewees' remarks about themselves and their businesses. Iran has a religious society, and even the people who do not practice religion have been brought up in that environment and have a general religious mindset. The findings show that religious beliefs have helped them to come to terms with the reality of their lives and the difficulties they face as migrants. In their narratives, they often used religious expressions and terminology to express their state of mind and attitude. For example, thanking God frequently for their wealth and success in the business or putting one's trust in God for their daily affairs. These spiritual views on life also influence shaping the informants' perceptions and attitudes towards their migration and also toward their ethnic businesses. The findings revealed that the informants' belief in fate contributes to their sense-making of their life and social positions not only as migrants but also as ethnic entrepreneurs. The findings

show that these beliefs helped them to carry on when faced with the difficulties of life as a migrant, while not denying their capabilities and entrepreneurial abilities as individuals. It also showed that participants generally had a philosophical attitude towards life. They expressed their worldviews on subjects like humanity and its position in the universe and in relation to God and how all these connect to worldly matters and day-to-day life, including their businesses and the meanings and values of their businesses in their personal and social worlds.

NO 34: 111-113

So, I believe that the Lord wants me to put my family before my profession because the Lord has always helped me achieve what I wanted to achieve. One thing my kids know is my desire for them not to be atheists. I would like them to believe in the Lord. That is fundamental.

I in my life have experienced lord. I know that there is a Lord. I know He guides you. I know I am a miracle—I have experienced genuinely something that I should never have survived, but I did (because of the Lord and my faith).

Another aspect of spiritual view towards life is highlighted in the respondents' remarks about believing in destiny and fate. What is decided is decided. This perspective is nourished from the philosophical view of fatalism. When talking about their lives, their businesses, and their wealth they referred to the concept of 'qesmat', which is roughly equivalent to 'destiny'. It means that the sustenance and provisions of human existence are decided and that all human endeavours take us towards that decided point. It does not deny human choice or the endeavour to better our lives, but it ascertains that there is a point in life at which things are beyond human control, and that point is qesmat.

NO. 12: 140-143

You know, everything depends on God. We say it is in the hands of God. All provisions, the bite of bread we earn, is coming from Him. Thanks to God this life is going on well. The main thing is to have sustenance to pass the life.

Sometimes, you only earn the needed bite of bread, sometimes you earn more than that.... (148-154) I have built this business with all the energy God has given me. I tried hard and built this business through working day and night, although I have been through a lot of pain and inconvenience. I have relied on God to achieve my goals.

NO 30: 127-129

A person puts his trust in God. A person's share of living is decided, and if it is to be received it will be received—if not, there is no escape from it. Unfortunately, my first shop was burnt, and it caused me a big loss, but one has to get up and stand again after falling down. Whatever we have is God's possession and is coming from Him. He provides us with whatever we have in life. He gives and he takes, and it is not ours—he is the owner of everything. He gives them to us as consignment. My content lies in his content.

- *Pluralism, equality, and justice*

Respecting humans for the sake of their humanity is a subject brought up by respondents. Emphasis is given to acknowledgment of multiculturalism as a fact in creation. These remarks were conferred when the interviewees were talking about their own situations in the receiving society and mostly when they were expressing their suffering from racism or sectarianism. The respondents expressed the importance of tolerance and dialogue to reach an understanding in a multicultural society.

NO 34: 132-134

I respect all kinds. I respect Islam as much as I do Christianity, Judaism or anything else. My children, they know that I was born Muslim. I have married a Christian. They have a choice if they grow up and choose to follow Islam. I support them, and I will show them and teach them, and if they choose to follow Christianity it is entirely up to them.

They indicated that different cultures have different understandings of the world and that these differences add to the beauty and depth of a multicultural society. Yet, despite all of the differences, it was emphasised that eventually we are all human.

NO 30: 78-81

No matter what your religious views are or what your original country and nationality may be, at the end of the day we are all humans, and as humans we seek tranquillity and peace in our lives. Humans' needs are equal no matter what they look like or where they come from or their race or religion. These things come second. Before all these, we are all humans, and we all want one thing. Moreover, even people from the same culture hold different viewpoints towards life and society. This needs to be acknowledged and respected.

NO 3: 315-319

Each and every human holds a unique viewpoint towards things—everybody thinks differently. Right now, my thought and my way of thinking might be very different from yours, yet we are having a dialogue. Each person opens a window for himself and sees the world around him through that window and through that window he sees and perceives the society.

5.5.2. Values

When talking about the meaning of their businesses and how they are associated with their lives, the respondents talked about values and how important those values are to them. Their businesses either create those values for them and their families or the values affect the way they perceive their businesses and, accordingly, how they encounter their lives and conduct their businesses. Their lived experiences as ethnic entrepreneurs are either shaped or created by those values.

- *Value of family, education, and work*

Value of Family

Based on respondents' narratives, in life as well as in their businesses, non-economic factors play an important role. The findings suggest these intangible factors form a value context based on which the respondents understand and interact with the world. Cultural values construct a salient part of the owner-manager's value system. Pointing to their culture and its weight in their social and individual worlds, the respondents elaborated on their decisions and the manner in which they run their businesses. The cultural importance of family is highlighted in this culture in which family becomes the centre of their world. The cultural significance of extended family also affects them. When living away from the original homeland, they strongly feel a lack the emotional support that they used to receive from the extended family. Moreover, being able to preserve one's cultural identity is found to be an important value to the interviewees. These values seem to affect these people's attitudes towards life and business alike.

NO 17: 124-127

I believe culture affects your worldview and your sense of responsibility towards your wife and family. These are values we have in our culture. My culture has pushed me towards working hard to be successful so that my children can be happy. It made me work a little bit harder.

In their narratives, money is not presented as an important value. Although they are wealthy, they downgrade money and monetary criteria for life. It is indicated that money does not hold a high value and that if they work hard to earn money it is for the sake of their family and their comfort.

NO 31: 302-306

Money brings welfare, it makes life easier, but it cannot guarantee 100 percent contentment and happiness. I believe that excessive money can disrupt life, it

can contaminate life—especially in the Western countries you have to be extra careful with regard to your family. Family is the most important thing in the world, and you have to be careful not to lose it. Money can be dangerous.

NO 2: 81-84

The more you get money, the more trouble and responsibility comes with it. You should not get attracted and attached to money. You have to realize that the real value in life is family and friendship. Money does not make you important. As long as you are a human and understand and love and care for people, that is important.

NO 26: 115-116

One does not work only to earn money. It is very important to enjoy your work as well, and to be able to maintain a good family life.

Having family as the first priority in life is stressed in all of the interviewees' comments, and even the single interviewees, who at the time did not have a family of their own, still pointed to the importance of their future family life. As discussed earlier, based on Hofstede's model, Iranians are collective rather than individualistic, with strong family ties and a strong belief in the sacredness of family as the most important unit of the society. It is important to appreciate that business is directly connected to one's personal life and that it affects family well-being and social comfort. On the other hand, it can have adverse effects on them in terms of the father being always at work. In reality, as a result of the nature of their jobs, they are not able to spend enough time with the family, although in their remarks they strongly prioritise family over any other thing in life, including work and business. Still, in practice, the business has taken over, and the family priority is more of a dream than a reality.

NO 15: 167-168

If you do not have your family, nothing is left for you in this life to live for. Life is worthless without family. What would you be left with?

Value of Education

Education is found to have a great importance for respondents. They are mostly highly educated at the university level, and they expressed their feelings of pride about their educational background. In the interviews, they often pointed to their high level of education and noted how it has affected their lives and helped them in opening up a business and in achieving success in their business and personal lives.

NO 14: 93-95; 106-108

I am more successful because of my academic background and the higher education I have been through. For example, when I went to my bank and began talking to the bank manager, he was telling me 'you are good, my other Asian clients struggle to express themselves'. (106–108): Our academic background acted like a catalyst. It led to our future development and success. It helped us raise money and attract funds and loans from banks, it helped us in running and managing of our businesses, and it helped us in our public relations and managing our staff.

The value of education has been also emphasised from another angle as well, namely the importance of children's education. Those respondents who had children stressed that the main reason for them to enter this business with its problematic nature is their family—i.e., being able to guaranty the future of their children through a good education. It was found that they felt that the reward or the compensation for their hard work and tiring lifestyle was the education of their children and their success later in life.

NO 8: 90-93

We have lived our lives. We have suffered being vagrant between countries. We want our kids to have a life. I have gone to university in Iran. I have studied law.

NO 6: 430-434

It is very important that my children go through higher education. This does not mean for them to be an academic necessarily. I have said to my son, 'if you want to go to business, I will support you, but university education is important, first and foremost. Even if I do not have enough money, I will try three times harder so you can go to university and after graduation decide what you want to do. The important thing is to definitely have higher education and then do whatever you decide.'

Work values

The value of hard work and perseverance is highlighted in the findings. Stressing the fact that people need to do the best at what they do, and that without suffering and sacrifice there would not be success are some fundamental beliefs the respondents point to when talking about their attitude towards their businesses.

NO 5: 90-98

In my opinion, work per-se is valuable. To me, every type of work is the same, and no matter what I do I value it and I am satisfied with it. Work is valuable because, as we have in our sayings, it gives you independence and pride—the person provides his own bread, and his hands are not stretched (like a beggar) towards others (this is a metaphor for financial independence). That is why all types of work are valuable. Although some may not be happy with their jobs, still they indicate that it is good because working is valuable. Unemployment is not an option for these people. It is important to work hard. One cannot spend his life doing nothing and roaming around and living on the low benefits of government.

NO 10: 111-116

If you do not work, you become alcoholic or you will be attracted towards drugs. This is a problem with this society. So you have to do something. When there is no job in the area of your profession you cannot stay unemployed, you have to go start a business. Work is valuable per se, no matter what it is. This job is

demanding and very hard, but I do not say it is bad—it shows your perseverance because it is a really hard job. One has to literally get involved in this business to understand how demanding it is.

NO 3: 60-62

People think we have a banknote-making factory in this business! (Saying this ironically). No! Nothing is going on here except hard work.

This shows the importance of work and perseverance from the perspectives of the interviewees. Although their businesses demand long and hard working hours, still they carry on with it, and they see it as a sign of one's perseverance.

5.6. Conditions Leading to Entrepreneurship (CLE)
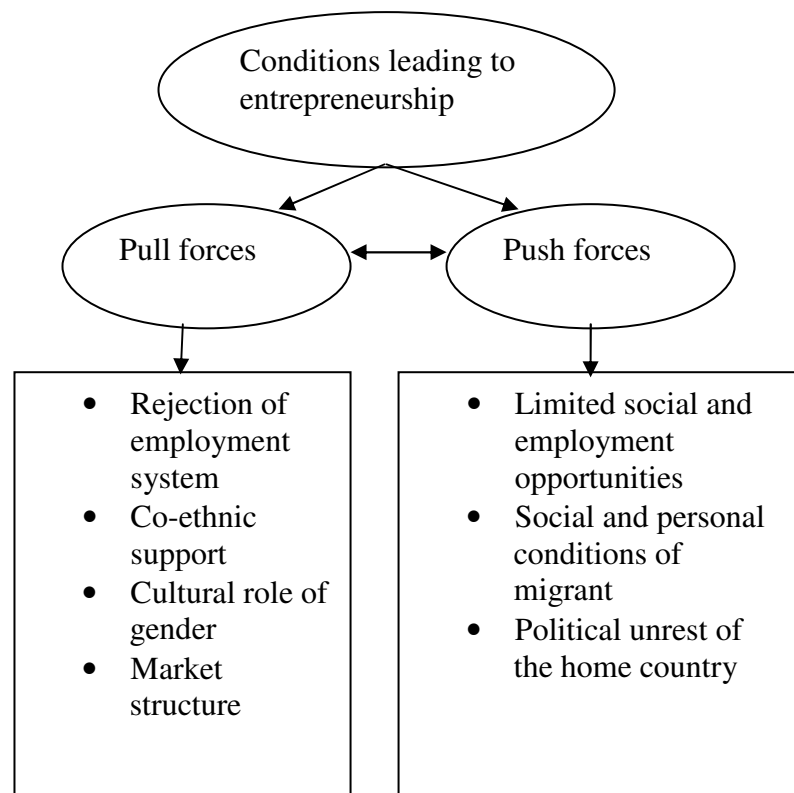
Figure 5.4. Conditions leading to entrepreneurship

Source: Own figure

5.6.1. Push forces

- *Limited social and employment opportunities*

Limited employment opportunities in the society for minorities act as a push factor that helps in the creation of conditions that lead to entrepreneurial behaviour and enterprising by these minorities. Failed attempts to find a job in their area of expertise and employment exclusion elsewhere gives them the feeling that they are socially disadvantaged. They believe that there is a level of social discrimination toward minorities, which leads them to self-employment. The older

migrants pointed to the 1980s, when there was recession in the U.K. and it was generally very difficult to find jobs. Yet, they had to work to survive. These limited opportunities pushed them towards finding jobs outside their areas of expertise, jobs that were not necessarily desirable. The most available job for them was to work as staff of other co-ethnic catering businesses. This condition has not been pleasant and has caused an unpleasant living situation as well. Therefore, working in co-ethnic catering businesses has been a step for them to get them closer to opening up a business of their own and has pushed them towards self-employment. For some of the respondents, the gap between the reality of life in migration and the image they had of living in the West prior to migration has pushed them towards entrepreneurship to initiate a better life and to move upwards in society.

NO 22:139-143

We came here with high motives. But here we lost that motivation. Do you understand what I am trying to say? We came here thinking that something really special will be happening here. But in reality two times two makes four and not ten, so we found out that we have to manage our lives—there were no jobs, and we did not want to rely on governments benefits, so we were pushed towards this business. The important thing was that we were able to manage ourselves and get a grip on our lives here immediately.

NO 23: 11-17; 72-76

It was more the conditions that have pushed us towards this business. It was because of hopelessness, and it was inevitable. We needed to make a life. Most of the people who are in this business are either engineers or highly educated. But because of external conditions like employment problems they started this. I have a master's degree in structural engineering. The pressure of work in society is high even if you find a job. There is discrimination in workplaces; even if they do not do it clearly, it is there behind the curtains in the back of the stage. You feel it. Also, the pay is not good. …one of my friends was working in a dentist practice. He had a lot of problems with his boss. He tolerated the situation for more than a

year. Now, he has left and is learning to be a driving instructor so that he can be self-employed. These are external conditions that make us become self-employed.

NO 14: 1-4

For most of us (I and my friends) who have been studying and who graduated in the mid-1980s, in Scotland and the north of England, it was hard to find jobs that were related to our own field of study. We were mostly trained as engineers, and there was little job incentive at that time. It was hard to get employed, and it still is.

NO 12: 294-299

There is no other way for me. Those who have gone to university also do not find work. I have had a staff person in my take-away who was a surgeon. When we came from Iran, we thought that Europe was a paradise. Before migration, we did not know what is going on here.

- *Migrant social and personal conditions*

Refugee condition on arrival is another factor that creates conditions pushing this group of people towards self-employment. Most of these ethnic entrepreneurs have entered the U.K. as refugees. They had no visa and no identification at the time of arrival. They had no money and no job. They stated that the government provided them with money, but it was not enough to run a decent life. The reality of life for these people after entrance into the country is much different than they imagined. Some of these people are not granted asylum and therefore the appeal process takes a long time. In the meantime, these people need to work. In their situation, they cannot work without a visa or identification. Therefore, they start to work in other micro businesses to earn some money. This gives them the experience and provides them with the platform for self-employment in the future. After they are granted asylum, with the experience they have of working in a catering business, they start their own businesses.

NO 20: 50-61

We arrived here and found out that we have to begin by sorting out the problems a refugee has, such as the issues of visa, passport, being a refugee, and all of its headaches. You get involved with all these issues, and suddenly you find out that you need money. Well, you cannot go and steal money, so you need to work to avoid being hungry. So you have to do the most available job, which is working in a restaurant or a take-away. We have gone into this business because of unemployment and lack of money. This is the first choice. When you try to work elsewhere they ask for your visa and ID certificate. As an asylum seeker, you do not have those, because you are waiting for the answer to your application. The answer for refugees does not come fast and easy. You have to wait, but you need to work. Meanwhile, what should you do? You need to work. So you end up in this business.

NO 24: 70-73

When we entered this country, we had some problems that caused unemployment. Some of us did not have a good knowledge of English. Here, they do not accept Iranian qualifications. There is no other opportunity and no real choice for us other than working in this business at the beginning.

Although the majority of the sample of this research had high levels of education and were university graduates, those who were graduated from Iranian universities lacked qualifications, which are easily transferable. Iranian university qualifications are credible in the U.K., but one needs to go through certain procedures before going out of the country to make the qualifications credible in the U.K. Obviously, potential employers value a U.K. qualification higher than an Iranian qualification.

In the early stages of migration, lack of adequate knowledge about the new society and its laws and regulations is an obstacle. The findings show social and personal conditions of ethnic minorities in the host society push them towards self-employment. Downward social mobility, which is also a condition that pushes these minorities towards self–employment, was discussed in the findings under the role

of business. It is very hard for them to imagine themselves and their families in a life and work condition that is very much lower than their previous standard of living. In a struggle for upward social mobility, in order to elevate their life situation to what it was before migration, they start up their own businesses. In an attempt to escape from the jobs they have, which is usually working for other catering businesses, they begin their entrepreneurial activities. The issue of downward social mobility is not all about wealth and the economic aspects of life. The interviewees mentioned that they needed to work towards a better life in order to be able to provide their children with a better social setting. They did not desire their children to grow up in the poorer, deprived areas of the city among neighbours who are not at the same social level as they are. They fear for the children going out and playing with other kids. They fear they will be offered cigarettes or drugs by other children or will experience teenage conflict with gangs. And they fear for their children's general insecurity outside the house. These were some of the central concerns of the owner-managers that have pushed them towards entrepreneurship. The quality of the children's upbringing would have been possible through a better financial situation and moving the house to a better area.

NO 23: 18-19

The sort of living and lifestyle that we had in Iran, these people even do not see that in their dreams. But when we come here it is totally different.

NO 13: 250-253

Having this sort of neighbours (meaning drug addicts, drunken people, uneducated) for ten years whom you do not dare to say hello to. Or my kids play with kids in the area. What would my kid learn from them except swearing, drinking, using drugs, and smoking? I used to live in that area until a few years ago. I was very worried for my son.

NO 35: 85-89

If you look at them (native population), they do not normally do this job. This is a hard and low-level job. You have not seen a Scottish having a kebab shop. They prefer to go to work at nine a.m. and come back home at five p.m. sharp. They are also not prepared at all to miss their weekends because of work. They have to have their holidays and their drinks and their fun time. This is why they do not do this business.

NO 28: 13-18

We cannot adapt to this deprived situation of living. We are not used to little money and a low standard of living. We like to be comfortable. We do not like to be in a situation where we live in a bad area or where we work as staff of some take-away. We do not like to have that master. It is hard for us. I worked for somebody else for three months, and after that I started for myself and became independent. I had been somebody in Iran, and I cannot bear to be a workman for somebody else here.

NO 8: 24-27

This business only has been for escaping from doing labour work for somebody else. Right now, I am doing the same work but, at least I am doing for myself. Some of the interviewees pointed to the geographical disadvantage of Scotland compared with London as an influential factor in their downward social mobility. They contended that they perceive Scotland as less multicultural with fewer job opportunities for ethnic minorities. This is not only for current times. It was even the case during the 1980s, when the older migrants started their jobs. They believed that since they have been in Scotland they have been faced with less opportunity to find another decent job, and therefore they approached self-employment. They held that if they had been in London at that time probably they would not have needed to start up a business because they would have had more chances of finding a job.

NO 14: 25-32

At that time (late 1970s to early 80s), if you went to Sheffield or Manchester, you would have seen many Iranians that were engaged in the same activity. And it was the same all over the U.K. London was an exception because there were other job opportunities vastly available as well there, but in other locations, catering was the best option. London was also more adaptable for foreigners. Multiculturalism was more accepted in London compared with other areas in the U.K.

- *Political unrest of the home country*

The findings show that after the revolution in 1979, as a result of the instability, the financial support that was given to a number of Iranian students who were studying in the U.K. was stopped. The revolution had a ripple effect on these students and their educations. In that situation, these students had to start working to be able to pay their expenses. The most available job was to work for restaurants as waiters, or work in the kitchens. As a result, they got familiar with this type of work, acquired the needed experience, and after a few years opened up their own places. They decided not to go back to Iran because of the instability of the socio-political situation, including the war with Iraq during those years. Therefore, the socio-political situation of the homeland also acted as a push factor towards entrepreneurship for these ethnic businessmen.

NO 32: 1-3; 10-16
The only place that we could work in those times was in Indian and Italian restaurants. We started from those places and learned the business…10-16 At that time, we were studying, and there was recession in the U.K. The economic situation was also bad. During mid-1980s, we were looking for jobs. But we could not find a job related to our speciality. In those days, racist discrimination was also much worse than now. For this reason also, many places refused us employment. I remember that I applied and applied to different engineering

organisations but failed to get a decent job. They either rejected me or said 'we will let you know later if we need you', or they did not reply back. This is the reason that most of us are self-employed today. So we had to work there to have some income to pay our tuition fees and bills and be able to live. Then it was continued naturally, and step by step we made improvements, and from the kitchen we went to the bar and experienced all the different responsibilities in a catering business and could open our own.

NO 17: 4 -13

With our country's revolution, when the revolution happened, there was little money, they did not send us money, and we had to start working somewhere. At the same time I got married, and I had problems—because of the revolution, the laws changed, so the situation was a little bit mixed up. And so I ended up here. This was the easiest way at that time. I had to choose a job without any experience. So the easiest way for me to go forward was this business.

5.6.2. Pull Forces

- *Cultural role of gender*

The findings suggest that the male figure of the family culturally assumes that the responsibility of providing a comfortable life for the finally is on his shoulders, and this pulls the father/husband towards self-employment. After arrival in the U.K., the male figure of the family (father/husband) feels unsatisfied with the low-paid jobs he finds here, with no job security, and this does not give him and his family a prospect of a comfortable life. On the other hand, he sees the opportunity for opening up a catering business and seizes the opportunity to be able to fulfil his cultural roles.

NO 20: 37-42

You migrate from your country and come here with all the troubles. Sell everything you have back home. You have not taken your family here to live in misery and adversity. At the beginning, you do not have any job, and so you have to work as staff of take-aways, working in the kitchen or doing delivery. But after that, you get some experience and money and you like to improve your life. So you start you own business. You have not brought your family here to live with labour wages.

NO 7: 44-47

I had to choose this business. Although I cannot spend much time with my family, my first duty is to provide food and shelter for them. When you have responsibility, you do whatever it takes to fulfil that responsibility.

NO 8: 82-90

Family is very important for us. I have a daughter and a son. I have basically taken them here so the kids will have the opportunity to live in a developed country and will be successful in the future. We as parents put up with all the troubles of being a refugee living in a foreign country for kids to grow up in a better situation.

- *Rejection of employment system*

The findings show that a small number of the interviewees had good jobs before starting up these businesses. These owner-managers stated that they chose to work for themselves because they wanted to reject the employment system. They did not feel satisfied with their jobs partly because of feeling alienated within the work place. One of the interviewees pointed to the cultural differences, which make it difficult to mix and match with other people in the workplace and society. One interviewee stated that there are hidden racist behaviours in workplaces towards minorities, which made minorities reject the employment system. The advantages

of self-employment, on the other hand, and having the opportunity to be independent and self-sustaining, pulled them towards self-employment.

NO 2: 92-96

I graduated from university here in civil engineering and started to work in a company, but after three months I resigned. I couldn't work with those people—they were not my kind of people. We experienced a lot of racism in those days, and I experienced a lot of it. I decided to work for myself.

NO 25:15-25

I have two MSc degrees; I have used them here as well. I was teaching here for two years. Then, when thought of building up this business came to my mind, I felt I would like to do it. This idea is a good idea. I had an idea in my mind, and heard about it from my parents and the elders who used to go to cafés, sit there, drink tea, play dominoes, and communicate and talk together, like in bars here. I wanted to do the same thing with this restaurant. When I started, I had this in mind, but when I started I found out that I have to look at this as a business, and then many things changed from that time to present.

NO 15: 67-68

I did not like the employment system. It is not for me. I like freedom. In my business, I am free to do it in whatever shape I think is good. This is what I have built, and I am happy….(98– 103) These things are important. To have control over your decisions, to be independent! I worked in a company as a designer. I am an engineer. The company was really good and so was the job. But I did not like to go to work from 9 to 5, to sit behind the computer all day. I like flexibility. I like to be on my own time. Self-employment might take more time, but I like the fact that I am working on my own time for myself. I enjoy working for myself. Perhaps I am now working more than before when I was working for that company, but I like it better. Even if I am working until late at night, I am more comfortable this way.

NO 25: 22-25; 92-95

I was a teacher before I started this. I did not like the system, so I left it. I felt that my time was wasted in that system. It was not a problem for me to go to work at 9 a.m. and come back at 5—work is work. I did not like the system. So I built this business.

- *Co-ethnic support*

The findings suggest that the co-ethnic community has a key role in pulling these ethnic minorities towards self-employment. Previous generations of co-ethnic entrepreneurs provide a platform for entrepreneurship for the newer migrants. They give them jobs in their catering shops and restaurants, which provides them with the experience required for starting up their own businesses. Additionally, findings show that by working in that context for a few years they get used to the business and prefer to stay in this business and start a catering business of their own.

A proposal of partnership in a business from co-ethnic friends helps them with finances needed for start-up. Family support, which is given to some of the interviewees, is also a key pull factor for start-up. For these people, their families had been in the business before them, and through their families they became familiar with the business and started one of their own.

NO 2: 70-79

It does help, I have had a lot of people at different times working as my staff in shops. They were from Iran, Kurdistan, Iraq. For ethnic people, this job helps you get integrated and helps staff get integrated and find their ways in the new society, because the first thing they can do is to come in these shops and work, and through this work they start to learn better English. They meet other people, learn how the shop is run, and after a few years they open their own shops. I believe everyone in life should get a chance. They have worked with me, and they have learned from me, and they have opened exactly the same style shops as I

did—this is the biggest satisfaction. I love to see them growing—that is my attitude in life. I have a good life, and everybody else also deserves to have a good life if they work hard to get it.

NO 33: 4-13

I was not in this business at all. I was studying in London. One of my friends had bought a take-away shop at that time. He persisted that I become his partner and work together with him in the business. This was how I entered this business, and I have stayed in it for the past 15 years. I was not in this business originally, and I did not have any background in it. When I was studying, I never thought about or intended to do this business for life. It sort of happened. It was just because of my friend who needed my help at the time and suggested it, and then I saw that its income is very good, and I carried on with it.

NO 10: 38-42

One of my old friends was in this business. He needed someone trustworthy to work with him. On the other hand, I was working in a profession at the time. But there was not much work. I needed money. I am a professional scuba diver and worked for an oil company in Aberdeen. Anyway, because there was not much work, I needed more money, and I accepted my friend's proposal and started the business with him.

NO 6: 21-27

The fact that my brother is in this business in London and has a very successful business was really important in my entrance into the business. He persisted that I open a Persian restaurant in Glasgow. My friends, as well, all thought it is a good idea. After a few years, the opportunity arose and I started it. Choosing the catering business was mostly because of my brother. I had the courage to start because of his experience that I could use. I counted on him.

- *Market structure*

Some of the interviewees pointed to a gap in the catering sector in the form of Asian-style take-aways during the 1980s when they started their businesses. During the 1980s, take-aways and catering businesses by ethnic minorities were a new phenomenon. The findings reveal that these ethnic entrepreneurs spotted the gap on time and were pulled towards opening up take-aways and restaurants. They also mentioned that at those times there was easier access to financing, and that also was a key factor in pulling them towards this. Three of the informants, who owned the only three Persian restaurants in Glasgow at the time of the interviews, contended that the market structure and a gap in the market for Iranian restaurants had pulled them to open an Iranian restaurant in Glasgow. They felt that there was a need to introduce Iranian food to the Scottish people and give them an alternative taste from the dominant curry taste.

NO 14:7-12

On the other hand, at that time (late 1970s), catering as a sector was not as developed in the U.K. It was not as developed as in other countries in Europe such as France, Italy, Spain, and Germany. Good food was served in the hotels, but in large part in the catering sector only basic food was served by restaurants and take-aways, and menus were very limited. Cooking facilities were not healthy. Indian and Chinese cuisine started to grow at that time in the U.K., and in catering you could earn a lot of money honestly and it was a very good business at that time. There was a very good profit margin, easy access to finance. Financial institutions and banks provided easy and good loans. This was a very good incentive that pulled me towards this job.

NO 29: 64-67

First of all, in Scotland people have had enough of curry and Chinese food. They need something new. The market has a gap for a new cuisine. They do not have enough information about Iranian food. This cuisine needs to be introduced to

them. I am very happy to see that another Persian restaurant is also opening in Glasgow. In this way, people get a chance to know our food and become interested.

The findings reveal that each of the pull and push conditions leading to entrepreneurship are fed by one of these conditions: personal conditions, social conditions, cultural conditions, and economic conditions. Among the push conditions, limited opportunity in society for migrant employment, migrant conditions on arrival, and migrant conditions of life are social conditions that push them towards self-employment. The migrant's individual limits, such as a lack of competency in English, are personal push conditions. The role of gender acts as a cultural push factor in this context. Geographical disadvantages of their locations for employment opportunities are among economic push conditions, as the owner-managers perceived Scotland to be more economically deprived compared with the South of England, and therefore there is less opportunity in Scotland for employment. Lastly, the political situation of Iran during the early years of the revolution acted as a condition that pushed these individuals towards self-employment. It is necessary to mention that the findings show that there has been a mix of different social, political, cultural, economic, and individual conditions in play that have pushed and at the same time pulled this group of migrants towards self-employment (Figure 5.5)
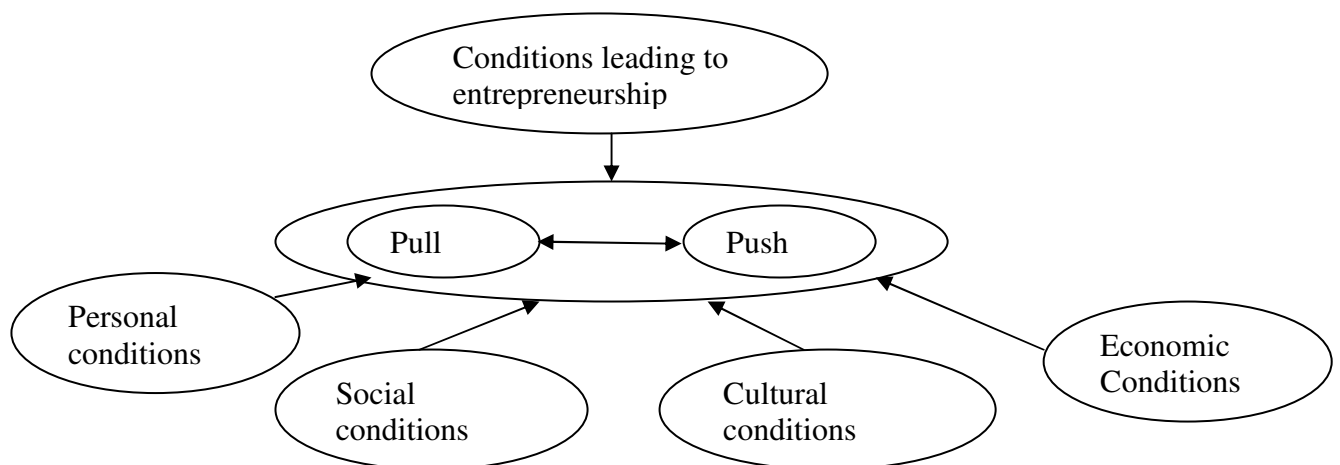
Figure 5.5. Push/pull continuum in conditions leading to entrepreneurship.

Source: Own figure.

5.7. Entrepreneurs' Definitions of the Nature of the Business (NB)
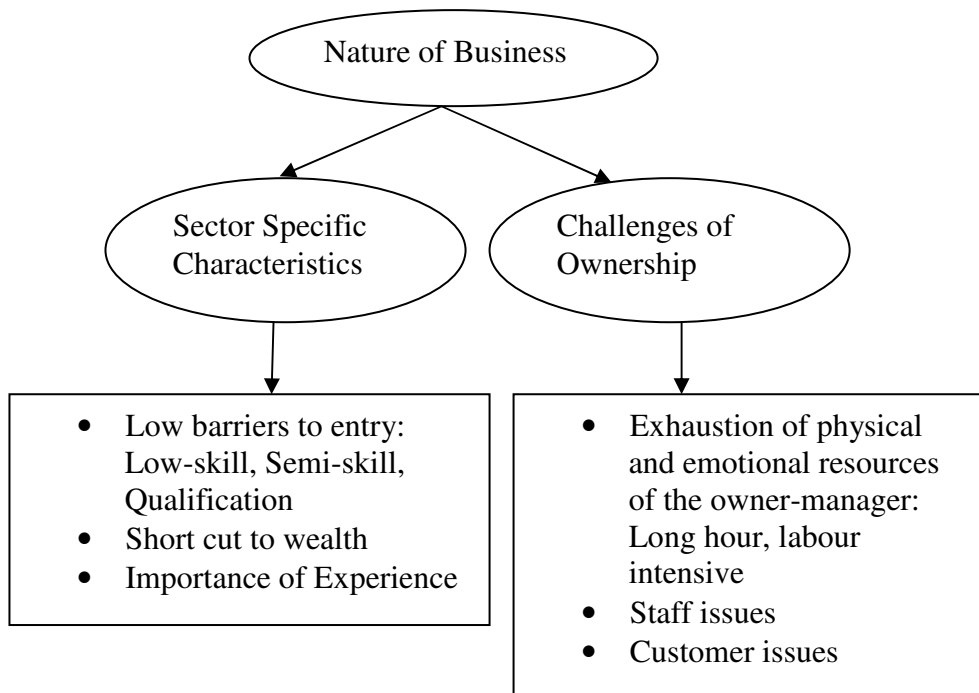
Figure 5.6. Self-definitions of the nature of the business.

Source: Own figure.

Hospitality and catering businesses have a series of characteristics that are influential in shaping owner-managers' lives and their businesses. The nature of the business is one important factor mentioned repeatedly in the interviewee's narratives as a determinant of their attitude towards life and business. The meanings they associate with their businesses are connected to the nature of their business and the particular characteristics of these businesses.

5.7.1. Sector-Specific Characteristics

The findings show that the EE phenomenon is a context-driven and social phenomenon and that these contexts influence the shaping of ethnic

225

entrepreneurs' lived experiences and the meanings of the phenomenon of EE. The findings reveal that the sector within which EE is situated contributes to the meanings of the phenomenon with its particular characteristics. Sector-specific characteristics and those qualities that are particular to the hospitality industry and the catering sector are found to be important in the self-definitions of the interviewees of their situations and lived experiences. Some of these characteristics are specific to take-away shops, which are highlighted in owner-managers' views on their businesses, but most of them are general characteristics of hospitality and catering.

- *Low barriers to entry*

The most apparent feature of the hospitality and catering business is low barriers to entry. Based on the perception of interviewees, no particular skill is needed to start up a small-scale catering business. The findings show that all of the participants started their businesses without having gone through formal hospitality training and education. They stated that there is no need to know or learn specific skills when opening up and operating a take-away or restaurant since it is a routine job that is based on experience rather than knowledge. Also, there is less need to know the English language because the use of language is very limited in this job. Therefore, for migrant minorities it becomes the best possible way to survive in the new society.

NO 17: 11-13

It was the easiest way at that time. I had to choose a job without any experience. So the easiest way for me to go forward was this business.

NO 20: 44-46

For starting this business, you do not need to know a lot of things. You do not need specific skills; you do not need to know the language very well. You can start more easily compared with other jobs.

NO 19: 226-227

Entry into this business is very easy, but getting out of it is really difficult. As you see, a lot of Iranians are doing this business. You can easily start your business by getting a place to cook and sell, but to sell this business is hard. You cannot leave it easily.

NO 10: 103-106

It is the easiest thing you can do when you come; really if you are working in a kitchen you don't need to talk to anyone. Many of us have difficulty in speaking English when we arrive here. But this business is the same as dishwashing—anyone can do that—and therefore they start it easily.

The interviewees pointed to the importance of experience in successful running of their businesses. They stated that since this is an experience-based business it is imperative to be familiar with different aspects of owning and managing it. Most of the owner-managers have been working as staff for other past-generation co-ethnic or older family members who are catering owner-managers before opening up their own businesses. Therefore, they have acquired the necessary experience and knowledge to run their own. The critical things, from buying the raw material, to preparation, to cooking and serving the food, to staff and customer relations, are learned through working elsewhere for a period of time. Moreover, the findings imply that the interviewees viewed experience also in terms of knowing the society in which they work and understanding the culture of the host country. They consider this type of experience quite influential in the more successful operation of their businesses.

NO 6: 27-31

I did not like to get engaged with something unprofessionally. I did not like to enter a business without experience and then make a lot of mistakes and learn from those mistakes. No, I did not want to be in that situation. Not at my age. I cannot afford to do something that I do not know about. With the fierce competition that is present in this city, with the bad situation of the market, if you

want to start working without any experience you will definitely lose your money as well as your Abroo (saving face).

NO 1: 83-87

When you have been working in this business before, you have observed everything. You have learned the ways. Then, when you start your own business, you know what to expect. This experience is important. When I opened my own shop, I started my work based on my experiences from when I was working before. I knew what to do, and it was not very difficult for me because of all the experiences.

- *Short cut to wealth*

The findings suggest that interviewees perceived their businesses to be characteristically a short-cut to wealth and the best way for them to get themselves out of the deteriorating and undesirable migrant ethnic situation. They believed that although it is hard work, it pays financially. According to the findings, one of the reasons for this is considered to be the culture of the host country. The owner-managers stated that the culture of eating out and not cooking at home is a reason for the healthy financial outcome of this business. This is one of the important factors that pulls migrants towards this sector, as they observe how quickly past generations of migrants who have entered into this business have grown in financial terms.

NO 23: 5-8

When you want to start self-employment, the best option is catering. It is a hot business. Business is good in that. It is a cash business. Here, people do not eat at home; they mostly go out to eat. For this reason the external economic situation does not largely influence it.

NO 3: 4-10

Money is good in this business. Scottish people go out to eat. We Iranians are different, we go home and our wife has cooked the food for the family. We eat at home most of the time, not out. But these people often eat out. Look at the amount of fast food they consume. Look at McDonalds in the mornings. You see that these fast foods are packed with people for their morning coffee. We are not like this. This is their culture.

NO 29: 61-63

I knew I could earn good money from this business easily. For me, a migrant who came to this foreign land without experience of working here and found that they did not accept my qualifications, this was the best way.

NO 2: 45-47

This business is a cash business. You can become wealthy soon if you do well, but if you don't do well, you go down quickly. It is hard work—it has been the hardest game of my life. It is a demanding business.

NO. 14: 23-25

In catering, you can earn a lot of money honestly, and it is a very good business in this sense—there is a very good profit margin.

The findings show that the informants' view the owning and managing a small catering business, particularly a take-away or kebab-shop, as a dirty and demanding job that only attracts ethnic minorities because the native population is not prepared to do such jobs. They frequently pointed to the fact that most of the owners of take-aways are ethnic minorities and stressed how creating enterprise and work values are important to them. The above factors showed their willingness to work hard and not live on government support income, and also that they are entrepreneurial and create new ventures in society.

NO 35: 1-5

You might ask why people like me have started this job or stayed in it. This business, this job is among those jobs Asians usually do. If you look at the large companies, you can see that their employees are mostly from local and native people. But this business, because of its characteristics, is a difficult job to do and to run—it is time consuming and frustrating. All of these elements come together and result in the reality that a particular group of people go towards this business and that this particular group is mostly composed of Asians.

NO 12: 14-18

Why do you think Scottish people rarely work in take-aways or own a take-away? If it was a nice job, why don't they do it? A very small number of them work in take-aways, based on my experience, do it out of necessity, or some of them do it as a second part-time job. For example, they work elsewhere during the day and for an extra income they do some deliveries for us during the night hours as well.

5.7.2. Challenges of Ownership

Based on the findings, the challenges of ownership of a catering business are very much combined with the nature of the business. These challenges are part of the nature of this business. As a result, they affect the viewpoint of the owner-managers towards their businesses and the meanings they attach to their business.

- *Exhaustion of physical and emotional resources of the owner-manager*

One of the biggest challenges of owning and managing a catering business is considered to be the lack of work-life balance, which is apparently inherent in this business as a result of its long and tiring working hours. The interviewees stated that working as the owner-manager of a small-scale catering business such as a take-away demands working from about noon to 1:00 a.m., and this is for seven days a week. The nature of the job is time consuming and extremely tiring. It is a

micro business with low number of employees. Therefore, almost everything is done by the owner-managers, from buying the supplies to

preparing the food.

The interviewees asserted that their business is a very demanding one both physically and mentally. The psychological and mental pressure of the business leads to high levels of stress and anxiety within this group. The interviewees' narrative was dominated by dissatisfaction and pressure. Owning and managing in this business means that work equals life for these people, which means that these people feel they do not have a life, that the work kills their personal life, and that everything else revolves around their job. Accordingly, their personal wellbeing is affected through the hardship of this demanding job. As a result, the disadvantages of self-employment are highlighted in the fact that there is little balance between work and life in this business.

NO 10: 69-75

The life of the person (who owns this business) becomes meaningless. Imagine, you work during the night and sleep during the days. This is not a life. You go home, but you cannot sleep straight away—you need to relax—and by the time you can fall asleep it is 3 a.m. You have to get up at 10 a.m. again and go shopping for the new day's preparations…. It is too much, after nine hours of cooking beside the high heat of the deep fryer, when you get home you do not like to eat anything, even the smell of food annoys you. Imagine, it is like this ten hours a day everyday of the week.

NO 12: 98-112

You want to go on a trip to see your family, but you cannot; you want to see a friend, but you cannot. Right now, I tell you how I feel while sitting here. I have anxiety and stress, and when you have stress it does not matter if you earn 1,000 pounds or 50 pounds. Sometimes anxiety grows so much that you do not think about money any more, money will become pointless, but still you carry on for

your family. This job puts you under pressure. When I am not in the shop, this mobile of mine is always on so that if at any second something happens I run to the shop. I am nothing but a normal human being, I am not a superman. How much strength do I have to deal with all these stresses? In my opinion, in this business one does not have a life, because your sleep is not a good sleep, and your awake time is not relaxed. I think it is really hard.

The product of a catering business is both a physical and a service product. The physical product deals with the health of people, and sensitivity to the quality of the product adds to the challenges of this business. The service, as a product, is also a sensitive area that concerns the owner-managers. This sensitivity to product adds to owner-managers' stress and is considered as one of the challenges of owning and managing a catering business.

NO 22: 214-216

The pressure of work in the kitchen is too much. Food and the quality of food is really sensitive. A small detail could ruin the food. These facts cause stress even for the staff who are working in front, let alone us who are in the kitchen.

NO 12: 107-109

Especially in a foreign country, one should be extra careful not to sell something that is not of a good standard—what if the customers get food-poisoning? I have to be extra careful not to give people a burnt food or under-cooked food. These are all adding to the anxiety of this job. Especially if you are not in the shop, you are always worried about what the staff does with the food. Are doing everything right?

Maintaining quality is found to be a key element in these businesses. Some of the interviewees viewed quality from the perspective of ethical responsibility of food providers towards the society and its health. The importance of provision of fresh and healthy food and observing hygiene is highlighted in the narratives of these interviewees. In their accounts, they stressed the role of these businesses in

social health. They feel a responsibility for the health of the society. They believe that they provide a considerable amount of society's daily food, and hence they have a part in society's health. Taking on this ethical responsibility draws them towards giving importance to quality.

NO 16: 58-61

We wanted to establish everything based on certain standards. Much care should be taken in buying the material, even in choosing the disposable food containers in which the food is served.

Other interviewees viewed quality and its importance with regards to business success and greater turnover. The better the quality, the more customers they retain. However, among this group there were some owner-managers who held that the quality of the food and service in the catering sector depends on the location of the shop and the type of customers they have. If the shop is located in a deprived area of the city, the customers do not have high expectations, and the quality of food and service can deteriorate accordingly.

NO 19: 233-239

Quality is important. Everybody cooks their chicken pakoras frozen, but I cook them fresh. I do this because in the areas where I work they have high expectations. It is a good residential area. If the food is not of a good standard, they will complain. They are prepared to pay more money and get better food. But my friends have take-aways in rough areas of the city whose customers do not care what junk and rubbish they eat, as long as it is food and it is cheap.

- *Staff issues*

Issues related to staff are among the main challenges the owner-managers mentioned with regard to the nature of their business. The hospitality industry is characterised by its unskilled, low-skilled, and temporary staff. Because of the nature of the work in the catering sector traditionally, there is less need for the

staff to be trained. Unskilled, temporary staff are not very reliable. The unreliability of staff adds to challenges of ownership and to stress and anxiety, which owner-managers associate with this business. There is a degree of lack of trust among owner-managers towards their staff as a result of unreliability and temporality and labour. As a result of this lack of trust, the owner-managers end up doing most of the work themselves, and this adds to their lack of work-life balance.

NO 33: 24-26

The main problem with staff is that you cannot find a reliable person to bring him in to work for you. Sometimes with staff, everything goes well at the beginning but you don't know what happens the next day. If you can find a reliable person as a manager, then you can leave him with the business and you do not have to be there all the time. But finding that person is very hard. Nobody cares about your business as much as you do.

NO 21: 28-38

Another problem with staff is that sometimes when they learn everything and work well in the shop, then they do not observe their limits as staff. They begin to think that 'this shop is mine and I can do whatever I want in here'. He thinks that since he is managing the whole shop, he owns it. This makes it difficult for the owner, and this is one of the other problems with staff. The basis of work is that the owner is the one who should have the control. If somebody can take this control away from the owner then the owner is a loser. The owner of the shop, the investor in the business, has to make the staff understand this in words and acts. If you only say this and in practice do not show your ownership and control, then you lose the control of your shop. If you show weakness, then staff will make trouble for you. Another point about staff is that they are not reliable. You may make someone a key person in the running of your business and then they might easily leave. This is the reason that the owners have to involve themselves in the everyday matters of the business directly.

NO11. 100-104

Sometimes the staff is nothing but trouble. Suddenly they leave and never come back. Then you are left with all the work. You are responsible for everything. This is a micro business, so sometimes you only have one or two staff, and you work as well. But when the staff goes, then you have to do their work as well as your own. There is cleaning, there is cooking, there is delivery—it is really hard to do all these by yourself.

NO 32: 61-65

You cannot trust the staff. Sometimes they come, sometimes they don't. If they do not come, you are left alone to do all the duties yourself. You have stay in the shop until morning and do all the cleaning and everything. This is the reality of this job. Also, you have to be at your work place all the time to control everything. You cannot leave and go—you have to be there physically.

Staff of these businesses is multicultural from different ethnicities. Managing all these different cultures together is a challenging task for the owner-managers. Managing the relationship of staff members with other staff members and with customers requires a certain level entrepreneurial and leadership qualities.

Recruiting co-ethnic staff is a trend that happens in this society. Some of the interviewees stated that co-ethnic staff are important and better than staff from other nationalities because they work together on the basis of a common cultural understanding. However, some of the interviewees believed that local labour or labour from other nationalities are was better than co-ethnic labour. Their reason for this is also in a cultural context. They experienced co-ethnic staff taking advantage of them because of the fact that they are from the same culture. They work less and expect more. Therefore, these owner-managers prefer to recruit local labour or labour from other ethnicities because they do their jobs without any extra hassle and expectations. Some other owner-managers did not prefer one over another and tended to use co-ethnic labour in the kitchen and local labour in front

in order to create a better image and a better communication with the customers, who are mostly local.

NO 32: 157-163

We have two types of staff, European and Iranian. Dealing with Iranian staff is more difficult. We have to be more careful of what we say to them and be careful of our behaviour.. They get offended quite easily. Iranian staff expectations are higher, and they also might not get along with one another. They talk behind each other's backs. One day, I gathered them and told them that 'if you have anything to say to each other, say it now while you are all here'. I said, 'if you have any problems together, leave it behind the doors of the shop and come out with a clear mind and heart and get on with your job'.

NO 12: 188-200

The nature of this business is such that the worker is working today but suddenly leaves tomorrow. Then, I have to look for somebody else. It is hard and takes too long to find somebody else, to teach him or her the details of how to work here. Yet, there is no guarantee—you bring them in, teach them, and they might leave again. It is like a circle that goes around and around. It is all on incidents, and it is not predetermined. You have to spend a lot of energy until they learn their way round the shop and the job. It is difficult for them to learn to cook. They burn the food, they damage the equipment, they do financial damage, and give you stress until they learn, and then they leave without reason. Then what can I do? Or what can my lawyer do? Or what can the government do? Nothing. After three months of training, just when you are feeling confident about them, they leave. This is a problem with this business. I am sure many of the owners have the same problem. Now this was about staff—your driver, the delivery man, as well can easily cause problems. One time, he says my car is not working, the other time he says I have to go to a party and cannot come and it is weekend with lots of delivery orders. You have to be in the shop and serve the customers and cannot do the delivery as well. This way you lose your delivery orders and customers. You lose

business. That is why staff are not reliable in this business. This business is a dangerous, risky business which makes you nervous.

- *Customer issues*

Among the customers of these catering businesses are drug addicts and drunken people who come to the shop at late hours of the night to get some cheap food. These customers create one of the mental and psychological challenges of the owner-managers of these catering businesses. A drunken customer can potentially cause physical damage to the shop and emotional damage to the shopkeeper and staff by swearing and shouting at them. Some of the other customers, such as Neds and uneducated people, can cause more problems to the shop and the owner than addicts and drunken customers. This is one of the greatest difficulties of this business, which is one of the main causes of owners' dissatisfaction with the job and their stress and anxiety at work and at home. Some of the owner-managers stated that they are not relaxed even when they are at home for a short time and staff are running the business since they are waiting for something to happen at any minute because of these customers.

NO 30: 42-45

Unfortunately, in Scotland, and especially in Glasgow, we have a problem with the sort of customers we have—drug users or drunken people, especially at night. This is the most difficult and annoying thing about this job. The worst thing about this job is the customers.

The fact that in the catering businesses there is an intense encounter between humans makes the conduct of these businesses a complex task for the owner-managers. Human relations are an important part of these businesses. Human relations include customer relations, staff relations, and supplier relations, each of which are also divided into co-ethnic network relations and non-co-ethnic network relations. Customer-related issues and staff-related issues vary based on the culture of the staff and customers. Owner-managers need to treat each person and

each situation differently based on the socio-cultural factors involved. For example, the issues related to co-ethnic staff are different and should be treated differently from the issues related to Scottish or Polish staff. The same applies to customers. Consequently, owner-managers feel that success in human relations in this job is an art that is acquired through experience of working with different people from different cultures on an everyday basis for a long time in one's life.

NO 14: 64-69

This job is a labour-intensive job, and so relationships are important in this job. The focus of operation is not on the machinery. All the work is done by humans, and service is given by human to human. The human factor is really important in this business. That is why those people who are successful in this business are those who know management. Knowing how to deal with people—with staff and important. You have to know how to motivate staff and how to control them because when a job is a routine job there needs to be strong management to be able to carry on with the business and make it successful.

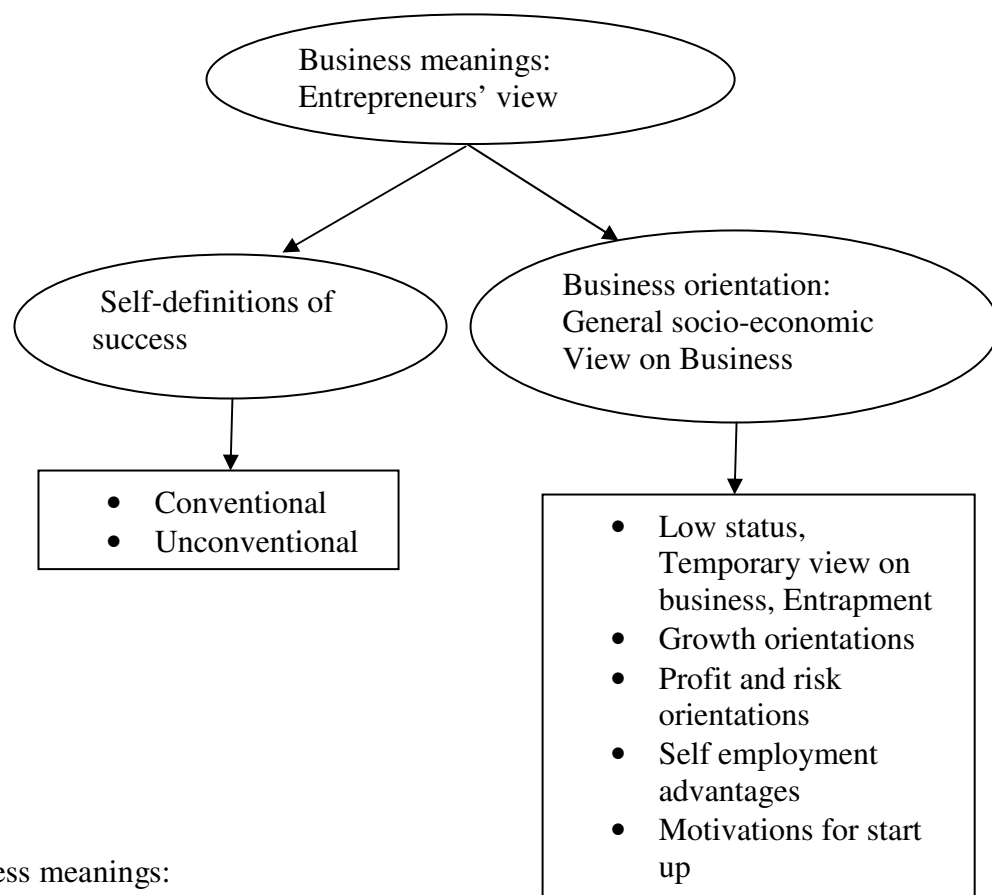## 5.8. Business Meanings: Self-Definitions (BM)

Figure 5.7. Business meanings: ethnic entrepreneurs' view.

The core objective of this study is to find out the meanings that Iranian entrepreneurs in the catering sector associate with their businesses and to reveal their lived experiences and self-definitions of their situation. In searching for the meaning of a business, a variety of issues and subjects emerged that brought to light the different facets of the role this business and its ownership plays in the minds and in the lives of these business owners.

5.8.1. Business Orientation: General Socio-economic View on Business

- *Low status, temporary view of business, entrapment*

In expressing their views about their businesses, interviewees pointed to the view they hold about having a catering business, especially a take-away. They view this business as a low-respect business. They feel that there is a lack of respect towards this job from the public—i.e., customers and staff. The findings indicate that the perceived low status of this job gives them an aggravated feeling, which frustrates them. With the amount of hard work they do serving people with food, with all the difficulties of this job, bearing the heat of cooking in the kitchen and serving people until the very late hours of night, they feel quite disturbed and discouraged to receive insults from customers. The interviewees think that this feeling of humiliation is connected to the low status of the job and its lack of respect in society. On the other hand, while discussing the low status of the job, the informants frequently referred to their own backgrounds and their social and personal status in their homeland, with well-respected jobs or businesses, and their level of expertise and qualifications, which only emphasised that this low-status job is not where they belong and that they are not used to low-status jobs. All of the interviewees have been among the higher levels of society in terms of education, family background, wealth, and cultural background in their homeland, and this situation causes them discomfort with regard to the social status of this job.

NO 8: 109 -118

I have not achieved the social status that I wanted through this business. But I would like my children to be able reach to the thing (social position) I could not reach to. This business is perfect from a financial point of view but not from a social point of view. I am not satisfied. Everybody is different, and people have different objectives in their lives. I do not see myself as a successful person. From the financial point of view, I am fine. But I did not want my life to be like this. I wanted to achieve something more important in my life. I wanted to reach to another place (position), rather than be a take-away owner all my life.

NO 31: 16-18

This business is a low-level job in society. At the end of the day, whatever you do, people say he has a take-away shop. Even though your financial situation becomes very good, you are still just a take-away shop owner.

NO 3: 59-60

In people's eyes, in society's eyes, we are only take-away owners. They think we do not do anything and make money just like that. They do not think how sensitive and how difficult this job is.

NO 9: 203-204

Unfortunately, with all the hard work we do, we do not have any respect in society. People do not respect us. They treat us badly. The social level of this job is not really good.

Moreover, the ethnic entrepreneurs pointed to the fact that the status of this job has been sharply reduced during the past thirty years. According to the interviewees, take-away and kebab shops' social image were not damaged during early eighties, when take-aways were a new phenomenon in the British catering market.

NO 2: 3-4

At that time, catering was a better job. It was not like these days—the market was not saturated 20 years ago.

The findings suggest that in its early years, take-away was not a place mainly serving cheap food, with lower-class citizens as its mainstream customers—among which there are a large number of drug addicts and deprived people. Customers were better, and owner-managers did not have the problems they encounter today with regards to their customers. Accordingly, they had better staff. Based on the interviewees, their staffs were mainly from co-ethnic postgraduate students who had financial problems as a result of Iran's political situation at that time. So they needed to work. Therefore, the image of take-aways was not a distorted image as it is today, and it did not socially suffer from an extremely low-status.

NO 14: 13- 15

In the mid-1980s and early 1990s, we had better staff—the labour force was much better in catering. Most of my staffs were Iranian Ph.D. students or M.Sc. students who needed extra money. You could find these sorts of people very easily at that time.

Most of the owner-managers had a temporary view towards their business. The findings show that when they started their businesses they had no long-term objectives and intended to work in this business for a few years and earn good money, then leave it. This is revealed to be a result of the dissatisfaction they have with this job and the fact that they did not desire to view themselves working in this business for the rest of their lives. With all the physical and mental frustrations this business inherits, with its low status and the lack of work-life balance, the interviewees did not see it as a suitable business to stay in. They mostly stated that they only intended to reach a certain point of prosperity through this business and then move on and sell it.

However, the findings indicate that this intention seems to be an aspiration that is very hard to turn into a reality. According to the findings, those who had started

their business a long time ago also had the same intention, but they are still in the same business after all that time. It seems that despite the problems and discontentment with the job, after a few years they feel they have gained a lot of experience in this business and felt confident doing it. Nevertheless, they emphasised that this is not what they intended to do for the whole of their lives and that the external conditions pushed them towards keeping the business. Therefore, the primary intention had been to sell it and move on; however, in reality it seems that this goal is difficult to achieve.

NO 27: 212-215

Ninety-nine percent of the owners intend to sell their businesses after a time, when they have earned enough money. Then, with that money they would invest in other businesses. This is the dominant mindset and objective.

NO 22: 17-21

Everyone who starts a business would like to end it successfully. Take-away is a hard job and no one can tell what will happen in future. In my opinion, this is not a business in which one wants to stay forever. The people who happen to do this business intend to earn enough money, to elevate their financial situation, and then leave this and do something more worthy.

NO 8: 70-75

To improve my lifestyle, I intend to let this shop at a good price. This will be like a basis for me then. So if I am going through trouble right now in this business, I am doing it to achieve something better. It is for that good result that I am working so hard. I work hard to keep this business up and running, and the more I take care of it, the better the state of the business will be. So when I want to let it I can let it at a very high price.

As a result of this intention of leaving the business but the difficulty of achieving it, the interviewed owner-managers feel trapped in this business. They stay in the business out of necessity because they feel they do not have a lot of

real options that would guarantee the same level of financial success for them. Therefore, while they are not satisfied with their situation, they do not end it. The interviewees indicated that they feel that they cannot flourish in this business since they have more potential and expertise in other areas. They feel that in other businesses there are better opportunities to grow and become an international businessman. In this business, only one take-away shop takes all their time and energy, and they are left with no real option to do anything else. Even if they grow their businesses and open a few restaurants or take-away shops, it is not comparable with other businesses such as export/import, for example. They feel that an undesirable start has a great influence in an undesirable future, and that if they had the opportunity to start their life in migration in a better way than in working as labour for their co- ethnic community they would have ended up in a better position career-wise.

NO 23: 98-101

One of my friends left this business and started another business. But he failed and returned and started a take-away all over again. This is the way it is. It is out of necessity. This business makes your brain and soul tired. You enter the business and you want to leave it but you cannot. I have not seen anyone who starts another business after two years of running a take-away. They stay in it unwantedly. Even if they had closed it, they have come back to this business again. One cannot compare take-away business to any other thing. Perhaps I can say that it is like a swamp. What can I say? It creates a complex situation. Before entering it, everyone plans and says I want to do this, I want to do that, I will franchise, and so on. But once they start the business they become so tired and frustrated that they only pass their days and nights and think about ending today because tomorrow is another day.

NO 13: 39-42

I have gained some experience in this business, it is not logical to start up another business from zero right now. What if I leave this business and I fail in the next one? This business is already working. I have witnessed friends who have

left this in the hope of a better business, but they have failed and returned to catering again

NO 28: 33-36
First, you think you will earn good money, and then you will grow one business into two and three and more. But in reality, it does not happen. Because of the nature of this business, you cannot do that. In fact, this first one is even too much let alone opening up others. This business is a mirage.

- *Growth orientation*

The findings show that most of the interviewees considered growth more of an aspiration than a reality. They held that growth and improvement in any context is desirable for a human being. However, depending on conditions, sometimes growth becomes an aspiration rather than a reality. According to the findings, EE in catering, with all the demands and physical and mental pressures that it imposes on the owner, is not suitable for growth. The findings show that the majority of informants have started up their catering business with the intention of growth. However, after a few years of operation, they reached the conclusion not to consider growth as an option. They contended that if they wanted to expand their economic activities they would prefer to keep this business as it is and start another kind of business along with this one. A few of the interviewees consider it wise to keep this catering business as the back-bone and initial business and thought it a sensible plan to use the investments gained from this business to start other businesses such as buying and letting of apartments.

NO 7: 94-95
No, I do not intend to grow this business. I would have liked to do some other things, but now I am involved in this. This business is not worth growing.

NO 13: 15-18
No. I do not want to grow this. This business and this job are very demanding, hectic, and busy. One of it is enough. It is now a few years that I only have this one

shop. If somebody can find a trustworthy manager to put in the other shop, it is possible. But usually it is almost impossible to find such a person, and the owner himself should be present in the shop at all times. So how is it possible to be present at all times in several shops?

NO 29:67-68

It is not that I do not want to grow this business—I simply cannot. This business has a lot of responsibility with it. All the responsibilities are on my own shoulders, and I cannot afford to have more responsibility.

Some of the participants have already experienced growth and opened up several take- away shops in the past. However, some of them stated that because of the very busy lifestyle growth created for them they had to downsize and close their other shops. One important reason for this is that they need reliable managers for their other businesses when they grow but that it is extremely difficulty to find a reliable work force in this context.

NO 15: 63-65

No, growth is good, but I think it is better if we stay as we are and make this one business really successful. If you grow, sometimes you lose control. Then how can I be in all the other branches? I want to be there to run the business. I am happy right now with what it is.

NO 14: 44-47

You can grow, but there is one problem. I feel that because of the nature of the work you carry on day in and day out you become like a person who puts his head under the stone—you don't see around you. That is because you get very busy. I got to a point that I had thirteen catering outlets. This was the reason I did not have time for myself and family, so I cut them down considerably to get a bit of a personal life.

- *Profit and risk orientations*

The findings suggest the financial importance of the business to the interviewees. To all of the informants, the financial health of the business and profit maximisation were very important, and the business was financially very important and desirable to them. In fact, one of the most important advantages of this business in their view is its financial aspect. Some of the other hospitality micro businesses, such as bed-and-breakfasts, are known for their lifestyle orientation. In contrast, the findings show that these businesses are not lifestyle oriented and that their owners are focused on their financial performance.

NO 33: 75-78

I am not here in this business to serve people voluntarily. No! This is a lie that perhaps some us (the business owners) tell. If that is the case, why don't they go and open a charity shop? The whole of the business is rolled around one central point, which is revenue and profit.

NO 1: 163-165

The only advantage of this business is its financial side. The only thing that makes us satisfied is the money (revenue), which is good. This is because, through that money, you can build a comfortable life for your family, which is pleasant.

The findings suggest that the informants believed that by starting up a catering business they have taken a big risk. From the wider context of the owner-managers' views, it appears that they have not only taken a financial risk in opening this business but also a personal risk in terms of their physical and mental health as well as a risk in their family relationships in terms of the negative effects the ownership of this business has on their family life. The negative effects of the business ownership are discussed later in the chapter under the role of the business.

NO 12: 157-159

Our work is like this in reality. You put yourself into inconvenience, you go through all the aggravation, you save money to open this business. You start with all the problems, and you are not sure if your business will fail or succeed. It is dangerous. It is a big risk. It is a risk because we do not have any support. This business is a dangerous, risky business that makes you nervous. You risk your family life and your personal health for it.

NO 15: 47-48

Although you are independent, and you do what you want to do, which gives you a lot of experience and satisfaction, it has a big risk. However, the risk is a calculated risk.

NO 18: 61-70

At the end of the day, business is a big risk. Nobody knows what comes his way after starting up. You are not certain—you might lose everything and fail. You do not know what will happen. This is like planting a seed in the ground. It might grow very nice, but it might also not grow, or it might not be a healthy plant. I have opened up shops and I have lost them, but I have started again and have not given up. You have to be courageous in business and start again. You should not be scared. A successful business owner needs to have the power of risk. If you have this power, you will certainly be successful. If not, success is not achieved. You see someone who starts up something with empty hands and becomes successful, but another person is really rich, yet he cannot do much with his money.

- *Self-employment advantages*

Self-employment has immense advantages that act as a pull factor in drawing people towards creating new businesses. To the interviewees, independence, freedom—which working for oneself brings as opposed to working for others— being one's own boss, having flexible time, job security, and financial wellbeing

were among the most important benefits of self-employment. They associated these advantages with the meaning they have given to their businesses and to its ownership. Since all of the informants had failed in securing a job that fit their area of expertise in the labour market of the host society and had experienced social and employment exclusion, all of them had the experience of working as members of the work force in physical, labour-intensive, and low-level jobs in co-ethnic catering businesses. Consequently, they wanted to set themselves free of working for others. As staff of a micro business, they could have been fired easily without any excuse, whil self-employment gives them job security and power. The feeling of self-preservation and never having to go back to work for someone else is important for them. This implied the elevation of their social status from staff of a shop to the owner of the shop. Besides, self-employment meant a far better financial situation compared with working for others in the business. Moreover, working for oneself gives them the feeling that their time is being consumed for themselves rather than for another person.

NO 26: 72-77

Being independent is very important to me. I do not like to have a boss. It is important for me to be able to be my own master and not serve anybody else. If you work in a large corporation, you have a boss, but everything is done based on certain regulations and rules. But we do not have the opportunity to work in large corporations. Now, if you work in a small business and you have a boss, then in small businesses there are no such rules and regulations, and if you happen to work for a wicked and mean boss, then your life is black (means you are in misery).

- *Motivation*

Motivations for start-up are found to include a wide range of both necessity and opportunity factors. The findings show that the primary motivations for start up of self- employment has been those of necessity; however, opportunity factors are considered as support motives that give the ethnic minorities an incentive to enter

entrepreneurship in the catering sector. The conditions leading to entrepreneurship are divided into push and pull conditions. The conditions that pushed these individuals towards self-employment generated necessity motivations to start a business. Also, the conditions that pulled these owner-managers towards entrepreneurial behaviour created opportunity motivations for these people to start up their businesses. All these motivations are intertwined and together form an environment that creates self-employment. Both necessity and opportunity motivations are found in economic, social, and cultural contexts. Therefore, the findings show that motivations (necessity or opportunity) are context driven and embedded in the particular contextual environment of the ethnic minority, lived experiences, and also their worldviews and values (Figure 5.8).
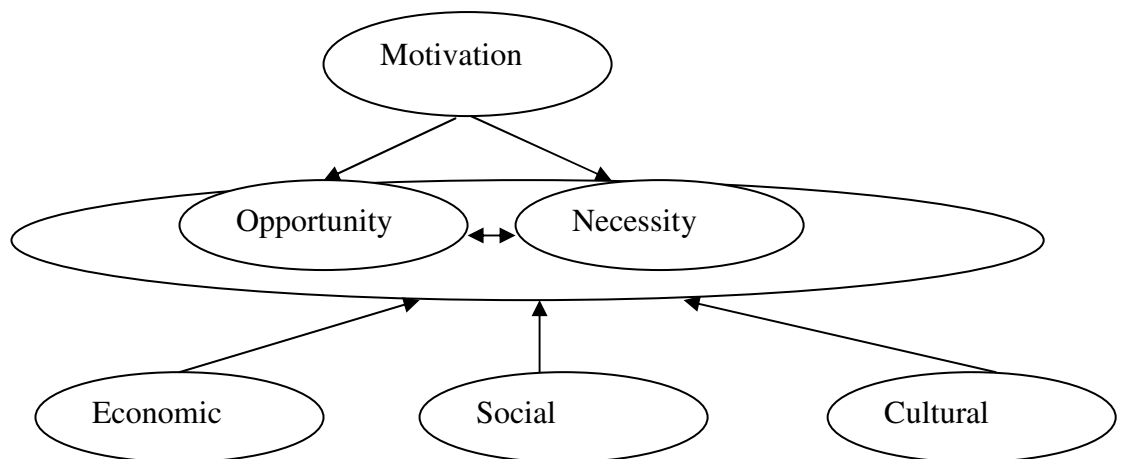

Figure 5.8. Necessity/opportunity continuum in motivations.
Source: Own figure.

Economic Motivation

Necessity

The lack of employment opportunities and the inadequacy of the benefits received from the government leave these people with a bad financial situation. This

adverse financial condition acts as a necessity motivation for earning more money and starting up a business. Disadvantaged social conditions push them towards working for others as labour, but that does not provide them with desirable financial situations, and as a result they are pushed towards self-employment.

NO 10: 61-62

I personally think that people start in this business because they have to. It is only a necessity because you need the money. I started this mainly as a result of my own financial situation.

NO 21: 15-23

The basic reasons were to survive and to improve the conditions of life for myself and my family. It is all a financial reason, but then with it comes some other advantages like self-employment advantages. I did not like this job at all. I started just because there was good money in it. It was all a compulsion, if you like. I needed money because money from Iran was limited at that time. I wanted to become a homeowner. I wanted money, and this was a good way to earn it. To improve your financial situation! I was studying at the time. I had a family with two kids to take care of. Then I carried on and paid my mortgage and made a comfortable life for my family. It was an option in front of me, and I had no other choice.

Opportunity

The findings show that these ethnic minorities, while working at other catering businesses, find out that this business has healthy financial returns. They observed that their employers who owned catering businesses were wealthy men with a high standard of material life. In this, they spotted an opportunity. This fact acts as an opportunity motivating factor that pulls them towards this business when they want to start up their own businesses.

NO 4: 80-85

The fact that you know this business makes good money for you and your family makes you satisfied. It is true that this job has a lot of hardship in it. But when I know that through it I can provide a comfortable life for my family, I am satisfied. When I see that because of it I can live in the best area of Glasgow, it gives me satisfaction.

NO 7: 62-63

This business does not need great investment, nor does it need knowledge of management, but it has good money in it. I decided to do it to elevate my financial situation.

NO 24: 61- 63

I knew that through this business I could change my financial situation dramatically. For someone like me, who came here and did not have work experience in this country, this was the best option—because it could change my life in a short time!

Social Motivations

Necessity

Findings suggest that a decline in social status of the informants after migration acts as one of the factors that make it socially necessary for these people to be motivated towards self-employment. Employment exclusion of these migrants gives them a feeling of social exclusion. To redeem their social position, they feel it is necessary to be self-employed. Considering their social status and background in their home country, having to work in restaurant kitchens or sweep floors in the host country does not satisfy them from a social point of view. This is not the social position where they like to see themselves located. Therefore, as soon as it is possible they start up their own businesses.

NO 13: 28-36

If you look, you can easily see that many Iranians are involved in this business. You also will be naturally pushed towards it as well. It is not easy to live with the government's money and benefits. This is why you prefer to work in this business. (30-36) From the beginning, when I started, I hated to work for others, and I decided to create my own business one day. So I put all my energy towards becoming a business owner myself. And I did it. No matter how much this business is hard and disturbing to your personal life, we have to remember that it is the same business that has kept us up and running and alive in this society. It has saved us from that horrible original situation when we arrived in this country. Through it, we could elevate ourselves and provide a better life for our family.

Opportunity

The advantages of self-employment, such as independence, job security, and having a higher social status as a business owner, are important motivations that pull these people towards entrepreneurship. Another social motivation for these people is found to be the social opportunities the job offers to the owners. As mentioned before, the business ownership makes it possible for them to get to know the society better and to integrate more. These are social opportunities and benefits that they see in opening up a catering business and that motivate them positively towards business ownership.

NO 16: 5-8

I liked to work for myself, not for other people. I knew the situation. I knew its conditions are such that I can earn more money in this business than other things. The fact that I knew I would be working for myself was a big motivation, and it did not matter that I had to work harder.

Necessity

Role of gender and its importance as a force behind attitudes and behaviours of the informants are discussed under previous topics. The findings suggest that the role that a father or a husband culturally assumes for himself pushes him towards entrepreneurship. The father figure assumes the responsibility of providing a comfortable life for the family and proper education for the children. With no job or low-paid jobs available to him, he cannot fulfil this cultural role. Therefore, this role and the responsibilities it brings with it become a push motivation for the startup of a new business.

NO 16: 381-382

After all, we (he and his wife) came here for the happiness of our daughter. We would like her to be happy with her life and have a good future.

NO 18: 23-25

I have the responsibility of my family's comfort. I could not sit and do nothing and rely on government benefits. I had to work hard to provide a good life for them in this country.

Opportunity

The findings indicate that culturally the informants needed to do something more than being a labourer working for co-ethnic members. To some of the interviewees, owning a catering business is still not a proper job, but it is better than working for others. Culturally, they need to be able to hold their heads up in front of their families, and more importantly the extended family back home. They do not like the extended family saying that they have gone to the West and now they work in kitchens and sweep floors. This cultural need turns into a motivation and pulls them towards self-employment.

NO 23:191-194

See, the Iranian has not come here to be a workman in the kitchen and clean the floor. He did not need money in Iran. He has moved out because he has experienced social or political pain there. Or he has come here to study. He has come here for a higher purpose. He has come here to achieve something better in life. For this reason, even if he allows himself to be a workman and to do manual, low-1evel work, it is because of the necessities of the situation. This is why he does not continue in that labour and becomes a business owner as soon as he can.

5.8.2. Self-Definitions of Success (SDS)
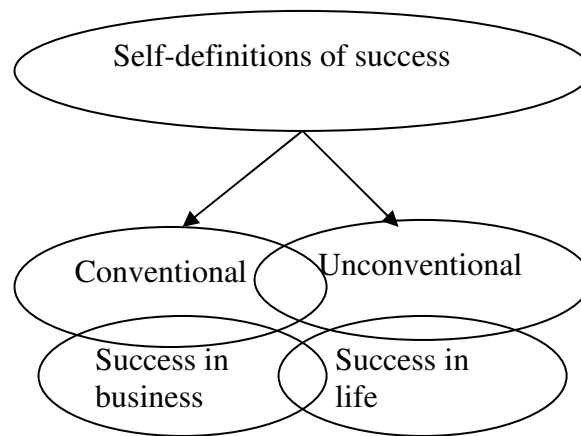
Figure 5.9. Self-definitions of success.

Source: Own figure.

The perception of the interviewees of the concept of success can help in defining the meanings they attach to their businesses. Although these entrepreneurs have purely financial intentions for creating and starting up their businesses, the meanings of success for them are not only confined to financial factors. While profit and finance are the main important criteria for them because without it there will be no business, the findings show that the informants' perceptions of success range from economic to non-economic factors and from conventional business success criteria to unconventional factors. Although these businesses are created based on financial and conventional reasons of business start-up, the

findings suggest that the success criteria of the informants are not purely financial and conventional. In defining success, the informants did not make a distinction between success in business and the more general success in wider aspects of life. Business, personal, and life success are all intertwined in their self-definitions of success. This shows the extent to which the EE phenomenon is connected and is a part of these ethnic minority entrepreneurs. Since EE and self-employment have been tools for them to overcome social disadvantages and exclusions faced in the host society, it has implications in all aspects of their lives and not only in their business lives. The findings show that success for these ethnic entrepreneurs is not a static but a fluid and flexible concept—rather than associating success with financial terms, the informants associate it with a wide range of factors influenced by their worldviews, values, and cultural and lived experiences as ethnic minority entrepreneurs.

Reaching Targets

Some of the interviewees asserted that success for them is when they reach their set targets in business and in life. The findings suggest that it is not important what those targets are; they could be economic targets or non-economic targets. The key factor is to be able to meet those targets in the set time. When talking about success, some of the interviewees did not initially talk about success in business. This shows that for them success is something broader than business. The researcher then had to ask these interviewees about their views regarding their business success.

NO 14:98-102

I think the meaning of success is manifested in your goals. If you have a series of objectives and if you have managed to get close to those objectives and goals or to achieve them, then you are successful. The more close you get to your goals, the more close you are to success! In contrast, the more you become distanced from them, the more unsuccessful you will be.

NO 32:106-109

When you start from a point, you set a target for yourself. People reach their targets at different times. It depends on the person and how he tries. To have a comfortable and prosperous life is success. It is important to try hard for your set target so that when you look at your past you do not regret anything.

Financial Success

Some of the interviewees viewed success in financial terms, stating that higher turnovers and profits mean success. Some of them stated that the financial element was their perception of success, while some others pointed to the key elements contributing to financial success and hence indirectly pointed to financial success through non-economic factors, such as being able to use one's social intelligence and having a good reputation and a good product.

NO 21: 77

Success for me means more and more income.

NO 28: 117-124

With all the hard work and endeavour I have done during the past years I have been able to create good capital and wealth, and am satisfied with my life. My children are successful, they are educated and have good jobs, and I have been able to create employment for people. These things are success.

Good Operation, Good Service

Since catering businesses are intensive service businesses and deal with people at all times, social relations and success in them turns out to be vital in their business success. To some of the interviewees, success for business owners is when they learn to utilise their social intelligence in relation to their businesses. Being able to successfully manage customers and staff and keep them satisfied at all times plays a key role in the success of their businesses.

Having a good product and being able to maintain the quality of their product is perceived to be another key factor in success. Although catering businesses are service businesses, they are heavily product based. On this basis, the satisfaction of people with their product is significant to the entrepreneurs' success. The interviewees mentioned that a good product leads to a good reputation, which in turn leads to a busy restaurant or take-away. They perceive a good reputation to be equal to success.

NO 17: 107-110

In my viewpoint success is to have a product that you are very proud of. Not necessarily financially, but a product that is sellable in the market and is wanted by the market.

NO 29: 268-271

To me, success in business is when people say prayers for you on your back when they receive your good services (this is an expression in Farsi implying deep satisfaction of people). It is when they like your work. It is when my face is saved, my honour and grace is saved through my work. Business should elevate your position.

NO 25: 33- 40

Now, for the second month, we have been chosen as the best restaurant in Glasgow. Among 1,500 restaurants we are in the finals for the best restaurant in Scotland. If we are chosen as the winner, then I think it would impact on our work, our lives, and our financial situation. I would like to see long lines of people in front of the door. My achievement is the satisfaction of customers and having them talk about my restaurant in a good way.

Ethics

Observing business ethics and ethics in managing the business is mentioned as success in the business by a few of the interviewees. They believe that because

their products are directly affecting the health of society they are ethically responsible. Therefore, they have to be very much aware of this responsibility. Also, the ethical approach to managing staff and customers is another key factor of success. They held that when business ethics are observed the business becomes a successful business necessarily. In an ethically run business, the product and services offered are inevitably of a high standard—therefore the business is successful.

NO 16:142-145

Food colours are dangerous. We change the oil we use every other day. Other businesses mostly do not do that. They use their burnt oil to make their curry. This is atrocious. If we run a business that causes cancer for somebody, it is us who are responsible—ethical responsibility. That is why we omitted the harmful things.

NO 15: 31-35

As I said, money is important, but there has to be something more than money for a person to be happy in life. You have to be satisfied with what you do. Money is only one factor. I might have a business that makes a lot of money, but if I know that the food that I am giving to people is not good I would not be happy. I could sleep in peace at nights.

Balance Between Business and Family Life

When talking about the concept of success, some of the interviewees talked about being able to be engaged with the family and having quality time with them. They held that the ability to maintain a balance between business and family life is a necessary factor in feeling successful. They contended that no matter how much money they make with their businesses, if they are not able to maintain that balance they would not feel completely successful. This reflects the story of these people's lives, and because they are not able to maintain this balance, it seems

that they see the ability to create and maintain this balance as an important factor in the success of a businessman.

NO 17:109-113

Being able to have quality time with my family! Quality time with family—that is how I sum up success. To have a good lifestyle! Having enough time in a week to spend with the family! Switching off when you feel you have to, and being able to go on holidays. Two or three breaks in a year, and being able to think that I am financially part of the society. To think that I can hold my head high in society!

NO 6: 380-385

I think 'relatively' is an important word. I have lived relatively well. You know, nothing is complete and perfect. And people look at life differently. Everybody sees differently. I feel successful when I see that I have a healthy (social health) family. We are middle class. We are educated. I am able to sit with my son and wife and have a good social or political conversation. Having a comfortable life, a warm house! I am satisfied and feel successful.

Family Comfort

Some of the owner-managers talked about family when they talked about success, stating that having a good family, a happy and content family, is success to them. Being able to provide good accommodations for the family and for the success of children in their education is equal to their own success.

NO 8: 108

Success to me is when my family is satisfied and happy with me.

NO 25: 211-313

Success is when I see that my kids and family are happy and content and comfortable. It is all about the children. I am successful when they are happy because of what I have done with my life. Now, it is about my children and their futures.

NO 3: 210- 212

When you work eleven hours a day, seven days in a week, you will be successful. Naturally, your family will be comfortable as a result of that.

Happiness and Contentment

Another definition of success was found to be happiness and peace in personal life and within one's existence. They specifically pointed out that money alone is not a criterion for success. They put financial success against non-financial success, contending that having a clear conscious and a clear heart and soul is what makes people really feel successful and happy. Helping other people, creating jobs for people who need them, and respecting the dignity of other human beings are what this group of owner-managers perceive as success.

NO 2: 80-84

Success is being happy. People think it is having more money, but as I said money is a disease. The more you get money, the more trouble you get and the more responsibility comes with it. You should not get attached to the money—you have to realize that the real value in life comes from family and friendship—money does not make you important, but as long as you are a human and understand and love and care for people—that is important.

NO 34: 85-89

It is different, creating a happy balance between work and home life, and this is because without one you cannot have the other one equally. If you can have a balance—which is, of course, very, very difficult to achieve as a human being—you have achieved, and when you achieve, you want to achieve more. I am not talking about the money, however. I have never tried to measure my success in monetary terms but instead through happiness, through contentment.

Maintaining Dignity

The findings show that social status and dignity in society are found to be a salient matter for this group of people in defining success. Success for some of these people is to have respect in society to be able to maintain their social status and dignity. The above fact is related to the cultural importance of saving face, which was discussed before in Iranian culture. Also, being from an ethnic group and socially displaced and disadvantaged in the host society, they feel a need to elevate their status to the level it had been in their homeland. They need to reclaim that lost status. For this reason, having a good social status, having respect and dignity in the wider society and among their own community, is counted as success by these people.

NO 12: 236-240

It is when people in society give you a value they should give to a human. When they respect you! These things are more important to me than money and material criteria of success. We all like money, but it is not a criteria for me. We like money for a reasonably comfortable life, not to be multi-millionaires.

NO 17: 209-210

You know, generally people are shallow. Respect comes from what you do, and this successful restaurant has made me known among people. They see who I am.

Importance of Personal Traits of Owner in Success

When talking about success, two of the owner-managers pointed to their personal characteristics and considered those characteristics an important factor in giving them a feeling of success in business. They pointed to their abilities as leaders and managers, their ability to deal with different people successfully, and their perseverance and life-long passion to succeed in whatever they do. They mentioned the importance of hard work and the risks they have taken in life. And

they believed that it is a combination of all these factors that make them the successful businessmen they are today.

NO 2: 43

But I never relax. I always have something to do, some plans in my head.

NO 28: 153-161

Not everybody can be self-employed. This is a reality. Many people do not have enough confidence to put up with the responsibilities and challenges of self-employment. They are followers. Some people are creative. You need to be creative when you are self-employed. Even in this routine, repetitive business of ours, you still need to be creative. One person becomes successful after 5 years, the other does not achieve much even after 20 years. The successful person naturally grows his business and improves. He might open new shops or even go towards new businesses. It is not good if you cannot take advantage of this business. It depends on individuals as to how they encounter their business and make use of it.

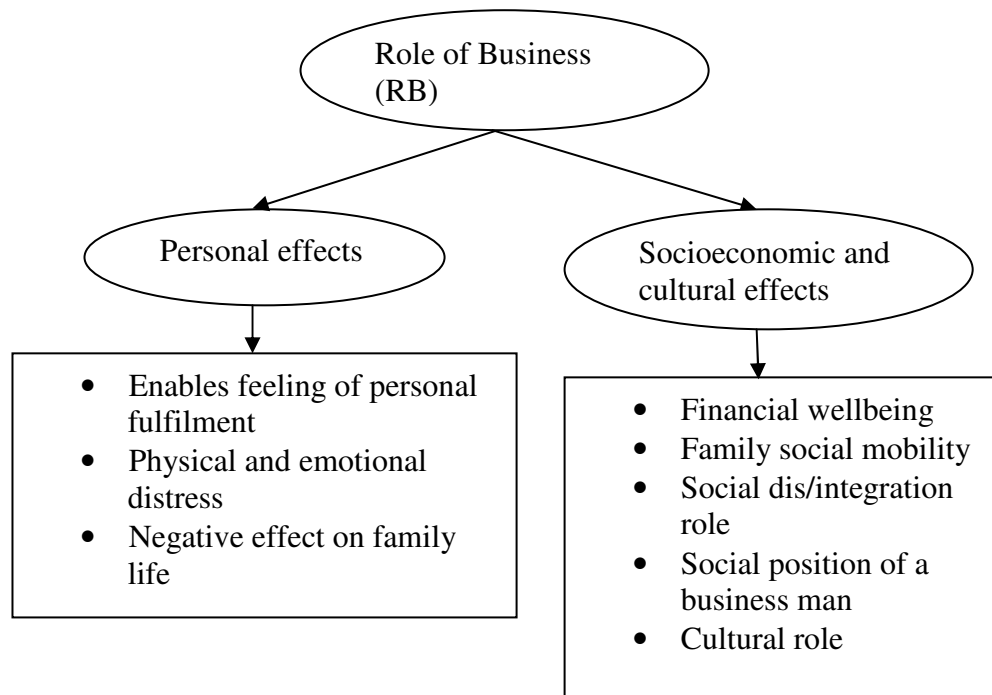## 5.9. Role of Business: Entrepreneurs' Self-Definitions (RB)

Figure 5.10. Role of business: Entrepreneurs' view.
Source: Own figure.

Understanding the role of the business in the lives of the ethnic entrepreneurs helps in gaining a deeper perspective on the meaning of EE and in uncovering the ethnic entrepreneurs' self-definitions of the EE phenomenon. What does the business, with its entire negative and positive characteristics, do for this group of migrant ethnic minorities? What does it mean for them? Does it facilitate a better life and present them with the right social developmental tools according to the promoted 'idealized' image of EE with policy and academia? The answer to these questions comes through these peoples' narratives about the role of business. According to the findings, the business plays a role in the social and cultural life of these ethnic minorities as well as a role in their personal lives. The interviewees talk about their business at two levels. One is the nature of business per se, which most of them are disturbed by and hate; the other one is what the business has done for them and their family and the roles it has played in their social and personal worlds. These two levels should be looked at separately because they are two different layers of meanings owner-managers associate with their businesses.

5.9.1. Socioeconomic and Cultural Effects

- *Financial wellbeing*

The most important role of owning a business for this group of ethnic entrepreneurs is the financial wellbeing it brings to their life and its ripple effects. Surviving in the new society is a salient matter for the migrants, and it is through the creation of these businesses that they are guaranteed to be able to have a reasonable life in the new society. The financial advantage of this business is its main advantage, which brings about other advantages with itself in the personal and social worlds of these business owners. It is the ultimate reason for the ethnic entrepreneurs entering and staying in this business.

NO 11: 133-137
The advantage of this business is its money. With a limited investment, you can open up this business and have a good income. The sales of food are always

good. We always have customers. Through this business, we have been able to stand on our own feet under the new conditions in a strange land and to build a comfortable life. However, a lot of troubles come with it.

NO 24: 88-90

The good thing is that you know exactly how much income you have and how much money you are left with. (91-94) I am not a multi-millionaire, but thank God my financial situation is good, and this gives me other things. You work very hard, and it is difficult to make money.

- *Family social mobility*

The findings revealed that after migrating to a society in which these migrants had to start from zero, they needed to protect their families and to provide them with a reasonable life. This business facilitates family social mobility through providing a comfortable life for their family. It ensures a better future for children from the social and financial point of view. The business facilitates the safety of family in the host society, as it enables them to move from disadvantaged areas of the city and the council houses to privileged areas with better schools and better communities. Without starting up this business, they could not have created a financially and socially secure life for their families, which enables them to feel that they have fulfilled their responsibilities and the cultural role of a father.

NO 12: 250-254

I decided to go through all this (the trouble of owning and running a take-away) in order to be able to buy a house in a good area of the city. Now, I have attained what I wanted. I have a house in a very good area—and thank God! I am really happy about it.

NO 19: 197-200

We are tolerating the conditions of being in an alienated context and being a migrant for the kids and their futures—for them to have a good life, to be

educated and become somebody who benefits society! This business makes that happen.

- *Social integration/disintegration role*

The Findings suggest that these catering businesses have grown to be a place of socialising with local and co-ethnic people. The interviewees pointed to the long hours they spend in their shops and stated that the place has turned out to be a context in which they can meet with old friends and make new friends. The nature of their work does not allow them to have a time for socializing outside their work place, and therefore the workplace itself becomes a socializing place, which helps the owner-managers towards their social integration in the host society. This gives them confidence and a feeling of being an active member of society who mixes with all different groups of people, gets to know them, and becomes familiar with the different layers of the social world of the new society in which they operate.

NO 15: 36-39

Here, I socialise with people, and that makes me happy. I live most of my time in my restaurant. This is a place where I can socialise. This is good. Human beings are social beings who need communication. We would not feel happy otherwise. So, if I have good customers who know me, and I see them coming again and again, we start to know each other.

NO 2: 51-54

You meet a lot of people. You locate yourself in a circle of people. You regularly meet in your shop. In a way, it is a way of socialising while you are in exile in your shop and away from society.

The above participant uses the term 'exile' interestingly for being in his business for long hours, and therefore feeling exiled from the society. Before, in the section related to the nature of the business, it was found that one of the characteristics of this business its long hours of work, which had a negative effect on the work-life

balance of the ethnic entrepreneurs and does not leave them enough time to spend with their families. This characteristic also not only has physical effects on the ethnic entrepreneurs but also affects their social lives. According to the informants, working long hours does not leave them with any time or energy to socialise. Therefore, they are in a form of exile in their businesses because they have to spend time in that space and cannot get away from it; accordingly, their socialising will take place within that context.

NO 3: 209-219

There are difficulties. I have to prefer (i.e., spend more time with) the business to family because if this business is not there then they will be left in hunger. When you are working seven days a week, each day for eleven or twelve hours, you should be inevitably successful, and consequently your family will be comfortable in life. At least, if your business does not allow you to spend time with them, you try to make their life more comfortable by working hard. You give them a good welfare, you give them a nice house to live in, a nice car for them to have comfortable transport. You provide them with good money so they are comfortable. I do this so they live a good life. It is trouble for yourself, but the more you work, the more successful you are, and the more comfortable your family becomes. It is comfort for your family and trouble for you, but you do this for your family.

Some of the informants pointed to and emphasised another dimension of the effects of this business on social integration. They believed that the business does not help in their social integration. On the contrary, they felt that it acts as a barrier to the integration process. The low status of the job leads to a feeling of shame that the owners experience. To this, add the humiliating and racist behaviour that they receive from some of the customers. These factors make them feel that this business makes them more isolated rather than integrated into the society.

NO 23: 171-182

Most of the people who are in this business are humiliated. Even within themselves, deep down they are humiliated. The fact that Iranians (who are in this business) do not want to reveal their true identity is because they have a bad feeling about this job—they feel humiliated. I know many Iranian take-away owners who do not want anybody find out where they are from—they hide their original identity. When the person is highly educated, it is hard for him to do this job day in and day out. On the one hand, there is good money in this business, so they do this, but on the other hand they are not situated in the social context and social position in which they wish to be located.

For example, day and night you have to deal with drunken people. The customers do not hold any respect and value for the person who is standing behind the take-away counter. They swear at you and go. Now, if this business owner sees the same person (a drug addict or drunken person) outside, he would just ignore him, but he has to smile to the same person and say 'yes, please' to him when serving him.

NO 30: 85-86

The business does not help in social integration. It actually makes it worst, with the sort of customers we have and the sort of behaviours we receive from them.

NO. 26: 92-97

Usually the life of the person in this business is wasted. You have to deal with these people (disturbing customers) for years. You might earn a lot of money, but it is not worth the discomfort and the nerve-racking challenges. It really affects your nerves—it is not a joke—because day in and day out you have to prepare yourself for these kinds of behaviours from them. It is as if every day you are going to a battlefield when you go to your shop. Every day you are nervous and hope that you pass the day with no troubles and no problems until you close the door and go home. But normally something bad happens—it is inevitable. The person comes and does whatever he wants with no responsibility.

This view of the adverse effects of entrepreneurship on social integration relates to the racist behaviours and attitudes discussed above. The findings show that this factor isolates the ethnic minorities more than they already are in the society, and therefore does not help in the social integration of this group. The constant challenge of controlling the situation to avoid potentially uncomfortable encounters or even conflicts, and the continued worry and fear that these entrepreneurs experience during their working hours from this issue, make this business and its ownership a barrier to a better social integration. In fact, these ethnic minorities do not often find an opportunity to build a rapport with their customers, even though their customers are loyal or regular customers.

- *Social position of ethnic entrepreneur*

Although this is not the dream job and does not match their high expectations based on their backgrounds, it is still a business, and for the business owner it brings certain social advantages. The findings show that the business facilitates a social position for the ethnic entrepreneur in that they become known as a business owner among their own community and take pride in that. Having a good reputation is important for them, and through their businesses they achieve that. Owning and running a business also helps in getting loans from banks when needed and facilitates credit. Business also gives them the opportunity to create jobs for others, and this gives them self-esteem and self-content.

NO 2: 37-42

To achieve what you want in life, I like to be creative and to create jobs for others. That is my philosophy. It is not only for money. Money is a disease. It can bring a lot of unhappiness and a lot of discomfort, but you cannot live without it at the same time. You make yourself known to other people in the community around you. You make yourself known to the people from your own community. You prove yourself. In way it is a gift. It is a nice social life, and I like it.

NO 19: 43-45

Being a business owner facilitates credit. There are better credits and loans available when you own a business. This is really good. Also when you are self-employed and give your taxes to the government you show that you are migrated to this country to work and not to live on benefits. You show not only that you are self-employed and work for yourself but also that you have employed a few other people.

- *Cultural role*

The findings show that healthy social interactions with people in the workplace lead to the cultural integration of the owner-managers. Consequently, this business assumes a cultural role in that it represents a place for cultural communication between owner-managers and their customers and staff. In this way, the business facilitates cultural inclusion of the ethnic entrepreneurs and gives them a deeper insight into the culture of the host country. Similarly, it becomes a means for the entrepreneur also to make their culture known to their staff and customers if they get a chance. Cultural inclusion of locals in ethnic entrepreneurs' original culture happens through introducing their culture to Scottish and other non-Iranian customers. Some of the interviewees use the business to promote the cultural identity of their homeland because they believe they need to restore the damaged picture of Iran and its culture and civilisation that has been created through the Western media in the past few decades.

NO 29:108-113

I sit and talk to the customers. I try to talk about our culture and how different it is from other Middle Eastern cultures. I explain to them how different our food is. I suggest Iranian foods on the menu to customers and explain what they are. This way, they become more curious about our culture, and if they are interested they go and find out about us. I tell them how ancient Iran is. How cultured, intelligent, and civilized Iranians are.

NO 15:16-29

Money is important in any business. Business is about making money, but there are other factors in play as well. When you are from another country and you have a catering business in which you present your food, then it becomes like a cultural presentation of yourself and your society as well. Through your food and your service, through your restaurant, you present your culture to these people. This is important. You can see how we have handcrafts of Iran hung up here. These are signs of my culture. These things add to the ambiance of my business place. So it is important for me to have people in here, feed them with good food in a good atmosphere. That means pleasing them indirectly with the music, with the decorations, and with our behaviour of hospitality, and directly with our food. All of these things introduce them to our culture. I see them coming again and again. We start to know each other and to talk, and the more you talk, the more they get to know you, and the more they get to know your culture. This is really good. They would know Iran is not Iraq, they would know Iran is not all deserts. They would know that we are peaceful people and not terrorists. They would know we have a beautiful culture.

NO 6: 104-106

We present both our food and our culture. This way, I am gaining non-economic profit as well. I have also asked the staff to present the food with culture to the people. That way we will be more successful in our sales.

5.9.2. Personal Effects

- *Enables feeling of personal fulfilment*

For a few informants, owning a business in an alien society (for new migrants) gives them a feeling of personal fulfilment. The fact that they have been able to open up a business in this society and to successfully run it and elevate their life situation from a disadvantaged one to a better one gives them dignity. 'Standing on their own two feet' is an expression used by the informants to express their ability

to achieve something in the receiving society and not remain as receivers of benefits or as staff of other catering businesses. Instead they are job-generating people and food service providers. They look at this business as a means to success in their lives.

NO 27:180-187

People can introduce themselves to society through the business. For us as migrants or ethnic minorities, this is something we can use to present ourselves to society. This helps them to see we are constructive. We can introduce ourselves to people through this. I think all men have a woman inside them. The woman inside always want to attract the attention of people. It is true that in the eyes of this society we are an external material (he means outsider), but we would like to show ourselves, to present ourselves in a good way and prove that we are doing something worthwhile in society. The first thing that can help us in reaching this goal is this business.

- *Physical and emotional distress*

The emotional challenges of owning and managing these businesses are said to be more than its physical challenges. All the mental and psychological pressures of the job have a destructive and adverse effect on the informants' personal lives. Most interviewees are found to have negative emotions towards their business, mentioning that they hate this job and that it is not desirable at all. As a result, they would not recommend this job to their children for the future. These feelings are all a result of the business being time consuming and labour intensive, and because of the racist-prone environment. Entrepreneurship in this area is found to be excessively demanding both physically and emotionally, with negative effects on the individuals. Since the informants spend most of their time in their take-away or restaurant, they see that the business has become their life, and this is not desirable for them.

NO 3: 71-75

God is my witness when I say this to you. Consider this fact. I work non-stop from eleven a.m. to eleven p.m. All this time I am working here, and I have to be in this cage. I cannot step out for a minute. This means that I am like a prisoner who is given a leave of absence and I am told to come back to the prison again in the morning after a few hours of being with my wife and children.

Expressions like being a prisoner and being in a cage in the workplace denote the extent of the devastation of the ethnic entrepreneurs by their conditions. Through these conditions, although they guarantee a level of comfortable life for their families, the findings show that it is at the expense of sacrificing their individual personal lives.

NO 9: 103-105

I do not like this job because this is not what I wanted to do with my life. From necessity, from the miseries of our time, this happened. You have no time for yourself or for your family.

NO 27:196-205

This is like an alternate phenomenon. Do you know what alternate means? It means it is not direct. Look at a university lecturer, for example. His life goes on a straight line. He moves on that straight line every day. But our life is alternate and recurring. Each and every day we have new challenges, sometimes good challenges but mostly negative and disturbing challenges. Its negative sides are so great that they cover the positive side of the business. This is why you do not like this job and some of us really hate their jobs. Maybe 20 percent of people having this type of business find it satisfactory because it has good money, it gives you a good house, good car, etc., but that is it—there is nothing more to it. There are not a lot of advantages in it. It also does not give you valuable experience that you cannot obtain elsewhere.

NO 23: 17-19

This job is not desirable—it is too hard, and its timing is bad. While there are a lot of people working in this business, they are not happy with it. They all have to do it. …(90-98) Ninety-nine percent of the people who have these businesses hate it. How can one not hate a job that has destroyed his life, while at the same time he cannot leave it and start another job. One of my friends, after six years of owning a take-away, gave up. He said 'I hate it, I cannot bear it anymore'. He decided to sell the business and with that money he wanted to do property investment. He came out of this business but after only four months the new business did not work, and his money was gone. He was under so much pressure that he had a heart attack and he had a great loss and returned to the take-away business again.

- *Negative effect on family life*

One of the challenges of owning and managing one's own business is the negative effects it imposes on the family life of the owner-manager. As a result of the intensity of the job and time-consuming nature of the job, family relationships are disturbed. The husband and father of the family is outside the home most of the time, and consequently there is not enough time for them as they desire to spend quality time and bond with the children. The findings show that they feel disappointed at the fact that they cannot spend enough time on the Persian cultural upbringing of the children as a result of their absence from home. Because their children are growing up outside their original culture, these people would like to be able to allocate more time for the children to make them acquainted with their own culture and language. However, they have little or no time to spend with the family. Therefore, the wife becomes frustrated. The interviewees asserted that the divorce rate among this community of owner-managers and problems between husband and wife is high. However, none of the interviewees were divorced. In fact they all appreciated their wives for their endurance and cooperation with their hectic lives. The paradox is that these owner-managers stress that they undergo all

the difficulties of this job in order for their families to live a happy life. However, the same job that is supposed to make the family happy has a negative effect on family relationships. They suffer for the family, but they do not get to be with them and enjoy life with them.

Although most of the interviewees were family men, single informants also expressed their concerns about the issue of family and the effects of this business. Obviously, single owner-managers do not experience this challenge of the business, but because they have experienced the intensity of the job they expressed their concerns about their future life when they get married and about the future wife and her feelings about the job and potential problems this might cause. They mentioned that it is not fair for a young lady who is away from her homeland and family to live most of her time alone and suffer because of this job.

NO 12: 171-181

This is not a regular job. Sometimes I get home really late, and by the time I sleep it is 4 a.m. I get up at 10 a.m. like drunken people. At that time my kids are gone to school, so the kids do not see me. When they are leaving home for school in the morning I am asleep, and at night when I get home they are asleep. Is this a life? I do not feel satisfied with my life as a person. In addition to this, I do not feel I belong to this business. The children grow up and leave the house and you could not build a proper, deep relationship with them. There is no quality time with them. We are Iranians. For example as a father I would like to bring up my daughter based on our own culture. But with this business I cannot spend enough time with her to plant the seed of the culture in her mind. So what should I do if in the near future she brings a boyfriend home and introduces him to me?! I cannot accept it. These are my sorrows. What should I do?

One of the informants however, felt that his business has enabled fulfilling the father role for him. He contended that in his son's childhood and teenage years he used to bring him to the restaurant with him, and through this a good bonding was formed between him and his son. Through this effort, he has been able to execute his role as a father and cultural role model.

NO 17: 77-84

This business has also helped me in my family affairs. It has allowed me to bring my son with me to work now and then, and in that way we became closer during his sensitive teenage years. It allowed me also to be able to watch him without him noticing it while he was growing up as a teenager. So, in this regard I won big time as a parent. His growth and happiness is the biggest thing this business has given me. My child has come here from the time he was 6 years old until now, when he is an adult. He is studying in the university now. He decided to carry on with higher education. But it made him the boy he is today. It gave me the opportunity; you know we live in an awkward society. You have to be close but not too close to your kids so they don't know that you are watching them. And this business gave me that opportunity and that opportunity.

The researcher managed to speak to four of the wives of the interviewees and had an informal chat with them about their views on their husbands' business life and its effects on their lives together. The researcher met with these four women separately. This was not an interview, so their voices were not recorded. Instead, the researcher took field notes of what they said. They talked to her about their lives as a wife of a catering business owner. This is placed in Appendix Four.

5.10. Chapter Summary

In this chapter, the interpretation of collected data is presented through analysis of the emerged themes, sub-themes, and their components. The personal narratives of the informants are analysed in order to construct a deeper understanding of their perceptions and self-definitions of themselves and their business and life situations, and illustrative quotes from coded interview manuscripts are used to clarify the interpretations and support the findings. The narratives of the owner-managers allow a better understanding and interpretation since they show the lived experiences and realities of the interviewees. These interviews are not only texts but are social presentations of self and situation provided by the ethnic entrepreneurs to the researcher. The findings show the extent to which the

phenomenon of EE is context driven, and, through a thick, description-oriented interpretation and analysis, these contexts are explored and explained.

Through interpretation, an attempt was made to explore, describe, and explain the perceptions, self definitions, and meanings that the owner-managers expressed about their businesses and the effects of their businesses in their personal and social lives. The contexts and conditions that have been influential in their understanding and in their chosen way of life are also explored, described, and explained. The goal was to clarify the socio-political and cultural background that has produced and conditioned these lives. The chapter has explored underlying conditions leading to self-employment of the owner-mangers in catering businesses. It has also explored and explained the ways in which the informants define themselves and their situations as migrants and how this affects their business life. The role of their businesses in the process of integration and building a new life in migration is also explored. Moreover, the meanings they attribute to their businesses and their perceptions on the nature of the catering business and on business ownership by an ethnic minority in the new society are presented. Based on the analysis of data and findings, the following framework emerged (see Figure 5.11).
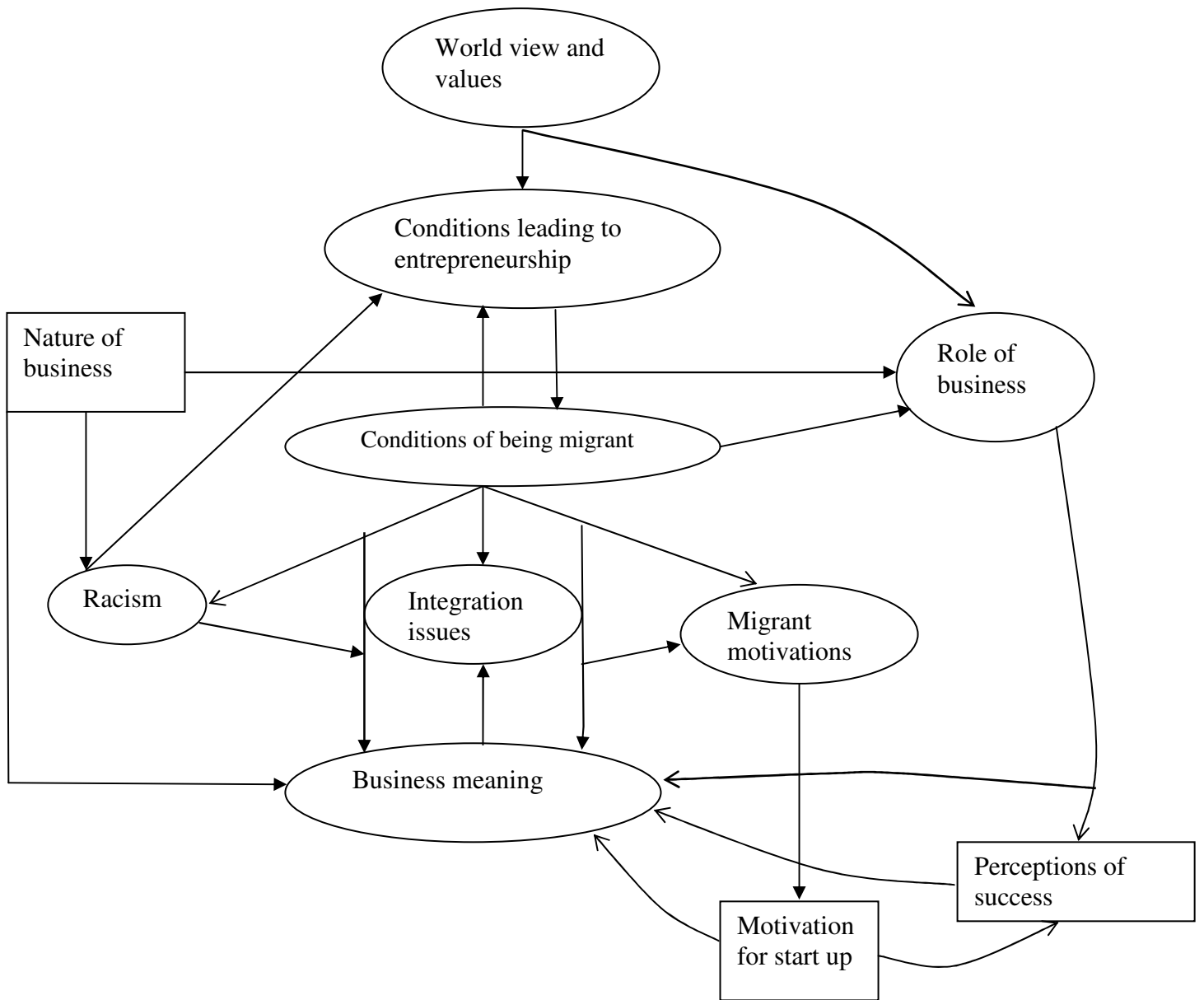
Figure 5.11. EE framework

Source: Own figure

6. CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION: From Knowledge to Understanding

6.1. Introduction

This chapter goes beyond descriptive analysis of the data and uses analysis and the findings to construct the interpretative understanding of the phenomenon of EE in the hospitality sector. In this chapter, the findings are compared with the literature, followed by a chapter that concludes the thesis. This research, guided by a phenomenological frame of reference, examines the views of individuals within the wider perspective of their social contexts and considers their views as important in understanding the phenomenon of EE. Broader social, political, cultural, historical, geographical, industry, and economic contexts in which they form and manage their businesses are deemed important in defining the phenomenon under study.

The interpretive analysis is based on a phenomenological perspective, which is the theoretical conceptualisations that frame the research. Therefore, in understanding the phenomenon of EE and its meanings, self-definitions of ethnic entrepreneurs and their unheard voices become important. Further reflection of the researcher within the conceptual framework of the research then uncovers the meanings these people associate with EE and highlights the often-ignored and silenced voices of these ethnic entrepreneurs who operate and manage hospitality micro-businesses within the society of their residence.

In this chapter, the findings of the research are compared with relevant existing literature to outline the contribution to the wider body of knowledge on EE, hospitality studies, and migrant studies. It draws attention to the importance of collating and converging different disciplines for the creation of knowledge that facilitates a better and deeper understanding of business and social issues. Through comparison of the empirical findings of the existing literature and the critical evaluation and questioning of those findings, it becomes possible to contribute to the processes of formation and development of new knowledge.

These processes may also create insights that may inform policy making relevant to ethnic entrepreneurs and migrants in general.

The meanings, contexts, essence, and role of EE in the catering sector were explored through analysis of the phenomenon and illustrated in findings. At this stage, the goal is to take the discussion further through interpretation and to see what lies beneath the data and what can be seen beyond the findings. To do this, the discussion is based on the conceptual framework. Through the process of phenomenological analysis, horizons or contexts and essences of the phenomenon are revealed in order to uncover the phenomenon of EE in hospitality and to understand meanings and values entrepreneurs associate with this phenomenon.

First, to facilitate a more focused discussion, the contexts (horizons) of the phenomenon under investigation are discussed, followed by the essences. Uncovering of the horizons helps in better understanding the essences of the phenomenon. Horizons include contextual horizons consisting of conditions of being minority ethnic entrepreneurs and their worldviews and values. Immediate horizons are then evaluated, which are the conditions leading to entrepreneurship and the motivations for start-up. Afterwards, the essences of EE based on the informants' views are discussed. These essences include the nature of the business, the meanings and values associated with entrepreneurship, self-definitions of success, and the role of the business.

The main themes, which are closely related to one another, are put together and form umbrella, parent, or major themes. As seen in the previous chapters, the analysis process resulted in a series of detailed sub-themes and themes, which were later grouped together under broader codes to enable a more articulate and lucid discussion. The detailed findings of the previous chapter are put together to create a new whole. In this chapter, the key components of this new whole are highlighted and compared to theoretical arguments and debates in the relevant literature. As a result of the analysis of findings and discussion on EE horizons and essences, the phenomenon is defined, and experiences of being an ethnic entrepreneur are uncovered.

Figure 6.1 shows a network of factors that influence the self-definitions of EE.
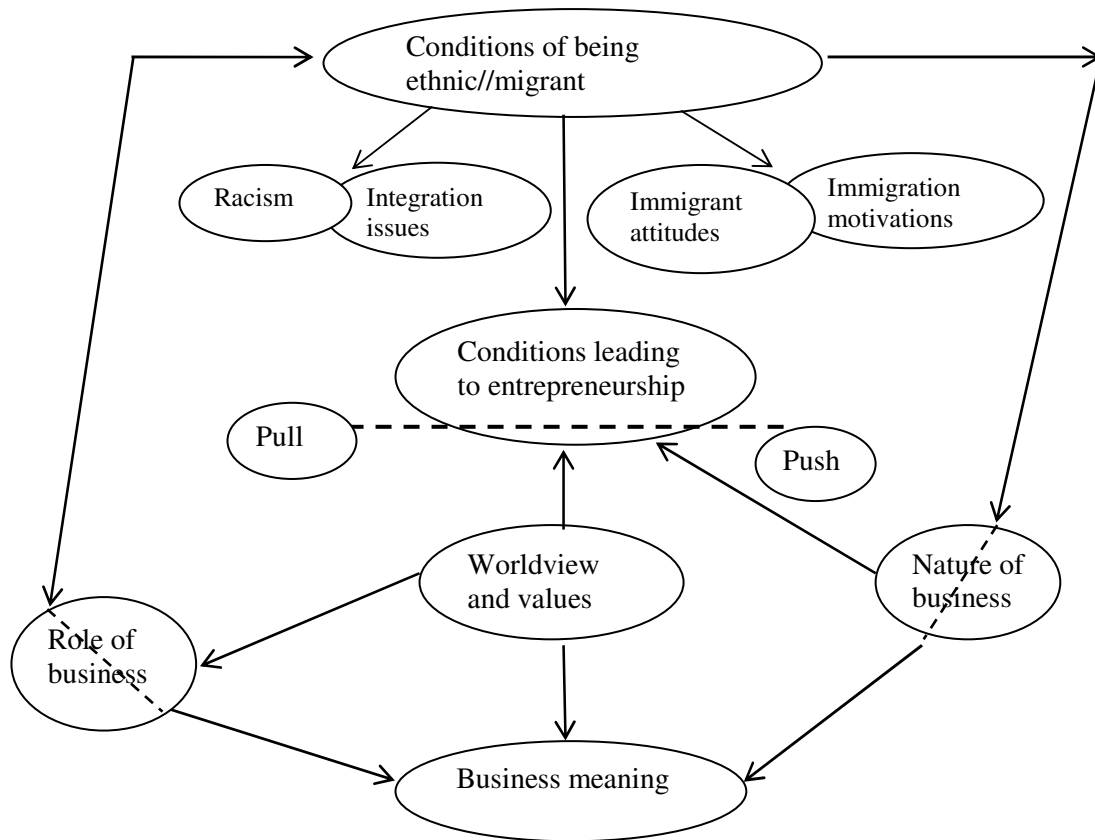
Figure 6.1. Network of meanings associated with
EE. Source: Own figure

6.2. Contextual horizons of the phenomenon

6.2.1. Conditions of being a migrant ethnic minority

Migrant motivations and attitudes

The findings showed that motivations for migration affect the motivation for starting EE to a great extent. To examine the meaning of EE from the perspective of ethnic entrepreneurs, it is essential to investigate the background of and reasons for the migration of this group.

The findings imply that it cannot be asserted that for most cases the decision and act of migration has been an opportunity or a necessity. Analysis of data showed it is in fact a combination of both push and pull factors that have caused migration. The political conditions of Iran after the revolution have resulted in a large number of migrants over the past 30 years. The interviewees stated that dissatisfaction with the state of their social and personal lives in their homeland has pushed them towards migration. On the other hand, the image of life in the developed and free West has pulled them outside the borders of their country. In most cases, a gap was found between the images prior to migration and the reality of life in the West. Three categories of migration motivations were found: political—for living in a free society; social—mainly for family reasons (e.g., for the family to have a better life and future); and personal—such as exploring opportunities in other parts of the world and having new experiences.

Political motivations act as push forces, social motivations have been both push and pull forces, and personal motivations act as pull forces. These migrants, however, had one main motivation for migration, which was to escape from the conditions of life in their homeland and to have a better life in another country. In order to achieve it, most of them started from zero in their host country. This means they did not have a secured job in the UK before migration, and did not know what to expect or what kind of life they would have after migration. None of these migrants, however, stated that they had migrated for economic reasons. Their profiles also showed that this group of ethnic minorities is mostly from the higher classes of Iran's society, with good financial capital and highly educated, with degrees from either an Iranian or UK university. The reason for their migration has not therefore been a result of the unequal distribution of wealth and opportunities in the migrants' home societies.

The respondents' rationale for migration is similar to that of lifestyle migrants in that they are both looking for an improved way of life. However, the literature on lifestyle migration is placed within a Western discourse, written by Western scholars from the perspective of Western lifestyle migrants. Lifestyle migration, when applied to a nonWestern context, becomes different with new sets of criteria.

Based on the literature of lifestyle migration, lifestyle migrants move to build a more relaxed and informal way of life (Rodriguez et al., 1998); better health, climate, and lifestyle (Casado-Diaz et al., 2004); and escape from a hectic urban life (Nagatomo, 2008). Lifestyle migration implies 'a reflexive assessment of opportunities rather than a direct outcome of relative economic privilege' (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009: 3). This is why, in the context of this research, although the migrants' motivation is for a better way of life, the lifestyle these migrants seek has different criteria. Pursuit of a good life must be understood in the wider social, material, and historical contexts (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009). In the case of this research, the following lifestyle reasons were stated, which are different from the abovementioned Western ones. These include living in a more free and democratic society, where people are not investigated or punished for their beliefs, personal dress codes, and behaviours. The interviewees believed that these factors lead to a better future for their families compared with their homeland. The findings revealed that these migrants have left everything they have behind, often selling all their possessions, and have taken a big risk to go towards an unknown future in an unknown culture and society. The respondents migrate for lifestyle reasons. However, their reasons are not luxurious like those of Western lifestyle migrants who migrate to 'escape to self-fulfilment' to build a new life—a recreation, or for restoration or rediscovery of oneself, personal potential, or of one's true desires (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009: 3).

Migration creates a strong desire among these people for the creation of the life they were looking for. This desire brings with it an attitude of perseverance and not giving up in the face of external adverse situations. Among the most salient attitudes of these migrants is their willingness to accept risk. Willingness to risk seems to be related to being a migrant. In the migration literature, migrants are typically considered to be more risk taking, mobile, and entrepreneurial than the natives and general population in the home country (Jaeger et al., 2007). Having gone through migration and the decision to migrate to another continent, to a place with little or no affinity with one's original socio-cultural setting, is in itself the biggest life risk they have taken. Some of these migrants are political refugees who have left their country without knowing if they can ever go back. Thus, they have

undergone high levels of risk as well as migration. Unauthorised migration through unauthorized routes often entails especially high risk (Carretero, 2008).

There is also a high level of risk involved for those migrants who come into a country as asylum seekers and refugees but through authorised routs. When entering the host country, they seek asylum, but they do not know what to expect or how long their lives will be unstable. This is especially the case when there is a family involved. Such stories have frequently been among the narratives of informants in this research.

The findings show that migrant attitudes and migration motivations together form a context that explains the entrepreneurial orientations of these ethnic minorities. These factors show the level of willingness to take risks among these ethnic entrepreneurs. It seems to be due to the fact that they are migrants who are determined to build a better life, and to that end, they have already gone through considerable risk in different aspects of their lives. For example, almost none of the informants (only two) had hospitality business-ownership experience, and most of them had no experience of self-employment prior to migration or prior to starting up their current business. This fact shows a high willingness to accept risk. For this group, the risk of starting up a new business is considered a calculated risk. To achieve their goal of migration and to reach their desired and dreamed-of lifestyles, they are prepared to go beyond social, economic, and cultural boundaries and explore new realms, such as self-employment.

In the review of literature on entrepreneurship (Section 2.2), it was revealed that entrepreneurship is a complex concept and that there is an abundance of different definitions of who is an entrepreneur. The literature on entrepreneurship has presented different characteristics and attitudes, such as risk taking, propensity for uncertainty, being alert to profit maximisation, and having a good level of judgement, innovation, and desire for growth. The self-definitions provided by the informants in this research also showed a complex image of this concept. As discussed before, the level of this group's risk taking is not only limited to the economic risks involved in starting a business, but within their characteristics they

also had other levels of risk taking, such as social and cultural. This group showed other personal traits such as working hard and having a high level of ambition, which enabled them to confront adverse social conditions and turn them into opportunities. However, they showed that their ambitions are not idealistic and that they are practical people who take a proactive approach towards the conditions of life, which is manifested in their initial act of migration and their entrepreneurial orientation after migration.

The next category explores some of the socio-cultural boundaries these ethnic minorities face in the host society.

6.2.2. Socio-cultural/integration issues of EE

Socio-cultural issues related to integration of ethnic minority migrants establish the context to critically examine the social horizons and contexts that have led these ethnic minorities towards EE. Different aspects of integration were reviewed in Section 2.5.1, where the importance of socio-cultural issues was stressed. It was discussed that there are important contextual factors for self-definitions of EE and the meanings ethnic entrepreneurs attach to it. These socio-cultural integration issues also define the experience of living the phenomenon of EE to a great extent.

Downward social mobility and integration

The findings revealed that socio-cultural issues and the consequent integration issues ethnic minorities faced affect the individual's decision whether to enter entrepreneurship. The participants, when expressing their views about starting their businesses, explicitly pointed to these socio-cultural integration matters. The limited support given by the government to the refugees and asylum seekers at the beginning of their residence in the UK was among these problems. Being placed in the cities' most deprived areas and unsafe neighbourhoods are key conditions pushing them to take some action to move their families out of such disadvantaged situations. These conditions are among the factors that have been barriers towards smooth integration into society. Experiences of encounter with

gangs in such neighbourhoods like Sighthill in Glasgow and the lack of family safety and security in these areas create a strong desire to start self-employment.

As a result of the above, this group of people experience downward social mobility when compared with their standing in their homeland. Other studies also point to the downward social mobility of migrant minorities and emphasize that their social class before and after migration is different (Gibney and Hansen, 2005; Platt, 2005; Van Niekerk, 2002; Lacroix, 2010), and that they experience a significant loss of status and power. In the present study, ethnic minorities also held high social positions, with jobs such as executives, engineers, or managers in their original country, and after migration, as refugees, they lost that social standing and power. Murphy and Mahalingam (2006) point to the incongruence between dreams and expectations before and the reality of life after migration. Also, experiences of unemployment after arrival in the host country contribute to the perception of loss of power and status by migrants (Kennedy and Mcdonald, 2006). A person's perception of low status compared with the status of others leads to feelings of shame, mistrust, and stress (Demakakos et al., 2008).

Studies have shown that generally downward mobility, which is manifested in a decrease in occupational status and prestige, can have adverse effects on a person's perceived social standing (Tiffin et al., 2005). The decline in the individuals' perception of their own position in the social hierarchy and in their social standing may put immigrants at risk of negative emotions (Jackman and Jackman, 1973).This study shows that downward mobility and the loss of perceived social standing have detrimental consequences, but these factors have given the informants the push to initiate change in their lives. This study addresses the multi-level features of mobility and its link to distributional features of inequality in a society and their implications in immigrants' lives.

Otherness and integration

The findings revealed that there is a feeling of alienation among this group of ethnic entrepreneurs. Even those who have lived in this society for 30 years still

reflected the feeling of 'otherness' in their voices. The lack of belonging is an issue that is well recognised in the integration and assimilation literature (e.g., Bolt et al., 2009).

There are socioeconomic and cultural barriers to a deeper level of integration for the group studied in this research. These barriers reinforce the feelings of otherness and the lack of belonging. As previously discussed, downward social mobility compared with their social position in their original country gives them a feeling of being misplaced in the new society. As a result, their main engagements and motives in life revolve around improvement of their economic situations, and consequently there is less opportunity to achieve higher levels of integration such as being an active part of the political affairs of the host society. With the migrant conditions of life, these ethnic minorities are pushed to mix with their co-ethnic members of society, working for them in their catering shops at the beginning of their arrival, and this in itself limits the level of their integration in terms of social relations.

The level of cultural differences between migrants' culture and the culture of the host society seems to act as a barrier in deeper levels of integration. The more geographically, historically, and culturally distant the two societies, the more the journey of integration and the process of migrant integration becomes difficult and complicated. The findings revealed that the high degree of cultural differences between the migrant and the host society leads to emotional struggles for the migrant. The experiences in adapting to the new culture with its new values, being away from one's own culture, and the feeling of nostalgia, especially for political refugees who are in exile, make it harder to integrate. The findings show that to achieve higher levels of integration the migrants need to be able to integrate both socially and culturally (Ratcliffe, 2004).

Many studies have pointed to the effect of knowing the language of the host society as a determining factor in integration. Engaging in ethnic social networks, native language use and host language proficiency influence not only integration in the host society in general but also integration in the labour market. For example, Ben-

Rafael et al.'s (1997) study revealed that a high degree of language (in this case Hebrew) competence was associated with a high level of social insertion. However, the current research showed that language can only act as a factor influencing integration to a certain level. The present study proposes that when examining the factors that influence integration, it is important to find out which factors affect which levels of integration. Language is important in early levels of integration. Despite the informants' knowledge of English, in most cases, the respondents' perception of their level of integration into the host society was not high.

Obviously, the participants of this research have all economically integrated as they are self-employed business owners. However, the study shows that this factor by itself is not enough for fuller and deeper levels of integration. Integration into the labour market is also only part of the picture and only one piece of the puzzle of integration. Of course, the important factors that affect ethnic integration in the host society, such as knowledge of the host country's language (Remennick, 2004) and employment in the host society (Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the European Union, 2004) are important factors in the integration process. However, this research argues that checking these boxes does not imply full integration, as integration is subjective and migrant perception of integration is an important indicator of the level of integration achieved. As indicated before, in the case of this study, although the ethnic entrepreneurs have achieved the above criteria of integration, most of them did not feel fully integrated.

Issues of discrimination, lack of social networks in the host society, or language and skill deficiencies are recognized as barriers to integration, and one way of coping with these problems is ethnic concentration (Waldinger, 1996; Model, 1997). Other factors such as participation in ethnic social networks, use of the original language (Reitz and Sklar, 1997), and connection to ethnic culture (Phinney et al., 2001) are consequences of the abovementioned barriers, and they affect the level of ethnic integration and sometimes hinder it.

Phinney et al. (2001) investigated the identity of immigrants of different origins in four host countries and found that ethnic and national identities were unrelated and rather independent of one another. That means that immigrants could have a strong ethnic identity and simultaneously feel that they belonged to the society and culture of the host country. In the case of this research, however, strong cultural identity of informants and strong emotional attachment and nostalgia towards their homeland seems to act as a barrier towards a higher level of integration and belonging to the host society. For example, most of the informants seemed to be more heavily concerned with the political and social climate in Iran than with what is going on in the political sphere of the UK.

This research argues that a strong attachment to one's original culture can act as a barrier to integration. It shows that the importance of protecting and maintaining one's cultural identity in itself could act as a blockade towards integration. For the respondents, keeping a balance between their original cultural identity and their cultural integration in the new society seemed to be a struggle. This was particularly the case when they tried to keep their culture alive within the second generation. Interviewees pointed out that their children need to recognise their roots and not to become completely assimilated. For first-generation migrants, cultural, race, and language barriers remain to a certain level. This is unlike their second-generation counterparts who have been born and bred in the host country, have fully acquired the British culture and do not encounter the barriers that the first generation did. This is in agreement with the literature on second-generation migrants, who mostly show high levels of moving into a higher class than their parents, who suffered downward mobility on arrival in Britain (Platt, 2005). Second-generation migrants learn to survive within conflicting environments of their ethnic culture and the host culture. The second generation, unlike the first-generation, has the advantage of knowing British norms, values, behaviour, and the ways of doing things, as well as a good grasp of the English language. Consequently, these factors help reduce the effects of social stigma. Unlike their parents, they will have more chances to increase their social mobility. Modood et al. (1997) comment that the second generation benefits from these advantages as resources to overcome the 'unofficial' discriminatory barriers imposed by those

hostile towards the social advancement of minority groups. Too much engagement with one's own ethnic community network leads to lower levels of integration. The present research shows that attachment to the original culture and the gap between this culture and the culture of the host country influence the level of integration achieved by ethnic minorities. This is reinforced by experiences of otherness and alienation that ethnic minorities have in the host society. Experiences of otherness are nourished by discrimination and racism. These factors together isolate ethnic minorities and push them more towards their own culture and cultural enclaves.

This research as well as other research in the area of integration (e.g., Strang, 2010; Phinney et al., 2001; Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the European Union, 2004) show that integration is a two-way street and would not happen if the host society were unwilling or less willing to accept the migrants. Therefore, the lack of complete integration in the case of the respondents of this research is not only due to the engagement of ethnic minorities with their own communities. Indeed, this factor in itself could be a result of inhospitality of the host society towards these migrants.

British society is composed of a variety of different ethnicities that live together. The findings of this research showed that there is a need to facilitate better familiarisation of natives with ethnic minorities and vice versa. Lack of meaningful social interactions between ethnic minorities and the wider society can lead to racial attitudes, behaviours, and prejudice. It creates a culture that does not help foster deeper integration between different groups of the society and causes a limited hospitality and acceptance by the host society towards the ethnic minorities. The reciprocity of the integration process (Strang, 2010) is important as ethnic minorities need to try to become integrated into the British culture and society, but for this attempt to work it is important for the indigenous British to be willing to receive these new members of society. Informants of this study expressed their willingness for a better integration. However, it seems that there is an invisible wall between them and the society that does not allow integration beyond a certain level. It encourages ethnic minority ties with their own social network, which hinders their integration level.

An important finding of this research is recognising the need to focus on the processes and factors that hinder higher levels of integration of ethnic minorities. Theories related to adaptation of ethnic minorities to the host society have evolved from assimilation to acculturation and then to integration (2.5.1). This research found that in fact the barriers to a deeper level of social and cultural integration are harder to overcome for ethnic minorities. This is because the invisible and soft barriers to integration are caused by hidden discrimination experienced on a daily basis by these ethnic entrepreneurs. Integration covers a wide area and is an 'umbrella' concept (Vermeulen and Penninx, 2001). It is important to consider other areas of integration as well as issues such as accommodation, jobs, and language abilities. Informants in this research perhaps 'check all the boxes' defined by integration theory as criteria of integration. They have achieved economic and physical levels of integration. They have their own businesses, good economic conditions, enjoy good health, good accommodations, and higher education; they are able to provide a good education for their children, and they possess a high level of English fluency. Yet, they do not perceive themselves as fully integrated based on their narratives. The concept of integration goes beyond these areas. They still carry a feeling of 'otherness' on their shoulders. Based on ethnic entrepreneurs' views, this otherness to a great extent is a consequence of discrimination and racism in the host society, which is the next category to be discussed.

6.2.3. Migrant entrepreneurs and racism

The EE entrepreneurship literature mostly engages with issues of racism and discrimination when analysing the creation and formation of EE. It does not go beyond that point to analyse the ongoing existence of racism within ethnic businesses to examine its effects on EE. This research, however, uncovered issues related to racism and found that racist attitudes and behaviours from customers was one of the most salient factors mentioned by the informants when talking about their perceptions of their business and the meanings its ownership holds for them. The findings uncovered racial actions and attitudes the respondents receive

continuously from some of their customers. This creates a ripple effect that influences their definitions of the business, and in turn, defines their perceptions of their social life as ethnic minorities. Therefore, racism not only acts as a barrier towards integration into the society but also becomes a defining factor of the meanings of EE as well.

The informants' experiences when encountering racist behaviours at their work place were numerous, and are reflected in the findings chapter. According to Banks (1995), the racial colour line is socially constructed and used to separate, partition, accommodate, or alienate. It was explained in the previous section on integration how the studied ethnic minorities feel alienated and that this acts as a barrier towards their better integration. The informants feel these types of behaviours become stronger in the contexts of take-away shops.

One of the finding of this research is that it is revealed that there is a niche racism related to kebab shops/take-aways that happens in the physical and serving space of the kebab shop. This research names this form of racism 'take-away racism'. In this form of racism, customers treat the ethnic shop owners and their staff with racist behaviour. According to the findings, the type of racism that happens in the space of take-aways does not happen in other catering businesses such as restaurants. Based on the analysis, it seems that there is a customary culture among some of the customers of take-aways that allows them to annoy, insult, and humiliate the owners. Based on informants' narratives, there is little respect in the space of the take-aways. According to the interviewees, among take-away customers there is a large number of people from lower socio-economic groups with a high number of drunks, drug users, gang members, and the so-called NEDs (non-educated delinquent). This, in turn, can be related to the nature of the take-away business serving cheap and fast food and serving until late hours of the night, which attracts these types of customers.

The fact that EMBs receive racism from these types of customers is in agreement with the findings of Gang et al. (2002). They found that higher-educated and more skilled people are more favourable towards minority ethnic people, while the

unemployed, discouraged workers, and retirees have more hostile attitudes. This is one of the elements that cause problems such as emotional and physical damage to the owner and to the shop. During night time hours, the customers become more disturbing. Being drunk, the informants believed, is an excuse for outrageous and racist behaviour, since the same drunken customer goes to McDonalds and does not create the same problems there. This leads to ethnic minorities' dissatisfaction with their jobs and with their lives as migrants. As a result, they do not feel safe and secure in the physical space of their businesses.

Roots of racism

To examine racism and its consequences on EE, it is essential to explore the roots of racism. Negative sentiments towards an ethnic population are strongly associated with cultural issues. Hainmueller and Hiscox (2007) say that it is differences in cultural beliefs and values rather than fear about economic well-being and labour-market competition that determines attitudes towards immigrants. Zimmermann et al. (2007) suggest that attitudes towards ethnic minorities are related to natives' perceptions, indicating that perceptions such as holding immigrants responsible for the worsening of their country's standards of living or believing that immigrants exacerbate crime and take away jobs are among the reasons for negative attitudes of local people towards ethnic minorities. According to Zimmermann et al. (2007), dire economic hardship, racist and discriminatory attitudes, or an economy that cannot accommodate the influx of legal and illegal immigrants might be among the reasons for negative attitudes. The threat of displacement or unemployment with the stagnant labour markets in Europe may be the cause of unreceptive attitudes towards ethnic minorities. The ethnic entrepreneurs of this research pointed to the above facts as possible reasons for the negative attitudes of native customers towards them, which lead to their racial behaviours.

Arguably, the most prevalent peddler of minority racial stereotypes is the popular media (Yosso, 2002; Cortes, 1995). Through this medium, African Americans are portrayed as 'stupid', 'lazy', 'dangerous', or 'dirty' (Cross, 1996), and in the case

of American Indians, if they are addressed at all, they are perceived as 'simple', 'primitive', 'submissive', or 'wild' (Stutzman, 1993; Vrasidas, 1997). These descriptors can and are used by non-minorities to rationalize and hence justify their racial privilege in society. It is argued that whiteness has a normative function as it is a form of property that sets the standard for all others (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001; Rothenberg, 2005). From this perspective, one aspect of Whiteness is its ability to seem perspective-less since Whites do not perceive themselves as having a race, but they are, simply, people. Thinking and reasoning from a White viewpoint seems to be universally valid. Therefore, the phenomenon of racism and White privilege maintain cultural reproduction along racial lines (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001). In the context of this study, the White population subconsciously allows itself to engage in racist behaviours as customers in ethnic take-aways even in the space of the shop that belongs to the ethnic person.

The roots of racism can also be analysed against the background of socio-political dynamics in the society. As previously pointed out, this research reveals that 'take-away racism' is more triggered towards Middle-Eastern minorities. A few of the informants pointed to the fact that some of their colleagues cover their true nationality and pretend they are not from the Middle East to avoid racism in their shops. The sense of helplessness that these ethnic minority entrepreneurs expressed in confronting racist incidents signifies the normality of racism and White privilege.

Boyde (2000), in a study of EE among Black women, looks at EE within the disadvantage theory perspective (Section 2.4.4) and proposes that as a result of blocked mobility and disadvantages imposed on ethnic minorities, they become 'survivalist entrepreneurs' in response to labour-market exclusion. By a survivalist entrepreneur, he means a person who responds to a need to become self-employed and therefore has to start a marginal business. It is argued that some groups of minorities suffer from a double disadvantage (see also Smith-Hunter and Boyd, 2004). For example, Smith and Tienda (1988) point to the double disadvantage of racism and sexism for Black women. In the context of the present study, it was

found, and it is argued that these Iranian entrepreneurs also suffer from the double disadvantage of racism plus sectarianism in terms of their racial and religious background (Middle Eastern).

Marable (1992) defines racism as 'a system of ignorance, exploitation, and power used to oppress people based on their ethnicity, culture, mannerisms, and colour' (p. 5). This is confirmed by the present research. The fact that the informants stressed that the police do not do enough to prevent racism in their shops, as well as the negative images produced by the media about Middle-Eastern people does not help in this matter. These factors show how these ethnic minorities perceive their position as a secondary citizenship position. The respondents believed that the roots of racism can be traced to the careless attitudes of the police and the media towards racial issues, which can lead to more racism instead of preventing it.

The above finding confirms the phenomenon of racism is 'normal' or 'ordinary' and not an exception. It is 'the usual way society does business, the common, everyday experience of most people of colour in this country' (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001: 7). This research shows that racism is not basically an individual, psychological problem. Instead, it argues that this framework of mind covers the deeper problem of systemic racism. Through the present research, these ethnic businesses and ethnic entrepreneurs provide a good context for illustrating how White supremacy is ingrained in the cultural practices of White societies but remains often unnoticed and unrecognizable, creating an 'invisible norm' against which other races are benchmarked and measured. The fact that White customers allow themselves to subject ethnic entrepreneurs who serve them to their racial behaviours shows this invisible norm. As seen in the EE literature, the disadvantage theory only focuses on the structural disadvantages and blocked mobilities, which lead to the necessary formation of EE. The findings of this research, however, shows that exclusion, discrimination, and racism are not only present and affecting the creation of EE, but they are ongoing issues that affect these ethnic businesses, their operations, and the personal and social worlds of ethnic entrepreneurs and the meanings associated with EE.

313

The phenomenon under study is EE in the hospitality sector. In understanding this phenomenon, the researcher has used hospitality as a lens (Section 2.6) through which to become more closely familiar with what is going on beneath the surface of society. Lashley et al. (2007) proposed that hospitality as a social lens is a convenient tool towards a better understanding of social matters. This study revealed the voices of a group of minority ethnic people who are engaged in the hospitality sector. It unmasked the level of racism they receive in their business environments. The hospitality business in this case has been a context in which the society has shown its hidden face of racism. The sphere of commercial hospitality—i.e., ethnic catering shops—is a reflection of a conditioned form of hospitality in the society.

Lashley (2000) points to the business and management focus of the hospitality studies literature when defining hospitality. A large amount of the hospitality literature looks at hospitality as a commercial exchange. Lashley gives definitions such as 'the provision of food and/or drink and/or accommodation away from home' and 'a contemporaneous exchange designed to enhance mutuality (well-being) for the parties involved through the provision of food and/or drink, and/or accommodation' (Lashley, 2000: 3) as examples of the commercial understanding of hospitality. However, he points to the difference between social, private, and commercial modes of hospitality to provide a more detailed perspective of the concept of hospitality. As stated before, commercial hospitality happens in an economic exchange context, while private hospitality happens in the home setting. By social hospitality, Lashley means broader social codes and forms of sociability and sociality that also have implications in commercial and private forms of hospitality. Based on Lashley's idea, social hospitality or even inhospitality can take place in commercial hospitality as well. Within the context of the present research, social codes of hospitality can be examined in the commercial context of the ethnic hospitality businesses. Through this lens of hospitality, then, racism and racist attitudes and behaviours happening in the

commercial space of ethnic hospitality businesses can be explained to a great extent.

Derrida (Derrida and Dufourmantelle, 2000; Derrida, 2001) has used the concept of hospitality to elaborate the issue of reception of newcomers (immigrants) to a society. He used the idea of unconditional hospitality, which implies absolute openness to the newcomers (the other). This is an idealised, 'hyperbolical' hospitality that Derrida believes is 'abstract, utopian, and illusory' (2000b: 79, 135). According to Derrida (2000a: 55), within conditional hospitality, the host chooses whom to permit to be a guest. Therefore, conditional hospitality implies 'choosing, electing, filtering, selecting [of] invitees, visitors, or guests'. An implicit agreement upon the terms and conditions of giving and receiving hospitality will also take place. The philosophy of hospitality shows the critical relationship of hospitality and inhospitality. From this perspective, hospitality is viewed as a conceptual tool through which concepts of insiders and outsiders, belongings, and exclusion are better evaluated. The hostility hidden within hospitality in terms of latent limitations and obligations defined by the host for the guest (Tregoning, 2003) are set boundaries for giving and receiving hospitality.

The debate is about the limits and restrictions in society that condition the hospitality that is received by new members of the society or the others. The work of Derrida (2001) on the philosophy and the ethics of hospitality is important in understanding the ways in which people relate to 'the other' in the society. The host, the guest, and the relationship between them are not confined to the commercial hospitality context but are present in the wider society as well (Derrida, 2001). Derrida suggests that absolute or unconditional hospitality is hardly possible. Unconditional hospitality implies offering hospitality to some 'absolute, unknown, anonymous other' (Derrida, 2000a: 25) without receiving anything back or having any expectations. Reciprocity does not exist in unconditional hospitality. On the other hand, the conditional form is called 'hospitality by right' or 'hospitality in the ordinary sense' (Derrida, 2000a: 25, 59). This is a useful critical tool to analyse the conditions of these ethnic entrepreneurs

in their workplace and to uncover the essence of the phenomenon of EE in the catering sector.

The level of hospitability of a country or a society is not only marked by the city's spaces for leisure (Bell et al., 2007) but also by the extent to which the city is accepting of its new citizens—i.e., minority ethnics. The paradox lies in the fact that these ethnic entrepreneurs who suffer from inhospitable behaviours are actually great contributors to making a society hospitable through their commercial hospitality ventures and services. In the UK, a large number of small-scale catering businesses are owned by minority ethnic people. Hence, they greatly influence the image and extent of hospitality of the society through their services. This research shows that in these spaces of hospitality, ethnic minority people who offer their hospitality services to others are subject to inhospitable attitudes and behaviours.

It seems that the form of hostility that takes place in the studied ethnic catering businesses is an 'unbalanced hospitality'. In order to avoid conflict and run their businesses as smoothly as possible, these ethnic minorities are prepared to offer their services of hospitality to their disrespectful racist guests (customers), who do not act according to the unwritten rules of hospitality. Of course, this is not for hospitality reasons but rather for the sake of their businesses. The ethnic tolerance towards racism can also be attributed to social reasons of feeling that they have less power than their White native customers in the social system. Hence, they avoid conflicts at the expense of being subject to racist behaviours. The customers or the guests—who are paradoxically the hosts of these ethnic minority entrepreneurs in the wider context of the society—do not observe their obligations as guests nor even their obligations as hosts in the wider social context. Therefore, an uneven distribution of power and an unbalanced hospitality occurs in this situation. As discussed before, it seems it is the White sense of privilege that causes the native customers to commit racial acts without any concerns.

Not responding to the racist behaviours itself upsets social codes of hospitality and creates a ripple effect that leads to more racism. Chan (2005) suggests that the

asymmetry that unconditional hospitality creates upsets the social codes needed for the existence of hospitality. According to Chan (2005), as a result of this absolute hospitality, customer will have all the power in the relationships. In unconditional hospitality, the host gives and does not expect to receive; the guest uses all the resources without any obligations. So there is an imbalance of obligations and the customer holds the power. In the case of this study, this imbalance of rights and obligations also occurs. While the local residents of the hosting society (customers who are the hosts of ethnic minorities) do not offer and give the rights of the guests (ethnic minorities), they still hold the power (racist behaviours). Chan suggests that the uneven distribution of power on the two sides is a result of imbalanced hospitality (Chan, 2005).

The concept of hospitality by its nature entails some compromises and conditions for both host and guest. This reciprocity at the heart of hospitality marks the rules of etiquette. According to Dikeç (2002: 239), within the context of hospitality hosts and guests are 'mutually constitutive of each other, and thus, relational and shifting'. In the present study, the customers (commercial guests but social hosts) therefore intrude not only upon the commercial and physical space of hospitality by racist behaviour but also upon the social soft space of hospitality by not respecting the emotional space of hospitality. Therefore, the space of hospitality is not only the tangible and physical space but also the intangible and more abstract and emotional space that is created between host and guest by the conditions and tensions of hospitality. Dikec (2002) also points to the fact that 'spaces of hospitality' have remained largely abstract. In the context of this research, commercial and social spaces of hospitality are strongly mixed and come into existence in one setting. As a result, both natives and ethnic minorities are hosts and guests at the same time, and their obligations, expectations, and tensions increase. Commercial guests in the commercial space of hospitality (customers) are social hosts in the social hospitality sphere and the commercial hosts (ethnic minorities) in commercial space are social guests in the social space of hospitality. Ethnic identity or ethnicity is the source of these social tensions and forms the centre of these struggles. If the owner was not of another ethnicity these dynamics would not have developed in the first place. It is within this

environment of multiple identities that dialogue or clash of identities and ethnicities is produced and reproduced. Figure 6.2 shows the unbalanced nature of hospitality and the role of ethnicity in defining the identities of host and guest in EE.

Consequently, boundaries of social control, ownership, and power are defined. However, given a world that is increasingly shaped by migration and mobility, social concepts such as identity and home, which entail a level of ownership, control, and power, need to be defined in a way that 'transcends traditional definitions in terms of locality, ethnicity, religiosity, and/or nationality and are sensitive to allocations of identity that may be multiple, situational, individual, and paradoxical' (Rapport and Overing, 2007: 176). The findings show that in spite of policies about integration, tolerance, and multinationality, these people experience a very limited and conditional hospitality in real life.
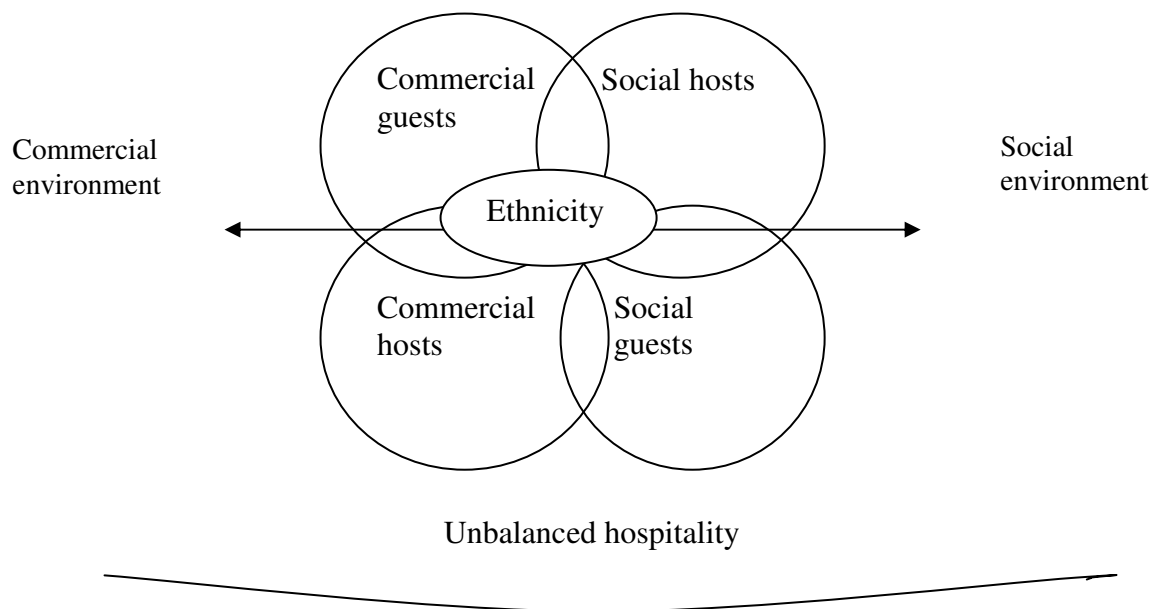

Figure 6.2. Unbalanced hospitality.
Source: Own figure.

The next theme that was uncovered through the analysis of the data was the worldviews and values of these ethnic entrepreneurs and their implications for the meanings and role of EE in their business and social worlds.

6.2.4. Worldviews and values

As aforementioned, the phenomenon of EE and the experience of life of an ethnic entrepreneur can be explored through uncovering and analysing the phenomenon's contexts and essences. The contextual horizons of this phenomenon consist of the conditions of being an ethnic minority entrepreneur. The findings showed that the worldviews and values of the ethnic entrepreneur contribute to an understanding of the contexts within which EE is embedded. The socio-cultural and economic conditions of being a migrant ethnic minority were discussed earlier. This section discusses the worldviews and values of ethnic entrepreneurs, which greatly determine the self-definitions, perceptions, and meanings that the ethnic entrepreneur attaches to the phenomenon of EE, and the contexts from which it occurs.

Worldviews and values of ethnic entrepreneurs represent underlying beliefs and principles based on which they define and form their viewpoints about their businesses and life in general. Through exploration of these worldviews and values it is possible to uncover deeper layers of meanings these ethnic entrepreneurs attach to their entrepreneurial activities in migration. The findings revealed that a spiritual view of life and pluralism are among the most evident of the informants' worldviews. The data showed that the informants had an underlying belief in fatalism, which implied their belief in the predetermined events that happen in life without choice of the individual. The belief in the role of fate in what they are doing now and their standing in life was evident. The informants also believed that humans choose their steps in life, but at the end of the day their choices are bound by predetermined conditions in which they are placed. Their decisions are taken according to external conditions and those external conditions exist without the individual's contribution. As a result, their acts of entrepreneurship were related to the element of fate.

This belief has its roots in a culture in which people believe that there are certain aspects of life that are destined to happen and that whatever humans do they cannot change them. This cultural belief seems to form in societies with turbulent histories and with less stable political and historical conditions. Iran is an ancient country that has been the crossroads of nations for thousands of years. Consequently, there have been many foreign invasions during its long history, and each time the foreign invaders achieved victory, as in the case of Alexander, the Arabs, and Gengiz Khan, the country was destabilised for hundreds of years, ruled by foreigners, and depleted of its resources. So historically some important forces have existed that have had control over the social and economic realms—and even the individual lives of Iranians. The following verse by the acclaimed Iranian poet and thinker, Hafez (1325–1390 C.E.), reflects this way of thinking:

Since destiny was decided without our presence, if life is not completely to your expectation do not complain. What happens in life is attributed to fate. In the case of the present research, this belief was obvious. Among the informants, fatalism was evident, and they referred to their entrepreneurship as a result of destiny. On the one hand, they have chosen to become self-employed and start up their catering businesses. However, it has been a consequence of a series of socio-political circumstances over which they had no control (e.g., Iran's revolution, conditions of being a refugee, etc.). As seen before, the informants' decision for entrepreneurship has not been only due to push factors or only due to pull factors, but rather a result of both. The cultural belief of respondents in fatalism made it easier for them to come to terms with the hardships of life and the reality of life after migration. After being pushed by the necessities of life after migration, they grab the opportunity of self-employment. These people could be called 'fatalist entrepreneurs'. Nevertheless, this belief in fatalism, caused by a national historical experience of a lack of control over life, caused these people to believe that they need to seize every opportunity in order to initiate change and improve their lives. These 'fatalist entrepreneurs' choose self-employment with the worldview that one has to accept that there are many occasions in life when fate decides and you are only the actor of fate who implements the predetermined decisions.

According to Hofstede's national cultural dimensions (1980), Iranian culture has high uncertainty avoidance. This cultural characteristic is in accordance with the above discussion. A country with a less socio-politically stabilised history leads to a reluctance on the part of its people to face uncertainties in life as they have had enough experiences of uncertainty imposed on them by external forces. Consequently, they seek to provide a life for themselves and their families with less uncertainty. Although entering self-employment involves risk and uncertainty, it is also a gateway towards a less uncertain life. As a result of their involvement and acquaintance with this business as employees of catering businesses before starting up their own businesses, they have experienced the risk involved, and to them it is a calculated risk. To them, the uncertainty that characterised their life before self-employment is higher than the uncertainty of entering entrepreneurship. They do not see any certain future in being a recipient of government benefits. Instead, they see how the lives of their co-ethnic pioneers who have chosen entrepreneurship are more secure and stable.

The search for pluralism, equality, and justice was found to be one of the other principles in the informants' remarks. Emphasizing the importance of humanity and accepting people from all nations and ethnicities shows the level of these migrant informants' desire to live in a utopian society in which there is no racism, segregation, and sectarianism. Different resources such as literary and religious texts that nourish Iranian cultural identity were used by the informants to express their views on justice.

The respondents brought up the issues of justice and equality and related them to their own situation and to the racism they receive on a daily basis in their work places. When located in a new society as minorities, these beliefs and values become more highlighted in the minds of these individuals. In their views, social structures are agencies that do not facilitate justice and equality. Subsequently, according to them, they have not been given the opportunities to position themselves based on their human capital. Bearing in mind that these informants are highly educated people, they see the ownership and management of a catering business as a waste of their human capital. They feel that this capital

could be put to a better use if they were located in a more just environment in which social and employment exclusion were less evident.

The findings revealed that to the informants the values of working hard and perseverance, the value of education, and the value of intangibles in life significantly affect their view of life. These values affect their decision for self-employment and influence the meanings they attach to their businesses. The value of education is highly emphasised by the informants. Often, the main reason for them to choose self-employment with all its difficulties is for their children to be able to get a good education. They explicitly expressed their wish for their children to not become like them (owners of catering shops) and to be able to use their education in order to experience a more just and equal life in which they can use all of their human capital.

The aforementioned worldviews and values are fundamental cultural principles based on which these ethnic entrepreneurs associate meanings and values with their entrepreneurship. These contextual horizons define the boundaries of the EE phenomenon from the perceptions and narratives of ethnic entrepreneurs themselves. They have used entrepreneurship in order to come close to justice and equality in the unjust conditions they experienced as refugees/migrants. EE also has been used as a facilitator of fate. Even though they feel they have not been able to utilise their human capital to the fullest as a result of uncontrollable circumstances, they have used EE to achieve the best place they can within the predetermined circumstances defined by fate. Working hard is a value in their culture, and the importance of family and the role of the father in the family give them the esteem to labour at being entrepreneurs to achieve a better, more certain future.

6.3. Immediate horizons of the phenomenon

6.3.1 Conditions leading to entrepreneurship

The findings suggest that both push and pull conditions work together to create an environment for the creation of EE. This study shows that rather than being separate, the push and pull factors together form a continuum. All of the owner-managers mentioned a combination of these factors as a result of which they created their businesses. The higher self-employment rate of ethnic minorities might be attributed to these social disadvantages and considered to be a response to labour-market disadvantages by ethnic minorities (Clark and Drinkwater, 2000). However, the basic underlying reasons are the push conditions, which prepare the initial context for the creation of entrepreneurship. After this push, the pull conditions come into play. Labour-market exclusion is the main push factor that creates the necessity for ethnic minorities to work in informal markets. Figure 6.3 shows the identified influences on ethnic entrepreneurial development. The same model could be used in the mapping of EE in general, which provides an understanding of EE in other contexts and for other ethnic groups.
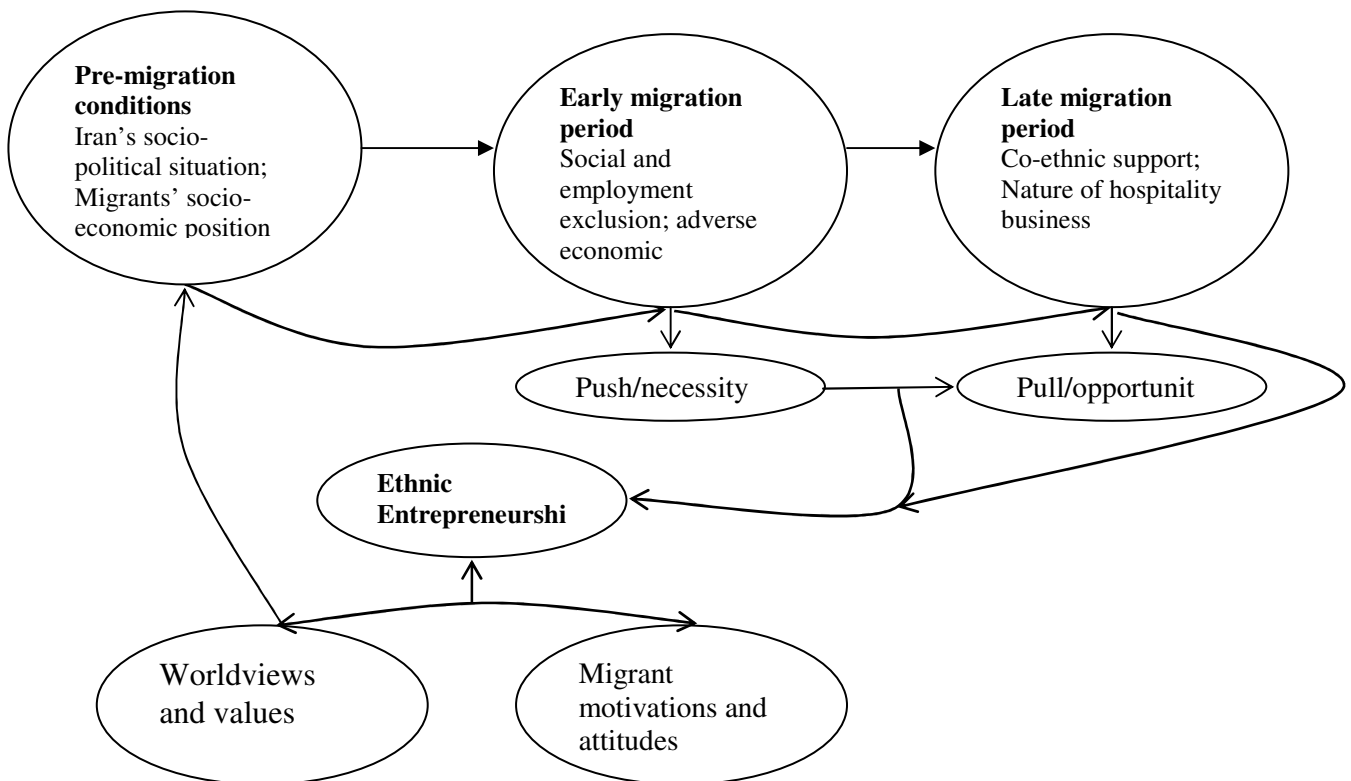

Figure 6.3. Identified influences on ethnic entrepreneurial development

Source: Own figure.

6.3.2. Push social forces

According to the findings, political unrest in the home country has had a direct effect on the creation of push conditions for entrepreneurship. Those respondents who had been studying in the UK at the time of Iran's revolution experienced a sudden cut-off of their tuition fees sent from Iran. Subsequently, they started to work in order to be able to continue supporting themselves. Political instability in Iran at the time of the revolution and the immediate war between Iran and Iraq not only stopped their support finances but also gave them the feeling that it was not a good time to go back to their country. Therefore, the decision to stay in the UK after graduation was influenced by their country's political situations. A lack of employment opportunities for these graduates (UK graduates, mostly in engineering) in the host country has resulted in their self-employment.

The findings showed that one of the main conditions that pushed the ethnic minorities towards entrepreneurship was the limited employment and social opportunities for them in the host society. The annual report of the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (2005) pointed to the existence of discrimination against immigrants in the labour market. Employment exclusion and lack of employment opportunities lead to working for other small businesses. This, in turn, creates unsatisfactory situations due to the hard labour with low income, which leads to the decision for self-employment.

A migrant condition upon arrival is found to be another factor that creates a push for ethnic minorities to enter entrepreneurship. Upon arrival, this group of ethnic minorities are not entitled to employment as they are mostly refugees or asylum seekers. The restrictions applied to asylum seekers create a condition of financial struggle. To this, add other limits such as the lack of credibility of their academic qualifications in the UK. Hence, the pressure of providing for the family is increased. Tharmaseelan et al. (2010) also suggest that after migration, ethnic minorities are subject to a variety of contextual constraints such as societal (e.g., racial discrimination), legislative (e.g., accreditation of qualifications), and

organisational (e.g., hiring policies). The authors add that in these new constrained environments, ethnic minorities are faced with major challenges to their careers.

It was stressed by all of the informants that their initial intention before migration and after arrival had not been to work in a kebab shop or even to open a take-away in the UK. They had greater dreams, and in fact if they had had the opportunity and had they not felt financial, cultural, and social pressures, they would have preferred not to work in such a business. However, with the abovementioned push conditions, they took the route of working for take-aways, which was not their preferred choice or intention. Accordingly, they carried on this route and went a step further to build up their own businesses and become self-employed. In accordance with this finding, the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) report (Harding et al., 2005: 42; Hussein et al., 2007) also found a high early stage of entrepreneurial activity for ethnic minorities. The strong positive attitude of ethnic minorities towards entrepreneurship is viewed by the informants as a result of the likelihood that many new immigrants or even UK-born ethnic minorities may be in lower-wage employment. Hence, entrepreneurial activities, including initial self-employment or ultimately creating employment for others may be a rational choice of career that enables higher levels of self-actualisation and remuneration.

The disadvantage theory (Sections 2.4.3, 2.4.4) also views the creation of EE as a result of significant disadvantages experienced by ethnic minorities upon arrival, which steer their behaviour. In the disadvantage theory, the lack of human capital such as deficient language skills, low level of education, and lack of experience are viewed as being among the reasons that ethnic minorities are disadvantaged in the labour market and their upward mobility is blocked. As a result, they are pushed towards entrepreneurship in marginal niches in the economy, which enables them to overcome the abovementioned barriers, get through those blocked opportunities, and gives them the chance for upward social mobility (e.g., Wauters and Lambrecht, 2008, Sections 2.4.3, 2.4.4).

However, the findings show that in the case of this research low education or lack of skills has not been the case for most of the participants. Most of the respondents were graduates of Iranian or UK universities. In fact, some of the interviewees mentioned that, at times, some of their employees have been newly migrated ethnic members who'd had Ph.D. degrees. Yet, as a result of other blocked opportunities—not due to a lack of human capital—these people worked in catering shops to earn extra money. Therefore, unlike the literature in the case of this research, it is not lack of qualifications or low levels of education that hold ethnic minorities back, or even language skills, as by the time they open their own businesses they are fluent in English. Therefore, unlike the disadvantage theory, which gives the same weight to low human capital as other structural barriers that hinder ethnic employment, this research argues that human capital does not play as important a role in blocking ethnic opportunities. The informants of this research with high human capital were still pushed towards self-employment and out of the societal employment system. The present research argues that while human capital is a necessary fact in attaining employment it is not a sufficient fact and that there are other, more important factors in play. Ethnic minorities have a greater propensity to partake of higher education than Whites; however, they conversely experience higher levels of initial unemployment (Smetherham, 2005; Nabi, 2003) or poor pay (Connor et al., 2004). Smetherham (2005) notes this fact is conspicuous by their absence from large-firm recruitment intakes. They are also more likely to be over-educated or underemployed than the White population (Matiz Bulla and Hormiga, 2011, Nabi, 2003). It is not certain whether education or social class cancels out the 'ethnicity effect' (Hussain and Scott, 2006: 42).

In EE literature, a series of various blocking factors are recognised and considered important, but the difference in their influence in different situations is rather neglected in most studies. In the case of this research, however, it is found that racial discrimination as a blocking factor is more important than other factors. It seems that racial discrimination overshadows an important factor such as having qualifications. This important finding of the present research can be explained through the concept of the 'glass ceiling' (Cotter et al., 2001). The glass ceiling (Powell, 1999) refers to the social barriers that cause minorities and women to

hold jobs with less authority and rank than White males. This concept refers to situations in which, as a result of different forms of discrimination, mostly sexism or racism, the advancement of a qualified person within the hierarchy of an organization is stopped at a lower level. The glass-ceiling effect refers to the limited opportunity for advancement for these groups of people (Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995; Reskin and Padavic, 1994). It is defined as 'a barrier so subtle that it is transparent, yet so strong that it prevents women and minorities from moving up in the management hierarchy' (Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990: 200). It is based solely on demographics (ascribed by the individual or others) rather than human capital (achieved) characteristics. The concept of the glass ceiling and its effects has been studied by different scholars who applied it to different ethnicities. For example, DelCampo et al. (2011) on Hispanics; Greve and Salaff (2005) on Chinese immigrants; and Boyd and Thomas (2001) on Canadian immigrant engineers.

Despite the fact that the concept of the glass ceiling is used for advancement within the context of organisations based on the findings, this research argues that ethnic minority exclusion and discrimination prevent people with high qualifications and skills to experience another form of glass ceiling, even in cases of being initially hired into an organization. Hussain and Scott (2006: 42) also comment that 'it is not clear whether education or social class cancels out the ethnicity effect'. The findings of this research show that discrimination not only blocks the advancement of ethnic minorities in organisations but also blocks their movements into the organisation in the first place. Based on the findings, it seems that there exists an invisible blocked advancement for these people not only in terms of 'vertical advancement', which the glass ceiling implies, but even in 'horizontal' directions. One of the important findings of this research is that instead of a glass ceiling these ethnic minorities experience what this research names a 'glass cube', which confines them from all directions. The findings show that these ethnic minorities were only applying for positions equal to their qualifications or even lower, yet they were not successful in securing a job within an organisation in the host country. Based on the findings, this research argues that both vertical and horizontal advancements of certain groups of ethnic minorities

are blocked. This means that as a consequence of their ethnicity they are not even let into employment system in the first place. The same invisible, unwritten forces that limit the development of individuals within the employment system work to block them from even entering the system. Figure 6.4 illustrates the glass cube compared to the glass ceiling.
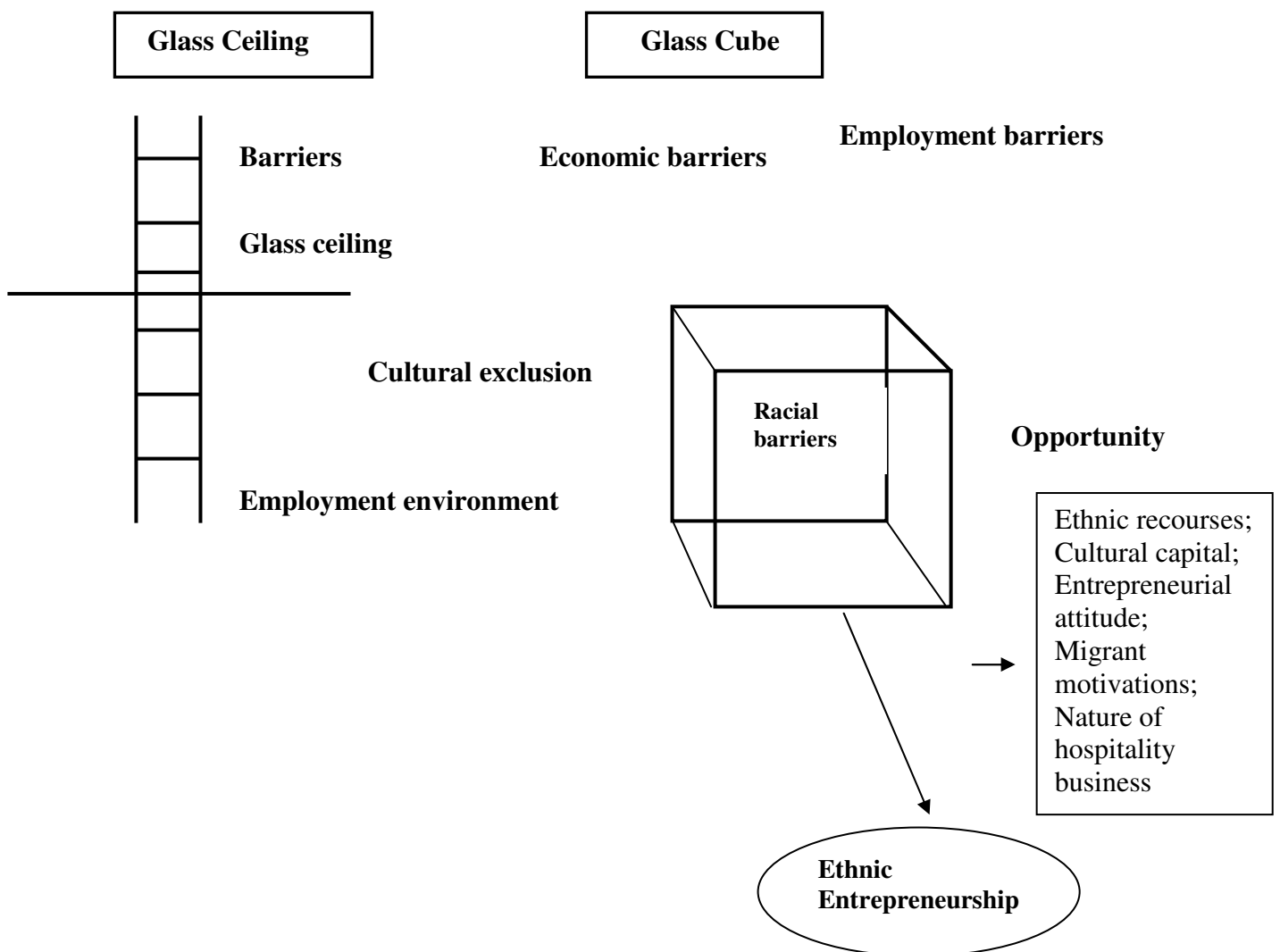

Figure 6.4. Glass Cube vs Glass Ceiling.
 Source: Own figure.

6.3.3 Pull social factors

Co-ethnic support

As previously discussed, in the EE literature there is a contention that lack of access to significant capital and lack of appropriate educational qualifications are the forces that draw ethnic entrepreneurs to the lower end of the market—such as catering businesses—and stress that these entrepreneurs principally can only establish themselves in low-entry-barrier businesses that are labour intensive and have small-scale production (Kloosterman and Rath, 2003). However, as shown earlier, the findings of this research do not completely comply with this viewpoint. In addition to the external structural push factors, the influence of the social capital and co-ethnic effect that has provided the informants with the know-how of this business is important in attracting them into this lower end of the market rather than the lack of education or capital. They have created their own niche in the market, and thus the kebab shops and take-aways are largely owned by ethnic minorities rather than indigenous entrepreneurs.

Co-ethnic support is one important pull condition for these ethnic entrepreneurs. Informal referral of the new migrants to the older co-ethnic business owners by the co-ethnic population immediately after the newcomers' arrival is the very first pull factor leading to business creation. Working in co-ethnic shops for a few years also creates an opportunity for these ethnic entrepreneurs to acquire the know-how regarding the management, challenges, and benefits of creating a catering business. Working for co-ethnics is a platform that gives the newcomers confidence and self-belief for entering into EE. This finding is in congruence with the literature on ethnic support and its role in creating opportunities for employment and self-employment of ethnic people. Previous studies (see Section 2.4.2) have also maintained that the co-ethnic network is a source of 'social capital' and that it positively contributes to creating employment opportunities for ethnic minorities in receiving countries (e.g., Munshi, 2003; Kahanec and Mendola, 2007). Menzies et al. (2007) suggest that this social capital provided by co-ethnic members provides linkages through which resources are created and

utilised to help co-ethnic people. These linkages further an understanding of the reasons for the creation of new ethnic businesses, their chances of survival, and in particular, the reasons why some ethnic communities are more successful than others in the realm of business (Deakins et al., 2005; Lyon et al., 2007a; Menzies et al., 2007). Informal co-ethnic networks may represent a cushion in terms of the support received from the community and a pool from which essential resources are mobilised. Through this, ethnic entrepreneurs are able to overcome resource constraints—for example, the ability to raise capital, identify suppliers and customers/markets, seek out and utilise materials, and recruit and manage labour (Deakins et al., 2005).

Nonetheless, all of these co-ethnic opportunities and pull factors are a consequence of disadvantages and exclusion that ethnic minorities face at the time of arrival. Therefore, it can be said that discrimination becomes a source of cohesion. In this situation, and in the case of this research, push conditions create pull conditions. As previously discussed, this research argues that push and pull conditions are twisted and combined, not separate from each other. The fact that discrimination creates cohesion corresponds with the literature (see Section 2.4.2). Co-ethnic support is a natural reaction to exclusion and 'othering' of ethnic minorities by the host society and acts as a means of avoiding ethnic discrimination and unemployment (Burstein, 1994).

Rejection of employment system

The push conditions, including experiences of exclusion and discrimination, have caused these ethnic entrepreneurs to realize that they would prefer not to be trapped in the webs of the employment system. Although they were initially looking for employment opportunities, after being excluded from the employment system and becoming selfemployed they were encouraged to reject the whole employment system. Their experiences as ethnic entrepreneurs push them to be willing to be their own boss in order to have independence and avoid further experiences of discrimination within the employment system. Rejection of the system created by their sense of 'othering' was a strong pull factor that resulted

in their decision to become self-employed. In this way, these ethnic minorities plan for their own future and become active agents who also contribute to the social and economic conditions of the host country by creating small businesses and employment opportunities for others. Kurtoglu (2007: 428) also points to the fact that 'immigrants from less-developed countries are not necessarily restricted to filling vacancies in the job market, but...they can be active agents and shape their own destinies by setting up their own businesses. Even if they are confined to lines of business with little promise, they are still actors in a very literal sense'.

Cultural role of gender

In the context of this research, the cultural role of gender influences ethnic entrepreneurial attitudes and behaviours to a great extent. Gender and its functions and attributes differ in each culture and can be viewed as a defining factor in shaping the conditions leading to entrepreneurship. It also defines the meanings associated with EE by ethnic entrepreneurs.

Hofstede (1991: 5) defines culture as 'a collective programming of the mind, which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another'. Culture is defined as a collective phenomenon shaped by people's social environment and not their genes (Hofstede, 1991). Consequently, cultural differences are products of national, regional, ethnic, religious, social class, language, and gender variations. Culture includes shared values, beliefs, and norms of a group.

In the context of the EE literature, scholars have emphasised the effect of the cultures of different ethnic groups on their entrepreneurial activities and attitudes (see Section 2.4.1). One of the significant features of Iranian culture—saving face or 'aabroo'—acts as a great driving force towards this group's entrepreneurial attitudes. Saving face is closely related to preservation of one's own and one's family's honour and social standing. In this case, downward social mobility of the migrants, or a social and economic fall in their positions in the host country (for example, working as an employee of co-ethnic people) is shameful and

disturbing to the migrant family's social standing and does not produce a desired social image. Therefore, this cultural concept creates a condition for the male figure of the family to create entrepreneurship. In their self-definitions, the respondents emphasised the cultural role of gender and also of saving one's face, both of which contributed to their decisions to choose entrepreneurship and to continue with self-employment.

The cultural and socially constructed role of gender shapes the informants' attitudes and actions towards entrepreneurship to a great extent. According to Hofstede's ranking (http://www.geert-hofstede.com/hofstede_iran.shtml), individuality is the lowest-ranking of Iranian culture. This is an indicator of a highly collective society. 'This dimension is manifest in a close, long-term commitment to the member 'group'—that is, a family, extended family, or extended relationships. The society fosters strong relationships in which everyone takes responsibility for fellow members of their group'. The findings show the important role of gender in ethnic entrepreneurship in the context of this research.

Most of the respondents of this research were family men (5 single men out of 35) who have the cultural burden of responsibility of providing an acceptable standard of living for their families. The responsibilities that these men as fathers and husbands culturally assume for themselves as the breadwinner of the family and the one who has to provide the family with a comfortable life create a condition that both pushes and pulls them towards entrepreneurship. This research argues that the cultural role of gender is an important deciding factor in defining EE. However, it seems to be rather neglected in conceptualisations of EE. Even within the culturalist approaches (see Section 2.4.1) in the EE literature, the emphasis is on the cultural traits of ethnic minorities such as solidarity, loyalty, strong family ties, work ethic, informal networks, economical living, etc., and the role of gender is ignored. Bycant-levent et al., (2003) found that 'gender' as a factor has a higher importance than 'ethnicity' in the characteristics and behavioural attitudes of ethnic entrepreneurs. This research, however, argues that gender and its roles are also defined based on ethnic cultural values and understanding and views gender as a culturally and ethnically defined concept and not an independent one. The present

study shows how these ethnic entrepreneurs are embedded in their cultural contexts and that their cultural values and characteristics have a great impact on their decision to enter entrepreneurship and on their entrepreneurial behaviour such as hard work and long hours for the sake of their families.

These fathers and husbands had aimed to make a comfortable life in migration for their families, and through entrepreneurship they have achieved this goal. However, they stressed that they have been prepared to sacrifice their own personal resources such as their physical and emotional well-being, health, and comfort, and to work long hours, seven days a week. As a result, they stated that they do not wish their children to become engaged in the same business. Among the ones with older children, none of the children were engaged in their father's business. They have either gone on to higher education or entered other businesses. This finding is in contrast to other ethnic entrepreneurs whose businesses are inherited by their next generation. In disagreement with the findings of Scott and Hussain (2008), these ethnic entrepreneurs have not and do not encourage their children to join their businesses, and thus they have not made their businesses family businesses.

In agreement with the studies of McEvoy and Hafeez (2006, in Hussain et al., 2010) and Jones and Ram (2003), however, these ethnic entrepreneurs' children have acquired a high level of education and in many cases have either avoided opening their own businesses or have moved into higher-value sectors. This is also supported by Hussain et al. (2010), who found that these children are able to position themselves in more profitable markets and higher-value businesses (Rusinovic, 2006) and engage in sectors distinct from the businesses of their parents. The findings of this study show that through fulfilment of their cultural role, these ethnic entrepreneurs (as fathers) have been successful in creating a desired future for their younger generation—the future that they could not achieve themselves in the host country.

In previous sections, the different socio-cultural contexts from which EE is formed was discussed. The phenomenon of EE and the experiences of living as an ethnic entrepreneur were disclosed through the interpretive analysis of narratives within a

phenomenological framework. To understand this phenomenon better, in the next section the essences of this phenomenon are uncovered through interpretive analysis of the participants' narratives. These contexts help in a deeper understanding of the essences of the phenomenon.

6.4. Essences of the phenomenon

6.4.1 Entrepreneurs' perceptions of the nature of business

Sector-specific characteristics

The findings show that the nature of business in catering is very important in shaping the perceptions and self-definitions of the respondents. The respondents pointed to certain characteristics of the catering business, such as low barriers to entry, as influential in creating opportunities for them to start their entrepreneurial activities and become self-employed. Low barriers to entry are one of the main characteristics of the hospitality industry, particularly in small accommodation and catering businesses, as they do not require specific education or skills (Morrison and Teixiara, 2004b; Jaafar, 2010; Le Blanc, 2010; Russell Arthur, 2011). Some researchers have proposed that only low levels of skill are required for carrying out hospitality jobs (Shaw and Williams, 1994; Reily, 1996; Rosemary Lucas, 2004). However, this assumption is questioned by other scholars on different grounds (Baum, 1996, 2006; Burns, 1997). Among 35 interviewees, only 2 of them had previous professional experience in catering businesses. The rest were qualified in other areas and only acquired the knowhow and skill to work and manage a catering business through working for a number of years after migration. They pointed to the importance of skill and experience in the success of a catering business. They also commented on the importance of utilizing their background education or work experience in other areas to make their entrepreneurial activity a success. Without that skill and experience, they could not have opened their own businesses or continued running them successfully for a

number of years. The respondents pointed to the fact that there is a wide range of different catering businesses and that within the business there is a hierarchy. They stated that although all of these can be small businesses, running and owning a restaurant differs from a coffee shop or a kebab shop. Each of these businesses requires its own social and managerial skills, although they are counted as one catering hospitality business.

One other important essential characteristic discussed by the respondents was the fact that a catering business is a 'shortcut to wealth', and with limited recourses, such as little initial investment capital, the entrepreneur is able to accumulate a good amount of wealth and change his and his family's life and improve their social mobility in a relatively short time. A number of respondents also mentioned that having a co-ethnic friend as a partner is a good option when opening up the business in order to reduce the amount of initial investment needed and divide the amount of work. At the time of the interviews, only one of the interviewees had a partner, and the rest of them mentioned that the disadvantages of having a partner are greater than the benefits, so they preferred to work alone.

Challenges of ownership

Exhaustion of physical and emotional resources of the owner

The findings of this study show that one of the greatest challenges of ownership and management of a catering business is the lack of a work-life balance (WLB) in the lives of these ethnic entrepreneurs. Lack of a good WLB is a consequence of working long hours every day and a high level of responsibility associated with the nature of the job, which involves giving food and service to the public as well as managing staff and customers. This is another important defining feature of the hospitality industry—it is a time-consuming business creating work-life balance issues for employees (Baum, 2007; Kandasamy and Ancheri, 2009). Very limited family time, as well as physical tiredness, which are results of the hard physical work in the kitchen, has adverse effects on the owners' physical

and emotional state. Having a micro-business with few employees also results in having to work in the kitchen whenever it is needed. A study by Pocock et al. (2007: 2) shows that longer hours of work 'are consistently associated with worse work-life outcomes on all the work-life measures'. Moreover, a great portion of these hours are unsocial, which often means that there is little flexibility in the way that workers conduct their family and social lives (Deery and Jago, 2009).

Respondents emphasised the high level of pressure involved in ownership and management of a catering business. This pressure is a consequence of intensive and long hours of work and lack of WLB, as well as dealing with employees and customers (especially those with racist behaviours) on a daily basis. The simultaneous nature of production and consumption and demand fluctuations (Crawford-Welch, 1994) are among the hospitality characteristics leading to more pressure for the owners of microbusinesses. The negative emotions of the owners towards the job were a result of the nature of this business. It is not desirable to cover different roles (cooking, cleaning, and serving) in a job and to work beside the deep fryer for long hours. Guest (2002), in an overview of the study of WLB, argues that there are three key areas. The first is the pressure and intensification of work, which are a consequence of different factors such as the need for quick responses and the importance given to customer service and 'it's implications for constant availability' (p. 257). As a result of the intensive nature of these businesses and the fact that they operate long hours of the day and even during late hours at night, this kind of pressure is intensified and magnified.

A second cause of concern according to Guest (2002) is the quality of home and community life. Guest argues that the growth of single-parent families, greater affluence, and the privatisation of family life have contributed to the deterioration of family life. The social pressure to 'keep up with the Joneses' results in longer and more intensive working hours and more significantly in unsocial hours, and therefore lowquality family time. In the case of the present study, however, it is more a cultural obligation and pressure to keep up with the

financial and social levels of life before migration that pushes the father/husband towards long hours of intensive work.

The final concern Guest (2002) raises in relation to the WLB is that of the attitudes and values of people. The values, worldviews, and attitudes of the entrepreneurs of this study have been recognized as important in defining the meanings of EE. Guest's final suggestion also agrees with this finding. The belief system and cultural and religious values influence the working attitude and behaviours of these ethnic entrepreneurs and accordingly their work-life balance.

Mulvaney et al. (2006) suggest that less attention has been given to researching the impact of WLB in the hospitality area. As mentioned, a lack of WLB in the hospitality sector is a result of the hard and intensive nature of work. Pratten and O'Leary (2007) point to poor physical conditions, low pay, and strict kitchen rules as causes of chef shortages in the UK. Evidently, in these businesses with a lack of WLB, maintenance of a certain lifestyle is not easily possible.

Staff issues

The hospitality industry is known for having complicated and complex human resource conditions. As a result of the characteristics of the industry, such as low barriers to entry and low or semi-skilled job requirements, it does not enjoy a stable labour market. In the hospitality industry, to minimise costs, flexible working practices, including multitasking and multi-skill jobs, are common (Baum et al., 2007; Lai and Baum, 2005; Lucas, 2004). Especially at the low end of the market, such as cleaning, serving customers, and basic cooking, which is the case with this research, the jobs are labour-intensive and low paying, with long, unsociable hours and poor career routes, resulting in high levels of employee turnover (Delfgaauw, 2007). These hospitality jobs are also stressful as a result of their intensive encounters with the customers. A high level of unpredictability regarding staff departure is a major challenge of ownership in this type of business. The abovementioned characteristics create an environment with little trust in employees. The respondents pointed out that this is a source of pressure

for them. For the entrepreneur, the ripple effect of employees' unpredictable departures is finding new staff to replace the old ones.

Cultural issues pose a different set of problems in relation to employee matters. Staff are diverse and from a variety of cultures. The management of cultures is another challenge of this job. The clash or encounter of cultures between different employees as well as with the owner-manager is found to be a challenging everyday task for these ethnic entrepreneurs. In addition, some of the interviewees pointed to the more difficult and complex nature of employee relations when the employees are co-ethnic members—i.e., Iranians. The interviewees mentioned that some of the co-ethnic employees have higher expectations due to co-ethnic ties and that firing them is more difficult. However, co-ethnic employees have some advantages such as being more trustworthy as a result of being referred by the co-ethnic community and having the same language and culture, which makes them more attractive for recruitment.

Customer issues

Customer issues are among the biggest challenges for these owner-managers. Racist behaviour and attitudes of customers are discussed (Section 6.2.3). The nature of the catering business, which is service-intensive work, demands interaction between customers and service employees (Barger and Grandey, 2006; Gronrose, 2007). The hospitality encounter is intangible and can therefore easily become a social pressure for providers of the service, especially when the parties are from different cultures. Czepiel et al. (1985) comment that these intangible encounters provide social roles and human interactions that are important to society as a whole. Normally, there exist behavioural boundaries in encounters between customers and employees (Nickson, 2007). While service providers are required to be friendly and polite, customers are similarly expected to respect and understand the boundaries of their relationships with the service providers.

As discussed earlier, these unwritten social codes are breached in the environment of the researched catering businesses by some racist customers, and this adds to the

usual pressure that exists in the service-providing environment with high levels of human interaction. Racist behaviour, a lack of respect, swearing, and throwing rubbish in the shops not only affect the owner-managers' mental and emotional state but also affect the whole atmosphere of the business and other customers. These encounters have direct implications on the larger society in that other customers can learn that it is possible to behave differently within the space of these ethnic businesses and to step on the invisible rules of customer behaviour. Hospitality is a 'people' business and there are complex interpersonal relationships involved in every service encounter; thus, there is more pressure on ethnic entrepreneurs regarding customers. Managing customer relations in these situations is a complicated and intensive task for the ethnic entrepreneur. The ethnicity of the owner-manager and the interplay of culture and management are considered important (Ram et al., 2000). The cultural differences between customers and most of the employees and the owner-manager add to the complexity of the dynamism of ethnic businesses, and these differences (Guerier, 2008; Kusluvan, 2003) become one of the challenges that ethnic entrepreneurs have to meet in running their businesses. Since take-away businesses are usually owned and managed by ethnic minorities, they have become a target for physical, behavioural, and verbal racism, which leads to further marginalisation of this group of people. Figure 6.5 shows the effect of sector-specific characteristics on the EE phenomenon.
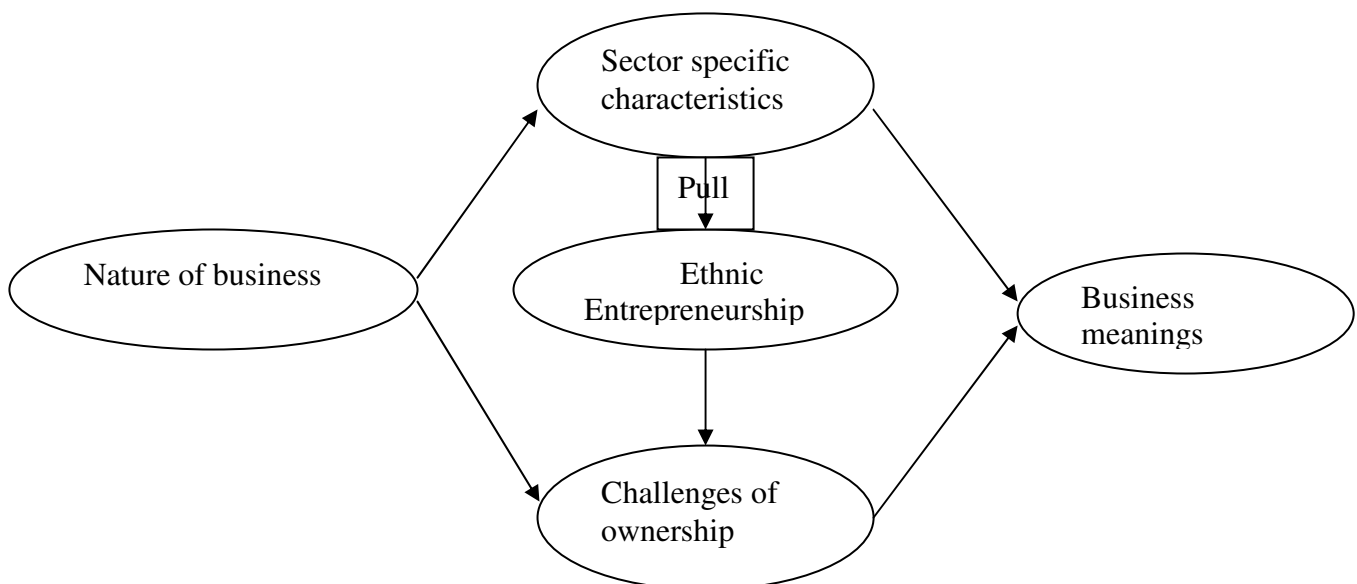

Figure 6.5. Role of business characteristics in defining
EE. Source: Own figure

6.4.2 Business meanings: Entrepreneurs' view

Business orientation—general view of business

The findings show that there is a feeling among respondents that the job is low status with regards to their social background and educational and qualification profile. Owning and managing kebab shops, take-aways, or other hospitality catering outlets is not what they were doing or even prepared to do in their homeland. The individual's social standing after migration drops dramatically; however, through entrepreneurship they redeem this downward social mobility to a great extent even though it is not what they desired to be doing when they migrated. This is among the reasons that the findings showed that there is a tendency among the respondents to have a temporary view of the business.

Those respondents with fewer years of business ownership stated that they do not look at this business as a permanent job and only view it as a temporary stage of their career. Moreover, those who have been in this business for more time also stated that they never had the intention to stay in it. Therefore, entrapment becomes another important meaning associated with EE. It means that these ethnic entrepreneurs started their businesses as a temporary solution to their newly established lives in the host society, with a view toward accumulating some capital and moving on to other businesses. However, as a result of external circumstances and not their own desires, they stay in the business out of practicality and become entrapped in it. Experiences of co-ethnic people who had left the business and could not survive in other businesses have had a great impact on their decision to stay in this job. Five of the respondents stated they had tried other businesses and returned to this one after not being successful.

Economic view of business

The findings showed that the informants' business orientations do not completely conform to the conventional model and understanding of business, nor does it conform the lifestyle business patterns that have emerged from hospitality and

tourism business studies. Conventionally, characteristics that are associated with growth orientation are related to small-business objectives (e.g., Burns and Dewhurst, 1996; Bridge et al., 2008). However, the issue of growth in the context of small businesses is a multidimensional and complex matter (Scase and Gofee, 1989) that encompasses a variety of factors, including owner-managers' intentions and competencies and internal and external structural recourses and infrastructures (Storey, 1994; Glancey, 1998; Shaw and Conway, 2000). The findings of this study show that growth is not the priority of most of the interviewees. In fact, the majority of them stated their intention of leaving the business as soon as they could accumulate their desired amount of wealth. The main reason for their intention to stay small was found to be the time-consuming and hard nature of the job, which leaves them with little or no family and personal time. On the other hand, their business orientation also does not conform to the image presented of micro and small hospitality and tourism businesses, which is the preference for lifestyle goals over commercial ones (Carlsen et al., 2008; Morrison et al., 2001; Getz and Carlsen, 2000; Getz et al., 2004; Getz and Petersen, 2005; Ateljevic and Doorne, 2000).

Contrary to the description given for lifestyle businesses (2.6.3), these ethnic businesses aim for profit maximisation, and the commercial and financial aspects of the businesses are the main focus of the ethnic entrepreneurs. If these ethnic entrepreneurs are not growth oriented it is not a result of their lifestyle choices, since based on their own perceptions in this business they already do not have a desired lifestyle. They are not growth oriented out of necessity: they cannot physically and mentally afford owning and managing more shops or bigger shops in this particular sector and if they did, their work-life balance would suffer even more.

The respondents' lack of orientation for growth is a result of their desire to maintain their lifestyle. However, the lifestyle they refer to is different from the one mentioned in Western literature about the Western lifestyle businesses in the hospitality and tourism sector. The Western lifestyle entrepreneurs are established based on preferences (over commercial focus) and protection of a certain lifestyle

(Getz et al., 2004; Thomas et al., 2001). Lifestyle entrepreneurs seek to enjoy a higher level of tranquillity and relaxation through their hospitality businesses. This is a rather luxurious lifestyle compared with the lifestyle the ethnic entrepreneurs of this study intend to maintain by not being growth oriented. To them, maintenance of a certain lifestyle means avoiding working in the kitchen, on the floor, and in front of the counter 18 hours a day, with all the physical, social, mental, and family-relation consequences. Compared with this, the Western mainstream tourism and hospitality-lifestyle businesses are upmarket businesses, while the ethnic hospitality businesses are inferior and down-market businesses with different lifestyle criteria. Thomas and Augustyn (2007: 228) indicate that the lifestyle concept has 'greater resonance in Western Europe'. This research however, takes a step further and provides evidence that even within Western European society the lifestyle concept is generally for those entrepreneurs who are originally from the West and less for non-White citizens of those countries with the same or even higher human capital. This research argues that lifestyle entrepreneurship is not a mere product of socio-cultural and economic influences of 'Western Europe' but rather is a feature of the lives of 'Western Europeans', who at one point in their lives reach a state of desire for escape from the everyday Western rat race and thus start lifestyle businesses. The present research tends to see the lifestyle concept as a social construct and an opportunity for a certain group of native Western Europeans, usually with good socioeconomic capital, rather than a social structure that is readily available in Western society for all people from different social, economic, and ethnic backgrounds.

As a result, this study argues that these ethnic businesses are not lifestyle businesses, nor do they fit into the conventional models of business (Table 3). They are not growth- oriented to maintain a certain lifestyle, but profit maximisation is important for them. The internal and external conditions of business and the values, perceptions, and attitudes of owner-managers, as well as their social and cultural contexts and the nature of the business are all among the factors which give meaning to the phenomenon of EE. Morrison and Textiara (2004) view lifestyle as an extremely elusive and qualitative concept, determined by values and

expectations that small business owner-managers largely select for themselves (Drucker, 1992).

Motivations for start-up

The findings show that there is a necessity-opportunity continuum in the motivations of these ethnic entrepreneurs for the start-up of their businesses. The push-pull conditions for the creation of EE were discussed in detail previously. Those conditions have acted as prerequisites of motivations and have created both push and pull motivations. The necessity push factors are foreground motivations, and opportunity pull factors are background motivations. As discussed before, as a result of the refugee living situation, these minorities have felt the necessity to pull themselves and their families out of that hard condition of life and have started up their own businesses. However, while their immediate motivations have been necessity and push factors, the appeal of pull factors such as self-employment benefits, which include independence, social position, and the flexibility of being one's own boss, have played a large role in the background as long-term benefits of entrepreneurship and self-employment.

Self-employment advantages such as being one's own boss and being independent, having flexible time at work, and gaining more money compared with other employment (Lee-Ross and Lashley, 2009; Beaver, 2002) are among the positive meanings these ethnic entrepreneurs attached to their act of entrepreneurship. In this case, unlike the conventional small hospitality lifestyle literature (Thomas et al., 2001; Lee Ross and Lashley, 2009; Getz et al., 2004) self-employment advantages have not acted as primary motivators for start-up because of the necessity nature of their motivation. Having flexible time, independence, and earning more money are primary motivations of start-up for those who are already employed. The self-employment advantages come to be important after start-up—not as primary motivational factors but as ongoing motivational factors. They gain more significance while the entrepreneurs experience self-employment and enjoy its advantages.

6.4.3. Perceptions of success

Lack of a set definition of success for small businesses is also discussed in the literature (e.g., Goldenberg and Kline, 1999; Collins-Dodd et al., 2005) and the findings of this research confirm those findings. If there is no agreed definition of success, it could be because of the heterogeneous nature of small businesses. This lack of an agreed-upon understanding of success and failure prompted Jennings and Beaver (1997) to suggest that there is a need for a more pluralistic notion of how success and failure are relevant to the small firm. According to this view, quantifiable factors, such as optimal performance, growth, and profitability should not be considered as synonymous with success (e.g., Gooderl et al., 2005). When a business becomes very personal, then the feeling of the business owner becomes important in defining success.

Success is a multi-dimensional construct, and especially in the context of EE, with its specific characteristics, beliefs, values, and objectives, the owner-managers' perceptions of success are also different. One might feel successful despite having no growth because one does not choose to grow. Walker and Brown (2004) note that viewing success as equal to financial gains is highly valued in most Anglo-Saxon cultures. The findings of this research also show that for other cultures there might be a different perception of success that is important not only in financial terms. In the present research, unlike conventional entrepreneurs and business owners, these ethnic entrepreneurs' perceptions of success were not wholly concentrated on economic and financial gains. Instead, their perceptions of success varied considerably, ranging from financial to extremely non-financial criteria.

The respondents' definitions of success formed a continuum including non-financial criteria such as being able to maintain one's dignity, personal and family happiness and contentment, being able to create a balance between family and business life, achieving life goals, and the success of their children. The evident diversity of the self-definitions of success given by these interviewees is a great indicator of the type of meanings and values they attach to and associate with their entrepreneurship. Traditionally, financial criteria such as profitability, growth,

and cash flow are used to measure and define the success of small businesses (e.g., Storey et al., 1987; Rishel and Burns, 1997). These ethnic entrepreneurs have created their businesses for financial necessity reasons with no lifestyle luxury motivation. However, their criteria and perceptions of success do not confirm to those of ordinary growth and profit-oriented businesses. Dewhurst and Horobin (1998) point to environmental factors such as the host country's social, political, and economic system as influential in start-up motivation.

The diversity of success criteria indicates that these businesses do not conform to conventional criteria defined by the literature in regards to success, such as growth and profit maximisation. The respondents' self-definitions of success show that in the case of this research, the ethnic businesses are complex phenomena that neither completely fit within conventional models of business nor fit within descriptions of lifestyle businesses in the hospitality sector. Analysis of findings showed how hospitality, due to its nature, creates a certain type of entrepreneurship that is context driven and depends on external conditions. It is shaped by necessity rather than opportunity in the first place. At the same time, the research targets a largely neglected area in hospitality studies, which is the take-away businesses within catering and a largely neglected population of newcomers to the UK— namely, Iranians, who have a different profile as compared with other ethnic minorities engaged in the hospitality sector. The discussion shows that a phenomenological context-driven framework helps in uncovering some of the hidden and neglected socio-cultural dimensions of EE in the hospitality sector. Table 3 shows a comparison of different business orientations.

Table 3. Comparison of Business Orientations

Type of business	Growth: concerned with survival	Profit maximisation: certain style of living	Necessity/ opportunity	Permanence: temporary (intended)	Lifestyle focus/ commercial focus	Escape from rat race/escape from poverty
Conventional	Growth	Profit maximisation	Opportunity	Permanence	Commercial focus	Not concerned with rat race
Lifestyle	Concerned with survival	Certain style of living	Opportunity	Permanence	Lifestyle focus	Escape from rat race
Present research	Concerned with survival	Profit maximisation	Necessity	Temporary	Commercial focus	Not concerned with rat race

6.4.4. Role of business

EE is embedded in the socioeconomic, political, and institutional environment of the host country (Kloosterman and Rath, 1999). The findings show that entrepreneurship influences different aspects of ethnic minorities' lives. It is not only embedded in the contexts of the host country but also within the pre-migration socioeconomic, historical, and cultural contexts. Diaz and Gonzalez (2005, cited in Matiz Bulla and Hormiga, 2011) suggest that the phenomenon of EE has social implications as these processes contribute to accelerating and normalising social, cultural, and economic integration. Upward economic mobility is only one aspect of the impact of entrepreneurship, which has a direct effect on the social aspects of the life of the family of the ethnic entrepreneur. EE is viewed as a

basis of ethnic empowerment and an opportunity for upward social mobility (Dana, 2007).

In the context of this research, the creation of a business for these ethnic entrepreneurs facilitates a better financial situation, and this in turn enables them to provide a better life for their families. From this perspective, entrepreneurship becomes a context within which ethnic persons achieve their dreams of getting closer to the financial situations they had in their homeland. The feeling of personal fulfilment and self-esteem is a result of this achievement. To be a businessman who is able to create employment for other people among the co-ethnic and local people is in itself a rewarding experience for these respondents. The social position of a businessman plays an important role in the self-esteem of these ethnic entrepreneurs. Being an active part of a society instead of a reactive part of the host society is the most important role of entrepreneurship. Through their businesses, they are no longer recipients of state benefits; instead, they are providing hospitality catering services for the society and also employing people. Ethnic entrepreneurs become a source of social capital for their ethnic communities. Different forms of social capital are provided through ethnic entrepreneurs. They build bridges to other networks outside the inner ethnic circle and create links with suppliers and customers, thus improving their chances of upward mobility (Waldinger, 1986).

EE not only helps in the basic social integration of the entrepreneurs themselves (as seen, the level of this integration is limited), but also allows them to act as social resources that create opportunities for integration of other members of their co-ethnic communities. Ethnic entrepreneurs can benefit co-ethnics through job creation and helping to alleviate unemployment among ethnic minorities. Minghuan (1999) suggests that ethnic entrepreneurs often act as self-appointed leaders of their communities. This is in convergence with findings of this research, in which ethnic entrepreneurs pointed to the creation of employment and more importantly to apprenticeships for their co-ethnic members as well as other members of the society as one of the important social roles of their entrepreneurship.

Since the entrepreneurs spend most of their time in their shops, the opportunity for social integration is created within the space of their businesses. The fact that they are business owners gives them the opportunity to get to know people of the host country. On the other hand, the research revealed that the same space produces the racist actions and hinders deeper levels of mobility and integration that were discussed before. Entrepreneurship thus plays a role in the respondents' cultural integration into society. The intensity of the interaction in the hospitality sector allows the minorities and the customers to come to know each others' culture.

Although the findings showed the role of EE in integration and social mobility of the respondents, it is important to note that the level of this integration and mobility is limited. The wealth created by entrepreneurship enables the families to have a better social position and more opportunities for future success. A better financial situation means the ability to move their family out of the council house area allocated by the government for refugees and asylum seekers and into a neighbourhood with better schools for their children. A few of the respondents pointed to the fact that they have put their children in private education as a result of their entrepreneurship, and some of them have provided private health care for their families.

At the time of arrival in the UK, these ethnic minorities experience a sharp downward mobility, and through entrepreneurship they gradually manage to climb the social mobility ladder. Although EE creates opportunities for a better primary or basic integration of ethnic minorities and their families into the fabric of British society, it is only to a certain level. The level of social position they achieve after entrepreneurship has a limit, and they can hardly pass beyond a certain level of social mobility. Nevertheless, this is only one part of the whole picture and it does not mean that they can achieve the social status they had in their homeland before migration. As discussed before, EE also exposes these ethnic entrepreneurs to different forms of racism that reinforces their social exclusion and prevents integration. Also, due to its sector-specific characteristics, EE causes lack of WLB and puts the entrepreneurs under physical and emotional pressure. This factor itself

leads to lack of time and opportunity to engage with a higher level of social and cultural activities and inhibits further social and cultural integration.

Section 6.2.2 showed that integration is a reciprocity process, and if the ethnic minority groups are perceived by the local people as the alien 'other', social integration is an incomplete process. Thus, the integration that the ethnic entrepreneur feels is limited and accordingly, the socio-cultural role of EE is also limited. The literature on the integration of migrants also argues the importance of the level of acceptance of the host society. For example, Alexander (2002) shows how Muslim minorities are widely depicted as 'alien others' in Western European societies. This attitude towards certain minority groups acts as a barrier to a better integration and mobility of these people into the new society. This reinforces their feeling of being a minority and the awareness of the fact that they are not fully accepted as a part of the society, and it creates a limit to their level of integration. Nevertheless, the respondents felt better integrated as compared with their pre-entrepreneurial period. This type of integration, which is often blocked with soft barriers from the host society, can be applied to the concept of the glass ceiling.

The application of the concept of the glass ceiling was discussed previously (Section 6.3.1). The glass ceiling and the processes leading to it as perceived by minorities and women do not happen within a social vacuum but rather within social contexts that often invisibly reward people differently on the basis of the social group to which they belong (Schroth and Shah, 2000). According to the present research, the glass ceiling effect is not only confined to employment issues and apparent in the employment system, but is also seen in the types of jobs minorities can choose and in the level and depth of their integration into the host society. As long as the host society sees the ethnic minorities as the 'alien other', their ability to integrate is not only blocked by the glass ceiling but also, as suggested before, by a 'glass cube' that limits their horizontal as well as their vertical advancement. Accordingly, this is a more socially broad glass cube that encompasses the original idea of the existing glass ceiling within the employment system and that is shaped by the social context in which it is embedded. Based on the perceptions and narratives of these Iranian ethnic entrepreneurs, this research

presents a deeper, socially informed account of glass-ceiling barriers that the researched ethnic entrepreneurs have experienced.

To sum up the role of EE, it can be said that the wider social barriers create invisible blocks towards the integration of ethnic minorities that push them towards entrepreneurship, which creates better but limited opportunities for the social integration of minorities. Although entrepreneurship contributes to minorities' integration to a great extent, as 'alien others' they are still faced with the invisible barriers of the glass cube to facilitate their integration. Entrepreneurship grants them a better economic position. However, they are still confronted with blocked mobility and do not have the opportunity to leave this necessity job and acquire a job in accordance with their true human capital (their education, expertise, and professionalism). As a result, there is practically no way out of this business and they are entrapped in the conditions that were discussed earlier. Within the glass cube, they have little opportunity for advancement in a variety of dimensions of the society. Therefore, while entrepreneurship helps towards integration, there are other external social and cultural barriers these ethnic minorities face.

6.5. Summary: A wholesome picture of EE and its meanings, roles and implication

This research showed EE is a context-bound phenomenon. It has uncovered a number of mechanisms that influence blockage of the informants' upward mobility in relation to EE. First, it is the ethnicity factor that creates conditions for ethnic minorities to experience blocked opportunities and start-up entrepreneurship in the low end of the catering sector. EE for this group of ethnic minorities is entrepreneurship with boundaries. Although entrepreneurship leads to a certain level of social and financial well-being, a series of invisible and intangible socio-cultural boundaries surrounds and creates obstacles for ethnic minorities, making it extremely challenging for them to advance beyond a certain point in the economic, social, or employment system.

Ethnicity therefore affects different factors and shapes the social and economic lives of ethnic entrepreneurs (Figure 6.6). As a result of being ethnic minorities, their human capital is not used in the host society and is wasted, as there are not many employment opportunities for them. Therefore, they are pushed towards the hospitality catering sector, with its long hours, hard physical work, and experiences of racism in the work place.
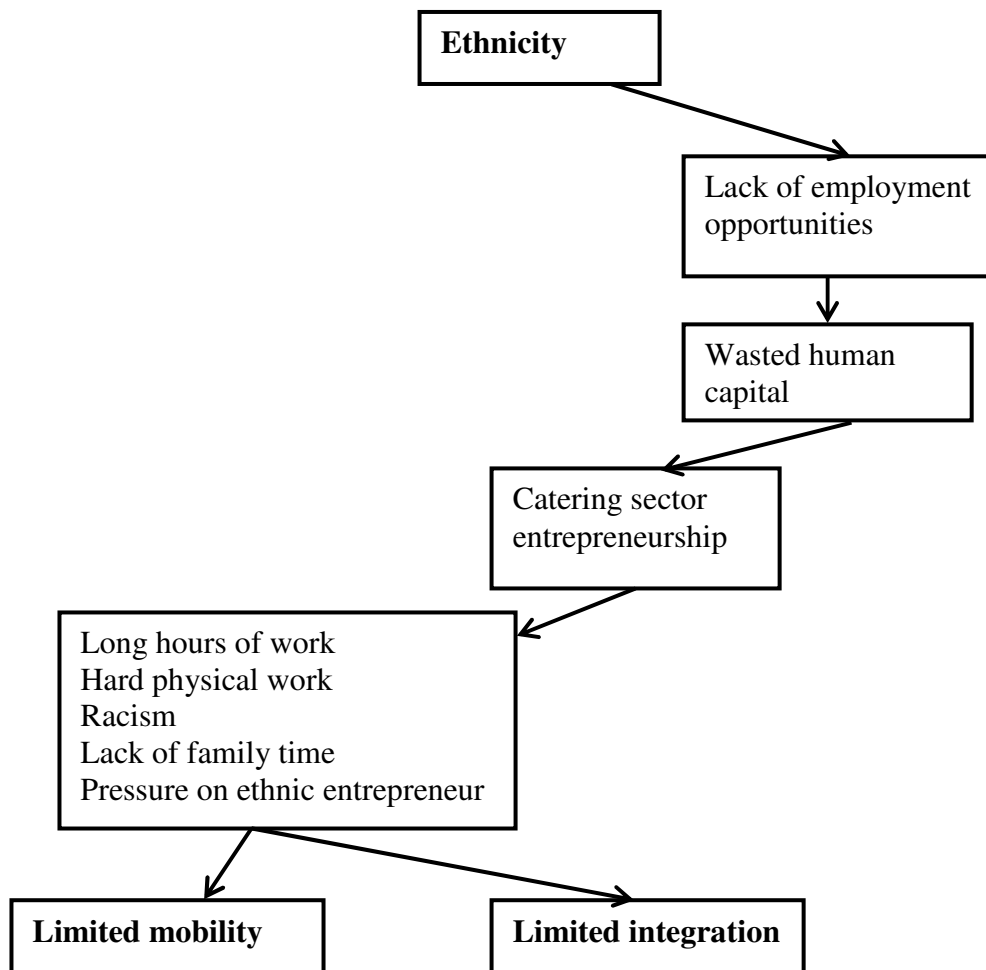

Figure 6.6. Effects of ethnicity in limited levels of integration.

Source: Own figure

Second, the nature of the catering sector strongly contributes to blocking opportunities for ethnic minorities. In the section related to the nature of this business (6.4.1), it was revealed that the hospitality-catering businesses are highly time consuming, with micro-businesses being highly demanding from a physical and emotional perspective for the owner-managers. These ethnic entrepreneurs have taken economic, social, and cultural risks and have created an acceptable life for their families through this business and are not prepared to risk leaving it in the hope of opening up another business in another area. They have experience of working (as employees) in catering shops and know the challenges of the job and enter it with this knowledge as a result of the necessities. As much as their family-centred culture is a strong factor influencing their decisions to undertake entrepreneurship, the same culture acts as a barrier that prevents them from leaving this already-settled business and entering another. This is the reason that among meanings these ethnic entrepreneurs associated with this business was their feeling of being trapped within it. The nature of this business along with the ethnic cultural characteristics and obligations create conditions that lead to the undesired staying of ethnic entrepreneurs in this sector. Unlike indigenous hospitality entrepreneurs, who often start their hospitality businesses such as restaurants, bars, café shops, etc., for lifestyle reasons, these ethnic minorities start for commercial and necessity reasons.

The explored functions, meanings, and roles of entrepreneurship for the respondents of this study show the destructive effects of entrepreneurship as well as its constructive effects. Unlike the traditional heroic image of EE, this research shows that entrepreneurship for these ethnic minorities is not the elixir that turns the copper of their lives into gold. For example, Blackburn and Kovalainen (2009) point to the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor as having an underlying ideological commitment to the promotion of entrepreneurship (GEM, 2006). The taken-for-granted and unquestioned assumptions about entrepreneurship and small-business creation, which promote a positive ideological stance for entrepreneurship and small business, are questioned by the findings of this research. The adverse effects of entrepreneurship on the physical and emotional wellbeing and social identities

of the studied ethnic entrepreneurs questioned the heroic image of entrepreneurship as the saviour and solution to their problems. In the case of this research the nature of business leads to a lack of WLB and greatly limits their presence at home. Also, this research shows that EE acts as a vehicle for more discrimination and racist behaviours and attitudes and reinforces social exclusion and alienation of ethnic entrepreneurs. As shown in this context, the spaces of hospitality can easily be transformed to spaces of hostility by customers. In this sense EE itself becomes a mechanism that hinders deeper levels of social mobility and integration of ethnic minorities along with other social external factors. While EE tackles economic and financial problems, this research, which is based on a critical in-depth analysis of the phenomenon, shows that entrepreneurship is not the ultimate answer to the problems as the problems are not always economic and small-business ownership could in fact create social, familial, and personal problems for the entrepreneurs. Therefore, entrepreneurship has both constructive and destructive effects (Figure 6.7). The constructive effects are more economic, affecting the lives of ethnic entrepreneurs' families and their socioeconomic welfare. The destructive effects are more socio-cultural, affecting the physical, emotional, and social wellbeing of the ethnic entrepreneurs themselves.
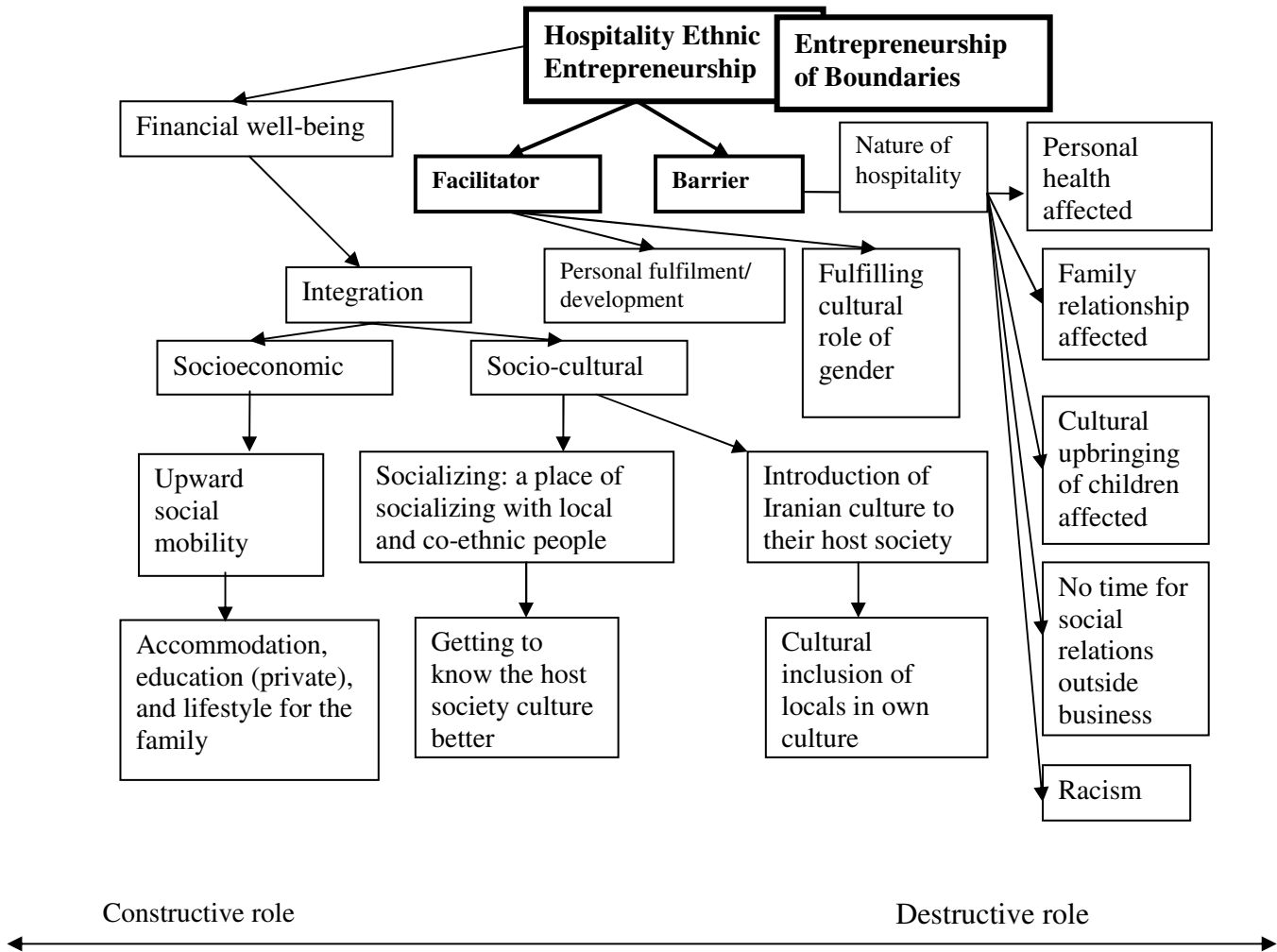
Figure 6.7. Conceptualisation of dynamism of ethnic entrepreneurship in hospitality.

Source: Own figure.

This research suggests that EE is a product of different contextual influences that take place in the axis of time and space. Different social, historical, cultural, economic, and political influences happen at different points on these two axes as humans move forward. At one point in time and place, all of these influences from the past and present interact and produce entrepreneurship. Of course, the personal traits, characteristics, values, worldviews, and human capital of the individual who moves on the axes of time and place and goes through those influences also has a great role in the creation of entrepreneurship. Opportunities and necessities constantly happen at different points of time and space according to different social, cultural, and political influences at different times and places (Figure 6.8). Within a complex and often ambiguous society, everything relates and connects to everything else, and everything affects and is affected by other factors. It is like a network of different complex systems that are in constant interaction with one another. Within this perspective, it is not only social, political, or economic systems that act as networks together but also the thoughts and actions of individuals that intertwine with all the other systems and lead to certain events or social phenomena. However, these socially interrelated elements are 'complex and adaptive networks or systems' that are composed of a series of interacting or interdependent entities and dynamic networks of relationships and interactions that are not aggregations of static entities. These form an integrated whole that is able to respond to environmental changes or changes in the interacting parts (Holland, 2006). Within this perspective, the world is viewed in terms of relationships and patterns rather than merely fragmented, unconnected parts studied in isolation from their contexts, and the phenomenon and its environment can be said to exist in a dialogic, inter-retroactive relationship (Montuori, 1998). Based on self-definitions of ethnic entrepreneurs and through a phenomenological conceptual framework, this research presents a deconstructed image of the EE phenomenon. It shows how the EE phenomenon acts in relation to many other complex situations, conditions, and factors, and how it can be better understood in light of these interrelationships, which reveal the influences in different times and places that shape ethnic entrepreneurs, their businesses, and their lives. The figure below shows the context-bound meaning of the EE phenomenon.
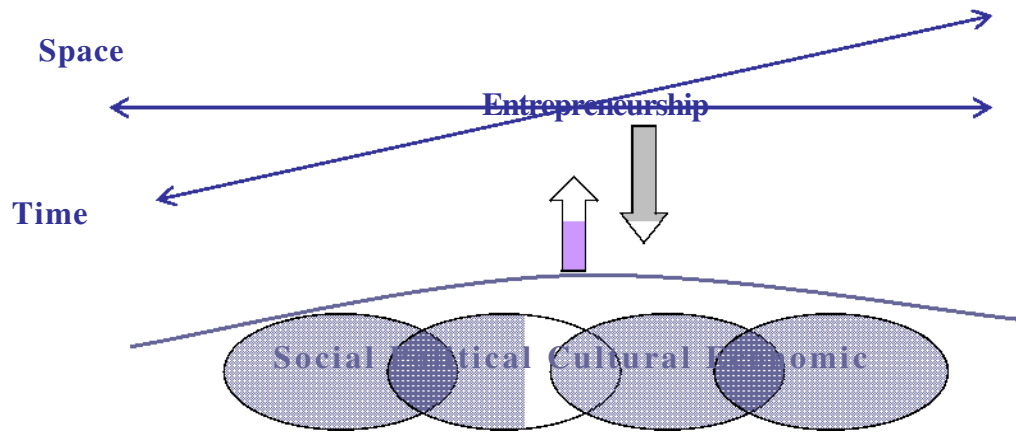
Figure 6.8. Contextual embeddedness of EE.

Source: Own figure.

7. CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION: Towards Wisdom

7.1. Introduction

This chapter concludes the thesis and collates the theoretical conceptualisations and methodological orientations with findings and discussion. Theoretical implications and contributions of research findings (7.1) are presented through reflections on the achieved research objectives. Further, this chapter discusses the methodological implications and contributions of the research and shows its achieved methodological objectives (7.2). This is followed by policy and practical recommendations (7.3). Future research (7.4) and research benefits and limitations (7.5) conclude this chapter.

7.2. Theoretical implications and contributions of research findings

This study aimed to explore EE from the perspective of ethnic entrepreneurs and to explore the meanings and values they associate with EE. It also aimed to explore the effects of EE on their lives in migration, and most importantly to focus on a specific, understudied group to address the diversity of ethnicities and to understand the group's possible distinctions.

Through the interpretive phenomenological framework, the objectives of this research were addressed. The adopted methodological framework and methods of analysis helped in exploring issues related to the objectives in a more comprehensive way. A review of the EE literature revealed that it is mostly based on taken-for-granted assumptions that view EE as the saviour mechanism for social issues. The gaps highlighted in the literature showed the need to question these assumptions and investigate the role of EE and the substantive meanings that ethnic entrepreneurs attach to their businesses. The literature also showed that there is a generalisation of ethnicities and that diversity within these ethnicities needs to be addressed. Moreover, most research in this field is done through

quantitative research, and more such research will shed new light on the area of EE.

The research therefore, uncovered those dimensions of the EE phenomenon that were not the focus of other studies. The adopted conceptual framework helped in the exploration of the lived experiences of becoming and being an ethnic entrepreneur in the catering sector through presenting the marginalized voices of this under-researched population (objective 1). The research emphasises the fact that in understanding the phenomenon of EE it is not sufficient to just focus on the mechanism and process of its start-ups, as most literature on EE has done to date. Business creation is only one dimension of the EE process. The present study went beyond the start-up process, examined the ongoing issues and challenges of EE as it affected the informants, and focused on the ongoing effects of EE on their lives. This led to exploring the essence of EE in the catering sector for Iranian entrepreneurs and, by focusing on the self-definitions of ethnic entrepreneurs, uncovered their conditions and situations in relation to entrepreneurship (objective 2). The unique experiences of these ethnic entrepreneurs were illuminated through the adopted phenomenological approach. It was revealed that not only are cultural characteristics and values of certain ethnic groups important in shaping their definitions of EE but the research also showed that EE is a phenomenon that is deeply embedded in pre-migration and after-migration social, political, historical, geographical, cultural, and economic contexts. These processes influence the phenomenon of EE and the social and personal worlds of the people who have lived the experience. Moreover, it was revealed that the specific sector (in this case, catering) is very influential in defining EE and the meanings and values it holds for the ethnic entrepreneurs (objective 3).

The epistemological perspective unravelled the racial experiences the informants have as ethnic entrepreneurs (objective 3). The position of the researcher as an insider and a part of this ethnic group helped in the deeper exploration of different dimensions and meanings of EE. Issues related to the cultural and social integration of migrants and contextual influences of racism and discrimination that

affect EE were discussed (objective 3). This led to an exploration of the meanings that Iranian ethnic entrepreneurs associate with the phenomenon of EE in catering based on their own definition of their situations and the role of ethnic entrepreneurship in shaping their personal and social worlds (objective 4).

As a result of the aforementioned discussions, the role of EE in the social and personal lives of Iranian ethnic entrepreneurs was explored. The phenomenon of EE was critically analysed. The concept of hospitality as a social lens were converged and utilised as analytical tools to uncover the meanings, implications, and roles of EE in the lives of the ethnic entrepreneurs. Analysis, findings, and discussions were all grounded in the data and self-definitions of ethnic entrepreneurs of their lived experiences. Through the adopted philosophical and analytic framework, the research critically analysed and questioned the conventional image of EE as a saviour of ethnic populations in the receiving society and a tool for the development and advancement of ethnic minorities. The research showed that EE does not always have constructive effects and could be a destructive force (objective 5). It shows that instead of a conventional, idealised portraying of the EE phenomenon, it is necessary to consider that EE is defined by ethnic entrepreneurs and in relation to the specific and different contexts within which it is embedded. As a result, the phenomenon of EE should be viewed and analysed in its contexts.

The broad field of entrepreneurship and small-business research has been dominated by an often unquestioned positive ideological stance towards small business and entrepreneurship (Blackburn and Kovalainen, 2009). The present research questions the place, position, and function of entrepreneurship and small-business creation by revealing the destructive effects of EE on the personal and social lives of the studied ethnic people.

Those studies that focus on the entrepreneurs and their characteristics for the analysis of EE lack rich analysis of these contextual conditions. Instead of looking at the entrepreneurial characteristics of ethnic entrepreneurs (the entrepreneurship field's conventional wisdom), this research has chosen to step over the set

boundaries by using a deep investigation of the entrepreneurs' definitions of their social and personal lives, based on their worldviews, lived experiences, and pre- and post-migration conditions. This research argued that in addition to their own personal entrepreneurial characteristics, ethnic entrepreneurs are to great extent products of the conditions and circumstances and are embedded in their socio-political, cultural, historic, geographical, and economic contexts.

Based on the findings of this research, including such conditions as social (downwards social mobility), economic (lack of sufficient income), cultural (roles of gender, saving face, and honour), historical (historical events such as Iran's revolution, war, and more recent green movement), and political (Iran's tight political atmosphere and the consequent social implications such as limited freedom), structural push factors and cultural pull factors interact with each other to create EE. EE literature (structuralist approach, interactive model, mixed-embeddedness) is focused on the structural factors only within the host country and their effects on creation of EE.

Through its theoretical findings, this research shows the complexity of the EE phenomenon and emphasises the contextual nature of knowledge in this area, which is a product of dialogic, systemic, and conjunctive ways of thinking that recognize that the phenomenon and the environment exist in a dialogic, interactive relationship. This research has added to the previous theories by emphasising the importance of exploring pre-migration contexts and conditions such as historical, social, and political factors and their ongoing implications on the EE phenomenon. It also stresses the effects of these factors on migrants' attitudes, behaviours, and aims. It shows that EE is embedded in the wider pre- and post-migration context of social, historical, political, economic, cultural, and ideological beliefs and value systems of the entrepreneur. It can therefore be explained through exploring the mentioned factors and contexts. Ethnic entrepreneurs are products of socially constructed gender roles, as well as their cultural and religious norms and values, and these contextual factors are important in uncovering the EE phenomenon. They also have considerable impact on the migrants' choice of self-employment and the meanings they attach to their act of entrepreneurship.

This research has challenged the conventional dichotomy between push/pull factors in defining of the EE phenomenon and has proposed that it is a complex combination of both forces that create EE. Instead it proposes that there is a complex interaction between these conditions. It is a chain of conditions consisting of the structural disadvantages as well as the advantages of cultural resources and opportunity structures that form EE for this group of Iranians. They have been able to turn disadvantages (working in 3-D jobs) to advantages (becoming self-employed) and utilise the push situation to become entrepreneurs. This research has developed the concept of the 'glass cube' to explain the different invisible structural disadvantages that shape EE.

By contextualising EE and studying it from a sector-specific perspective, this research shows that both the managerial and hard-labour aspects of hospitality and the conceptual, soft, and definitional sides of hospitality contribute to ethnic entrepreneurs' perceptions of entrepreneurship and their definitions of EE. The nature of the hospitality business influences the meanings and values ethnic entrepreneurs associate with their businesses. On the other hand, the meaning of hospitableness, the ethnic minority position as guests in the host society, and the entrepreneurs' position in their hospitality businesses as hosts confronting the indigenous population as guests also define their understanding of the essence of their business and entrepreneurship.

Within the hospitality field, lifestyle entrepreneurship is a popularised concept for the understanding and analysis of hospitality micro-businesses. As seen in the literature review, the lifestyle orientations of the hospitality small-business, owner-managers are widely acclaimed in the hospitality literature. However, this dominant perspective has been reached based on Western assumptions and criteria of lifestyle. The present study shows non-Western owner-managers, non-Western settings, and non-Western conditions produce different, non-Western criteria for lifestyle entrepreneurship. Through a critical discussion and analysis, this research strongly argues for these criteria and provides robust evidence to show how, for non-Western ethnic entrepreneurs, the concept and implications of lifestyle differs from the conventional Western concept. It argues that different settings and

contexts create different forms of hospitality businesses, which do not necessarily conform to either the traditional or the more recent popular images of lifestyle businesses. This research explains that these ethnic businesses do not conform either to the traditional model of business with growth and other economic criteria as the major objectives or to the defined lifestyle business criteria such as no profit maximisation and the preference for a relaxed and more tranquil life over economic gains of business. Instead, these ethnic businesses demonstrate complex dynamics that combine the criteria of both traditional and lifestyle businesses. For these people, lifestyle has a different meaning at a different level. The composite of their lifestyle orientations is very different from that of the native lifestyle-oriented entrepreneurs in the hospitality sector.

The present research shows that the nature of hospitality and its sector-specific characteristics, combined with conditions of ethnic minorities in the host society, forms a type of entrepreneurship with its own parameters. This is a context-driven form of entrepreneurship. Low barriers to entry in the hospitality industry pull the ethnic minority—who is also pushed outside the employment market—towards selfemployment by external disadvantaged conditions. Within this context, the entrepreneur as the hero is a production of circumstances and marginalisation caused by migration and ethnicity. However, the entrepreneur acts as an active social agent and turns the disadvantages to advantage by creating the opportunity of self-employment. The nature of the hospitality business also defines to a great extent the social, cultural, and economic meanings and values these ethnic entrepreneurs associate with their entrepreneurship. By focusing on the lived experiences and self-definitions of ethnic entrepreneurs in relation to their situations, the present research shows how new knowledge can be created by adoption of different conceptual frameworks and demonstrates the need for hospitality research that pays more attention to the diversity and contexts of different hospitality businesses. Take-away ethnic businesses comprise a considerable part of hospitality businesses that are present in every corner of our cities. However, this sector has largely been neglected in hospitality research, and this study showed the significance of considering this diversity in the creation of new knowledge.

Moreover, this research transcends the study of hospitality EE as a mere management unit and looks at the socio-cultural implications of hospitality in these small hospitality businesses. By utilising the concept of hospitality as a social lens (Lashley et al., 2007) and more philosophically oriented debates on the concept of hospitality, the current research has discussed the situation of these hospitality ethnic entrepreneurs, including their situations as commercial hosts and social guests and how the mechanisms of power and control work in conditioning, giving, and receiving hospitality in their commercial spaces and social spheres. It is argued that the inherent racism in society turns these micro-hospitality businesses into spaces where ethnic minority owner-managers understand their limited power and control in society and comprehend the level of the conditional hospitality they receive from the host country. The concept of 'take-away racism' was developed to explain the dynamism of racism in this particular context. Lack of practical support from responsible bodies such as the government and the police in racist incidents also enforce the level of this conditional hospitality.

7.3. Research findings and methodological implication and contributions

The EE field is dominated by research based on economic, entrepreneurship, and business management. These types of research are mostly placed within positivist and quantitative paradigms that are mainly informed by the economics and business-management disciplines, and they hinder critical knowledge creation. Most research in the area of hospitality research has also been constructed based on criteria for large business- organisation management, leading to the predominant use of quantitative methodologies within a positivist framework (Di Domenico, 2003; Pritchard and Morgan, 2007). Although the knowledge created by this body of research is tremendously valuable in producing technical knowledge that deals with the explanation of mechanisms, it does not provide a deep understanding of the meanings of the phenomena. The need for more qualitatively driven research was highlighted by EE scholars (see the Introduction and Literature Review sections). These epistemological (positivist), ideological (Western values), methodological (quantitative), and disciplinary (business management- and economics-driven studies) frameworks tend to overlook the

importance of contextual, socio-cultural, and historical political processes that give meaning to social phenomena (for example, EE). This study is significant in that it addresses this methodological gap in EE research and gives voice to the individuals.

The unquestioned positions of the taken-for-granted assumptions are attributed to practitioners' interest in seeking evidence to promote this type of economic activity (Blackburn and Kovalainen, 2009). This shows how certain interests can exert power and influence over the type of knowledge created by controlling and managing the ways and processes (positivist framework and quantitative methodologies) through which knowledge is produced. This study shows how questioning of those assumptions through a qualitative interpretive framework can lead to emancipatory knowledge. It uncovers new and veiled dimensions of a social phenomenon that could not be revealed through a positivist paradigm and quantitative methodologies.

This research shows how different epistemological approaches to the understanding of a social phenomenon can lead to the creation of new, more in-depth knowledge in respective fields. Utilising phenomenological perspectives adds to the enrichment of data analysis and interpretation of the findings and discussion. It facilitates a better understanding of the social phenomenon (EE) by uncovering hidden aspects and the emancipation of unheard and often-neglected voices of the studied ethnic entrepreneurs. These detailed narratives of the contexts and backgrounds, especially those belonging to the pre-migration period, helped in revealing new findings in the area of EE in the context of hospitality small businesses in the catering sector.

This research uses ethnic entrepreneurs' self-definitions aimed at exploring views of their conditions. The adopted conceptual and methodological approach fits with the aims and objectives of the study. Exploring the lived experiences of ethnic entrepreneurs and their self-definitions of their situations in order to explore and understand the phenomenon of EE is made possible by the phenomenological driven model placed within an interpretive framework.

Through the qualitative methodology and methods of data collection and analysis, it was possible to achieve the necessary rapport with the study subjects during the interview process to collect their self-definitions. Through a phenomenological-interpretive analysis, a framework was produced that allowed a detailed account of each individual ethnic entrepreneur. The framework provided a robust structure while making it possible to insert new themes as the analysis progressed and new data were explored. It also allowed for data expansion and interpretation. This approach made it possible to go back to original data if needed during the process and allowed insights into deeper interpretation. The process of interpretive phenomenological analysis using the framework based on emerging themes resulted in rich description and a deep interpretation of data.

The fact that the researcher was from the same country and spoke the same language helped methodologically in both the data-collection process—to collect deeper and more insightful data—and in the analysis process and interpretation of the data, which was culture specific and in the native language of the interviewees. Gender also had a methodologically important role in gaining access to and collecting rich data. An important methodological contribution made by this research was the use of 'strolling' as a methodological strategy for gaining access, with its implications with regards to the gender of the researcher as a female. Strolling was one of the main methods of gaining access. When a woman places herself in a male-preserve activity and space, the norms are deconstructed and the observations and experiences of the woman researcher, from gaining access to the interviewee to data collection and interpretation of the data, will be different from male researchers. These factors further the implications for giving voice to women researchers and addressing the invisibility of female experience in academic studies (Roberts, 1990). In male-as-norm perspectives, these methodological issues are not experienced.

Another methodological contribution of this research is its focus on an under-researched ethnic population of newcomers to the UK, namely Iranian entrepreneurs. There is very limited study on Iranian entrepreneurs in the UK, and

this research addressed this gap. Through its distinctive findings, the research argues that in the study of migrant populations, EE, as well the diversity of different ethnic groups, should be considered as important factors. Also, researchers should not look at different ethnic groups who come from different backgrounds under one umbrella. Moreover, this research draws attention to the largely neglected area of ethnic businesses within hospitality studies, particularly ethnic businesses within the catering sector, which is itself a neglected area of research in the hospitality field. The element of diversity within the hospitality businesses and among business owners should be recognised if we are to create a more detailed and precise knowledge of the mechanisms and dynamics of entrepreneurship in hospitality. Through its epistemological and methodological standpoints, which give voice to the respondents, this research helps in deconstruction of the conventional image of ethnic minorities. Local narratives presented by this research that echo the voices of these ethnic minority people living in the UK help make the host residents more familiar with their personal stories, pain, experiences, dreams, and backgrounds.

The significance of conducting and promoting this type of research, which produces local narratives and emancipatory knowledge and deconstructs grand narratives, has become particularly apparent in light of the recent increasing flow of migration to the West and, in the case of this study, to the UK. This research directly targets the problems and issues of ethnic minority entrepreneurs and reveals their hidden experiences. The phenomenological perspective of this research showed the importance of local narratives to help explore the underlying contexts in which the social and lived experiences of the ethnic minority entrepreneurs are embedded and formed. The findings of this study showed the continuous, living experiences that these ethnic entrepreneurs face on a daily basis.

7.4. Research benefits and limitations

The benefits and limitations of the approach adopted for this research should be acknowledged. In qualitative research, epistemological and methodological

transparency is important in the trustworthiness of the research. Specifically, assumptions and chosen paradigms, methodological processes, and methods of data collection and analysis should be transparent (Flick, 2009, 2007; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Each of these areas is explained in the different sections of the current study. Reflexivity and acknowledgment of the researcher's role in the research process also helps in the transparency of the work.

In-depth interviews as the basis for the analysis along with observations and the researcher's diary provide access to a detailed account of the ethnic entrepreneurs' worldviews and lived experiences. However, interview accounts are only narratives of the interviewees' situations at a specific point in time. In qualitative research, the small size of the sample and sampling techniques (non-probability sampling) lead to the inability to generalise from the qualitative findings. Interviews do not provide us with naturally occurring data (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996) since they are not naturally occurring interactions—they are set interactions for set purposes. The nature of qualitative data is, of course, narration. Nonetheless, the chosen methodology of each research component has to be measured and valued against the context of the research objectives. Since the main aim of this research has been to explore the self-definitions, perceptions, and lived experiences of ethnic entrepreneurs of the phenomenon of EE, this approach fits. The goal was to establish definitions of their own situations, their worldviews, and the values and meanings they attach to EE, as well as how they view their social, business, and personal lives as ethnic entrepreneurs.

Phenomenological research aims at exploring and uncovering the phenomenon's essences, and in-depth interviews that provide us with rich narratives of the participants' situations fulfil the purpose of phenomenological research. Self-definitions of ethnic entrepreneurs obtained through in-depth interviews also help in critiquing the dominant situation, highlighting the marginalised voices of the studied population, and initiating change. To use Geertz's term (1973), these narratives provide a thick description of a particular social situation that is unique to one group of people in their socio-cultural contexts.

7.5. Future research

This study showed how new knowledge can be created through study of the social phenomenon (EE) by taking account of the self-definitions of actors. It showed how EE is context driven and embedded in socio-cultural familial, historical, economic, and political contexts of pre- and post-migration. Further research could be built on the current study in a comparable setting for other ethnic entrepreneurs from new migrants to the UK—for example, Poles, Iraqis, or Afghans—to see if the findings of this study are applicable in other settings or not. This would demonstrate the extent to which the findings of this study, which are specific to one group of ethnic entrepreneurs in one specific sector, are applicable to other contexts. The data and findings of this research could also help in the formation of new research questions. In addition, further analysis with a different approach and framework could be carried out on the same collected data to reach new findings. For example, discourse analysis and narrative analysis could be applied to the raw data of this research for further and more insightful findings leading to new knowledge.

Similar research on the spouses and families of the ethnic entrepreneurs would be beneficial in gaining more insight about the phenomenon of EE. In the current study, the researcher managed to have an informal interview with four of the wives. Acquiring the experiences and insights of the families of ethnic entrepreneurs would help in building a deeper, more insightful knowledge about the phenomenon of EE and its role in the lives of ethnic minority families. This is particularly significant since it was found that family is a decisive factor in entrepreneurial activities and decisions such as lack of growth orientation.

A longitudinal study of the same population also could help in the creation of more interesting new findings in relation to the possible evolvement of these entrepreneurs' lives and their entrepreneurial activities. This is particularly useful in the case of newer minorities and younger entrepreneurs who have recently moved to the UK and have built up their own businesses in the catering sector. For example, the findings showed that they look at this business as a temporary job

that can act as a platform to move towards better opportunities in migration. A longitudinal study would show whether this is a dream or if the entrepreneurs can actually leave and move to other career paths as a result of the financial opportunities their businesses have provided them.

A similar study could be carried out on female ethnic entrepreneurs to investigate who composes this group of entrepreneurs and to look at the reasons for the lack of female entrepreneurship in the catering sector. Although these ethnic women are evidently queens of their kitchens at home, what social, cultural, or familial opportunities or barriers are experienced by ethnic women in entering entrepreneurship? Discovering the structural, social, or cultural forces that influence the types of entrepreneurship that ethnic women are or are not engaged in is worthy of further investigation.

7.6. Policy and practical recommendations

This research has made a contribution in giving voice to this extremely marginalised ethnic group of hospitality entrepreneurs. The epistemological orientation of the study allowed the analysis and interpretations to emancipate some hidden dimensions of the complex phenomenon of EE and its different roles and implications for the ethnic minorities under study. The policy and practical recommendations made in this section echo the voices of the interviewed ethnic entrepreneurs and are based on the interpretation of the findings.

One important contribution of the research was that it deconstructed the conventional wisdom that views self-employment and entrepreneurship as an empowering mechanism for ethnic minorities. Instead, the study revealed that EE has both positive and negative effects on the lives of the ethnic minorities. As a result of the qualitative nature of this investigation, it has been uncovered that as business owners these ethnic entrepreneurs go though different levels of exclusion and racism. The consequences of racism and social exclusion in the quest for integration of ethnic minorities were discussed as well.

The significance of contemporary issues of social inclusion and ethnic minority business in academic and policy discourse shows the connection between EE and socio-political contexts of the society. It is important for the policy to be informed by the developing empirical evidence based on these issues. Therefore, the high proportion of ethnic self- employment has not been only a result of the cultural propensities of these groups towards self-employment but should also be analysed against the background of political changes that relate to the disadvantaged position of ethnic minorities within the labour market. Dehistoricised and depoliticised accounts of EE cannot provide us with a complete picture of what has happened in the social scene of Britain. Also, racism has contributed in pushing these ethnic minority groups towards self-employment (see, e.g., Boyd, 2000). For the excluded ethnic groups, structural discrimination in the labour market has led in part to a response through self-employment in order to provide themselves with income and work. The issue of racism needs to be given more attention in EE discourse. Although a part of the literature discusses the disadvantages and discrimination, racism has not been treated in a deep manner in EE studies. The extent to which ethnic self-employment can contribute to combating the structural conditions causing social exclusion is questionable. Indeed, it should be investigated if EE itself, because of its embeddedness in the socio-political contextual structures, contributes to discrimination and can become a source of social exclusion. The policy initiatives that promote entrepreneurship as the vehicle of social inclusion need to recognize the multi-dimensional nature of social issues faced by ethnic groups in the UK and understand that EE may not be capable of tackling social exclusion and integration issues of ethnic minorities at all levels.

Therefore, it is necessary for those involved in making policy regarding ethnic minorities to target racism more accurately and to recognise its different manifestations in different settings. To confront a social phenomenon, it is vital to understand that phenomenon in the first place. This study uncovered and showed how racism in different forms and levels exists in this part of society (ethnic minority-owned businesses), where it is neglected and not much is done to address it. For the well-being of ethnic minorities, to facilitate a better integration

process for them, and to move towards a more balanced, safe, and healthier society, it is vital to recognise and prevent different forms of racism and promote a culture that creates and maintains harmony in society.

To gain a better understanding of what is going on beneath the skin of the society, it is important to explore and expand knowledge of those hidden layers. Policy makers can facilitate and promote this type of research. The present research, with its epistemological and methodological stance, allows exploration of hidden social issues related to marginalised groups in society. It helps in expanding knowledge of the experiences of these marginalised people and raises awareness of covert social issues and problems. Promotion and facilitation of such research, which is marginalised in academia, help in the creation of this necessary knowledge that benefits society and also help in improving the social and individual lives of the members of society.

This research proposes that in a society that consists of different cultures and nationalities it is important to create a environment that is nourished by all people and that takes advantage of the positive aspects of different cultures to move society towards enrichment and socio-cultural prosperity. While trying to integrate ethnic minorities into the mainstream culture, it is advantageous and wise to look into these minority cultures and learn from their values in order to enrich society. Instead of either making ethnic minority culture assimilate into the mainstream culture or leaving the minority cultures to only co-exist with the mainstream culture without healthy interaction and fruitful and productive interface, it is necessary to create an overall culture within which these different cultures are nurtured. This perspective is recognised as an important social strategy to actively benefit from different cultures and their strong points. It is important to pass from the no-racism and tolerance stages and arrive at a stage where diversity is celebrated and used to enhance society and make it more prosperous.

In addition to the academic importance of these issues, on a practical level, with regards to the findings of this research, when there is evidence of constant

violence and racism against ethnic entrepreneurs, policy makers and the government can give more support to these people. The feelings of helplessness of these ethnic entrepreneurs and their sense of the ineffectuality of the police in racist incidents can be reduced by implementing more robust strategies. The media can also play a vital role in the promotion of harmony in society with regards to ethnic minorities and racism. Hostility towards Islam and Muslims are 'closely linked to media portrayals of Islam as barbaric, irrational, primitive, and sexist' (Nave et al., 2004: 165). A demonised image was presented by the media about the Muslim/Middle Eastern countries, particularly Iran as 'the axis of evil' after September 11, 2001. In *The Encyclopedia of Race and Ethnic Studies* (2003), Poole asserts that these depictions show Muslims as a threat to Western security and values. This creates more distance and even animosity between the native host and the 'other' guest. The media have been criticized for perpetrating 'Islamophobia' (Poole, 2003). A case study that examines a sample of articles in the British press concludes that articles involving Muslims usually depicted them in a negative light and that Muslim perspectives were under-represented. In Egorova and Tudor's (2003) work, European researchers are cited suggesting that images produced by media and expressions like 'Islamic terrorism', 'Islamic bombs', and 'violent Islam' have led to a negative perception of Islam.

Instead of this, the media can play a significant part in the integration of ethnic minorities and refugees by creating programmes that echo local narratives of the lives and experiences of these ethnic minorities and their stories of their homelands, their migration, and their lives after migration. The media can help by introducing ethnic entrepreneurs and other members of ethnic communities who contribute to enhancement of the social life of the host society through their services and work. Through these kinds of programmes, the host society would have an opportunity to know the ethnic communities better, which would reduce racial attitudes and prejudice.

The issue of placement and integration of ethnic minorities into the receiving society is recognised as a salient issue of the Western societies. A smoother process of integration can be made possible by listening views of ethnic

minorities and reflecting on these views while recognising the differences in the needs and worldviews of different ethnicities. It is important not to place all ethnic minorities under one umbrella and to recognise their differences. By addressing this diversity, the current research demonstrates how differences in the profiles and characteristics, dreams, and worldviews of different ethnicities affect their business and social orientations, as well as their behaviours and attitudes. This research shows the consequences of the political situation of the original country on peoples' social conditions and provides an example of how that situation has pushed the educated, high-profile population out of the country.

Through analysis of the situation of these ethnic entrepreneurs and their businesses and social lives, this research has shown the level of conditional hospitality ethnic minorities receive in UK society. Issues of control and power between hosts and guests are demonstrated in the context of these ethnic businesses. It is important that the policy makers create better harmony in society and try to generate better relations between locals and ethnics. These ethnic entrepreneurs have used their personal resources in order to empower themselves through entrepreneurship. However, this research shows the limits of entrepreneurship for empowering and improving the lives of ethnic minorities. True empowerment happens when better support is given to the ethnic minorities by the wider society in utilising their human capital, in creating better opportunities for them, and in familiarising the host society with them. Although British society has been historically accepting of newcomers and has provided them with opportunities to live, work, and grow, it has been like a mosaic. This means that each ethnicity group as well as the natives are living together but are not mixing with each other. This policy only works to a certain extent and does not facilitate deeper harmony and integration between different groups within society. If Britain is made up of different cultures, then as much as the ethnics need to integrate, it is also important for the native British to come to know and integrate with the other ethnic cultures that are now a part of their own society and culture. Only living together in a society can counteract the consequences that this research revealed in its findings, namely the feeling of 'otherness' and

alienation of the ethnics, their sense of being second-class citizens, and their feeling of isolation. While longing to mix and make friends with the British, they are still mingling mostly with their own community, and most of their social communication is with their co-ethnics. On the other hand, this research showed that this mosaic-like culture does not facilitate better familiarisation of natives with ethnic minorities, leading to prejudice and racial attitudes and behaviours.

This research argues that British-ness is embodied in the collective attitudes, behaviours, and values. Values such as human rights formally held by other modern Western democratic states and are not specific to Britain. A sense of British-ness transcends recognition and adoption of only certain values. At a more foundational level, it is attitudes and behaviours that make a British person distinct from a French person or a German person.

In the case of this research, the interviewees were willing to be better integrated, but the doors to that were closed. When you are placed in a glass cube, you cannot enter the outer space even if you want to. To enable ethnic minorities to identify themselves with British-ness, first there is a need to let them relate to the British identity. People do not adopt values that are unrelated to their identities. Truly held values are contextual and stem from the identity people hold in relation to the environment they are in.

Ethnic minorities will not forget their own identity. No policy can make a cultural heritage—religion, a mother language, and a native cultural identity (ties back home, food, familial and social tie patterns, and cultural attitudes)—fade within an ethnic community. In the case of integration, many of them will be bi-cultural. While promoting those Western values, British-ness should mean to learn from guests' cultures as well. All groups need to learn from one another. While ethnic minorities develop British-ness as part of the new structure of the British culture, they have much more than only eating places and food to offer from their own cultural heritage. A culture of friendship and caring for each other should be

promoted—the neighbourhood culture. In the East, life is not as individualistic and is more collective than among native UK residents.

Trevor Phillips, head of the Commission for Racial Equality (2004) stated 'we need to assert there is a core of British-ness....What we should be talking about is how we reach an integrated society, one in which people are equal under the law, where there are some common values.' Tony Blair's government introduced the mandatory 'Life in the UK' test in 2005. This was an attempt to inculcate knowledge about Britain into immigrants applying for British citizenship. However, this kind of formal education will not help in the integration and building of British identity. It seems much more likely that identity results in the values that encourage individuals to want to acquire relevant knowledge, rather than identity being shaped by 'fed' knowledge. For an ethnic minority to wholeheartedly feel British, there needs to be more profound identification with British culture. This research showed that there are ethnic minorities who respect and adopt these values yet do not feel British. Therefore, to forcefully promote these values is not a grassroots remedy to this problem. Values cannot be inserted, identity cannot be forced. To tackle the problem of the mosaic-like society, the British have to 'let the people in'.

To achieve more genuine, local, and grass-roots integration, the policy makers need to provide the context for stimulation of inter-ethnic cooperation and create the conditions for people of all cultures to work together towards shared values, needs, and aims. To do this, causes of disintegration, isolation, and otherness should be recognised and acknowledged, and strategies should be put into place to deal with them.

As shown by this research, the ethnic entrepreneurs need to be listened to and not be made to feel like second-class citizens who have to bear the racism they receive and endure its physical, financial, and emotional consequences. Because they are active members of society who significantly contribute to the economy, who have initiated change in their own lives by taking risks and entering self-employment in

migration, and who are also creating social capital by creating employment for other members of the society, it is necessary that relevant organisations, including local authorities, councils, the Scottish government, the police, and the media, continuously maintain a relationship with them and listen to their views.

This is a considerable population that forms an important part of the economy as well as a significant part of the social composite of British society. To improve the well-being of the entire society, the needs and views of these members need to be listened to and heard. To understand the complex phenomena of EE and ethnic minorities better, it is vital to give weight to and concentrate on the views of ethnic minority entrepreneurs through a dialogic and conjunctive epistemological perspective that recognizes the heterogeneity and complexity of the world and creates a knowledge that is contextual, participative, and emancipatory. This is where the importance of this research is located.

The important task of research is not limited to finding the answer to one or a number of questions but also includes the development and presentation of new debates that facilitate grounds upon which new intellectual horizons will appear for deliberation, reflection, dialogue, and debate to turn knowledge into understanding and understanding into wisdom—which, according to Russell Ackoff, is the essence of philosophical probing (Ackoff, 1989). Research should enable acquisition of knowledge from information and wisdom from knowledge.

T.S. Elliot, in the 'Choruses from the Rock' (1934), made one of the earliest distinctions between wisdom, knowledge, and information:

Where is the life we have lost in living?
Where is the wisdom we have lost in knowledge?
Where is the knowledge we have lost in information?

To put it in Rumi's words: The point is to light a fire in the forest of the intellect.

REFERENCES

Abu-Asbah, K., & Heilbrunn, S. (2011). Patterns of entrepreneurship of Arab women in Israel, *Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy*, 5(3): 184 – 198.

Ackers, P., Smith, C., & Smith, P. (1995). *The New Workplace and Trade Unions*, London: Routledge.

Ackoff, R.L. (1989). From data to wisdom. *Journal of Applied Systems Analysis*, 16(1): 3-9.

Adler, P. S., & Kwon, S.W. (2002). Social capital: Prospects for a new concept. *Academy of Management Review*, 27(1): 17-40.

Agger, B. (1991). *A Critical Theory of Public Life: Knowledge, Discourse, and Politics in an Age of Decline*. London, Routledge.

Alba, R. & Nee, V. (1997). Rethinking assimilation theory for a new era of immigration. *International Migration Review*, 31(4): 826-74.

Aldrich, H.E., & Waldinger, R. (1990). Ethnicity and entrepreneurship. *Annual Review of Sociology*. 16: 111-135.

Alexander, C. (2002). Beyond black: rethinking the colour/culture divide. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 25(4): 552–71.

Altinay, L. (2008). The relationship between an entrepreneur's culture and the entrepreneurial behaviour of the firm. *Journal* of *Small Business* and *Enterprise Development*, 15(1): 111-129.

Altinay, L., & Altinay, E. (2008). Factors influencing business growth: The rise of Turkish entrepreneurship in the UK, *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour & Research*. 14 (1): 24 – 46.

Altinay, L., & Altinay, E. (2006). Determinants of ethnic minority entrepreneurial growth in the catering sector. *The Service Industries Journal*. 26(2): 203-21.

Alvesson, M. (2003). Beyond neopositivits, romantics and localists. A reflexive approach to interviews in organisational research. *Academy of Management Review*, 28(1): 13–33.

Alvesson, M., & Deetz, S. (2000). *Doing Critical Management Research*, London: Sage.

Alvesson, M. & Sköldberg, K. (2000). *Reflexive Methodology—New Vistas for Qualitative Research*, London: Sage.

Arrighi, G. (1999). Globalization and historical macrosociology. In A.L. Janet (Ed.) *Sociology for the Twenty-First Century*. (pp.117–33). Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Ashworth, P. (2003). An approach to phenomenological psychology: the contingencies of the lifeworld. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology,* 34(6): 145-156.

Ateljevic, I., & Doorne, S. (2000). Staying with the Fence: Lifestyle Entrepreneurship in Tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 8(5) 378-392.

Ateljevic, J. (2007). Small tourism firms and management practice in New Zealand: the Centre Stage macro Region. *Tourism Management*, 28(1): 307-316.

Ateljevic, I., Morgan, N., & Pritchard, A. (2007). Editors' introduction: Promoting an academy of hope in tourism inquiry. In I. Ajeltevic, A., Pritchard, & N., Morgan (Eds.), *The Critical Turn in Tourism Studies: Innovative Research Methodologies*. (pp. 1-8). Oxford: Elsevier.

Atkinson, J., & Hurstfield, J. (2003). *Annual Small Business Survey Executive Summary*, Institute of Employment Studies. Retrieved from: http://www.employment-studies.co.uk/pubs/summary.php?id=sbs0904.

Awad, E.M., Ghaziri, H.M. (2004). *Knowledge Management*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Pearson-Prentice Hall.

Babbie, E. (1998). *The Practice of Social Research*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Back, L., Crabbe, T., & Solomos, J. (2001). *The Changing Face of Football*, Oxford: Berg.

Bailey, C.A. (1996). *A guide to field research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge.

Ball, W., & Solomos, J. (1990). Racial equality and local politics. In W. Ball, & J. Solomos, (Eds.), *Race and Local Politics*, (pp. 3–21). Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Banks, J. (1995). The historical construction of knowledge about race: Implications for transformative teaching. *Educational Researcher*. 24 (2): 15-25.

Barbieri, P., (2003). Social capital and self-employment: A network analysis experiment and several considerations. *International Sociology,* 18(4): 681-702.

Barger, P. B., & Grandey, A. A. (2006). Service with a smile and encounter satisfaction: Emotional contagion and appraisal mechanisms. *Academy of Management Journal*. 49(6): 1229-1238.

Barrett, G., Jones, T. & McEvoy, D. (2003). United Kingdom: severely constrained Entrepreneurialism. In R. Kloosterman & J.Rath (Eds.). *Immigrant Entrepreneurs: Venturing Abroad in the Age of Globalisation*. Oxford: Berg.

Barrett, G., Jones, T., McEvoy, D., & McGoldrick, C. (2002). The economic embeddedness of immigrant enterprise in Britain. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 8 (1/2):11-31.

Barrett, R. & Rainnie, A. (2002). What's so special about small firms? Developing an integrated approach to analysing small firm industrial relations. *Work, Employment and Society,* 16(3): 415-32.

Basu, A. (2004). Entrepreneurial aspirations amongst family business owners: an analysis of ethnic business owners in the UK, *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*. 10(1): 12–33.

Basu, A. (1998). An exploration of entrepreneurial activity among Asian small businesses in Britain. *Small Business Economics*. 10 (4): 313-26.

Basu, A., Altinay, E. (2003). *Family and Work in Minority Ethnic Businesses*. Bristol: The Policy Press, Bristol.

Basu, A., & Altinay, E. (2002). The interaction between culture and entrepreneurship in London's immigrant business, *International Small Business Journal*, 20(4): 371–94.

Basu, A., & Goswami, A. (1999). Determinants of South Asian entrepreneurial growth in Britain: a multivariate analysis. *Small Business Economics*, 13(1): 57–70.

Baum, T. (1996). Unskilled Work and the Hospitality Industry: myth or reality? *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 15(3):207-210.

Baum, T. (2006) *Human Resource Management for the Tourism, Hospitality and Leisure Industries: An International Perspective*, London: Thomson Learning.

Baum, T. (2007). Human resources in tourism: Still waiting for change. *Tourism Management*, 28(6): 1383-1399.

Baum, T., Dutton, E., Kamiri, S., Kokkranikal, J., Devine, C., & Hearns, N. (2007). Cultural diversity in hospitality work. *Cross Cultural Management*. 14(3):229-239.

Baycan-Levent,T., Masurel, E., & Nijkamp, P. (2003) gender differences in ethnic entrepreneurship. *International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Innovation management,* 6(3): 173-90.

Beaver, G. (2002). *Small Business*, *Entrepreneurship and Enterprise Development*. Harlow: Pearson Education.

Beaver, G., & Lashley, C. (1998). Barriers to management development in small hospitality firms. *Strategic Change*, 4(4): 306-321.

Beck, U. (1995). *Ecological Enlightenment: Essays on the Politics of the Risk Society*, New York, NY: Humanity Books.

Begg, I. (2002). *Urban Competitiveness: Policies for Dynamic Cities*, Bristol: The Policy Press.

Bell, D., Holloway, S., Jayne, M., & Valentine, G. (2007). Pleasure and leisure. In J. R. Short, & P. Hubbard, (Eds.), *Compendium of urban studies*, London: Sage.

Bellinger, G., Castro, D., & Mills, A. (2004). *Data, Information, Knowledge, and Wisdom*, Retrieved from: www.systems-thinking.org/dikw/dikw.htm.

Bengtsson, J. (1993). What is reflection? on reflection in the teaching profession and teacher education. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice,* 1(1): 23-32.

Nave, G., Jawad, H., & Benn, T. (2004). *Muslim Women in the United Kingdom and Beyond: Experiences and Images*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers.

Ben-Rafael, E., Olshtain, E., Geijst, E. (1997). Identity and language: the social insertion of Soviet Jews in Israel. In N. Lewin-Epstein, Y. Ro'i, & P. Ritterband, (Ed). *Russian Jews on Three Continents: Migration and Resettlement*. (pp. 88-364). London & NY: Frank Cass & Co.

Benson, M., & O'Reilly, K. (2009). *Lifestyle migration: expectations, aspirations and experiences,* Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Bentz, V.M, & Shapiro, J.J. (1998). *Mindful Inquiry in Social Research*. London: Sage. Publications.

Berger , P.L.& Luckman, T. (1967). *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge.* London: Penguin Pub.

Berry, J.W. (2001). A psychology of immigration. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(3): 615-31.

Blackburn, R. & Jennings, P.L. (1996). Introduction: The contribution of small firms to economic regeneration. In R. Blackburn and L. Jennings (Eds). *Small Firms: Contributions to Economic Regeneration* London, Published on behalf of the Institute for Small Business Affairs by Paul Chapman.

Blackburn, R. & Kovalainen, A. (2009). Researching small firms and entrepreneurship: Past, Present and Future. *International Journal of Management Reviews* 11(2): 127-148.

Blaschke, J., Boissevain, J., Grotenberg, H., Joseph, I., Morokvasic, M., & Ward, R. (1990). European trends in ethnic business. In R. Waldinger, H. Aldrich & R. Ward (Eds.), *Ethnic Entrepreneurs: Immigrant Business in Industrial Societies*. (pp. 79–105). London: Sage.

Bless, C., & Higson-Smith, C. (2000). *Fundamentals of social research methods, an African perspective*. Lansdowne, South Africa: Juta.

Bloom, A. (1988). *The Closing of the American Mind.* New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.

Blumer, H. (1969). *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Boissevain, J., Blauschkee, J., Grotenberg, H., Joseph, I., Light, I., Sway, M., Waldinger R.& Werbner, P. (1990). Ethnic entrepreneurs and ethnic strategies. In R. Waldinger, H. Aldrich & R. Ward (Eds.), *Ethnic Entrepreneurs: Immigrant Business in Industrial Societies*, (pp. 131–57). London: Sage.

Bolt, G., Özüekren, A., S. & Phillips, D. (2009). 'Linking Integration and Residential Segregation'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 36 (2): 169-186.

Bonacich, E. & Modell, J. (1980). *The Economic Basis of Ethnic Solidarity*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Borooah, V. K., & Hart, M. (1999). Factors affecting self-employment among Indian and Black Carribean Men in Britain. *Small Business Economics*,13(2):111-129.

Bosswick, W., & Heckman, F. (2006). *Integration of migrants: Contribution of local and regional authorities, European Forum for Migration Studies (EFMS)*, Germany: University of Bamberg. Retrieved from: http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/pubdocs/2006/22/en/1/ef0622en.pdf.

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): 647–670.

Boyd, M., & Thomas, D. (2001). Match or Mismatch? The Employment of Immigrant Engineers in Canada's Labor Force. *Population Research and Policy Review* 20(1/2): 107-33.

Bridge, S., O'Neill, K., & Martin, F. (2008). *Understanding Enterprise: Entrepreneurship and Small Business*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Brown, C. (1984). *Black and White Britain*. London: Heinemann.

Brown, C. (1992). Same Difference: The persistence of racial disadvantage in the British employment market. In P. Barham, A. Rattansi, & R. Skelington, (Eds.). *Racism and Antiracism: Inequalities, Opportunities and Policies*. (pp. 46–63). London: Sage.

Brown, K. (2001). *British Asians Today: A Statistical Profile*. London: Centre for Social Markets.

Brubaker, R. (2001). The return of assimilation? Changing perspectives on immigration and its sequels in France, Germany, and the United States. *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* 24(4): 531-48.

Bruder, J., Neuberger, D. & Räthke-Döppner, S. (2011). Financial constraints of ethnic entrepreneurship: evidence from Germany, *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour & Research*, 17(3):296 – 313.

Bruyat, C. & Julien, P. (2000). Defining the field of research in entrepreneurship. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 16(2):165-180.

Bryman, A. & Bell, E. (2007). *Business Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford.

Buick, I., Halcro, K., Lynch, P. (2000). *Death of the Lifestyle Entrepreneur: A Study of Scottish Hotel Proprietors*, *Praxis,* No. Fall 1999/Winter 2000, pp.114-25.

Bull, I. & Willard, G. E., (1993) Towards a theory of entrepreneurship. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 8(3):183-195.

Bulmer, M. (2001). The ethics of social research. In N. Gilbert, (Ed). *Researching Social Life*. (pp. 45-57). London: Sage.

Bulmer, M., & Solomos, J. (2004). *Researching Race and Racism*. London: Routledge.

Burgess, R.G. (1981). Keeping a research diary. *Cambridge Journal of Education*. 11 (1): 75-83.

Burns, P. (1997). Hard-skills, Soft-skills: undervaluing hospitality's service with a Smile. *Progress in Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 3(3):239-248.

Burns, P. (2007). *Entrepreneurship and Small Business*. Hampshire: Palgrave.

Burns, P. & Dewhurst, J. (1996). *Small Business and Entrepreneurship*. Basingstoke: MacMillan Press.

Burns, T. R., & Engdahl, E. (1998). The Social Construction of consciousness: Collective Consciousness and its Socio-Cultural Foundations. *Journal of Consciousness Studies*, 5(2): 67–85.

Burr, V. (2003). *Social Constructionism* . London : Routledge.

Burrell, G., & Morgan, G. (1979). *Sociological Paradigms and Organizational Analysis: Elements of the Sociology of Corporate Life*. London: Heinemann.

Burstein, P. (1994). *Equal Employment Opportunity*, New York: Aldine.

Busenitz, L.W., West, G.P., Shepherd, D., Nelson, T., Chandler, G.N., & Zacharakis, A. (2003). Entrepreneurship research in emergence: Past trends and future directions. *Journal of Management*, 29(3): 285–308.

Butler, J.S., & Greene, P.G. (1997). Ethnic entrepreneurship: the continuous rebirth of American enterprise. In D.L. Sexton & R.W. Smilor (Eds.), *Entrepreneurship 2000* (pp.267-289). Chicago: Upstart.

Bygrave, W. D. & Hofer, C., (1991), Theorizing about entrepreneurship. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 16(2): 13-22.

Cabinet office (2001) *Improving labour market achievements for ethnic minorities' British society: Scoping Note*, Performance and Innovation Unit:
http://www.strategy.gov.uk/downloads/su/ethnic_minorities/report/downloads/ethnic_minorities.pdf,/http://www.nationalemploymentpanel.gov.uk/publications/nep/2005/epeppdf/fullreport.pdf.

Cabinet office (2003) *Ethnic Minorities and the Labour Market, Final Report*, Cabinet Office Strategy Unit, London:
http://www.irr.org.uk/pdf/em_labour_market.pdf

Caelli, K. (2001). Engaging with phenomenology: Is it more of a challenge than it needs to be?. *Quantitative Health Research*, 11 (2): 273-282.

Cameron, M.E., Schaffer, M. & Hyeoun, P. (2001). Nursing students' experience of ethical problems and use of ethical decision-making models. Nursing Ethics, 8 (5): 432-448.

Campbell, T. (1996). Technology, multimedia, and qualitative research in education. *Journal of Research on Computing in Education*, 30(9):122-133.

Cantle, T. (2001). *Community Cohesion*, London: Home Office.

Canttillon, R. (1959) [1755] Essay on the Nature of Trade in General (Essai Sur la Nature du Commerce in General) H. Higgs, Frank Cass and Company.

Carlsen, J. Morrison, A. & Weber, P. (2008). Lifestyle oriented small tourism firms. *Tourism Recreation Research.* 33(3):255-263.

Carmichael, F., & Woods, R. (2000). Ethnic Penalties in Unemployment and Occupational Attainment: evidence for Britain. *International Review of Applied Economics*, 14(1): 71-98.

Carr, L. (1997). *Color-Blind' Racism*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Carretero, M. (2008). Risk-taking in unauthorised migration. *Master Thesis in Peace and Conflict Transformation Studies*. Social Sciences Faculty, University of Tromsø. Retrieved from: http://www.ub.uit.no/munin/bitstream/handle/10037/1577/thesis.pdf?sequence=1

Casado-Díaz, M. Á., Kaiser, C., & Warnes, A.M. (2004). Northern European retired residents in nine southern European areas: characteristics, motivations and adjustment. *Ageing and Society*. 24: 353-381.

Cashmore, E. (2003). *Encyclopedia of Race and Ethnic studies.* London: Routledge. P. 218.

Chaganti, R. & Greene, P.G. (2002). Who are Ethnic Eentrepreneurs? A study of Entrepreneurs' Ethnic Involvement and Business Characteristics. *Journal of Small Business Management*, 42(2): 126-143.

Chan, W.F. (2005), A gift of a pagoda, the presence of a prominent citizen, and the possibilities of hospitality. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space,* 23(1):11–28.

Chandler, G., & Lyon, D. (2001) Issues of research design and construct measurement in entrepreneurship research: The past decade. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 25(4):101-113.

Charmaz, K. (2002). Qualitative interviewing and grounded theory analysis. In J. Gubrium, & J. Holstein, J. (Ed). *Handbook of interview research: Context and method.* (pp. 675-694). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Christians, C.G. (2000). 'Ethics and Politics in Qualitative Research'. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln, (Ed). *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. (pp133-155). London: Sage.

Clark, K., & Drinkwater, S. (2010). Patterns of Ethnic Self-Employment in Time and Space: Evidence from British Census Microdata, *Small Business Economics*, 34(3): 323-338.

Clark, K. and Drinkwater, S. (2006). Changing Patterns of Ethnic Minority Self-Employment in Britain: Evidence from Census Microdata, Discussion Paper, Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA): Bonn, Retrieved from: http://ftp.iza.org/dp2495.pdf.

Clark, K., & Drinkwater, S. (2000). Pushed out or pulled in? Self-employment among ethnic minorities in England and Wales, *Labour Economics*, Elsevier, 7(5):603-628.

Clark, K. & Drinkwater, S. (1998). Ethnicity and Self-Employment in Britain. *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics,* 60(3):383-407.

Clont, J. G. (1992). The concept of reliability as it pertains to data from qualitative studies. Paper Presented at the annual meeting of the South West Educational Research Association. Houston, TX. Retrieved from: http://www.eric.ed.gov/PDFS/ED363628.pdf.

Coffey, A., & Atkinson, P. (1996). *Making Sense of Qualitative Data: Complementary Strategies*. London: Sage.

Collins, P. (1990). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge consciousness and the politics of empowerment.* New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall.

Collins-Dodd, C., Gordon, I., & Smart, C. (2005) Success without upwards mobility: evidence from small accounting practices *Journal of Small Business and Entrepreneurship* 18(3):327-342.

Commission of the European Communities (2005). *A Common Agenda for Integration* COM 2005 389, Brussels. Retrieved from: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/en/com/2005/com2005_0669en01.pdf.

Commission of the European Communities (2002). *Final Communication from the Commission, Towards a reinforced culture of consultation and dialogue* - General principles and minimum standards for consultation of interested parties by the Commission
 http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2002:0704:FIN:en:PDF

Commission of the European Communities (2004). *Final Communication from the Commission,* Towards a European strategy for nanotechnology
http://ec.europa.eu/enterprise/policies/sme/promoting-entrepreneurship/migrants-ethnic-minorities/.

Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the European Union http://www.enaro.eu/dsip/download/eu-Common-Basic-Principles.pdf

Connell, J. (1993), *Kitanai, Kitsui and Kiken: The Rise of Labour Migration to Japan*, Economic & Regional Restructuring Research Unit, University of Sydney

Connor, H., Tyers, C., Modood, T. and Hillage, J. (2004). Why the Difference? A Closer Look at Higher Education Minority Ethnic Students and Graduates, Department for Education and Skills, London. Retrieved from:
www.education.gov.uk/rsgateway/DB/RRP/u013556/index.shtml

Cortes, C.E. (1995). Knowledge construction and popular culture: The media as multicultural education. In Banks, J.A., & Banks, C.A.M. (Ed). *Handbook of research on multicultural education.* New York: McMillan.

Cotter, D. A., Hermsen, J. M., Ovadia, S. & Vanneman, R. (2001). The Glass Ceiling Effect. *Social Forces*, 80(2): 655-81.

Craig, C. S. & Douglas, S. P. (2000). *International Marketing Research*, Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.

Craig, G., Corden, A., & Thornton, P. (2000). Social Research Update 29: Safety in Social Research. Issue 20, University of Surrey, Available at:
http://sru.soc.surrey.ac.uk/SRU29.html

Crawford-Welch, S. (1994). Restaurant and foodservice marketing into the 21st century, *Journal of Restaurant and Foodservice Marketing*,1(1):1-19.

Creed, R., & Ward, R. (1987). *Black Business Enterprise in Wales*. South Glamorgan: CRE.

Creswell, J. W. & Miller, D. L. (2000). Determining validity in qualitative inquiry. *Theory into Practice*, 39(3), 124-131.

Crompton, R. (1993). *Class and Stratification.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Cross, T. (1996). Stripping away myths: Improving the lot of African Americans by changing the American racial stereotype. *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*. 22 (11): 110.

Crotty, M. (1996). *Phenomenology and Nursing Research.* Melbourne: Curchill Livingstone.

Crotty, M. (1998). *The foundations of social research: meaning and perspective in the research process.* Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

Csíkszentmihályi, M. (2002). *Flow: The Psychology of Optimal Experience.* London: Rider.

Curran, J. (1986). *Bolton Fifteen Years On: A Review and Analysis of Small Business Research in Britain 1971-1986*. Small business Research Trust. London.

Curran J. & Blackburn R. (1993). *Enterprise and the High St Bank, Small Business Research Centre*, Kingston: Kingston Business School.

Curran, J. & Blackburn, R. (2001). *Researching the Small Enterprise.* London: Sage.

Czepiel, J. A., Solomon, M., Surprenant, C., & Gutman, E. (1985). Service encounters: An Overview. In J. A. Czepiel, M. R. Solomon, & C. F. Surprenant (Eds.), *The service encounter: Managing employee/customer interaction in businesses.* New York: Lexington Books.

Dahlberg, K., Dahlberg, H. & Nystrom, M. (2008). *Reflective lifeworld research*. Lund, Sweden: Studentlitteratur.

Daly, A. (1995). The determinants of income for employed indigenous Australians. *International Journal of Manpower*, 16(4): 11 -29.

Davidsson, P. (2004). *Researching entrepreneurship.* New York: Springer.

Davies, D., & Dodd, J. (2002). Qualitative research and the question of rigor. *Qualitative Health research,* 12(2), 279-289.

Deakins, D., Ishaq, M., Smallbone, D., Whittam, G., & Wyper, J. (2005). Minority ethnic enterprise in Scotland: a national study, *Scottish Executive Social Research*, Edinburgh, Final Research Report for Scottish Executive .

Deery, M., & Jago,L.(2009). A Framework for Work-Life Balance Practices: Addressing the Needs of the Tourism Industry, *Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 9(2): 97–108.

Delanty, G. (2001). *Challenging Knowledge: The University in the Knowledge Society*, Buckingham: Open University Press.

DelCampo, R.G., Jacobson, K., Van Buren III, H. & Blancero, D. (2011) Comparing immigrant and US born Hispanic business professionals: Insights on discrimination, *Cross Cultural Management: An International Journal,* 18 (3):327 – 350.

Delfgaauw, J., (2007). Where to go? Workers reasons to quit and intra-versus inter-industry job mobility. *Applied Economics*. 39(16):2057–2067.

Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2001). *Critical Race Theory: the cutting edge.* Philadelphia, Temple:University Press.

Demakakos, P., Nazroo, J., Breeze, E., & Marmot, M. (2008). Socioeconomic Status and Health: The Role of Subjective Social Status. *Social Science & Medicine*.67 (2): 330-340.

Denzin, N. (1989). *Interpretive interactionism*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1998). Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publication.

Denzin, N. K., Lincoln Y. S. (2000). *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publications.

Department for Business Enterprise and Regulatory Reform.(2008) www.berr.gov.uk.

Derrida, J. (2000a). Foreigner question. In J. Derrida, & A. Dufourmantelle, (Eds.), *Of hospitality*. (pp. 3-73). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Derrida, J. (2000b). Step of hospitality/no hospitality. In J. Derrida, & A. Dufourmantelle, (Eds.), *Of hospitality*. (pp. 75-155). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Derrida, J. (2001). *Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness: Thinking in Action.* London: Routledge.

Derrida, J., & Dufourmantelle, A. (2000). *Of Hospitality, Cultural Memory in the Present* (R. Bowlby, Trans). CA: Stanford University.

Dewhurst, P., & Horobin, H. (1998). Small Business Owners. In R. Thomas (Ed). *The management of Small Tourism and Hospitality Firms*. (pp. 19-39). London, Cassell.

Diaz, F., &González, J. (2005), Comportamiento Emprendedor e Inmigración, *Revista Internacional de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades,* 15(2):85-101.

Didomenico, M. (2003) 'Lifestyle entrepreneurs' in hospitality sector: Guest house owner occupiers. Glasgow, University of Strathclyde. PhD Thesis.

Dikeç, M. (2002). Pera peras poros: longings for spaces of hospitality. *Theory, Culture and Society,* 19(1/2): 227–47.

Dilthey, W. (1883/1989). *Introduction to the Human Sciences. Selected Works*. (Vol. 1). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Donaldson, L. (2003). A Critique of Postmodernism in Organization Studies. In E.Locke (Ed.), *Post Modernism and Management: Pros, Cons and the Alterantive.* Vol. 21, (pp. 169-202). Oxford: Elsevier.

Douglas, J. D. (1985). *Creative Interviewing*, Beverly Hills: Sage.

Drucker, P. (1992) *Managing the fu*ture, Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

DTI: Department of Trade and Industry, (1999). *Small and Medium Enterprise (SME) Statistics for the United Kingdom 1998*, SME Statistical Unit, DTI, August 1999, URN 99/92.

Duranti, A. (1997). *Linguistic Anthropology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dustmann, C., Fabbri, F., Preston, I. & Wadsworth, J. (2003). *Labour market performance of immigrants in the UK labour market*, Home Office Online Report. Open Access fron Universit College of London. http://discovery.ucl.ac.u, University College London.

Easterby-Smith, M., Thorpe, R., & Lowe A. (2002). *Management Research: An Introduction.* London: Sage.

European Commission Recommendation 2003/361/EC as published in the Official Journal of the European Union L 124.

Edwards, P., & Ram, M. (2006). Still living on the edge: Marginal small firms, negotiated orders and the dynamics of the modern economy. *Journal of Management Studies,* 43 (4): 895-916.

Egorova, Y., & Parfitt, T. (2003). *Jews, Muslims, and Mass Media: Mediating the 'Other'.* London: Routledge Curzon.

Eichelberger, T. (1989). *Disciplined Inquiry: Understanding and Doing Educational Research,* New York: Longman.

Entzinger, H., & Biezeveld, R. (2003). *Benchmarking in Immigrant Integration: Report for the European Commission Immigration and Asylum Committee.* Rotterdam: European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations.

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

European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (2005), *Racism and Xenophobia in the EU Member States, annual report*, available at:
http://fra.europa.eu/fra/index.php?fuseaction=content.dsp catcontent&catid=1 (accessed 20 February 2010).

European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (2006) EUMC *Muslims in the European Union: Discrimination and Islamophobia* European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia , Vienna. Retrieved from:
http://194.30.12.221/fraWebsite/research/publications/publications_per_year/previous_publications/pub_tr_islamophobia_en.htm.,
http://194.30.12.221/fraWebsite/attachments/Perceptions_EN.pdf

European Union's Racial Equality Directive in 2000. Racial Equality Directive 2000/43/EC and 2000/87/EC, Retrieved from:
http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/fundamental_rights/pdf/legisln/2000_78_en.pdf

Federal Glass Ceiling Commission Report 1995. Good for business: Making full use of the nation's human capital. A fact-finding report of the Federal Glass Ceiling Commission. Washington, DC. Retrieved from:
http://www.dol.gov/oasam/programs/history/reich/reports/ceiling.pdf

Fillis, I. (2006). A biographical approach to researching entrepreneurship in the smaller firm. *Management Decision,* 44(2): 198 – 212.

Fink, A. S. (2000). The Role of the Researcher in the Qualitative Research Process. A Potential Barrier to Archiving Qualitative Data. Forum: *Qualitative Social Research*, 1(3). Retrieved from:
http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/viewArticle/1021/2201

Finlay, L. (2008). *Introducing phenomenological research.* 1-9. Retrieved from:
http://www.lindafinlay.co.uk/An%20introduction%20to%20phenomenology %202008.doc

Flick, U. (1998). *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. London; Sage Publication.

Flick, U. (2007). Managing Quality in Qualitative Research (Qualitative Research Kit). London: SAGE Publications.

Flick, U. (2009). *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publication. forth edition.

Flores-Macias, F., & Lawson, C. (2008). Effects of interviewer gender on survey responses: Findings from a household survey in Mexico. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research,* 20(1): 100-110.

Fontana, A., & Frey, J. (2005). The interview: From neutral stance to political involvement. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 695-727). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Fontana, A., & Frey, J. (2000). The interview: From structured questions to negotiated text. In N.Denzin and Y.Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research*, (pp. 645-72). London: Sage.

Fontana, A., & Frey. J. (1994). Interviewing the Art of Science. In N. K. Denzin, & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.).(2000), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. (Pp. 361-76).London: Sage Publications.

Fraser, S. (2005). *Finance for small and medium sized enterprises: a report on the 2004 UK Survey of SME Finances.* Coventry: Warwick Business School. Available at: guardian.co.uk/work/story/0,1456,1491828,00.html.

Fregetto, E. (2004). Immigrant and ethnic entrepreneurship: a U.S. perspective. In H.P. Welsch (ed.). *Entrepreneurship: The Way Ahead.* (pp. 253–68).New York: Routledge.

Gadamer, H.G. (1995/1960). *Truth and Method.* (J. Weinsheimer and D. Marshall, Trans) New York: The Contium Publishing Company.

Gadamer, H.G. (1996/1993). *The enigma of health* (J. Gaiger and N. Walker, Trans) Stanford, CA, US: Stanford University Press.

Gang, I.N., Rivera-Batiz, F.L., & Yun, M.S. (2002). *"Economic strain, ethnic concentration and attitudes towards foreigners in the European Union".* Bonn: Institute for the study of labour IZA Discussion Paper, IZA. NO. 578. Retrieved from: http://ftp.iza.org/dp578.pdf.

Gartner, W.B. (2001), Is there an elephant in entrepreneurship? Blind assumptions in theory development, *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 25(4):27-39.

Gartner, W. & Birley, S. (2002). Introduction to the special issue on qualitative methods in entrepreneurship research. *Journal of Business Venturing*. 17(5):387-395.

Geertz, C. (1973). Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture. In C. Geetrz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. (pp. 3-30). New York: Basic Books.

Gergen, K. J. (1994). *Realities and Relationships. Soundings in Social Construction.* Cambridge: Mass, Harward University Press.

Getz, D., & Carlsen, J. (2000). Characteristics and goals of family and owner-operated businesses in the rural tourism and hospitality sectors. *Tourism Management*, 21(6): 547-60.

Getz, D., & Petersen, T. (2005). Growth and profit-oriented entrepreneurship among family business owners in the tourism and hospitality industry. *International Journal of Hospitality Management,* 24(2): 219-242.

Getz, D., Carlsen, J., & Morriosn, A. (2004). *The Family Business in Tourism and Hospitlaity.* Wallingford, UK: CAB International.

Gibney, M., & Hansen, R. (2005). *Immigration and Asylum: From 1900 to the Present.* Oxford, UK: ABC-CLIO.

Giddens, A. (1974). *Positivism and Sociology*. London: Heinemann.

Gidoomal, R. (1997). *The UK Maharajahs: inside the Asian success story*. London: Nicholas Brealey.

Gilroy, P. (1987). *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack*. London: Hutchinson.

Giorgi, A. (1985). Sketch of a psychological phenomenological method. In Giorgi, A. (Ed.), *Phenomenology and psychological research*. (pp. 8-22). Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press.

Giorgi, A. (1997). The theory, practice, and evaluation of phenomenological method as a qualitative research practice procedure. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology*, 28 (2): 233-260.

Giorgi, A. (2006). Difficulties encountered in the application of the phenomenological method in the social sciences. *Análise Psicológica*, 3(XXIV), 353-361.

Glancey, K. (1998). Determinants of growth and profitability in small entrepreneurial firms. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 4(1):18–27.

Glancey, K., & Pettigrew, M. (1997). Entrepreneurship in the small hotel sector. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 9(1): 21-24.

Glaser, B. G. (2001). *The Grounded Theory Perspective: Conceptualization Contrasted with Description.* Mill Valley, CA.: Sociology Press.

Glazer, N. & Moynihan, D. P. (1963). Beyond the melting pot: the Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Glesne, C., & Peshkin, P. (1992). *Becoming qualitative researches: An introduction.* New York, NY: Longman.

Glick, N. (2003). The Centrality of Ethnography in the Study of Transnational Migration: Seeing the Wetland Instead of the Swamp. In N. Foner, (Ed.). *American Arrivals: Anthropology Engages the New Immigration.* (pp.99-128). Santa Fr: School of American Research Press.

Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GME): United Kingdom (2005). London Business School: London.15. Retrieved from: http://www.gemconsortium.org/document.aspx?id=579

Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GME): United Kingdom (2006). London Business School: London. Retrieved from: http://www.gemconsortium.org/document.aspx?id=579

Goffee, R, & Scase, R. R. (1985). *Women in Charge: The Experiences of Female Entrepreneurs,* London: Allen & Unwin.

Goldenberg, S., & Kline, T. (1999). An exploratory study of predicting perceived success and survival of small businesses. *Psychological Reports*, 85 (2):365-377.

Gonzalez-Alvarez, N. & Solis-Rodriguez, V. (2011) Discovery of entrepreneurial opportunities: a gender perspective, *Industrial Management & Data Systems*, 111(5):755 - 775

Gooderl Longenecker, J., Moore, C., Petty, J. W. & Palich, L. (2005). Small Business management: an entrepreneurial emphasis, Ohio: South-Western Thomson.

Goodson, L., & Phillimore, J. (2004). The inquiry paradigm in qualitative tourism research. In J. Phillimore and L. Goodson (Eds) *Qualitative Research in Tourism: Ontologies, Epistemologies, and Methodologies.* (pp. 30-45). London, Routledge.

Gordon, R. A., & Howell, J. E. (1959). Higher education for business. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Goulding, C. (2005). Grounded theory, ethnography and phenomenology. *European Journal of Marketing,* 39(3/4), 294-308.

Granovetter, M. (1985). Economic action and social structure: The problem of embeddedness. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 91(3): 481-510.

Grant, P., & Perren, L. (2002). Small business and entrepreneurial research: meta-theories, paradigms and prejudices. *International Small Business Journal*, 20(2):185-211.

Greene, P.G. & Butler, J.S. (1996). The Minority Community as a Natural Business Incubator. *Journal of Business Research*, 36(1): 51–58.

Gregorie, D. Noel, M. Dery, R and Bechard, J (2006) Is there conceptual convergence in entrepreneurial research/ A co-citation analysis of Frontiers of entrepreneurship research, 1981-2004. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*. 30(3): 333-373.

Greve, A., & Salaff, J. (2005). Why do Skilled Women and Men Emigrating from China Get Bad Jobs. In E. Tastsoglou, & A, Dobrowolsky, (Eds), *Gender,Migration and Citizenship*. CA: Ashgate Press.

Groenewald, T. (2004). A phenomenological research design illustrated. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*. 3 (1): 1-26.

Grönroos, C. (2007). *Service Management and Marketing: Customer Management in Service Competition*. Chichester, UK: Wiley.

Guba, E.G. (1990). *The alternative paradigm dialog: The Paradigm Dialog*. London: Sage Publication.

Guba, E.G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging influences. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of Qualitative Research* (3rd ed.). (pp. 191-215). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Gubrium, J. F. & Holstein, J. A. (2001). *Handbook of Interview Research: Context and Method.* Sage Publications

Guerier, Y. (2008). Organisational studies in Hospitality management. In Wood, R. Brotherton, B. (Eds) (2008*) The Sage Handbook of Hospitality Management*, London, Sage Publications Ltd.

Guest, D. (2002). Perspectives on the study of work – life balance. *Social Science Information*, 41(2):255–279.

Gummesson, E. (2002). Relationship marketing and a new economy: it's time for de-programming Journal of Services Marketing. 16(7): 585-589.

Gunaratnam, Y. (2003). *Researching 'Race' and Ethnicity: Methods, Knowledge and Power.* London: Sage.

Habermas, J. (1978). *Knowledge and Human interest.* London, Heinemann.

Hacker, A. (2003). *Two Nations: Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal*, NewYork: Scribner.

Hainmueller, J., & Hiscox, M.J. (2007). Educated preferences: explaining attitudes toward immigration in Europe. *International Organization*. 61 (2): 399-442.

Hall, S. (1996). New ethnicities. In S. Hall, K. Chen & D. Morley, (Eds.), *Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies.* London: Routledge.

Hall, M., & Rusher, K. (2004). Risky lifestyles? Entrepreneurial characteristics of the New Zealand Bed and Breakfast sector. In R. Thomas (Ed) *Small Firms in Tourism: International Perspective*. (pp.83-97). Oxford, Elsevier.

Hambrick, D. C. (1994). Presidential Address-What if the Academy Actually Mattered. *Academy of Management Review*, 19(1), 11-16.

Hammarstedt, M. (2004). Self-employment among Immigrants in Sweden – An Analysis of Intragroup Differences. *Small Business Economics*, 23(2): 115-126.

Hammersley, M. (2000). *Taking sides in social research*. London: Routledge.

Harding, R., Brooksbank, D., Hart, M., Jones-Evans, D., Levie, J., O'Reilly, M. & Walker, J. (2005). *Global Entrepreneurship Monitor: United Kingdom*, London Business School: London.

Harris, A. (1999). Building Theory, Building Community. *Social and Legal Studies*, 8(3): 313–325.

Harris, C., Wilson, E. and Ateljevic, I. (2007). Structural entanglements and the strategy of audiencing as a reflexive technique. In I. Ateljevic, A. Pritchard, & N. morgan (Eds) *The Critical Turn in Tourism Studies: Innovative Research Methodologies*. (pp. 41-56). Oxford, Esevier.

Hayllar, B., & Griffin, T. (2005). The Precinct Experience: a Phenomenological Approach. *Tourism Management*, 26(4): 517-528.

Healy, M., & Perry, C. (2000). Comprehensive criteria to judge validity and reliability of qualitative research within the realism paradigm. *Qualitative Market Research*, 3(3), 118-126.

Heath, A. & Cheung, S. Y. (2007). Minority ethnic Disadvantage in the Labour Market: Britain. In A. Heath & S. Yi Cheung (Eds.), *Ethnic differences across countries*, Oxford: OUP.

Heckmann, F. & Schnapper, D. (2003). *The integration of immigrants in European societies.* Stuttgart: Lucius and Lucius.

Heidegger, M. (1927/1998) *Being and Time* (J. Macquarrie and E. Robinson, Trans) Oxford: Blackwells.

Helweg, A. (1986). *Sikhs in England*, London: Oxford University Press.

Hill, M. (2002). Race of the Interviewer and Perception of Skin Color: Evidence from the Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality. *American Sociological Review*, 67(1): 99-108.

Hills, J., Le Grand, J. & Piachaud, D. (2002). *Understanding Social Exclusion.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hindle, K. (2004). Choosing qualitative methods for entrepreneurial cognition research: A canonical development approach. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 28(6): 572-607.

Hoepfl M.E. (1997). Choosing Qualitative Research: A Primer for Technology Education Researchers. *Journal of Technology Education 9*(1). Available at: http://scholar.lib.vt.edu/ejournals/JTE/v9n1/hoepfl.html

Hofstede, G.H. (1980), Culture Consequences: International Differences in Work-related Values, Sage Publications, London.

Hofstede, G. (1991). *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind*. London: McGraw-Hill.

Holland, J. (2006). Studying Complex Adaptive Systems. *Journal of Systems Science and Complexity.* 19 (1): 1-8.

Hollingshead, K. (2004). A primer in ontological craft: The creative capture of people and places through qualitative research. In J. Phillimore and L. Goodson (Eds) *Qualitative Research in Tourism: Ontologies, Epistemologies, and Methodologies*. (pp. 63-82). London: Routledge.

Holloway, I. (1997). *Basic concepts for qualitative research*. Oxford: Blackwell Science.

Holstein, J. A. & Gubrium, J. F. (1995). *The Active Interview*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Howorth, C., Tempest, S., & Coupland, S. (2005). Rethinking entrepreneurship methodology and definitions of the entrepreneur. *Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development*, 12(1):24-40.

HM Treasury/BERR report (2008). Enterprise Unlocking the UK's Talent, March.

Hubbard, G. (2006). Business, knowledge and global growth. *Capitalism and Society*, 1(3): 1-10.

Huddy L, Billig J, Bracciodieta J, Hoeffler L, Moynihan PJ, Pugliani P. (1997). The effect of interviewer gender on the survey response. *Political Behavior,* 19(3):197-220.

Hussain, J., & Scott, J.M. (2006). *Access to Start-up Finance for Ethnic Minority Graduate Entrepreneurs,* report to National Council for Graduate Entrepreneurship, Birmingham.

Hussain, J., Scott, J.M., Millman, C., Hannon, P., & Matlay, H. (2007). Ethnic minority graduate entrepreneurs in the UK: Characteristics, motivations and access to finance, *Industry and Higher Education*, 21(6): 455-463.

Hussain, J., Scott, M., Hannon, P. (2008). The new generation: characteristics and motivations of BME graduate entrepreneurs. *Education and Training*, 50(7): 582 – 596.

Hussain, J., Scott, J. & Matlay, H. (2010). The impact of entrepreneurship education on succession in ethnic minority family firms, *Education and Training*, 52(8/9): 643 – 659.

Husserl, E. (1900/2001a). *Logical Investigations* (2nd Ed.Vol. 1). London: Routledge.

Husserl, E. (1913/1967). *Ideas: General Introduction to Pure Phenomenology* (W. Boyce Gibson, Trans.). London: George Allen & Unwin.

Husserl, E. (1913/1998). *Ideas pertaining to a pure phenomenology and to a phenomenological philosophy first book* (F. Kersten, Trans.). London: Kluwer Academic Publication.

Husserl, E. (1970b/1936). *The crisis of European Science and transcendental phenomenology* (D. Carr, Trans) Evanston, IL: Noth Western University press.

Hutchinson, J., & Smith. A. (1996) (Eds). *Ethnicity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hycner, R. (1999). Some guidelines for the phenomenological analysis of interview data. In A. Bryman & R. Burgess (Eds.), *Qualitative research*. (pp. 143-164). London: Sage.

Ioannides, D., & Peterson, T. (2003). Tourism 'none-entrepreneurship' in peripheral destinations: A case study of small and medium tourism enterprises on Bornholm, Denmark. *Tourism Geographies*, 5(4):408-435.

Ishaq, M., Hussain, A., & Whittam, G. (2010) Racism: A barrier to entry? Experiences of small ethnic minority retail businesses. *International Small Business Journal.* 28(4): 362-377.

Jaafar, M. Maideen, M., Mohd, A. & Sukarno, Z. (2010). Entrepreneurial Characteristics of Small and Medium Hotel Owner-Managers. *World Applied Sciences Journal* ,10 (Special Issue of Tourism & Hospitality): 54-62.

Jackman, M.R., Jackman, R.W. (1973). Interpretation of Relation between Objective and Subjective Social Status. *American Sociological Review*. 38 (5):569-582.

Jaeger, D., Bonin, H., Dohmen, T., Falk, A., Huffman, D., Bonn, I., & Sunde, U. (2007). Direct evidence on risk attitudes and migration, *review of economics and statistics, 92(3):684-68.*

Janjuha-Jivraj, S. (2003). The sustainability of social capital within ethnic networks. *Journal of Business Ethics.* 47(1): 31-43.

Jennings, P.L., & Beaver G. (1997). The performance and competitive advantage of small firms: a management perspective. *International Small Business Journal* . 15(2): 63–75.

Johnson, B. R. (1997). Examining the validity structure of qualitative research. *Education*, 118(3), 282-292.

Jennings, P., Perren, L., and Carter, S. (2005) Guest Editors' Introduction: Alternative Perspectives on Entrepreneurship Research. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice.* 29(2): 145-152.

Jones, T. (1993), *Britain's Ethnic Minorities*, Policy Studies Institute, London.

Jones, T. & McEvoy, D. (1986). Ethnic enterprise, the popular image. In J. Curran, J. Stanworth, & D. Watkins, (Eds.), *The Survival of the Small Firm,* Aldershot: Gower.

Jones, T, McEvoy, D. & Barrett, G. (1992b) Small Business Initiative: Ethnic Minority Business component, *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research,* 3 (3):32-39.

Jones T, McEvoy, D. & Barrett, G. (1994). Labour intensive practices in the ethnic minority firm. In J. Atkinson & D. Storey (Eds.), *Employment, the Small Firm and the Labour Market*, London: Routledge.

Jones, T., & Ram, M. (1998). *Ethnic Minorities in Business*. London: Small Business Research Trust.

Jones,T., D. McEvoy and C. McGoldrick (2002). The economic embeddedness of immigrant enterprise in Britain. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour & Research,* 8(1/2):11–31.

Jones, T., & Ram, M. (2003). South Asian businesses in retreat? The case of the United Kingdom. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 29(3):485-500.

Jones, T., Ram, M., & Edwards, P. (2004). Illegal Immigrants and the Asian Underground Economy in the West Midlands. *International Journal of Economic Development*, 6(2): 92-113.

Jones, T., Ram, M. & Edwards, P. (2006). Shades of grey in the informal economy. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 26(9/10): 357-73.

Jones, T. & Ram, M. (2010) Ethnic Variations on the Small Firm Labour Process *International Small Business Journal*, 28(2): 163-173.

Kahanec, M., &Mendola, M. (2007). Social determinants of labor market status of ethnic minorities in Britain, Discussion Paper No. 3146, Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA), Bonn, November. Retrieved from: http://ideas.repec.org/p/iza/izadps/dp3146.html.

Kalleberg, A.L. & Leicht, K.T. (1991). Gender and organisational performance: determinants of small business survival and success, *The Academy of Management Journal*. 34(1):136–61.

Kandasamy, I., & Ancheri, S. (2009). Hotel employees' expectations of QWL: A qualitative study. International Journal of Hospitality Management, *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 28(3): 328-337.

Kay, J. (2003). *The Truth about Markets : Their Genius, Their Limits, Their Follies*. London: Allen Lane.

Keat, R., & Abercrombie, N. (1991). (Eds). *Enterprise Culture*. London: Routledge.

Kennedy, S., & Mcdonald, J.T. (2006). Immigrant Mental Health and Unemployment. *Economic Record*. 82 (259): 445-459.

Kirp, D.L. (2003). *Shakespeare, Einstein and the Bottom Line*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Kirzner, I. M. (1973). *Competition and Entrepreneurship.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Kloosterman, R. (2003). Creating opportunities: Policies aimed at increasing openings for immigrant entrepreneurs in the Netherlands. *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development*, 15(2):167-81.

Kloosterman, R. & Rath, J. (2002). Working on the fringes: Immigrant businesses, economic integration and informal practices. An international network sponsored by the European Commission under the Targeted Socio-Economic Research Programme. Executive Summary, Amsterdam, University of Amsterdam.

Kloosterman, R. & Rath, J. (2003). *Immigrant Entrepreneurs: Venturing Abroad.* Oxford: Berg.

Kloosterman, R.,Van Der Leun, J., & Rath, J. (1999). Mixed embeddedness: in formal economic activities and immigrant businesses in The Netherlands. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 23(2): 252-67.

Knowles, D. (2009). Claiming the streets: feminist implications of psychogeography as a business research method. *Electronic Journal of Business Research Methods*, 7 (1). pp. 47-54.

Kockelmans, J. (1994). *Edmund Husserl's Phenomenology*. West Lafayette: Indiana, Purdue University Press.

Komppula, R. (2004). Success and growth in rural tourism micro-businesses in Finland: Financial or lifestyle objectives?. In R. Thomas (Ed) *Small Firms in Tourism: International Perspective.* (pp. 115-138). Oxford: Elsevier.

Kon, Y., & Storey, D.J (2003). A theory of discouraged borrowers, *Small Business Economics*, 21(1): 37-49.

Kong, T., Mahoney, D., & Plummer, K. (2002). Queering the interview. In J.A. Holstein & J. F.Gubrium (2003), (Eds), *Inside Interviewing*: *New Lenses, New Concerns*. (pp.239-258).Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Kruger, D. (1988). *An introduction to phenomenological psychology*. Cape Town, South Africa: Juta.

Kuhn, T. S. (1970). *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. 2nd ed. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Kurtoglu, F. (2007). Immigrant entrepreneurs in Austria. In Dana, L. P. (Ed) *Handbook of Research on Ethnic Minority Entrepreneurship: A Co-evolutionary View on Resource Management*, Cheltenham: dward Elgar Publishing Ltd.

Kusluvan, S. (2003) *Managing Employee Attitudes and Behaviors in the Tourism and Hospitality Industry.* New York, NY , Nova Science.

Kvale, S. (1996). *InterViews: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Lacroix, C. (2010). *Immigrants, Literature and National Integration (New Perspectives in German Political Studies).* Palgrave: Macmillan.

Lai, P., & Baum, T. (2005). Just-in time labour supply in the hotel sector: The role of agencies. *Employee Relations*, 27(1):86-103.

Langridge, D. (2008). Phenomenology and critical social psychology: directions and debates in theory and research. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*. 2 (3): 1126-1142.

Lashley, C. (2000). Towards a theoretical understanding. In C. Lasley, & A. Morrison, (Eds)*, In search of hospitality: theoretical perspectives and debates*, Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann, 1–17.

Lashley, C., Lynch, P., Morrison, A. (2007). *Hospitality: a social lens*, Oxford: Elsevier.

Lashley, C., Lynch, P.A., & Morrison, A. (2007). Hospitality: An Introduction. In C. Lashley, P.A. Lynch, & A. Morrison, (eds.) *Hospitality: A Social Lens*, Elsevier, Oxford.

Lashley, C., & Rowson, B. (2009). Lifestyle businesses: insights from Blackpool's hotel sector. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 29(3): 511-19.

Le Blanc, C. L. (2010). *High Impact Hospitality,* Lakewood, US: Thundersnow Publishing.

Lee-Ross. D., & Lashley, C. (2009) *Entrepreneurship and Small Business Management in the Hospitality Industry*, Oxford, Butterworth-Heinemann.

Lerner, M., & Haber, S. (2001). Performance factors of small tourism ventures: The interface of tourism, entrepreneurship and environment. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 16(1): 77-100.

Li, L. (2008). A review of entrepreneurship research published in the hospitality and tourism management journals. *Tourism management*. 29(5): 1013-1022.

Li, Y. (2005). *Social capital, ethnicity and the labour market*. Proceedings of the International Conference on Engaging Community, Retrieved from: http://engagingcommunities2005.org/abstracts/Li-Yaojun-final.pdf.

Li, Y. (2007) *Assessing data needs and gaps for researching ethnic minority entrepreneurship in Britain*, consultation paper for the ESRC/DTI/CRE/EMDA.

Li, Y., & Heath, Y. (2007). *Minority ethnic groups in British labour market (1972-2005): Exploring patterns, trends and processes of minority ethnic disadvantages*. Leeds: Leeds University.

Li, Y., Pickles, A., & Savage, M. (2005). Social Capital and Social Trust in Britain. *European Sociological Review*, 21(2):109-123.

Light, I. (1984). Immigrant and ethnic enterprise in North America. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 7(2): 195-216.

Light, I., & Bonacich, E. (1988). *Immigrant Entrepreneurs.* Berkeley Ca: University of California Press.

Light, I., Sabagh, G., Bozorgmehr, M., & Martirosian, D. (1994). Beyond the Ethnic Enclave Economy. *Social problem*s, 41(1): 65-80.

Light, I. & Roach. E. (1996). Self-Employment: Mobility Ladder or Economic Lifeboat?. In R. Waldinger & M. Bozorgmehr. (Eds), *Ethnic Los Angeles*. (pp. 193-214). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Lin, N. (2001). *Social Capital*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Lockyer, C., Morrison, A. (1999). *Scottish Tourism Market: Structure, Characteristics and Performance*, Scottish Tourism Research Unit/Fraser of Allander Institute, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow.

Lucas, R. (2004). *Employment Relations in the Hospitality and Tourism Industries*. London: Routledge.

Lumpkin, G.T., & Dess, G.G. (1996). Clarifying the entrepreneurial orientation construct and linking it to performance. *Academy of Management Review*, 21(1): 135-72.

Lynch, P. (1999). Host attitudes towards guests in the homestay sector. *Tourism and Hospitality Research*. 1(2): 119-44.

Lynch, P. (2000). Against reflexivity as an academic virtue and source of privileged knowledge. *Theory, Culture and Society*,17(23): 26-54.

Lynch, P.A. (2005). Sociological Impressionism in a Hospitality Context. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 32(3): 527–548.

Lynch, P. (2006). Sociological impressionism in a hospitality context. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 32(3): 527-548.

Lynch, P., & MacWhannell, D. (2000). Home and commercialized hospitality. In C. Lashley and A. Morrison, *In Search of Hospitality*. (pp. 100-114). Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Lyon, F, Baldock R, McPherson M, Ekanem I, Ellis C, Bertotti M, Sepulveda L, Oyelere M (2007a) Types and Impacts of BME businesses, final report to SEMEDA (South East Multi-Ethnic Development Agency) *Centre for Enterprise and Economic Development Research*, London.

Lyon, F, Sepulveda, L and Syrett, S (2007b). Enterprising Refugees: Contributions and Challenges in Deprived Urban Areas. *Local Economy,* 22(4): 363-376.

Lyon, M. (1972). Ethnicity in Britain: The Gujerati Tradition, *New Community,* 2(1): 1-12.

Lyotard, J.F. (1984). *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge (Theory & History of Literature)*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

MacKenzie, D., & Millo, Y. (2003). Constructing a market, performing a theory: the historical sociology of a financial derivates market. *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 109(1):107-45.

Madanipour, A, Cars, G., & Allen, J (1998). Social Exclusion in European Cities. London: Jessica Kingsley.

Marable, M. (1992). *Black America,* Westfield, NJ: Open Media.

Marschau-Piekkari, R. & Reis, C. (2004). Language and Languages in Cross-Cultural Interviewing. In R. Marschan-Piekkari, & C. Welch, (eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research Methods for International Business,* (pp. 224-243). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Mascarenhas-Keyes (2006). Ethnic minority small and medium enterprises in England: Diversity and challenges. 51st Conference of the International Council for Small Business, Melbourne, Australia, 18-21 June.

Maso, I. (1995). Trifurcate openness. In I. Maso, P.A. Atkinson, S. Delamont, & J.C. Verhoven (Eds). *Openness in Research: The tension between self and others*. (pp. 7-19). Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum.

Masurel, E., Nijkamp, P., & Vindigni, G. (2004). Breeding Places for Ethnic Entrepreneurs: A Comparative Marketing Approach. *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development.* 16 (2) 77-86.

Mata, F., & Pendakur, R. (1999). Immigration, labor force integration, and the pursuit of self-employment. *International Migration Review,* 33(2): 378–402.

Matiz Bulla, F. J. & Hormiga, E. (2011). Highly-skilled Colombian immigrants in Spain: Do they have to return home to start up in business? *Education + Training*, 53 (5):448 – 461.

McEvoy, D. & Hafeez, K. (2006). *The changing face of ethnic minority entrepreneurship in Britain*. 4th European Conference on Entrepreneurship Research, University of Regensburg, February.

McEvoy, D., Jones T., Cater J., and Aldrich H. (1982). Asian Immigrant Businesses in British Cities. Paper presented to the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Liverpool.

McGrath, R. G., MacMillan, I. C., Yang, E. A., & Tsai, W. (1992). Does culture endure, or is it malleable? Issues for entrepreneurial economic development. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 7:441-458.

Menzies, T.V., Brenner, G.A., & Filion, L.J. (2003a). Social capital, networks and ethnic minority entrepreneurs: Transnational entrepreneurship and bootstrap capitalism. In H. Etemad & R.W. Wright (Eds.), *Globalization and Entrepreneurship: Policy and Strategy Perspectives*. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Menzies, T. Filion, L. Brenner, G., & Elgie, S. (2003b). A Study of Entrepreneurs' Ethnic Involvement utilizing Personal and Business Characteristics, Paper presented at the 20th Annual CCSBE Conference, Victoria, B.C., November 6-8. Retrieved from: http://web.hec.ca/creationdentreprise/CERB_Backup-12-mai-2008/pdf/2003-18EIMEthnicCCPME2003.PDF

Menzies, T.V., Filion, L.J., Brenner, G.A., & Elgie, S. (2007). Measuring ethnic community involvement: development and initial testing of an index. *Journal of Small Business Management*,45 (2):267-82.

Merleau-Ponty, M. (1945/1995). *Phenomenology of Perception* (C. Smith, Trans.). London: Routledge.

Merleau-Ponty, M. (1964/1961). *Eye and mind in The Primacy of perception* (J. Edie, Trans) Evanston, IL, US: North Western University Press.

Merleau-Ponty, M. (1948/1968). *The visible and the invisible* (A. Lingis, Trans) Evanston, IL, US: Evanson: IL: North Western University Press.

Metcalf, H., Modood, T., & Virdee, S. (1996). *Asian Self-Employment: the Interaction of Culture and Economics*, London: Policy Studies Institute.

Migration information source, country profiles, 2006, available online: http://www.migrationinformation.org/feature/display.cfm?ID=424.

Miles, M.B., & Huberman, A.M. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis: An expanded sourcebook.* London: Sage & California: Thousand Oaks.

Minghuan, L. (1999) *We need two worlds. Chinese immigrant associations in a Western society*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press.

Mishler, E. G. (2000). Validation in inquiry-guided research: The role of exemplars in narrative studies. In B. M. Brizuela, J. P. Stewart, R. G. Carrillo, & J. G. Berger (Eds.), Acts of inquiry in qualitative research (pp. 119-146). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Educational Review.

Modood, T. (1992). *Not Easy Being British: Colour, Culture and Citizenship.* London: Runnymede Trust and Trentham Books.

Modood, T. (1997). Employment. In Modood, T. (ed.). *Ethnic Minorities in Britain,*(pp. 83–149). London: Policy Studies Institute.

Modood, T. (2003). Muslims and the Politics of Difference. *Political Quarterly*, 74(1): 100–15.

Modood, T., Berthoud, R., Lakey, J., Nazroo, J., Smith, P., Virdee, S., & Beishon, S. (1997). *Ethnic Minorities in Britain: Diversity and Disadvantage*. London: Policy Studies Institute. 122-129.

Montuori, A. (1998). *Post-modern systems theory, epistemology and environment: the challenge of reconceptualisation*, San Francisco, CA: California institute of integral studies.

Moreno, A., & Casillas, J. (2008). Entrepreneurial orientation and growth of SMEs: A causal model. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*. 32(3):507-528.

Morgan, D. (1997). *Focus groups as qualitative research*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Morin, E. (1994). *La Complexit humaine*. [Human complexity], Paris: Flammarion.

Morrison, A. (1996). Guest House and Small Hotels. In P. Jones (Ed.). *Introduction to Hospitality Operations*. (pp. 73-85). London: Cassell.

Morrison, A. (1998). *Entrepreneurship: An International Perspective*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Morrison, A. (1999). *Entrepreneurship: An Introduction*. Glasgow, Scottish Hotel School, University of Strathclyde.

Morrison, A. (2000). Entrepreneurship: what triggers it?. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour & Research*, 6(2): 59-71.

Morrison, A. (2006). A contextualization of entrepreneurship. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 12(4):192-209.

Morrison, A.J., Baum. T., & Andrew, R. (2001). The lifestyle economics of small tourism businesses. *Journal of Travel and Tourism Research*, 1(1-2): 16–25.

Morrison, A., Breen, J., & Ali, D. (2003). Small business growth: intention, ability, and opportunity. *Journal of Small Business Management*, 41(4):417-425.

Morrison, A., Carlsen, J., & Weber, P. (2009). Lifestyle oriented small tourism (LOST) firms and tourism destination development. CAUTHE conference proceedings, Australia.

Morrison, A. & Thomas, R. (1999). The future of small firms in hospitality industry. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality management*, 11(4):148-154.

Morrison, A., Remmington, M., & Williams, C. (1999). *Entrepreneurship in the Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure Industries.* Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Morrison, A., Teixeira, R. (2004a). Small firm performance in the context of agent and structure: a cross cultural comparison in the tourism accommodation sector. In R. Thomas, (Eds). *Small Firms in Tourism: International Perspectives*, Oxford: Elsevier.

Morrison, A. & Teixeira, R. (2004b). Small business performance: a tourism sector focus. *Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development,* 11(2): 166-173.

Morrison, A. M., & Von Glinow, M. A. (1990). Women and minorities in management. *American Psychologist,* 45(2): 200–208.

Morse, J. (1994). Going in blind. *Qualitative Health Research*. 4 (1): 3-5.

Mottiar, Z. (2007). Lifestyle entrepreneurs and spheres of inter-firm relations. *Entrepreneurship and Innovation*, 8(1): 67-74.

Mottier, V. (2005). The Interpretive Turn: History, Memory, and Storage in Qualitative Research. *Forum of Qualitative Social Research*, 6 (2), 33. Available at: from http://www.qualitativeresearch.net/fqs-texte/2-05/05-2-33-e.htm

Moustakas, C. (1994). *Phenomenological research methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Muhammad, A. Akbar, S. & Dalziel, M. (2011) The journey to develop educated entrepreneurs: prospects and problems of Afghan businessmen, *Education & Training*, 53(5): 433 – 447.

Mulholland, K. (1997). The family enterprise and business strategies, *Work employment and Society*, 11(4): 685-711.

Mulvaney, R., O ' Neill, J., Cleverland, J.,& Crouter, A. (2006). A model of work – family dynamics of hotel managers. *Annals of Tourism Research,* 34 (1): 66–87.

Munshi, K. (2003). Networks in the modern economy: Mexican migrants in the US labor market, *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 118(2):549-99.

Murphy, E.J., Mahalingam, R. (2006). Perceived Congruence Between Expectations and Outcomes: Implications for Mental Health among Caribbean Immigrants. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*. 76 (1):120-127.

Nabi, G. (2003).Graduate employment and underemployment: opportunity for skill use and career experiences amongst recent business graduates, *Education and Training*, 45(7): 371-382.

Nagatomo, J. (2008). From tourist to migrant: The interaction between work-oriented lifestyle, tourism experience, and migration decision among Japanese lifestyle migrants to Australia. paper was presented to the 17th Biennial Conference of the Asian Studies Association of Australia. Melbourne 1 July – 3 July. Retrieved from: http://arts.monash.edu.au/mai/asaa/junnagatomo.pdf

Natanson, M. (1973). *Edmund* Husserl*; Philosopher of Infinite Tasks*. Evanston IL: Northwestern University Press.

National Employment Panel (NEP) *in association with the EMBF (2005), Enterprising People, Enterprising Places, measures to increase ethnic minority employment and business growth.* Retrieved from: http://www.dwp.gov.uk/docs/fullreport.pdf

Natwest (2000) *Ethnic Minority Business*. London: National Westminster Banks.

Neimeyer, G.J. (1993). *Constructivist assessment*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Nicholson, L., & Anderson, A. (2005). News and nuances of the entrepreneurial myth and metaphor: Linguistic games in entrepreneurial sense-making and sense-giving. *Entrepreneurship Theory and practice,* 29(2): 153-172.

Nickson, D. (2007) Human Resource Management for the Hospitality and Tourism Industries, Oxford, Butterworth-Heinemann.

North, D. (1990). Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nussbaum, M. (1997). *Cultivating humanity: A classical defense of reform in liberal education.* Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press.

Nwankwo, S. (2005). Characterisation of Black African entrepreneurship in the UK: a pilot study. *Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development*, 12(1): 120-36.

O'Gorman, K. (2010). *The Origins of Hospitality and Tourism*, Oxford: Goodfellow.

Oakley, A. (1981). Interviewing women: A contradiction in terms. In H. Roberts (Ed). *Doing feminist research London,* (pp. 30-61), London: *Routledge and Kegan Paul.*

ODPM [Office of the Deputy Prime Minister] (2004): *Planning and diversity: research into policies and procedures.* London: ODPM. Retrieved from: http://www.communities.gov.uk/archived/publications/planningandbuilding/planningdiversity

ODPM [Office of the Deputy Prime Minister] (2004). *Business-led regeneration of deprived areas: a review of the evidence base.* Research Report No. X, Neighbourhood Renewal Unit. London. Retrieved from http://www.bis.gov.uk/files/file38344.pdf

ODPM [Office of the Deputy Prime Minister] (2004). Jobs and enterprise in deprived areas. Social Exclusion Report, Social Exclusion Unit. London. Retrieved from http://www.viral.info/iod/iodpdf/JobsEntfinalreport.pdf

Ogbor, J. (2000) Mythicisng and reification in entrepreneurial discourse: ideology critique of entrepreneurial studies. *Journal of Management Studies*. 37(5): 605-635.

Okigbo, E. (2009). 'Africans in Ireland and the New Political Activism'. a paper presented at the *Postgraduate Conference of the Sociological Association of Ireland.* National University of Ireland, Maynooth.

Omar, H. (2011) Arab American entrepreneurs in San Antonio, Texas: motivation for entry into self-employment, *Education, Business and Society: Contemporary Middle Eastern Issues,* 4 (1):33 – 42.

O'Muircheartaigh, C. and Campanelli, P. (1998). The Relative Impact of Interviewer Effects and Sample Design effects on survey precision, *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Series A, 161(1): 63-77.

ONS [Office for National Statistics] (2001). *Labour Market Trends*, 109 (1). London: Office for National Statistics.

ONS [Office for National Statistics] (1999). *The Ethnic minority populations of Great Britain latest estimates*. London: Office for National Statistics.

Osborne, H. (2005). Ethnic minority businesses surge ahead. available at: http://money.

parliament publications (2000, 16th March) Retrieved from http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm199900/cmhansrd/vo000316/text/00316w05.htm

Patel, S. (1991). Patterns of growth: Asian retailing in inner and outer areas of Birmingham. In S. Vertovec (Ed.), *Aspects of the South Asian Diaspora*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Patton, M. (2002). *Qualitative research and Evaluation methods*. CA: Thousand Oaks, Sage.

Peters, N. (2002). Mixed embeddedness: does it really explain immigrant enterprise in Western Australia? *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour & Research,* 8(1/2): 32–53.

Phillimore, J. & Goodson, L. (2004). *Qualitative Research in Tourism: Ontologies, Epistemologies and Methodologies*, London: Routledge.

Phinney, J., Horencsyk, G., Liebkind, K., & Vedder, P. (2001). "Ethnic identity, immigration, and well-being: an interactional perspective". *Journal of Social Issues*. 57 (3): 493-510.

Phizacklea, A., & Ram, M. (1996). Being your own boss: ethnic minority entrepreneurs in comparative perspective. Work, Employment & Society, 10(2): 319-339.

Pio, A. (2010) Islamic sisters: Spirituality and ethnic entrepreneurship in Sweden, *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal,* 29(1):113 – 130.

Piperopoulos, P. (2010) Ethnic minority businesses and immigrant entrepreneurship in Greece, *Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development*, 17(1):139 – 158.

Platt, L. (2005). *Migration and social mobility, The life chances of Britain's minority ethnic communities*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Pocock, B., Skinner, N., & Williams,P.(2007). Work, Life and Time; The Australian Work and Life Index. Centre for Work & Life, Hawke Research Institute: University of South Australia.

Ponterotto, J., Casas, J., Suzuki, L., & Charlene, M. (2010). *Handbook of Multicultural Counseling*. London: Sage.

Portes, A. (1997). Immigration theory for a new century: some problems and opportunities. *International Migration Review*, 31(4): 799-825. New York: Staten Island.

Portes, A. (1998). Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology* 24(1): 1–24.

Portes, A., & Jensen, L. (1987) What's an Ethnic Enclave? The Case for Conceptual Clarity. *American Sociological* Review 52(6):768-71

Portes, A., & Manning, R. (1986). The immigrant enclave: theory and empirical examples. In J. Nagel, & S. Olzak, (Ed). *Ethnicity: Structure and Process*. (pp. 63-152). New York: Academic Press.

Portes, A. & Zhou, M. (1992). Gaining the Upper Hand: Economic Mobility Among Domestic Minorities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 15(4):491-522.

Powell, G. N. (1999). *Handbook of gender and work*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Pratten, J.,& O ' Leary, B.(2007). Addressing the causes of chef shortages in the UK .*Journal of European Industrial Training*,31(1): 68–78.

Prattern, J. (2003). The training an d retention of chefs. *International Journal of Contemporay Hospitality Management*, 15(4):237-242.

Putz, R. (2003). Culture and entrepreneurship-Remarks on transculturality as practice. *Royal Dutch Geographical Society*, 94(5): 554-563.

Puzzo, C. (2007). British Migration to the Midi-Pyrenees. In C. Geoffroy & R. Sibley (Eds.), Going Abroad: Travel, Tourism, and Migration. Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Mobility (pp. 110-119). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Race Legislation Act (1976)
    Retrieved from http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1976/74/contents.

Rafiq, M. (1985). *Asian Businesses in Bradford: Profile and Prospect*. Bradford: Bradford Metropolitan Council.

Ram, M. (1992). Coping with racism: Asian employers in the inner city. *Work, Employment and Society,* 6(4): 601-618.

Ram, M. (1994). *Managing to Survive: Working Lives in Small Firms*, Oxford: Backwell.

Ram. M. (1997). Ethnic minority enterprise: an overview and research agenda. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour & Research*, 3(3): 149 – 156.

Ram, M., Edwards, P., & Jones, T. (2007). Staying underground: informal work, small firms and employment regulations in the United Kingdom. *Work and Occupations*, 34(3): 318-44.

Ram, M., & Jones, T. (1998). *Ethnic Minorities in Business*, *Small Business Research Trust Report.* Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Ram, M., & Jones, T. (2002). Making the connection: Ethnic minority business and the family enterprise. In   D. Fletcher, (Ed.), *Understanding the Small Family Business*, London: Routledge.

Ram, M., & Jones, T. (2006). *Ethnic Minority Businesses in the West Midlands: A Review.* Report to Advantage West Midlands, Centre for Research into Ethnic Minority Enterprise (CREME), Leicester: De Montfort University.

Ram, M., & Jones, T. (2007). Ethnic Minority business: Developments in research and policy. In K. Hafeez, D. McEvoy, & K. Hooi, (Eds.), *Changing Faces of Ethnic Entrepreneurship,* Bradford: The University of Bradford Centre for Ethnic Entrepreneurship.

Ram, M., & Jones, T. (2008). Ethnic Minority Business in the UK: A Review of Research and Policy Developments. *Government and Policy (Environment and Planning 'C'),* 26(2): 352–74.

Ram M., Sanghera B., Abbas T., Barlow G. and Jones T. (2000). Ethnic minority business in comparative perspective: the case of the independent restaurant sector, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 26(3): 495-510.

Ram, M., Smallbone, D., & Linneker, B. (2002). Assessing the potential of supplier diversity initiatives as a means of promoting diversification among ethnic minority businesses in the UK, Small Business Service.

Ram, M., & Smallbone, D. (2003). Policies to support ethnic minority enterprise. *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development*, 15(2): 151-166.

Ram, M., Smallbone, D., Deakins, D. and Jones, T. (2003). Banking on Break-out: Finance and the Development of Ethnic Minority Businesses. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* 29(4): 663-681.

Rapport, N., & Overing, J. (2007). *Social and Cultural Anthropology: The Key Concepts.* London: Routledge.

Ratcliffe, P. (2004). *Race, Ethnicity and Difference: Imagining the Inclusive Society.* Open University Press: Maidenhead.

Rath, J & Kloosterman, R. (2002). *Working on the fringes: Immigrant businesses, economic integration and informal practices.* An international network sponsored by the European Commission under the Targeted Socio-Economic Research Programme. Executive Summary, Amsterdam, University of Amsterdam. Retrieved from: http://www.janrath.com/downloads/@Executive_Summary_Ethnic_Entrepreneurship_Network.pdf

Ray, S., & Ramachandran, K. (1996). A framework for developing a comprehensive theory of entrepreneurship. *Journal of Entrepreneurship*, 5(1): 1-22.

Razin, E. & Light, I (1998). Ethnic entrepreneurs in America's largest metropolitan areas. *Urban Affairs Review*, 3(3): 332–60.

Razin, E. (2002). The economic context, embeddedness and immigrant entrepreneurs (Conclusion). *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour & Research*, 8(1/2), 162–7.

Razin, E., & Light, I. (1998). Ethnic entrepreneurship in America's largest metropolitan areas. *Urban Affairs Review,* 33(3): 332–360.

Reid, R., Dunn, B., Cromie, S. and Adams, J. (1999). Family Orientation in Family Firms: A Model and Some Empirical Evidence. *Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development*, 6(1): 55-67.

Reinharz, S. (1992). *Feminist methods in social research*. New York: OxfordUniversity Press.

Reitz, J.G., Sklar, S.M. (1997). "Culture, race, and the economic assimilation of immigrants". *Sociological Forum*. 12 (2): 77-233.

Remennick, L. (2004). "Language acquisition, ethnicity and social integration among Former Soviet Immigrants of the 1990s in Israel". *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 27 (3): 54-431.

Reskin, B., & Padavic, I. (1994). *Women and men at work*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge.

Ricoeur, P. (1976). *Interpretation theory. Discourse and the surplus of meaning*. Forth Worth: Texas Christian University Press.

Riley (1996). Human *Resource Management in the Hospitality and Tourism Industry.* Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Ritchie, J. and Lewis, J. (2003). *Qualitative Research Practice. A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*. London: Sage.

Roberts, H. (1990). Doing Feminist Research. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Robinson, D., & Reed, V. (Eds.). (1998). *The A Z of social research jargon*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

Robinson, R.N., Arcodia, C.V., Tian, C., & Charlton, P. (2010). Cookery-related employment vacancy advertisements and skills shortages. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 22(4): 483 – 499.

Robson, C. (2002). *Real world research: A resource for social scientists and practitioner researchers*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Rodriguez, V., Fernandez-Mayoralas, G., & Rojo, F. (1998). European Retirees on the Costa del Sol: A cross-national comparison. *International Journal of Population Geography*. 4 (2): 91-111.

Rodríguez, V., Fernández-Mayoralas, G., & Rojo, F. (1998). European Retirees on the Costa del Sol: A Cross-National Comparison. *International Journal of Population Geography*. 4 (2): 91-111.

Rothenberg, P.S. (2005). *White Privilege*. New York: Worth Publishers.

Rowley, J. (2006). Where is the wisdom that we have lost in knowledge?. *Journal of Documentation*, 62(2): 251 - 270.

Rusinovic, K. (2006). *Dynamic entrepreneurship. First and second-generation immigrant entrepreneurs in Dutch cities*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Sandelowski, M., & Barroso, J. (2002). Finding the findings in qualitative studies. *Journal of Nursing Scholarship*, 34, (3), 213-220.

Sanders, J. & Nee, V. (1996). Social Capital, Human Capital, and Immigrant Self-Employment: The Family as Social Capital and the Value of Human Capital. *American Sociological Review.* 61(2): 231-249.

Sanjek, R. (1990). *Fieldnotes: The Makings of Anthropology*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Say, J. (1964). [1803] *A Treatise on Political Economy.* New York A.M. Kelley.

Scarman, L. (1981). *The Brixton Disorders 10–12 April 1981: Report of an Inquiry by the Rt. Hon.* London: HMSO.

Schaeffer, N., Dykema, J., & Meynard, D. W. (2010) Interviewers and Interviewing. In P. Marsder, & J. Wright (Eds.) *Handbook of Survey Research*. (pp. 437-470). Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing.

Schatzman, L., & Strauss, A. (1973). *Field research: Strategies for a natural Sociology,* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Scheurich, J. (1995). A postmodernist critique of research interviewing. *Qualitative Studies in Education,* 8(3): 239-252.

Schroth, H. A., & Shah, P. P. (2000). Procedures: Do we really want to know them? An examination of the effects of procedural justice on self-esteem. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 85: 462–471.

Schuler, A.J. (2003). How to Build Wisdom and Prosper in an "Information Age". *Schuler Solutions*, Retrieved from: http://www.schulersolutions.com/information_age_wisdom.html

Schumpeter, J.A. (1934). *The Theory of Economic Development.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Schutz,A. (1974).*Collected Papers, Vol. I: The Problem of Social Reality*, L. Van Breda, & M. Natanson (Eds) . Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

Schwandt, T. A. (1997). *Qualitative inquiry: A dictionary of terms*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Schwandt, T. A. (2000). Three epistemological stances for qualitative inquiry: Interpretivism, hermenueutics, and social constructivism. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 189-213). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Scott, J.M., & Hussain, J. (2008). Ownership succession and enterprise education in UK ethnic minority family firms. FBE 2008 Conference Best Practices on Family Business and Entrepreneurship Higher Education, August 21-22, 2008, University of Jyväskylä, Finland. In J. Kansikas & J. Lambrecht, (Eds.), Studies on family busiess and entrepreneurship education. University of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä ,Finland.

Seale, C. (1999). Quality in qualitative research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 5(4): 465-478.

Self, W. (2008). Psychogeography, authour's notes taken at a public event with this title held jointly by the Victoria and Albert Museum and [deleted for anonymity], at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 8 February.

Shane, S. (1994). Cultural values and the championing process. Entrepreneurship Theory & Practice, 18, 25-41.

Shane, S. & Venkataraman, S., (2000) The promise of entrepreneurship as a field of research. *Academy of Management Review*, 25(1): 217-226.

Shaw, E., & Conway, S. (2000) Networking and the small firm. In S. Carter, & D. Jones-Evans (Eds.) *Enterprise and The small Business*. (pp. 367-383). Harlow UK: Financial Times, Prentice Hall.

Shaw, G., & Williams, A. (1987). Firm formation and operating characteristics in the Cornish tourist industry-the case of Looe. *Tourism Management* 8(4):344-348.

Shaw, G., & Williams, A. (1990). Tourism, economic development and the role of entrepreneurial activity. In C. Cooper (Ed). *Progress in tourism, recreation and hospitality management.* (pp. 67-81). London: Belhaven Press.

Shaw, G., & Williams, A. (1994). *Critical issues in tourism: a geographical perspective.* Oxford: Basil.

Shaw, G., & Williams, A. (2004). From Lifestyle Consumption to Lifestyle Productio: Challenging Patterns of Tourism Entrepreneurship. In R. Thomas (Ed) *Small Firm in Tourism: international Perspective.* (pp. 99-113). Oxford: Elsevier.

Sherif, B. (2001). The Ambiguity of Boundaries in the Fieldwork Experience: Establishing Rapport and Negotiating Insider/Outsider Status. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 7(4): 436-447.

Silver, H. (1994). Social exclusion and social solidarity. *International Labour Review,* 133(5-6): 531-78.

Silverman, D. (2009). *Doing qualitative Research*, London: Sage.

Simmel, G. (1918). *Vom Wesen des historischen Verstehens. Berlin: E. S. Mittler und Sohn; [1905] 1977. The Problems of the Philosophy of History.* Guy Oakes (Trans.). New York: Free Press.

Simmel, G. (1950), 'The stranger', In K. Wolf (Ed.), *The Sociology of George Simmel.* Glencoe Il: Free Press.

Sinclair, I. (1998). *Lights out for the Territory*, London: Granta.

Sivanandan, A. (1990). *Communities of Resistance*, London: Verso.

Smaling, A. (1995). Open-mindedness, open-heartedness and dialogical openness: The dialectics of openings and closures. In I. Maso, P.A. A Atkinson, S. Delamont, & J.C. Verhoven (Eds.). *Openness in Research: The tension between self and others*, (pp. 7-19). Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum.

Small Business Service [SBS]. (2004). *A Government Action Plan for Small Business: Evidence Base*, London: SBS.

Smallbone, D., & Wyer, P. (2000). Growth and development in the small firm. In S. Carter & D. Jones-Evans (Eds.). *Enterprise and Small Business.* Harlow: Pearson Education.

Smetherham, C. (2005), Briefing Paper 3: *A Review of the Literature on Graduate Employment, Underemployment and Unemployment*: *Report for the Independent Study into the Devolution of the Student Support System and Tuition Fee Regime*, Cardiff University, Cardiff. Retrieved from: http://mt.educarchile.cl/MT/jjbrunner/archives/libros/Tendencias/pdf/briefingnote3-e.pdf

Smith, D. (1977). *Racial Disadvantage in England.* London: Penguin.

Smith, D. (2003). Phenomenology. In E. Zalta (Ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy.* Retrieved from: http://plato.stanford.edu/.

Smith, S., & Tienda, M. (1988). The double disadvantage: women of color in the US labor force. In A.H., Stromberg, & S. Harkness, (Eds), *Women Working: Theories and facts in Perspective*, (pp. 61 – 80).Mayfield, CA,: Mountain View.

Smith-Hunter, A.E., & Boyd, R. (2004). Applying theories of entrepreneurship to a comparative analysis of white and minority women business owners. *Women in Management Review.* 19 (1): 18–28.

Snape, D. & Spencer, L. (2003). The foundations of qualitative research. In Ritchie J & Lewis, J. *Qualitative Research Practice. A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers.* in London: Sage Publications: 1-23

Social Exclusion Unit, Cabinet Office, (2001) *Jobs and enterprise in deprived areas*, Social Exclusion Report, September, Office of the Deputy Prime Minister [ODPM]. London.

Social Exclusion, Cabinet Office. (2001). *Preventing Social Exclusion.* Report by the Social Exclusion Unit, Cabinet Office. Office of the Deputy Prime Minister [ODPM]. London. March, Chapter 1, (1.2). Retrieved from http://www.socialexclusionunit.gov.uk/downloaddoc.asp?id=232

Solomos, J. (1987). The politics of anti-discrimination legislation: planned social reform or symbolic politics?. In R. Jenkins, & Solomos, J. (Eds.) *Racism and Equal Opportunity Policies in the 1980s.* (pp30–53). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Solomos, J. (1988). *Black Youth, Racism and the State*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Solomos, J. (1993). *Race and Racism in Britain*, Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Sombart, W. (1914). *The Jews and Modern Capitalism,* New Brunswick NJ: Transaction.

Spellman, K. (2004) Religion and Nation: Iranian Local and Transnational Networks in Britain, Studies in Forced Migration – Volume 15, Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Stacey, R.D. (1996). *Strategic Management and Organisational Dynamics.* London: Pitman.

Stanfield, J. (1993). *Race and Ethnicity in Research Methods*, London: Sage.

Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy http://plato.stanford.edu .

Starkey, K., Tempest, S. (2008). A clear sense of purpose: the evolving role of the business school. *Journal of Management Development*, 27(4): 379-90.

Starkey, K., Tempest, S. (2009). Business schools: from crisis to purpose. *Journal of Management Development*, 28(8): 700-10.

Stenbacka, C. (2001). Qualitative research requires quality concepts of its own. *Management Decision*, 39(7): 551-555.

Storey, D. (1994). *Understanding the Small Business Sector.* NewYork: Routledge.

Strang, A. (2010) Refugee Integration: Emerging Trends and Remining Agendas, *Journal of Refugee Studies,* 23(4):589-607.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Stutzman, E. (1993). *American Indian stereotypes: The truth behind the hype.* Coos Bay, OR: Coos County Indian Education Coordination Program. Retrieved from: http://www.eric.ed.gov/PDFS/ED364396.pdf

Szivaz, E. (2001). Entrance into tourism entrepreneurship: A UK case study. *Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 3(2):163-172.

Tayeb, M. (1988). *Organizations and national culture: a comparative analysis*. London: Sage.

Taylor, C., & White, S. (2000). *Practising Reflexivity in Health and Welfare,* Open University Press: Buckingham.

Taylor, S. J., & R. Bogdan. (1998). *Introduction to qualitative research methods: A guidebook and resource*. New York: John Wiley.

Teixeira, C. (1998). Cultural resources and ethnic entrepreneurship: a case study of the Portuguese real estate industry in Toronto. *The Canadian Geographer*, 42(3):267-281.

Temple, B. (2005). Nice and tiday: Translation and representation. *Sociological Research Online,* 10(2)

Temple, B. & Young, A. (2004). Qualitative research and translationdilemmas, *Qualitaitve Research,* 4(2): 161-178

Tharmaseelan, N., Inkson, K.,& Carr, S. (2010). Migration and career success: testing a time-sequenced model, *Career Development International*, 15 (3):218 - 238

Thomas, R. (1995). Public policy and small hospitality firms. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management,* 7(2/3): 69-73.

Thomas, R. (2004). International Perspectives on Small Firms in Tourism: A Synthesis. In R. Thomas, (ed.). *Small Firms in Tourism: International Perspective*. (pp. 1-12). Oxford, Elsevier.

Thomas , R., Church, I., Eaglen, A., Jameson, S., Lincoln, G., & Parsons, D. (1997). *The National Survey of Small Tourism and Hospitality Firms: Annual Report 1997-98.* Leeds: Leeds Metropolitan University.

Thomas, R., Lashley, C., Rowson, B., Xie, G., Jameson, S., Eaglen, A., Lincoln, G., & Parsons, D. (2001), *The National Survey of Small Tourism and Hospitality Firms: 2001*, Centre for the Study of Small Tourism and Hospitality Firms, Leeds Metropolitan University, Leeds.

Thomas, R., & Augustyn, M.M. (Eds.) (2007). *Tourism in the New Europe: Perspectives on SME Policies and Practices*, Oxford, Elsevier.

Thomas, R., Lashley, C., Rowson, B., Xie, G., Jameson, S., Eaglen, A., Lincoln, G., Parsons, D. (2001), *The National Survey of Small Tourism and Hospitality Firms: 2001*, Centre for the Study of Small Tourism and Hospitality Firms, Leeds Metropolitan University, Leeds.

Thomas, R, Shaw, G. and Page, S (2011) Understanding small firms in tourism: A perspective on research trends and challenges, *Tourism Management*, 32 (5): 963-

976.

Thompson, C., Locander, W., & Pollio, H. (1989). Putting consumer experience back into consumer research: The philosophy and method of existential phenomenology. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 16(2): 133-146.

Tiffin, P.A., Pearce, M.S., Parker, L. (2005). Social Mobility over the Lifecourse and Self Reported Mental Health at Age 50: Prospective Cohort Study. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*. 59 (10): 870-872.

Tipu, A., & Arain, F. (2011). Managing success factors in entrepreneurial ventures: a behavioral approach, *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour & Research*, 17(5): 534 – 560.

Todres, L. (2007). *Embodied Enquiry: Phenomenological Touchstones for Research, Psychotherapy and Spirituality,* Hampshire & New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Todres, L. Galvin, K. & Dahlberg, K. (2007). Lifeworl-led healthcare:revisiting a humanizing philosophy that integrates emerging trends. *Medicine, Health Care and Philosophy,* 10(1): 53-63.

Tolciu, A. (2011) Migrant entrepreneurs and social capital: a revised perspective, *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour & Research*, 17(4):409 – 427.

Tregoning, W. (2003). *It feels like home: hospitality in a postcolonial space*. Colloquy 7. online, Retrieved from: http://arts.monash.edu.au/ecps/colloquy/journal/issue007/tregoning.pdf

Tsang, E. W. (1998). Mind Your Identity When Conducting Cross-National Research. *Organization Studies*, 19(3): 511-515.

Van Manen, M., (1990). *Researching Lived Experience*: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy. New York: State University of New York Press.

Van Niekerk, M. (2002). *Premigration Legacies and Immigrant Social Mobility. The Afro-Surinamese and Indo-Surinamese in the Netherlands,* Lanham, MD: Lexington.

Venkataraman, S. (1997). The distinctive domain of entrepreneurship, In J.A. Katz, (Eds), *Advances in Entrepreneurship: Firm Emergence and Growth*, Vol. 3, Greenwich Connecticut: JAI Press. pp.119-38.

Verheul, I., Wennekers, S., Audretsch, D., & Thurik, R. (2002). An Electic theory of entrepreneurship: Policies, institutionsand culture. In I. Verheul, S. Wennerlers, D. Audretsch, & R. Thurik (Eds) *Entrepreneurship: Determinants and Policy in a European-Us Comparison* Dordrecht: Kluwer: 11-87.

Vermeulen, H., & Penninx, R. (2001). *Immigrant Integration: The Dutch Case.* Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.Translation Publishers.

Vertovec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and its Implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30(6):1024–64.

Virdee, S. (2006). Race, employment and social change: a critique of current Orthodoxies. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29 (4): 605-28.

Volery, T. (2007). Ethnic entrepreneurship: a theoretical framework. In Dana, L.P. (Ed.), *Handbook of Research on Ethnic Minority Entrepreneurship.* (pp.30-41).Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Voss, M. D., Cangelosi, J., Rubach, M., & Nadler, S. (2011). An examination of small motor carrier survival techniques, *International Journal of Logistics Management,* 22(1): 87 – 103.

Vrasidas, C. (1997). *The white man's Indian: Stereotyping in film and beyond.* Cheyenne, WY, October 28, 1996. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. 408 950). Retrieved from: http://www.eric.ed.gov/PDFS/ED408950.pdf

Wagner, J. (1995). Exports, firm size and firm dynamics, Small Business Economics, *The Service Industries Journal,* 7(1): 29–39.

Waldinger, R. (1990). Opportunities, Group Characteristics and Strategies. *Ethnic Entrpreneurs*. R. Waldinger, H. Aldrich, R.Ward (Ed). London: Sage.

Waldinger, R. (1994). The making of an immigrant niche. *International Migration Review*, 28(1): 3-30.

Waldinger, R., Aldrich, H., & Ward, R. (1990a). (Eds). *Ethnic entrepreneurs: Immigrant business in industrial societies*. London: Sage.

Waldinger, R., H. Aldrich, & R. Ward (1990b). Opportunities, group characteristics and strategies, In R. Waldinger, H. Aldrich, & R. Ward (Eds.), *Ethnic Entrepreneurs: Immigrant Business in Industrial Societies.* (pp. 13–48). London: Sage.

Walton-Roberts, M., & Hiebert, D. (1997). Immigration, entrepreneurship and the family: IndoCanadian enterprise in the construction industry of greater Vancouver. Canadian Journal of Regional Science, 20(1-2), 119-140.

Ward, R. (1991). Economic development and ethnic business. In G. Lee & R. Loveridge, (Eds). *Paths of Enterprise*, (pp. 51-67). London: Routledge.

Warren, C. (1988). *Gendered issues in field research*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Wauters, B., & Lambrecht, J. (2008). Refugee entrepreneurship: the case of Belgium. In L. Iandoli, H., Lanström, M. Raffa, (Eds), *Entrepreneurship, Competitiveness and Local Development: Frontiers in European Entrepreneurship Research*, (pp. 200-222). Cheltenham Edward Elgar.

Weber, M. [1905] (2001) The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. London: Routledge.

Weber, M. (1958). Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. H. Gerth & C. Wright Mills (Trans. & Eds). New York: Oxford University Press.

Weber, M. [1922] (1949) *The Methodology of the Social Sciences*. E. A. Shils and H. A Finch (Trans.). New York. Free Press.

Welman, J. C., & Kruger, S. J. (1999). *Research methodology for the business and administrative sciences*. Johannesburg, South Africa: International Thompson.

Welsch, H. & Maltarich, M., (2004) Emerging Patterns of Entrepreneurship: Distinguishing Attributes of an Evolving Discipline.In H. Welsch (Ed.), *Entrepreneurship: The way ahead*. London: Routledge.

Werbner, P. (2001). Metaphors of spatiality and networks in the plural city: a critique of the ethnic enclave economy debate. *Sociology*, 35(3): 671–693.

Wertz, F. (2005). Phenomenological research methods for counseling psychology. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*. 52 (2): 167-177.

Wilkinson, I. & Young, L. (2004). Improvisation and Adaptation in International Business Research Interviews. In R. Marschan-Piekkari, & C. Welch, (eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research Methods for International Business*, (pp. 207-223). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Williams, C. (2006). *The Hidden Enterprise Culture: Entrepreneurship in the Underground Economy,* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Williams, A. M., Shaw, G., & Greenwood, J. (1989) From tourist to tourism entrepreneur, from consumption to production: Evidence from Cornwall, England. *Environment and Planning*, A(21): 1639-1653.

Winter, G. (2000). A Comparative Discussion of the Notion of 'Validity' in Qualitative and Quantitative Research. *The Qualitative report*. 4:3/4. Retrieved from : http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR4-3/winter.html

Wolcott, H.F. (1990). On seeking and rejecting - validity in qualitative research. In E. Eisner, W and A. Preshkin. (Eds.) *Qualitative inquiry in education: the continuing debate.* (pp. 121-152) New York, NY: Teachers College Press.University Press.

Wolff, K. (1950). *The sociology of Georg Simmel*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Wood, G.J.& Davidson, M.J. (2011) A review of male and female Australian indigenous entrepreneurs: Disadvantaged past – promising future?, *Gender in Management: An International Journal,* 26(4):311 – 326.

Yinger, J. M. (1985). Ethnicity. *Annual Review of Sociology. 11*(1): 151–180.

Yosso, T. (2002). Critical race media literacy: Challenging deficit discourse about Chicanas/os. *Journal of Popular Film and Television*. 30 (1): 52-63.

Zahra, S. (2005). Disciplinary research and entrepreneurship scholarship. In S.A. Alvarez, R. Agarwal, & O. Sorenson (Eds.) *Handbook of entrepreneurship Research*. (pp. 253-268). New York: Kluwer.

Zahra, S. (2007). Contextualising theory building in entrepreneurship research. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 22(3): 443-452.

Zeleny, M. (1987). Management support systems: towards integrated knowledge management. *Human Systems Management*, 7(1): 59-70.

Zemsky, R., Wegner, G., & Massy, W. (2005). *Remaking the American University*: *Market Smart and Mission Centered*, Piscataway NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Zhou, M. (2004) Revisiting Ethnic Entrepreneurship: Convergencies, Controversies,and Conceptual Advancements. *International Migration Review* 38(3):1040–74.

Zhou, M. (2005). Ethnicity as social capital: community-based institutions and embedded networks of social relations. In G.C. Loury, T. Modood, & S.M. Teles, (Eds.), *Ethnicity, Social Mobility and Public Policy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zhou, M. (2007). The Non-Economic Effects of Ethnic Entrepreneurship. In L.P. Dana (Ed.), *Handbook of Research on Ethnic Minority Entrepreneurship: A Co-Evolutionary View on Resource Management*. (pp. 279-288). Cheltenham, UK & Northampton, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Zimmermann, K.F., Kahanec, M., Constant, A., DeVoretz, D.J., Gataullina, L., & Zaiceva, A. (2007). *Study on the Social and Labour Market Integration of Ethnic Minorities.* Institute for the study of labour (IZA) Research Report 16, IZA, Bonn. Retrieved from: http://www.iza.org/en/webcontent/publications/reports/report_pdfs/iza_report_16.pdf

Appendices

Appendix One: Objectives of research philosophy and methodology

The above philosophical and methodological requirements of the thesis are fulfilled through these methodological procedures:

- To provide a detailed and explicit description of the adopted conceptual framework which is suitable for providing answers to the research aim and objectives and highlighting the voice of ethnic entrepreneurs

- To utilise the chosen befitting epistemological and methodological frameworks to adopt suitable methods of data collection and analysis that effectively facilitate the study of the complex phenomenon of EE based on the self-definitions of ethnic entrepreneurs themselves.

- To conduct in-depth interviews with ethnic entrepreneurs to collect views and narratives of ethnic entrepreneurs of their lived experiences of the phenomenon of EE in order to analyse essences and contexts which produce the phenomenon

- To attempt to triangulate the method of data collection by doing as much observation of the businesses and informal interviews with the wives of the interviewees

- To write a detailed researcher's diary in the form of substantive, methodological and analytic accounts order to enable explicit position of the researcher in the research process

- To analyse transcribed textual data (textual form of interviews, research diary and observations) based on systematic qualitative method of thematic and framework analysis

- To provide a comprehensive description of different stages of data collection and data analysis methods and to write a detailed reflexive account to make issues and challenges of the process clear in order to ensure transparency of the research processes and validity of findings

- To discuss the different dimensions and contexts of the phenomenon of EE which are uncovered as a result of the research and to go beyond descriptive

account of findings within a critical orientation to further analyse the phenomenon in a deeper manner and to produce emancipatory knowledge which is grounded in the data

- To outline based on the findings theoretical, methodological and policy implications and recommendation.

Appendix Two: An example of a typical research diary entry

Example:

Substantive account: Observational, chronological account of the events that have been observed and of the interviewees

I arrived in the restaurant five minutes before the interview time. The interviewee was not in and did not arrive to his restaurant until an hour later. He apologized and stated the reason for delay was a family matter.

I knew he is very busy because at the time when he wanted to give me an appointment he stated that he is very busy and only has this time for an interview.

While I was waiting two other people arrived for interview I gathered. Those two had come to have a job interview to work as staff for him.

He was a confident man with a long experience in catering business and this was apparent during the interview as well. He was calm and confident.

He took me to a far corner of the restaurant where it was quiet. He started to talk and apologized again and explained in more detail why he has been late.

It was early in the afternoon; the restaurant did not have any customers as it was after lunch time and well before dinner time. However, staffs were operating and kitchen was busy.

Methodological account: autobiographical details outlining the researcher's involvement in the social situation, methods of social investigation that were employed: data collection process

I was not really sure where is the location I have to go. It was not a central area in the city. It was not in a nice area and I have never been to that part of the city before. I

was nervous to walk alone in that area. I asked my husband to accompany me to the area and asked him to wait for me close by till I finish my interview.

During the interview, a drunk man entered the shop. The interviewee had to stop the interview to deal with the man. He talked to him quite calmly and firmly with the intention of serving him as fast as possible and sending him out of the shop quietly and quickly. He was clearly trying to avoid any confrontation and complications. After that the interview started again and he elaborated about the difficulties of this business with the type of customers they get.

I felt quite uncomfortable when the incident happened. It was in a quite hour of the day and I was worried something bad happens between the customer and the shopkeeper and I did not want to be in the middle of a quarrel. I dislike these sort of situations.

The analytic account: questions that were posed in the course of conducting the research, hunches that the researcher may hold, ideas for organising the data and concepts employed by the participants that can be used to analyse the materials".Controlled attempts to derive meaning

The interviewee gave a detailed account of how cultural issues and ethnicity affect the operations of this business. He gives different examples of how being none-native especially Middle Eastern cause problems for him in the shop. Customers do not respect them. He makes comment about how my head cover is a sign that makes me different in the society and compares it with his black hair and his Middle Eastern look.

I felt that the interviewee was trying to make it clear this business is more important that what is usually thought by people. He elaborated on the fact that in this country people do not cook at home like WE DO. Further to this then he made it clear how the health of society then depends upon what catering businesses serve to people on a daily basis. I see this elaboration is not just about importance of quality, but it is

more a statement which implies how he is unsatisfied with the image of his job and tries to prove he is contributing to the society in a meaningful way. I feel this because at the same time he mentions my work and university and my research saying how it is honourable that lady is active in higher education.

Appendix Three: The final thematic framework/index

Theme	Master Code	Sub-Theme/SUB-CODES		COMPONENTS
Conditions of Being a migrant ethnic minority	**CM**			
		Migrant motivations and attitudes	**CM:MA**	Socio-political CM:MA:SP
				Opportunity CM:MA: OP
				Attitude and life history CM:MA:AL
		Socio-cultural/integration issues of EE	CM:INT	• Low support/ downward social mobility CM:INT:LS
				• Otherness, alienation CM:INT:OA
				• Culture/ Integration CM:INT:CL
		Racism and EE	CM:RC	• Roots and effects of racism CM:RC:RE
				• Sector specific racism CM:INT:SS
World views and values	**WV**	World-views	WV:WV	• Spiritual view of life WV:WV:SP
				• Pluralism, equality/ Justice WV:WV:PJ

		Values	WV: V	• Family WV:V:FM • Education WV:V:ED • Hard work WV:V:HW
Conditions leading to entrepreneurship	**CE**	Push forces	CE: PS	• Limited social/ employment opportunities CE:PS:SE • Social/person al conditions of migrant on arrival CE: PS: PC • Political unrest of the home CE: PS: PH
		Pull forces	CE: PL	• Co-ethnic support CE: PL: CS • Rejection of employment system CE: PL: RE • Cultural role of gender CE: PL: CG • Market structure CE: PL: MS
Entrepreneurs' definitions of the nature of business	**NB**	*Sector Specific Characteristics*	NB: SC	• Low barriers to entry • NB: SC: LB • Importance of Experience NB: SC: EX • Short-cult to wealth NB: SC: SW
		Challenges of ownership	NB: CO	• Three D job NB: CO: DE

				• Staff issues NB: CO: ST • Customer issues NB: CO: CS
Business meanings: Entrepreneurs' view	**BM**	*Culturally associated meanings: cultural view on business*	BM: CM	• Saving face BM: CM: SF • Iranian Culture of hospitality BM: CM: IC
		Business orientation: General socio-economic View on Business	BM: GV	• Low status BM: GV: LS • Growth orientations BM: GV: GO • Profit orientations BM: GV: PO • Self-employment advantages BM: GV: SA • Motivations for start up BM: GV: MS • Taking risk BM:GV:RS
		Self-definitions of Success	BM: SC	• Conventional BM: SC: CN • Unconventional BM: SC: UN
Role of Business	**RB**	*Socio-economic positioning*	RB: SE	• Socio-economic integration RB: SE: SI • Community status RB:SE: COM
		Cultural positioning	RB: CP	• Cultural integration RB:CP:CI

		Personal development positioning	RB: PD	• Self-esteem RB: PD: SE • Dreams and goals RB: PD: DG

Appendix Four: Narrative of the wives of four of the owner-managers

The researcher managed to speak to four of the wives of the interviewees and had an informal chat with them about their views on the husband's business life and its effects n their life.

Their expressed feelings and narratives showed how they think it is difficult to manage life with a husband who is in this business. All of them explained how this business keeps their husbands occupied all the time. Consequently, they need to take care of the children and the household affairs all by themselves. The husband's late night hours of working and working in the weekends make their lives more difficult. However they were all proud of their husbands for their hard work, stating and acknowledging that it is because of his hard work that they have a comfortable life.

One of the women was in her late fifties. She was self-employed investing in properties and buying and letting them. She explained how it was really hard in her youth years when she was a young woman and liked to go out but she had to spend her nights alone because of the husband's business. She stated that it is hard because practically your husband is always out and as a result he does not have time for social gatherings with friends. Therefore, this has a ripple effect on the family as well. She stated, when my husband is not able to go to the parties and gatherings I prefer not to go with the children without him. It does not make any sense for me to go to a party where everyone is coming with their husband but I have to go alone. Therefore, I stay home as well with the kids and we do not have a social life practically. She pointed to the importance of family and keeping it together and the importance of being tolerant and understanding the husband's work situation. What he does is for the sake of the family at the end of the day. She pointed to importance of raising the children and make sure they have a better future and both parents have to work towards this. Therefore, although difficult in the early years of marriage, she stated one can continue with patience and understanding and support husband. She said that now her children are grown up they have gone to university and graduated and are successful in their lives and this is what they as parents wanted and worked for and sacrificed all their life.

Here the wife is an important part of making the business work but not in a front line involvement but rather as the head of the support system which makes the whole mechanism of EE work for the family. Without support and appreciation of the wife according to the findings this system would fail, since the whole point of EE for these informants has been socio-economic survival and success of family. If the family fails the end purpose of EE also has failed. Therefore, wife and husband both share responsibilities to make the family life and business life work under the harsh and demanding conditions of EE in catering. Here again the importance of culture is manifested through the centrality given to family and to maintain and survive it and for making it successful both parents assume their gendered roles according to their culture.

She added that she has seen many lives destroyed because of this business stressing that it is not easy at all to live a life like this without the physical presence of your husband everyday. It needs a lot of perseverance and patience and sacrifice to keep it all together. You can do it for a limited time but when you see it is going to be for a lifetime there are women who say to their husbands choose me or the business. This is because the husband does not have any other choice he cannot live unemployed, he has to feed the family, he has to do this business to bring food home. So the woman is not prepared to bear more of this life and they get separated. It is a tough situation.

The next woman was in her early forties. She had an MSc in chemistry and was a textile engineer. She was a housewife and did not work as she had a disabled child. This woman's life was far more difficult because of this internal family situation and her husband's business made it more difficult for her husband to help at home with the care needed for the child. Yet, she was quite strong and stated that she has helped her husband in the accounting of his business and for sometimes acted as his accountant from home. Also, in a period when her husband had to travel outside the UK, she was the one who had taken care of the business as well as their disabled child. Since she had got herself involved in her husband's business affairs she

completely understood what it means to run a take-away and what the challenges are. She talked about the problems with staff and customers. She was sympathetic towards her husband and stated how it is stressful for her husband to handle all that. She expressed her awareness of the difficulties of running the kitchen and the importance of providing a good service. She had given support to her husband in developing their new menu and did some of the work from home while taking care of their child. She had helped her husband in developing their new menu. She was a health conscious woman who emphasised that in developing the menu her husband and she had the health issues in mind and her thoughts on developing healthier food has influenced her husband's strategies for cooking the food and buying healthier material. She was a supporter and helper of her husband from home. She said that they have come here for the cure of their child. Their first and foremost concern is the welfare of their child and all they do is for her. All they do in here is for that cause.

One of the other women was in her early thirties and had three young children. She was a housewife. She was satisfied with her husband's business. She said that she can cope with her husband's job although she has three young children. However, she talked about her migration and her husband's migration situation. She said that her husband has political problems and is a political refugee and he cannot/ is not willing to go to Iranian embassy to get his ID, passport etc. Therefore, when they got married they could not register their marriage in Iranian embassy. As a result her children do not have any legal documents in Iranian administrative system to prove that there are hers and her husband's children. According to Iran's low, small children and wives need to travel out of Iran with the father's permission. Therefore, these children did not have legal documents like the passport and proof of their father so they cannot go to Iran. The respondent had not been back to Iran for a long time and because of these complexities she has not been able to go back. As a result she was really homesick. She stated how it is difficult to be a political refugee and not to be able to go back to your homeland stating that her husband has not been back to Iran for more than twenty years now. She thought that this situation makes migration like the exile for political migrants. She was happy with her husband's business. She

thought that he is a successful business man and that this business has provided them with a comfortable life.

The last woman was in her late thirties and had two children. She was not a house wife. She appreciated this business and her husband's hard-work. She could feel what her husband goes through everyday and every night to provide his family with a decent living. Her husband had worked in a factory at the beginning of their arrival to the UK and she considered this business and its ownership much better than working in a factory. This business has enabled them to buy a house in a good locality and enabled her daughters to go to better schools.

These four women's comment about the intensity of their husband's work and the effects of their late and long working hours on their lives confirms the statements made by the owner-managers about the negative effect of their work on their family life. Moreover, the women's views about the importance of family and keeping the family together even if they need to make more sacrifices confirms to those themes in findings where owner-managers raised the issue of the cultural importance of family and counted it as an influential factor in the strategies they take and decisions they make in their business life. As an Iranian woman, the researcher understands the sacrifices and the tolerance that these women talked about.

In Iranian culture a woman is a symbol of self-sacrifice and kindness for her family. That is why in Iranian and Islamic culture utmost care and respect should be given to parents and especially the mother. There are numerous natives of the prophet of Islam as well as quite a few numbers of verses of the Quran recommending respect and care towards them. The prophet said: "the heaven is under the feet of mothers". A woman in this culture is the centre of the family, the focal point which brings harmony and love and care to the world of family. Therefore, naturally in this culture women assume this role and learn it from their mothers to be patient in adversities of life and endure the harsh conditions and be supportive of their husbands in all matters of life. As a migrant woman, the researcher could understand the extent of sad feelings of these women when they talked about the emotional difficulties of

being alone while their husbands need to work late and for long hours seven days a week.

In Iran, families are very much attached. There are intense family ties and families get together frequently. So, these women feel homesick in migration quite easily especially when husbands are out to work all day to late hours of night every day of a week. This business does not allow the normal presence of their husbands in their daily lives. The findings show the owner-managers understand the loneliness and the support their women give them and this is the reason that in talking about their businesses they raised the issue of the importance of the role of the wife in the survival of their business and appreciated, recognized and emphasised her role unanimously.

The picture that is presented through the narratives of these four wives of the four entrepreneurs shows that these women are prepared to compromise and tolerate the emotional difficulties of the life of a catering owner manager husband in order to support their husbands and keep their family as a warm and united entity. This kind of support s is a cultural role of females. The findings show the appreciation of husbands towards his wife for her support and sacrifice. It also shows that the cultural role of gender for male puts the main responsibility of economic and financial survival and success of the family on the male shoulders. The findings show that the owner-managers also believe that they make self-sacrifices for their family by choosing this undesirable, emotionally and physically disturbing business out of necessity in order to provide a comfortable life for their family. Therefore, while the internal, soft and micro duties and responsibilities are made by women at home, the external, hard and micro duties and responsibilities are made by the male figure. The interesting point is that according to narratives of both male and female they are prepared to make the mentioned self-sacrifices for the sake of their the family which is a blessed and sacred entity in this culture.