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The Reflective Structuration of Entrepreneurship

*As Contextualized to the Finnish University and
Polytechnics Students' Narratives*

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Julkaisun nimike Yrittäjyyden reflektiivinen strukturaatio – kontekstina suomalaisten yliopisto- ja ammattikorkeakouluopiskelijoiden tarinat yrittäjyydestä		
Tiivistelmä <p>Tutkimuksen tavoitteena on tarkastella yrittäjyyttä tekstuaalisena ilmiönä tutkimusta varten rakennetun niin sanotun reflektiivisen strukturaation avulla. Taustalla on erityisesti Giddensin (1979; 1984) strukturaatioteoria, jota täydennetään kielentutkimuksen näkökulmilla. Tällöin yrittäjyys nähdään intertekstuaalisena ilmiönä sisältäen dominoivia mallitarinoita, jotka voidaan edelleen dekonstruoida vastatarinoilla. Dekonstruktion avulla voidaan edelleen luoda (narrative creation) ja legitimoida (legitimation of narratives) uusia, vaihtoehtoisia tarinoita yrittäjyyteen liittyen. Yrittäjyystutkimuksessa tutkimus sijoittuu eurooppalaiseen tai pohjoismaalaisen tutkimustraditioon, kohdistuen erityisesti yrittäjyyttä edeltävään vaiheeseen (pre-entrepreneurship).</p> <p>Tutkimustehtävänä on hyödyntää kehitettyä viitekehystä suomalaisten korkeakouluopiskelijoiden tarinoiden tarkasteluun. Tutkimusaineisto koostuu 162 tarinasta, jotka kerättiin roolipeli-menetelmällä vuosien 2004–2005 aikana Vaasan yliopistossa sekä Seinäjoen ammattikorkeakoulussa.</p> <p>Opiskelijoiden tarinoista rakennettu mallitarina muodosti selkeän jatkumon moderniin yrittäjyyskäsitteeseen. Yrittäjyys rakennettiin yksilölliseksi, itsellisyyden ja kyvykkyyden tavoitteluksi työteliäisyyden kautta. Tämä mallitarina voidaan tulkita samalla perinnöksi suomalaisesta agraarista ja työväenluokkaisesta eetosesta. Tarinat uudistavat myös perinteiset, länsimaiset sukupuolittuneet käsitteet yrittäjyyteen liittyen. Näiden vastapainoksi tutkimuksessa esitettiin vaihtoehtoisia tarinamalleja erilaisten yrittäjyysidentiteettien rakennusaineiksi.</p> <p>Tutkimus tarjoaa teoreettisia avauksia strukturaatioteoriaan ja erilaisten tekstien analysointiin. Käytännön sovellusalueet voidaan liittää yrittäjyyskasvatukseen kenttään erityisesti narratiivisen pedagogiikan avulla.</p>		
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Abstract <p>The aim of the research is to study entrepreneurship as a textual phenomenon using the constructed framework called reflective structuration. Theory of structuration by Giddens (1979; 1984) is modified for the purposes of this research.</p> <p>In this research the concept of entrepreneurship is an inter-textual phenomenon containing semiotic dominances which can then be deconstructed with the counter-narrative(s), reconstructed with narrative creation and further legitimized into different forms of entrepreneurship. Within the entrepreneurship research this research is located in the pre-entrepreneurship studies emphasizing the theoretical approaches of the European and the Nordic Entrepreneurship studies.</p> <p>The research objective is to apply the reflective structuration approach in the context of the Finnish university and polytechnics students` narratives related to entrepreneurship. Totally 162 narratives were gathered with the role-play method during the years 2004–2005 in the University of Vaasa and the Polytechnics of Seinäjoki. These narratives were then further packed in the form of model narrative.</p> <p>The constructed model narrative brought up the textual entrepreneurship as a continuation of the modern conceptualizations of entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship was constructed as an individual effort where the independency and competence are gained through labouring. This construction is a combination of a western modern entrepreneurial narrative and the localized Finnish agrarian and labouring narrative from the previous generations. At the same time these narratives reproduced the modern western images about the gender connected to entrepreneurship. As an illustration the de/reconstruction of these entrepreneurial identities were also offered as part of these findings.</p> <p>Research offers theoretical implications for structurationist readings and piloted explicit tools for textual analysis to be further utilized and developed in later studies. The practical implications are mainly related to entrepreneurship education for instance in the form of narrative pedagogy.</p>		
Keywords entrepreneurship, structuration, semiotics, narrative studies, entrepreneurship education		

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I think my interest for this scientific journey started in my years during my socialization into a working class citizen. In my view this offered me an inspiring source of socially and historically derived tensions and sensitivity towards the study topic. Father, I wish you were here right now to take part in these discussions, since they stayed hidden during our shared living years.

Many inspiring teachers and lecturers opened up the “world of texts” during the studies of sociology, economics, linguistics, psychology, and pedagogy while studying in the University of Jyväskylä in the beginning of 1990’s. Great thanks to professors Tapio Aittola, Tuomas Takala and Kimmo Jokinen (just to name a few) for introducing me to scientific and critical thinking. Now afterwards, I have noticed that your lectures and workshops still live in my thinking. Because of your inspiration the study of texts became somewhat of a passion to me.

I would also like to thank professor Henrik Gahmberg at the University of Vaasa for introducing the world of semiotics to me. Especially the discussions on narrative research opened up the interesting prospect of really modifying these ideas in my study.

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In Vaasa, 10.11.2010,

Seppo Luoto

FOREWORDS

“Any feeling whatsoever, any perception whatsoever, any mental processes whatsoever, any consciousness whatsoever - past, future, or present; internal or external; blatant or subtle, common or sublime, far or near; every consciousness - is to be seen as it actually is with right discernment as: this is not mine. This is not my self. This is not what I am.”

Anattalakkhana Sutta, Samyutta Nikaya XXII

“Fortunately I soon learned to separate theological from moral prejudices, and I gave up looking for the supernatural origin of the evil...this transformed my original problem into the following one: under what conditions did Man invent for himself those judgments of values, “Good” and “Evil”? And what intrinsic value do they possess in themselves?”

Friedrich Nietzsche

“What is found at the historical beginning of things is not the inviolable identity of their origin; it is the dissension of other things. It is disparity.”

Michel Foucault

“Qui dit homme, dit langage, et qui dit langage dit société”

Claude Levi-Strauss

“I had just read Saussure and as a result acquired the conviction that by treating the collective representations as sign-systems, one might hope to go further than the pious show of unmasking them and account in detail for the mystification which transforms petit-bourgeois culture into a universal nature”

Roland Barthes

“Once the channels and depressions have become sculpted into the surface, then it becomes difficult to alter them, since any new patterns tend to follow the old contours and reinforce them rather than alter them”

Edward de Bono

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1 INTRODUCTION

This doctoral dissertation is focusing on *entrepreneurship as a textual phenomenon*. According to this view the concept of *entrepreneurship is done with words* in public, such as in media, education and different fields of scientific arenas. This means then that if entrepreneurship is a textually constructed phenomenon, it can also be de/reconstructed and these different reconstructions can then be further legitimized in the social setting. It can be considered then as a highly discursive topic for a reflective consideration within academia.

When entrepreneurship is studied from this perspective, there is not “The theory” or “the Definition” related to entrepreneurship. There is not even a desire to find one for the basis of the thesis. Instead, I would like to build up a reflective relation to different conceptualizations of entrepreneurship – not trying to find “truths” about the phenomenon under study, but constructing a dialogue amongst different texts related to entrepreneurship seeing it as an inter-textual phenomenon constructed through the times of history. This approach argues that entrepreneurship is a historical, moving concept which is related to different dominances and their de/reconstructions in this inter-textuality. For doing this the *semiotic and narrative concepts* are modified from the previous literature for the purposes of this study.

The first aim of this study is to develop a framework called reflective structuration. This view stresses that these concepts are an outcome of the interplay between societal structures and the subjects modifying the ideas such as those of the structuration theory of Giddens (1979; 1984). On the other hand this view means to build up an intentional, interdisciplinary and pragmatic relationship to different texts related to entrepreneurship.

The reflective structuration approach sees the concept of entrepreneurship from various angles. Firstly, it tries to identify the historically built dominances of different societal constructions with the *model narrative* of entrepreneurship. Furthermore, it is related to altering these constructions, the deconstruction phase via *counter-narrating*. The third phase is based on the previous ones by *creating the narrative(s)*, to find possible alternative constructions (reconstruction) and set up intentional and pragmatic actions for legitimating these different alternatives having in mind for instance the principles of the *narrative presence*. In this way this approach unites different research traditions and theoretical concepts mostly from philosophy, history, anthropology, sociology, psychology, economics, educational studies, linguistics, media studies and computer sciences.

The second aim of the study is to apply this reflective structuration approach in the empirical research. Here, the Finnish university and polytechnics students wrote about entrepreneurship in their imaginative narratives. These narratives will then be discussed with the concept of model narrative, counter-narrative, narrative creation(s) and narrative presence.

The third aim of the study is to find practical implications of this approach within the field of entrepreneurship education based on these previous two aims of the study.

1.1 The background of the study

I have identified three main reasons to do this study. First of all, during my earlier studies I have noticed that the mainstream of western science especially in social sciences stressing the laws, *structures*, norms, conventions etc. as starting points and outputs of the scientific approach. On the other hand, for instance the subjectivist paradigm points out that social life can be affected by the existential subject, *the agent*. This led my interest to study more the the “third” which represents the interactivity or something between these two approaches.

Of course, this discussion around “the third” is not a new approach in western science (Noro 1996). It could be identified already in the concepts such as phenomena by Kant, conventions by de Saussure, collective unconscious by Durkheim, interpretant by Peirce, discourse by Foucault, habit by Dewey, habitus by Bourdieu, structuration by Giddens or structural inheritance by Archer. Some of them would be more related to structure, some would see more the role of society and norms or even universal logics when directing language, some of them would stress the dynamics and interactivity of structure and subject. But after all, they were related to modern western philosophies of science and the human being.

Along the earlier studies in social sciences I realized that there is a need to build up an understanding about modern philosophy to gain at least some understanding of the basics of modern dualism and the possibility of these “thirds”. And I wanted to synthesize also my own understanding about this “third” which could be valuable for the current and later study purposes. This aim is called here as building the framework of reflective structuration.

The other main reason for this study is the discussions with my different students of the past decades. During the years 1995-1999 I was working in the area of Central Ostrobothnia and the city of Kokkola. There I had a very good opportunity to listen to different stories about employment and unemployment. I took part

of some of these peoples' lives as a tutor, whose basic work was to help them towards the employment and other career options. These stories were numerous, but I soon recognized that quite many of them contained the phrase that "I will never be an entrepreneur". At that time I did not think about that so much, but later on I began to realize that this idea of "never entrepreneurship" echoed also in other contexts and somehow I started to listen to them and collect these stories. At the beginning it was just out of curiosity.

Later on working as a lecturer in the University of Vaasa I became interested in entrepreneurship as an educational topic of discussion. In line with the previous collections of these stories I gathered some more stories about entrepreneurship – mostly spoken, but also written ones. As an example of this the following piece of text was gathered in the University of Vaasa in the beginning of one course related to entrepreneurship:

"I do not see myself working as an entrepreneur – now and nor in the future. Somehow it does not seem to be fitting me. I do not even know what to write about entrepreneurship. But I do have a relative who worked as an entrepreneur in coffee restaurant and I do not really want to end up like that. I heard it was really tough life. I recall many stories about that. Still, hopefully I can get some ideas about entrepreneurship in this course, maybe my ideas about entrepreneurship will change in the future" (A woman of 26 years during 2002; the University of Vaasa)

Naturally, not all the texts were alike. But in many stories the idea of this "never entrepreneurship" seemed to be repetitive. Or at least – the entrepreneurship seemed to refer to something "different". Could there be repetitive, societal constructions related to entrepreneurship affecting these texts of young people? What does this "different" then mean related to entrepreneurship?

How to relate myself then to these texts, such as text of this woman? Should I argue that maybe this woman is not an entrepreneurial kind of person after all since "it does not seem to fit her"? Shall I start to look for the answers in the traits of the "entrepreneurial (or "not entrepreneurial") person" (Gartner et al. 1992)? Does this text reflect a "natural" attitude among the young people – the young student just might have lack of competence, experience or basic knowledge and identification towards the topic (Ristimäki 2004; Mäki 1999) or lack of motivation (Mäki & Vafidis 2000)? Shall I stress that maybe this woman should go to paid work first and then consider the idea of entrepreneurship later in their career? Or shall I take a look at the environment which might not "pull" or "push" this woman to entrepreneurship (Vesalainen & Pihkala 1997)? And maybe if this woman then had to be an entrepreneur, she would maybe be called "push-entrepreneur" or "necessity entrepreneur" (Kautonen 2007). The approaches are

many and each of them could open up views to the phenomenon called entrepreneurship. But for me none of these previous approaches seemed to fit to my collections of spoken and written narratives related to entrepreneurship.

The third reason to start this research was a personal one. My personal relationship with the concept of entrepreneurship became explicit for me during 2001 when I started to go through my own past, current and future career, partly because of the course named “Self-awareness and career planing” in the University of Vaasa. I wrote a story about my previous and current life during that course and realized that entrepreneurship had been somehow marginal or latent also in my own life sphere. During my early childhood, teenage and early adulthood years the narratives of entrepreneurship were only a few or they were missing. If there were some stories, the entrepreneurship was constructed as “strange”, even “bad”, somekind of dishonest “projector” (Kyrö 1997). The concept entrepreneurship did represent something through repetitive constructions in childhood or younger years – even if it was the Derridean “other” or Lacanian “lack” in my personal semiosphere.

So, as part of this university course and during the personal inventory I found that the meanings related to entrepreneurship were for me “strange”, “second option”, “it is something for others” etc. When I found this personal “otherness of entrepreneurship” I started to think about the origins of my constructions. There had to be some reasons for these constructions. The question was: do other people also have the same kind of constructions about entrepreneurship? Am I here alone with my reflections?

So, instead of having purely this intrasubjective approach I became interested also in intersubjective constructions. Might there be some common, natural constructions of entrepreneurship in public? *What kind of other constructions there are on this topic in society?* How to study these constructions? What kind of previous studies there is on this subject? What is by the way the phenomenon called entrepreneurship? So, in this way entrepreneurship came to be a *reflective topic* to me, also in the explicit and conscious level. And these topics could then be set against the previous studies of texts seen them through the previously mentioned “third” – whatever it might be in this context.

After that I started to read about the entrepreneurship in different academic writings. Most of them wanted to have the solid base for entrepreneurship – they were in need of solid definitions or the “common understanding”. But usually they also where disappointed by this ending up to the same idea that there is no generic definition of the entrepreneur/entrepreneurship (Brockhaus & Horwitz 1986; Shaver & Scott 1991) or that some single definition of the term is not going to be

widely accepted (Hyrsky 2001). Some argued that we cannot expect and do not need one theory of entrepreneurship but instead should build up a body of theories, to open up different concepts and positions for the research. For instance Steyart & Hjorth (2003) stated:

“The differences in how entrepreneurship is defined, studied and conceived, need not to lead to a cacophony and be seen as a major weakness to overcome. They could form an important opening, which requires that we not only accept and recognize different (paradigmatic) positions but also systematically develop them. Diversity then is not a hazardous consequence of lack of collective reflection but a conscious effort to pursue a *polyphonic richness* of its approaches. Heterogeneity then is not a problem that brings an unfocused stream of research, but which provides a fertile ground for creativity.” (Steyart & Hjorth 2003: 5)

Based on these thoughts one could challenge the idea of the fixed entities in the research related to entrepreneurship. Some would even consider the whole study area as a sublime object (Jones & Spicer 2005). Instead there would be this multiplicity, a “polyphonic richness” of entrepreneurship.

But I will argue that within this multiplicity, there are dominances, repetitions, conventions which are chosen and used in public related to entrepreneurship. Some approaches and connotations are stronger than the others. They have become “solid” by repetition also in the academia. And these dominances have a history and meaning. They are not just texts. They are not coming “out of the blue” to public discussions. They have connotations which are connected to praxis and action. And they could be seen through and with “the third”. And this “third” related to entrepreneurship might then be an interesting study topic itself.

I was step by step rejecting the idea of finding the “truth” about entrepreneurship in the modern means – or at least part of it – with the scientific research. Instead, the various “truths”, the constructability and the dialogics of entrepreneurship became to direct me to the reflective reading of entrepreneurship. During this process I located myself to an emergent stream of writing, sometimes seen as *European entrepreneurship research* (Ahl 2002; Gartner 2001; Jones & Spicer 2005; Steyart & Hjorth 2003) or *Nordic Entrepreneurship Research* (Hjorth 2008) emphasizing the narrative, constructionist, semiotic views on entrepreneurship instead of functionalist or person-related perspectives which still tend to dominate the area (Pittaway 2005).

This has meant that most of the different conceptualizations and study settings about the entrepreneurship seem to be linked in the *modern philosophy of science*: the will to find the “truth” and “certainty” about entrepreneurship; its functions, its origins, its processes, entrepreneurial personalities, etc. – this might then be called North-American tradition. By trying to explain the entrepreneurship phenomenon these theorists tend to view it as a universal and a-historical phenomenon, which could be seen as a very common view of the modern (western) science. They may even like to explain or find universal functions, laws and processes related to topic. And usually those approaches are taken for granted from the previous mainstream studies in the North American tradition (Ogbor 2000).

This kind of views on the modern science have become more common lately also in the field of European and Nordic entrepreneurship studies. Some scholars have begun to apply these views on science stating for instance that different assumptions about the science have an influence on knowledge construction and they have begun to explore the issue (Ahl 2002; Bygrave 1989; Ogbor 2000; Grant and Perren 2002). These writers seem to see the modern science, its approaches and basic assumptions as a “meta-theory” in the western history:

“Since different “truths” are associated with different cultural, historical and ideological orientations and experiences, social science becomes an accounting of social experience from these multiple perspectives of discourse/praxis, rather than a larger universalistic and cumulative enterprise committed to the inference of general principles. Critical inquiry of social discourses thus enables us to be skeptical about beliefs concerning universal truth, grand narratives, knowledge, including the language that is taken for granted within, and serves as legitimation for, contemporary Western culture”. (Ogbor 2000: 606)

This critical approach towards modern philosophy of science also refers to the idea that no eternal and universal “truths” could be found; instead there are many “truths” which are constantly and socially constructed through/with the language during the times of history. And that science itself has a crucial role in modifying the views of the world.

In the context of this study this means that entrepreneurship research and its traditions really shape the textual entrepreneurship. There the entrepreneurship readings could be analysed with the reflective structuration frame as well.

1.2 The reflective structuration approach

The reflective structuration approach is based on the structurationist paradigm in the science. Here, the connotation of this is derived from both social scientists and philosophers like Marx, Nietzsche, Foucault, Bourdieu and Giddens just to name a few. In this approach the crucial questions to start with are located in the philosophy of science. What is knowledge? What is the nature of human being? What is the role of human being in the society? Does human being have (inter)active, even independent role in society or is she/he under the determinance of traditions, norms and rules in the society?

These questions are packed in the field of human and social sciences around one concrete debate referred to earlier mentioned *structure-actor – dilemma*. What are the guiding norms, rules or structures in society? How did western science end up studying and conceptualizing structures? Are those structures somewhere out there to be acquired? How did the science invent the subject or agent? Or is our knowledge of the world always through the subject? What is subject or agency in the context of society? What is the relationship between these structures and a subject? Is human being under the structures or is there human agency actively interacting and affecting the societal structures? Or is there a “third way” of approaching this – going beyond this dilemma?

Here, by *human agency it is meant the capacity for human beings to make choices and to impose those choices and her/his actions in the social world.* In my thesis I will stress that the concept of early modern (science) reduced human agency to compliance with universal laws of nature and society. This path starts from Aristotle, Plato and the early modern philosophers like Descartes and Hegel following the several critical scholars, pragmatists and phenomenologists trying to capture different ideas also about the human agency. And this ends to the modification of the theory of structuration by Giddens (1979; 1984).

How does this structurationist paradigm suit to studying entrepreneurship as a textual phenomenon? In many structurationist studies the study of language is not the explicit focus under study. These studies are mostly about the abstract structures guiding the subject or the role of subject in the interaction with them. But since I became interested in entrepreneurship as textual phenomenon, I soon realized that this should contain the multidisciplinary or cross-disciplinary approach and it had something to do with the *study of language and semiotics*.

Again, there was a need to bring up first the modern concept of language as referential containing the basic idea of the universal structures, here the universal referentials related to language usage. And, the move to the ideas of structuralists,

like de Saussure and his followers, also to the post-structuralists, stating that language is an arbitrary signification process containing the relations of signifiers and signifieds forming the signs as part of the social life and language. And finally ending up something which is “in the middle” of structuralism and post-structuralism if defined with the dominant traditions of semiotics.

Related to the idea of language it seemed that the language was the structure which directed and ruled the actor; the human agency was not available in this thinking. Also the structuralist (and later also post-structural) thinking tended to reject the role of history and social – the layered voices from the past affecting the current. In my reflective structuration framework I consider them important building up *continuities in history*, but not scientific laws in the language usage. Therefore I would not call my approaches as structural or post-structural, but structurationist using many of the ideas from these traditions. The role of history (continuities) and social (dominances) is maybe the thing which puts me as a researcher to the middle of structural and post-structural thinking.

This aspect of continuities is not rejecting *the dynamics of language* which also contains the dynamic side of change. The continuities and change are both involved which could be seen in the conceptualizations of *interactive human being*. This interactivity aspect was further strengthened as a consequence of the *pragmatist and phenomenologist movements*. The idea of interactive human being was then put in the focus in many scientific arenas.

Parallel to the ideas of interactive human being the language became to refer to “doing things”; to constitute reality having also social and even political consequences (Halliday 1977; Lehtonen 2000). The language was not just about transmitting and reflecting the meanings, instead the meanings were constructed in different societal contexts constantly. In the context of science this constructivist approach means that:

“The scientific inquire not only tells what the world is about, but its common ways of making and legitimizing the different assumptions and concepts of the world also construct the reality. When the common approaches and concepts are widely accepted in the society and scientific arenas, they again produce the rules and starting points to the following researchers”. (Kakkuri-Knuuttila 2006: 108-109)

Also within the scientific forums some meanings seem to be more powerful by becoming “natural”, “objectified” and “legitimized” in the social and everyday practices, in the “life-worlds” and others not. Some of the statements seem to become “truths”, still they are not – they could be deconstructed and reconstructed in the duality of structure and actor. And there is *an idea that language is the key*

aspect in life to legitimize things, to make them living or staying alive in a social setting. In sum: language contains the duality of structure and agent.

According to this structurationist paradigm (Giddens 1979; 1984; Lloyd 1986) the social world is made by human beings in the interaction with the environment. Like referred before, epistemologically this reminds quite much the principles of *pragmatism* (James 1913; Dewey 1953; Rorty 1979). Human beings are both producers and products of the culture. It is a duality, but not dualism of structure and agency which according to Kyrö (1996) has conquered our thinking and world-view from the modern times. In this view the human being is able to affect the societal; he/she is not just under the structures.

But I would also like to add some remarks from other sciences to the structuration theory by Giddens (1979; 1984). These additions relate the ideas of structuration also to post-structuralisms (deconstruction) and to the related theories of psychology (such as psychosemiotics and narrative therapy), education and computer sciences identifying the human agency also part of the social processes, for instance in the form of the creative, transformative and legitimizing power of the subject.

Relating this idea to the study process I would like to identify myself in the position of agency. From the researcher perspective this means that the textual dimension of entrepreneurship are not just out there to be caught, but instead forming an interactive, even creative space with the researcher. Constructions are then not the only base for analysis but the interactivity with texts and meanings, the dialogue. However, the researcher might have the certain access to constructing and constructions since they are not somewhere but instead here, among and within us, in the duality.

If the textual entrepreneurship is not somewhere “out there” just to be acquired, but instead consist of the interactivity between researcher and the texts, there is a need for certain argumentation strategy in the the research. Here, I will try to follow the principles of *the fair argumentation*:

“In the fair argumentation the researcher her/himself truly believes that the presented arguments are valid and acceptable – depending on the context – or at least worth taking into consideration. The researcher tries to present his/her arguments so clearly and logically that the reader or listener will understand them. Arguments are also presented in a way that the acceptability of the key assumptions of the knowledge acquired is possible to evaluate”. (Kakkuri-Knuutila 2006: 42)

Here this means that I am presenting several milestones of thinking related to different scholars which have affected my own ideas towards the reflective structuration. I believe that in this way the one can also set a relation to this text and evaluate different backgrounds of constructed theoretical thinking.

But it should be noticed, that this process can never be exhaustive. However, the researcher can have the ambition to trace back different routes of thinking and their relation to current thinking and the choices derived from that in the study. It is about to bring up interesting theoretical topics and concepts under discussion, to facilitate discussion and dialogue or to “trace” some guidelines or tensions among different texts. This reminds the approach of the *genealogist*, here related to *the intertextuality of entrepreneurship* (Hjorth 2003):

“The task of the genealogist would then be to trace the intertextuality and seek out the various apparatuses that come together in enterprise discourse to create discursive effects. Having traced the genesis of enterprise discourse we can describe how its effects are manifest in subjected knowledge as this is put to play in the field of practices...to tell an other story than the ones that the present necessities suggest, we need perhaps to write differently”. (Hjorth 2003, 26)

This tracing then can lead to other kind of writing, or *puzzle solving*. Or, maybe giving answers to questions under the discussion (Alasuutari 1999; Alvesson & Deetz 2000). But this tracing is not the typical approach of the modern anthropologist’s aim of trying to find the “origins”. The one “origin” or starting point does not exist. Instead there are several milestones through (western) history feeding the genealogist’s hunger for interesting topics and conceptualizations. Therefore the genealogist traces the multiplicities which have become “monoplicities” in the public affecting the current thinking and significations related to topic under discussion.

This might also refer to the idea that the researcher holds the opinion about things, but he/she does not claim that the solving process is the one and only possible in the given situation. Or that the study results would be the same not depending on the researcher or the context of the research. *With other words: there are always various ways to solve the puzzle*. This reflectivity principle just means that the researcher needs to make his/her motivations and choices clear for the reader (Alasuutari 1996) – the principles of fair argumentation. Therefore, in this study I am trying to make visible my choices for the reader to evaluate the research starting from the ontological and epistemological considerations and conceptualizations of the human being and ending to the evaluation of the study results and the whole study process.

In line with this principle, it should be considered already in the beginning that the researcher does not live in the vacuum, but instead takes part of the textual world. Besides that, the researcher always has *axiological ambitions*, even if not maybe consciously or explicitly written. I believe a specific study is always also a statement from certain point of view. Here for instance my axiological stance is that *I want to bring in front the polyphonic entrepreneurship* – or at least the possibility of it. This would be possible with intense intertextuality of the multiple approaches of entrepreneurship, also the historical aspect of it, for instance earlier considered by Kyrö (1997) and Ristimäki (2004).

Reflectivity then, developed from the ideas of Argyris and Schön (1978) and Mezirow (1981), is the process in which also the researcher is able to look upon the ways your own assumptions and actions influence a situation, and thus possibly change the constructions and practice as a direct result of this process. Like the ones I previously related to my personal understanding about entrepreneurship in the interaction with the significant others, for instance family members. Or the ones I have been interacting during the study years in school and universities. One can easily acknowledge that most of the texts are forgotten or at least hidden and need some time to get them back into the conscious again.

1.3 The concepts of semiotics and narrativity

As the study is about textual entrepreneurship and language related to entrepreneurship, I have chosen the concepts of *semiotics containing the idea of narrativity* as additional views to current structurationist thinking. In this approach semiotics contains the ideas of early semiotics, structural semiotics (narratology) and post-structural concepts (narrative analysis). I consider these traditions not as clearly separate but building a continuum in the field of semiotics and therefore and like to “mix” different ideas within the field (Tarasti 1990).

The use of narrativity as theoretical and methodological concept was also affected by Steyart-Bouwen (2000) who claimed that a narrative could be a suitable epistemological category to gather and analyze knowledge about entrepreneurship. Alasuutari (1996) also considered:

“Sometimes it is hard to get access to different aspects of the social by interviewing lots of individuals related to specific topics...instead we might investigate the *narratives* which are told from individual to individual in order to get access to the social...one crucial object of these kind of narrative studies is then to analyse different cultural structures and their historical and social origins in order to understand common thinking in society...these

cultural structures are analyzable in both paradigmatic and syntagmatic level". (Alasuutari 1996: 111-112)

Within this kind of social research, narrative is a way of knowing, which moves researchers beyond traditional methods of inquiry and away from numbers, variables, tables and questionnaires. The data in narrative research is in the form of stories. These narratives are not linear, polished sequence of events, but a reflection of multiple realities. They are also not just a transcription of the events and thoughts of the participant; but, they are a means of making sense and showing the significance of them in the context of the denouement (Polkinghorne 1995). In this approach entrepreneurship is then organized in stories and everyday conversations which make the entrepreneurship as a societal and discursive entity.

With the study process I would like to build a method to analyze these constructions mixing the ideas of these traditions or having a "tool-box" view (Alasuutari 1996) applying *theoretical and methodological triangulation* view on the topic. I believe this gives more to this chosen approach to study textual entrepreneurship.

Where to gather then these narratives related to entrepreneurship? I decided to focus on the constructions of entrepreneurship in the Finnish context and chose to limit my study for polytechnics and university students since it could be stated that young students represent the "pure" or "naive" study group when identifying and constructing meanings linked to certain topic in society, such as entrepreneurship (Aaltonen 1997). This is argued to be so because most of the students at the age around 17 or 25 have to use only the constructions available in society on that matter (Ristimäki 2004). And these students are part of the wider language games in the society, the discursive world, part of the narrative warehouse of the society (Hänninen 1999).

Official educational processes are just one part of this discursive world. These students interact with their peers and "significant others" related to entrepreneurship; they might or might not have experiences about entrepreneurship in their "life-worlds", they read stories about entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship in newspapers; their ideas and minds are shaped by other mass media such as TV-programs and Internet websites which builds up role-models and societal attitudes to entrepreneurship (Ristimäki 2004) and so on. So these students are telling the stories of the society, not just youngsters' stories. To get these students' stories about entrepreneurship the method called *role playing* is applied for the purposes of the study.

One very interesting question here is that these students build up their relationship towards the concept. In other words they construct their identities relating to en-

trepreneurship – *the entrepreneurial identities*. They also construct their futures when seeing through the concept of the *possible selves* (Markus & Nurius 1986). This concept refers to the identities, positions or selves we imagine ourselves becoming in the future, or the ones we hope to become, the ones we are afraid we may become, and the ones we fully expect we will become. Possible selves can be distally imagined – “the self I will become as an adult” or “the self I will become after studies”, like in this study.

And considering the idea of narratives there are *narrative identities* as brought up by Ricoeur (1991). Narrative identity means that identity isn't a fixed entity but dynamic and changing; it contains both coherence and incoherence during the time. Identity construction is marked by fragmentation and diffusion. There is the constructability of identities based on the interactive and dynamic view of human being. The development of identity thus becomes a process, a never-ending story open for change.

But like Giddens (1979; 1984) stated, these constructed identities may be also considered as quite static through the patterns of repetition, even if the interactive subject might have semiotic and legitimation power for changing constructions. Narrative identities could then be acknowledged as space for reflection – What am I? What is my relationship towards entrepreneurship? How did I choose these signifiers out of the narrative warehouse available to build my entrepreneurial identity? Or it may even lead us to reflect the role and content of this abstract narrative warehouse which usually has the role of the “a black box” in the variety of related studies.

If there is a textual world of patterns of repetition, then it might be possible to construct certain structures or “model narratives” which might be used in the identity constructions. These structures could then be deconstructed and even re-constructed in the interaction by the agent. And it is also possible to construct the counter-narratives parallel to the model narratives and to create new narratives further legitimizing these different constructions in the social setting, for instance with the idea of *narrative presence* – the idea of uniting them back to narrative warehouse of the society, but possibly in different format.

1.4 The research objective

This study builds the framework of reflective structuration and applies it in the empirical research studying textual entrepreneurship. The study question is:

What is the textual entrepreneurship in the Finnish university and polytechnics students' narratives when applying the reflective structuration framework in their analysis?

The developed reflective structuration approach consists of *constructive, deconstructive, reconstructive and legitimizing phases*. The reason to have this quite wide scope is derived from the many arguments (Alasuutari 1996; Fairclough 1992) stressing the importance of not just trying to identify or reveal the societal constructions but also I would also relate texts to the action, change and agency. This view holds the idea of making the space for the voice of the student and the researcher too. Not just to reveal or uncover, but take active part of the discussions with new constructions which does not come purely from the analytic process, but also through creative “play”. One of the interesting topics under the study is then where are the limits between agency and normativity in this kind of study settings playing with the intertextualities under discussion.

For the constructive and deconstructive phases I am utilizing different ideas of semiotics and narrative research. These contain the concepts like *model narrative, discourse, metaphor, subject position, dominant identity categories*. And these concepts derive then from the idea that language is always about dominance and “otherness”. With these I aim to identify what kind of meanings the students relate to the concept of entrepreneurship and how they relate themselves to that. When identifying and constructing the *model narrative* out of the various narratives written by these students I apply the ideas of structuralism and post-structuralism together. With the concept of model narrative it is possible to acquire some repetitive and dominant structures and contents relating to the concept of entrepreneurship.

Contrary to the idea of model narrative there is then the idea of *counter-narrative*, the deconstructing of the model narrative making the constructive dominances even more visible. The reconstructive phase is then about creating a new narrative or narratives with creative methods. The legitimation of narrative is then to utilize the ideas such as of the *narrative presence* in the computer sciences and theater studies. These latter phases are both based on the previous phases of construction and deconstruction finalizing the concept to reflective structuration approach.

1.5 The research process

This type of research following the rules of fair argumentation demands from the researcher intensive interaction between several texts – the process itself is about

intertextuality aiming to the cumulation of theoretical and methodological understanding of this “textual entrepreneurship”.

This approach is in line with the *abductive reasoning* (Anttila 1998) which typically begins with an incomplete set of observations and proceeds by the interaction between theory and research data to the likeliest possible explanation or conceptual model in the end of the research. It is a kind of *process reading and writing* throughout the study. I would also consider this approach of being a “chef” or “painter” seeing this study as an art form of cooking, painting and drawing different impressions from narrative data in the interaction with different data and “theory”.

Abductive reasoning also demands that the researcher has at least somekind of clue of the research puzzle or pre-knowledge about the topic under study (Kyrö 2004a). Like told before, the seed of this research was there already in the “pre-understanding” regarding the narratives of entrepreneurship told by various students. Here, the research was yet in the unintentional stage, but started to get speed in the form of “pre-narratives of entrepreneurship” relying in the mentioned abductive principle of the study.

These narratives and my personal life situation establishing an own legal company put me to the situation where the interest to take an intentional approach to entrepreneurial narratives as a research topic. With other words: this lead to the puzzle solving: what is this entrepreneurship narrated by students especially in the higher education context. This reason was also very practical related to entrepreneurial pedagogy: I want to know more what these students thought about entrepreneurship in the beginning of their entrepreneurship courses.

First, I designed a method how to collect these preliminary narratives from students by using the role-play method. Based on these first narratives I modified setup of the next data collections. Here I utilized principles of *content analysis* naming the topics coming out of the narrative data. Parallel, I started the systematic readings related to entrepreneurship research, various areas of other scientific readings and its traditions. Interactive, parallel reading began to take shape in the form of “preliminary understanding of students’ narratives”.

Additionally, I also applied the methodological tools of narratological research leading to structural analysis of student’s narratives. I assume that this phase of analysis led me to “wider understanding of narratives” – again also parallel to entrepreneurship texts coming from western academia.

After this “structural reading” I applied “post-structural” readings with the principles of *discourse analysis and analysis of narrative identities*. Besides this these the ideas of critical discourse analysis (CDA), critical metaphor analysis and analysis of subject positions of the narrators led me to the stage of “deeper understanding of narratives” what I consider highly important stage considering the later arrangements for the later study. Since then the idea of structurationist paradgima begun to grow more explicitly in both reading and writing about entrepreneurship and these students’ narratives.

As a continuation I created this framework to look these narratives from the structurationist point of view. I consider this phase of reading put the dynamics, interactivity and reflectivity to the collected narratives since the concept of reflective structuration at the same time cumulated the previous approaches leading to the puzzle solving of the textual entrepreneurship. I will go through the analysis process more in detail in the chapter 6 related to the data collection and analysis.

Below in the Figure 1 the visual outlook represented as a cumulative process in the functions of the interactivity of data/literature and study time.

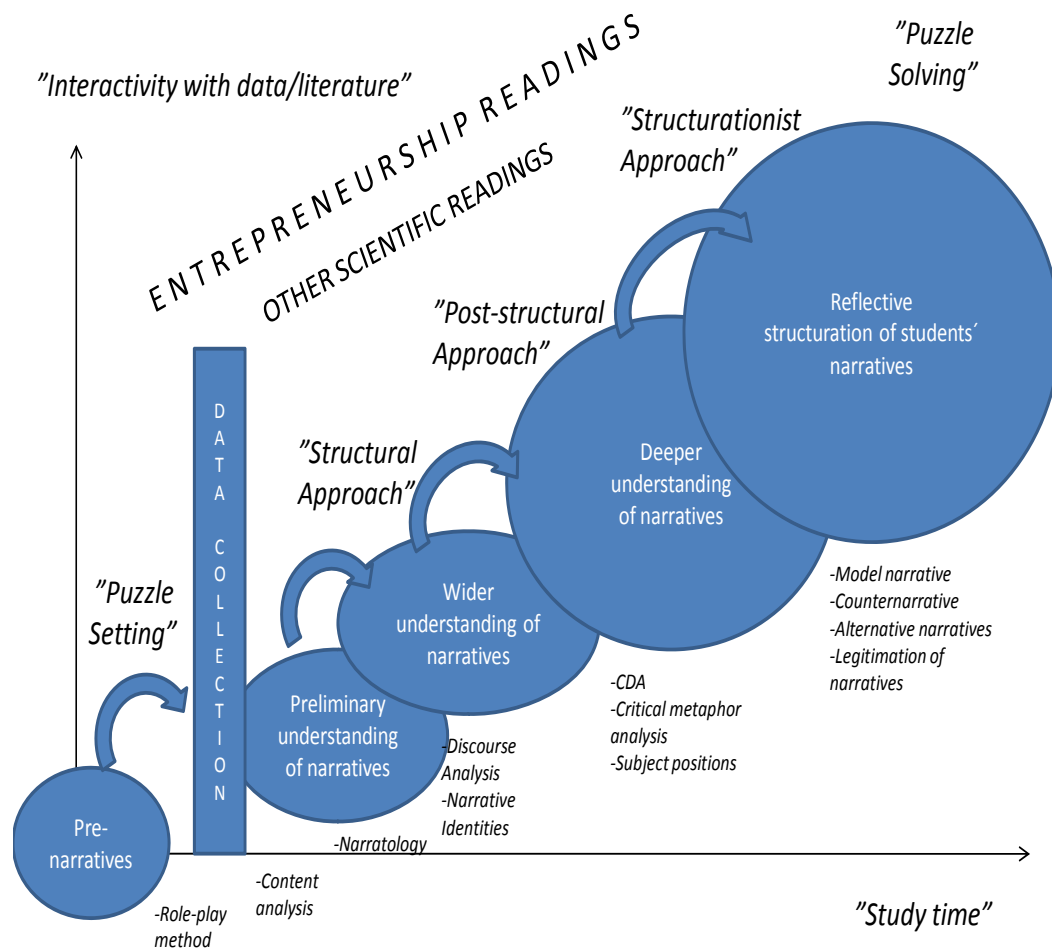


Figure 1. The cumulation of the research process

1.6 The significance of the study

What is then the significance of this kind of study as part of the scientific tradition? The theoretical aim of this study is *to build a framework called reflective structuration for later development and applications*. This framework contains the idea of language as a key element which has been missing in the previous literature – at least in the systematic or methodological level. For instance, even if the narrative approach have been applied recently in many studies in the entrepreneurship area (Steyart & Hjort 2003), the combining of different narrative traditions seem to be lacking.

In the same manner, even if the ideas of semiotics are previously applied in the promising way in many scientific fields like in linguistics, psychology, sociology and cultural studies, the approaches which try to unite these different sciences seems to be lacking in the academia (Tuovinen 2000). My multi-scientific approach tries to combine different sciences in one study in a new, but challenging way.

Furthermore, the semiotic approach has usually been divided to certain clear categories – namely structuralism and post-structuralism even if Tarasti (1990) identified them as building a continuum in the field. And furthermore these both traditions do not seem to be focusing on the *social and power* – the social aspect of power and on the contrary: the other, “the lack” or the marked terms. For instance related to the concept of discourse and discourse analysis the conventional approaches seem to neglect the role of power in discourse, like in the idea of interpretative repertoire (Potter & Wetherell 1987). On the other hand quite many studies just reflect the power of discourse over the subject, like those affected by Marxist and early Foucauldian views forgetting the possibilities for action and change in the signification level.

In the previous studies the human agency and change are mostly left in a “black-box” when considering how the change is possible, especially in the signification level. The structuration theory of Giddens (1979; 1984) tried to make a change towards the mutual relationship of these both – the structure and subject (agency). Even if this theory by Giddens (1979; 1984) has been applied to some of the studies in the field (Bhowmick 2007; Jack and Andersen 2002; Sarason et al. 2006) there is still a clear space for further developing these approaches in the entrepreneurship research.

Again, I find the theories of narrativity, semiotics and structuration quite abstract missing the practical applications. Usually praxis or practical implications seem to be missing. In this study the practical implications are *located in entrepreneurship education to develop methods and tools in the pre-intentional or pre-entrepreneurial stage* (Kyrö & Carrier 2005). Here, I have chosen one specific area of entrepreneurship education, the *pre-incubation* related to business idea development and entrepreneurial identity as one possible area of pedagogical implications.

Within the entrepreneurship literature this study also situated among some studies using the structuration theory (Bhowmick 2007; Sarason et al. 2006; Fletcher 2006; Chiasson & Saunders 2005) or to the emergentist perspective (Fuller et al. 2006) where subjects create their entrepreneurial self-identities with narratives and discourses (Down 2006; Warren 2004). Related to the legitimation of entre-

preneurship this *study could also be seen as part of nascent entrepreneurship* (Reynolds 1997) if it is seen as the “*pre-element*” of *different forms of entrepreneurship*.

Typically these studies are directed to the present entrepreneurs and this pre-entrepreneurial approach seems to be usually lacking. Or if there has been focus on the pre-entrepreneurial stages, such as in the studies of Leskinen (1999), Ristimäki (2004) or Römer-Paakkanen (2007), these “phenomenologies or phenomenographies of entrepreneurship” have not tended to look at the dynamics or the interactivity of the concept of entrepreneurship in the social setting, in the language usage in the forms of narratives.

1.7 The structure of the study

This study is divided to eight different chapters. The core idea is that science and especially entrepreneurship are reflective topics of discussion throughout the study.

After introduction (chapter 1), the second chapter contains the basic ideas used when constructing the scientific base in this study. Here I am going to take first a short look at a way to structurationist thinking within modern western science. With the fair argumentation principle I will pick several “milestones” and different philosophical traditions affecting the structurationist paradigm. Here I also construct the base for my reflective structuration approach and its ontological, epistemological and methodological choices later on in the study.

In the third chapter I will take a closer look at the theoretical basics of semiotics and narrative studies and how they are here applied in the reflective structuration approach.

The fourth chapter then presents my own understanding about the concepts of structure and agency. It also summarizes the ideas into the concept of reflective structuration, especially in the context of narrativity. Here the concepts of model narrative, counter-narrative, narrative creation and narrative presence are also packed for later usage.

In the fifth chapter I am going to take a closer look at the entrepreneurship research tradition through this reflective structuration approach. Here entrepreneurship is seen circulating process of construction, deconstruction, reconstruction and legitimating phases during the times of history and through different scientific approaches within entrepreneurship studies.

The sixth chapter is about the collecting and analyzing the narratives by using the applied “role-play –method”.

The seventh chapter presents the key findings about the reflective structuration of entrepreneurship related to the students’ narratives.

The final chapter is then about reflecting the study results, to bring up the theoretical and practical implications, the future study possibilities and the evaluation of the whole study process.

2 A ROAD TO STRUCTURATIONIST THINKING IN WESTERN SCIENCE

During my studies I have identified that the theoretical base for the *concepts of structure and agency and the interactivity between them is (deeply) rooted in the western modern science*. Because these are the key concepts in this research there is a need to go through different milestones of the modern thinking also following the previously mentioned “fair argumentation” (Kakkuri-Knuutila 2006) path of the research. I consider this as (a possible) road to structurationist thinking in the western science. “A” means here one possible description not being “The” holding the truths about the history of western science.

These concepts did not just jump out of nowhere to scientific arenas – instead they have an interesting history affecting the current usages of the concepts. There is a need to see how these concepts might have become part of the scientific discussions – for instance when looking at the concepts of entrepreneurship and its studies in the western modern history.

I also consider that the history of western science is one field of our inter-textual world affecting our views on science and its role in the society. The history and its nature make the difference modifying the concepts used. There are reasons for making and keeping the concepts alive.

Therefore, even if I am fully aware of the complexity and unreportability (even non-discursivity) of the history of science, I try to trace and make explicit some guidelines in history affecting this study and its concepts. Along that I try to relate myself with the past and current traditions in the field of science, especially in the social and human sciences. Going through these is also a *reflective operation* – here more relating myself to the earlier scientific traditions of the modern in order to understand my approach to build up the idea of reflective structuration.

2.1 The reflective approach in science

First of all one could ask, what might be the reflective approach in science? The definitions are numerous, but it could be said that this kind of reflective thought within the field of western science started to acquire wider acceptance in later parts of 20th century. In this context, *the concept of reflective means a reaction towards modern approaches to science*. This could be seen for instance in the writings of Bachelard, Popper and Kuhn the Cartesian and Hegelian western con-

cepts of science were challenged as a continuation of these early critics of western science.

According to Kyrö (2006) Bachelard suggested that scientific knowledge is a cultural product, both describing and creating reality. Popper then stated that science is not a system of certain, or well-established, statements; nor is it a system which steadily advances towards a state of finality. The science as a concept is not one, but instead it could be seen as dynamic and changing containing different social interests and layered voices in its background.

Also Thomas Kuhn (1922-1996) was critical of the simplistic picture that modern philosophers had painted of science. Related to the philosophy of science and the concepts of ontology and epistemology Kuhn published the first edition of his book *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* in 1962 presenting his ideas about the evolution of science using the concepts of “paradigm”, “normal science” and “revolutionary science”. Kuhn (1962) argued that science was and is not a steady, cumulative acquisition of knowledge. Scientific revolutions imply that one paradigm replaces another and introduces a new set of theories, approaches and definitions. In this sense also, scientific views may change over the time, they are not fixed, but it could be noted that some texts rule under certain period fading away from the discussions later on.

However, like Kyrö (2006) pointed out, Kuhn represented the view that science has its own internal, endemic dynamics of “development”. He did not consider the interplay of science and society, the contexts of science or the socio-historical aspect of science, the approach recommended by Bachelard and the other social researchers representing the “sociology of knowledge”. In this research tradition the main question is how the knowledge is created and maintained in societies; for instance in the scientific processes; what is considered as knowledge, what affects to these processes, what kind of methods are used, what positions and approaches taken, how does the history and context affect to the scientific knowledge creation etc. Related to this, Michel Foucault (1972) brought up the concept of *episteme* which, according to him, was the total set of relations that unite, at a given period, the discursive formations that give rise to epistemological figures, sciences, and possible formulated systems.

Rather than analyzing the discursive formations in terms of their truth, Foucault (1972) analyzed them in terms of their history or genesis – this was close to the ideas of Bachelard. He claimed that he was attempting to do an *archeology of knowledge* to show the history of truth claims - but not the history itself. Foucault sought to show how the development of knowledge was intertwined with the mechanisms of power. The discursive formations of knowledge are not independent

of the objects that are studied, and must be understood in their social and political context:

“Whenever one can describe, between a number of statements, such a system of dispersion, whenever, between objects, types of statement, concepts, or thematic choices, one can define a regularity (an order, correlations, positions and functionings, transformations), we will say, for the sake of convenience, that we are dealing with *discursive formation* – thus avoiding words that are already overladen with conditions and consequences, and in any case inadequate to the task of designing such a dispersion, such as “science”, “ideology”, “theory”, or “domain of objectivity”. The conditions to which the elements of this division (objects, mode of statement, concepts, thematic choices) are subjected we shall call the *rules of formation*. The rules of formation are conditions of existence (but also of coexistence, maintenance, modification, and disappearance) in a given discursive division”. (Foucault 1972: 38)

Michel Foucault (1972) undertook an archeological study of three loosely defined historical periods: the “Renaissance” period, the “Classical” period and the “Modern” period. He argued that each period had an underlying epistemology in the western societies. The episteme is not a form of knowledge or type of rationality which, crossing the boundaries of the most varied sciences, manifests the sovereign unity of a subject, a spirit, a period. It is the totality of relations that can be discovered, for a given period, between the sciences when one analyses them at the level of discursive regularities. What this means is that every text at any given period of time is conditioned by a network or web of relations that in turn affects the meaning of that text. Therefore a tenet has no “once and for all time” meaning.

Later, some sociologists seem to have followed the paths of Foucault. Related to processes of science, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) called this kind of stance as a “reflexive sociology” where sociologists must at all times conduct their research with conscious attention to the effects of their own position and their own set of internalized structures. The sociologist must therefore engage in the “sociology of sociology”. One must be cognizant of their own social positions within a field and recognize the conditions that both structure and make possible discourses, theories, and observations. So, there is also a subjective level of analysis. Like Bourdieu stated:

“For me sociology has been a kind of *socioanalyse* which has helped me to understand and tolerate many things which have been hidden and intolerable in the past – starting from myself.” (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, 210).

The sociologist asks: what is knowledge? How is it produced? What kind of relationship do I have to this knowledge? Does scientific knowledge produce a mono- or poly-contextual worldview?

This “reflexive sociology” of Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) rejected the idea of the transcendental objectivity – there are only certain historical conditions necessary for its emergence. Transcendental objectivity requires certain historical and social conditions for its production. Some scholars go even further when seeing these historical conditions forming the “modern condition” or frames for the production of the scientific knowledge:

‘...it describes the complex range of phenomena associated with the historical process, commencing in the 17th century, which saw Western societies change from a agricultural to an industrial foundation, from a feudal to a capitalist framework, with most of their populations migrating from rural, village settings to towns and cities, as well as moving beyond Western Europe in the process of colonising much of the rest of the world’. (Krieken et al. 2000: 7)

This reflexive sociology then tries to trace the conditions and frames where the scientific products are done. It also tries to make analysis why some knowledge becomes scientific and other knowledge does not. Therefore it is also analysis of the “scientific field” where there are “entrance fees” to get possibilities to produce scientific knowledge. Further, the scientific field entails rigorous inter-subjective scrutinizing of theory and data. These critical views towards the modern philosophy of science could be posited under the headline called “postmodern” in the later scientific discussions.

The term “postmodern” first entered the philosophical lexicon in 1979 with the publication of *The Postmodern Condition* by Jean-François Lyotard and it had widely accepted connotations among scientists. Lyotard (1984) pointed out that modern philosophy has sought to provide legitimating narratives for science for instance in the form of the dialectics of “Spirit”, the emancipation of the rational or working subject, or the creation of wealth. Lyotard stated that science plays the language game of denotation to the exclusion of all others, and in this respect it displaces narrative knowledge, including the meta-narratives of philosophy.

According to Lyotard this means that science only plays its own game and cannot legitimate others, such as moral prescription. Science is only one discourse

among the others in human life – not more acceptable or better than the other discourses in human life (Bauman 1992).

What then is the role of science among the other discourses? What the scientist should do then in these conditions? Can the researcher have and stress the poly-contextual worldview? At least, it could be stated that science is not “above” all the other discourses – scientists are no longer spectators where the world is a mere object to be described with an allegedly objective language (Toulmin 1990). Science cannot be the “mirror of nature”, there are no neutral facts and observers in the field of science (Rorty 1979). Science and scientists are part of the system of description; his/her language is one among several possible others.

2.2 Reflecting the modern science

What is then the idea of modern science? Some scholars say that the “modern era” in western science is associated with the European Enlightenment, which began roughly in the middle of the eighteenth century. Others associate the rise of the modern to Renaissance (Sarup 1993). According to Tamminen (1994) the idea of the modern brought up a new history (contrary to antique) of philosophy containing the idea of history as a linear development process towards the Kingdom of Heaven.

However, for instance Sihvola (1998) said that antiquity have affected strongly to modern thoughts and modern have kept up the ideas of the metaphysics of Plato and Aristotle stressing the universal and common scientific grounds for the knowledge and that the higher knowledge consists of invariants, stability and unity in contrast to “lower level of knowledge” containing “change and instability”. These conceptualizations could be seen as a part of the idea of telos concerning the Christian theology and consequently it is built into the dogmas that drive the western science. The *invariants, stability and unity* were this way related to the concept of science – they became to signify scientific ideas. With this metaphysics of antique and the idea of telos the conceptualizations of the concept such as structure became possible in the western science, as we shall later see.

Western philosophy seemed to have a belief that scientific knowledge implies a kind of *progress toward an absolute knowledge* that will not only relieve objective reality of whatever metaphysical mysteries it once held but actually improve the lives of its constituents. This Christian teleology baked into the scientific discourse could be seen in the early scholars of western science such as Nicolas Cusanus and Francis Bacon (1561-1626) who presented in his *Novum Organum* the

new scientific method behind which he saw that “God” has created man for the fulfillment of (his) potential and enhancing the quality of life by using the possibilities of “the new science”.

New knowledge and the control of the nature were according to God’s great plan and the life of the human being would therefore change into a paradise (Knuuttila 1984). This western idea of the paradise on the earth could be also seen in the conceptualizations of different “utopias” referring always to the future which is going to be better than present (Tamminen 1994).

It could be stated that René Descartes (1596-1650) was one of major thinkers in the modern philosophy (Kenny 2006). He thought that he had found a rational foundation for science based on his arguments for his own existence and the existence of God. Descartes attempted to achieve certainty and this led to *foundationalism*; by tracing our knowledge back to its foundations, we would get something the skeptic could not deny or call into question. This became the pattern with the *rationalists* who based their systems on what they saw as self-evident first principles of demonstration. Something counted as “self-evident” if one knew it was true simply by understanding it. These self-evident propositions were also regarded as “non-analyzable”, they could not be broken down into any simpler forms. Therefore, they are the basic and fundamental building blocks of knowledge. Descartes also gave the Platonic mind-body problem its modern formulation, known as *dualism*. This is the notion that the mind’s activities are independent of bodily states and processes:

“There are two key ideas that are presented in the Discourse and elaborated later works. First: human beings are thinking substances. Second: matter is extension in motion. Everything in his system is to be explained in terms of *dualism of mind and matter*. If we nowadays tend naturally to think of mind and matter as the two great mutually exclusive and mutually exhaustive divisions of the universe we inhabit, that is because of Descartes”. (Kenny 2006: 36)

According to this philosophy the activities of the mind are foundational and higher activities, they were not questionable, like already Plato had stated. But foundationalism as a scientific approach comes in different flavors depending on what particular type of belief or unit of knowledge is under question or what not is taken to be foundational. The foundations may be self-evident, metaphysical truths, such as “The God created the world” (Tamminen 1994).

A similar though different kind of foundationalism could be found later on with the *empiricist* opponents of rationalism. In Descartes`view reason was the best way to generate knowledge about reality, but the empirists like John Locke (1632

– 1704) and Isaac Newton (1642-1727) saw that the role of experience constituting knowledge is crucial. The empiricists also claimed a few things to be self-evidently true, but mostly they regarded experience as providing foundational pieces of knowledge. Statements about experience were not self-evident in terms of being understood, but they could be grasped as intuitively true as part of empirical observation. It is said that the ideas of Newton in his *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica* set the tone for much of what would be called as science: mathematics of axiomatic proof with the mechanics of physical observation containing a *coherent system of verifiable predictions*. In the nutshell Newton had the idea of uniform laws for natural phenomena (Dijksterhuis 1986).

Isaac Newton's advances in physics based on his foundationalist; empirical and inductive methods were influential to the philosophers of the Enlightenment (Toulmin 1990), such as Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). He thought that Newton's laws could be shown to be true by reason and that the scientific approach could explain the phenomenal world. *The Age of Enlightenment* refers to the 18th century in European philosophy and to the historical intellectual movement which advocated rationality as a means to establish an authoritative system of ethics, aesthetics, and knowledge. The intellectual leaders of this movement regarded themselves as courageous and elite, and regarded their purpose as leading the world toward progress and out of a long period of doubtful tradition, full of irrationality, superstition, and tyranny. Enlightenment thinkers saw themselves as looking into the mind of God by studying creation and deducing the basic truths of the world (Burrell 1998).

The idea of universal laws, or universal steps in the evolutionary progress of humankind could be clearly seen in the writings of Hegel (1770-1831) who thought that – for instance – arts and religion are replaced by the “pure knowledge” in the later stages in the human history. This philosophy was packed up in his work *The Phenomenology of Spirit* where Hegel described the process of the Spirit's development starting from the sensation till the absolute knowledge as the philosophical knowledge, whereby Hegel saw a parallel with the historic-cultural development of *the World Spirit*. The dialectical development of Spirit is stated in the light of the human psychic as well as historical sequence. Therefore the movement in history is the movement toward Absolute Knowledge or Spirit. The teleology of Spirit is independent of the external circumstances. It is *not relational*:

“In reality, the circumstances make no difference to the outcome, of which the true ground is the End itself. This End feels itself in the final satisfaction”. (Hegel 1979: 257, 531)

This “End” here refers to teleology of the pure and ideal knowledge, the absolute knowing. Thus, absolute means not related to anything and absolute must be seen as a result. For Hegel the absolute can be found in God. The pure being, the absolute, this is God. Then also the foundation is God.

As Toulmin (1990) tried to contextualize the works of Descartes in his work *Cosmopolis*, also Pinkard (2000) stressed the historical context of the writings of Hegel. According to him these writings were meant to respond in one way or another to the new social world that emerged in the course of the Napoleonic reconstruction of Europe, following the French Revolution. Thus in the Preface to the *Phenomenology of Spirit* he claimed his book is a response to the birth-time and a period of transition to a new era. This situation required changing philosophical thinking in such a way that the truth would not get lost in the new spiritual formation, since the truth of the new spirit cannot be comprehended in the old way. A new *Wissenschaft* was needed to rethink the nature of “truth” and “falsity”.

Descartes and Hegel had numerous followers and the ideas of “truth”, “universals”, “laws” or “absolutes” later also evolved in the social sciences, like those of Comte’s (1798–1857). Comte was trying to discover the laws of societal development related to the concepts of biology. He even went so far as to compare families, social classes and political structures in society with cells, tissues, and organs of the human body (Comte 1966). Comte transferred the biological metaphors when analyzing the social – they were in this way more analyzable and tangible. As Emile Durkheim (1938), the other French positivist sociologist and the follower of Comte said, that social facts are things. Comte and Durkheim are said to be the fathers of the sociological positivism which affected a lot the later scholars in the field of sociology and other human sciences.

Affected by the thoughts of German idealists especially Durkheim tried to apply a teleological imperative governing human history stating that human thought tends to undergo a process of universalization in the context of religious beliefs which he was interested in:

“It is this international life that has already resulted in universalizing religious beliefs. As it extends, the collective horizon enlarges; the society ceases to appear as the only whole to become part of a much vaster one, with indetermined frontiers, which is susceptible of advancing indefinitely...there is an apprehension of an objective cosmopolitan truth toward which humanity is “constantly approaching, but which in all probability we shall never succeed in reaching”. (Durkheim 1965: 493)

While Durkheim doubted that this objectivity will ever be fully apprehended, he asserted that it is progressively approached. In his view, all societies have attained some measure of the international life and tend to attain more of it in their processes of development:

“There is no people and no state which is not a part of another society, more or less unlimited, which embraces all the peoples and all the States with which the first comes in contact, either directly or indirectly; there is no national life which is not dominated by a collective life of an international nature. In proportion as we advance in history, these international groups acquire a greater importance and extent”. (Durkheim 1965: 474)

For Durkheim there were especially objects in the social and they were there independently from the action, the human agency. Like Heiskala (1997) considered that for Durkheim the structures formed the religious contexts without actors. It can be said that Durkheim put the concept of structure to the role of “self-evident” and “universal” to social studies. The structure is there – it just had to be found and described, maybe using the biological metaphors like those of Comte’s.

To sum up, the modern science emphasized the teleological concept of the history and that there is a stable, coherent, knowable mind/self (Descartes) – referring to objects and also to *fixed and stable identities* outside the social. According to this modern idea also the knowledge produced by science is the “truth”, universal and eternal. And that the knowledge/truth produced by science will always lead toward progress and perfection. This discourse contained the idea that all human institutions and practices can be analyzed by science and improved. Modern theorists assumed that there is order and laws in the cosmos and society that reason can discover in order to represent and control nature and social conditions. Also the agency, the human actor was usually missing in these approaches, like for instance that of Durkheim leading to “structuralist thinking” in social sciences in Europe.

This early modern approach could be also summed up as *epistemological realism, subcategory of objectivism*, holding that what you know about an *object has its own teleologies and laws*. Therefore the *object is separate from subject* – and that there is always coherent subject and object in the scientific approach. In other words: the *separate subject has no agency in the world* – the subject is placed under the objects which are identifiable laws, “truths” or structures about the world. In the mainstream of scientific discourse the structurationist thinking did not then exist.

2.3 The rise of the critical theory

During the times of western history “the critical thinking” has been there set against the dominating thoughts, also within the mainstream of scientific writings earlier described. For instance already William from Ockham (1288-1348) argued that only individuals exist, rather than supra-individual universals, essences, or forms. And therefore universals are the products of abstraction from individuals by the human mind and have no extra-mental existence (Baird & Kauffmann 2008). But these thoughts seemed to be marginal within the academia until the “Young Hegelians” during 1800’s Berlin.

“The Young Hegelians” was a group of students and young professors at the University of Berlin following Hegel’s death in 1831 (Kolakowski 2005). They interpreted the entire state apparatus as ultimately claiming legitimacy based upon religious tenets; specifically Lutheranism in contemporary Prussia, but they generalized the theory to be applicable to any state backed by any religion.

Maybe the best known member of the Young Hegelians was Karl Marx (1818-1883). He began his first assault on the edifice of the Hegelian system, his *Critique of the Hegelian Philosophy of Law*. Marx developed his “Critical theory” where he saw that society developed along with the dominance of the capitalist social relations of production. The development of capitalism created the preconditions for the demystification of social forces formerly conceived as natural or God-given for all of eternity—such as the feudal systems of social inequality which rested on the divine rights of the nobility. All that humans had created, from the gods to the social structure, became subject to the critique of human reason. Capitalism had generated its own system of mystification, that of “eternal” or “natural” economic relationships of exploitation, competition, and hierarchy. Marx attempted to criticize the “Natural Laws” of capitalism. In *Das Capital* from the year 1867, he also rejected the Cartesian and Hegelian thinking of “the Idea” which is external of the human mind, independent of the social and subject:

“My method is not only different from the Hegelian, but is its direct opposite. To Hegel, the life-process of the human brain, i.e. the process of thinking, which, under the name of “the Idea”, he even transforms into an independent subject, is the demiurgos of the real world, and the real world is only the external, phenomenal form of “the Idea”. With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought”. (Marx 1970: 29)

Here Marx opened up the discussion of the *interactive, relational human being*, the material and social world reflects itself in the forms of thought. The human being is not outside the world *but situated in the world*. In his *German Ideology*

he (together with Engels) argued strongly that the production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness, is at first directly interwoven with the material activity and the material intercourse of men, the language of real life. Conceiving, thinking, the mental intercourse of men, appears at this stage as the direct efflux of their material behaviour. The same applies to mental production as expressed in the language of the politics, laws, morality, religion and metaphysics. This also included the idea that men are the producers of their conception, ideas, etc. Then rather than just accepting the categories of social being as they exist, as eternal or laws, this view posits the possibility and potential of interactivity of human being and “real life-processes” which has yet to be realized.

Within the social studies these ideas of Marx and Engels were further developed in many forums, like in the *Frankfurt School* attacking especially towards Comte’s social positivism. Beginning in Germany this tradition has extended and enriched the critical theory of society which includes the persons associated with the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research like Marcuse, Adorno, Horkheimer, Benjamin, Neumann and later Habermas, among others.

According to Max Horkheimer (1972), the demand that the positivists make that sociology must conform to the “facts” is similar to the demand in the medieval society that theories conform to religious dogma. According to critical theory “truth” must lie somewhere else than in the facts of the given reality, but in the negation of those facts. Truth lies in the attempt to go beyond this reality to a better world - but still there is a truth to be discovered and it lies somewhere. Thus, truth lies in our attempt to change the world, in our critique of the established reality. Therefore, I consider this Marxist thinking also belonging to the foundationalist, early modern tradition – even if being critical to modern, Hegelian thinking.

According to Marxist thinking a critical sociological analysis is true insofar as it helps change the world and makes it a more human place in which to live (Marcuse 1964). In this sense critical school seems to be leaning on the *pragmatist philosophy of science*; “praxis” is the key concept that differentiates the critical sociologist from the a-historical gatherer of common sense facts (Habermas 1971). Therefore according to critical theory judging the truth of a theory is *praxis* or the degree to which scientific analysis is responsible to human values opening up ways for pragmatist philosophers and scholars like James and Dewey, as we will later see.

Along Marx the second critical thinker towards the ideas of Hegel came to be Danish philosopher and theologian Kierkegaard (1813–1855) who is generally recognized as the first existentialist philosopher. But unlike Marx and the follow-

ers, Kierkegaard stressed the importance of the Cartesian self (the subject), but in his ideas the focus was on the self's *relation* to the world as being grounded in self-reflection and introspection. These ideas built the foundation for *hermeneutics and phenomenology*. Hermeneutics was generalized as the human science which applies to the various disciplines which deal with understanding and interpretation instead of the sciences of explanation especially in the writings of Wilhelm Dilthey (1833–1911). Dilthey contrasted such sciences from the natural sciences which were distinguished then as sciences of explanation.

Along with Marx, Kierkegaard and Dilthey there was Max Weber (1864–1920) in the field of sociology. His works started the anti-positivistic revolution in the social sciences, which stressed the difference between the social sciences and natural sciences, especially due to human social actions. Weber holds that there is no universal law of society as supposed in natural science, or the law of history which determines the course of the dynamic mechanically. Instead Weber established the understanding sociology of the subjective meaning and a *theory of action* part of it. To make such knowledge of the understanding objective, he founded the methodology of the ideal type and the elective affinity of causal relationships.

These ideal types make also interpretative understanding of action possible constituting the object of the social research. Weber elaborated also a set of other categories, such as types of prophecy and the idea of charisma (or spiritual power). In this sense, for Weber these types were tools adding the understanding of meaning and still enabling the modern scientific approaches in the means of causal explanations with these concepts. Different social phenomena could then be studied via *ideal types* (Heiskala 1997).

Max Weber (1930) began his studies of modern rationalization in the work called *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. In this study he showed how certain Christian movements, especially Calvinism shifted towards the rational means of economic gain as a way of expressing that they had been blessed. He argued that the rational roots of this doctrine soon grew incompatible with and larger than the religious. In this sense Weber saw that social action and history is not consisted of evident “laws” which could be revealed by positivist science – the idea clearly opposed to Durkheim and Comte. Later on he also introduced the concept of “*verstehen*” which meant a kind of participatory understanding in science. It relates to how people in life give meaning to the social world around them.

One of the most influential critical scholars along Marx, Weber and Kierkegaard related to the modern science was Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900). In a way he

broke the modern stating that “there was no good or evil” and that “truths are illusions of which one has forgotten that they are illusions” and there are “no static and inner substances” in human life. These ideas led way to *conceptualism* which state that universals exist only within the mind and have no external or substantial reality and different propositions relating to world are only true relative to a particular perspective.

“There are still harmless self-observers who believe “immediate certainties” exists, for example “I think” or, as was Schopenhauer’s superstition, “I will”: as though knowledge here got hold of its object pure and naked, as “thing in itself”, and no falsification occurred either on the side of the subject or on that of the object. But I shall reiterate a hundred times that “immediate certainty”, like “absolute knowledge” and “thing in itself”, contains a *contradiction in adjecto*: we really ought to get free from the seduction of words”. (Nietzsche 1887: 46)

These ideas reminded the Buddhist teachings of “anatta” or “anatman” (non self, non soul, only perspectives). His linkage with Buddhist thinking could be easily seen in his works which are clearly controversial to the Christian and modern Cartesian thought. The majority view amongst Buddhists is that the non-Self doctrine means that no ultimate, eternal self of any kind exists at all within any being—no super-Soul, no enduring essence, no deathless core (Perez-Reimon 1980).

Related to the concept of human agency Nietzsche stressed the ideas of “perspectives” meaning that “superior individuals” have the intelligence and the will to impose their desires on “lesser people”. An emancipated subject who would have goals above and beyond those activities preprogrammed by genes, or by primitive society or by those mapped by pre-existing norms, laws, customs and moralities common to the society in which the person was socialized. To take on pre-existing goals is not, in modern understanding of agency, an act of autonomous will.

This *emancipated subject* was the idea also in later Frankfurt School and other pragmatist movements. But was subject only the “superior individual”? How the emancipation becomes possible? Is there any agency left for the “lesser people” in the Nietzschean thinking? Since Nietzsche was not a pragmatist or practitioner, he was not interested in this question. This could be seen in one of his answers to himself when he questioned in one of his books: how to go to the top of the mountain? And the answer was: the only way is climbing.

Furthermore, in his *Genealogy of Morals* (1887), Nietzsche denied that any common characteristics unite all the institutions, practices, and beliefs normally classified under the rubric of morality. Nietzsche thus adopted an *anti-essentialist*

approach to morality. The history of morality should be approached through *genealogy* which attends to the fluctuating and internally heterogeneous character of its object of study. In particular, the work of the genealogist is to trace how some contemporary practice or experience has arisen from an indefinitely extended process whereby earlier forms of that practice or experience have become reinterpreted by later ones. This genealogy as a method then traces how concepts such as “guilt” and “evil” undergo varying interpretations, where these interpretations continually reshape our experience and practices.

In the modern, Cartesian tradition the human mind was seen as a passive interpreter of sense data. The act of interpretation or agency included in the idea of human being was not present. There was the separate subject in the centre but it was not interacting. Based on the ideas of Kierkegaard and Dilthey, hermeneutics was again enriched by *phenomenology* mainly by Edmund Husserl and Martin Heidegger during the mid of last century.

Phenomenologists saw *humans also as intentional beings*, meaning that each person always actively configures meaning by imposing order on the world (von Eckartsberg 1986). Thus they argue that the world and the objects we perceive exist to us through the meanings we give to them, through an act of interpretation. Meaning resides in what Heidegger called a referential totality; the historically learned practices we have of the world as a holistic web of interrelated things. Meaning is thus not some stable essence which is mediated by interpretations and which can be reached by bracketing or digging through our holistic web of experiences and practices. Meaning resides in that web (Dreyfus 1991).

This does not necessarily deny the existence of an external physical world independent of our perceptions, but it does imply that the only way things exist to us is through the way we *interpret and give meaning* to them. The knowledge is always *situated in the world*. There is no escape to an absolute view without pre-suppositions. Therefore human knowledge is always an interpretative clarification of the world, not a pure, interest-free theory where the researcher can just be the Cartesian viewer.

The Existentialist movement by Jean-Paul Sartre went even further in this direction emphasizing the role of subject (subjectivism) in the meaning making. In other words: *the world and meaning making is about human agency - human beings define their own reality*. It happens through the operations of interpretation and meaning making. This Sartrean existentialism argued that man has no pre-defined purpose or meaning; rather, humans define themselves and their world in terms of who they become as their individual lives are played out in response to the challenges posed by existence in the world. It could be said *that existentialist*

movement found again subject and tried to emphasize its role in the social processes. So in this way all these critical movements towards modern ideas opened up the new ways of thinking about the idea of human being and the role of science parallel to the idea of constructivism.

2.4 The constructed knowledge

One of the common and shared ideas in the writings of Marx, Weber, Nietzsche, Kierkegaard and Heidegger was that a *human being has a relation to the world and the knowledge and static, objective, "outside" truth does not exist.* The "truth" and knowledge are situated and affected by the environment and the different relations what the human being has. *The knowledge is therefore always mediated and constructed.* It is not something static and just something to be revealed among the different objects in the world. Therefore knowledge is not about the world, but rather constitutive of the world.

In western cultures, during the times of modern, constructivists often trace their intellectual genealogy to Giambattista Vico (1668-1744). His *Scienza Nuova* was published already in 1725 altering the modern ideals of "eternal truths". According to Vico (1982) we need to study how different cultures and nations are constructed during the times of history. His approach was already building the basis for studying language as part of this construction process showing the way to later scholars.

But maybe one of the most powerful thinkers in western philosophy was Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) who after Vico emphasized the power of "patterns" in our thinking. Vico confronted Descartes by saying that we cannot have a-historical and true knowledge about the world. This principle states that truth is verified through creation or invention and not through observation. He argued that civil life is wholly constructed. In this sense Vico showed the way to later constructivists, like Kant and cognitive scientists in the 1900's (Tuovinen 2000).

Kant (1965) continued the works of Vico and regarded ideas as regulative principles in our experiencing and his triad phenomenon, noumenon and schematismus which could be interpreted here as predecessors of what are now usually call "constructs" or "schema" for instance in the field of psychology. According to Kant knowledge results from the organization of perceptual data on the basis of inborn cognitive structures, which he calls "categories" which he saw as *a priori categories* and which were static or given. The concept of *phenomena* contained the idea that certain objects are shaped and grasped by human sensibility and un-

derstanding, and some objects are things-in-themselves or *noumena*, which do not appear to us in space, which have the status of “unknowable” and about which we can make no legitimate judgements. So in this sense the ideas of Kant clearly could be related to the ideas of modern even if he emphasized the constructs in the world. Some part of this thinking is clearly related to Cartesian ideas (*noumena*), some part of it tries to reject it (*phenomena*) by stating the dynamics and change of the objects in the world. This concept of *phenomena* could be interpreted here as the early “third” trying to capture something between structure and the agent.

In pragmatist thinking the constructions, the knowledge is connected to the lived situations of life. For instance James (1907) wrote:

“Truth is verifiable to the extent that thoughts and statements correspond with actual things, as well as “hangs together” or coheres, fits as pieces of a puzzle might fit together, and these are in turn verified by the observed results of the application of an idea to *actual practice*”. (James 1907, 83)

In Dewey’s view, modern epistemologies had drawn too stark a distinction between thought, the domain of knowledge, and the world of fact to which thought referred: thought was believed to exist apart from the world. For James and Dewey the reality is to be understood through the *action* and the truth was verified on the basis of its usefulness in the concrete life-situations (James 1950; Dewey 1951). The action and concrete life-situations are then related to ideas of chance and dynamism, *the process philosophy, the ontology of becoming* denying the timeless permanent substances previously introduced related to modern science. But the questions of “usefulness” were not so much problematized – “usefulness for why, what and whom” might be then the reflective questions afterwards.

The psychological theory of constructivism came from developmental psychologists Jean Piaget (1896-1980) and Lev Vygotsky (1896-1934). In this movement there are the terms *cognitive constructivism* and *social constructivism*. Cognitive constructivism is mainly based on Piaget’s theory about the child development and has two major parts: an ages and stages – part telling what children can and cannot understand at different ages, and a theory of development that describes how children develop cognitive abilities. Piaget’s theory of cognitive development suggests that humans cannot be given information which they automatically understand, instead they must construct their own knowledge. They have to build their knowledge through experience. Experiences allow them to create mental images in their head. According to this theory human beings are constantly seeking dynamic balance between what is familiar and what is novel and modifying

their constructions trying to adapt, accommodate, organize and structure the environment:

“Intelligence is an *adaptation*...To say that intelligence is a particular instance of biological adaptation is thus to suppose that it is essentially an organization and that its function is to structure the universe just as the organism structures its immediate environment...Intelligence is assimilation to the extent that it incorporates all the given data of experience within its framework...There can be no doubt either, that mental life is also accommodation to the environment. Assimilation can never be pure because by incorporating new elements into its earlier schemata the intelligence constantly modifies the latter in order to adjust them to new elements”. (Piaget, 1963: 3–7)

Cognitive constructivism focused mainly on the cognitive development and processes of the individual, but so called social constructivism focuses on the social side of knowledge creating. It is a theory developed for instance by Vygotsky, Mead, Goffman and Schutz and further developed by many scholars like Berger & Luckmann (1966) and Giddens (1979; 1984) placing more emphasis on the social context knowledge creation and the interactivity of knowledge creation (Chambliss 1996).

2.5 The social human being

Earlier mentioned Emile Durkheim, the father of the modern sociology, tried to further develop the ideas of Kant related to constructivism bringing up the idea of socially constructed *collective representations* which he saw mainly as constraining our apprehension of truth. For Durkheim, however, constraints on human knowledge are due not to the intrinsic limitations of categories of mind but to the social limitations of collective representations.

However, even if Durkheim could be located in the modern tradition he pointed out to some kind of changeability of collective representations through time. In Kant's scheme, there is no possibility for changing categories of mind which are considered to be intrinsic, fixed and universal a priori categories (noumena). And the concept of phenomenon was also partly fixed, partly changeable. But for Durkheim, collective representations may be transformed with processes of social change. They have the *social origin*. However, the interpretation of the social reminded the modern idea trying to reject the subjective elements of the social instead of the objective ones:

“Collective representations... contain subjective elements, and these must be progressively rooted out, if we are to approach reality more closely”. (Durkheim 1965, 493)

The social was there, the subjective side of the social also but it had to be diminished in order to acquire truths from the collective representations. The connotation of the social contained some part of change, dynamics and interactivity, but these social elements were only affecting but not really interacting with the human being.

The other kind of interpretation of the social human being came up in the writings of Vygotsky. Unlike Durkheim and Marx he stressed more the *interactivity* of human being he said that human beings learn through interacting with the surrounding, contextual setting (Jaramillo 1996). This idea had different followers such as by George H. Mead (1863–1931) who emphasized the social processes in the human development. In his *Mind, Self and Society* (1934), he described how the individual mind and self arises out of the social process. Instead of approaching human experience in terms of individual psychology, Mead analyzed experience from the standpoint of communication as essential to the social order. The development of the individual's self, and of his self-consciousness within the field of his experience is pre-eminently social.

For Mead, the social process is prior to the structures and processes of individual experience. *The self, like the mind, is a social emergent*. This social conception of the self entails that individual selves are the products of social interaction and not the logical or biological preconditions of that interaction. Mead contrasts his social theory of the self with the modern Cartesian self:

“The self is something which has a development; it is not initially there, at birth, but *arises in the process of social experience and activity*, that is, develops in the given individual as a result of his relations to that process as a whole and to other individuals within that process”. (Mead 1934: 135)

The interactionism here meant that humans are pragmatic actors who continually must adjust their behavior to the actions of other actors. We can adjust to these actions only because we are able to interpret them, i.e., to denote them symbolically and treat the actions and those who perform them as symbolic objects. After Mead, Herbert Blumer (1969) coined the term *symbolic interactionism* and put forward an influential summary of the perspective: people act toward things based on the meaning those things have for them. And that these meanings are derived from social interaction and modified through interpretation. Thus, human interaction is mediated by the use of *symbols and signification*, by interpretation, or by ascertaining the meaning of one another's actions.

Related to this interactionist tradition there were the works of Erving Goffman (1922-1982). For Goffman (1959), society and social situations are not homogeneous – we must act differently in different settings, there is an *interaction order* given to actors. The context we have to judge is not society at large, but the specific context. In his dramaturgical sociology he argued that human actions are dependent upon time, place, and audience – and these might then change from time to time, from place to place, from audience to audience. In this dramaturgical approach interaction was viewed as a performance which is shaped by environment and audience, constructed to provide others with impressions that are consonant with the desired goals of the actor (Goffman 1959).

Still, even if the performance and interaction are shaped by the environment and audience, Goffman also gives space for the agency: the social actor has the ability to choose his stage and props, as well as the costume he would put on in front of a specific audience when described with this theater metaphor. The actor's main goal is to keep his coherence, and adjust to the different settings offered him. This is done mainly through interaction with other actors. To a certain extent, this imagery bridges *structure and agency*, enabling each, while saying that structure and agency can limit each other.

The previously mentioned Mead, Blumer and Goffman stressed the aspects of the social. The phenomenologist movement of Husserl and Heidegger tended to focus on the intrapersonal level stating that meaning is interpreted and mediated by the individual. Looking at the interpersonal level, it was then Alfred Schutz (1899-1959), more than any other phenomenologist, who attempted to relate the thoughts of Husserl, for instance the idea of *intentional human being* to the social world and the social sciences.

Alfred Schutz (1899-1959) stood simultaneously in the camps of philosophy and sociology, and his writings constitute the framework of a sociology based on phenomenological considerations. Schutz's basic contributions issue from a critical synthesis of Husserl's phenomenology and Weber's sociology of understanding (Heiskala 1997). He proceeds on the basis of the irreducible source of all human knowledge in the immediate experiences of the conscious, alert, and active individual. Schutz also stated that experiences in the life-world and the everyday-knowledge are crucial in the human understanding. They build up type-constructs which are guiding the human observation and action (Juuti 2001).

The ideas of Schutz and Goffman then have affected the later scholars, for instance the writings of Berger & Luckmann. The famous book called *The Social Construction of Reality* from the year 1966 by Berger & Luckmann could be considered as the classic of the social constructivism (Juuti 2001). According to

them, the idea of social constructivism is to uncover the ways in which individuals and groups participate in the creation of their perceived reality and constructions. It involves looking at the ways social phenomena are created, institutionalized, and made into tradition by humans from generation to generation creating specific bodies of knowledge.

“A social stock of knowledge is constituted, which is *transmitted from generation to generation* and which is available to the individual in everyday life. I live in the commonsense world of everyday life equipped with specific bodies of knowledge. What is more, I know that others share at least part of this knowledge and they know that I know this. My interaction with others in everyday life is, therefore, constantly affected by our common participation in the available social stock of knowledge”. (Berger & Luckmann 1966: 41)

Socially constructed reality is also seen as an ongoing, dynamic process; reality is transmitted from *generation to generation* and re-produced by people acting on their interpretations and their knowledge of it. This brings history back into the picture – generations are based on the previous generations.

Berger and Luckmann argue that all knowledge, including the most basic, taken-for-granted common sense knowledge of everyday reality, is derived from and maintained by social interactions. When people interact, they do so with the understanding that their respective perceptions of reality are related, and as they act upon this understanding their common knowledge of reality becomes reinforced. Since this common sense knowledge is negotiated by people, significations and institutions come to be presented as part of an objective reality, like here the situation and its limits in the social setting. It is in this sense that it can be said that reality is socially constructed (Berger & Luckmann 1966).

In this sense the work of Berger & Luckmann (1966) tried to integrate the works of Durkheim, Weber, Mead, Schutz and Goffman. For Durkheim the society ruled over subject – the idea of social facts, objective reality or structures determining the subject. Weber then considered that society is about subjective meanings – the subjects make the society. Mead stressed the interactiveness and social processes in meaning making. Goffman stressed the role of interaction orders and frames. Schutz combined the phenomenologist thinking to social research with the concepts of “life-world” of the subject and “the everyday-knowledge”. Berger & Luckmann (1966) stressed the interactive and interpretative everyday knowledge which is maintained and reproduced in continuous social action.

According to Berger & Luckmann (1966) the interactive human being first is introduced into society by *socialization* – *this is the aspect of continuation* (“from

generation to generation”). Primary socialization is the first socialization an individual undergoes in childhood, through which he becomes a member of society. Secondary socialization is any subsequent process that inducts an already socialized individual into new sectors of the objective world of his society. Socialization occurs always as identification with the significant others (family, friends, relatives) as well as with the *objective social structures* (roles, norms). By this the individual acquires his own subjective reality.

The question here remains, how is the objective reality constructed or order in the society created considering the interactive human being? Berger & Luckmann (1966) tried to answer these questions with the concept of *institutionalization*. As we look closer on human action we realize that human beings tend to *habitualize* (Dewey: habit) and adapt their activities – one key learning also from the pragmatists like Dewey and cognitive psychology of Piaget. Often habitualized actions are institutionalized in order to structure human action and to constrain decisions. This institutionalization occurs in the form of laws, norms and typical patterns of behavior. Institutions not only help to save energy, but also to predict, control and restrain human action – locate a human being in the social setting:

“The social stock of knowledge includes knowledge of my situation and its limits. For instance, I know that I am poor and that, therefore, I cannot expect to live in a fashionable suburb. This knowledge is, of course, shared both by those who are poor themselves and those who are in a more privileged situation. Participation in the social stock of knowledge thus permits the “location” of individuals in society and the “handling” of them in the appropriate manner”. (Berger & Luckmann 1966: 42)

However, these rules, norms and institutions are not merely exogenous constraints but rather can be changed by individuals themselves. Thus there is always a dialectical relationship between the individual and society. At the same time there are the aspects of continuation and the possibilities of change. Additionally, institutionalization needs legitimation which is a justification or explanation of the existing institutions so that these are accepted by the individuals. Legitimation then gives a sense of social order and can be seen as the secondary objectivation of meaning. By legitimation different subjective roles of individuals and institutional sub-structures can be explained and integrated. Legitimation contains always norms and knowledge and thus tells the individuals what they are or which role they have and how they have to behave (Berger & Luckmann 1966).

What do these processes then mean in the language level? According to Berger & Luckmann (1966) language plays an important role in this model of reality construction because language provides the epistemological medium for human so-

cial interaction. They noted that there are three processes operative in language at all times and that each of these contributes to misinformation, distortion, and social disparities in everyday interaction. What is significant about these processes is the fact that linguistic forms cannot be divorced from the social worlds in which they are articulated. The first process is *externalization* where ideas, thoughts, and feelings are externalized and put into linguistic form. The second one is called *objectification* where language becomes objectified, a social institution in itself, it reifies and legitimates social knowledge. The third one is *internalization* where the social ideas, thoughts, and feelings are internalized from language. And then this internalized knowledge might be seen as “habituation” and “position” guiding the human beings in the social landscape.

Distincting the ideas of Berger & Luckmann (1966) from the perspective of Vygotsky (1978) the externalization means that language is externalized in thoughts, feelings, sensations, and memories which are framed into a given linguistic form. In the second process, expressions of self are then objectified into a given system of institutionalized *signs and symbols*. This is where most of linguistic analysis resides, the study of language as signs – later on named here as *semiotics*. Meanings and forms are conjoined into a linguistic sign. If a form does not have an underlying meaning, it is non-understandable. It cannot be spoken of, or it does not have social element. It has no existence within a symbolic system of signs. Within Vygotsky's model of culture as a mediating force in cognition, language functions in objectification as a verbal artifact. And, in the third process, language is internalized because the social mores and values embedded in the linguistic code itself provide a hidden curriculum of communal values, social history, intent and consciousness which influences then the individual. Once an idea is expressed in language, however, it eventually becomes a part of the public domain, and takes on an institutional life of its own divorced from the concreteness of face-to-face interaction in everyday life.

Besides this Berger & Luckmann (1966) also discussed the concept of *identity*. Identity is, of course, a key element of subjective reality, and like all subjective reality, stands in a dialectical relationship with society. Identity is formed in social processes (Berger & Luckmann 1966). Identity is thus formed in the dialectical process of the individual with society over time. The social environment influences human thinking and acting. The individual forms his identity by interacting with the significant others. Therefore we may conclude that realities and identities are socially constructed and may be deconstructed or changed too.

2.6 The structuration theory

Berger & Luckmann (1966) packed the ideas of interactive human being stressing the dialectical relationship between subject and the society. This problematic relationship has also been called as the *structure-actor -dilemma* and it has revolved around the question of how to resolve the impasse wherein either agency is privileged over structure, or structure over agency. For modern western philosophers there were ruling laws and foundations in the world – the actors were missing. For Kant there were self-evident, a priori categories or noumena and then the phenomena which could be grasped by human sensibility and understanding – the world was partly interactive. For Nietzsche the world offered the possibilities for subject and emancipation, the world was about perspectives. For Marx, Durkheim and Comte there were social forces or laws guiding the subject. For Foucault (in his early years) there was the idea of episteme and discursive formations ruling the subject. For Weber, pragmatists, phenomenologists and hermeneutics the world is about interpretation of the world and acting in the world. For Sartre and existentialists subject ruled over structure. And so on. In most of the theories the actor-structure dilemma is available for further discussions.

Following the paths of pragmatism and constructivism, especially social constructivism there could be brought up the statement that the dynamics of actor-structure can be understood by conceiving of neither the structure nor the actor as ontologically privileged. Instead, it could be considered that they are *mutually constitutive* since properties of both actors and structures are relevant to a proper understanding of social behavior (Carlnaes 1992).

One clear trial to solve this actor-structure dilemma was the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1972) with his concept of *habitus* originated in the writings such as Marcel Mauss (1872-1950), the follower of Durkheim and the stimulator of Levi-Strauss. Mauss defined habitus as those aspects of culture that are anchored in the body or daily practices of individuals, groups, societies, and nations. It includes the totality of habits, bodily skills, styles, tastes, and other non-discursive knowledge that might be said to go without saying for a specific group. In the frame of Berger & Luckmann (1966) this habitus is transfer from the objectified knowledge to internalized aspect in the middle of subject and structure:

“I believe that everybody who have utilized this old concept (*habitus*) or concepts alike, like Hegel’s *ethos* or Husserl’s *Habitualität* or Mauss’s *hexis* where aiming to achieve the theoretical view (always not aware of it), which reminds my own. The aim is to avoid the philosophy of subject without gaining the access to actor and at the same time avoid the philosophy of

structures not forgetting the impacts what the structures have towards the actors and through them". (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 121–122)

This idea then was further developed by Bourdieu extending the scope of the term to include a person's beliefs and dispositions. He used it in an attempt to resolve a prominent antinomy of objectivism and subjectivism; the structure and agency.

In Bourdieu's (1972) work, habitus can be defined as a system of durable and transposable dispositions (lasting, acquired schemes of perception, thought and action). The individual agent develops these dispositions in response to the determining structures (such as class, family, and education) and external conditions they encounter. They are therefore neither wholly voluntary nor wholly involuntary. But there are *homologies* between the habitus and the social class – in this way Bourdieu tried to answer the question: how social/structural could be seen and analyzed in the cultural (Alapuro 2006).

According to Bourdieu the concept habitus provides the practical skills and dispositions necessary to navigate within different fields (such as sports, professional life, art) and guides the choices of the individual without ever being strictly reducible to prescribed, formal rules. At the same time, the habitus is constantly remade in the social setting by these navigations and choices - including the success or failure of previous actions. Here, Bourdieu also mixes the ideas of Goffman (1959) and Berger & Luckmann (1966).

But still habitus is more like a "coagulated egg" – habitus is incorporated in the body and therefore it is more stagnated than evolving. And everything comes from social into body, even if the body itself is a biological and psychological entity also. Roos (2006) also criticized Bourdieu for being stuck in the Durkheimian explanations ("social could be explained by the social") and not for instance considering the theories of psychology, subjectivity and action. This is also a little bit surprising since Bourdieu was familiar with pragmatists like Dewey and even criticized Dewey's habit – concept of being too mechanistic when describing the social behaviour (Kivinen 2006).

Describing neither complete determination by social factors nor individual autonomy or agency, the habitus mediates between objective structures of social relations and the individual subjective behavior of actors. In this way Bourdieu brings up the inculcation of objective social structures into the subjective, mental experience of agents. In Bourdieu's theory, agency is not directly observable in practices or in the habitus, but only in the internalized *experience of subjectivity*.

But what is then the experience of subjectivity? How is the experience mediated? How does one know anything about from these experiences of subjectivity? Bourdieu did not consider these questions in more concrete level – the mediation aspect such as *language was not available*, even if for instance the concepts of Peirce, Vygotsky and Mead might have been very fruitful in this context.

For instance Vygotsky and his followers tried earlier to unite this structure-actor – split by trying to unite objective and subjective with the words of “action” and “internalization” stating that:

“Action is a true process where the objective is transferred into the subject through mental and semiotic mediators...the outer and inner are inter-related by action and mental, semiotic processes”. (Zinchenko & Gordon 1981: 103)

For Vygotsky then *the language is the mediator between social and psychological*, even no explicit tools for studying these were not at that time available. He already had the ideas of homologies between social and psychological, when Bourdieu was aiming to acquire homologies between social and social class.

Some argue that Bourdieu`s project could be said to retain an objectivist bias from structuralism. Further, some critics charge that Bourdieu`s habitus governs so much of an individual`s social make-up that it significantly limits the concept of human agency. In Bourdieu`s references to habitus it sometimes seems as if so much of an individual`s disposition is predetermined by the social habitus that such pre-dispositions cannot be altered or left behind. Habitus was then a starting point of study, not part of the process or result of it which could be seen in his later studies. So there are still remaining the questions of the *dynamics of habitus* – what and how is the change from habitus to habitus? Is it possible? What is the dynamics here, if there are any? I consider Giddens (1979; 1984) at least tries to go forward from this thinking of Bourdieu, the thinking about the dynamics between structure and agency.

According to Hay (1995) after Berger & Luckmann and Bourdieu, maybe the most promising approach within social and political theory related to actor-structure –dilemma is the theory of *structuration* by Giddens (1979; 1984). This theory is an attempt to reconcile theoretical dichotomies of social systems such as agency/structure, subjective/objective, and micro/macro perspectives – which could be easily seen in earlier approaches in the modern philosophy of science. The approach does not focus on the individual actor or societal totality but social practices ordered across space and time – these activities or practices where then

left without consideration for instance in Bourdieu's thinking. This idea then relates Giddens also to the pragmatist tradition:

“The basic domain of study of the social sciences, according to the theory of structuration, is neither the experience of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of social totality, but social practices ordered across space and time. Human social activities, like some self-reproducing items in nature, are recursive. That is to say, they are not brought into being by social actors but continually recreated by them via the very means whereby they express themselves *as actors*. In and through their *activities* agents reproduce the conditions that make these activities possible”. (Giddens 1984: 2)

Its proponents adopt this balanced position, attempting to treat influences of structure (which inherently includes culture) and agency. According to this theory social life is not the sum of all micro-level activity, but social activity cannot be completely explained from a macro perspective or the “episteme” by Foucault. The acts of individual agents reproduce the structure:

“According to the theory of structuration, social systems have no purposes, reasons or needs whatsoever; only human individuals do. Any explanation of social reproduction which imputes teleology to social systems must be declared invalid”. (Giddens 1979: 7)

In this way Giddens wants to stress the importance of the subject; the intentional human being; the knowledgeable subject, the active subject. Therefore structuration theory aims to avoid determinism like functionalism and structuralism. The balancing of agency and structure is referred to as the *duality of structure*: social structures make social action possible, and at the same time that social action creates those very structures:

“I regard social practices, together with practical consciousness, as crucial mediating moments between two traditionally-established dualisms in social theory. One I have already alluded to, in relation to the contrast between voluntaristic and deterministic types of theory; it is the dualism of the individual and society; or subject and object; the other is the dualism of conscious/unconscious modes of cognition. In place of each these dualisms, as a single conceptual move, the theory of structuration substitutes the central notion of the *duality of structure*. By the duality of structure, I mean the essential recursiveness of social life, as constituted in social practices: structure is both medium and outcome of the reproduction of practices”. (Giddens 1979: 4–5)

For Giddens (1979) *structures are rules and resources* organized as properties of social systems. Rules are patterns people may follow in social life. Resources relate to what is created by human action, they are not given by nature. The theory employs a recursive notion of actions constrained and enabled by structures which are produced and reproduced by that action. Consequently, this theory has been adopted by those with structuralist inclinations, but who wish to situate such structures in human practice rather than reify them as an ideal type or material property. Additionally, the theory of structuration distinguishes between discursive and practical knowledge, recognizes actors as knowledgeable, such knowledge is situated, and that habitual use becomes institutionalized. So, it could be seen that here is also a clear link to social constructivism as introduced earlier by Berger & Luckmann (1966). What then is the difference between structuration and social constructivism?

I find one clear difference in the conceptualizations of *agency, the subject*. I consider that for Giddens (1979; 1984) agency is *more active and explicit part of interactivity* between single human being and society. I find the ideas of Giddens more related to theories of action, praxis, or reflexive monitoring of action, the *discursive capabilities* – which seem to be lacking in previous theories:

“The concept of agency as I advocate it here, involving intervention in a potentially malleable object-world, relates directly to the more generalized notion of *Praxis*...it is a necessary feature of action that, at any point of time, the agent “could have acted otherwise”: either positively in terms of attempted intervention in the process of “events in the world”, or negatively in terms of forbearance...there is the reflexive monitoring of conduct referring to the intentional or purposive character of human behaviour...the distinctive feature about the reflexive monitoring of human actors the accountability of human action...the giving of accounts refers to the *discursive capabilities* and inclinations of actors”. (Giddens 1979: 55–57)

Berger & Luckmann (1966) stressed more the role of objectified, institutionalized and legitimized structures, even if they are not merely exogenous constraints but still can be changed by individuals. I found that the concept of agency gives more space to the individual in the social systems. Also Giddens (1976; 1979) stressed *the idea of power*.

“The literature concerned to analyse human agency in terms of “powers”, however, rarely if ever intersects with sociological discussions of relations of power in interaction...action involves intervention in events in the world, thus producing definite outcomes, with intended action being one category of an agent’s doings or his refraining. Power as transformative capacity can then be taken to refer agents`capabilities of reaching such outcomes”. (Giddens 1979: 88)

Agency then has the (potential) power and this can lead to the transformation of society, there is the concept of *transformative capacity power*. Here he gets close to the ideas of Foucault, but anyway rejected Foucault's idea that "power is everywhere" concluding that no particular instance of power is interesting and thus can be the subject of critical theory (Clark et al 1990). He also stated that Foucault's approach to power fails because he does not relate power to agency; he sees it as a subjectless product of discourse (Giddens 1984). He wrote that sociology is not about a pre-given universe of objects, the universe being constituted or produced by the active doings of subjects. The production and reproduction of society thus has to be treated as a skilled performance on the part of its members. Men produce society, but they do so as historically located actors, and not under conditions of their own choosing. And in his theory structures must be conceptualized not only as constraints upon human agency, but also as enablers.

One shared interest in the writings of both Berger & Luckmann (1966) and Giddens (1976; 1979; 1984) was the idea of justification of knowledge in the social setting, the legitimation and socialization. According to Berger & Luckmann (1966) legitimation gives a sense of social order and can be seen as the secondary objectivation of meaning containing norms and rules. *Legitimation is then the act of providing legitimacy*. It is the process of making something acceptable and normative to a group or audience. For Giddens (1979) legitimation is the driver of structuration because social actors reproduce the socially endorsed patterns of behaviour in order to gain legitimacy. To the concept of legitimation in the frames of Berger & Luckmann and Giddens I would like to add then some other concepts, such as the concept of the *legitimizing behaviours* (Dowling & Pfeffer 1975; Tornikoski 2005) and *legitimizing power* related to the idea of transformative capacity power by Giddens (1979).

These ideas refer that legitimation is a mixture of psychological and social activities carried out in order to acquire legitimacy from the audience, thrive for *narrative presence* using different psychological elements of the subject and social forces in this operation. In this study the area of legitimation is related to language, especially to narrativity.

2.7 Focus on the language

Following the paths of the idea of interactive, social human being one might become curious how the interactivity of human being is possible. How do we create and maintain this social aspect of human life? How are different constructions mediated? Already previously mentioned Immanuel Kant had posed the problem

of the relationship between the cognizing individual and her social world in terms of the notion of inter-subjectivity. In the Kantian perspective, communication serves as a kind of dialectical checking of the contents of a person's knowledge. The German romanticist philosopher of language, Wilhelm von Humboldt had echoed the same concern:

“With a clear and immediate sense of his immutable limitations, man is bound to regard truth as something lying outside him: and one of the powerful means of approaching it, of measuring his distance from it, is social communication with others. All speaking, from the simplest kind onwards is an attachment of what is individually felt to the common nature of mankind”. (Humboldt 1988: 57)

In his *Völkerpsychologie* Wundt also saw language as mediator between individual and the culture. The language represents the culture and by studying language and therefore also thinking we can get the access to the culture:

“Language is surely tied to thinking. Therefore we could draw conclusions from the linguistic phenomena when trying to study the thinking and the culture...Language modifies the culture and again culture modifies language in its various forms...we cannot expect that our forefathers during the Ancient Germanic days would have thought about the world in the same way as we do nowadays...and some minor changes might happen even in the shorter periods of time”. (Wundt 1912: 54)

Outside the rationalist, romanticist and psychologist frameworks, the pragmatists like Mead (1934) also focused on language as a human property – with language the social being and interactivity becomes possible. He stated the social becomes through language and *significant symbols*:

“Only in terms of gestures as significant symbols the existence of mind or intelligence is possible; for only in terms of gestures which are significant symbols can thinking take place”. (Mead 1934: 47)

With language we change and create meanings and make these constructions understandable, negotiable in the social setting. According to Berger & Luckmann (1966) a means for the construction of objective reality is *language*. Its role is to transcend the subjective realities and thus to bridge time and space. Language helps us to transmit the everyday, subjective face-to-face interactions of other individuals or groups. Language objectivates the shared experiences and makes them available to all within the linguistic community, thus becoming both the basis and the instrument of the collective stock of knowledge.

As said before, the modern philosophy concentrated mainly on the nonlinguistic, universal ideas where the words just signified these ideas – named as direct reference theory. One of the early critics of the modern theorists like Descartes, Locke and Mill was Gottlob Frege (1848–1925). He argued that the semantics of words and expressions should be divided into two elements: a sense, which is a mode of presentation of the reference of the name; and the reference itself, which is the object to which the name refers. For Frege names that refer to the same object can also have different senses. This reminds quite much of the linguistic theory of de Saussure and was a start to the mediated reference theory which is a semantic theory that posits that words refer to something in the external world, but insists that there is more to the meaning of a name than simply the object to which it refers.

In line with the thoughts of de Saussure, Jacques Lacan (1901–1981) stressed in his writings the ordering aspects of language – it is through language the human subject make an entrance into the social order. The language brings human being to the *Symbolic*. Lacan (2006) asserted that the concepts of *Law* and *Structure* are unthinkable without language: thus the Symbolic is a linguistic dimension. The dimension proper of language in the Symbolic is that of the signifier, that is a dimension in which elements have no positive existence but which are constituted by virtue of their mutual differences, the idea presented by de Saussure. Parallel and after de Saussure and Lacan there could be considered two quite famous writers in the field of linguistics, namely Roman Jakobson (1896–1982) and Louis Hjelmslev (1899–1965). Like de Saussure and Lacan they were interested about the “laws of the language” stating it as a universal research object. Clearly, this was the relating to modern philosophy of language even if the idea of language constituting reality was new at that time.

The role of the language as modifying and constructing human life was seen also in the works of previously mentioned Lev Vygotsky and Mihail Bakhtin (1895–1975). The verbal thought is not as in Cartesian thinking, a pre-linguistic cogito made up of the universal *res cogitans*, but via symbols and language (Deely 2003). Vygotsky’s focus was to investigate the role of cultural mediation and such cultural mediators as word, sign, symbol, myth in the development of human higher psychical functions, development of personality and the human consciousness. Language is initially used in interaction between adult and child as a means of communication. Gradually it is internalised into a means of the child’s own thinking and control of his or her own activity – this was also the idea of Lacan in his writings about the mirror-image. A child becomes what he/she is told to be by language and gets his/her identity from that image:

“In growing up within linguistically structured and sustained relationships the child begins to perceive the world not only through its eyes but also through its speech. And later it is not just seeing but acting that becomes informed by words”. (Vygotsky 1978: 32)

According to Vygotsky (1978) it is through language that we construct reality. With words we define, shape, and experience. Without the words to think, communicate, experience, or understand our lives would be very different from what they are. Words expand our consciousness but also limit us as we can only fully experience those things that we have the words for. Language provides the framework through which we perceive, experience, and act. As language constructs reality, so symbolization constitutes objects. Here is the clear link to the tradition of symbolic interactionism:

“Symbolization constitutes objects not conceptualized before, objects which would not exist except for the context of social relationships wherein symbolization occurs. Language does not simply symbolize a situation or object which is already there in advance; it makes possible the existence or the appearance of the situation or object, for it is a part of the mechanism whereby that situation or object is created”. (Mead 1934: 78)

And then while symbolization constitutes objects, some signs and symbols lend themselves more easily than others to specific purposes. In other words: *language is about structuring the life with and through different symbols.*

Along with Vygotsky and Bakhtin Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889-1951) argued that language plays an active role in the realms of meaning and knowledge – the same idea that Jakobson had in his linguistic studies. Words mean different things in different contexts which he called language games; they are not just trivial games, but often they are expressions of a people’s way of life. On Wittgenstein’s view, language plays a dominant role in the creation of meaning and the construction of knowledge. He proposed that these “language games” are a reflection of our forms of life. In contrast to modern philosophy of language, Wittgenstein stated that there is no essence of language. This thought was quite radical and is similar to the later famous author Derrida’s idea of de-centering language. According to this idea there is no ontological reality, no presence to language. It is not grounded in a metaphysical reality but in the context and function of life.

For instance Black (1962), Austin (1962), Halliday (1977), Lakoff & Johnson (1980) continued this tradition about the language as doing things, as shaping realities and molding emerging ones and as part of forms of life. *Language is functional and shaping lives of the human beings. Language and texts are then interactive in their nature.*

3 THE THEORETICAL BASE OF STUDYING LANGUAGE IN THE REFLECTIVE STRUCTURATION

The ideas and works of such as Frege, Mead, de Saussure, Vygotsky, Bakhtin, Jakobson, Wittgenstein and later followers were all against the modern idea of language as directly referent to the object. Cutting the universal ties between the words and objects, these scholars focused their interest in *signification: how the sign (word, picture etc.) is related to the object and how it is related to language*. These processes of signification – or more the study of the processes in signification – could be named as semiotics (or semiology).

3.1 The concept of semiotics

Semiotics or semiology is the study of the systems of rules and conventions which enable social and cultural phenomena (signs). According to Chandler (1999) it could be stated that semiotics is quite an old field of study; already introduced by Aristotle in his writings. In literary theory semiotics is the analysis of text in terms of its use of language as dependent on and influenced by literary conventions and modes of discourse.

The *structural linguistics* as part of semiotics was directed mainly to the literal and verbal usage of language. The founder, de Saussure (1857-1913) pointed out that language is not comprised of individual units, each inherent with meaning, but is a system of phonetic and semantic differences. This constructivist view that language constitutes reality is contrary to common sense and to most of the western modern tradition of philosophy. The impact of de Saussure's work spread far beyond linguistics to have a profound effect on the humanities and social sciences. He also introduced the concept of semiology – a science which studies the life of signs at the heart of social life (de Saussure 1983). This new science, he said, would teach us what signs consist of, what laws govern them:

“It is... possible to conceive of a science *which studies the role of signs as part of social life*. It would form part of social psychology, and hence of general psychology. We shall call it *semiology* (from the Greek semeîon, sign). It would investigate the nature of signs and the laws governing them. Since it does not yet exist, one cannot say for certain that it will exist. But it has a right to exist, a place ready for it in advance. Linguistics is only one branch of this general science. The laws which semiology will discover will be laws applicable in linguistics, and linguistics will thus be assigned to a

clearly defined place in the field of human knowledge”. (de Saussure 1983: 15–16).

Parallel to this structural linguistics approach the American movement by C.S Peirce was brought up in the field of semiology (or semiotics). These approaches have overlapped and the different schools have been mixing their ideas about semiotics together (Chandler 2002; Tarasti 1990). In addition, semiotics has also been characterized as the science of sciences facilitating the synthesis of the methodological experience of sciences and *improving interdisciplinarity*. As Deely (2005) says:

“...among the human sciences, semiotics is unique in being a study concerned with the matrix of all the sciences, and in revealing the centrality of history to the enterprise of understanding in its totality. The centrality of history to understanding is revealed through the codes of culture that alone sustain, beyond the individual insight, or shared mentality that defines a language, a discipline, a subculture, a nation, and, ultimately, civilization itself in all its conflicting strands of historically embedded interpretations giving structure to the everyday experience of the language”. (Deely 2005: 3–5)

In the heart of this semiotic approach are the concepts of *sign and semiosis – the sign relations, the processes of signification*. According to Chandler (1999) semiotics can help us not to take reality for granted as something having a purely objective existence which is independent of human interpretation – instead the reality is a system of signs. Therefore studying semiotics can assist us to become more aware of reality as a construction and of the roles played by ourselves and others in constructing it. By making more explicit the codes by which signs are interpreted we may perform the valuable semiotic function of *denaturalizing signs*.

One of the key movements in the evolution of semiotics was structuralism which came to prominence as a specific discourse with the work of a Swiss linguist, Ferdinand de Saussure, who developed a branch of linguistics called *structural linguistics*.

3.2 The structural semiotics

In the field of language studies the origin and connotation of structuralism reminds the idea of finding laws or structures in language, but still has its own specific background. Related to the study of language the birth of structuralism as a scientific movement has been quite much affected also by Russian formalism in the early 1900’s referring to the importance of literary form rather than the content. The idea here is that even if the different cultures give the reality different

meanings, the meanings are constructed in every culture the same way – there are common and universal laws in and behind the texts. Major figures in structural semiotics besides Ferdinand de Saussure were Claude Lévi-Strauss, A. J. Greimas, Roland Barthes (his earlier writings), Roman Jakobson and Vladimir Propp (Tarasti 1990).

At its simplest, structuralism claims that the nature of every element in any given situation has no significance by itself, and in fact is determined by all the other elements involved in that situation. The full significance of any entity cannot be perceived unless and until it is integrated into the structure of which it forms a part (Hawkes 1977). According to Fiske (1992) the structuralist studies aim to reveal the frames which guide the human thought and experience in different cultures. Structuralists try to find out how human beings make sense of the world and what kind of common laws there are in this sense-making not depending on the culture. Structuralist semiotics seeks to look behind or beneath the surface of the observed in order to discover the underlying organization of phenomena (Langholz Leymore 1975).

One of the famous structuralist semiotics was de Saussure with his ideas about language having the common laws; like the systematic character of *langue*, distinguished from *parole*, from the spoken or written word. The separation of *langue* from *parole* differentiates both what is social from what is individual and what is essential from what is accessory and more or less accidental. According to de Saussure language is a social institution, and as such is not a creation of the individual speaker: the speaker passively assimilates the pre-existing forms that language assumes. By contrast to *langue*, *parole* is a heterogeneous mass of disparate events. Hence Saussure envisaged the possibility of a general science of signs, or semiology, of which linguistics would be one crucial branch. In other words: if there could be identified something which is universal and has laws like *langue*, then it could be related to science (Giddens 1979).

Another attempt of Saussure was to identify the laws of the signification. He offered a dyadic or two-part model of the sign. He defined a sign as being composed of a signifier (signifiant) - the form which the sign takes; and the signified (signifié) - the concept it represents. The sign is then the whole that results from the association of the signifier with the signified. The relationship between the signifier and the signified is referred to as *signification*. A sign must have both a signifier and a signified. A sign is a recognizable combination of a signifier with a particular signified (de Saussure 1983).

The same signifier could stand for a different signified and thus be a different sign. de Saussure's (1983) conception of meaning was purely structural and rela-

tional rather than referential: primacy is given to relationships rather than to things. The meaning of signs was seen as lying in their systematic relation to each other rather than deriving from any inherent features of signifiers or any reference to material things. Below in figure 2 an example of the Saussurean concept of the sign where the word tree is the form (signifier) which the sign takes and the picture, the physical shape of tree is the concept (signified) it represents.

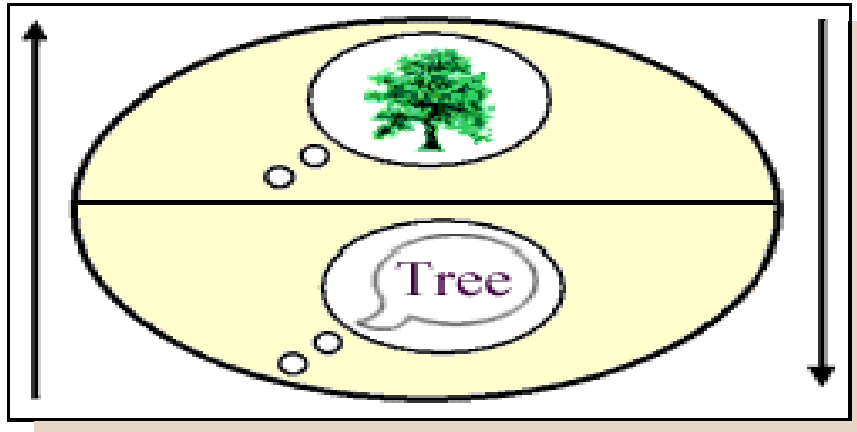


Figure 2. The Saussurean model of the sign (Chandler 2002)

Related to this Saussurean sign also Louis Hjelmslev used the terms expression and content to refer to the signifier and signified respectively. The distinction between signifier and signified has sometimes been equated to the familiar dualism of form and content. Within such a framework the signifier is seen as the form of the sign and the signified as the content (Chandler 2002).

de Saussure emphasized in particular negative, oppositional differences between signs, and the key relationships in structuralist analysis are *binary oppositions* (such as nature/culture, life/death). de Saussure argued that concepts are defined not positively - like in modern philosophy of language - in terms of their content, but negatively by contrast with other items in the same system. What characterizes each most exactly is being whatever the others are not. The entire mechanism of language is based on oppositions of this kind and upon the conceptual differences they involve (de Saussure 1983).

Saussure stressed also the *arbitrariness of the sign* - more specifically the arbitrariness of the link between the signifier and the signified. This idea with its emphasis on internal structures can be seen as supporting the notion that language does not “reflect” reality but rather constructs it. There is no one-to-one link between signifier and signified; signs have multiple rather than single meanings.

Within a single language, one signifier may refer to many signifieds and one signified may be referred to by many signifiers. The arbitrariness of signs led scholars to stress that the relationship between the signifier and the signified is *conventional* - dependent on social and cultural conventions. This is particularly clear in the case of the linguistic signs with which de Saussure was concerned: a word means what it does to us only because we collectively agree to let it do so. Therefore, it could be stated that de Saussure was one of the first and influential characters emphasizing the ideas of constructivism in the field of linguistics having quite revolutionary consequences (Heiskala 1997).

But on the other hand, as the critics towards the theory of arbitrariness of signs says, if linguistic signs were to be totally arbitrary in every way language would not be a system and its communicative function would be destroyed. Saussure admits that language is not completely arbitrary, for the system has *certain rationality* (de Saussure 1983). The principle of arbitrariness does not mean that the form of a word is accidental or random. It should be noted that whilst the relationships between signifiers and signifieds are ontologically arbitrary, this is not to suggest that signifying systems are socially or historically arbitrary. de Saussure remarked that although the signifier may seem to be freely chosen, from the point of view of the linguistic community it is imposed rather than freely chosen because a language is always an inheritance from the past which its users have no choice but to accept (de Saussure 1983).

The relation between a signifier and its signified is then not a matter of individual choice; if it were then communication would become impossible. The individual has no power to alter a sign in any respect once it has become established in the linguistic community (de Saussure 1983). From the point-of-view of individual language-users, language is a "given" - we don't create the system for ourselves. However, since Saussure was mainly a linguistic and even if he recognized the role of history in the signification, he was not a sociologist and was not focusing on what is this "certain rationality" or the "non-randomness of the signification" was in different social contexts.

Also this idea of subject under the structures seemed to leave the ideas of subjectivity without the focus in the structuralist movement. According to Giddens (1979) de Saussure has raised confusions around the topic – on the other hand the term "arbitrary" is a voluntaristic one, referring to the factor of choice of the subject, on the other hand de Saussure stressed that the langue exists independently of the intentional human beings – it is not in any sense an intended product of the activity of the subjects who are the language speakers. The intentional acts initiated by speakers happen only in the level of parole:

“Saussure did not show what mediates between the systematic, non-contingent, social character of *langue* on the otherhand, and the specific, contingent and individual character of *parole* on the other. *What is missing is a theory of the competent speaker of language-user*”. (Giddens 1979: 17)

Like said, at around the same time as de Saussure was formulating his model of the sign, across the Atlantic independent work was also in progress as the pragmatist philosopher and logician Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914) formulated his own model of the sign, of semiotic and of the taxonomies of signs. Peirce had a *three-part model of signification*, the representamen (sign), the object (to which the sign refers), and the interpretant (the response or interpretation of the observer/communicator). Like Saussure, Peirce was interested in sign relations, *semiosis* which according to him was:

“action, or influence, which is, or involves, a cooperation of *three* subjects, such as a sign, its object, and its interpretant, this tri-relative influence not being in any way resolvable into actions between pairs”. (Houser 1998: 411)

In Peirce’s theory of signs, a sign is something that stands in a well-defined kind of relation to two other things, its *object* and its *interpretant sign*.

“A sign is anything which determines something else (its interpretant) to refer to an object to which itself refers (its object) in the same way, the *interpretant becoming in turn a sign*”. (Peirce 1931–1935: 228)

Peirce’s model of the sign includes an object or referent - which does not, of course, feature directly in Saussure’s model. The representamen is similar in meaning to Saussure’s signifier whilst the interpretant is similar in meaning to the signified (Silverman 1983). However, the interpretant has a quality unlike that of the signified: it is itself a sign in the mind of the interpreter. Elsewhere Peirce added that the meaning of a representation can be nothing but a representation. Any initial interpretation can be re-interpreted. This concept can be seen as going beyond Saussure’s emphasis on the value of a sign lying in its relation to other signs and it was later to be developed more radically for instance by poststructuralist theorists like Derrida.

I argue that Peirce defined semiosis more as a process contrasting it to Saussure’s synchronic emphasis on structure. Peirce argued that all thinking is dialogic. For Peirce the *signification is interactive process* – this highlights the the importance of sense-making which requires an *interpreter, the subject* (though Peirce doesn't feature that term in his triad). The meaning of a sign is not contained within it, but arises in its *interpretation*. Whether a dyadic or triadic model is adopted, the role

of the interpreter must be accounted for – either within the formal model of the sign, or as an essential part of the process of semiosis.

One way to approach the concept of interpretation and an interpretant is to consider it as a psycholinguistic process. In this context, an interpretant can be understood as a sign's effect on the mind, or on anything that acts like a mind, what Peirce calls a quasi-mind. An interpretant is what results from a process of interpretation, one of the types of activity that falls under the heading of semiosis. The object determines the sign to determine another sign - the interpretant - to be related to the object as the sign is related to the object, hence the interpretant, by fulfilling its function as sign of the object, determines (in some measure) a further interpretant sign (Houser 1998).

In this sense Peirce was a neo-Kantian because he developed a Kantian model of tri-relative transitivity as the basic law of semiosis. In his model the interaction between the representamen, the object and the interpretant is seen as “semiosis”. Being a pragmatist philosopher, Peirce emphasized more than de Saussure the interactive and dynamic part of signification with his concept of interpretant although the ontology of this interpretant still seems to be under discussion in different commentaries of his texts. This concept of interpretant reminds little bit of Saussurean conventions or non-randomness of signification but still it – as a some kind of mediator in the triadic relation of the signification – leaves space for the social dynamics of the signification, at least in the theoretical level.

3.2.1 *Paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations*

de Saussure was concerned exclusively with three sorts of systemic relationships: that between a signifier and a signified; those between a sign and all of the other elements of its system; and those between a sign and the elements which surround it within a concrete signifying instance (Silverman 1983). He emphasized that meaning arises from the differences between signifiers; these differences are of two kinds: *syntagmatic* (concerning positioning) and *paradigmatic* (concerning substitution)(de Saussure 1983).

These two dimensions are often presented as “axes”, where the horizontal axis is the syntagmatic and the vertical axis is the paradigmatic. Whilst syntagmatic relations are possibilities of combination, *paradigmatic relations are functional contrasts - they involve differentiation*. Temporally, syntagmatic relations refer intra-textually to other signifiers co-present within the text, whilst paradigmatic relations refer intertextually to signifiers which are absent from the text (de Saussure 1983).

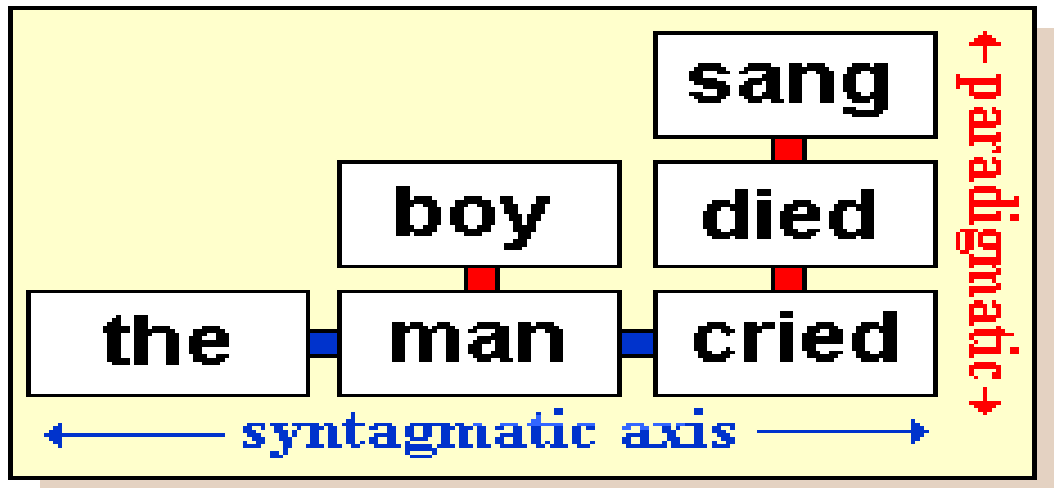


Figure 3. The Saussurean paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations (Chandler 1999)

The value of a sign is determined by both its paradigmatic and its syntagmatic relations. Syntagmas and paradigmas provide a structural context within which signs make sense; they are the structural forms through which signs are organized into codes. A paradigm is a set of associated signifiers or signifieds which are all members of some defining category, but in which each is significantly different. Paradigmatic relations are those which belong to the same set by virtue of a function they share.

“A sign enters into *paradigmatic* relations with all the signs which can also occur in the same context but not at the same time”. (Langholz Leymore 1975: 8)

In a given context, one member of the paradigm set is structurally replaceable with another. Signs are in paradigmatic relation when the choice of one excludes the choice of another (Silverman & Torode 1980). The use of one signifier rather than another from the same paradigm set shapes the preferred meaning of a text. Paradigmatic relations can thus be seen here as contrastive.

A *syntagma* is then a combination of interacting signifiers which forms a meaningful whole within a text. Such combinations are made within a framework of syntactic rules and conventions which are both explicit and inexplicit. In language, a sentence, for instance, is a syntagma of words. There are always larger units, composed of smaller units, with a relation of interdependence holding between both (de Saussure 1983). Syntagmatic relations are the various ways in which elements within the same text may be related to each other *in praesentia*. These relations are created by the linking of signifiers from paradigm chosen on

the basis of whether they are conventionally regarded as appropriate or may be required by some rule system.

The syntagmatic analysis of a text involves studying its structure and the relationships between its parts. Analysts seek to identify elementary constituent segments within the text, the syntagma. Paradigmatic analysis then seeks to identify the various paradigms or pre-existing sets of signifiers which underlie the manifest content of texts. This aspect of structural analysis involves a consideration of the positive or negative connotations of each signifier, and the existence of underlying thematic paradigm (e.g. binary oppositions such as public/private). Paradigmatic relations are the oppositions and contrasts between the signifiers that belong to the same set from which those used in the text were drawn.

Semioticians often focus on the issue of why a particular signifier rather than a workable alternative was used in a specific context: on what they often refer to as “absences”. de Saussure noted that a characteristic of what he called associative relations was that (in contrast to syntagmatic relations) such relations held *in absentia* - in the absence from a specific text of alternative signifiers from the same paradigm (de Saussure 1983).

Paradigmatic analysis involves comparing and contrasting each of the signifiers present in the text with absent signifiers which in similar circumstances might have been chosen, and considering the significance of the choices made. It can be applied at any semiotic level, from the choice of a particular word, image or sound to the level of the choice of style, genre or medium. The use of one signifier rather than another from the same paradigm is based on factors such as technical constraints, code (e.g. genre), convention, connotation, style, rhetorical purpose and the limitations of the individual’s own repertoire. This notion gives us also interesting views to study language as social and selective process. Some signifiers tend to become valid, conventional and obvious in the social use, some signifiers seem to be absent – even if they could be possible also.

In order to identify different paradigmatic relationships, make them visible and analyze their value the scholars in the structuralist movement tried to identify *binary* or polar semantic oppositions (e.g. us/them, public/private) in texts (Chandler 2002).

3.2.2 *Binary oppositions*

After de Saussure and Peirce, Jakobson and Claude Levi-Strauss affected quite much to the development of structural semiotics. One of the key ideas in structu-

ralism is the concept of *binary world* which consists of opposites, and according to de Saussure they had a very practical function in semiosis; namely that of sorting the concepts from each others. Roman Jakobson built on de Saussure's work, proposing that linguistic units are bound together by a system of binary oppositions. Such oppositions are essential to the generation of meaning: the meaning of dark is relative to the meaning of light; form is inconceivable except in relation to content etc. (Chandler 2002).

After Jakobson Levi-Strauss (1972) continued these ideas and related them also to *structural anthropology*. According to Levi-Strauss human beings have always and universally understood the meanings of different things on the basis of their binaric structure: every concept in language (A) has its opposite (B) and this (B) can only be understood as related to it (A). The things which do not fit into these binary opposites (A and B) Levi-Strauss calls anomalous concepts, which the culture has to control trying to avoid the disturbance of basic meaning making structures of the culture. The common way of doing this is to announce them as holy or taboos. Levi-Strauss believed that the making the borderline between nature and culture is one of the basic things in every culture and that culture is the meaning-making of that process. Because we can not have the access to the natural in itself, the only way is to make the natural meaningful to us. Therefore the natural is a cultural outcome (Fiske 1992).

Related to Claude Levi-Strauss Algirdas Greimas (1966) further developed these ideas about binary oppositions in his *Semantique Structurale*. But he stated that in the binary thinking there could be also other options than oppositions – he called these basic forms of meanings as *seems* which get their meaning as related to each others, from the opposities and also from contraries. Greimas pointed out that any given word entails its opposite or contrary. For instance the word life is understood in relation to its contrary, death. Rather than rest at this simple binary opposition, however, he wrote that besides the oppositions (life and death) there are contradictory terms like not-life and not-death. The point in this theory is the idea that the contradictory term not-life would include more than merely death and not-death more than life. So additional to opposite term of death (as related to life) there is a negative term not-death. These relations could be then analyzed and made visible with the concepts of *deconstruction* and *reconstruction* according to Roland Barthes (Tarasti 1990).

During the 1970's Derrida further developed these ideas in this poststructural approach and therefore it is easy to see the idea of deconstruction and postructuralism cannot be understood without relating them to the previous structuralist thinking (Tarasti 1990).

This binary nature of human mind relates clearly structuralism as part of the modern philosophy of science, even if it – at least in many writings of de Saussure - tried to get rid of the modern philosophy of language as a reference system towards the language as a relational system. Starting from the works of de Saussure the basic idea of structuralism has been the language as a system consisting of universal, hidden or deep structures which then could be identified by the researcher. Structuralists tend to say that the individual is shaped by sociological, psychological and linguistic structures over which he/she has no control, but which could be uncovered by using their methods of investigation. Levi-Strauss even considered that there are unconscious physical structures or unconscious teleology of mind that underlie human institutions.

How is this then related to the ideas of conscious, active and intentional subject? Giddens (1979) thinks this study of the unconscious denies the conscious activity of the human subject – the losing of the subject. Macherey (1978) pointed in his critique of structuralism that according to structuralism life is a-historical and therefore the contexts do not matter in the signification. Alasuutari (1996) pointed out that the whole idea of structuralism was to focus on “common” (unconscious, structure) instead of “specific” or “individual” even if these “common things” might be originated from social aspects of life. These statements then bring up the question: in what means the “common” then exists when seen in the ontological level? How is it transmitted from generation to generation?

These questions about the ontology of structure led some theorists to abandon semiotics altogether in favour of a focus on discourse whilst leading others to seek to reformulate a more socially-oriented semiotics (Hodge & Kress 1988). Buxton (1990) also argued the text must be related to something other than its own structure: in other words, we must explain how it comes to be structured. According to him we must consider not only how signs signify (structurally) but also why (socially); structures are not causes. The relationships between signifiers and their signifieds may be ontologically arbitrary but they are not socially arbitrary.

However, even if the structuralist thinking has received a lot of critical remarks, it brought up many useful concepts and tools such as the arbitrary nature of sign even if this was not quite much further developed within structuralist movement, the idea of language and signs of as constituting of differences, the idea of syntagmatic and paradigmatic nature of language and the binarity approach to signs. These critical thoughts also were the home base where the ideas of post-structuralism were born.

3.3 The post-structural approach

Post-structuralism is not a coherent school of thought, but a group of approaches motivated by some common understandings – mainly the critics of the essentialist and foundationalist view on language - not all of which will necessarily be shared by every practitioner. Post-structuralism is not a theory either but a set of theoretical positions, which have at their core in the reflective discourse which is aware of the tentativeness, the slipperiness, the ambiguity and the complex interrelations of texts and meanings. Some approaches, like that of Derrida's, consider the language as an endless play of signs just referring to itself and the world is just texts bringing up the idea of *deconstruction* as central to semiotics.

Here, so called *social semiotics*, tend to emphasize the social and inter-subjective aspect of the sign, also the Saussurean conventions and continuity. Some approaches tend to focus on the intrapersonal or phenomenological processes of signification, like those of *psychosemiotics*.

3.3.1 *The concept of deconstruction*

One clear area of post-structural, deconstructionist thinking grew out of the writings of Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889-1951) who proposed that our language games are a reflection of our "forms of life". By this he means that a language rests on the way we do things in the world, in this sense Wittgenstein shared the ideas of earlier mentioned pragmatists and critical scholars who tried to challenge the modern ideas of science and language. Wittgenstein said in his work *On Certainty* that there are only language games which are something unpredictable. They are not based on grounds and are not reasonable or unreasonable (Moyal-Sharrock 2004).

Furthermore, Wittgenstein showed the way to Derrida whose famous book *Of Grammatology* (1976) laid the background for his central concept *deconstruction*. This could then be seen as a way of reading modern theories of language, especially structuralism. Derrida challenged the privileging of the signified over the signifier, seeing it as a perpetuation of the traditional opposition of matter and spirit or substance and thought. Derrida sought to blur the Saussurean distinction between signifier and signified insisting that the signified always already functions as a signifier. Later on deconstruction was also seen as a technique for uncovering the multiple interpretations of texts. Derrida (1976) suggested that all texts have ambiguity and because of this the possibility of a final and complete interpretation is impossible.

The idea of deconstruction largely relies on recognition of the oppositions or binaries inherent in all texts. It identifies the ways in which one term in the opposition or dichotomy is presented as hierarchically superior, and then moves to reverse the opposition (Ogbor 2000). In this way, suppressed conflicts and devaluated “others” are exposed; silences and gaps in the texts are identified.

As a whole in his writings Derrida directly criticized the Western philosophy’s understanding of reason. Derrida agreed with structuralism’s insight that meaning is not inherent in signs, but he proposed that it is incorrect to infer that anything reasoned can be used as a stable and timeless model (Appignanesi 1995). He tried to question the grounds of reason, truth, and knowledge. For Derrida, texts structure our interpretation of the world. Derrida did not think that we can reach an end point of interpretation, a truth. For Derrida (1978) all texts exhibit *différance*: they allow multiple interpretations. Meaning is diffuse, not settled. Textuality always gives us a surplus of possibilities, yet we cannot stand outside of textuality in an attempt to find objectivity.

One consequence of deconstruction is that certainty in textual analyses becomes impossible. There may be competing interpretations, but there is no way one could assess the validity of these competing interpretations. This is the idea what Barthes in his later writings formulated as the death of the author considering the essential role of the reading and reader instead of the author, the plurality of interpretation – stating also that author is never more than the figure produced by the use of word “I”, just as we constitute ourselves subjects of the sentences we speak by the same means. For instance if I say “I am hungry” I may be all sorts of other things too – I am no more at that moment than a hungry person, author is therefore never more than the instance writing (Belsey 2002). Therefore this idea of deconstruction stated that subject and language as a whole is not stable, but slippery. The sign could be constructed only against that which is before, it is born in the *différance* reflected against other signs – in this sense Derrida also kept some ideas of structuralism. This is not a word or a concept, but the play of negation. All signs, and all texts, include traces of others:

“This chaining process means that each element is constituted from the trace which it carries in itself of other elements of the chain or the system...there are only differences from differences and traces of traces...*différance* is thus a structure and a movement which can only be grasped in relation to the opposition of presence/absence. *Différance* is the systematic play of differences, of traces of differences, of the spacing whereby elements are connected to one-another”. (Derrida 1978: 50)

In the deconstructionist thinking this idea of no referential relations challenges also the Saussurean idea of interdependent, intimately linked signifiers and signifieds each triggering the other. For instance Lechte (1994) stated that the signifier is always separated from the signified. However, I find this statement quite problematic. Since the question remains: what is then this separation? How is it possible in the social context? How is the act of communicative interpretation possible in this view?

As Giddens (1979) considered that Derrida and other deconstructionists seem not to notice that even to mention something in language presumes some component of reference. This designates the elements of signifier and signified as belonging together, the interrelatedness of signifiers and signifieds, as being vocalizations, marks, etc. How does interrelatedness then stay and develop in the language usage, in the social setting. This question was out of interest in the deconstructionist readings.

In other words, the communication and social become possible when there are signifiers and signifieds which belong together in social setting like Vygotsky, Mead, Bakhtin and Berger & Luckmann argued before, even if not stressing the relationship between signifiers and signifieds explicitly. Like Palmer (1999) stated:

“If there would not be any clear relationships between signifiers and signifieds out of the context or if these relations would not contain any idea of reference, the words would not have any meaning in the social context and different dictionaries would be totally useless...as a whole the society and the language would not exist – there would be just words in the middle of endless change”. (Palmer 1999: 39)

And what about the role of history, time, and space, as Giddens might have said? How come some codes became to belong together since it clearly seems that there are Saussurean conventions, even if the relations between signifiers and signifieds are arbitrary? Are there no signifying practices at all in history? When Marxist oriented scholars like Bakhtin and Foucault stated, history affects the signification processes, different voices come through and with the history and the episteme might modify them. Furthermore, signs belong to social systems – signs are rooted in the social practices, they have their origins in the social. Juntunen & Mehtonen (1977) related this question to the idea of “pre-understanding”:

“Human being is a historical one, produced and modified by the earlier generations. We are not searching the meanings and understanding from the psychological aspect of the development of human being, instead we are interested in the *collective history*. Of course, we cannot say the strict border-

lines of these histories, but the crucial question is that as long as the human being has existed she/he has produced meanings – not just for her/himself but also for the coming generations. Each generation faces this situation: the world already contains the meanings and produces “pre-understanding” for the coming generations”. (Juntunen & Mehtonen 1977: 127–128)

I believe that if we deny the role of history and social systems, the social analysis of language and signification processes would be difficult to do and the studies of the life of signs at the heart of social life (de Saussure 1983) would not be possible. This means also that there is space for “shared interpretations” – not just the deconstructionist multiplicity of interpretations. There are identifiable *conventions and continuities* in these processes – otherwise the communication would be impossible in human life.

When it comes to the analysis of these conventions then, I would like to refer here also to D`Andrade`s (1995) idea of the science that there could be some kind of objectivity and continuity – also when identifying the signification processes and meaning making. They are not totalizing but objective enough to be proved or disproved in certain methodologies no matter what anyone wants to be “true”.

3.3.2 *The social semiotics*

Part of the post-structural movement could be seen the tradition social semiotics (Hodge & Kress 1988; Lemke 1995; Kress & van Leeuwen 1996) focusing on the social aspects of sign, which was missing from both Saussurean and Derridean thinking. The social semiotics confronted Saussurean concept of langue trying to replace them with social and materialist framework for semiotics, the alternative semiotics. This alternative was then focusing on the culture, society and politics, Saussurean concept of parole, the act of speaking and the concrete signifying practices, to diachrony, time, history, process and change, to the processes of signification, the transactions between signifying systems and structures of reference (Hodge & Kress 1988).

Instead of de Saussure, this movement proposed to account for change in semiosis through the work of C.S Peirce referring to Peirce`s triadic model of semiosis. This model gives more space for the flow of infinite processes of interpretation and understanding about the role of cultural rules in semiosis. In other words, social semiotics moved towards the social analysis of language still utilizing the earlier concepts of structuralism and post-structuralism. In sum the idea of social semiotics is that structures have social origin and they are not universal and a-historical.

Bakhtin (1981) stressed that language is constantly changing and dynamic entity. For Bakhtin the Saussurean parole was primary, and words in conversation are orientated towards future words. Bakhtin stressed the multi-layered nature of language, which he called *heteroglossia*. There are not only social dialects, jargons, turns of phrase characteristic of the various professions, industries, commerce, of passing fashions, etc., but also socio-ideological contradictions carried forward from various periods and levels in the past. Language is not a neutral medium that can be simply appropriated by a speaker, but something that comes to us populated with the intentions of others. Every word tastes of the contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life.

Bakhtin shared with Marxist theorists an interest in the historical and social world, an interest in how human beings act and think, an interest in the formation of the subject, and an interest in language as the means in which ideologies get articulated (Klages 2003). Language is always material. Bakhtin would argue against de Saussure and structuralist views of language which focus only to the structure. Instead he would argue that one always has to examine how people use language – how language is always constituted by and through subjects.

Bakhtin`s theories focus primarily on the concept of *dialogue*, and on the notion that language is always a dialogue. Language lives in dialogy and it is an ever changing, dynamic phenomenon in human life. Language is always thus the product of the interactions between (at least) two people – it is social and done in dialogic threads:

“The living utterance, having taken meaning and shape at a particular historical moment in a socially specific environment, cannot fail to brush up against thousands of living dialogic threads, woven by socio-ideological consciousness around the given object of an utterance; it cannot fail to become an active participant in social dialogue”. (Bakhtin 1981: 276)

To him all language use was language use from a point of view, in a context, to an audience. Language is therefore ideological. According to Marx ideology was rooted in the materialist base, the means of production in the society which was then rooted in the superstructure of the society containing its legal system, political system, and religions for instance. He stated the interests of the ruling class lay hidden in the superstructure in the form of ideologies and they could be then revealed. And there was always one ideology dominating the others, and more powerful than others guiding the common thinking in the societies and could be also seen as a mechanism of social reproduction in the society (Freeden 2003).

But even if language may be saturated with ideology, but it never represents the one, monolithic viewpoint according to Bakhtin. In this sense, and compared to Marx, Bakhtin was not so deterministic: in language there is also what he called the *carnivalesque* — the expressive, random, individual viewpoint. Therefore Bakhtin also gives space for the subject/actor/author. Bakhtin (1986) explained that the author as creator of a literary work makes from heterogeneous, alien utterances a unified and whole utterance in which the author is a constitutive element. In a traditional literary work, the author creates and interprets the world depicted in the work from a position that is higher and qualitatively different from that of the characters. This idea was followed later for instance by Roland Barthes.

Also according to Voloshinov (1973) signs have no independent existence outside of social practice. Signs are seen as components of human activity, and it is within human activity that signs take on their form and meaning – signification is not neutral. Although Voloshinov used the ideas of de Saussure in his writings, he understood language more as dynamic, socially constructed sign-system. He argued that de Saussure's mistake was to attempt to study language abstractly and synchronically without history. The meaning of words is not subject to passive understanding, but includes the active participation of the speaker (or writer) and hearer (or reader). While every word is a sign taken from an inventory of available signs, the manipulation of the word contained in each speech act or individual utterance is regulated by social relations. In Voloshinov's view, the meaning of verbal signs is the arena of continuous (class) struggle – this could be also interpreted as *the struggle for meaning*.

Later on following the ideas of Voloshinov appeared the idea of the politics of signification as part of analyzing ideologies within social semiotics movement. This could be seen for instance in the writings of Stuart Hall (1997) with his *mental frameworks and systems of representation* and Teun Van Dijk (1998) with his concept of *interpretation frameworks* referring to the concept of ideology. According to these ideas there is always a dominant power which legitimates itself by promoting beliefs and values congenial to it; naturalizing and universalizing such beliefs so as to render them self-evident and apparently inevitable; denigrating ideas which might challenge it; excluding rival forms of thought. In this frame the role of the semiotics is then to make us aware of what we take for granted in representing the world, reminding us that we are always dealing with signs, not with an unmediated objective reality, and that sign systems are involved in the construction of meaning.

In line with Marx and Volosinov Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937) was interested in the way inequitable class relations are maintained, and the role of knowledge in this process. Gramsci took the idea of *hegemony* as ideological dominance and expanded it to the common sense knowledge of the everyday. Later on Louis Althusser (1918–1990) further developed this idea stating that ideology is a process of language; it is through language that individuals are interpellated as subjects and become agents of specific ideologies which sustain social relations. This interpellation involves recruiting and transforming an individual into a subject who believes that they have a relationship with the world which is real, natural and of their own making. This idea became also one of the key areas of Michel Foucault's thinking later on. The strength of ideological control lies in the fact that subjects regard themselves as in control of the meaning of the discourse they speak; that they are the origin of meaning, not the product of it.

The concept of ideology in this Marxist thinking brought up the question about sign relations. One useful concept describing this dynamic relation was concept *denotation-connotation*, originally from Louis Hjelmslev (Hietala 1993). Denotation tends to be described as the definitional, literal, obvious or conventional meaning of a sign. In the case of linguistic signs, the denotative meaning is what the dictionary attempts to provide and it is the *first order of signification*. The term connotation is then used to refer to the socio-cultural and personal associations of the sign and it is the *second-order of signification* which uses the denotative sign (signifier and signified) as its signifier and attaches to it an additional signified (Barthes 1977; Lehtonen 2000).

Roland Barthes (1977) stated that de Saussure's model of the sign focused on denotation at the expense of connotation and it was left to subsequent theorists to offer an account of this important dimension of meaning. Barthes argued that connotation can be distinguished from denotation and that denotation is not the first meaning, but pretends to be so. From such a perspective denotation can be seen as no more of a natural meaning than is connotation but rather as a *process of naturalization*. Such a process leads to the powerful illusion that denotation is a purely literal and universal meaning which is not at all ideological, and indeed that those connotations which seem most obvious to individual interpreters are just as natural. Barthes (2000) defined his approach in *Mythologies* as follows:

“The starting point of these reflections was usually a feeling of impatience at the sight of the “naturalness” with which newspapers, art and common sense constantly dress up reality which, even though it is the one we live in, is undoubtedly determined by history, I resented seeing Nature and History confused at every turn, and I wanted to track down, in the decorative dis-

play of *what-goes-without-saying*, the ideological abuse which, in my view is hidden there". (Barthes 2000: 11)

Related to connotation is what Roland Barthes (1977; 2000) referred to as *myth*. For Barthes myths were the dominant ideologies of our time. In a departure from Hjelmslev's model Barthes argued that the orders of signification called denotation and connotation combine to produce ideology. This has been described as a *third order of signification* by Barthes (1977). Signs and codes are generated by myths and in turn serve to maintain them. This concept of myth seems to relate Barthes to structuralist tradition, since this third order and hidden nature of myth serves the ideological function of naturalization meaning that in every culture there are myths. For a researcher there is a task to reveal them – the basic logic of structuralist thinking.

In sum, I consider both deconstructionist and social semiotics movement theoretically fruitful but still quite de-humanizing - that is ignoring or minimizing the impact and importance of human agency and the role of *subject* in the signification processes. Therefore, there is a clear need to involve also psychological aspects, the *psychosemiotics* to post-structural readings. This is because the psychological studies seem to admit the subject being also as an interesting area of discussion.

3.3.3 *The psychosemiotics*

The semiotic approach is also central concern of psychology, the *cognitive aspects of semiosis*, or the *psychosemiotics* (Daddesio 1995; Bouissac 1998) which was left out from the Saussurean, Peircean and Derridean thinking. This term itself was already introduced by Greimas & Courtés (1982), but has got some wide attention mostly during 1990's. In this tradition some of the scholars stress more the cognitive processing of signs, the causal psychology and standard information-processing accounts, which still seems to be the dominant tradition in the field (Lee et al. 2001).

Some scholars then would like to consider also influences from cultural psychology stressing the dynamic sign processes in sociocultural contexts. The idea of dynamic sign processes were summed up in the theory of Palmer (1999) in his study program of *cultural linguistics*. This theory unites the cognitive aspects of the sign and their environment, the place where the signs are used. In the field of psychology this thinking is derived in the thoughts of Wilhelm Wundt (1912) under the name of "*Völkerpsychologie*". His idea was that psychological development is not determined merely by sensation, but also by the meaningful influ-

ences of the individual's "spiritual environment", in other words the culture which influences again not obviously susceptible to experimentation. According to him psychic processes that are bound, in virtue of their genetic and developmental conditions, to "spiritual communities" and they are "cultural products". These objects cannot then be investigated in the same way as those of individual "inner" experience, but require a mode of explanation appropriate to their external, yet non-physical phenomenology.

In these approaches the child adapts in his/her environment through repetition the relations of the signifiers and signifieds in the Saussurean terms. Different sounds and images are then associated and connected to the phonological aspects of signs containing quite detailed phonological details already in the early childhood. In this way the individual learns to interpret different signifiers as connected to certain signifieds and the whole system of language becomes as convention – not anymore challenged by the child. *The key word is repetition and disclosure of other (parallel) associations when learning the meaning structures of the signs in a given context or culture.* In this way the context or culture acts as a Peircean interpretant between the signifier and signified.

But if referred to the previous conceptualizations of subject, there is always some subject, interpreter, who interacts with signs. The Saussurean thinking stated that individual learns the interdependence of signifier and signified when integrating to society (conventions)(de Saussure 1983). In the same way, even if the Derridean readings considered the role of reader and the interpretation action, there were not conceptualizations related to the mechanisms of interpretation. There were not discussions about the *intrapersonal aspects of semiosis, the phenomenologies of semiotics* in these writings. Therefore, the possibility of "other" is usually left without consideration in the semiosis. The role of the interpreter is usually forgotten in the main roads of semiotics. As the semiotician Morris summarized:

"Something is a sign of something only because it is interpreted as a sign of something by *some interpreter*. Semiotics, then, is not concerned with the study of a particular kind of object but with ordinary objects insofar as they participate in semiosis". (Morris 1938: 20)

Unlike in Peircean thinking here the interpretation is the act of the subject, there are no abstract interpretants who interpret the signs in the social. *These phenomenologies of semiotics then aim to unite the social and psychological aspects of human life.* This is a valuable approach also since several contributors of the field have observed that not only have psychologists and semioticians repeatedly re-invented each others' wheels, but also there have been active attempts at neglecting each other's achievements. As Bouissac (1998) pointed out:

“A blatant elimination of psychology amounts to an attempted displacement of psychology to the margins, and footnotes of semiotics”. (Bouissac 1998: 736)

Daddesio (1995) considered that on the other hand semiotics tend to be about signs and not about cognition or the external world. On the other hand many semioticians were influenced by the behaviorist rejection of introspection as a method and mental processes as legitimate research topic and did not want to return to the Cartesian approach. Therefore, as Smith (2005) observed, there are possibilities to several vital facets of the interface between psychology and the mainstream, sign-oriented, semiotics.

In this study I am going to apply some concepts of psychology to these previously presented traditions of semiotics. First of all, there should be introduced some concepts from the *cognitive psychology* in order to construct the application of psychosemiotics for this study following the road of dynamic sign processing in the sociocultural contexts. Here, I would like to use the concepts such as *schemata, script, frame and stereotype* in order to modify them to the use of this study. I consider them useful when discussing both the continuation and the change related to signification.

Here we need to go little bit back to the basics of constructivism. Like said, Vico and Kant laid the basis for constructivism, the constructed knowledge. Related to this Kant introduced the word *schema* relating it to mental pattern. Since that time, many other terms have been used as well, including frame, scene, scenario, script and even model. Key theoretical development of schema theory was made in several fields, including linguistics, anthropology, psychology and artificial intelligence. In the field of psychology and education the word schema or schemata were introduced by Piaget in 1926 and in the works of British psychologist Sir Frederic Bartlett (1886–1969) during 1930's. Especially Bartlett's study was interesting related to this current one.

By carrying out a series of studies on the recall of Native American folktales, Bartlett (1932) noticed that many of the recalls were not accurate, but involved the replacement of unfamiliar information with something more familiar. They also included many inferences that went beyond the information given in the original text. In order to account for these findings, Bartlett proposed that people have *schemata*, or mental structures, that represent an individual's generic knowledge about the world. It is through schemata that old knowledge influences new information – the clear similarities compared to Piaget's ideas about accommodation and assimilation.

Bartlett's work was crucially important in demonstrating that long-term memories are neither fixed nor immutable but are constantly being adjusted as our schemata evolve with experience. In a sense it supports the view that we construct our past and present in a constant process of narrative/discursive adjustment, the idea to be later developed in this study. And that much of what we remember is actually adjusted and rationalized narrative that allows us to think of our past as a continuous and coherent string of events, the basic idea of narratives later on discussed in this study.

In the 1970s, however, the schema construct was reintroduced into psychology through the work of the computer scientist Marvin Minsky (1975). He developed the *frame* construct as a way to represent knowledge in machines. With frame knowledge we then interact with new specific information coming from the world. Later on, David Rumelhart (1980) elaborated on Minsky's ideas and turned them into an explicitly psychological theory of the *mental representation* of complex knowledge. Schank and Abelson (1977) developed the *script* construct to deal with generic knowledge of sequences of actions. Schema theory provided explanations for many experiments already in the literature, and led to a very wide variety of new empirical studies. Providing a relevant schema improved comprehension and recall of opaquely written passages, and strong schemata were shown to lead to high rates of inferential errors in recall.

Besides these concepts of cognitive psychology, the ideas of *lateral thinking* by de Bono (1991, 1993), *the theory of the dynamic systems and "autopoiesis"* by Maturana & Varela (1980), the *relevance theory* of Sperber and Wilson (1995) and the idea of *enactive cognitive science* by Varela et al. (1993) are valuable additions when considering the psychosemiotics. These approaches stress the point that our brains are self-organizing systems guided by sensomotoric skemas which tend to habituate our thinking processes, contents and concepts used in specific situations.

Maturana & Varela (1980) used the words "*emergitive attractor*" and "*actionsequence models*" when theoretizing the constant labil competition which happens in brains between different "actionsequences". The brains tend to be attacked all the time by perturbations which generate deformation, the "*structural tensions*" between different models. These structural tensions are then eased off when the system moves towards certain attractor which represents the balanced situation in brains. This process also quickly and automatically represses the other competing (latent) models. In the brain level this means the organizing of the neurons in certain order and through the repetition the increase of the associative relations between different neurons tending to be "stable".

Using the “road metaphor” by de Bono (1991) the human mind has only one “main road” at the time in a given concept and many “side roads”. Usually the main road is chosen automatically and other directions and “side roads” are repressed. According to relevance theory of Sperber and Wilson (1995) certain activation in the brains tends to generate as much as possible cognitive effects with as little “costs of processing”. So the main road tends to gather different aspects of the concept “within itself” when there is no need to “jump off” the road in order to act in a given environment. The mental structure and the “attractor landscape” are depending on the previous experiences and repetitive usages of certain concepts in the language level.

But this system is in a constant state of change and the dynamics is directed with the time order: the previous directs the next ones, the new observations, concepts are modifying the “attractor landscape” *ad infinitum* like already Piaget expressed in his theory of assimilation and accommodation. According to de Bono (1991) this means that different conceptualizations are easy be rooted in the system, but harder to change; there is a always a certain friction available in the system – the previous is more possible than the new one. This could be seen for instance in the form of certain rituals in the society – here not the following repetitive, routine kind of rituals needs more conscious effort than just to follow them. The subject has to be aware of these experiences and personal “attractor landscape” before able to “jump off” the main roads of thinking. Interesting part of de Bono’s thinking was that the subject can learn different techniques of “jumping off” the main roads of the mental structures by using consciously explicit tools, like lateral thinking in his/her practices (de Bono 1993).

A highly interesting idea in the context of this study is the idea by de Bono (1991) about “different”, “unknown” or “indefinite concepts”. The claim here is that these words tend to go in the suction of accepted, utilized and repetitive models in the brain. And they are not questioned in the daily usage. In order to have the balance by avoiding previously mentioned structural tensions in mind the human being usually unconsciously chooses the common and familiar. This leads then to *habituation* which was earlier presented for instance by Berger & Luckmann in their theory of social constructivism.

The same kind of ideas about “main roads” of thinking or habituation emerged in the field of social psychology in Katz and Braly’s (1933) study of *stereotypes* and Allport’s (1954) research on *prejudice*. The concept stereotype itself referred to the human tendency to categorize people into general groups based on certain attributes such as race or gender and to then develop beliefs about characteristics and behavior of individual members of these groups. This stereotyping then in-

volves a perception based not on the stimulus target's behaviour, but on the *collective consensus about category membership* (Lee et al. 1995). In a way this approach to stereotype unites the ideas of previous schema theory, but also connotating the social element of the stereotype. Interestingly, the ideas like schema, stereotype and frame these originally psychological concepts refer also to socially oriented research contexts, like sociology and political science (Lee et al. 2001).

One clear example of uniting the social and psychological aspect of schema, of more precisely the concept of frame could be already seen in the later works of Goffman. He introduced the *concept of frame* as a schemata of interpretation that allow individuals or groups to locate, perceive, identify, and label events and occurrences, thus rendering meaning, organizing experiences, and guiding actions. Goffman (1974) stated:

“I assume that definitions of a situation are built up in accordance with *principals of organization which govern events...*and our subjective involvement in them; frame is the word I use to refer to such of these basic elements as I am able to identify”. (Goffman 1974: 10)

In other words, frames are basic *cognitive structures* which guide the perception and representation of reality – in this way Goffman unites the ideas of social and individual cognitive structures. Nearly in the same way D'Andrade (1995) tries to fill the gap between the social and psychological with the concept of *cognitive anthropology* focusing on the intellectual and rational aspects of culture, particularly through studies of language use:

“Cognitive anthropology investigates cultural knowledge, knowledge which is embedded in words, stories, and in artifacts, and which is learned from and shared with other humans”. (D'Andrade 1995: xiv)

These frames or embedded cultural knowledge are not consciously manufactured but are unconsciously adopted in the course of communicative processes. With other words these frames structure which parts of reality become noticed. This approach reminds those of Piaget and other cognitive psychologists such as the previously mentioned cultural linguistics.

But what I noticed missing in Goffman's and D'Andrade's thinking is still the active subject, even if he gives space for the subject in some writings. The frames act in the level of unconscious, not as actively adopted and manufactured, like for instance in the writings of D'Angelo (2002) and Tankard (2001) who treat frames as actively selected and pitched powerful discursive cues.

The usefulness of these concepts under the headline psychosemiotics related to this study is that they try to fill the gap between subject and the structure, not forgetting either of them in the semiosis. They can be individual and collective at the same time, they might be useful in both individual and social level of analysis.

One good example of this tendency to bridge the gap is the concept of *signway* by Smith (2005). The cognition consists of different ways of knowing through signways that are situated both in a personal internal individual cognitive representation or schema, and bio-cultural *Lebenswelt* which is the human sociocultural and environmental personal world or *Umwelt* (von Uexküll 1982) connecting these ideas to the previously introduced phenomenologies of the mind by such as Husserl, Heidegger and Sartre. This means that an organism creates and reshapes its own *umwelt* when it interacts with the world. Interestingly this *Umwelt theory* states that the mind and the world are inseparable, because it is the mind that interprets the world for the organism. Consequently, “the *umwelten*” of different organisms differ, which follows from the individuality and uniqueness of the history of every single organism.

But what is then the social aspect in this *Umwelt theory*? This question was approached by Lotman (2000) who tried to unite the subjective and social or collective stating that when two *Umwelts* interact, they create a *semiosphere*, *the collective umwelt* which is needed in the human societies:

“this semiotic space is necessary for the existence and functioning of languages, not the sum total of different languages and in a sense it has a prior existence and is in constant interaction with languages . . . Outside the there can be neither communication, nor language”. (Lotman 2000: 123–124)

These concepts of signway or semiosphere clearly wanted to build a bridge over individual and collective minds – the notion also borrowed to the structuration theory of Giddens (1979; 1984). Mutual interactions across the signways or the semiosphere between the individual and the collective constitute the essential bases of this kind of psychosemiotic inquiry (Smith 2005).

As a whole, I sum up that this psychologically oriented view to semiotics, the psychosemiotics has brought the cognitive aspects and related concepts to analysis of semiosis further affecting the theory of structuration. This seems to include the idea of the categorizing, modeling, interacting and interpreting human being. In order to survive in the social settings human being structure the information all the time and this could be revealed then in the semiotic analysis.

But what is also interesting here is the dynamic part of the sign – how could it be something else? How could it be changed (if needed)? What could be the alterna-

tives? How to create new signs in social life? Even if the idea of change is there already in Piaget's, Bartlett's, Allport's and others theories regarding to mental structures, there appears to be clear and widely accepted idea about continuation.

Therefore in the field of psychosemiotics some hints from the previous pragmatics, the theory of action, change and deconstruction could be mixed. This might happen for instance with the aspects of creativity, *the lateral thinking* (de Bono 1993) and *perspective changes* and *transformative learning* by Mezirow (1981). These ideas I am also going to further develop later on.

I also consider that psychosemiotic view could be related to larger constructions, not just single words, or the metaphors – the signifier/signified – relations, schemas and stereotypes. There is a possibility to consider also the wider language usage in the social settings since this culturally oriented psychosemiotics tries to unite the individual and social.

And one possible and interesting way to do this is to apply the *narrative theory* as part of semiotics. I find it a promising place and area of research where there are possibilities of uniting the social and psychological aspects of the language. This narrative theory has a long tradition and here I am going to consider it both from the structural and post-structural point of view.

3.4 Narrative theories

To study narratives is not a new phenomenon in science. It has been a study focus for instance in literature science, history, sociology, and psychology and it could be considered as a cross-disciplinary approach in science (Lipponen 1999). Hänninen (1999) said that narrative theory is as its best a network of approaches offering particularly broad access to different disciplinary traditions (Squire 2005). Strict boundaries between different ideas within narrative theory are not necessary since they can restrict the interpretations and hinder the observation relating to various aspects of human life (Valkonen 1994). Narrative research can also bring up the view that narratives broadcast different voices that are dominant or excluded from or neglected within dominant political structures and processes (Squire 2005).

The idea of narrative could be seen already in the writings of Aristotle. According to him, in the narrative form causation and goals turn story into plot. This means that events at the beginning cause those in the middle, and events in the middle cause those at the end (Chandler 2002). Likewise Rimmon-Kenan (1991) had the idea of three different and joint phases in the narrative - the first and the third de-

fines the situation in the narrative and the middle part is an active phase. According to Bruner (1990) narratives are *interpretations of sequential events* and that this usually requires some type of plot to give meaningful causal structure to the sequential events.

Toolan (1988) considered that in narratives different events are organized in a way that they are non-randomly connected and are in a temporary order. Perhaps the most basic narrative syntagm is a linear temporal model composed of three phases - *equilibrium-disruption-equilibrium* - a chain of events corresponding to the beginning, middle and end of a story (Jahn 2005). Here is the clear linkage also to Saussurean structuralist thinking and the concept of syntagm building the internal structure, structural relations and coherence to the narrative.

In the narrative theory at least two different traditions could be identified. The first one is called *narratology*, which was initiated at the time of Russian Formalism, for instance by Vladimir Propp. This continued then at the beginning of French Structuralism, in the writings of (early) Barthes, Bremond, Genette, Todorov and Greimas. This narratological approach attempted to seek universal grammar and deep structures, the common syntagm from the texts (Hänninen 1999) connecting itself more to the modern philosophy of science. The second tradition could be called *narrative approach* which is related to the interpretative turn within the social and psychological sciences during 1970-80s'. This was affected by the phenomenologist and hermeneutic movement and common to this approach is the essentially interpretative character which distinguishes the analysis of narrative material (Bruner 1986; Sarbin 1986; Ricoeur 1984).

The search of varieties of meanings in the human narration was then emphasized instead of tracing for the universal *cognitive structures*, for instance those already earlier introduced by Jean Piaget (Sarbin 1986; Polkinghorne 1988). This approach could be also related to post-structural thought since it aims at identifying the processes of the narration and ways in which experience and subjects are constructed by means of consensual linguistic practices (Polkinghorne 1988). Put in the semiotic terms, post-structural thinking was then more interested in *paradigmatic approach* to narrative – how to identify contents, oppositions, contrasts and absences in the narratives and why a particular signifier rather than a workable alternative was used in a specific narrative context?

In the context of this research, I consider these both traditions valuable. And I also think like Tarasti (1990) that structural and post-structural approaches are not opposite ones, instead building a continuum in the narrative research traditions.

3.4.1 *The structural approach – narratology*

The term narratology itself was coined by Tzvetan Todorov (1969) who said that narratology is the theory of the structures of narrative. To investigate a structure, or to present a structural description, the narratologist dissects the narrative phenomena into their component parts and then attempts to determine functions and relationships. The idea to study the universal (deep) structure of narratives based on the early ideas of Aristotle and the Russian formalist Vladimir Propp (Apo 1986; Hänninen 1999). Propp (1968) used in his famous study *The Morphology of the Folktale* the formalist approach by breaking down a large number of Russian folk tales into their smallest narrative units called narratemes. He concluded that all folktales have a common structure; that there are several recognizable functions, which may be fulfilled by various character types or motifs. And that these functions always occur in the same sequence, although there may be some repetition of particular sequences, as may be seen, for instance, in the threefold repetition of journeys or tests in many tales.

Propp identified 31 distinct functions which he argued dictated the structure of the folktale. The main contribution of Propp's works to later structuralist studies seem to be the invention of the concept *function* by which every narrative could be identified or typified (Apo 1986; Alasuutari 1996). A single tale does not need to contain all the functions but same type of tales build up a certain kind of morphology, a kind of *metanarrative*. As the conclusion of the analysis the analyst could then write the *idealtipe* of functions (Tarasti 1990). And this idealtipe, or metanarrative has then different variances in the concrete world (Alasuutari 1996), in the paradigmatic level. When analyzing folktales the functions could be revealed for instance like this:

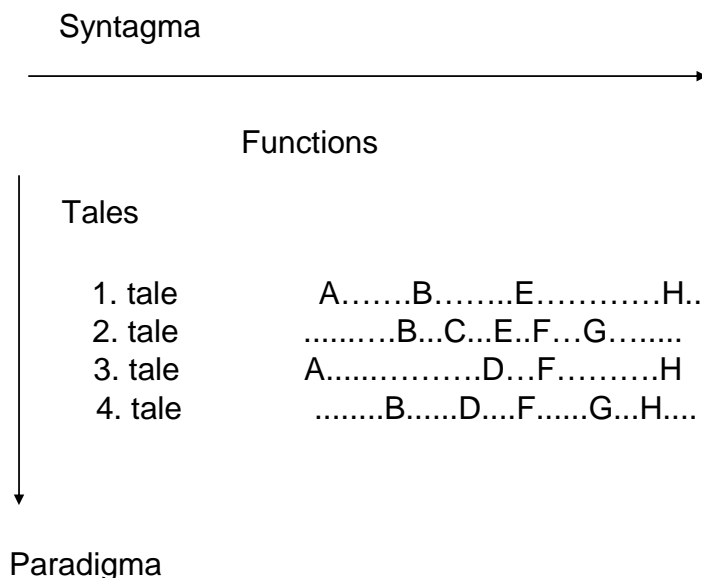


Figure 4. The method for analysing functions of the folk-tales (Tarasti 1990)

Here the idealtyp of functions is then the syntagm of A, B, C, D, E, F, G and H. Every function has then its own role in the structure and they are related to each others in the Saussurean, structural principle. For instance, the narrative cannot start with C, and end with B. It is always the same sequential structure and functions which are involved in the metanarrative. These functions then construct the plot of the narrative also (Apo 1986). These functions operated related to constant characters in the folktales, namely the villain, the donor, the helper, the sought for –person, the dispatcher, the hero and the false hero.

Algirdas Greimas (1966) then further developed these ideas in his work *Sémantique Structurale*. His background ideas contained Saussurean structuralism, speech act theory and the cognitive structuralism of Noam Chomsky. According to these ideas the language is a system, which has its own laws behind our every day understanding. When handling the ideas of Vladimir Propp concerning the structure of narrative he used the term *actant* which he may have borrowed from the French linguistics Tesnière (Sulkunen & Törrönen 1997). According to Tesnière every sentence builds up a little play where the verb represents the action and other main components of the sentence actants.

Greimas has also developed this idea to the field of common semantics naming the six different actants: *subject, object, sender, receiver, helper and opponent*. Every narrative follow the structure, where could be identified the sender, such as some common or accepted principle, object, such as the daughter of the king, the receiver, which should be getting the object (Tarasti 1990). Here, like in every structuralist argument “the play stays, but the content might change”. The stabili-

ty depends on the fact that the roles could be divided only predetermined ways, the natural speech cannot increase the amount of actants in the narrative. The function and interaction of these actants generate a narrative scheme or smaller narrative programs (Aaltonen 1997).

In line with the spirit of structuralism Greimas thought that the real subject in the signification is *meta-subject*, also referred to as culture, language community or interpretation community. In this sense the thoughts of Greimas are similar like Peirce's idea of the interpretant which was neither the individual nor subject or the actor – instead something in between. This meta-subjective level could be seen in narratives in the dynamics of actants. In other words: subject/object (Propp's hero and sought-for-person), sender/receiver (Propp's dispatcher and hero - again) and helper/opponent (conflations of Propp's helper and donor, plus the villain and the false hero). Greimas argued that the hero is both the subject and the receiver. The subject is the one who seeks; the object is that which is sought. The sender sends the object and the receiver is its destination. The helper assists the action and the opponent blocks it.

I consider the concept of *modalities* as interesting part of this thinking. Subject's relation to object indicated the modality of willing (*vouloir*) – in the narratives subject is after object and the desire (*desir*) is the driver in this action. On the other hand, object could be considered as a message between sender and receiver, when their relationship indicates the modality of *knowing* (*savoir*). The subject can have helper and opponent in its action and then there is the modality of *being able* (*pouvoir*) subject tries to receive the object. This theory is based on the verbs of being and doing which can modalize each others – for instance when doing modalizes the being it is called performance; when being modalizes doing it is called competence. And in these modalizing operations then four kind of modal action (wanting to, having to, being able to and knowing to) could be directed.

Besides the Proppian functions or Greimasian actants of the narratives different theoretist have identified other syntagmatic, textual structures or elementary segments, composed of smaller units relating to each others building up the chain of events or plot in the narrative. Greimas already discussed about different tests in his *narrative scheme*; the *qualifying test*, the *main test* and the *sanctifying test* which had the chronological order in the narratives.

For instance Labov's description of narrative is derived initially from stories told to him and his colleagues by African American informants in South Harlem in the 1960's and 1970's and applies primarily to spoken event narratives, told in natural situations. Such stories have a general structure that includes *abstract*, *orientation*, *complicating action*, *evaluation*, *resolution*, and *coda* (Labov 1972). This

schematization of narratives had nearly the same approach as previously mentioned Bartlett (1932) about 40 years before him with Native American folktales.

The abstract, of which there is sometimes more than one, describes what the story is about. The orientation sets the scene. Complicating action tells us what happens next, and is, for Labov, the element that defines talk as narrative. Evaluative clauses describe the human consequences of the event; the resolution gives an ending; the coda is a linking section that returns the story to the present. For a story to be more than a minimal narrative, Labov wants elements other than the complicating action to be present. Evaluation is particularly important, as it tells you what the story “means”. Labov (1972) suggested that this element can, like orientation, spread all through the story, and allows it many manifestations. According to this structure then the researcher can relate the different topics and events in the wider context of the narrative. The idea here is – like in the model of Propp – that the structure is the basis to analysis of narrative topics and that each and every sentence has not the equal value in the analysis but can be related to wider meta-level of analysis (Hyvärinen 1998).

Labov (1997) also argued that narrative is not only description but explanation, a theory of causality. A narrative is a way of accounting for events that balances the reportability that makes a story worth telling, with believability. After the orientation, the complicating action and evaluations of a narrative lead, he says, to its most reportable event, and so constitute a theory of that event. This account interestingly links narrative analysis with research on the social effects of storytelling (Squire 2005).

This causality idea is also further developed in the conceptualizations of Sulkunen & Törrönen (1997) who sees there are the *preliminary or orientation story* which sets the scene and introduces the characters and is nearly like the Labovian orientation or Greimasian qualifying test, then followed by the *main story* which includes the Greimasian main test, the complicating action by Labov or some kind of problem and its solution(s) in the storyline, then finally followed by the *strengthening story* which contains the evaluative side of the story, includes sanctions (Greimasian sanctifying test) and follow-up to the story (Korhonen & Oksanen 1997).

Related to narratological tradition, the ideas of Northrop Frye (1957) could be related to this thesis with the concept of *narrative genre*. This refers to the kind of story or plot that a work of literature tells or enacts. According to Frye there are four basic story lines: 1) *tragedy* 2) *comedy* 3) *romance* and 4) *satire*. For each of these phases, Frye identified typical narrative structures and characteristics – primal myths in which humanity was and is consistently concerned. In some cases

these narratives also work in combination – for instance in the form of romantic comedy.

Tragedy begins with a problem that is significant to society, its leaders, or its representatives. The problem may originate in the “tragic flaw” of the Propopian hero or heroine, or it may represent a temptation or error that human beings recognize, such as greed, vanity, or self-righteousness. Either way, the error or fault or problem is intimate and integral to our human identities; it is not objectified to a villain or outside force, as in romance. The action consists of an attempt to discover the truth about the problem, to follow or trace or absorb its consequences, to restore justice (even at cost to oneself), or to regain moral control of the situation. The tragedy ends with the resolution of the problem and the restoration of justice, often accompanied by the death, punishment, or quieting of the tragic hero. In tragedy the hero loses “the game” not surviving for the “victory”.

Comedy also often begins with a problem or a mistake, but the problem is less significant than in tragedy. The problem may involve a recognizable social situation, but unlike tragedy, the problem does not intimately threaten or shake the audience, the state, or the larger world. The problem often takes the form of mistaken or false identity: one person being taken for another, disguises, cross-dressing, dressing up or down. The action consists of characters trying to resolve the problem or live up to the demands of the false identity, or of other characters trying to reconcile the “new identity” with the “old identity.” Comedy ends with the problem overcome or the disguise abandoned. Usually the problem was simply “a misunderstanding” rather than a tragic error. The concluding action of a comedy is easy to identify. Characters join in marriage, song, dance, or a party, demonstrating a restoration of unity.

Romance may open as though all is well, but action usually begins with a problem of separation. Characters are separated from each other, or a need arises to rescue someone; or characters are separated from some object of desire (as with the search for the Holy Grail). Action often takes the form of a physical journey or adventure; characters may be captured or threatened and rescued. Action may take the form of a personal transformation or a journey across class lines, as in the story of Cinderella. The conclusion of a romance narrative is typically “transcendence”—“getting away from it all” or “rising above it all.” The characters “live happily ever after” or “ride off into the sunset” or “fly away” from the scenes of their difficulties (in contrast with tragedy’s social engagement or comedy’s restored unity).

Satire appropriately comes from the Greek for “mixed-dish,” as its story-line tends to be extremely episodic and opportunistic. In fact, the satiric narrative de-

pendes for its narrative integrity on the audience's knowledge of the original story being satirized.

In sum:

1. Tragedy shows us a hero's separation from the society
2. Comedy is the reconciliation of the protagonist with his community at the end
3. Romance is like a knight's quest with the happy ending
4. Satire gives us the everyday difficulties and dissembling of life.

3.4.2 *The narrative and discursive identity*

By the 1980's the structural, narratological approach had left its remarks also to the field of psychology and this thought affected quite much the different scholars which took part of the discussions about the universal human nature and thought. For instance Bruner (1986) saw that there is the logic-rational or narrative mode in differentiating the experiences. With this mode of thinking we explain different causal relations in our physical environment. Narrative thinking is about everyday epistemologies and it is focused on the understanding about the phenomena in the social life. In this view, the narratives had also the elementary or communicative role (before the writing) in the human societies (Eskola & Suoranta 1998). The narratives were also seen as foundational or essential forms of human understanding and humans are seen narrative animals (MacIntyre 1984), *homo narrans* (Bruner 1990) and that human communication has the mode of narrative uniting the mythos and logos (Fisher 1987).

But as a whole, after these structuralist-oriented observations, the narrative approach focused mainly to the *interpretative nature of narrative*. This was affected by the wider interpretative turn within the social and psychological sciences and could be in this context also referred as "post-structural". This meant that narrative was seen as part of life or interacting with life. The life could be analyzed and interpreted by narratives. It was not anymore about abstract and universal structures or functions or actants in the narratives but like Bruner (1987) even stated that narrative imitates life and life imitates narrative:

"Life" in this sense is the same kind of construction of the human imagination as "a narrative" is. It is constructed by human beings through active ratiocination, by the same kind of ratiocination through which we construct narratives. When somebody tells you his life—and that is principally what we shall be talking about—it is always a cognitive achievement rather than a through-the-clear-crystal recital of something univocally given. In the end, it is a narrative achievement. There is no such thing psychologically as "life itself". At the very least, it is a selective achievement of memory recall;

beyond that, recounting one's life is an interpretive feat. Philosophically speaking, it is hard to imagine being a naive realist about "life itself". (Bruner 1987: 2–3)

As McAdams (1993) pointed out: we as human beings are "the stories we live by. Paul Ricoeur suggested that a life is no more than a biological phenomenon as long as it has not been interpreted. Related to this and with the concept of *prefiguration* Ricoeur (1991) meant that the world is symbolically prefigured for humans, that our reception of the world is pre-narrative, and that we understand the world because it is already articulated in signs, rules and norms. And it is always symbolically mediated.

For Ricoeur all human experience is prefigured semantically and linguistically; we understand the semantics of action even before these actions are retold. Ricoeur suggested that human lived or social reality is mediated by symbolic representations, which are waiting for interpretation. Ricoeur was not suggesting that thoughts and actions are always and already narrative but that they are pre-narrative – here there seems to be a clear link to Saussurean, Lacanian and Proppian structuralist thinking. Here he also clearly utilized the ideas of Hayden White (1973) who dealt with the question of whether the plot and language of our narratives prefigure the explanation. The context here was the study of history:

"It does not depend upon the nature of the "data" they used to support their generalisations or the theories they invoked to explain them; it depends rather upon the consistency, coherence and illuminative power of their respective visions of the historical field. This is why they cannot be "refuted", or their generalisations "disconfirmed", either by appeal to new data that might be turned up in subsequent research or by elaboration of a new theory interpreting the set of events that comprise their objects of representation and analysis". (White 1973: 4)

The process of turning semantic understanding into narrative is then the second stage, the stage of emplotment or *configuration*. For Ricoeur narrative does not emerge until pre-narrative has been translated, or configured, by emplotment. Explanation is then a multifaceted skill similar to understanding a song; it is about connections, whether between words and music, ideas and institutions, individuals and traditions. It is about comparing webs of interpretation. And we tell our stories by encoding them in one or other of these culturally recognised forms. This emplotment translates the past into a story and in the process explains to the reader what is happening (White 1973).

And thirdly, when the narrative is told and heard it *refigures* life and gives tools for the human being to understand the life – therefore narrative is interacting and

intertwined with the human life, not universal, but historical and contextual (Hänninen 1999). Theoretical relationship with Peirce, Bakhtin and Mead comes in this part of theory easily explicit. Life stories are then a way of articulating and explaining who we are, not only to others but also to ourselves.

Compared to previously mentioned narratological views this Ricoeurian view examines stories that are larger than event, actants or functions and aims to understand stories' meanings within lives. It bases itself on the assumption that lives have a particular, time-based relationship with narrative. According to Ricoeur (1984) time becomes human to the extent that it is articulated through a narrative mode. Ricoeur's (1991) account also described the complexities of interpretation and reading instead of telling. According to him the process of composition, of configuration, is not completed in the text but in the reader. And so the worlds of readers and texts, speakers and listeners must be brought together in order for understanding to occur.

But even if writing about the reader and reading as part of interpretation process, Ricoeur (1984) did not leave the narrative structure without consideration, this could be easily seen for instance in his idea about pre-narrative. To him narrative structure seemed to be some kind of common mode when organizing life and experiences. In telling and understanding stories, we are working on the relation between life as a story in its nascent state and its symbolic translation into recounted narrative. Following this Ricoeurian view, the analysis of narrative structure could be seen as a way to interpret life and experiences without any considerations of the universality of the structure itself. But how then is there different ways of understanding and interpreting life if it is already structured according to certain, universal structures?

Answering this Ricoeur (1991) stated that understanding and interpreting is not a fixed entity but is constant and contains here the idea of *narrative identity* – it mediates between subjective coherence and incoherence during the time. Even if the tools or the narrative mode might be the same, we can always become our own narrators even if the self is instructed by cultural symbols and literary tradition, it is balancing between sedimentation and innovation (Squire 2005). Narrating identities means also that one can narrate stories not yet told. It is always possible (for instance) to produce a different or a better story, more bearable or intelligible. In other words: these ideas of narrativity give space *for subject to define and construct identities* – constantly. In Ricoeur's thinking there is then the agency explicit, differing from the structuralist thinking.

This unites the idea of narrative identities for instance to those of Vygotsky (1978), Mead (1934), Berger & Luckmann (1966) and Giddens (1979, 1984).

Identity stands in a dialectical relationship with society and is formed in social processes, the idea of interactive human being. *Identity is thus formed in the dialectical process of the individual with society over time.* Therefore we may conclude that realities and identities are socially constructed and may be deconstructed or changed too. This idea relates to post-structural views on identity: identity construction is marked by fragmentation and diffusion – the constructability of identities based on the interactive and dynamic view of human being. The development of identity thus becomes a process, a never-ending story. It is no longer a matter of constructing and realizing one's personal project. Instead, it implies constantly rearranging and reframing oneself, testing and negotiating one's limits.

This Ricoeurian approach offered a great deal in narrative readings. In general it focused on the constructive powers of language in a way which is useful for social research and practice. Its interest in the intersections of text and audience worlds allows attention to interaction and change: the co-construction of narratives; intertextualities in narratives and in different intra- and interdisciplinary understandings of them. Subjectivities are then always in process; stories with truths rather than a single truth; stories whose meanings and cultural effects change, and that never really reach an end (Freeman 2003).

Parallel to Ricoeurian narrative identity and post-structural identity there is the discussion about the *discursive identity* by Foucault, Butler and Hall. In this approach narratives are built on different kinds of discourses and these *discourses construct subject positions* and attach identities to the actors (Foucault 1972). Narratives and identity-building processes are therefore intertwined. This linkage is particularly strong in autobiography type of narrative, where the author and the central subject are often seen as the same person.

The discourses could be interpreted in the Ricoeurian view as the tradition or structure and in the Bakhtinian approach like ideologies, cultures or voices which have the power to shape the narrative identities. This discursive approach takes into consideration the social and cultural character of particular narrative formations relating it also to social semiotics tradition. As Hall (1990) stated:

“Identity is a matter of “becoming” as well as of “being”. It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture. These identities come from somewhere, have histories. But like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continuous “play” of history, culture and power. Far from being grounded in mere “recovery” of the past, which is waiting to be found, and which when found, will secure our sense of our-

selves into eternity, identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past". (Hall 1990: 394)

In this context discursive identity is shaped between the past and the future – it has its origins in the culture and society. It is related to institutionalized way of thinking and modified within the social boundaries of thinking: what is possible to be and to become? What are the possible selves (Markus & Nuriya 1986) described in the narratives? What can be said about a specific topic, or the limits of acceptable speech or possible truth (Butler 1990)?

Foucault related this concept to his idea of *episteme*, to *historicity* and to knowing, valuing, and experiencing the world. Knowing and truths are related to power, they are not neutral areas of study; knowing and truths are related to different interests, they shape the world or at least how we see and experience the world. In this view discourses are also functional; that is, they are used in the society to achieve certain objectives and they form social reality in different ways. Discourses also function as a way to maintain cultural values and images; they ensure that valued practices are given prominence. These values and images also usually also hidden or hegemonic: they contain and carry the meanings which have become so naturalized over time that we begin to treat them as common, acceptable and natural (Fairclough 1992; Foucault 1972).

In this sense discourses are something which are *above the sentence or term level* in the language (van Dijk 1997) – they consist of a group of claims, ideas and terminologies which are historically and socially specific and create truth effects, *a system of statements, which construct the object* (Parker 1992). The idea in these definitions is that discourses build up relations within the system and these relations can then be viewed as power relations done in social practices (Fairclough 1995; Foucault 1972).

Gee (1990) clarified that these practices involve ways of being in the world that signify specific and recognizable social identities. We have learned to be students, daughters, paid workers, entrepreneurs, and volunteers. Finally, the social context comprises distinct settings where discourse occurs each with a set of conventions that determine rights and obligations—what each is allowed and expected to do. Simply put, the text becomes more than just words on a page and it discloses how those words are used in a particular social context (Huckin 1997).

Even more significant, our words are used to convey a broad sense of meanings and the meaning we convey with those words is identified by our immediate social, political, and historical conditions. This view challenges us to see how our

words are politicized, even if we are not aware of it, because they carry the power that reflects the interests of those who speak. Discourse always involves *power* and *ideologies*, is connected to the past and the current context (Bakhtin 1981), and can be interpreted differently by people because they have different backgrounds, knowledge, and power positions—therefore, the right interpretation does not exist whereas a more or less plausible or adequate interpretation is likely to occur in social setting (Fairclough 2002).

The Foucauldian view to the concept of discourse is that discourses affect our views on all things. Lehtonen (2000) considered that the concept of discourse contains the idea that the meanings are not just based on the abstract differences in the language system, but they are produced in the social, historical and institutional contexts. Therefore for instance the Ricoeurian pre-narrative is never a neutral or arbitrary one. And when the discourse is effective in practice it is called a *regime of truth* (Foucault 1980). It has the power over modifying identities and what is truth and what is not.

Foucault did not consider the role of subject in the signification – or how the power affects the subject. This is the same idea that in structuralism: the subject just had to follow the rules, he/she has no agency in the social settings and signification processes. The coordination and constitution of discourses are related to structuralist kind of meta-subjects like institutions of knowledge and the role of the subject is left under no consideration. But Alasuutari (2007) wanted to further develop these Foucauldian ideas of the relationship between power and subject:

“It is problematic to say like Foucault did that “power is everywhere”. Then power would be just synonymic to social relations. Therefore I suggest that power relations are connected to the possibilities and resources of the single human being which can be affected by the other people”. (Alasuutari 2007: 133)

Therefore the power comes “alive” in the resources and capabilities of the subject to affect his/her living. Usually – and by the time – these relations are institutionalized and the architecture of power comes self-evident and routinized. But even if the histories and genealogies of these are not usually available, it does not mean that the subject is just under these practices.

In my approach I reject the totality or determining aspect of discourse. I relate discourse to the institutionalized, habituated or legitimized knowledge, which is located in history and social processes, but which does not determine, but instead affects and positions the subject. *Therefore subject has the agency, there are pos-*

sibilities of deconstruction, reconstruction and legitimation of new constructions. They are not essential, inevitable and universal.

But interestingly, also Michel Foucault changed his thoughts about discourse in his later writings being also called as post-structural scholar. Later on in his career he stated that discourses do not have any essentialist meaning – here he removed towards the post-structuralist thinking from the previous ideas affected by Durkheim, Marx and other structuralists. The same discourse may change political sides quite often, being endlessly modified, as did Foucault show in his analysis of the historical and political discourse. The human being is rooted in historicity and lives through the body. Foucault is therefore post-structuralist in his insistence that there is no great causal flow or plan or evolution of history like in modern thought. Discourses are hybrid, not stable, changing through history and consequently, understood within their historical and social context. As open systems, any particular discourse is continually being influenced by other specific and/or wider discourses while simultaneously influencing those other specific and/or wider discourses.

Related to later post-structural thinking also Gergen (1991) observed that narratives are cultural resources that serve such social purposes as *self-identification and self-justification*. According to him narratives function as part of the person's identity construction and making sense of the current situation containing also expectations for future events. Giddens (1991) stated that writing and telling the identities have become ways of doing the identities in the postmodern times; what we are is dependent how we construct our identities in narratives (Holstein & Gubrium 2000) and that the self or identity is constantly in dialog with the lived experiences and the surroundings where the individual lives (Hermans 2001; Vilkkio 2000). The individual and collective levels of narratives are in dynamic exchange with each other forming the identity projects (Harre'1983; Ylijoki 1998).

Narrative identity is therefore a dynamic and dimensional space where different narratives face each other and by which identities are constructed constantly (Sarup 1996). The narrative identities are not constructed without the structure or coherence; instead it is the relation between life as a story in its nascent state and its symbolic translation into recounted narrative.

Therefore, I consider both the structural and post-structural approaches relevant in the discussion of narrative identities. This is a link between narrative research and the theory of structuration, the deconstruction, the social semiotics and psycho-semiotics earlier presented. The structure and subject are not separate from each

other, instead they build up the *duality in the processes of narrative identities* (Giddens 1979; 1984).

3.4.3 Critical discourse analysis

Previously presented approach to discourse is packed and further developed for instance in the ideas of *critical discourse analysis* (CDA) deriving besides the writings of Michel Foucault, Roland Barthes, Pierre Bourdieu, some neomarxist scholars like Stuart Hall and Norman Fairclough, some feminist scholars and some critical linguistics following the Halliday's functional linguistics. The original idea was to "isolate" ideology in discourse and show how ideology and ideological processes are manifested as systems of linguistic characteristics and processes (Fowler & Hodge 1979). I locate this tradition mainly to the *social semiotics movement* (Hodge & Kress 1988; Lemke 1995) earlier introduced in the study.

Van Dijk (2001) acknowledged that CDA does not have a unitary methodology because it is best viewed as a shared perspective encompassing a range of approaches instead of one school, but the practical tools are derived (besides from Foucault and Bourdieu) from pragmatics and speech act theory which argue that *texts are forms of social action that occur in complex social contexts*. But there are clearly some structuralist mindset left in this tradition – for instance in the ideas of van Dijk (1998) with the concept of framework or structural analysis. By structural analysis, van Dijk posited analysis of structures at various levels of description which meant not only the grammatical, phonological, morphological and semantic level but also higher level properties such as coherence, overall themes and topics of stories and the whole schematic forms and rhetorical dimensions of texts. This structural analysis, however, he claimed, will not suffice, since:

“Discourse is not simply an isolated textual or dialogic structure. Rather it is a complex communicative event that also embodies a social context, featuring participants as well as production and reception processes”. (van Dijk 1988: 2)

van Dijk's analysis attempted to demonstrate the relationships between different levels of text production and their relationship with the wider social context they are embedded within. In order to identify such relationships, van Dijk's analysis takes place at two levels: *microstructure and macrostructure*. At the microstructure level, analysis is focused on the semantic relations between propositions, syntactic, lexical and other rhetorical elements that provide coherence in the text,

and other rhetorical elements such quotations, direct or indirect reporting that give factuality to the (news) texts.

Central to van Dijk's analysis of texts, however, is the analysis of macrostructure since it pertains to the thematic/topic structure of the stories and their overall schemata. Themes and topics are realized in the headlines and lead paragraphs of then news text. For van Dijk (1988), the texts schemata ("superstructure schema") are structured according to a specific narrative pattern that consists of the following: summary (headline and the lead paragraph), story (situation consisting of episode and backgrounds), and consequences (final comments and conclusions). These sections of a (news) story are sequenced in terms of relevance, so the general information is contained in the summary, the headline and the lead paragraph. According to van Dijk, this is what the readers can best memorize and recall. Doesn't his ideas remind quite much of the ideas of narratologists – the idea of syntagm by de Saussure, the Greimasian narrative scheme or the general structure of narratives by Labov (1972)? This only shows that structuralism and post-structuralism are intertwined also in CDA research tradition, and they are hard to separate sometimes from each others.

From Bourdieu's (1986) sociology to CDA there is borrowed the assumption that actual textual practices and interactions with texts become embodied forms of linguistic capital or *linguistic habitus*. There is also the idea of positioning in *linguistic markets* and their role in the production of communicative legitimacy. According to Bourdieu linguistic capital is a field-specific form of capital, which, under certain conditions can be transformed into other forms, while it cannot be reduced to any of these other forms. Through the notion of linguistic habitus, Bourdieu refers to individual differences in practical linguistic competence. Habitus refers to a speaker's competence as a strategic player: their ability to put language resources to practical use but also to anticipate the reception of their words and to profit from this. The formation of a habitus is continually being sanctioned by relative successes/failures in the market of linguistic exchanges (Bourdieu 1986).

Besides van Dijk and Bourdieu, different feminist scholars affected CDA by asking the questions about inequality, power and dominance in group relations and about the ways these are reproduced and legitimated by text and talk. Sociopolitical positions of women, ethnic minorities, classes or different world regions, as well as the ideologies that sustain their subordination, and their resistance, also required a discourse analytical approach. For instance in the area of gender studies, the post-structural feminist movement took the critical theory approach as a

study epistemology and where started to question the neutrality of the concepts like men, women, masculine, and feminine (Weedon 1987).

Here, the gender was seen as socially constructed, but besides that also contains connotations which are forming power relationships between females and males (Calás & Smircich 1990). In this tradition the main study focus has been *how the gender is done* (West & Zimmerman 1987) and how these power relationships are created and kept alive in everyday linguistic practices, social situations, and interactions, for instance related to entrepreneurship later handled in this study (Ahl 2002).

CDA is posed in part as a critique of conventional discourse analyses, for instance the concept of interpretative repertoire (Potter & Wetherell 1987), whose lack of concern for the role of power in discourse. According to Fairclough (1992) CDA sees the examination of the taken-for-granted assumption, the investigation of basic constructs, as the crucial task at hand. The acts of naming, classifying, and categorizing – necessary to all language usage are in themselves considered acts of power which demarcate the center from the periphery, the normal from the deviant, the same from the different. Identities and realities constructed through such discursive practices are not only constructed in ways that conceal their manufacture, but are always constructed unequally, legitimating one at the cost of the other. The discourse(s) are not equal – there are always dominant discourse(s) – those who are stronger than other discourses forming the hegemonic position in the language usage. Therefore, the key task of CDA is usually described as de-naturalizing the hegemonic discourses and therefore also the power-knowledge relationships in the linguistic markets, like Bourdieu (1986) might have said.

One interesting approach of CDA is also to try to look at the material, non-discursive elements of signification in the analysis. According to Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999):

“CDA sets out to show that the semiotic and linguistic features of the interaction are systematically connected with what is going on socially, and what is going on socially is indeed going on partly or wholly semiotically or linguistically. Put differently, CDA systematically charts relations of transformation between the symbolic and non-symbolic, between discourse and the non-discursive”. (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 113)

In this sense CDA tries to analyse also the *discourse practices*, the processes of production and consumption of texts and sociocultural practices behind texts. For Fairclough (1995) discourse and social practices straddle the division between society and culture on the one hand, and discourse, language and text on the other.

What I find personally quite interesting here compared to other techniques is that CDA is *both deconstructive and (re)constructive*, the idea also stated earlier by Barthes as related to binary aspect of the signs. In its deconstructive moment it aims to disrupt and render problematic the themes and power relations of everyday talk and writing. In its (re)constructive moment it aims towards an expansion of subject's capacities to critique and analyze discourse and social relations, and towards a more equitable distribution of discourse resources (Fairclough 1992). Principles of CDA, outlined by CDA practitioners (Fairclough 1992; 1995; Hodge & Kress 1993; Van Dijk 1998; Wodak 2001) can be summarised as follows:

1. Language is a social practice through which the world is represented.
2. Language use as a form of social practice in itself not only represents and signifies other social practices but it also constitutes other social practices such as the exercise of power, domination, prejudice, resistance and so forth.
3. Texts acquire their meanings by the dialectical relationship between texts and the social subjects: writers and the readers, who always operate with various degrees of choice and access to texts and means of interpretation.
4. Linguistic features and structures are *not arbitrary*. They are purposeful whether or not the choices are conscious or unconscious.
5. Power relations are produced, exercised, and reproduced through discourse.
6. All speakers and writers operate from specific *discursive and social practices* originating in special interests and aims which involve inclusions and exclusions. There are also other things than "texts" in the world.
7. Discourse is historical in the sense that texts acquire their meanings by being situated in specific social, cultural and ideological contexts, and time and space.
8. Even if power relations are produced in discourse, there are *possibilities for change – there is space for agency*. CDA aims to problematize power relations and expand the subjects' capacity to reflect different discourse resources.

Parallel to the concept of discourse and this CDA –approach there is the concept of *metaphor and critical metaphor analysis* related more to sentences or single terms than language below sentence level.

3.4.4 *Critical metaphor analysis*

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that the essence of metaphor is about understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another. It is a device carrying meanings. Already Jakobson argued that whereas a metaphorical term is

connected with that for which it is substituted on the basis of similarity. It is therefore a paradigmatic dimension of the sign and signification.

According Lakoff & Johnson (1980) we are not typically aware of the influences of metaphors to our perceptual system, even if metaphor is a crucial part of the construction of language. And in fact, much of the time we behave rather automatically:

“But our conceptual system is not something we are normally aware of. In most of the little things we do every day, we simply think and act more or less automatically along certain lines. Just what these lines are is by no means obvious. One way to find out is by looking at the language. Since communication is based on the same conceptual system that we use in thinking and acting, language is an important source of evidence for what that system is like. Primarily on the basis of linguistic evidence, we have found that most of our ordinary conceptual system is metaphorical in nature”. (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 3–4)

Therefore, understanding the role and functions of metaphor is important to understanding the social creation of reality and also the “taken-for-granted realities” could be approached by the concept of metaphor and then “deconstructed” according to post-structural ideas (Chandler 2002). Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argued that the dominant metaphors tend both to reflect and influence values in a culture or subculture: for instance, the pervasive Western metaphors that knowledge is power and science subdues nature are involved in the maintenance of the ideologies of realism and objectivism. Kirby and Harter (2003) assert that metaphors are linguistic steering devices that guide both thinking and actions. Although much of the influence of metaphor is subtle, we can become more aware of the powerful effects metaphors have on our thinking and behavior by focusing on and analyzing them. This unites Lakoff and Johnson (1980) to the earlier concepts under social semiotics: the politics of language by Volosinov, the hegemony of ideology by Gramsci and the interpellation of subjects by Althusser.

The idea with metaphors is that they could be analyzed – and there are many ways to substitute the object under discussion in the paradigmatic level. In my metaphor analysis I would like to use the ideas of *critical metaphor analysis* which is related to CDA approach and introduced such scholars like Charteris-Black (2004) and Koller (2005). Critical metaphor analysis is the critical application of cognitive linguistic theories of metaphor in discourse analysis, the previously presented tradition of psychosemiotics. Applied in critical discourse analysis, the study of metaphor in social or political discourses reveals metaphorical modes of thinking, conceptualization, schemata, within such domains, like Lakoff

& Johnson (1980) earlier stated. The critical importance of metaphor rests with its inferential capacity which is a function of particular projections.

To this critical approach I link the ideas of a famous structuralist thinkers Levi-Strauss and Roman Jakobson. The latter introduced the theory of *markedness* of different terms using the binaric ideas of structuralism, and the later deconstruction by Derrida.

“Every single constituent of any linguistic system is built on an opposition of two logical contradictories: the presence of an attribute (“markedness”) in contraposition to its absence (“unmarkedness”)”. (Lechte 1994: 62)

The concept of markedness can be applied to the poles of a paradigmatic opposition: paired signs consist of an *unmarked and a marked form*. The markedness of linguistic signs includes semantic marking: a marked or unmarked status applies not only to signifiers but also to signifieds. According to the binary thesis signified’s content is determined by a series of binary contrasts in which one term is marked and the other unmarked (Holdcroft 1991).

The unmarked term is often used as a generic and primary term whilst the marked term is used in a more specific sense or treated as secondary or even suppressed and excluded as an absent signifier. It can be also presented as derivative, dependent, subordinate, supplemental or ancillary (Culler 1985). Put in other words, the dominant or hegemonic ideology in some way unites, holds and presents this unmarked term as natural, normal and then, the marked term is left for the margins, or even stays in Saussurean “absentia”. Interesting question can be raised: how one metaphor becomes to be dominant, unmarked, and the one marginal, latent or silenced in the discursive practices? And could we trace these discursive practices and locate them in the Foucauldian historicity?

Being the unmarked the term typically becomes “transparent” or “invisible” drawing no attention to its privileged status, whilst the deviance of the marked form is salient. Where it is not totally excluded, the marked form is foregrounded - presented as different; the other, it is an extraordinary deviational “special case” which is something other than the standard or default form of the unmarked term. *Unmarked/marked* may thus be read as *norm/deviation* and that in the analysis this norm/deviation could be seen as historically traced. For instance, this might contain different signs as black, indigenous, woman, unemployed, youngster, aged, homosexual etc. The unmarked term here might then refer to a middle aged, employed and heterosexual European or North American man.

The concept of markedness can be applied more broadly than simply to paradigmatic pairings of words or concepts. Whether in textual or social practices, the choice of a marked form makes a statement. Where a text deviates from conventional expectations it is “marked”. Conventional or over-coded text is unmarked whereas unconventional or under-coded text is marked (Chandler 2002)

3.4.5 *The subject positioning*

The third approach here relating to narrative identity is the *positioning of the subject* in the narratives. Here I am going to gather different ideas in order to have quite wide range view of the subject construction in the narratives. I will use the ideas of subject positioning of Foucault (1972), discursive identity by Hall (1990), the positioning theory of Davies & Harre (1990) and Harre and Langenhove (1999), modalities related to subject position by Sulkunen & Törrönen (1997) and Veijola (1997), the idea of characterization by Chatman (1978) and Forster (1976) and literary spaces which locate the subject in certain places in narrative by Jahn (2005).

First of all there was the Foucauldian idea about how people construct their own self-identity against competing models of the ideal self, and how such internalized imperatives literally inscribe themselves on and affect the self-identity. One central concept related to this self-identity was the concept of *subject position*. According to Willig (2001) this Foucauldian concept of subject position means that every discourse offers a subject a limited amount of positions one has to take and that positioning is not a matter of subject choosing his/her position but a way of seeing the world or to be in the world what the discourse offers as reality. According to Davies & Harre (1990) the concept of subject position then usually stays hidden, uncovered or “transparent” in the everyday settings and because of that it need de(re)constructed (Fairclough 1992). This critical or power-related view of subject position was then further elaborated later by many scholars like Gergen (1991), Shotter (1993), Harré and Langenhove (1999).

This *positioning theory* by Harre and Langenhove (1999) and Davies and Harre (1990) tried to combine the Foucauldian idea about power relations and Ricourian narrative identity. Harre & Langenhove (1999) argued that during conversational interactions, people use narratives to make their words and actions meaningful to themselves and others. They can be thought of as presenting themselves as actors in a drama, with different positions assigned to the various participants. Being positioned in a certain way carries obligations or expectations about how one should behave, or constraints on what one may meaningfully say or do. Positions may also carry rights, such as the right to be heard, the right to be taken seriously,

the right to be helped, or the right to be looked after. The constantly changing system of rights, duties and obligations of the participants in a social interaction constitute what Harre and van Langenhove (1999) call the *local moral order*. Such rights and duties are usually tacit, but may be made explicit if someone challenges the way in which s/he or others have been positioned. Participants in an interaction may actively seek to adopt a position, or one may be assigned to them by others.

Varying subject positions are formed in relation to other people or in relation to culture and therefore it is said that the concept of subject position is more dynamic and holistic than to the more rigid concept of role, for instance in a play – as introduced by Goffman (Davies & Harre 1990). Subject position means that a person is positioned and he/she also places him/herself to some position provided by some cultural discourse in use. Some meanings regarding the self arise, and cultural norms are also taken into account in this process.

Subject positions provide us with different positions or categories, for instance, the career counselling discourse might offer for the student the subject position of the “passive and listening novice” and for the professor the “active and wise talker” which the discourse offers as reality. These positions may also be different, culturally defined story models with figures like “independent woman”, “hero”, or “vulnerable victim” etc. We may either use these ready classifications or story models (Hänninen 1999) when positioning ourselves, or we may try to resist them, if we find them unacceptable (Fairclough 1992). Positing oneself also means that the person starts to look at the world from a certain point of view and to use certain terms, metaphors, and types of stories relevant to this particular subject position. Subject position:

“...incorporates both a conceptual repertoire and a location for persons within the structure of rights for those that use that repertoire. Once having taken up a particular position as one’s own, a person inevitably sees the world from the vantage point of that position and in terms of the particular images, metaphors, storylines and concepts which are made relevant within the particular discursive practice in which they are positioned. At least a possibility of notional choice is inevitably involved because there are many and contradictory discursive practices that each person could engage in”. (Davies and Harre, 1990: 46)

In other words, this positioning theory is one approach to investigate the attributions in relation to the constructed identities in the narratives.

Sulkunen & Törrönen (1997) and Veijola (1997) used the concept of modalities as introduced by Greimas in a certain way when defining the subject positioning

in the narratives. Even if being a clearly structuralist thinker Greimas tried to consider the dynamics between different parts of actants (such as willing, knowing, being able). Sulkunen and Törrönen (1997) have further developed the idea of modalities stating that besides the relationship between the speaking and speaker it is a question about the relationship between the subject and the object. They think that with the greimasian actant-model the analyst could reveal this relationship.

Veijola (1997) considered that with the modalities one can analyze the *role of the subject in the action* – there could be for instance *strong subjects* such as being able and *weak subjects* such as not being able in the narratives. And this idea in a way unites the structuralist idea of modalities to post-structural idea of identities and identity construction by narratives opening up also the social level of analysis. Therefore I would like to further develop this latter idea in my analysis of the subject positioning.

In the narratives there are usually different characters described during the storyline. One aspect of the identity construction is analyzing what kind of *characters* are introduced and carried in the narratives and what kind of positions they have in narratives. This method is originated in the literature studies and investigates the ways and means of creating the *personality traits* of fictional characters. And this differs from the structuralist thinking related to Proppian functions or Greimasian meta-subjects since in the post-structural thinking there are subjects, the actors in the narratives. In this post-structural characterization analysis the basic question is, who (subject) characterizes the object as having which properties (Rimmon-Kenan 1983).

Chatman (1978) identified different levels in the character analysis, but here I would prefer only one side of the analysis which I find valuable in the social analysis concerning identity construction and that is the explicit characterization. Usually, an explicit characterization consists of descriptive statements which identify, categorize, individualize, and evaluate a person. Characterizing can refer to external, internal, or habitual traits (Jahn 2005).

Describing and evaluating the characters in the narratives includes different distinctive (moral) qualities about the character. Here I would also like to consider Forster's (1976) distinction between flat characters and round characters dealing the psychological depth or sophistication of a person's perceived character traits. A *flat character/static character* is a one-dimensional figure characterized by a very restricted range of speech and action patterns. A flat character does not develop in the course of the action and can often be reduced to a type or even a caricature (for instance "housewife"). A *round character/dynamic character* is a

three-dimensional figure characterized by many, often conflicting, properties. A round character tends to develop in the course of the action and is not reducible to a type (Forster 1976; Rimmon-Kenan 1983). This type of character refers also to novelistic genre, the “Bildungsroman” that arose during the Enlightenment, in which the author presents the psychological, moral and social shaping of the personality of a (usually young) protagonist. Characters are also implicitly characterized by their clothing, their physical appearance and their chosen environment (Jahn 2005).

The last aspect about the environments relates the characterization analysis to what Jahn (2005) calls *literary spaces* – the environment where characters move or live in. Literary space in this sense is more than a stable place or setting. It includes landscapes as well as climatic conditions, cities as well as gardens and rooms, it includes everything that can be conceived of as spatially located objects and persons (Jahn 2005). Along with characters, space belongs to the existents of a narrative (Chatman 1978). Significant spaces might be like city vs. country, civilization vs. nature, house vs. garden, transitional space vs. permanent space, and public space vs. private space. All these spaces are culturally defined and therefore variable; often, they are also very clearly associated with attitudinal stances and value judgments. And these can also be seen as part of the constructed identities.

3.4.6 *The concept of model narrative*

One important theoretical tool in this study is the concept of model narrative combining the structural and post-structural thinking. In the previous literature there exist some conceptualizations of the *model narrative* (Frye 1957; White 1973; 1987, Hänninen 1999, Kaunismaa 1997, Löyttyniemi 2004, Sintonen 1999). The idea here is that we tell our stories by encoding them in one or other of these culturally recognised forms. And in this thinking these forms of storytelling are almost structural in the means of Vladimir Propp and followers.

For White (1973) the content was also the form trying to capture some ideas of the formalist – but not linking it to narrative research tradition. Following this tradition for instance Hänninen (1999) brought up some ideas both from narratologies and narrative research, also writing about archetypal forms of storytelling. In her conceptualizations the main subject of the story (the hero) faces different obstacles and problems and solves them even if the situation might look like impossible and then gains the hero position in the social setting. This has analogies related to narratological tradition of Propp and Greimas about the quite static functions and the roles of the different actants of the narrative. Like in the narra-

tological tradition these heroes are not individuals (subjects), but they build up different *identity categories*.

When seeing this model narrative of Hänninen (1999) from the perspective of post-structuralism, it could be related to the local culture and seen as contextual narrative relating it for instance to different social situations. For instance the model narrative of the doctor might contain good qualities of the doctor forming the basis for each doctor to tell their story about being the doctor. This narrative of the good doctor can then be de/reconstructed. What are the origins of these constructions? How are they located in time and space and in the local culture? What constructs might be neglected and marginal? What are the absent signifiers related to doctors? This consideration is lacking from the concept of Hänninen (1999) since she does not have concepts of the social sciences (only the word “culture or cultural narrative) in her vocabulary.

Hänninen (1999) states that model narratives offer different cultural role models, identities to acquire. Some of the identities are “normal”, acceptable or unmarked. They become even automatic in the culture so that the story-teller does not need to create the story all the time from the beginning but can use the identifiable stories to communicate in the culture (Löyttyniemi 2004). In the same way Valkonen (1994) states that our culture constructs a warehouse of narratives and that these narratives have the role of building the models to different identities. But like in post-structural thinking these identities related to model narratives are not fixed but they are constantly moving entities. Therefore these model narratives do not determine the identities but only construct the objects which one can use in the identity constructions.

According to this narrative research tradition there could be identified also unique (national) culture-related narratives. For instance Kortteinen (1992) investigated the Finnish metal workers narratives and identified the basic story-line (model narrative):

1. It has been hard
2. One has to survive
3. One has survived
4. One can be proud of that

Likewise Sintonen (1999) tried to describe the Finnish culture by studying the narratives of Finnish emigrants living in Canada. In these narratives life is constructed as a battle against the rude forces in the surroundings. In this battle then legitimation of the subject comes via getting the job and working hard. And after that one gets his/her place in the community. Moilanen (2008) found in her histor-

ical study concerning Finnish novels through 1800's and 1900's that the repetitive story-line contained the idea of poor and hard-working human being (man) gaining the livelihood, independence and respect in the society through (his) own work. Here, the most valuable thing in life was gaining something by working.

These model narratives might then be rooted deep in the speech communities, the narrative warehouses, along the times of history. In Bakhtinian view they contain layers and voices from the past, build up objectified and legitimized knowledge by Berger & Luckmann (1966). They come invisible, transparent, for the present people by socialization and habituation. They modify the schematic knowledge and vocabularies also in the individual level since exists the structure-actor interaction and mutuality by Giddens (1979, 1984). In this constant interaction the participants of the society build signification systems and the local moral orders by Harre and van Langenhove (1999).

Near to the concept of model narrative is the idea of *collective identity* (Kaunismaa 1997) based on the cultural narratives, symbols, codes and myths. These are used to handle the larger cultural meaning structures or social representations in the narratives. They are usually considered as quite static even if these identities lay is the human interaction during the flow of history. This collective identity is a kind of mixture of collective representations by Durkheim and the collective umwelt, semiosphere by Lotman. Furthermore, Lee et al. (1995) connects the social and psychological schema theory and stereotyping tendency with the concept of *collective consensus about category membership*.

On the other hand, Hall (1999) contextualized the idea of discourse related to collective identity. According to him the discourse is the typical way of understanding and presenting different topics within the culture – discourse is the collective understanding about the topic or area of discussion. A discourse makes it possible to see the different topics in certain ways but on the other hand it restricts the ways of seeing the topic in the culture. These ideas of Kaunismaa (1997) and Hall (1999) refer to the continuation of identities in the social level instead of changing the identities which is also one level of post-structural, especially psychological, identity theories.

3.4.7 *The narrative therapy approach*

Related to narrative identities the crucial discussion is then the dynamics, change, altering the discourses, metaphors, subject positions and the model narratives. Likewise, according to pragmatist philosophy also the praxis and interaction with the narratives is important, especially in the educational context.

One possible approach here is *the narrative therapy approach* deriving from the works of White and Epston (1990). They were attracted to ideas of psychologist Adler (1959), the relevance of European poststructural theory by Derrida (1976) and Gergen (1991).

What I consider quite an interesting aspect of this tradition is the praxis of narrative identity construction and with the therapist approach containing the ideas of de/reconstruction of these identities. This could lead to the idea of the different possible selves (Markus & Nuriya 1986) to be constructed in the narratives. I consider these elements were lacking in the previous scholar's writings about narrative identities.

Like the social semiotics, narrative therapy assumes each story is ideological and that representation of reality is ideological (White 1995). Some stories gain their dominance at the expense of the alternative stories that often are located in marginalized discourses. This marginalized knowledge and identity performance are disqualified or invisibilized by discourses that have gained hegemonic prominence through their acceptance as guiding cultural narratives. It is this marginalized, excluded material that can be restoried, after deconstructive exploration. Therefore deconstruction plays a role in loosening the grip of a dominant story. Deconstructions allow the dominant stories to be named and externalized, its hierarchy effects to be explored. Narrative therapy reverses the claims and the story to be re-storied and re-situated in preferred stories of being.

Narrative therapy then has to do with *learning to tell a different story*. Different stories are possible, even about the same events. How we talk about what happens to us depends on our starting point, and how we explain what happens to us depends on the questions we ask. The narrative therapy then contains the idea that people's lives and relationships are shaped by the stories that people tell and engage in to give meaning to their experiences – the ideas of Bruner and Ricouer combined. Like White (1995) wrote:

“Stories constitute this frame of intelligibility.... it is the story of self-narrative that determines which aspects of our lived experience get expressed, and it is....self-narrative that determines the shape of our lived experience....these stories actually shape our lives, constitute our lives....”.
(White 1995: 13–14)

We construct certain habits and relationships that make up ways of life by staying true to these internalized stories.

One key point in the narrative therapy movement is the role of a *Narrative Therapist*. The idea is that usually persons are not capable of constructing, especially

deconstructing narratives, instead they might need assistance in that process. Therefore Narrative Therapist assists persons to resolve problems by enabling them to deconstruct the meaning of the reality of their lives and relationships, and to show the difference between the reality and the internalized stories of self. The Narrative Therapist is a *collaborator* with the client in the process of discovering richer narratives that emerge from disparate descriptions of experience, thus destabilizing the hold of negative narratives upon the client. Therefore narrative therapy sees that the professional's role is more productive and ethical as a facilitator of the therapeutic actuality and potential of real-life relationships rather than as provider of a "therapeutic" relationship. White stated that he/she has:

"... an ethical commitment to bring forth the extent to which therapy is a two-way process, and to try to find ways of identifying, acknowledging, and articulating the extent to which the therapeutic interactions are actually shaping of the work itself, and also shaping of my life more generally in positive ways". (White 1995: 168)

The narrative therapist encourages clients to re-author their own lives according to alternative and preferred stories of self-identity, and according to preferred ways of life. This allows people to confront the essentialisms in their stories. Referred to Adlerian thinking it is important to take time to develop a respectful, mutual, and empathic relationship with clients so that they could get engage what is called as *safeguarding*.

According to Adler (1959) this world called safeguarding is a defense mechanism many clients use to defend themselves against examining and altering the *fictional goals* they acquired earlier in their lives, regardless of how unsatisfying, unrealistic, and self-defeating these goals may be. These usually unconscious goals of the subject that are read as "real" are then no more than fictions and they could be altered or "deconstructed" when used the concept of Derrida.

Also Payne (2000) argued that in many traditional therapies people are not positioned in their life, instead the therapists and counsellors are. Payne (2000) argued that the Adlerian person-centred approach puts the therapy room at the centre of the process of therapy and makes the relationship with the therapist the person's primary relationship, thereby excluding and marginalising the contribution of a person's relationships and life outside the therapy room to overcoming their problems. Not only is the counsellor in a very strong position in terms of power relations as a result of their power/knowledge, but also, the therapeutic relationship develops a mystique whereby it is elevated above other relationships in the person's life (Payne 2000).

A narrative therapist is then interested in helping others fully describe their rich stories and trajectories, modes of living and possibilities associated with them and then to opening up the usually unconscious fictional goals and de/reconstructing them if needed. By focusing on problems` effects on people`s lives rather than on problems as inside or part of people, distance is created with:

“...procedures that subvert taken-for-granted realities and practices; those so-called “truths” that are split off from the conditions and context of their production, those disembodied ways of speaking that hide their bases and prejudices, and those familiar practices of self and relationship that are subjugating of person`s lives”. (White 1995: 12)

This *externalization* or *objectification* of a problem makes it easier to investigate and evaluate the problem`s influences. Another sort of externalization, Derridean de-centering, is likewise possible when people reflect upon and connect with their intentions, values, hopes, and commitments. Once values and hopes have been located in specific life events, they help to *re-write* a person`s experience and clearly stand as acts of resistance to problems.

This process of externalization allows people to consider their relationships with problems, thus there is the motto: “The person is not the problem, the problem is the problem.” So-called strengths or positive attributes are also externalized, allowing people to engage in the construction and performance of preferred identities. Winslade and Monk (1999) also suggest using social constructionist ways of viewing a problem

“As a story, or as a construction of reality...multiple and diverse perspectives would be also thought of as enriching a community”. (Winslade & Monk 1999: 118)

Stories that have alternatives and unstoried experiences would be sought and highly valued. In practice a narrative therapist helps clients examine, evaluate, and change their relationship to a problem by acting as an investigative reporter who is not at the centre of the investigation but is nonetheless influential; that is, this therapist poses questions that help people externalize a problem and then thoroughly investigate it (White & Epston 1990).

While narrative work is typically located within the field of family therapy and with “problems”, many authors and practitioners report using these ideas and practices in schools (Winslade & Monk 2000), and higher education (Nylund and Tilsen 2006) related to the critical education approach by Freire and Mezirow. Like Fleming (2003) states:

“Narrative therapy is a transformative process and deepens our understanding of transformation theory. Secondly, it provides a different language, a narrative language, for describing transformation. Thirdly, it provides useful pedagogical tools for facilitating transformative learning. Narrative therapy alerts us to the way we are inclined to adopt narratives that are carried in and reflective of the ‘truth’ disciplines of our society and culture. Moreover, it alerts us to be careful about locating our practices as educators in the ‘truth’ discourses of our profession. In underlining its social concerns, narrative therapy alerts us to the danger of adult educators acting as if education has nothing to do with social control”. (Fleming 2003: 4–5)

But how does the Narrative Therapist and therapy then work? What kind of tools there are available? Fleming (2003) observes that narrative contains the idea of constructive (telling the story), deconstructive (altering the story) and reconstructive (building new stories) phases also including the “outside witnesses” as audience:

“In therapy written documents may be introduced or readings given to support *new stories*; outside witnesses may be involved as an “audience” for the telling and retelling of stories. The end of therapy arrives when the narrative is strong enough, rich enough, thick enough to sustain a future”. (Fleming 2003: 4)

But, how one tells and invents then these new stories? How do you make the story strong and rich enough to sustain? What does this support mean in concrete terms? For this purpose – related to the legitimation of the new story White (1997) introduced the idea of *definitional ceremonies* adapted from the work of Barbara Myerhoff (1982, 1986). Myerhoff used this metaphor ceremony to describe some of the activities of an elderly, poor, and neglected Jewish community in Venice, Los Angeles. Because the people of this community were relatively invisible to the wider community, they were deprived of important reflections on their own lives, and at risk of becoming invisible to themselves. It was by these definitional ceremonies that the people of this community countered this threat. These ceremonies provided for these people an “arena for appearing”

“Definitional ceremonies deal with the problems of invisibility and marginality; they are strategies that provide opportunities for being seen and in one’s own terms, garnering witnesses to one’s worth, vitality and being”. (Myerhoff 1986: 267)

Myerhoff calls attention to the critical role that the “outsider-witness” plays in these definitional ceremonies. These outsider witnesses are essential to the processes of the acknowledgement and the authentication of people’s claims about their histories and about their identities, and to the performance of these

claims. The participation of the outsider-witnesses in definitional ceremonies gives “greater public and factual” character to these claims, serving to amplify them and to authorise them, in this context the legitimation (Meyerhoff 1986).

White’s (1997) use of reflecting teams as outsider-witness groups often includes the involvement of people who are not members of the family, community, or culture of the person seeking a consultation. While both Myerhoff and White referred to these “audiences” as artificial, they both noted that the term artificial stands in relation to “natural” or “familial” audiences and does not imply dishonest, inauthentic, or second-rate. When “natural” communities for the client are unavailable, artificial communities can be constructed with members of the person’s culture in combination with other cultures and still contribute powerful authenticating experiences for the client.

Definitional ceremonies can be described in three movements (White 1997). In the first movement, the person seeking consultation is interviewed from a decentralized, “not-knowing position” with the express purpose of helping the client to tell her or his story.

“... These might be stories about their personal projects, about their work, about their identity, and so on-and for the expression of the knowledges of life and skills of living that are associated with these stories” (White 1997: 94).

In these forums, the individual’s story is actually performed, and they invite an audience response: a reflective “retelling” of the first “telling” that is intended to thicken and enrich the original. The re-telling of the telling by the audience is the second movement of a definitional ceremony. It is a time when the person seeking the consultation becomes the audience for her or his story’s meaning in the reflections of women and men from her cultural community.

“The re-tellings...have the effect of rescuing the said from the saying of it, the told from the telling of it” (White, 1997: 94).

During the re-telling, it is important that the agenda and the concerns of the persons seeking consultation be honoured, and that these persons’ expressions of life be at the centre of the consultation.

“When a group member is engaged in a recounting and a re-living of some of their experiences of life, a recounting and a re-living that has been evoked by the expressions of the person who is at the centre of the consultation, it is not reasonable to expect this member to see to it that this recounting is decentred in form. Rather it is the responsibility of the other group members to respond to this recounting and re-living in a way that recentres

the agenda, the concerns, and the lived experience of the person seeking consultation”. (White 1997: 101)

This re-centering of reflections on the person who seeks the consultation is usually accomplished by asking questions that help the members of the forum to relate their personal responses to the issues that have been presented.

The third movement of definitional ceremonies is a re-telling of the re-telling in which the client who is at the center of the forum is engaged in an extended conversation that seeks to enrich the original story. This second re-telling often encapsulates the original story and extends it into both new personal and cultural meanings. It is in this last re-telling that people from marginalized cultures often discover culturally grounded voices that “fit” them and lead to new performances of life and story in their natural communities.

Related to these extended conversations and enrichment of the original stories, Bandura (2001) generated the term *proxy agency* based on his social cognitive theory describing how agency might have also the social aspect. In his view, in many spheres of functioning, people do not have direct control over conditions that affect their lives. In such instances, they turn to proxy agency by *influencing others* who have the resources, knowledge, and means to act on their behalf to secure the outcomes they desire. Children turn to parents; marital partners turn to their spouses; and citizens turn to their elected representatives to get what they want. Proxy agency is then

“agency that relies on others to act on one`s behest to secure desired outcomes exercised through socially coordinative and interdependent effort”. (Bandura 2001: 1).

By this kind of agency it is possible to further develop the initiatives and then further to justify the knowledge in the social setting.

4 ISSUES BUILDING THE FRAME OF REFLECTIVE STRUCTURATION OF NARRATIVES

In my reflective structuration approach *signification happens in the relation with structure and agency in the language level and in the form of narratives*. This structure contains for instance these conventions between the signifiers and signifieds – it is what we become socialized to be members of the social setting.

The reflectivity here means to be aware of the conventionality of the language and signs in the social setting. These conventions then build up *constructions* – some of the conventions seem to be dominating ones, some of them marginal or non-existing. Again, this reflectivity opens up the possibilities for *deconstruction* – the challenging the different constructions and furthermore the perspective transformation and new constructions, the *reconstructions*. Finally this reflectivity means that the subject has the possibilities for *legitimizing* the new constructions in the social setting by language usage and action.

4.1 The concepts of the structure and agency

Earlier in this thesis I presented how the modern thinking was trying to capture laws in the world and how the structural thinking was a continuation of this thinking. Structuralism tried to identify deep, universal and constant structures in the human mind which has the essential character of binary nature based on the foundation of biology. The structuralist thinkers seem to state that language and texts have universal, a-historical, rules which might be hidden and then can be revealed with analysis. This happens everywhere not depending on the context. On the other hand, post-structuralists seem to state that world is just about different texts, there are no hidden or universal and a-historical structures to be revealed. But what seems to be in common is *the idea of the constructability and conventionality of signs in both structuralist and post-structuralist thinking*.

What are these conventions then? How could they be studied? What I found valuable related to structuralism is the idea that these conventions build up continuities and coherence in history. Along that I assume that there are possibilities to identify some kind of Saussurean conventions in signification, not just endless game of signs which can be all the time invented again by the subject referring to the ideas of Derrida. I would like to see also that history and different social mechanisms and discourses affect the signification processes, the idea that the signs belong to historically evolving social systems.

In other words, the modern idea of science could be here used as containing the idea of *some kind of objectivity* – not totalizing but objective enough to be proved or disproved no matter what anyone wants to be true (D’Andrade 1995). The truths invented are not laws but they could be instead identified as *coherent textual structures*, which D’Andrade earlier called as *cognitive anthropology*. However, this cultural, embedded knowledge or structures are not barriers to action even if they direct action. Individuals can act against the existing structures, if they are willing to pay the consequences of their deviant behavior; *individuals are not totally constrained by the structures*, at least in the long run.

But there are also critical remarks made on this combination of social and individual; structure and agency – the duality approach. For instance Ilmonen (1994) pointed out that structuration theory is quite complicated considering the societal rules and resources. For Giddens, rules and action are simultaneous – the rules are always in the state of becoming not being. Rules never precede action, instead they are parallel operations in the social setting. The question remains: how a rule can guide or direct action if it does not precede them? If there would not be any preceding rules or resources (here especially linguistic resources), how the continuities, norms, patterns, stereotypes, frames, socialization etc. would then be possible in the social setting? Ilmonen continues:

“The idea of duality in the structuration theory seems to be lesser “dual” than Giddens tries to point out. It seems to stress more the voluntarism and actor part of the duality than the guiding aspects of the structure...this is also predictable since Giddens interprets the structure only as a highly theoretical concept...he does not seem to consider the different aspects of the reproduction and change of these structures...also, it seems that sometimes structure is more deterministic and sometimes it gives more freedom to the actor – that is when the historical discontinuities also become more possible”. (Ilmonen 1994: 331–332)

Therefore it seems that history and tradition, Bakhtinian voices and its layers, Lacanian order, the collective cultural continuities by Wundt seem to be lacking in his thinking. Instead of history and tradition, he talked more about everyday living routines in line with Berger & Luckmann (1966) since they seem to bring safety and structure for human being in order to survive in the society.

In my approach I will refer also to the social semiotics tradition and CDA – tradition arguing that language or system of signification conventions contain *dominances* which precede and direct the action, but like Giddens (1979), not predetermine the action. Also, the subject is linked, but not tied to history, tradition, and the culture and its collective representations and narratives. Therefore he/she cannot invent the language and signification conventions from the beginning. And

that these conventions then build coherence and continuity in the social setting for a subject to socialize and habituate. Therefore, I define structure in my approach as:

A system of signification conventions directing, but not determining the subject with the linguistic dominances building identifiable coherence and continuity in a social setting.

The modern (western) science with the idea of continuity and coherence could be identified as a basis for the idea of structure. Some of the scholars stressed more the universal nature of continuity and coherence, such as Levi-Strauss, Propp and Greimas. Some scholars saw also possibilities for movement and change even if there would be coherence, like Marx, Durkheim and Foucault. The concepts like ideology (Marx), hegemony (Gramsci) ideal type (Weber), collective representation (Durkheim), conventions, syntagm-paradigm (de Saussure), episteme and discourse (Foucault), binary oppositions (Levi-Strauss), myth and third order of signification (Barthes), frame (Goffman), cognitive anthropology (D'Andrade), schema (Bartlett, Piaget), attractor landscapes (Maturana & Varela, de Bono), functions (Propp), actants (Greimas), rules and resources (Giddens) are examples of the grounds for modifying my idea of for instance in the form of model narratives (Frye, Hayden White, Hänninen).

This process happens already in the sign-level since signs are arbitrary, but since there are conventional signifier-signified – relations (de Saussure) where some of these relations are kept, some are not developed and further used. With these signs then the human being uses the conventional syntagmatic chains and paradigmatic relations whereby human being communicates in the social setting. The socialization into these dominances is usually a hidden process and happens slowly – the dominances are not usually identified but instead stay transparent or self-evident. Therefore the idea is to grasp these dominances. This is the societal level of structure and makes the social analysis also possible.

The structure then has its form also in the patterns and schemata in the psychological or psychosemiotics level. This is in line with the ideas of Heidegger stating the “Being-in-the world” – the psychological and social are united then in these levels. When the subject is socialized into the society – these patterns simplify the living. It seems to be easier to keep up the signifier-signified –relations than to build new ones over and over again. But even if there are coherences and continuities the structure can change and a human being can build an interactive relation towards the rules and resources related to that. In the following table I have collected some guidelines and scholars which I have used to modify my own approach to the concept of structure.

Table 1. Different sources of the concept of structure in the thesis

Research tradition	Scholars	Related concepts
Modern science Critical theorists Structuralism Constructivism Sociology of knowledge Cognitive psychology Narratology	Marx, Cramsci, Durkheim, Weber, De Saussure, Levi- Strauss, Foucault, Barthes, Goffman, D´Andrade, Giddens, Bartlett, Piaget, Maturana & Varela, de Bono Propp, Greimas, Labov, Hayden White, Hänninen	Ideology Collective representation Hegemony Ideal type Conventional sign Syntagma-paradigma Binary oppositions Episteme, discourse Myth, third order of signification Function Actant Frame, schemata, stereotype Attractor landscape Model narrative Cognitive anthropology Rules and resources

The other part of the reflective structuration is the theory and understanding to the nature of the subject, the agency or actor. For Giddens the actor is *reflective*; he/she is knowledgeable and has the ability to rationalize the action. Giddens wants to show us a subject who is conscious and acts according to clear goals and that the subject has the power to do and act differently (Giddens 1984). So, even if there are routines in the everyday living they can be challenged by the subject. Even if the subject lives in duality with the structures, these structures could be “de-centered” with the intentional and conscious reflectivity.

Where does the reflective subject then come from? Giddens does not seem to give any answers to that. Ilmonen (1994) states that a reflective subject appears to be an inborn capacity of human being which relates Giddens to Cartesian tradition even if Giddens himself states that there is a need to reject the idea of the self-evident, transcendental subject. His subject is not developing the reflectivity, be she/he is reflective; he/she is not a product of the history, but instead already the beginning capable of knowing, the knowledgeable. The dynamics of the subject seem to be missing and therefore I am going to add some remarks on this in my reflective structuration approach.

But, even if this theory of Giddens relates itself to pragmatics, I do not find so much the discussion about the acts of the individual and (re)producing the structure – or, even more, the restructuring of structure, which was seen as a possibility for the agent. Here, I think the link to concepts of psychology and reflectivity are needed – which was rejected by Giddens and other social scientists. There are

also *intrasubjective*, not just intersubjective process which needs to be considered – the mechanisms of routinisation or internalizations and de-routinisations or de-constructions – and also reconstructions in the psychological level.

I argue that the traditions of *pragmatism, phenomenology, constructivism, cognitive psychology* could be related to the ideas of structuration. These theories see subject as interactive, intentional, constantly constructing one, even if there are tendencies to habituate to the culture. The active subject interacts with structure all the time. Here, some signs tend to be more powerful and unmarked by becoming natural in the social and everyday practices and others not. Since structuration theory stresses mainly the mutuality of structure-agency, I would like to stress that the *reflective structuration deserves the intentionality, activity, reflectivity and its development from the subject.*

In my opinion the subject is not just inborn with qualities of reflectivity, like Ilmonen (1984) critically observed the thinking of Giddens. Instead this happens through *reflective practices* stressed by such as Habermas (1971), Mezirow (1981), Bandura (2001), Stevenson & Harmeling (1990), de Bono (1993) and White (1995). In this thinking there exists always possibility to practical and several perspectives that knowledgeable subjects are capable of taking up and employing practically in their social activity. Human being is therefore capable of changing perspectives which came possible by reflective processes. *This means that emancipated subject is an important part of the agency.* And this emancipation happens in intentional and active dialogy with structures. But it is not inborn capacity. And it is more than just mutuality and duality, as Giddens stated.

The emancipated subject develops the awareness of the structures, none of them are taken-for-granted or as having the priority amongst different constructions. The important part of this is to become aware of the borders of the thoughts, about the highways of the current thoughts, about the frames and schemas said in the psychological terms. The subject gains the power to alter and challenge, create and act according to these creations. Then, the human being can also pilot, gain the first audiences with the reconstructions in the society and then legitimize the reconstructions and therefore affect the structure. The subject does not have inborn discursive capacities, instead develops in the intentional relation with structures. In my thesis then the agency is thus described as:

An active, intentional, reflective relation with structures where the subject can construct, de/reconstruct and legitimize the signs through language and action.

The table below contains the ideas of the *subject as an active, intentional, knowledgeable and capable for reflection* related to structure previously presented. These dimensions are not inborn, Cartesian qualities, instead *they can be learned and practiced in action* (Dewey), the *subject is intentional* (Kierkegaard, Husserl, Heidegger), has the *emancipation potential* (Habermas), can practice *critical consciousness* (Freire), *chance perspectives* (Mezirow), can apply *heteroglossia* (Bakhtin), *deconstruct* the signs (Derrida) and become aware of the different *dominant linguistic structures and narratives* (White). And the subject has also the *creative side and lateral thinking* (de Bono) and can change and transform the dominances and conventions and “*acts as if*” (Adler) legitimizing these creations by language usage and action using for instance the ideas of *definitional ceremonies* (Myerhoff) and *proxy agency* (Bandura).

Table 2. Different sources of the concept of agency in the thesis

Research Tradition	Scholars	Related concepts
Phenomenology Hermeneutics Pragmatics Critical pedagogics Post-structuralism Narrative Therapy Philosophy as if	Kierkegaard, James, De Saussure, Dewey, Husserl, Heidegger, Dilthey, Bakhtin, Barthes (later), Derrida, Giddens, Habermas, Freire, Adler, Bandura, Mezirow, de Bono, White, Myerhoff	Subjectivism Interpretation Praxis Heteroglossia Deconstruction Critical consciousness Emancipation Knowledgeable subject Proxy agency, creativity, lateral thinking, Acting as if, Definitional ceremony

The reflective structuration is then intentional interaction between structure and agency defined above. The reflectivity here is also processual relationship with structure containing different phases which I believe opens up new approaches to theoretize and utilize the whole structuration theory. The processual means also relation to time – for Giddens everything was just mutual. Here the reflectivity refers more to spiral, iterative, intentional or processual relation between structure and agency. The processuality contains the phases of *construction, deconstruction, reconstruction and legitimation*.

Based on these concepts of structure and agency I define my concept of “reflective structuration” as follows:

The intentional interactivity of the structure and agency containing the phases for construction, deconstruction, reconstruction and legitimation of the latter one(s) by language and action in the social setting.

In the figure below illustrated the basic elements of the reflective structuration.

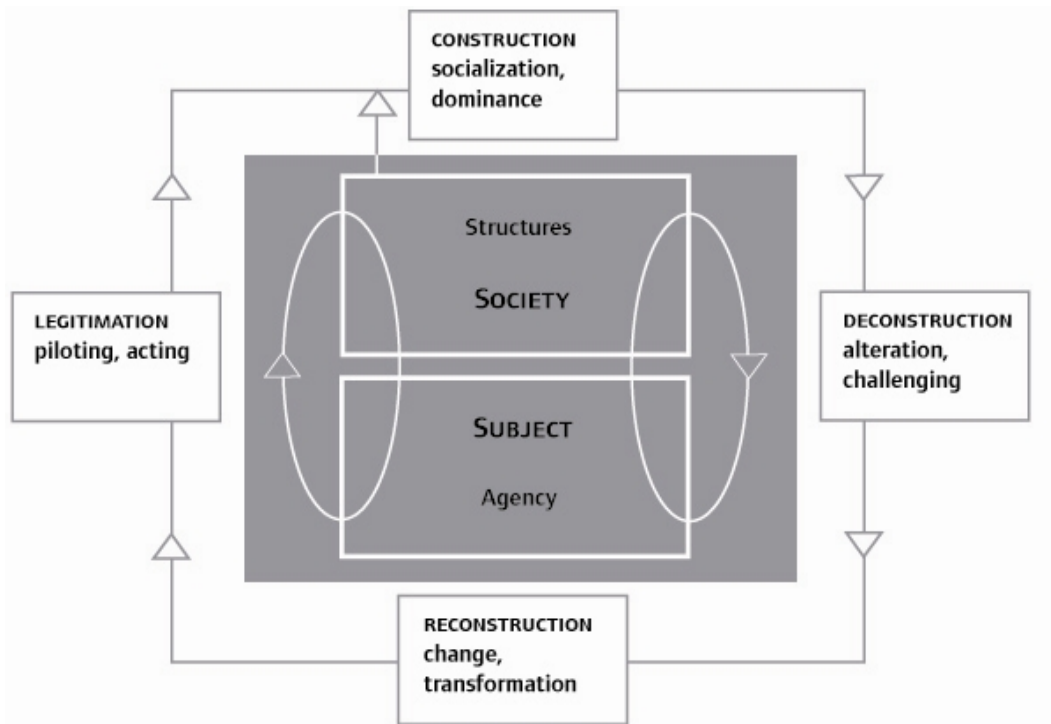


Figure 5. The elements of the reflective structuration

In the above figure construction is then about identifying and becoming aware of the socializations and linguistic dominances located in society. The deconstruction alters and challenges these dominances and sets the subject to interactive relation with them. Reconstruction is then about possibilities for subjective creations – the change and transformations of dominances. The legitimation is then about piloting and acting these reconstructions in the interaction with the society, to gain the audience(s) for new constructions.

What does this “reflective structuration” then mean in the context of narrativity? I consider this approach could be applied to various research areas and related to many theoretical concepts but since semiotics and narrativity were one of the key concepts in this study I am going to apply this approach especially in the context of narrativity. Next chapter is then about the applying of this approach to the study setting.

4.2 The reflective structuration in the context of narrativity

I have developed specific concepts for the context of narrativity out of the previous frame of reflective structuration. In the narrativity *the model narrative*

represents the construction phase – the packing of socialized dominances. From the previous literature I have captured the idea of *the counter-narrative as a de-constructive phase*. *The reconstructive phase* is about opening up the new concepts and signs, here referred as active *the narrative creation*. The legitimation phase is then about the implementing of reconstructions, making a believable narrative or gaining the audience with for instance the principles of *the narrative presence*.

4.2.1 *Model narrative as the construction phase*

Previously I stated that the concept of “model narrative” could be placed in the middle of the narratological tradition and narrative research tradition. On the other hand this meant the typifying and modelling of several narratives – the syntagma. It consists of three different parts: the preliminary, the main and the concluding narrative (Sulkunen & Törrönen 1997) as modified based on the structuralist ideas. On the other hand it represents the elements of the contextuality and change, the paradigm, the narrative identities. It contains aspects of the modern, the continuity, the coherence – but not the self-evident law. Borrowed from the writings of Ricoeur (1991) this phase is process of emplotment or *configuration*. The concept of model narrative also helps to analyse the large body of narratives. It concentrates to both similarities and differences in the narrative data. Like Alasuutari (1999) comments:

“To use the narratological methods in the analyses is to open up the ways for analyzing the other meaning structures in the texts...the narratological analysis is not the result of the analysis but instead helps the researcher to make further analysis in the study”. (Alasuutari 1999: 111–114)

Related to similarities and differences, the model narrative is also both individual and social. Related to the ideas of Giddens (1979; 1984) the model narrative is also a *duality of structure*: the model narrative is both medium and outcome of the reproduction of rules and resources organized as properties of social systems.

The paradigmatic level is one aspect of the model narrative and it is then analysed using the previous concepts of *discourse, metaphor and subject position forming identity categories* in the paradigm. It refers to the narrative analysis concerning how the identities are done with words different ways. This takes into consideration that there are always alternative signifiers possible in the paradigmatic level and that they have arbitrary nature.

In this study I use a variety of different scholars defining the discourse as a theoretical – and also practical tool for analysis. Here, I have combined the previously

introduced ideas of Foucault (1972), Bourdieu (1986), Bartlett (1932), Piaget (1963), Van Dijk (1997; 1998); Fairclough (1992); Huckin (1997); Wodak (2001), Derrida (1976) containing the connotations from social semiotics, CDA, psychosemiotics and deconstruction. With the concept of discourse I mean:

The schematic knowledge in the language above the term and sentence level having the dominant power to signify the object under discussion

These discourses are not then just to identify them, but also to construct them, to make them alive during the interactive analysis process (Koivunen 2003). But instead of just naming the different, available discourses (Potter & Wetherell 1987) the idea is also to consider the power/knowledge –relationships and the social level of analysis. The discourse could be also seen as part of the model narrative, but not synonymous to that. The model narrative contains also the structural skeleton, the syntagm where the different contents are located.

The concept of metaphor is defined here according to the ideas of critical metaphor analysis relating it to the previous discourse concept and critical metaphor analysis tradition by Charteris-Black (2004) and Koller (2005). In my metaphor analysis I am focusing on the *certain metaphors* which seem to be repetitive, natural, unmarked (Jakobson 1971) putting some signs in absentia, marked or in marginal (de Saussure 1983) in the narratives. I define metaphor in the context of this study as:

The term level of language signifying the given object in a certain way tending to become repetitive in the social setting leaving other possibilities to margins, even absent

In the analysis context this view differs from the majority of previous studies (Hyrsky 1998; Koironen 1995) where the metaphors are presented directly according to their statistical appearance in the text. Also in these studies the main data source has been the questionnaires or interviews, coding done with different principles like root metaphors, themed clusters, frames, different software (Drakopoulou-Dodd 2002; Pitt 1998; Nicholson & Anderson 2005).

The third theoretical concept of subject-position is related to the ideas of discourse and metaphor. In my approach I use the ideas of Foucault (1972), Davies and Harre (1990), Harre and Langenhove (1999), the idea of modalities by Sulku-nen & Törrönen (1997), Laitinen (1995) and Veijola (1997), the idea of narrative identities by Ricoeur (1984), the idea of possible selves by Markus & Nurius (1986), the idea of characterization by Chatman (1978) and Forster (1976) and literary spaces by Jahn (2005). In the synthesis of this I define subject position as:

The textual position, the relationship between the speaker and speaking, the role, character and space of the subject in action carrying the expectations and moral codes how the subject should be, relate him/herself and behave in a given context

In the context of this study these ideas of model narrative, discourse, metaphor and subject position can then be put in one picture. Together they are used for the construction phase of the reflective structuration approach. The construction phase is also the process of awareness of the constructed world and making the coherence to the constructions in the given narrative context.

To sum up my approach to *model narrative contains the ideas of structuralism, namely narratology and post-structuralism, mainly the concepts of discourse, metaphor and subject position*. I am then going to use for instance the concepts of Propp (1968), Hayden White (1973), Greimas (1983), Labov (1972), de Saussure (1983), Sulkunen & Törrönen (1997), Hänninen (1999), Kortteinen (1992), Valkonen (1994), Kaunismaa (1997), Alasuutari (1999) and White and Epston (1990) to shape to concept for the use of this study. In my definition the model narrative is:

A model of several narratives put into syntagmatic structure containing the preliminary, main and concluding narrative including the aspects of narrative identities with the concepts of discourse, metaphor and subject position forming the dominant identity categories

As follows, the summing up of the elements of the model narrative:

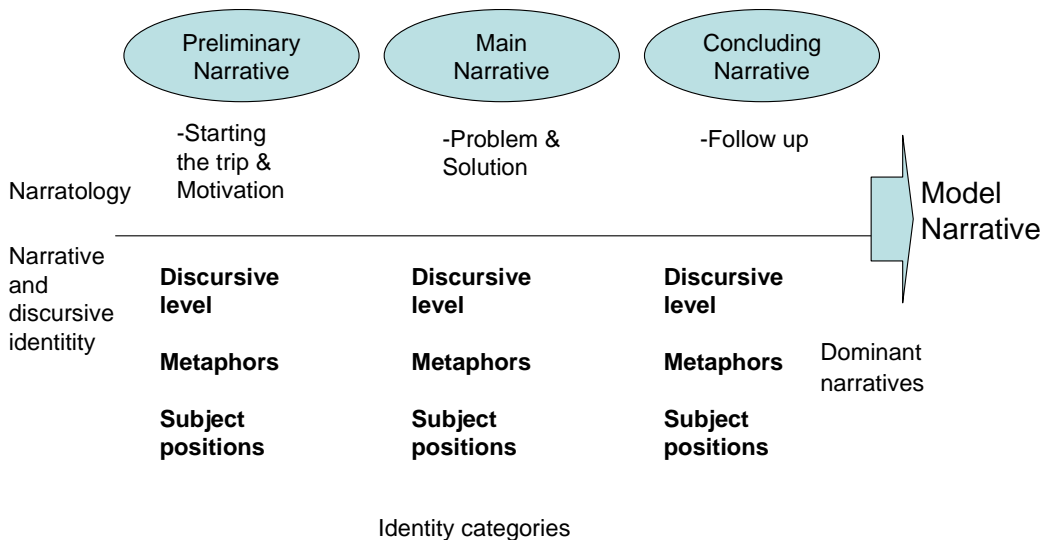


Figure 6. The elements of the model narrative

4.2.2 *The counter-narrative as the deconstruction*

Related to the idea of model narrative containing the structural and post-structural elements there could be presented the idea of *counter-narrative*. And the counter-narrative is not just the narrative, but instead a narrative – there can be different kind of narratives, variety of narratives set up against the model narrative or dominant narrative. Put usually one narrative is enough to make model narrative visible and give space for the deconstructive moment. This idea is also relative to those of CDA and *deconstructing* of organizational stories by Boje and Dennehy (1993). They stress that this method consist of:

- 1) Searching for dualities of bipolar terms,
- 2) Re-interpret stories for alternatives not presented
- 3) Find rebel voices which are silenced
- 4) Tell the other side of the story
- 4) Deny the authors' plot by turning it around
- 5) Find exceptions and
- 6) State what is between the lines

(Boje and Dennehy 1993: 340)

With the post-structuralist spirit Boje and Dennehy (1993) argue that stories can have many interpretations, but these stories could be actively reflected with explicit tools in order to search for the other voices, or rebel voices which are silenced or not said. Using this method or the previously presented model narrative by Kortteinen (1992) could be deconstructed in many ways with bipolarities and turning around - operation. One possibility would be for instance:

1. There have been mainly good times
2. I enjoyed and learned about them
3. I am happy with the current situation, even if I could have chosen the other ways too

This kind of counter-narrative would challenge and make visible the dominance of “hard times”, ”surviving” and “being proud of hard work and surviving”. This one possible counter-narrative tells a story about life as containing some kind of “lightness of life”, the turning around the “hardness of life”. The narrator tells that there have been mainly good times, everything has been of great value and one can live happily whatever happened or whatever road chosen in life. The follow up question of being proud or not is not relevant in this counter-narrative. The narrator describes him/herself as flexible and reactive, not in control or managed from outside. The narrator has space to choose and not hooked in one road only.

The current way of being and doing is not everything – it is one possible way of being and doing. In this way the counter-narrative makes visible the dominant narratives of “hard life” and gaining the proudness after confronting the hard life and challenges the reader to think about other related narratives.

In the reflective structuration the deconstructive phase is about altering and challenging the construction phase, the deconstructing of the model narrative. In other words there is always the Derridean “other” available in the signification which can be done in several ways. Or it is about *counter-narrative* defined as:

One possible narrative searching for the other, binary terms turning around the model narrative

Even if counter-narrating can be also a creative process, it involves the researcher, it still focuses on the aspects of binarities, the turning around or the axis of marked/unmarked – typifications. The reconstructive phase then considers the possibilities for variety of creations in the narrative context.

4.2.3 *The creation of the narratives*

The reconstructive phase contains the idea of change and transformation of constructions; enlargening the schemas and frames, opening up the new roads, the possibility of the new signs, and the new signifier-signified relations. The reconstructive phase is based on the constructive and deconstructive phases which produced both the awareness of the dominant constructions by the model narrative and the possibility of the “other” by the counter-narrative in the signification.

The reconstructive phase is then about the creation of the narrative whether the story is autobiographical — relating something that happened earlier — or fictional. Like Bruner (1990) stated the ability to create and to tell a story is an important skill in humans. But instead of stating this only as innate skill, I would like to promote the idea of developing skills related to story creations. This idea also stresses the importance of the agency, the *narrative intelligent agent* – the ability to generate narrative, that is, to create and structure novel event sequences so that they can be understood as elements of a story (Riedl 2004).

Here, one should remember the previously stated arguments about the narrative. The narrative was about causation: events at the beginning cause those in the middle, and events in the middle causes those at the end and these parts are connected non-randomly in a temporary order (Chandler 2002; Rimmon-Kenan 1991; Toolan 1988). The narratological level was about syntagma, post-structural approach was then more interested in paradigma – what are the contents, opposi-

tions, contrasts and absences in the narratives and why a particular signifier rather than an alternative was used in a specific narrative context. In this study I formed the concept of model narrative containing both the narratological and post-structural aspects of narrative, the latter including the concepts of discourse, metaphor and subject positions.

What possibilities there are then for this creative, reconstructive phase to apply in the practice? In the literature there are several options available for how to create stories, how to utilize the creativity in narrative construction, such as in the literary and theater studies. But one of the promising, emergent areas in the branch is unquestionable the narrative studies related to computer sciences (Meehan 1977; Riedl 2004). Already Dundes (1965) raised this question up related to the writings of earlier mentioned Vladimir Propp.

“Propp’s scheme could also be used to generate new tales. In fact, Propp’s Morphology has been programmed for a computer. Such techniques might be of interest to those seeking new species of literature based on folk form and content, or to those seeking to show the traditional nature and limited number of the combinations of narrative motifs actually found in oral tradition as opposed to the total number of theoretically possible combinations. In addition, analysis of the “rules” by which tales or portions of tales are generated or transformed is clearly another research prospect made possible by Propp’s pioneering study” (Dundes 1965: 185).

During the 1970`s and early 80`s this approach evolved further. For example, Roger Schank’s research group aimed to establish computer based systems for story understanding (Schank 1981) and story generation using scripts, plans and goals as the underlying knowledge structures (Meehan 1977). Later on Riedl (2004) seemed to have followed these paths of studies. And later on these ideas of computer sciences have been also incorporated into systems designed for education (Aylett et al. 2005) and training (Swartout et al., 2001; Magerko et al., 2005) fostering different narrative-centered learning environments. Here the question is usually stated as: can computational process of generating stories be then considered creative? Some of the answers might lie in the writings of Boden (1990) and Riedl (2004). For instance they have tried to unite the ideas of narratives into the computer sciences quite interesting ways.

Boden (1990) provided a taxonomy of creative systems that distinguished between exploratory creativity and transformational creativity. Concepts are locations in conceptual space and creativity is then the act of identifying new locations within this space. Exploratory creativity is the process of searching an area of conceptual space governed by certain rules. Transformational creativity is the

process of transforming the rules and thus identifying a new sub-space. In this framework, story creation is largely related to *exploratory creativity*.

But besides that I would like to add some ideas from the concept of lateral thinking by de Bono (1993). He defined *lateral thinking* as methods of thinking concerned with changing concepts and perception. Lateral thinking is about reasoning that is not immediately obvious and about ideas that may not be obtainable by using only traditional step-by-step logic. This happens with explicit tools helping to recognize dominant ideas that polarize perception of a problem, searching for different ways of looking at things, relaxation of rigid control of thinking and to encourage other ideas with tools like random entry and provocation.

The exploratory creativity is about combining the different pieces under the syntagmatic structure. The structure stays, but the paradigm can contain different combinations without clear constraints. There are several discourses, metaphors and subject positions which could be combined, even invented in the creative process. With these elements the story authoring can be modified to different versions having the idea of causal relationships between events (syntagma) and a general sense of completeness to fill different audience expectations.

In my reflective structuration process I consider the narrative creation as based on the constructive and deconstructive phases – therefore the narration does not start from nowhere, instead is located in dominances and altering of them. I consider then the process as follows:

- 1) Considering the constructive phase of narrative in order to identify the dominances (the model narrative)
- 2) Altering and challenging the dominances by deconstructing (the counter-narrative)
- 3) Creation of the new elements of discourses, metaphors, subject positions within the syntagma (alternative paradigmas)
- 4) Combining the different new elements in paradigm by exploratory creativity
- 5) Generate an explicit story or stories based on the previous phases

In the third phase the new elements could be named and also put in the form of visual symbols. They represent the alternatives in the levels of discourses, metaphors and subject positions. The fourth and fifth phase in the narrative creation then is about combining the different new elements into coherent new narrative, or narratives. Furthermore it is about creating an explicit narrative or narratives. Therefore I define the narrative creation in this context as:

An active combination of new paradigmatic elements within the syntagmatic structure by creative methods generating an explicit narrative or narratives

The variety of different narratives is then numerous. This potential makes it also appealing to computational narrative generation systems. Typically this exploratory creativity is utilized with a collection of initialization parameters applying different algorithms, such as IPOLC (Riedl 2004). The ability of a story planner to generate satisfactory stories is largely dependent on its ability to search the large space of narratives for those that contain the structural features that most closely conform to audience expectations, or to legitimize the narrative. This aspect of audience expectations and believability of the narrative I am going to further develop in the next chapter.

4.2.4 *The legitimation of the narratives*

The legitimation phase is then about the implementing of reconstructions, “living them”, “being there”, “making a believable narrative, “gaining the audience” etc. in order to gain the possibility of legitimized and objectified knowledge (Berger & Luckmann 1966). In the context of narrative it is based on the idea of pragmatics of James and Dewey, the idea of language as *doing things* by Black (1962), Austin (1962), Halliday (1977), Lakoff & Johnson (1980). Related to subject it is based on the idea of agency: the subject can legitimize the narrative in the social setting. The subject has the *transformative capacity power* (Giddens 1979, 1984). But in order to gain the audience the narrative has to be *reportable and believable* (Labov 1972), gain the acceptance by audience with the concept of *narrative presence* (Riedl 2004). It is also about doing (not just doing with words) with the *legitimizing behaviours* (Dowling & Pfeffer 1975; Tornikoski 2005). I will shortly present some remarks on the latter ones since the others have been introduced already earlier.

When the narrative is created in the previous phase of reflective structuration, this legitimation of narrative phase is then about modifying and “living through” the narrative. It is about practice and gaining the experiences, interacting with reconstructions with the audience. *The legitimation is to be already there*, “acting as if” using the frames of Vaihinger and James “the living narrative” – being and doing at the same time. Legitimation is then also related to audiences, the narrative should be united to social context. It does not happen in the vacuum, without audience. It is always a social process, there are set of activities carried out in order to acquire legitimacy from the audience, in the social setting related to previously mentioned concept of proxy agency by Bandura (2001). The idea behind is that with this increased “critical mass”, the interaction with the first audience, there is likely to be stronger perceived collective efficacy and consequently higher aspirations and motivational investment in their undertakings.

The same phenomenon was called in the entrepreneurship literature as the *legitimizing behaviours* (Dowling & Pfeffer 1975; Tornikoski 2005) connotating the idea of nascency and emergency. Put in the words of Fleming (2003) it is about involving the audience and making the narrative strong and rich enough to sustain. Or as put in Hjort's (2003) mindset: it is a *discourse of becoming*.

In the context of narrativity I will here apply later on in this thesis some key concepts from the crossroads of the narrative research and computer sciences, like in the reconstructive phase of narrative. The concept modified here is *the narrative presence*. The legitimation of narrative is then to involve to the narrative, to be present in the narrative, to go "into the narrative" or to make narrative believable for the both author and the audience. This idea of presence relates also to the quality of experience (Gaggioli et. al. 2003). This presence describes a user's sense of "being there" when interacting with a mediated environment (IJsselsteijn et al., 2000). Presence has been alternatively defined as the perceptual illusion of nonmediation (Lombard and Ditton 1997), as well as the subjective experience of being in one place or environment, even when one is physically situated in another (Witmer and Singer 1998).

So the presence could be located also in the virtuality. It is distinguished from related concepts such as *immersion and involvement*, familiar from the psychological studies. Immersion refers to the extent and nature of technology-provided sensory stimuli; it is often associated with the pervasiveness and fidelity of visual, audial, and tactile inputs (Schubert et al. 1999). Involvement refers to the degree of attention and meaning devoted to some set of stimuli (Witmer and Singer 1998). Numerous additional conceptualizations of presence have also been discussed; they can be divided into two types: *physical presence*, the sense of being physically located in a mediated space, and *social presence*, the sense of co-location and social interaction with a virtual or remote partner (Lombard and Ditton 1997).

Drawing from these ideas, narrative presence can be understood as an affective-cognitive construct that characterizes an audience's perceived relationship with a story. Narrative presence encompasses feelings of participation, embodiment. In contrast to the traditional definitions of presence above, narrative presence is concerned with the cognitive and affective processes influenced by the content and presentation of a narrative. In the centre there is "the reality of the narrative" and the experience of plausible cognitive and emotional reactions (Rowe et al. 2007).

It has been argued that a variety of elements contribute to presence (IJsselsteijn et al. 2003). Schubert et al. (1999) suggests that there are eight contributors: spatial presence, involvement, realness, immersion quality, drama, interface awareness,

exploration, and predictability. Narrative presence is associated with processes that depend on the perception of a narrative. It has been suggested that an audience is predisposed to accepting a story as reality (Gerrig 1998). Dehn (1981) argues that a story must be satisfying or meaningful to the audience – this unites the narrative creation the narrative legitimation. Riedl (2004) stresses that narratives should also have believability, such as for instance character believability. In the Stanislawsian frame it should produce *realistic characters*. In this way, the narrative presence has its links also to ideas of Labov (1997) who emphasized the narrative as a theory of explanation, a theory of causality, enhancing the reportability and believability.

The elements of encouraging narrative presence are for instance as follows (Riedl 2004):

Consistency. Elements of setting, plot, and characters must be consistent in order to maintain narrative's believability.

Plot coherence. Events comprising a narrative's plot should occur in a logical, causal order, or be explainable through rational means. Plot events should also have relevance to the eventual outcome of the story. An incoherent plot may distract, confuse, or bore an audience. Conversely, a plot should also contain small, peripheral events to enrich the central narrative. Narrative presence requires that a plot remain coherent, but not become too shallow or oversimplified.

Drama. A narrative should include the setup, conflict (here: main narrative), and resolution necessary to produce an engaging, interesting plot. Providing an appealing narrative potentially enhances an audience's interest and involvement, thereby catalyzing cognitive processes bearing on narrative presence.

Predictability. Characters, objects, and events must occur and react with some level of predictability to reinforce audience expectations and mimic real world cause and effect. Ignoring predictability can alienate an audience and discourages involvement in the story. Additionally, audiences have strong expectation-based models of how the storyworld operates.

Affect. Narratives that stimulate an audience's emotions may increase the sense of presence in the story. Affect is intricately woven into all human activity, and the fidelity of emotional experiences in narrative environments should be accounted for in judgments of user presence.

Motivation. Narrative provides many opportunities for intrinsic motivation. Inherently interesting narratives encourage active involvement and progression through the duration of a story.

Identification. Narrative contexts and characters that are relevant and identifiable to audiences are likely to provoke audience interest and enhance narrative presence. Stories that appeal to an audience's interests may be more attractive and introduce opportunities for stronger emotional reactions than stories with little relevance for the audience.

Character Believability. Characters frequently drive narrative. Their actions and predicaments can evoke emotional responses from an audience, their efforts can introduce conflict into a story, and their appearance can encourage feelings of identification and socialization. Naturally, characters can play an important role in evoking narrative presence. However, to effectively drive a story, characters must be *believable*.

Empathy. The ability of characters to exhibit realistic empathy towards the user and other characters may affect sensations of narrative presence. Likewise, when users behave empathetically towards characters, it suggests that they identify with the characters in the unfolding story as if they were in fact themselves.

Involvement. Active involvement and attention toward plot advancement contribute to narrative presence.

These aspects of the narrative should be taken into consideration already in the narrative creation. Therefore I define the concept of legitimation in the context of narrativity as:

Telling/acting created narrative/narratives in line with the principles of narrative presence to gain immediate audience to this/these narratives

Since the context of my thesis is located in the entrepreneurship research I would like to look at this research area also through to developed reflective structuration approach. The question remains what is then entrepreneurship? What is the model narrative of entrepreneurship in the entrepreneurship readings? How it has been deconstructed in the readings? What kind of reconstructions might be available or possible? What could the legitimation phase related to the entrepreneurship studies?

5 THE REFLECTIVE STRUCTURATION OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP READINGS

Having this reflective structuration approach one could say that entrepreneurship is a circulating process of construction, deconstruction, reconstruction and legitimation of reconstructions related to entrepreneurship in the (western) history. It is about writing and defining entrepreneurship, and trying to deconstruct and reconstruct different definitions and concepts and legitimize these concepts.

And I will argue that the modern approach to science could be seen also in this research area – it is not something separate from the other research areas for instance in the tradition social research. And like said, the modern science referred to fixed and stable identities and universal truths and causalities related to them separating subject from object, the structure from agency. Like Hjorth (2003) commented this tended to be the dominant way of seeing the research, also entrepreneurship research:

“Evidently, social science perspectives, as well as our well-rehearsed methodological discussions, have prepared and equipped us for asking questions of what something is, how it could be explained, or what caused it. This is still the normal and dominant way. Our culture and its many institutions seem to serve and legitimize this way of thinking and practicing”. (Hjort 2003: 14)

In my approach *I see especially the modern readings of entrepreneurship as a construction phase of entrepreneurship* and I am going to argue that quite many conceptualizations are rooted in the modern. The textual genealogies are then highly rooted to the modern; the model narrative of entrepreneurship has its origins in the historicity. The deconstruction of entrepreneurship is then about “other writings”, maybe also marginal, altering and challenging these modern approaches. The reconstructive entrepreneurship is about looking for various new, also emerging definitions, directions and contents. The legitimation of entrepreneurship here then means how different new conceptualizations can be rooted to social setting by writing and acting in practice.

5.1 The constructive phase of entrepreneurship

The construction phase of entrepreneurship means to build the awareness of the entrepreneurship as a constructed phenomenon through history, science and different public arenas. Here it means to take a short look at the history of entrepreneurship, or more precisely, to history of conceptualization of entrepreneurship,

the genealogies, the historicity. Again, it refers to the modern philosophy of science and its affections how the entrepreneurship became to be for instance economic, functional, positive, normative or person-related phenomenon. In the end of this chapter I am going to construct a model narrative of modern entrepreneurship based on the previous conceptualizations of the reflective structuration approach.

Why then argue that entrepreneurship is located to the modern (science)? What are the Bakhtinian layered voices and Foucauldian historicities of entrepreneurship? Like stated before, the history is cumulative and previous generations lay grounds for the coming generations – the history and its contents are layered directing the structures. I would like to consider the histories and continuities rejecting that there are only texts and readers referring to the frame of the post-structuralists.

Like stated before the modern readings were *about the west* – they were the histories/historicities of the west. But what is exactly the idea of the west? Modern also conceptualize the pre-modern or previous histories. And entrepreneurship is by those descriptions moved to the discursive area of the west.

For instance Wingham (2004) located the origins of the entrepreneurship to the early “western” civilisations, to the Phoenician socio-political context of the Mediterranean region about 1100-500 BC. In other words, here the Mediterranean is related to the west. Without questions Phoenicians are put to the texts as laying the grounds for the “western cultures”. The signifier west swallowed the “world”; the west became to signify the “civilized world with heroic origins” of such as Greeks and Romans – also in discussions of the “origins of entrepreneurship”. This idea of the Phoenicians, Greeks and Romans related to the west is clearly a hegemonic signifying convention, the third order of signification when using the words of Roland Barthes.

The nation of Phoenicians is put in these texts as holding independent citystates, populated by merchants and traders, with skills and trading practices that enabled them to “develop” colonies around Mediterranean areas. The colonies put forward the “development” of Phoenicia. However, colonization was a by-product of trade based on efficient use of the sea routes enabling the Phoenicians to trade in a broad spectrum of products and from a number of diverse countries, many of which are represented by modern territorial boundaries. The Phoenicians were “effective” as having “broad spectrum” of products. But not so many studies discuss about the counter-terms of being effective or colonizing and ruling of the several countries. Where are the deconstructive readings of Phoenicians?

Wingham's (2004) argument here is that the decline of the Phoenicians as a *trading power* coincided with the evaporation of obvious entrepreneurial activity in the region. "True entrepreneurs" took risks, explored the unknown, facing the resultant chaos on a daily basis. They sought and recognized difference in trade, returning profit to merchants and themselves, and investors. The impact of the Phoenician trading and entrepreneurial culture outlasted their empire, largely because of the trade-based non-aggressive philosophy of the Phoenician traders, and because they were instrumental in disseminating communication and shared elements of language throughout their colonies, such as the Greek language which then is many times referred as being one of the homes of the western philosophy. According to Wingham (2004):

"The Phoenician era was doomed to pass into history, and with it the degree to which entrepreneurial practice contributed directly and so significantly to sustainable regional economies. Adventurers, armies, and entrepreneurs sailed from global ports based on economic and military might, fleets swept the world looking for "difference," the "exotic," "new," and "rare." These adventures to the other side of the globe established trade through uncertain environments that presented personal and financial risk. Armies brought back spoils and traded for profits for the entrepreneurs who undertook the journeys and to the early venture capitalists financing imports of tobacco, tomatoes, and rice and other "new" products into the economies of Europe from the New World". (Wingham 2004: 28)

Even if this is just one study of Wingham (2004), could this third order of signification be named as the model narrative for the modern era of the western history too? Western rules over the other, western takes the risk, western goes to the other side of the globe, armies are bringing back home the victories etc. In the Barthesian frame this means how entrepreneurship became to signify the West, as natural, as universal, or as unmarked in the later scientific arenas, also related to entrepreneurship. At least it seems that this path was continued in the different forms of western history from Antique to current times as we shall later see.

But when considering the construction of entrepreneurship through science and public, I am going to refer especially to the writings of Kyrö (1997; 2006) who located the concept of entrepreneurship in the different transitions and philosophical movements in the western history also stressing the concept of modern. But different from Kyrö's (1997; 2006) approach, the modern here refers not to the certain, restricted historical era or episteme called modern contrasted to "traditional time" but instead more to the philosophical thinking which tended to see the science as a search for identifiable laws, objective realities outside to subject containing the idea of teleologies related to knowledge.

When contrasting modern to other eras, Kyrö (1997) brought up the ideas of feudalism and mercantilism preceding the modern conceptualizations of entrepreneurship locating to the traditional time in the western history. With feudalism it is usually referred to Medieval European political system which in its most basic essence was the granting of land in return for military service. The center of the feudal system in medieval Europe was the king, and a medieval king was, above everything else, a warrior. Feudalism, by its very nature, gave rise to a hierarchy of rank, to a predominantly static social structure in which every human being (man) knew his place, according to whom it was that he owed service and from whom it was that he received his land.

This feudal order was related to the country, or more specific to country-side. The cities were not included in the feudal system, instead the guilds, or the associations of craftsmen like textile workers, masons, carpenters, carvers, glassworkers formed the social and economic structure of these cities controlling the quality and prize of the produced products. The prize of these products reached the level where it was just possible to keep up the membership of the guild but the acquisitive capital or growth in the modern terms was not possible to gain. In the spirit of feudal system everything was controlled and everybody knew his place in the social structure (Kyrö 1997). Again, the history of feudalism is a history of structuring of the rules of nations of medieval Europe seeing Europe as the “centre of the world” or “the ruling of the world”.

As a continuation of the feudal social system and guilds the economic thinking called *mercantilism* could be also mentioned here. In the literature it is usually presented as a collection of policies designed to keep the state prosperous or economic healthy by *economic regulation*. And this economic health of a nation could then be measured by the amount of precious metal, gold, or silver, which it possessed. And the more a nation had precious metals on hand at the end of the year, the more economic healthy it was. This contained also the idea that a nation should export than import.

By this each nation tried to achieve economic self-sufficiency, therefore the thriving agriculture should also be carefully encouraged and the sea power was necessary to control foreign markets (Magnusson 2003). The European nations thrived for gaining economic regulation – but regulation over what?

The answers may lie in the conceptualizations of colonies. The idea of different colonies with the help of the trade companies then could provide captive markets for manufactured goods and sources of raw material. For instance the ideas of New England, New Spain and New Sweden came up especially during the beginning of 1600's as a continuation of spreading the “Christian civilization to the

uncivilized lands far away across the big ocean”. As an example of this kind of mercantile company was Swedish West India Company or the South Company in 1624. These companies were then under the guidance and supervision of the current kings, like Gustavus Adolphus in Sweden and led by the merchants also investing money to these companies (Ilmonen 1938).

Kyrö (2006) stated that one of the key milestones in the history of the theoritization of entrepreneurship could be located in the writings of Richard Cantillon (1680 – 1734) who then modified the previous feudal and mercantilist principles – although still in the spirit of mercantilism. Cantillon`s entire reputation rests on his work *Essai Sur la Nature du Commerce en Général* and it was written in French circa 1732. Here he defined also *the entrepreneur* - the one who operates in the market with his own risk, for uncertain wages to uncertainty trying to get high profits.

“Entrepreneurs work for uncertain wages, so to speak, and all others for certain wages until they have them, although their functions and their rank are very disproportionate. The General who has a salary, the Courtier who has a pension, and the Domestic who has wages, are in the latter class. All the others are Entrepreneurs, whether they establish themselves with a capital to carry on their enterprise, or are Entrepreneurs of their own work without any capital, and they may be considered as living subject to uncertainty; even Beggars and Robbers are Entrepreneurs of this class”. (Cantillon 1755: 54)

This seems to be in line with western thinking about entrepreneur/entrepreneurship – these definitions did not come from the vacuum. In this way the *entrepreneur was separated from the landowners and paid workers who had their steady basis in society*. Kyrö (1997) stated that entrepreneurship got its role in the re-organizing of work and capital, and for instance in the hierarchy of employee – employer –conceptualizations and to several dichotomies like speculant/honest (man), adventurer/aggressive. In the early conceptualizations entrepreneurship was located in the individual action, “unknown experience” having the attribute of risk always by its side (which did not have to be only economic risk).

Therefore signifier “entrepreneur” became to have own profile through more detailed definition becoming part of European, at least in the beginning French vocabularies. In this approach the landowner was the key player in the market – they defined what kind of products are asked for in the market. Here, the entrepreneurship was forming *a chain between the producer and consumer* – in a way it represented the consumer side thinking what is wanted and when something is the market (Barreto 1989).

Therefore I consider Cantillon as one of the agents in the signification of entrepreneurship defining the uncertainty and risk as key elements of the signified, the phenomenon entrepreneurship. Rothbard (1995) even named Cantillon as the founding father of the modern (western) economics. For instance one of the powerful followers in this direction was Knight (1921) with his classical work *Risk, Uncertainty and Profit* defining entrepreneurship merely as risk-taking operation.

Late Enlightenment and the industrialization were the contexts where the connotations of entrepreneurship were developed:

“Even if entrepreneurship could be located already in the early nomadian human cultures, the phenomenon and its scientific connotations begun to shape after the collapse of feudal system leading to liberal thinking and to industrial times in west. Industrialism and the industrial countries is the cradle for the concepts related to entrepreneurship”. (Kyrö 1997: 25).

Industrialization was the beginning of worldwide markets and mass production versus the latter; trade over the local system (Kyrö 1997). The technological and economic changes represented something new in history during the last third of the 18th century. Also the modern science began to describe the evolving stages of entrepreneurship due to the rise of industrialization (Barreto 1989). Entrepreneurship took on a more specific and scientific meaning opposite the old craftsmen traditions which could be seen for instance in the later definitions of Weber and Schumpeter (Kyrö 1997). Step by step entrepreneurship entered into the scientific, modern discourse of economics.

Besides Cantillon, one of the main roots in the entrepreneurship studies could be identified in the works of classical western economics such as Adam Smith's (1723-1790). His primary work *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* was published in 1776, during The Age of Enlightenment. Adam Smith, and all over Europe a tendency to oppose government control over trades in favour of laissez-faire free market systems was growing rapidly and making its way into the political and legal system.

Smith started to problematize the international trade and markets and considered that instead of government regulation the *invisible hand* could direct more the laws of supply and demand. In the societal level then the idea was about *liberalism*. In the spirit of liberalism every country should provide the products which are profitable for them and since the demand side was growing all the time worldwide, the different economies will find their balance with exports and imports. And in this balanced situation the production of each product will be having the most efficient processes. The idea was the free trade and to enhance the demand

side of the trade in the international markets. But the idea of free trade was written from the position of holding the economic power, from being part of the colonizing nations – if seeing this “the other way around”. The countries in lead were the western countries, and by their “success” also the others would “benefit” in the natural order of economics.

The samekind of ideas were presented also in the writings of the Ostrobothnian Anders Chydenius (1729-1803) eleven years before Adam Smith’s masterpiece. But clearly, the ideas of Smith changed the contemporary economics thinking: the wealth of the nations was based on the efficiency of the production, not for instance on the ownership of gold like mercantilist authors said. Smith also considered man as “homo economicus” – man is rational and naturally thriving for better standards of living also stressing the role of the individual having the own individual intention, the own gain, yet not knowing its relation to the public interest:

“As every individual, therefore, endeavors as much as he can both to employ his capital in the support of domestic industry, and so to direct that industry that its produce may be of the greatest value; every individual necessarily labours to render the annual revenue of the society as great as (he) can. He generally, indeed, neither intends to promote the public interest, nor knows how much he is promoting it. By preferring the support of domestic to that of foreign industry, he intends only his own security; and by directing that industry in such a manner as its produce may be of the greatest value, he intends only his own gain, and he is in this, as in many other cases, led by an *invisible hand* to promote an end which was no part of his intention. Nor is it always the worse for the society that it was no part of it. By pursuing his own interest he frequently promotes that of the society more effectually than when he really intends to promote it”. (Smith 1776/1977: Book 4, Chapter 2)

When people are thriving for their own success, also the others benefit. By this statement the idea of liberalism would then be accepted everywhere. But his thoughts influenced not only authors and economists, but governments and organizations. Many other authors were influenced by the book and used it as a starting point in their own work, including David Ricardo, Jean-Baptiste Say, Thomas Malthus and, later, Karl Marx and Ludwig von Mises (Kyrö 2006). Du Gay (1997) also comments the role of Adam Smith affecting the enterprise discourse:

“For many commentators, the growing dominance of the discourse of enterprise heralds the return of Adam Smith’s famous homo oeconomicus or “economic man” to the centre stage of history”. (Du Gay 1997: 301)

As a continuation of the works of Cantillon, Jean-Baptiste Say could be identified as one of the key agents constructing the concept of entrepreneurship. Say (1816) defined that (he) is the person who must have special personal qualities:

“...judgement, perseverance, and knowledge of the world as of business. He is called upon to estimate, with tolerable accuracy, the importance of the specific product, the probable amount of the demand, and the means of its production: at one time, he must employ a great number of hands; at another, buy or order the raw material, collect laborers, find customers, and give at all the times a rigid attention to order and economy; in a word he must possess the art of superintendence and administration...In the course of such complex operations, there are abundance of obstacles to be surmounted, of anxieties to be repressed, of misfortunes to be repaired, and of expedients to be devised”. (Say 1816: 104)

The sign entrepreneur then became to connote that one of fixed being or having something, the Cartesian approach again. No discussion about where these qualities come from, no discussion about “becoming”. Furthermore the entrepreneur is the economic agent who:

“Unites all means of production – the labor of the one, the capital or the land of the others – and who finds in the value of the products which result from their employment and reconstitution of the entire capital that he utilizes, and the value of wages, the interest, and the rent which he pays, as well as the profits belonging to himself”. (Say 1816: 28–29)

Or, according to Menger (1840–1921) the entrepreneur is the person who coordinates the flow of production from the beginning to the customer. I consider these conceptualizations dominating, strong and lasting through the times of history. And this is then the way in the language level where the sign entrepreneur became to connote “being” and “person”. These conceptualizations were quite many and they were modified differently in different European contexts like France, England and Germany and also US (Kyrö 2006). As we know these nations were highly powerful in the current academic discussions during 1700–1800’s modifying the western (global) thinking.

Ogbor (2000) pointed out in an interesting way that these modern principles about the history as a linear development process, the ideas of fixed identities by Descartes and the ideals of European Enlightenment, the Hegelian World Spirit, were mixed to the earlier Cantillonian and Knightian concepts of uncertainty and risks in the concepts of entrepreneurship. And then North America offered the historical context where these different principles could be united. It was the land to be “discovered” and “conquered”, “the land of opportunity” by *white, male Europeans* later colonizing the entrepreneurial discourses. And this could be easily

seen in the North-American folklore. This is echoed for instance in the conceptualization of Collins and Moore (1964):

“What we have learned is that the way of the entrepreneur is long, lonely and difficult road. The men who follow it are by necessity a special breed...the road they can follow is one that is lined with difficulties, which most of us could not even begin to overcome. As a group they do not have the qualities of patience, understanding, and charity many of us may admire and wish for in our fellows. This is understandable. In the long and trying way of the entrepreneur such qualities may come to be so much excess baggage. What is necessary to the man who travels this way is great imagination, fortitude, and hardness of purpose...The men who travel the entrepreneurial way are, taken in balance, not remarkably likeable people...As any one of them might say in the vernacular of the world of the entrepreneur, “Nice guys do not win”. (Collins and Moore 1964: 244)

This heroic, nearly Darwinian notion of the entrepreneur reminds quite much that of Say’s writings combined with the ideas of Cantillon and Smith. Ogbor (2000) and Bull and Willard (1993) observed that in this way entrepreneurship could be read in a context of the ideology:

“The rational European/North American male model exhibits the propensity to take risks, to conquer the environment and to survive in a Darwinian world...Americans have long been interested in a Horatio Alger fiction, where the hero achieves success through self-reliance and hard work. It is not surprising, therefore, that the focus of the early work was directed towards identifying the characteristics that distinguish entrepreneurs from mere mortals” (Ogbor 2000: 618; Bull and Willard 1993: 186)

According to Hjort (2003) this question of “who” could be located also to the North-American culture where entrepreneurship has provided the discursive space for individualistic, heroic, autonomous self originated in the modern Cartesian readings. This “who” question could then be identified as one key question in the modern entrepreneurship studies located in the North-America.

The question of “who” was further stressed in the writings of Joseph Schumpeter (1883–1950) starting the Austrian school of economics. He described entrepreneurs as the innovators who drive the creative-destructive process of capitalism, again stressing the person. And then those who perform the functions of entrepreneurship are entrepreneurs. According to him the function of entrepreneurs is to reform or revolutionize the pattern of production (Schumpeter 1934). They can do this by exploiting an invention or an untried technological possibility for producing a new commodity or producing an old one in a new way, by opening up a new source of supply of materials or a new outlet for products, by reorganizing an in-

dustry and so on. Schumpeter's entrepreneurs are the *change agents* in the economy, the agents of Nietzschean "creative destruction":

"The opening up of new markets, foreign or domestic, and the organizational development from the craft shop and factory to such concerns as U.S. Steel illustrate the same process of industrial mutation— if I may use that biological term— that incessantly revolutionizes the economic structure *from within*, incessantly *destroying* the old one, incessantly creating a new one. This process of Creative Destruction is the essential fact about capitalism. It is what capitalism consists in and what every capitalist concern has got to live in". (Schumpeter 1987: 83)

By serving new markets or creating new ways of doing things, they move the economy forward – the way to enhance and vitalize capitalism. Entrepreneurs find new ways of manipulating nature, and new ways of assembling and coordinating people. They are agents in the economy. This Schumpeterian entrepreneur is not an inventor, but an *innovator*. The innovator shows that a product, a process, or a mode of organization can be efficient and profitable, and that elevates the entire economy. But it also destroys those organizations and people who suddenly find their technologies and routines outmoded and unprofitable. Kirzner (1973) later on identified entrepreneurs as the catalysts and innovators behind economic progress and this idea might have served as the foundation for the dominating contemporary use of this concept (Pittaway 2005).

In the context of the previously mentioned ideas about structure-agency – dilemma Schumpeter and Kirzner clearly visioned a subject, who "can make a difference", can enter and affect the structures, such as economic "laws" stated by the equilibrium group. These subjects are the innovators and catalysts in the economy. Even if Smith wrote about the individual intentions thriving for economic gains and for instance Menger stressing the coordinating person defining entrepreneurship, this Austrian school stressed the individual, the subject as creative and observant one, the "making of the difference" does not come purely out of power, the conquering and the hard work. The destroying operation, the "creative destruction", had also the creative aspect on its side.

This Nietzschean idea about destruction seemed to be also very interesting related to Austrian school – even if Schumpeter did not write what this destruction really means and how it could be applied in the praxis (Böckerman 2001). It can be stated that the writings of Schumpeter (1934) brought up the question of the entrepreneur, the individual and the action behind the function and the person. Relating this to the social theories, it could be said that Schumpeter saw the subject as having a key role under and related the structures or system. Schumpeter focused on the individuals and their role in introducing new combinations – even if

some of his writings also the social aspect of the enterprise was recognized (Swe-deberg 1991). Kirzner (1973) continued this tradition, but he emphasized the idea of the alertness of individuals. Individuals perceive opportunities in the market and base their action on that information – the entrepreneur is the broker and an organizer between supply and demand.

This perspective on entrepreneurship emphasized the indeterministic, evolutionary nature of entrepreneurial activities and capabilities. The Austrian tradition emphasized the purposeful, goal-oriented nature of human action. The goal of course was the economic gains, not anymore in the form of nations like in Smith's thinking, but also in the microlevel of the companies, or the individuals which were the engines of the "growth". Here the human action, the role of the subject was put under the focus since the creativity of the subject represented the "unknown area" where the new possibilities would rise after the colonialization of concrete lands in the whole globe. The individual could make the difference by seeing and creating the opportunities.

Kirzner's concepts of entrepreneurial alertness and discovery represented a mild form of indeterminism, one that is still anchored in the concept of purposeful human action. A stronger form of indeterminism emphasized that the future is not merely unknown, but unknowable. Here, entrepreneurs use imagination and creativity to interpret economic data and to anticipate future market conditions. In line with this tradition, Mises (1949) formulated entrepreneurship as human action that creatively formulates and solves new problems. However, these aspects could then again be interpreted as a continuation of the modern approach. By being for instance alert the entrepreneur again represents the character which can predict the future, control and develop (Ogbor 2000) – was this Austrian school then just a continuation of the modern project of "homo oeconomicus"?

After the question of "who" was found and legitimated, the dominant research in the branch focused on the psychological characters of the entrepreneur. McClelland (1961) stated that as many as possible should have the need for achievement in society and that trait is relatively high within the population of entrepreneurs. Later the researchers have tried to discover other related personal characteristics such as locus-of-control (Brockhaus 1980; Korunka et al., 2003) and risk-taking propensity (Korunka et al. 2003; Pearson & Chatterjee 2001). In these studies the idea is to identify the properties which separate entrepreneurs from the other population and the "successful entrepreneurs" from the "unsuccessful entrepreneurs". The individual is either the "entrepreneurial type" or not. The entrepreneurial trait is there or not. It does not develop, it does not change. Like Fayolle (2003) stated:

“The approaches based on the individual are aimed at producing knowledge concerning the psychological characteristics of entrepreneurs, their personality traits, motivations, behaviour, origins and social backgrounds. They also try to define an entrepreneurial profile that could be identified through one main characteristic or group of characteristics. One of the first questions concerning the individual was (and still is) based on the innate character of the entrepreneur”. (Fayolle 2003: 37–38)

This Cartesian thrive for finding innate, universal qualities seemed to become one of the key research areas in entrepreneurship research during 1960-70's, at least in the mainstream research.

However, not depending on the focus on person or function focus of these both traditions portrayed entrepreneurship as a positive concept, primarily concerned with venture creation and its role as a part of economic system (Morris and Jones 1999). According to Hyrsky (2001) this is not surprising since the modern economic theory originates on the other hand in the scientific positivism; on the other hand to the concept of rational human being related to modern conceptualizations – in this sense the Schumpeterian “creative destruction” also needs to be guided in the enchancement of the capitalism”. He discussed about capitalism:

“These promises are strong enough to attract the large majority of supernormal brains and to identify success with business success... They are addressed to ability, energy and supernormal capacity for work; but if there were a way of measuring either that ability in general or the personal achievement that goes into any particular success, the premiums actually paid out would probably not be found proportional to either. Spectacular prizes much greater than would have been necessary to call forth the particular effort are thrown to a small minority of winners, thus propelling much more efficaciously than a more equal and more “just” distribution would, the activity of that large majority of businessmen who receive in return a very modest compensation or nothing or less than nothing, and yet do their utmost because they have the big prizes before their eyes and overrate their chances of doing equally well... both business success and business failure are ideally precise. Neither can be talked away”. (Schumpeter 1987: 73–74)

The idea of “personal achievement”, “small minority of winners” or “big prizes before the eyes” refers to the role of the entrepreneur as the driving force of the society in the capitalist setting. Then the question arise that how the entrepreneurship then could be “enhanced” or “developed” in the society in order to get gains to the whole society – the previous idea of visible hand by Smith. This research and its methods are advocated in order to say something about and probably also with a will to improve society (Berglund & Holmgren 2005). In this approach the

entrepreneurship phenomenon can be therefore demonstrated by how many firms are established, number of innovations, new jobs created etc. (Tornikoski 1999).

Besides these focuses on the person and function there emerged the idea of environment or culture affecting the concept of entrepreneur/entrepreneurship. This is usually located in the writings of Weber since his ideas suggested entrepreneurship is a cultural (containing the idea of religion) and environmental process. Weber (1930) mentioned the capitalistic spirit and its development affecting entrepreneurship pointing that this spirit favoured the rational pursuit of *economic gain*, the same idea as Schumpeter's. Weber pointed out that spirit is not limited to Western culture if one considers it as the attitude of individuals, but that such individuals could not by themselves establish a new economic order, the capitalism. The most common tendencies were the greed for profit with minimum effort and the idea that work was a curse and burden to be avoided especially when it exceeded what was enough for modest life. Weber showed that certain types of Protestantism enhanced rational pursuit of economic gain and that worldly activities had been given positive spiritual and moral meaning. It was not the goal of those religious ideas, but rather a byproduct — the inherent logic of those doctrines and the advice based upon them both directly and indirectly encouraged planning and self-denial in the pursuit of economic gain. The Spirit worked then for the economic gain which became “the worldly morality”:

“The Puritan wanted to work in calling; we are forced to do so. For when asceticism was carried out of monastic cells into everyday life, and began to dominate worldly morality, it did its part in building the tremendous *cosmos of the modern economic order*. This order is now bound to the technical and economic conditions of machine production which today determine the lives of all the individuals who are born into this mechanism, not only those directly concerned with economic acquisition, with irresistible force. Perhaps it will so determine them until the last ton of fossilized coal is burnt”. (Weber 1930: 181)

Weber maintained that while Puritan religious ideas had had a major influence on the development of economic order in Europe and also US, they were not the only factor. Others included the rationalism in scientific pursuit, merging observation with mathematics, science of scholarship and jurisprudence, rational systematisation of government administration and economic enterprise.

In this sense Weber related his ideas of Protestantism for instance to the modern ideas of the Smith (*homo economicus*) and other modern philosophers considering the rational, even greedy human being and societies striving for the better times and perfection. According to Weber (1930) this *rationalization* is the process whereby an increasing number of social actions and interactions become

based on considerations of efficiency or calculation rather than on motivations derived from custom, tradition, or emotion. In this sense he also challenged Durkheim who was mainly interested in traditions in his studies. But how come Weber became interested in rationalization, why not for instance “irrationalization” which might have been also one possible area of research in the entrepreneurship research?

In this way rationalization might be conceived of as a core part of modern and as manifested especially in behavior in the capitalist market; rational administration of the state and bureaucracy; the extension of modern science; and the expansion of modern technology. But what was remarkable and new, fresh orientation was that Weber located the western entrepreneurship also to time and culture building a reflective relation to entrepreneurship – even if studying the “rationalization”. His “Spirit” was located in culture affecting people’s mindsets about the life and its moral orders. But what he did not consider was the connotation of legitimation by writing of this “Spirit” related to entrepreneurship. As Ogbor (2000) wrote:

“The ideologically controlled beliefs that the traits associated with entrepreneurship and, by implication, capitalism, are not only psychologically given, but are culturally and ethno-rationally determined. In this context, Weber’s discussion of “The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism” has been used to explain why entrepreneurs can only emerge in societies or among people whose culture derives from the Judeo-Christian world view”. (Ogbor 2000: 218)

Later on, these ideas of Weber, specifically the concept of *rationalization* has been also related to “homo oeconomicus” and behaviorism, “the manipulable man” or “administrative man”, “the control” or in the Foucauldian terms “discipline” or “subject of interest” in several writings (Gordon et al. 1991; du Gay 1996; Hjorth 2003). According to Kyrö (1997) Weber also described the aspects of the entrepreneur and entrepreneurship. For him entrepreneur was a hard-working, responsible, protestant individual who is innovative and proactive (like in the thoughts of Schumpeter) actor controlling resources and observing circumstances and actively affecting the society.

This modern spirit, the relating of the rational human being to the concept of entrepreneur(ship) then built up Saussurean conventions between signifiers and signifieds in the field of entrepreneurship, produced the main roads of the current enterprise discourse for instance via repetitive writings in academia and at the same time marginalized the silent stories or “other stories” of entrepreneurship (Hjorth 2003):

“We could indeed describe this as a discursive event also in research: the fast growth of academic journals supplies us with the objects, topics and inter-texts that produce and are produced by this entrepreneurship discourse”. (Hjorth 2003: 51)

As a continuation to the cultural studies, some of the entrepreneurship researchers pointed out the *interaction* between culture/environment and the individual focusing the focus to the *entrepreneurial processes* (Bygrave 1989; Huuskonen 1992; Gartner 1985; Vesalainen & Pihkala 1997). These theories would like to find out mechanisms to explain the function and processes of entrepreneurship in societies. However, in these processes the key is in stages of factors of the process. These factors then interact with each other, like that in the model of Huuskonen (1992). They contain also cultural factors (Hofstede 1998; Davidsson 1995; Havusela 1999) like the cultural meanings, values and patterns. The entrepreneurial process is then the function of this interaction where the factors and of the person. These factors are then divided from the person – even if they interact, they do not change. Again this Cartesian idea about the personal qualities separated from the social. The human being might be interactive, but not intentional or dynamic by nature.

As a continuation of this tradition which “takes the person out of the social” could be seen the tradition of cognitive psychology. This tradition has tried to seek the common *constructions, schemas, mental models or stereotypes* of individuals or different groups related to entrepreneurship. The common approach has been to reveal the cognitions of entrepreneurship, the “internalized images of entrepreneurship”. On the other hand, it could be stated that these studies have partly been building the common understanding what is entrepreneurship when seeing it as a constructed phenomenon (Ahl 2002). And typically these studies have rejected the social or linguistic elements of these constructions focusing mainly to cognitions or psychological level of analysis.

For instance in the context of higher education there has emerged studies trying to reveal students’ common stereotypes and constructions related to entrepreneurship (Warren 2005; Leskinen 1999; Nevanperä 2003; Ristimäki 2004; Römer-Paakkanen 2007). Here, the construction entrepreneurship is related to “hard work” or “risks” referring to the “great person school of entrepreneurship” where the entrepreneur has inherited and “heroic” personal qualities (Klapper 2005, Warren 2005). With the other words they follow the constructions of Cantillon, Say and Schumpeter. Related to this research tradition there is sometimes also a normative intention to study if students’ constructions, perceptions or attitudes change over time on entrepreneurship – usually after some kind of entrepreneurship education related to that (Leskinen 1999; Melin 2001; Peterman &

Kennedy 2003, Warren 2005). But, typically these constructions are just stated to be there without any social or other kind of analysis. Therefore the question remains: how much these studies just reproduce the historicities of the modern earlier presented?

The second research tradition seems to be how entrepreneurship is done with *metaphors*. These studies have focused on perceptions, or conceptions, held about the entrepreneur, the entrepreneurial process revealing for instance the “heroic nature of metaphors” related to entrepreneurship (Koiranen 1995, Hyrsky 1998; Drakopolou-Dodd 2002) or the “dynamic wolfish charmers, supernatural gurus, individual actors and isolated agents” (Dodd & Anderson 2007), “successful sky-rockets” or “community saviors” and “corrupters” like in the study of Nicholson and Anderson (2005). In some studies the perceptions of specific groups have been contrasted with each other, such as successfully-growing entrepreneurs with non-growers and “failed” growers (Perren and Atkin 1997), as well as comparisons between industrial sectors (Mahlamäki-Kultanen & Hakala 2002) or between nations (Koiranen 1995), genders (Hyrsky 1998), and even between two specific entrepreneurs (Pitt 1998).

But these studies tend to just list down different metaphors found in the texts applying cognitive view of metaphor (Lindroos 1995). They do not typically reflect for instance the origins and the processes of creation and up-keeping of these “dominant metaphors” related to entrepreneurship although the metaphor as a research tool could also bring up the ideological side of language use (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). Gorton (2000) considered that this cognitive research tradition related to entrepreneurship has been saturated either with explanations of behavioural factors (such as person) or either with structural explanations (such as schemas, stereotypes or metaphors). In this thinking these behavioural or structural factors just exist – the dynamics of chance, or questioning, deconstructing and reconstructing is not available. Also the role of the subject related to these studies has usually been in the role of the black-box in these studies.

So, above I have made some remarks of the constructive side of entrepreneurship. Here I am not stating that this listing is exhaustive, instead it is quite simplified picture of the huge research tradition. And of course it is a selective one just aiming to find coherence in the argumentation. But here this coherence is needed in the later analytical stages of the research.

However, I think that there are possibilities to recognize some guidelines to construct of model narrative of entrepreneurship based on my reflective structuration model. The model narrative was here named as summing up of several narratives put into syntagmatic structure containing the preliminary, main and concluding

narrative also including the possibilities for change in the paradigmatic level forming the dominant identity categories.

As follows, the summing up of the elements of the model narrative in the constructive phase of entrepreneurship:

“Entrepreneurship is a universal, a-historical and positive phenomenon where the west is connotating the whole world. Still entrepreneurship is affected by the environment; some environments are more entrepreneurial having the entrepreneurial spirit. The entrepreneur represents a human being who is naturally thriving for better standards of living. The entrepreneur is an extraordinary person (man) with specific qualities and traits. He is the motor of the economic gain in the society. He acts as the co-ordinator and innovator conquering the new lands and opportunities. He takes risks, thrives for growth and works hard. He works alone and gains the success alone. After success he might be seen as community savior and heroic person”.

This model narrative is then also the starting point for the deconstructive readings of entrepreneurship.

5.2 The deconstructive readings of entrepreneurship

According to reflective structuration approach the deconstruction phase means the altering of dominant, socialized constructions, here referred to as constructive phase of entrepreneurship or the model narrative of entrepreneurship. Altering means taking into consideration the “other” conceptualizations, the marginal, silenced binaries, the Derridean de-centering of entrepreneurship, the ambiguity and uncovering the multiple interpretations of entrepreneurship. Like Ogbor (2000) considered:

“Deconstruction of entrepreneurial discourse enables us to become resisting, rather than assenting, spectators and readers of entrepreneurial texts. Significantly, it enables us to examine those binaries that have been supplemented and/or silenced in the discourse of entrepreneurship. It enables us to examine the consequences of this silence in entrepreneurial development in contemporary Western society”. (Ogbor 2000: 607)

This kind of approach challenges also the reader away from the position of the Cartesian viewer. In other words it means that entrepreneurship is not just universal, a-historical phenomenon – instead it lives in Foucauldian historicity and different contexts. Already Cole (1946) emphasized the possibility to study entrepreneurship outside the function – or system approach. For him:

“The entrepreneur, whether individual or multiple, does not “decide” in the abstract, “adjust” in the abstract, innovate, or maintain organization in the abstract. Always such actions are taken relative to concrete living institutions, and therefore they can be best examined *in concrete historical settings*. Again, not only are decisions arrived at, and indeed conditioned by an environment of social, political, and economic factors, but one decision in some measure conditions all subsequent phases”. (Cole 1946: 12–13)

Entrepreneurship is then a historical and textual phenomenon which then could be de/reconstructed. This tradition was previously also referred as *European entrepreneurship research* (Jones & Spicer 2005; Steyart & Bouwen 2000) and could be further joined to the *Nordic Entrepreneurship Research* (NER) (Hjorth 2008) emphasizing the contextual, narrative, semiotic, and post-structural views on entrepreneurship.

The first research tradition here related to deconstruction is how entrepreneurship, enterprise or entrepreneurial identities are done in *narratives* (Rae 2000; Hytti 2003; Down 2006; Downing 2005; Lindroos 1995). This is so because in these studies “the other” voices are also available compared to previously mentioned western mainstream researchers. For instance Hytti (2003) and Down (2006) looked at the way in which people use narrative resources to construct their identity as entrepreneurs – neither super-heros nor villains, the entrepreneurs in narratives emerge as people who seek to make sense of the world via their enterprising activity. Each story is different. Entrepreneurship is not “The entrepreneurship”. Other areas of life besides “economic” are also related to phenomenon called entrepreneurship. For instance Lindroos (1995) focused in her study to the biographies of entrepreneurs describing the childhood, youth, studies and working life of an entrepreneur stressing the choices and actions of the entrepreneurs.

These post-structural narrative studies usually apply ethnographic story collections and the Weberian *verstehen* and the ideas of Bruner and Ricoeur trying to interpret these narratives as part of complex, contextual life situations also tending to emphasize the multiplicity of entrepreneurship instead of the fixed or unified entrepreneurship. They have also focused on the present entrepreneurs when they report their ideas about entrepreneurship in their narratives, but the pre-entrepreneurship, the nascent entrepreneurship or the intention phase in the entrepreneurship process seem to be left without wider consideration in these studies.

However, one clear example of these kinds of narrative studies in the Finnish context is a recent research by Komulainen et al. (2009). In this research the enterprising selves of 9th grade pupils were narrated in a writing competition called

Good Enterprise! In these narratives the middle-class version of the self was narrated. Here the person was not contingent upon external effects but an autonomous self-governing individual. Moreover, the possible selves of boys matched the culturally valued representations of the autonomous, risk-taking entrepreneurial individual more closely than the self-representations of girls did. However, it was especially the boys' narratives of modest entrepreneurship with the traditional virtues of the respectable citizen that were successful in the competition.

The other line of narrative research seems to be more *structuralist or narratological view of entrepreneurship*, like the study of Smith & Anderson (2004). This study discussed about the concept of (global) e-tales in the entrepreneurship research: hagiographies, classical e-tales, entrepreneurial biographies and novels on entrepreneurs, narratives and their metaphorical composition as discussed in entrepreneurial studies, familial fables and mentorial tales. Smith & Anderson (2004) examined this overview and variety of stories in detail and found the proverbial devil in the e-tale, namely that all stories of entrepreneurs and on entrepreneurship promote an entrepreneurial ethos and underlying moral values.

This kind of structuralist approach is quite rare in the entrepreneurship studies, but in his research *The Apocalypse of Entrepreneurship* Bill (2006) used quite interestingly some structuralist methods when trying to find "hidden structures" below the modern concept of entrepreneurship, such as the ideas of Cantillon and Schumpeter. With this apocalyptic method his analysis forms the foundation for a re-reading and recontextualising the Story of Lynx and the Book of Revelations demonstrating how these myths/texts could also be perceived as an entrepreneurship narrative. Instead of searching for different meanings related to entrepreneurship he attempted to see how entrepreneurship (research) is arranged around these classical narratives.

In a way this approach also showed how entrepreneurship (research) could be multiplied into the various attempts to research entrepreneurship. The other question here remains (like in the structuralist critiques as a whole): what do you do with the finding that you have for instance discovered the elements of the Story of Lynx as related to entrepreneurship? I consider this apocalyptic, structural method just one a way to deconstruct the concept of entrepreneurship. In line with this Steier (2003) used the concepts of metanarrative and subnarrative trying to explore more subtle voices and sub-narratives of entrepreneurship instead of "entrepreneur as a solo actor" - metanarrative. So the subnarrative could be here interpreted as a kind of counter-narrative, telling a different story about entrepreneurship.

The third line of research is here linked to the concept of *discursive entrepreneurship*, especially in the *critical research tradition* where the aim of the research is to unmask taken-for-granted or seemingly natural ways of being and seeing, usually called discourses or ideologies (Alvesson and Deetz 2000; Ogbor 2000). In this tradition the concepts of entrepreneur and entrepreneurship are not just self-evident or neutral, but language and discourses build different views on entrepreneurship. This is done already by the scientific choices earlier discussed (Ahl 2002; Berglund & Johansson 2005). So this tradition is quite much about how the entrepreneur and his/her identity and the entrepreneurship as a whole are constructed in the public settings.

As the critical perspective focuses on a critique of domination, the whole notion of entrepreneur is questioned as a construct held in place by those who are participating in their own subjugation. As a part of this critical research tradition the *feminist scholars* have stated that entrepreneurship is historically and linguistically located in the symbolic universe of the male (Bruni et al. 2004; Pietiläinen 2001). Connell (1995) considered that *hegemonic masculinity* is also embodied in the figure of the entrepreneur, “the Spanish conquistador” and the “frontiersman of the West”. Modern economic (male) rhetoric has also often described entrepreneurship as an activity geared to the “discovery of new lands” and undertaken by (male) “explorers” (Czarniawska-Joerges & Wolff 1991).

According to Smith & Anderson (2004) in the (classical) “entrepreneurial tales” a common theme is the masculinity of the narrative; the feminine aspects of the entrepreneur are seldom to be found. Hjort (2003) observed that feminine related to entrepreneurial is assigned in the margins of this body of knowledge – the economic connotes male, the non-economic – usually referred in the mainstream research as female - aspects are silenced. Also, it is noted that most of the entrepreneurship research and writings in general have a male bias (Ahl 2002). In this feminist tradition it has been found that even in the media expressions of entrepreneurs the heroic masculine imagery and metaphors keep the dominance (Ljunggren and Alsos 2001; Achtenhagen and Welter 2003; Pietiläinen 2001) leaving the female entrepreneurial role models and actors as secondary compared to male entrepreneurs (Baker et al. 1997).

Altogether, Aaltio-Marjosola (1994) and Marlow (2002) state that the masculine image of an entrepreneur continues to be maintained and reproduced in our society which makes entrepreneurship as a concept with its various possible connotations less desirable and accessible to women and might also build up social constraints towards female entrepreneurship. Even if the question here is not whether there should be more women taking part of the current dominant entrepreneurship

discourse. Or, if this discourse would change during time by female voices also available. What I consider is the point of deconstructive readings of entrepreneurship is to bring up different voices, not stating the normative demands of such as increasing the women entrepreneurship – this line could however be seen some of the feminist oriented studies even if they claim to be deconstructionist.

So, in the deconstructive readings of entrepreneurship the dominances are altered. When put in the form of counter-narrative:

“Entrepreneurship is then historical, contextual, not just individual and not just masculine phenomenon, but also containing feminine aspects and life-spheres. It is also a non-heroic phenomenon stressing the multiple aspects of human being and life as a whole. It also brings up the non-economic aspects located in concrete living situations. It challenges us to consider the multiple and varied, also silenced meanings in entrepreneurship. Any of the contexts and concepts should not have the dominant role of directing the entrepreneurship research and discussions around the area”

This one possible counter-narrative tells the “other” than the “normal or unmarked story of entrepreneurship”. Typically this orientation is just trying to criticize the dominances, to deconstruct, to alter, to stress the multiplicity of entrepreneurship but not to replace them with some new constructions. Therefore, I consider, a valuable addition to deconstruction could be the reconstruction which also opens up space for creativity and new contents. This is done here with discussion of the reconstructive entrepreneurship.

5.3 The reconstructive entrepreneurship

The reconstructive readings of entrepreneurship is about finding variety of concepts, approaches, identities etc. related to entrepreneurship – also the possibility of re-writing of entrepreneurship as opposed to previous constructive phase of entrepreneurship following the rules of modern. Hjorth (2003) stated:

“An other story – what is meant by that? I mean an other story of entrepreneurship. I focus on entrepreneurship in enterprise discourse as something it is not, but could become...the result is an other writing of entrepreneurship, an other entrepreneurship than what enterprise discourse produced. Rewriting clears space for writing as a creative act”. (Hjorth 2003: 25–26)

Rewriting in this frame of Hjorth (2003) tried to open up creative writing of entrepreneurship. It is then more than just deconstructing, it is also about “*homo ludens*”, the playing human being:

“There is a difference between what I have called the “managerial entrepreneur” and the “entrepreneurial entrepreneur”...the entrepreneurial entrepreneur seems closer to “homo ludens” (playing human). This homo ludens is also a very social human as the playfulness manifests itself through cultural practices that have to be learned”. (Hjorth 2003: 65)

In line with this, Berglund & Holmgren (2005) also reminded that we should not forget that there are also other versions which have a different story to tell of entrepreneurship which claim a connection to a wider space, and thus a diversity of places, in society. Steyaert and Katz (2004) draw our attention to there being a number of different versions of located in multiple sites and spaces, such as health sector, non-governmental associations, art and culture and the growing sector of social enterprises. According to Berglund & Holmgren (2005):

“In these versions entrepreneurship is – more or less - taken outside of the industrial sphere and the economic dimension. Instead priority is given to dimensions such as the social, collective, and ecological and, as a consequence, these open up for entrepreneurship to find a justifiable place in our society; *tout court*” (Berglund & Holmgren 2005: 4)

What then could be this rewriting, creative and playing approach to entrepreneurship? Some of the scholars have already tried to invent the narratives not told or heard, or bring even forgotten or marginalized stories into the light, to the centre. Or manifest some new insights to dominant scientific approaches. The idea here is usually to recontextualize the research setting or naming the entrepreneurship for instance into the fields of non-economic, or non-western. Here I am going to identify a few of these studies just as examples of this research area.

Baumol (1990) discussed about *non-positive* or *non-productive entrepreneurship*, the *unproductive entrepreneurship* like rent seeking or organized crime as part of the entrepreneurship. Also Rehn and Taalas (2004) recontextualized the concept of entrepreneurship in unusual fields exploring the relation between the moral and the immoral. Through their narration of the blat system in former Soviet Union and of Bad Boys Inc. (drug dealing) they orientated the readers to see entrepreneurship beyond the limits of the present study approaches. Could this be one possible context of entrepreneurship? Is this researching of drug dealing one possible focus when studying entrepreneurship? Can we go beyond the borderlines of rules and resources also in the study settings, when discussed with the terminology of Giddens (1979, 1984)? If we cannot, would there still be interesting questions and approaches in this phenomenon to consider and conceptualize within the frame of entrepreneurship? What other “unusual fields” could there be for creative thinking, to enrich the concept of entrepreneurship? For instance, how could

the ideas of Bakhtinian carnivalesque or heteroglossia be integrated to these new utterances of entrepreneurship?

Nearly with the same orientation of the “unusual fields” Scase (1997) classified most small businesses in Central and Eastern Europe as *proprietorship* and not entrepreneurship in the western, traditional manner. He argued that these activities, although offering employment and providing income to the owner and employees, these proprietors do not contribute to economic development, in the means of Smith or Schumpeter. Therefore entrepreneurship is beyond positive and productive. Entrepreneurship is not leading to Schumpeterian economic growth of the area. According to Scase (1997) these entrepreneurs use business income mainly for personal use instead of reinvesting it. In this regard, proprietors might be seen as non-innovative entrepreneurs owning non-growthoriented businesses, while genuine entrepreneurs would be the ones being creative and growthoriented. These unproductive entrepreneurship or proprietorship might then be seen also as “immoral” related to the model narrative of entrepreneurship. But still it might be (or might not be) an interesting area of new conceptualizations of entrepreneurship.

As an example of the *non-western* entrepreneurship is quite usually mentioned the *indigenous entrepreneurship*. The actual entrepreneurial forms can vary ranging from the broad collective efforts of the Maori in New Zealand (Frederick and Henry 2004) to the individual entrepreneurial spin-offs from the tribal casino gaming of the Kumeyaay bands in California (Galbraith and Stiles 2003). The crucial point seems to be the recontextualizing of entrepreneurship from the modern western paradigm of eternal, universal development and growth and contextualizing entrepreneurship into different settings, also to different forms of non-economic:

“It is to consider different perspectives of the process of “development” among disadvantaged populations such as indigenous peoples, with a view to increasing our understanding of what goes on in this process and what it is reasonable to expect. Indigenous entrepreneurship is a response to this. In one sense, it is uncontroversial that there is such a thing as indigenous entrepreneurship. There are indigenous people engaged in entrepreneurial enterprise. Of course the question remains as to what direction indigenous entrepreneurship should, or does take. We argue that it depends on the historical, economic, and cultural conditions of the indigenous community under investigation”. (Peredo et al. 2004: 15)

When entrepreneurship is ripped of from the ethno-centric, modern tradition, where the focus has been how to assimilate the non-English-speaking groups, “the others”, to fit the dominant culture and its concepts (here entrepreneurship), this

might open space for the heteroglossia (Ogbor 2000). What if these Maoris had something to share? Would there be something interesting related to reconstructions in this above example of casino gaming? Could we invent here new mental structures, new signs and signways in the spirit of psychosemiotics? Or could we apply the perspective changes (Mezirow 1981) instead of trying to integrate and assimilate, to interact and build up the dialogue between different cultures and concepts? Or are those new signs new only for western cultures and “old” for Maories – such as relating entrepreneurship also to non-economic calling it just as a form of “social”?

To identify new roads for the entrepreneurship discourse, some of the reconstructive readings have tried to locate entrepreneurship to non-position, non-profession not distincting entrepreneurship from other kind of work and not following the ideas of Cantillon. These readings can be called for instance *corporate entrepreneurship* (Covin and Miles 1999) or *intrapreneurship* (Pinchot 1985). Likewise Vesalainen (2008) discussed the entrepreneurship as non-profession, non-position, or non-person stating the *taksonomies of entrepreneurship* under the discussion. Entrepreneurship is then not about “on and off” of certain positions, but a continuum in the taxonomy of entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship is sliding from different tasks and positions to another one in the working life, not related only to legal form of entrepreneurship:

“Entrepreneurship is often seen as a stereotypic schema restricting entrepreneurship from non-entrepreneurship...here the taxonomy of entrepreneurship constructs entrepreneurship as not the question who is entrepreneur or not...instead this view encourages thinking entrepreneurship as acting related to entrepreneurship, not the fixed role models”. (Vesalainen 2008: 11)

In the same manner, Holmqvist (2003) challenged us to change the focus from the actor, the entrepreneur, to action since this actor-related ontology in this context refers mainly to “being” and this again will neglect many aspects of the phenomenon and hinder the new openings. Lindgren and Packendorff (2003) even talked about this action side of entrepreneurship as *project based entrepreneurship*:

“Moreover, entrepreneurial acts are temporary by nature. While individuals persist (at least for a while, acts usually start, go on and diffuse into their environments...the entrepreneurial act of convincing a legislative body to accept a controversial legislation is a temporary effort, and so are most reorganizations in corporations and most change processes in individual lives...in this sense, entrepreneurial acts are similar to projects”. (Lindgren and Packendorff 2003: 87)

Entrepreneurship is then not a steady profession, the position, instead contains changing, temporary sequences of action in social interaction with others. And this action might be also about non-economic related to typical modern conceptualizations of entrepreneurship.

This discussion of the non-economic within the entrepreneurship could be seen for instance in the writings of *social entrepreneurship* related to the society's problems. Rather than leaving societal needs to the government or business sectors, social entrepreneurs find what is not working, have a vision for change, gathering the resources, and solving the problem by changing the system, spreading the solution, and persuading entire societies to take new leaps (Thompson et al. 2000). Whereas an economic entrepreneur typically measures performance in profit and return, a social entrepreneur assesses success in terms of the impact s/he has on society. While social entrepreneurs often work through nonprofits and citizen groups, many work in the private and governmental sectors. This social entrepreneurship also follows the pragmatist ways of thinking trying to find solutions for communities constructed from these daily basis observations.

The other related reconstructions of entrepreneurship in this field might contain the concepts like social purpose venture, community wealth venture, non-profit enterprise, venture philanthropy, caring capitalism; social enterprise. Likewise Henton et al. (1997) talked about *civic entrepreneurs* as:

“a new generation of leaders who forge new, powerfully productive linkages at the intersection of business, government, education and community”. (Henton et al. 1997: 1)

In spite of the varying definitions of social entrepreneurship, one commonality emerges in almost every description: the problem-solving or implementing initiatives that produce measurable results in the form of changed social outcomes and/or impacts. But the questions about the topics like taking risks, financial gain, making hard work etc. are left away from the discussions.

One might then think what are the criterias of reconstructive entrepreneurship? Isn't it so that most of the concepts are already identified and invented? Or that is this only playing with words or signifiers, like the critical views of post-structuralists might state? What about the reconstructions related to signifieds in the Saussurean terms? If the signifiers change, does there references, the concept the represent stay the same? These are interesting questions when studying signification. In this context one could answer there are possibilities to consider these referential relations between signifiers and signifieds in a way which enriches the signifiers and enlargens the signified entrepreneurship into different “unusual

fields”. Or maybe structuring totally new signifier – signified – relationships? In the Peircean terms it is about “enlargening” the interpretant when considering the signification of entrepreneurship.

These kinds of operations in the entrepreneurship studies are not explicitly available. But I consider that the areas of this kind of reconstructions might be connected to such concepts as *team entrepreneurship* (Lechler 2001), *collective entrepreneurship* (Johannisson 2002), *network entrepreneurship* (Koiranen 1993), *(lifestyle entrepreneurship* (Marcketti et al. 2006), *green entrepreneurship or ecopreneurship* (Isaak 1998; Bennett 1991), *part-time entrepreneurship* (Petrova 2004) or *serial entrepreneurship* (Westhead & Wright 1998).

For instance lifestyle entrepreneurship is about individuals who own and operate businesses closely aligned with their personal values, interests, and passions. This “lifestyle entrepreneurship” holds the idea of the human being not just rational or economic, but also such as “passionate” or even artistic. Green entrepreneurship then refers to entrepreneurship which seeks to transform a sector of the economy towards sustainability by starting business in that sector with a green design, with green processes and with the life-long commitment to sustainability in everything that is said and done.

This “green” also tries to find other areas of research compared to “non-green” which them might be the continuation of the dominances in Western Europe. Part-time entrepreneurship contains the idea that new business developers and owners hold outside paid jobs or work parallel in the two or more jobs (Petrova 2004). The idea of “part-time” then confronts the “whole-time”. The concept serial entrepreneurship then gets rid of the entrepreneurship as one time career approach moving to more processual view of entrepreneurship as sequences of constant starting and closing (or selling) of businesses. Entrepreneurship is about different conceptual continuums sliding from different tasks, positions, interests, point of views to other ones in life, like Vesalainen (2008) earlier presented.

But I would not reject the possibility for transformational creativity, or the concept of lateral thinking by de Bono (1993) chancing concepts and perceptions – or making the “new rules”, new concepts, new signifier-signified – relations, stressing the *discursive capabilities or the transformative capacity power* of the human being stated by Giddens (1979). Within the psychological and psychosemiotics frame it is about generating perturbations and “structural tensions” between different existing conceptual models, conventional signifier-signified –relations using the ideas of de Bono (1991, 1993) and Maturana & Varela (1980). By taking the agency as researcher I am going to apply some ideas of the exploratory creati-

tivity and maybe also transformational creativity, the lateral thinking based on the empiria in the seventh chapter.

5.4 The legitimation of entrepreneurship

Widely speaking the whole previous entrepreneurship literature, the related scientific studies and the public speaking about entrepreneurship could be interpreted as the legitimation of entrepreneurship. If, the legitimation is seen from the perspective of Berger & Luckmann (1966) and Giddens (1979; 1984) it is then the objectified knowledge containing societal, linguistic rules and resources available related to entrepreneurship. The legitimation could then be interpreted as how it became to be valid area of research, public speaking, as part of the economical discussions etc. Therefore the discussions of such as Cantillon, Smith and Say could be also seen as a legitimation of entrepreneurship stating that “entrepreneur” or “entrepreneurship” are a specific areas of investigation separating it from the other areas of studies, such as management or wage earning related to economics or society as a whole.

The previous construction of entrepreneurship represented already this aspect of entrepreneurship – the making of the model narrative of entrepreneurship and the discursive entrepreneurship. And notifying how these conceptualizations then might build up dominances in the field modifying the concept entrepreneurship through western histories. Related to de/reconstructive phase it also puts to the centre different conceptualizations related to entrepreneurship – for instance such as part-time entrepreneurship.

Here, in my frame I will interpret the legitimation phase more connected to *piloting and acting* different forms of entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship gains the legitimation to its various forms through action and praxis. It is then also about gaining the audiences to reconstructions. It is a process of living through and gaining the experiences. It is about the interactivity of the human being related to entrepreneurship. It is about *legitimizing behaviours* (Dowling Pfeffer 1975; Tornikoski 2005) of different forms of entrepreneurship using the different agencies in these operations. In this part of the study I will then focus on some of the research areas and concepts which have tried to tackle this side of entrepreneurship.

Interestingly, lately some ideas from Giddens’ (1979; 1984) structuration theory have been utilized in this context of entrepreneurship research – even if they represent a clear minority in the study area. As mentioned before Giddens talked about rules and resources as structures drawn upon by actors to reproduce and

transform social order. The duality of structure referred to the way in which the same structures enable and constrain action. For instance Sarason et al. (2006) applied this theory when analyzing the relationship between agent (entrepreneur) and structure (opportunity) as a duality in the context of business opportunity creation. Business opportunity is here seen as the entering into the structure, the “common” thinking which might constrain the thinking and acting of the opportunity. But the entrepreneur has the agency to make a change, can affect the structure (or the market) with “the opportunity”. In this frame the interactivity is then active part of legitimating the business opportunity in the societal setting. In Fletcher’s (2006) study the opportunity formation is relationally and communally constituted, a constructive one – an insight that is not recognized in descriptive or (usual) linear process models of opportunity recognition. Furthermore, Chiasson & Saunders (2005) analyzed the scripts that are formed in the social and business structures in the context of business opportunity recognition and creation.

In similar vein, Fuller et al. (2006) utilized the term “emergence” describing the phenomenon how the novel structures come into being in the interaction between heterogeneous agents and structures. Parallel to this structurationist view, this emergentist perspective embraces processual interactions, learning and knowledge creation, the development of legitimacy, identity, enactment, effectuation and timing. Here, entrepreneurship is viewed as a type of organizing, drawing on Weick’s phenomenon of “enactment”; and organizational emergence starts with enactment. Entrepreneurs act “as if”, that is interpreting equivocal events as expected and sure outcomes of their actions:

“Emerging organizations are *elaborate fictions* of proposed possible future states of existence.” (Gartner et al., 1992: 17).

Hence, “emergence” has provided a substantial theoretical underpinning for some entrepreneurship studies, related to the legitimacy of entrepreneurship and also the role of identity creation for entrepreneurship – here narratives and discourses are used as a resource to craft self-identities (Down 2006; Fletcher 2003; Warren 2004). This emergentist tradition owes its intellectual debt to earlier mentioned ideas of “acting as if” – principle and the ideas of process philosophy, the ontology of becoming as interesting windows to entrepreneurship studies.

Typically these studies focus on how entrepreneurship is done in the everyday practices as a collective negotiation and sense-making process using different linguistic resources. But the available studies have focused on the actor-structure duality of entrepreneurs – for instance the studies related pre-entrepreneurship or nascent entrepreneurship seem to be missing in the literature. What might these ideas of structuration then mean in the nascent entrepreneurship?

Reynolds (1997) defined *nascent entrepreneurship* according to a range of specific behaviors that include planning, obtaining resources, networking, registration, and similar activities related to organizational emergence. It is about “acting as if”. Nascency is for instance the access to social networks and different resources in the early stages of entrepreneurship (Greve & Salaff 2003). Nascency is then a “pre-element” of the different forms and identities related to entrepreneurship. Here, the element of the social is crucial in the legitimating actions. It is a bridge from reconstructions to gain the audience – the acceptability of different forms of entrepreneurship in the social setting.

The idea behind is that with this increased “critical mass”, the interaction with the first audience, there is likely to be stronger perceived collective efficacy and consequently higher aspirations and motivational investment in their undertakings (Bandura 2001). This collective or proxy agency is more likely to overcome the potential active opposition or circumvention that Burns and Dietz (1992) note are part of the rule structures of any social system. This unites the ideas of Berger & Luckmann (1966) and Giddens (1979; 1984) to the legitimation or to the nascency in the context of entrepreneurship. Seen in the eyes of Hjorth (2003) nascency is then not about being but “becoming”. It is not a position, not a role, it is not about person. It is about acting and doing, the *emergence of entrepreneurship*. It is about legitimizing different forms of entrepreneurship in the public.

Until now not so many studies have applied these frames for entrepreneurship research, for instance the idea of proxy agency related to entrepreneurship. In these available studies there is usually a question about emergence, the different gestation activities, seeing and creating opportunities, the learning, the changing of schemas, the constructs about markets and clients, gathering the resources etc. For instance in his study, Tornikoski (2005) attempted to understand this “legitimation part of entrepreneurship” studying the reasons why some nascent firms make the transition to new operational firms while others do not. According to him the legitimation is gained by “piloting” and “acting as if” where by the company gains legitimacy in the social setting. But in his study – like in the most related studies – the legitimation is considered as a penetration to the market, establishing a legal entity called enterprise, or practicing the preliminary acts in business planning. These actions are just already there; for instance the discussion of the dynamics of legitimation, the structuration of different entrepreneurial identities, the evolvment of different positions, the learning of the different practices, the growing awareness of the multiplicity of entrepreneurship or the actions of proxy agency are left without wider consideration.

5.5 The summing up of the entrepreneurship readings

In the previous chapters I took a look at different entrepreneurship readings through/with the reflective structuration frame earlier developed. Here, the construction phase of entrepreneurship meant seeing entrepreneurship as historical concept rooted to western conceptualizations of entrepreneurship. It was a story how entrepreneurship became to connote economic, functional, positive, normative or person-related phenomenon where the connotations of white, male Europeans colonized the entrepreneurship discourse. I also constructed the model narrative of entrepreneurship based on these readings holding the idea of entrepreneurship as universal phenomenon where the *western is the linguistic rule* seen for instance in the ideas of “homo economicus” or the extraordinary person thriving for the economic gains being also the able to affect the well-being of society.

The deconstructive readings of entrepreneurship was then about altering these dominances and linguistic rules. This meant taking into consideration also the “other” conceptualizations, usually the marginal or silenced binaries of entrepreneurship. As examples different research traditions were presented, such as the feminist tradition referring especially to the *hegemonic masculinities* embodied in the western entrepreneurship literature. These studies were said to be critical over mainstream entrepreneurship studies holding the western, male and economic in the centre, but without the idea of replacing these dominances with alternative, new constructions.

In this frame then the reconstructive readings of entrepreneurship was about trying to invent alternative concepts, approaches, identities and positions related to entrepreneurship. Usually in these studies it was about recontextualizing entrepreneurship also into fields other than economic seen through the traditional western definitions. For instance the ideas of non-positive, non-productive, corporate and social entrepreneurship were named trying to capture the idea of entrepreneurship as moving between different tasks and positions, not just being stuck in the person, the fixed position or to the legal forms of entrepreneurship but in the taxonomies of entrepreneurship.

The legitimation of entrepreneurship was said to be highly related to action and praxis in this context even if all the readings of entrepreneurship could be widely interpreted as the legitimation of certain kinds of entrepreneurship in the public arenas. Here, different concepts like the emergence of entrepreneurship, the “actings as if” – principle and ideas of entrepreneurship education were used to illustrate related research traditions.

These different readings of entrepreneurship act also as a window when reading the student's narratives of entrepreneurship. In the next two chapters I am going to present what kind of methods there were to collect and analyse these narratives students' narratives and what did I get out of them with reflective readings later on.

6 COLLECTING AND ANALYSING THE NARRATIVES

In this chapter I illustrate how the collecting and analyzing of the student's narratives were done using the "fair argumentation" principle earlier mentioned in this research. First, I am going to introduce the method called "role-play" –method in collecting these students' narratives following the discussion of the analysis process related to these narratives.

6.1 Role play – method in collecting narratives

The collection of narratives was done by using the *role-playing -method* (Eskola 1991; Eskola & Suoranta 1998; Hytti & Kuopusjärvi 2004) during the autumn 2004 and the spring 2005. This method was originally developed by Antti Eskola in the beginning of 1980's. In nutshell the idea of the method is that the researcher tells a frame story or episode to people under study and then ask them to imagine if they are in that imaginary situation. Then the task of these people is to tell or write a little story according to that frame story – what might have happened before and how the story continues. And there are two kinds of possibilities to use the role-play method as a study tool:

1. *An active way*: the writers/narrators are given detailed aspects of the context, the literary spaces and the characters included. The writers/narrators develop the concrete situation by themselves according to this frame.
2. *A passive way*: the writers/narrators are given a loose frame of the context and then the writers/narrators construct the narrative more freely.

(Eskola & Suoranta 1998: 111–118)

By analysing these stories then the researcher can analyse what kind of meanings the people under the study relate to different topics. The underlying assumption considering the method is that individuals are able to imagine, observe, analyse, and interpret different situations and realities although they do not have any direct experience of them. One main advantage of this method is that it brings up common ways of thinking about certain topic in the situation where the story-tellers do not have experiences about the topic (Alasuutari 1996). This idea of first thoughts has led many researchers to consider the problems of this method as it is many times referred to how "real" these stories actually are. One of the key critics

towards this method is that it only brings up stereotypic thinking. But for the purposes of this study the idea of bringing stereotypic thinking suited quite well.

Also one clear advantage of the method is that the researcher can vary the frame stories and study if different frames affect to the story structures and contents etc. Thinking about the size of data, different researchers have noticed some useful best-practices. It is reasonable to think that there are enough stories when the new stories do not bring any remarkable observations about the topic under question. One possible way is to talk about the *saturation point* concerning the amount of these stories. Eskola & Suoranta (1998) stated that usually 15 stories/one frame story is enough in the practical study settings.

In this case, I applied the more the passive way of role-play method. Also, I did not consider the use this idea of the variation of frame stories as interesting one as related to the study problems. But instead I produced one frame story:

”It is the year 2008 and you have been building up a new business. Imagine yourself in the future and write a 3-4 page story about how your business started, what happened next, and how the story continued until the present situation. Describe what kind of action and actors were involved in the events along the story”.

I gave personally this assignment to university and polytechnics students as part of their courses relating to the areas of entrepreneurship and new business planning. Students wrote their stories in the lecture halls and classrooms individually, without any discussions having one hour at the maximum to finalize them. This time pressure was put on them in order to get even more their first thoughts about the entrepreneurship in the current situation.

I started with collecting a small amount of stories. First I collected 15 narratives in one of the university students’ lessons called *Dimensions of Entrepreneurship* and had a group interview with students about the writing session in spring 2004. I also asked students for the feedback of that writing; how did they feel when they wrote these narratives? Was it difficult to write them? Did they understand the frame story easily? How did they feel about the time pressure? And so on. Three of these students attended to this group interview and it took about 20 minutes. In this way I wanted to test the method and avoid the “nomotetic curse” (Eneroth 1984) which might be highly possible in this kind of study setting.

This testing showed that method produced quite efficiently 2-4 page narratives and according to the feedback I only made some changes to the task setting and frame story. The main feedback here was that the orientation text should be more detailed and descriptive so that the students could dive into the possible, imaginative situation in entrepreneurship more easily and speeding the creation of the

narratives even more compared to the testing situation. So, I moved little bit towards the active way (Eskola & Suoranta 1998) of role-play method in the end without restricting the frame with given literary spaces or characters too much.

After making the minor changes in the frame story, a total of 180 narratives were gathered from students in Polytechnics of Seinäjoki (Seinäjoki and Kauhava) and University of Vaasa (Vaasa) between October 2004 and February 2005, in four different and separate sessions. I soon realized that 18 stories did not meet the criteria of a narrative. They were either too short or did not meet the criteria of narrative according to the earlier definitions of narrative. So I took them off from the final analyzed data. Therefore, *the actual data for the study consisted of 162 narratives (between 2-4 A 4 -pages)*.

6.2 Analysis process

What was there to do then with these narratives in my hands? There were over 500 handwritten A4 –pages to go through and make some observations about the student’s narratives about entrepreneurship.

As a whole analysis process was not a separate process from the other parts of making the study. Parallel with data analysis I read studies about entrepreneurship, the different philosophies relating to science, the narrative research traditions. At the same time I constructed step-by-step my frame of reflective structuration. And I also had several discussions with different researchers relating to different methodologies of textual analysis. So different ideas were uniting and evolving in my head already in the beginning (and before) of the analyses process. The role of the researcher is therefore not the Cartesian viewer in these kind of studies, instead the role of agent having the dialogy with the texts and different analysis tools.

In this phase I also read different aspects of analysing narratives, for instance *analysis related to narratives* (Czarniawska 2004; Polkinghorne 1995), *coding process of qualitative data* (Huberman & Miles 2002; Strauss & Corbin 1990), and other ideas about qualitative analysis (Miles & Huberman 1994; Riessman 1993).

I also found the idea of the metaphor of *researcher as “chef”* who sees cooking as an art form and who does not try to stay true to traditional recipes (Hollway and Jefferson 2000). The researcher is an artist who paints, sketches and draws different impressions from the data. I became also fascinated about the idea of narrative research as sewing, knitting and travelling followed by the writings of

Cotterill and Letherby (1993). Piecing together fragments of the fabric of conversations, the researcher sews ideas together. Similarly, the narrative researcher might be seen as a knitter who “spin and yarn” by weaving together the threads of different stories (Berglund & Holmgren 2005). Thus, different strands are brought together to make up a fabric, weaving ideas together to bring up the “life in the narratives”.

This approach could be also called as the *toolbox –approach* according to Alasuutari (1999). The idea here is to give space for data to speak in different ways in this reflective structuration. Here, the interactive nature of analysis is an accurate concept. The data and theoretical concepts build up the dialog with each others in the analysis process. By this approach also the traditional division to quantitative and qualitative methods is diffused: in the analysis process there are both quantifying phases and phases where the researcher tries to widen and deepen the interpretation and bring up different qualities out of texts (Alasuutari 1999).

Along the process I made some dairy writings and try to recall the process afterwards to make it also visible for evaluation for the other scholars – which are also recommended in some methodology guides (Riessman 1993). This kind of analysis process is never linear and it could be only stated that different parts of the study interacted with each others. Alasuutari (1996) saw this process parallel to different detective stories where the aim is to *solve the puzzle*. Therefore data analysis could be seen as the process of systematically searching and arranging the different material collected to increase the understanding of them and to enable the researcher to present what you have discovered to others (Miles & Huberman 1994).

I realized that Polkinghorne (1995) wrote about two different approaches relating to narrative research. He called them as *narrative analysis* and *analysis of narratives*; first one containing the idea making something out of data and the other one organizing the elements of the individual story into a coherent account. So there was a question of variety of narratives or organising the narratives into coherence. But could these both research traditions be mixed in a same study like this?

I started the analysis more based on the first tradition. I picked up different topics what I found in the narratives, this was reminding the method called *content analysis*. At this stage I did not have the previously constructed concepts and tools in the explicit use. At first there seemed to be a variety of topics and happenings without any bigger topics related. For doing this I needed to read back and forth the texts a couple of times.

In the beginning there was the idea of looking each narrative of its own, the uniqueness of the cases (Eneroth 1984). And, after that then I looked for the differences and qualities in the whole data and brought up something interesting for the later discussion. Here I wrote down the themes the students were talking about, the business ideas, and what kind of happenings and themes there were in these narratives.

After these listings I tried to apply the structuralist ideas into my data. This was then the analyses of narratives phase where I tried to put most of the narratives in the common narrative schemas. This phase produced some ideas for the later use. However, I was not totally happy with purely structuralist model since I found that the social level seemed to be missing in these considerations. What was the point of putting the whole data to a common, universal scheme which was already known before the analysis? I found that this structuralist approach generated ideas about handling to data as a whole and helped gaining some coherence to the variety of narratives.

When getting more in touch with the post-structuralism and especially the idea of the social semiotics I started to see different signs in the narratives as *dominant* or repetitive. In line with these thoughts were then the remarks for instance from Foucault (1972), Berger & Luckmann (1966) and Giddens (1979; 1984). This part of analysis reminded that one of the content analysis of the text both in quantitative and qualitative means. The role of this quantitative analysis was in this study merely to help the identification of main parts and topics and it acted as a start for the qualitative, deeper analysis (Eskola & Suoranta 1998).

When applying both narrative analysis and analysis of narratives I began to think if it was possible to carry these both approaches along the analyses since both of them seemed interesting and adding value for the analyses. I leaned on the idea of Tarasti (1990) who stated that these traditions build a continuum – not strict and separate tradition. To answer for the previous question of mixing these traditions I found that it could be fruitful to utilize both traditions in the analysis and construct toolbox-view (Alasuutari 1996) to make these 162 narratives speak to me as much as possible when relating them to study problems?

I found that the strategy to develop the reflective structuration frame parallel in the process gave me more possibilities to get the narratives “speak”. Like said, these concepts and tools were not there waiting for the analyst, but instead they were constructed during the study. With these concepts related to reflective structuration I again read these 162 narratives. This model then became as a frame for reading these text in a quite thorough way.

First I began to identify and construct discourses out of the topics I invented in the first reading rounds. I connected different topics and synthesized wider areas of discussions in the narratives. Strauss & Corbin (1990) named this as *selective coding* involving the process of selecting and identifying the core category and relating it to other categories. It involves validating those relationships, filling in, and refining and developing those categories, explication of story lines etc. These categories were named here according the ideas of the *discourses, metaphors and subject positions* earlier introduced.

The selective coding means that for instance discourses were not just jumping automatically out of the texts for the eyes of the researcher but needed several further reading sessions, like other scholars (Alasuutari 1996; Koivunen 2003) also have noticed. This phase opened up different levels to the text and I tried to look also behind the texts with the ideas of CDA – What is told? What is not? Who speaks? I tried to apply the method suggested by Eneoth (1984) – to face the data, to build up subject-to-subject relation with the data. By this it is meant that both the researcher and the data are affecting to each others, data comes interactive and lives in the hands of the researcher.

In this part of analysis I tried not to lock up the selective codes too early (Huberman & Miles 2002) but continued reading through the texts again and again. The coding or naming changed along the process. But step by step I began to see the “bigger picture” in the texts – this contained the process of modifying different topics to sub-discourses. These abstractions then allowed me to construct the possible dominant discourses – those discourses which seem to be hegemonic in those narratives.

Parallel to this I started to look at different metaphors – those which could be taken under critical observation according to the principles of critical metaphor analysis. Here the idea was not to gather as many metaphors as possible but those ones which seem to be repetitive and would open up interesting views for the critical analysis (Charteris-Black 2004; Koller 2005). In this part of analysis the theoretical concepts relating to subject positioning where also critical; to what kind of positions the students put them in narratives? What kind of characters introduced? Etc. The analysis of discourses, metaphors and subject positions were intertwined since they all contained the critical analysis approach.

So the ideas about narrative identities related to entrepreneurship in student’s writings began to grow “step by step” at this stage. Along that I read these narratives also through structuralist thinking trying to build a syntagma or structure – it was about building the model narrative out of many narratives using the mentioned frame. I arranged different narratives to one structure which is not there in

the data in the empirical means but could be constructed as metanarrative, here related to entrepreneurship. Doing this again brought up interesting voices for further analysis (Alasuutari 1999).

When constructing the basic ideas of narrative identities and this model narrative I started to approach these constructions with the reflective structuration model. Even if the deconstructive mind was there already in the previous readings and especially related to discourse identification and construction, this phase was systematic, even deeper part of the analysis. And I found that de/reconstruction can be also quite creative phase; again opening space for different voices in the data, to play with new ideas, to see the data quite differently and even start to build up counter-narratives and create new narratives along that. And I also started to think about the possible piloting and action phases – the first audiences for these new narratives under the headline legitimation - even if this was not the case of analysis in the orthodox means of scientific study. The reconstructive and legitimation phases could be here seen more as a one possible way of synthesizing the data for the later discussions in the final chapter.

Finally, I concluded the explicit tools of the narrative identities and the model narrative into the shape presented earlier in this study. When this was done, I went through the writings again and tried to sum up different findings in a more sharp ways. Totally, analysing these 162 narratives was quite tough and long-lasting (totally about two years in calendar time) process including the reading of texts between 6-8 times. Some of the narratives even more.

7 THE REFLECTIVE STRUCTURATION OF THE STUDENTS' NARRATIVES

What was then the reflective structuration of these students' narratives? In this chapter I am going to take a closer look at where did I end up in my analysis process. First I am bringing up the overview of the whole data in order to orientate better to the detailed areas of the analysis. After that I will discuss the narratives following the phases of the named frame.

7.1 Overview of the narratives

Out of these 162 narratives (2-4 A 4 pages); 96 were written by female students and 66 by male students. The average age of the narrators was 23 years. I have identified them in row for later reporting in the text as follows:

Female, x (age), y (number of the narrative out of 96)

Male, x (age), y (number of the narrative out of 66)

These chosen narratives (162) were mainly *fictional narratives* since only a few of the students had own experiences about the topic or so this group of students really students represented the pure or naïve study group when identifying meanings related to entrepreneurship (Aaltonen 1997).

These fictional narratives presented an imaginary narrator's account of a story that happened in an imaginary world (Jahn 2005). A fictional narrative provides a vision of characters which might exist or might have existed, and a vision of things that might happen or could have happened. They are therefore highly imaginative and stereotypic narratives. Here the students could ventilate their own ideas about entrepreneurship, where they use the available linguistic resources, the narrative stores (Hänninen 1999; Ristimäki 2004) around them in society. They interact with them and build their relationship to these resources in these fictional narratives. And this seemed to happen for the most of the students for the first time during the collection of narratives.

These narratives could be considered also as *homodiegetic* narratives since the narrator was usually present as a character in the story (Jahn 2005). The prefix "homo" points to the fact that the individual who acts as a narrator is also a character on the level of action. A text is homodiegetic if among its story-related action sentences there are some that contain first-person pronouns (I did this; I saw this; this was what happened to me, this was my business idea, we had the support

from my parents etc.), indicating that the narrator was involved in the narrative or at least a witness to the action (Jahn 2005).

One aspect of the overview of the narratives is related to the business areas chosen in the students narratives as part of entrepreneurship. During the analysis process I listed down the following business areas in the whole data. This helped the analysis for instance related to the narrative and discursive identity construction – the subject positioning. This could be interpreted as part of the environments related to characterization analysis forming literary spaces (Jahn 2005) – the environment where characters moved or lived in. And these “areas of businesses” represent one frame of the environments where the students put themselves. Below in the table 3 the overview of the narrated business areas:

Table 3. The main business areas in the students’ narratives

Area of business	Choices (total 162)
Clothes shop, fashion, beauty	52
Restaurant business related	38
ICT and media services	28
Consulting services	15
Sports related services	13
Other hobby related services	10
Miscellaneous different business ideas	6

When framed the data like this, one additional observation was that the narrated business areas were strictly divided by the sex of the students – for instance clothes, fashion and beauty were related to women’s interests, and ICT and media services had their place mostly in the men’s narratives. This observation led me to take a closer look at the *gender* considering the narrative and discursive identity in the next phases of analysis. The gender was not originally in focus even though some other previous studies considered the role of gender related to “entrepreneurial identity construction” (Leskinen 1999; Ristimäki 2004; Pietiläinen 2001).

I also found that the narratives of university and polytechnics students differed from each others and this became to interest me when identifying the constructions. These differences I am going to discuss later on when considering the narrative and discursive identity construction in detail.

7.2 The constructive entrepreneurship

The construction phase of entrepreneurship contains the idea of model narrative consisting of narratological side – the preliminary, main and following narrative - and the post-structural side of discourses, metaphors, subject positions constructed in these narratives. Here I am presenting first these post-structural concepts and related findings. And then I will sum up different ideas into the form of *model narrative*. But first, some remarks on the discursive level of analysis.

7.2.1 *The discourses*

In my framework I defined discourse referring to the language above sentence level having the power to signify the object under discussion. To this idea also the concepts of power and dominance were related. This kind of analysis was not a linear analysis process – instead demanded several reading rounds and intense interactivity between the reader and the texts. I have also collected the extracts of the real texts (with the reporting logic presented above) from the narratives in order to make them “alive and visible” to the readers in the spirit of fair argumentation (Kakkuri-Knuuttila 2006). And even if I am presenting discourses related to specific part of syntagmatic structure, this does not mean that the discourses were restricted only to certain parts of narratives. This kind of structuring of data mainly helped the construction of the model narrative later discussed in this chapter.

In the preliminary narrative I identified two main discourses which I call here *paid job –discourse* and *optional entrepreneurship – discourse*. In this first discourse the narrators described what a student should do for living during the studies and after the graduation. It is then also a moral statement from these students. It could be here seen as the main content of the preliminary narrative. The idea of the *paid job* contained the idea of looking for the job which is already there waiting just to look for it. In this discourse one seeks the position and finds that, or does not find that and when the option is to stay unemployed. The work is not what you create. It is there waiting for you. And one can find it if looking for it thoroughly and patiently – or if one gets lucky:

“Usually the first 10 cv`s do not make the difference...one has to work hard for to find a job” (Woman, 22, 3)

“Most of the jobs lie below the surface of the ice-berg. If one learns how to market himself, one can be lucky to get invited to the interview” (Man, 22, 8)

“After the studies it is important to get a job as soon as possible not to forget everything as fast as you learned them in the school” (Woman, 21, 14)

In this discourse any mentions of entrepreneurship seemed not to be present. It is in the Saussurean terms the absent signifier, it is the *other*. So this discourse is not positively stating the object entrepreneurship here but instead something what “one should do after studies” – and the entrepreneurship in the various forms is not in the list. It seems that looking for the “real job” is somekind of self-evidency, natural, objectified and legitimized knowledge exluding all the other forms of working life. This also refers to the *markedness of entrepreneurship* – therefore entrepreneurship is treated as secondary, suppressed or even as an absent signifier. In this discourse the dominant knowledge presents paid job as natural, “invisible” or “transparent”.

This *otherness of entrepreneurship* could be also seen in the texts when claimed that “it is not something for me” or “I never thought to start an own, I would rather look for a job etc.” Also entrepreneurship holds the question of “on or off” – either you are or not. For instance the taxonomies of entrepreneurship could not be observed in this discourse. There is a strict borderline between the common, the real job and the strange, the other. And in this discourse entrepreneurship is something which comes into question when it is a must or when paid job option is considered first. That is why I named this discourse as the *optional entrepreneurship*.

“Everything started at the year 2005. It was summertime and I got an idea with my friend to build up an own business. At the time we were both unemployed and bored and tired to that situation” (Woman, 21, 16)

“It is the year 2008 and we have been wondering what comes after the graduation. There are no jobs available and the newspapers write about the too big flow of graduated students from the polytechnics” (Man, 22, 26)

“I guess there are not so much real jobs nowadays in our neighborhood for young graduates...of course I could find something part-time work like working in the market for sometime but we have to move elsewhere to find a decent job” (Woman, 22, 95)

“I sent about 100 cv’s everywhere after graduation and since I did not get any further with that way I started to think about my own business” (Man, 22, 64)

“There was not available any real jobs for me in my hometown so the entrepreneurship was all there was left after long search for the proper job” (Woman, 21, 90)

“My parents had said to me that never become an entrepreneur so I guess I never thought that possibility with the serious mind” (Man, 21, 55)

This topic of unemployment was explicit also in the study of Päällysaho (1997) when identifying the reasons or motives to entrepreneurship. In this study the life after graduation just slips towards the unemployment. In this context the entrepreneurship was the alternative for unemployment, in the situation when there was nothing else to do. This phenomenon could be also called as the *push-entrepreneurship* or *necessity entrepreneurship* (Kautonen 1997). With the same way also Mikkola (2002) found in her study that youngsters narrated their future as unsecure and unemployment as a natural part of their future. The question remains: why employment and unemployment and the otherness of entrepreneurship were so dominant contents and in this discourse? What might be the origins of this narrating? Is it a culture-specific narrating or wider discursive strategy in the students' writings?

The optional entrepreneurship –discourse could be also related to a possibility, not just necessity. Entrepreneurship connotated also something which offers possibilities for self-expression and interesting contents to tackle with. But the optional here referred that it is not the first thing to consider. Still it might be meaningful, positive and something which could be personally important. In this sense the entrepreneurship is considered as a way to do “the own thing”. The “other” might be also interesting but still far away. It is also something which is highly valued and admired having the positive connotation at least in the textual level – the same finding as in the previous studies in the related area (for instance Mäki & Vafidis 2000). In this discourse entrepreneurship is seen as the best choice to use one's skills and talent. In some cases it is considered also as way of doing the things which are not yet done; filling the gap in the current market situation, if there is identified “a gap”.

“I was working long hours in a big company but was not afraid of the work...instead I was unhappy with the climate there and the boss who just gave me constant orders to work harder...so I thought to look for other opportunities” (Woman, 19, 44)

“After graduation I got job concerning logistics in one company delivering office equipments but since this job was not so satisfying I started to look for other opportunities” (Man, 22, 60)

”The business idea came when I discussed with my friend about the possibility to establish an enterprise focusing on the production of print-T-shirts. We thought that in Finland there are not so many of them yet so there was a big opportunity. That is why I started to look entrepreneurship as one possibility for me” (Man, 21, 62)

“I noticed that this town would need these kinds of services since we did not have this kind of fast-food restaurant here” (Man, 21, 55)

“I got the idea when I ordered home an internet connection and when after six weeks nothing happened I thought that there should be another way of doing this. I noticed that even if HTV has this idea already in Helsinki area I could further develop it by adding digibox into that whole package” (Man, 22, 8)

In this discourse the entrepreneurship is also seen as something which comes into question when the real job is not satisfying, when it does not fulfill your personal needs related to content of working life. Or in other words, offering a challenging opportunity. This could be also called as pull-entrepreneurship (Kautonen 2007). But this opportunity has to be noticed, it is a follow-up of something which happened before, it is not evolving, processual or created. Usually the opportunity is just mentioned, not further developed in the preliminary stage. It remains distant, even it could be “real” too. Therefore it could be argued that entrepreneurship has the signification of being optional – if there is unsatisfying job, if the opportunity is recognized, if the person seeks the way to use one’s skills and talent. The utilizing the skills and talents are not self-evidence – the concept entrepreneurship represented then the area where this is possible, but not so strongly within the paid job.

In this discourse entrepreneurial opportunity was seldom created – this happened only in few narratives. Entrepreneurial opportunities appear as *real and objective* phenomena just waiting to be discovered and exploited – here it could be seen echoes from the North American entrepreneurship literature, the *discovery theory of entrepreneurship* (Gaglio et al. 2001; Kirzner 1997; Shane 2003). This view assumes that opportunities arise from competitive imperfections in markets due to changes in technology, consumer preferences, or some other attributes of the context within which an industry or market exists (Kirzner 1973).

In particular, opportunities are assumed to emerge independent of entrepreneurial subject or action. In the alternative creation theory, opportunities are not just waiting to be found. Creation theory suggests an evolutionary perspective where opportunities do not exist until entrepreneurs engage in an iterative process of action and reaction to create them (Gartner 1985; Weick 1979) – the idea of the interactive, structuring human being. This connotation was clearly lacking in these narratives.

I also consider that only few of the students were motivated by the economical gains which might be included to the traditional picture classical entrepreneur (Huuskonen 1992). It seemed that entrepreneurship could be an option were one

could make a living – meaningful, good job. This same connotation what Päälyssaho (1997) found in her study about the youngsters' ideas and expectations related to entrepreneurship. The passion, the eagerness, the money were not the first things. Instead in the moral code of entrepreneurship a decent living seemed to be dominating.

This might reflect the moral codes related to work attitudes among the current youngsters in the Finnish context – the work is good if it is meaningful – no higher expectations towards the working career and life as a whole are presented (Pyöliö & Suopajarvi 2005; Mikkola 2002; Saarela 2004). The good question remains is this especially a Finnish finding or maybe wider observation related to the expectations of life and work.

In the main narratives I constructed three discourses. I call them here *analyzing discourse, hard work & problems discourse and hiring discourse*. The first discourse contains the idea that the preparation of the business should be very careful. Any risks should not be taken, no fast “take-offs” are planned in the entrepreneurship paths. Instead students want to build up a certain base for their enterprise before starting the business.

”Some weeks went by when everybody thought through the idea and wondered if they dared to start the company. At last three of us decided to try their luck” (Woman, 22, 14)

“I had to leave the backdoor open to my current work in case my company did not turn out to be successful I had some place to continue” (Woman, 21, 27)

”I made several calculations considering the profitability of the enterprise. When it looked like it would be profitable it gave me belief for to continue planning further (Woman, 23, 38)

”I accomplished a careful marketing study before establishing the company and noticed that this enterprise would not be a bad idea after all” (Woman, 22, 91)

”We spent long hours thinking about that since it could be so much easier to just look for the job. But anyway we decided to establish” (Woman, 22, 88)

”We were aware of this darind idea since Finland was full of these kinds of companies” (Man, 24, 41)

”My friends started to hesitate this effort since they had solid jobs elsewhere...risks were so high that we begun to wonder if there is no sense at all to start this whole thing” (Man, 22, 14)

In this discourse everything has to be planned and calculated thoroughly before the start-up – this was also one of the results in the study of Päälyssaho (1997). Even the back door should be left open for the “real job”. Here, the Weberian and Foucauldian thoughts about the rational and disciplined human being, the “homo oeconomicus” and the “subject of interest” are clearly echoing from the past (Gordon 1991; du Gay 1996; Hjorth 2003).

In these writings entrepreneurship was a serious effort. One does not start the process of entrepreneurship out of curiosity or fun – instead only with the serious attitudes since there are so many *risks* in entrepreneurship. This talking about risks seemed to be a dominating one and here the classical definitions of Cantillon and Say could again be seen. But risk was not just economical but social – there was a fear of failure (not gaining) related to entrepreneurship. The same connotations could be found in many previous studies in the Finnish context (Leskinen 1999; Ristimäki 2004; Römer-Paakkanen 2007).

The second discourse – the *hard work & problems discourse* considered the life after establishing the company and related to the first analyzing discourse in a way that no big and quick wins were achieved – instead the early stages were done step by step with full of *hard work*, with long hours in the modest physical and mental atmosphere.

”At the beginning the operations were quite small and the finance was fixed with different small jobs” (Man 24, 39)

”We started at the rented office which was quite modest” (Woman, 26, 87)

”I was practising the entrepreneurship considering it first as a somekind of hobby “(Woman, 23, 22)

”I operated through my home-office and business did not start quite fast and easily” (Woman, 24, 79)

”At the beginning it was tough but since we got some name in the market the living was easier. Nowadays we have even steady customers” (Woman, 22, 95)

”In the start I was messed up with different things in book-keeping. Luckily they have now become as routines so I have more time to do something else also” (Woman, 21, 14)

”We got many problems but we made it even if it deserved a lot of hard work and belief to the company” (Woman, 23, 56)

”We went through with Finnish ”sisu” and afterwards we thought that how could we manage to do these long days time after time” (Man, 24, 33)

In this discourse entrepreneurship was constructed as containing the problems – at least in the beginning. You cannot be at ease until you have faced and solved the problems (Luoto 2004). The most repetitive way to solve the problems is to work harder. This is in line with the previous Finnish studies among students concerning the images of entrepreneurship (Leskinen 1999; Ristimäki 2004; Hytti & Kuopusjärvi 2004). The entrepreneur does not simply manage to succeed without different problems:

”I have grown up in a family where entrepreneurship was always around and I am fully aware that there are lots of problems and worries in there to handle...and there is no talk about the holidays at least in the beginning of the business” (Man, 24, 79)

”There was already this kind of business in the neighborhood so to get the customers was tough like we had expected it to be” (Woman, 22, 71)

”Sometimes we just felt that our competence was not enough to handle all the problems we were facing” (Woman, 23, 24)

”There were problems with the finance because nobody trusted that the business of youngsters would succeed” (Woman, 20, 28)

”The problem was already in the beginning to recruit qualified workers” (Man, 25, 4)

”We just decided to continue and work harder...we thought that giving up would be the worst idea...afterwards we thought that how could we manage those times doing work all days and nights” (Woman, 20, 31)

When there are difficulties and problems in the entrepreneurial trip, there emerge also different helpers. These are mainly close friends, ”my man” (but not ”my woman”) or parents – the good close network. The helpers are considered as crucial in the critical parts of the journey, without them ”we could not manage”. Again the significant others parents are here named and constructed as important (Päällysaho 1997; Ristimäki 2004).

”My man was my best support in the rough times...together we got over the difficulties (Woman, 22, 3)

”Luckily our office was located in the centre so that it was easy to reach for the customers” (Woman, 21, 16)

”Our good reputation helped as when we had lots of difficulties...fortunately we had a good network of people around us (Woman, 24, 49)

”It was really worth focusing on the marketing and web pages...this investment gave us clearly money back many times over” (Woman, 21, 17)

”Our close friends have been valuable than gold...when we did not have the resources to hire people there has always been friends around us to help in different things like cooking and cleaning and stuff like that” (Woman, 25, 50)

Along the entrepreneurial path there were lots of discussions about the need to “hire” people to the company. I call this here as *hiring discourse*. In the entrepreneurship the hiring seemed to be a very strong moral code:

”When we managed to balance the economy of the company and we got also some profit there was time to hire more workers” (Woman, 23, 35)

”After we noticed that the sales were going well we decided to hire some workers in the office” (Woman, 22, 11)

”I hired a worker to sell the clothes after I got two very big orders” (Woman 21, 29)

Hiring comes into question when most of the problems are solved and there are possibilities to hire more people. Hiring makes also the entrepreneur to look like a person who makes good for the society – he/she gives work for the people and takes care of the well-being in society. By pursuing the own interest the entrepreneur promotes and develops the whole society – the basic idea of Smith and Schumpeter. When people are thriving for their own success, also the others benefit. And it is considered also morally good to give paid job for people. And at the same time the entrepreneur can take it easier (Luoto 2004):

“It felt good to give job for this young woman since I noticed that many of the youngsters did not have the job and with this I could also give her an opportunity” (Woman, 25, 96)

“The unemployment problem was big with Kokkola area and I noticed that I could get this man to work for me and have a little change in the statistics – although quite a little” (Man, 26, 9)

”After a while our business got better I could take the fired workers back which was a good thing” (Woman, 23, 22)

”When I hired one extra worker there has been also other things than just work in my life” (Woman, 22, 7)

In the concluding narrative I identified three different discourses: *survival discourse*, *growth discourse* and *retiring discourse*. The survival discourse contained the idea that after the hard work & problems in the main narrative the company survived, although was not so successful in business terms.

”There were small deals with customers so that we stayed alive” (Woman, 44, 15)

“We decided to fight even though we thought that this is not going to go well” (Man, 24, 24)

”There has been some decline in the markets but now we can still survive” (Man, 24, 32)

”I cannot complain so much even though the shop is not going to make any success in the future – we can survive (Woman, 22, 94)

This discourse contained the idea that if one has chosen the entrepreneurial path one does not “give up”. Related to the hard work & problems – discourse one can be also proud of oneself when the company survived

“No matter what happened in the business we did survive and we were all quite happy with that” (Man, 24, 48)

This discourse reminded (together with hard work & problems) the cultural, Finnish (model) narrative what Kortteinen (1992) found in his study with the metal workers: the “life is hard” but one can manage with hard work and when the work is done, you can be proud of it. The survival connotes to something which is morally good and the giving up would be like losing the game.

“In our village in Jurva it has been always about the hard working men in the furniture industry...these small factories would not be possible without stubborn minds” (Man, 27, 28)

The second discourse, the “growth discourse” was about the growth of the company. This was motivated but the current situation in the company which was “not good enough”. The morally good company is the growing company.

”Our goal was to be the number one company in the branch considering the size by the year 2010 in the international level” (Man, 25, 47)

"We operate at the time in the rented office but during the year 2005 I will start in my own office and build it double that size as the present one – if we just have enough space to construct in this area" (Man, 24, 9)

"There is the aim to double our business and we can do it only in the bigger building" (Woman, 20, 66)

"We were not satisfied with the sales and hopefully we can have more sales in the near future" (Woman, 23, 33)

"The entrepreneur never rests but just keeps on thinking how to make this business bigger also in the international level" (Man, 22, 51)

"Our goal was to grow in Estonia since we realized that the economy of that country is getting better and better" (Man, 22, 40)

"At this moment there is a question about setting up a new shop – this time to another city. We have good reputation and it is a natural move to establish the second shop (Woman, 22, 61)

This discourse reflects the thoughts of Austrian school of economics, for instance the writings of Schumpeter (1934) and Kirzner (1973). By serving new markets or creating new ways of doing things, entrepreneurs move the economy forward – the way to enhance and vitalize capitalism, the "growth". Entrepreneurs find new ways of manipulating nature, and new ways of assembling and coordinating people. Growth is then the engine of the capitalism. Or: the early Phoenician mindset put into a new context. And in this operation the entrepreneurs are the key agents in the development of the economy.

The third identified discourse is here named as *retirement - discourse*. There is again the idea that when the problems are solved and people hired "we can take it easier" (Luoto 2004) and focus also to other things than just "work".

"Luckily we have come to the point when we do not have to do anything. Sometimes we can have a holiday or take a long weekend off with my husband" (Woman, 22, 3)

"Now we have had the possible to put legs in the table and concentrate to management. We found it very important to consider the well-being of our workers also so we can give all the support we can to them" (Woman, 25, 96)

"We have moved towards the areas of leadership the employees. We try to get them all the knowledge what they need to have in order to work here" (Man, 24, 49)

”There is a plan to develop the service so that we should not work all the time” (Woman, 20, 31)

Usually these narratives ended up in the phase where the entrepreneur moved away from the working to developing the business and focusing on the leadership and giving the knowledge and support for the workers. The “work” and “development” are separated functions in entrepreneurship. In none of the stories the business ended or there was a phase of giving up or selling the business. Also the narratives of business successions were missing in the data, even if the topic is argued to be hot in the current public arenas (Hautala 2006).

“This business is like your child and one wants to see closely how it develops to the older years” (Woman, 28, 77)

Related to this I found some differences in the university and polytechnics students: in the university students’ narratives the business was considered as evolving and changing and they are more open to development not depending on the gender. In the polytechnics students’ narratives the business ideas tended to stay the same as it was in the beginning. This finding brings up the question if there are different “academic tribes” or “academic cultures” (Ylijoki 1998) socializing and habituating the students into certain discourses or is this the question of selection of students to certain speaking positions according to the hierarchy in the educational system. And might these discourses differ also according on the study areas and branches?

To sum up these discourses from preliminary, main and concluding narratives constructed following discourses:

1. Paid job –discourse

-“real work is paid job”

2. Optional entrepreneurship – discourse

-“entrepreneurship can be one meaningful option too...”

3. Analyzing discourse

-“one needs to analyze the risks carefully beforehand”

4. Hard work & problems discourse

-“entrepreneurship is about hard work and problems will come”

5. Hiring discourse

-“the entrepreneur needs to hire personnel to do the work”

6. Survival discourse

-“the entrepreneur does not give up but survives after hard work”

7. Growth discourse

-“the good company grows”

8. Retiring discourse

-“after hard work the entrepreneur can take it easier and step aside of the work”

What seems to be uniting these discourses is the *idea of labouring*. The idea of getting a *real job* – real job is a paid job, which is the basic idea of labouring. Then there was the idea of the *otherness of entrepreneurship* as a way of making the living – the entrepreneurship might come along if there would not be the “real job”. Also the analyzing discourse contained the idea of carefully making the calculations – doing that job thoroughly before starting anything, the disciplined, managerial human being (Hjorth 2003). And the idea of *hard work* related to entrepreneurship could be also seen borrowed from the “labouring” – the connotation identified also by Weber (1930) related to the “spirit of Capitalism”.

Furthermore, the *hiring* activities could be seen part of the labouring conceptualizations – the way of understanding the relations between “employer” and “employee”, the entrepreneur and the “worker”, for instance the idea of renting or networking was not seen in any of the narratives. The growth discourse then is a moral activity and gives jobs for more people – one clear attribution of the good and successful enterprise. *Retiring* is also a part of the labouring discourse where working and development are divided spaces in entrepreneurship. Also this “retiring” person becomes non-working and steps aside and can enjoy the “fruits of the labouring” after the career, which has been linear committing to one business-idea and not giving up even if there would be troubles. The retirement as a concept reflects also the moral codes of the industrial era and the Labour movement since 1900’s in Europe.

This labouring construct reminds also quite much of those ideas what Anttila (2005) found in her study about the moral codes related to Finnish Labour movement. For instance the idea of “holiday” or “free-time” is related to work as a counter-term. First there is work and then there is holiday. They are not parallel and interactive terms, instead exclusive terms. The time is arranged according to this moral coding – also the time of the career. First there is paid work and then one can retire. The similar findings are reported in other related studies related to “blue-collar industrial cultures” (Willis 1977; Hennequin 2007).

The discourse other than “blue-collar” is then “the other” when describing the contents of working life. Looking from another perspective one might consider that the language and the concepts of labouring have become ruling the “linguistic markets” as put in the terms of Bourdieu (1986). The person is acceptable and has the “linguistic power” when using these concepts, also related to entrepreneurship. In another words, and looking this from the CDA –perspective this *labour-*

ing seem to have become “self-evident” and “normal” and “hegemonic” and there would be space to de/reconstruct this talking as part of the signification practises later on.

7.2.2 *Metaphors*

Compared to discourse analysis the metaphor analysis operates mainly on the word level. When identifying the metaphors in the narratives I used the ideas of critical metaphor analysis. This meant that I was focusing on *certain metaphors* which seemed to be “selfevident”, “repetitive” and “natural” in the narratives. In this critical effort I also used the theory of markedness using the binaric ideas of structuralism. According to this binary thesis signified’s content is determined by a series of binary contrasts in which one term is marked and the other unmarked (Holdcroft 1991). The unmarked term is often used as a generic term whilst the marked term is used in a more specific sense, or is the deviancy.

In the preliminary narrative I have identified the metaphors “*crazy*” and “*dream*” – they could be here read also as unmarked terms related to entrepreneurship. The first metaphor was seen in the extractions like this:

“We thought we had to be crazy even planning to thing like this...” (Man, 23, 6)

“It seems that my parents thought I would be crazy since with the university diploma I could do quite many other things too in the working life” (Woman, 22, 95)

“I sometimes had these crazy ideas during night times thinking about entrepreneurship but I knew that they did not lead me anywhere” (Man, 21, 18)

“In order to be creative one has to be a little bit crazy too” (Man, 24, 50)

“I read a book where it was said that to be an entrepreneur you have to be a little bit crazy” (Woman, 25, 96)

”My friend just made a joke out of it telling that let us build up the business. I just laughed and said that are you crazy. But still it was a start for our preparation of the business” (Woman, 21, 14)

”Little by little I begun to think that if I could manage to brainwash one of my colleagues in my previous work I could continue to develop my crazy idea” (Woman, 22, 8)

The metaphor “crazy” was used related to entrepreneurship quite often. Crazy connotated something which is not reasonable, not realistic, not serious – it is beyond the normal. It is linguistic device which relates entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship as a whole belonging to the “crazy side of life”. But still it could be something which could be also admired – from the distance.

In line with this finding, Karhunen (2007) noticed that youngsters metaphors related to entrepreneurship were divided into two main categories: on the other hand entrepreneurship is a dreamlike option offering the possibilities for self-actualization, on the other hand it is a crazy, risky option which demands the offering of the whole life for the puritanian work-attitude. An interesting question remains: why the term crazy is related to entrepreneurship in the metaphoric level? Where does this construction come from? Why one has to be “crazy” in order to think about the business planning or acting as an entrepreneur?

This metaphor brings up the discussions of Foucault (1977) about norms, normalities, control and discipline. According to him it is arguable that humans live in a “disciplinary society” or a “society of control”. Further on Foucault explained that “normalities” and “discipline” may be identified neither with a certain institution nor with an apparatus; it is a type of power, a modality for its exercise, comprising a whole set of instruments, techniques, procedures and practices. Here, the entrepreneurship represented abnormality, the deviant construction and was in a way “out of control”. This strengthened the idea of the “otherness of entrepreneurship” previously mentioned.

But paradoxically it maybe described as “wanted” since the other repetitive metaphor related to entrepreneurship in the preliminary stage is “dream”.

“It had always been my dream to start my own company. I guess I had dreamed about it since I was a little girl” (Woman, 22, 5)

“Now I had the possibility to make real one of my long term dreams...to use my skills for my own company” (Man, 23, 11)

Like the metaphor “crazy” the word “dream” connotates to the world which is not “real” – it is again beyond the real. Entrepreneurship was not then “real”, but it is not even “play” – like stated before. What is this metaphor of “dream” then doing? What might this speech act then be about?

In the dreams one can do anything – everything is possible. This could be also seen as a linguistic tactics: with this conceptualization the *narrator makes the distance* with him/her to the object, which is “dream”. This dream metaphor as a whole represents also that part of life which is there “somewhere” but has not so

much to do with the “real life” – sometimes dreams come true but not so often. Therefore I consider both of the linguistic devices as having the role of making entrepreneurship “not real” with this speech act. It is the other even though it might have positive connotations - like it has been found in the previous studies about the attitudes and schemas related to entrepreneurship – for instance the “attractiveness of entrepreneurship” with young adults in Finland (Melin 2001; Mäki & Vafidis 2000; Ristimäki 2004).

In the main narrative I found two interesting metaphors for critical analysis – the metaphors of *paperwar* and the metaphor of *Master of myself* which seem to be repetitive and unmarked. The metaphor of paperwar could be found in the contexts as below:

“If I knew that there would be so much paper war with different authorities I would not have started this whole project (Man, 22, 8)

“Most of my time was spend in the paperwar in the beginning and I felt that nobody could help us in the situation” (Woman, 23, 24)

“I think quite many students would establish a company if there was not this famous paperwar related to that” (Man, 23, 13)

“Fortunately we had a friend who had experience of book-keeping so we could outsource most of the paperwar to him” (Man, 25, 36)

“It took so much energy from us to fill up different papers when establishing the company. The paperwar was awful” (Woman, 20, 31)

The idea of “paperwar” was about “fighting with different papers”. In “war” one has always enemies and these might be named here as different officials. They demand your energy and unload your batteries. They do not help, instead give extra stress. Sometimes it was felt as the unbearable part of entrepreneurship and when the “war” was over one could really start the actual process of entrepreneurship. And usually this “war” was situated in the first steps of entrepreneurial path. The entrepreneurship was then about the winning of this war in these narratives.

The second metaphor *Master of myself* connotated that the entrepreneur rule his/her own world. This meant that entrepreneur is independent, he/she can decide, he/she is individual, he/she works alone and “masters” the process of entrepreneurship. This metaphor of “Master of myself” was repetitive also in the study of Karhunen (2007), in relation to such metaphors like “trip”, “adventure”, “passion” and “fight”.

Entrepreneurship was also located to the symbolic universe of the male (Bruni et al. 2004; Pietiläinen 2001; Karhunen 2007) relating also to “great person school of entrepreneurship”. Here the entrepreneur had “heroic” personal qualities (Klapper 2005, Warren 2005). The question here would be: what might be the feminine counter-part, the marked term of the metaphor “Master of myself”? This mastering is again one application of the “homo economicus” or the managerial, rational subject (Hjorth 2003) earlier mentioned.

This metaphor “Master of myself” relates itself also to the modern Cartesian tradition where the “Self” is separated from the social, from the others which according to many scholars does not even fit to the pragmatics of entrepreneurship (Timmons & Spinelli 2004). This Master is not part of the social – (s)he is not interactive but “above” the others – he has a certain privileges and does not have the demands which are directed for instance to paid labourers:

“One privilege in this entrepreneurship was that I did need to listen to my boss anymore. Being the master of myself I could do whatever I wanted” (Man, 22, 8)

“As an entrepreneur I did not have free-time but on the other hand I could be the master of myself” (Man, 24, 15)

“For me it was important to be master of myself since I have always liked to decide my own things in my life” (Woman, 26, 74)

Mastering is also a process of development. The entrepreneur (individual, person) gets the status of Mastering by hard work, commitment and winning the fights. This “fight” could be also considered as a repetitive, unmarked term. Term fight was also related to other parts of narrative for instance in the “hard work & problems” – discourse and the “paperwar” – metaphor but here it is used as a metaphor describing the life “after fight”.

“I would sum up that our life in the company was fighting the odds but in the end everything went quite good (Man, 22, 20)

“When we decided to move to Helsinki to have our internet –service there I felt like we would have won the fight in the market situation (Man, 24, 16)

“The fight was over with the competitors and finally we got our share in the clothing business in Seinäjoki area” (Woman, 21, 16)

“The constant fight with everyday problems with the customers was done since we begun to be appreciated by customers for having the best products” (Woman, 23, 22)

“We had the best quality in our services and we did not have to fight with the prices anymore” (Woman, 22, 24)

In the concluding narrative there came “peace” after the “fight” in the business. Most of the work was done and the entrepreneur could concentrate on leadership and development. The Master does not have to fight then anymore. But if (he) has to – the Master has better possibilities to win this “fight”. The “fight” also constructs the situation in the market and between the competitors – sometimes “fight” has been very rough too.

“I put my all energy to handle this situation – felt like I was doing my best and I wanted to show to all my competitors that I am going to be something in this business.. I did not want to loose even if it took all my effort to prove them” (Man, 21, 30)

The market and competitors were constructed as hostile players in entrepreneurship. In none of the narratives the competitors or other companies in the branch where seen as part of the network which could open possibilities to the cooperation also. For instance:

“I decided to keep my business ideas for myself also after operated couple of years since it felt that if I went to tell this to some other students they could steal my idea and therefore I would easily loose my position in the market. It is nowadays so easy to steal your idea because one cannot protect that so easily” (Man, 23, 11)

This markedness of social, cooperation and networking again strengthens the unmarkedness of individual, person approach of entrepreneurship defining the entrepreneur as the loner “among the hungry wolfs”, the competitors in the market:

“I felt like being in the jungle among these big players in the branch. This one competitor looked like he was ready to eat me in one exhibition we had in Botnia-Hall related to our stand and our products” (Woman 23, 56).

Therefore, the Master has to be strong to go on among the different dangers in the wilderness. The Mastering was also about extra powers which might come into question when the “going gets tough”:

“I do not know where I got all these magical powers to show that I can handle this company by myself even if all the odds seem to be against me in” (Man 23, 13).

This Mastering – idea came up also from a recent study of 9th grade students by Komulainen et al. (2009). Here the entrepreneurial person was not contingent upon external effects but an autonomous self-governing individual. It seems that

socialization to this idea of individual Mastering comes from the early years, at least in our society.

7.2.3 *Subject positions*

The preliminary narrative contained the idea that entrepreneurship came into consideration suddenly or by accident – as a surprise. In the discursive level the entrepreneurship was in many cases the other option compared the action of looking for “the real job” or acting as a paid worker. In these cases the subject was sort of “thrown into the topic” without any previous considerations about entrepreneurship. Or then entrepreneurship was considered something which is not for the narrator, it might be something for the “others”. Here, the modern, person-related, *heroic entrepreneurship* took again the space as a starting point of the entrepreneurship:

“I got into this situation to plan to do something as an entrepreneur which I did not ever thought to be something for me...I never considered myself as an entrepreneurial kind of person” (Woman, 24, 7)

“I do not see myself as an entrepreneur – but maybe somekind of franchising idea would be not so bad after all...maybe this is because my father used to be an entrepreneur and worked too much during his lifetime and gave me maybe negative attitudes...but since I have to think here something of the subject then let it be franchising restaurant, like the Subway” (Woman, 26, 19)

“I have noticed that entrepreneurial kind of types seem to have somekind of internal affection to be entrepreneurs but since I never felt I had this I never even thought this could be a serious option for me in the future” (Woman, 27, 11)

In some cases the subject/narrator was totally lost, hesitating and without any ideas to how to start the trip and what to do. The situation was new and odd for most of the narrators:

“It is a funny thing since even if I have entrepreneurs in my relatives I still do not know what they really do” (Man, 22, 1)

“As never being thinking this possibility before in the school I felt like Alice in the Wonderland” (Woman, 23, 22)

“I have to say this is my first thing I really consider this possibility even if I am going to graduate within one year from now on” (Woman, 25, 38)

“I am not so sure about this thing but I am going to write something which I think relates to entrepreneurship” (Man, 21, 55)

The business ideas just came from somewhere – it was not actively thought and developed during the studies or before that. In some of the narratives there was a hesitating and unsure narrator, not only surprised or passive. Here usually the good friend or parents encouraged and gave trust to go on. Still, the narrator was not so certain what to do and if this was so good idea after all and seeking support from familiar actors. The narrator/subject got more secure feeling when he/she had been taken help from the trusted ones, the significant others (Ristimäki 2004):

“The business idea came from my best friend who after long persuasion got me into the business” (Woman, 21, 90)

“I would like to see some support also from my parents but since they did not do anything I had a little suspicious mind about this even if I knew that I know everything about horses” (Woman, 20, 66)

In some narratives the subject had the clear vision and “incubated” idea just to start when the studies were over – but these were only few in the whole body of narratives.

“We started to plan this idea already in high-school but after that there has not been any intentional brain-work related to business thinking...but thinking this idea afterwards there could have been some brainstorming also later on” (Man 24, 50).

Here the narrator/subject was more active and secure about the idea and also willing to go on with business planning. Here, most of these narratives were related to the narrator’s previous experiences where she/he had had the possibility to think about the entrepreneurship in practical level, like in the courses or different projects in the high-school, polytechnics or if they had plans related to their (parents) family business:

“I had a lot of experience about sports and decided to continue on that trip also in my enterprise” (Woman, 22, 2)

“I got some interest towards entrepreneurship as soon as I noticed that I can utilize my hobby with dogs as an area of business” (Woman, 20, 5)

“Whole my life I have worked helping in our family company related to gardening so I thought this was a good base for planning the new business” (Woman, 22, 68)

“Our operations started already in the school time when we made these computer programs in the project which was founded with the extra money from the hometown” (Man, 23, 7)

“There was a guy visiting our school couple of years ago telling about his ideas about the internet-portal which I thought could be further developed in the future and I started to rethink that idea” (Man, 24, 61)

“Our school was orientated to entrepreneurship and we had couple of courses where we had the possibility to get to know concrete entrepreneurship and therefore I had the possibility to test my ideas already couple of years ago” (Man, 24, 10)

During the analysis I noticed that there were differences in the female and male narratives in subject positioning. The “not-knowing” and “not-capable” subject positions and were more related to women’s than men’s narratives. This supports the previous findings (Melin 2001; Leskinen 1999; Ristimäki 2004) stating that men tend to be more “familiar with the idea of entrepreneurship”. This finding relates itself also to the previously introduced feminist research tradition which has stressed the “male domination” of the traditional/modern entrepreneurship (Bruni et al. 2004; Pietiläinen 2001; Connell 1995; Bull and Willard 1993; Czarniawska-Joerges & Wolff 1991).

I also found that the constructed “literary space” (Jahn 2005) was quite different in the women’s stories. It referred more to close “best friends” in the non-formal surroundings like beaches and student flats than those of men’s stories even if men’s narratives also had the dominance of non-formal surroundings like restaurants, bars and trips.

In these literary spaces “knowing” and “capable” subject positions were usually related to university students’ narratives. They also varied quite much containing the environments such as work-places, university classes, incubation programs, previous high school projects, student trips to innovation centres, travels to sales-conferences etc.

Thinking about the Forster’s (1976) and Chatman’s (1978) characterization it could be summed up that university male students and polytechnics women students differed the most – they had opposite dimensions in the characters. In nutshell, university male students were international, travelling, publicly actively seeking for opportunities. In the means of Forster’s division of flat and round characters men tended to have round or dynamic characters. Women had usually quite one dimensional flat or static character which did not “change” in the course of the action but stayed as “assistant” or “book-keeper”. Clearly, polytechnics wom-

en students positioned themselves to “hometowns”, to neighbourhoods which were not so actively seeking for opportunities. They stayed in the private and familiar “literary spaces”.

The main narrative seemed to offer for male students the characters of *active and capable business developers* using different resources and networks in the national and international setting. In this subject position the male constantly seek opportunities to develop the business and different relations are described here as “business relations”. The role of the collaboration in the male businesses is about to “use the contacts”, “get the information”, “have good tips from the experts” in order to succeed and develop the business constantly:

“I had managed to gather around me the wide network of relationships from different business areas like salesmen, venture capitalists and sub-contractors (Man, 20, 31)

“We could not just wait for the things to happen – one has to look constantly new opportunities for development” (Man, 21, 62)

Males just “make it happen”, they are the previously mentioned “frontiersmen of the West” who “discover the new lands” (Czarniawska-Joerges & Wolff 1991). They do not hesitate too much. They are aware of risks, problems and heavy work but they have the courage and they are competent to face the problems:

“We knew that there were lots of risks but we trusted ourselves because our pilot project with Nokia was a big success” (Man, 22, 60)

“We had the competitive edge to go forward, our quality was the best in the branch” (Man, 21, 54)

In this subject position males operate also in the public, “outer world” (Bruner 1987); the descriptions of family relations are rare and especially the relations with wives/girlfriends are ignored in the narratives. There are also many detailed descriptions about the “outer resources” (such as venture capitalists, financial sources, private and public consultants, different business supporting organisations) which are not the family members but instead different kind of experts in the business fields (Aaltio 2007). This trend tends to be inline also with some previous findings (Leskinen 1999; Melin 2001; Päällysaho 1997).

When seen through the ideas of Bourdieu, the concept of “linguistic capital” it seemed that males did have more competence as a strategic player when defining their positions in the “linguistic markets” related to the concept of entrepreneurship. They played according to the rules what is expected in the traditional entre-

preneurial narrative, they had power to do things, the heroic entrepreneurial “habitus” in their narratives (Bourdieu 1986).

Women tended to produce for themselves the subject position of the “*contempler*” or “*maintainer*”. The word “contempler” means that women see themselves as careful analysers of risks, they hesitate to take any big steps and they need encouragement and help from others, like relatives and husbands and in many narratives their roles as entrepreneurs are defined against the dominance of male entrepreneurship (Weedon 1987). The subject position “maintainer” means that women constructed themselves as keeping the business small and in local or national setting in collaboration with others. The firstness of keeping up “good relations” with others and the secondness of “business” are described in this context. It is even so that the maintaining of relations is done via business, such as restaurant keeping – it is a place for the “inner circle” to maintain and keep up the social relations.

“I think we all wanted to have a very well decorated restaurant so that we could enjoy being together in the business” (Woman, 25, 41)

“We had a very good team. Without it I could not manage rough times. My workers were more like friends to me and everybody wanted to take care of each other” (Woman, 20, 31)

“We were four girls at the same age from different parts of Finland and when we finished the school nobody wanted to stay alone and therefore we decided to start a business of our own” (Woman, 21, 90)

In this way this resembles Bruner’s (1987) concept of “inner world”, which is private, intimate, forgiving, and safe, and where the subject does not need to be afraid of anything.

It seems that girls still learn to see their role more related to private rather than the public. Is it still so that the complex socialization process girls come to regard the outside world as threatening, in contrast to the boy who find it “challenging” (Sarland 1991)? Is it so that the traditional entrepreneurial (heroic, masculine) roles are directed to men (Hänninen 1999) and women are constructed as “others” who get their meaning as related to the roles of men (Weedon 1987)? At least one recent study by Komulainen et al (2009) suggests that already 9th grade boys constructed themselves as capable, “competitive” actors working in the public. The girls represented themselves more as “non-competitive” holding also other values and contents related to entrepreneurship.

Only recently there have been published some studies who emphasize the constructions of women related to entrepreneurship not as “the other” or “marginal” but just different stressing for instance the role of social capital or qualitative dimensions of entrepreneurial life (Aaltio et al. 2008) giving space for the differences, but not stressing the “otherness” or marginality of women entrepreneurship in the public discussions.

In the narratives the division of labour in the enterprise was also very clear and strict. This implies that women restrict the certain areas of business to themselves and certain (almost always the leading roles) areas for their husbands/boyfriends. In this way these women reproduced the roles of women and men, the “internalized, hegemonic masculinity” (Forbes 2002) is related to active, leading subjectivities in these micropractices of narrating:

“I did all the paperwork and my boyfriend did the job itself” (Woman, 25, 70)

“My husband was a truckdriver and he has been driving the truck for many years; I helped him doing the invoicing and other stuff” (Woman, 23, 22)

For the women entrepreneurs was not so much about the growth than for men. In this sense the entrepreneurial identity resembled the artisan identity (Stanworth and Curran 1976). Here the entrepreneur values for instance the ability to pick the persons you work with or where the satisfaction lies in at producing a quality product with personal service:

“For me the business did not give any big successes, but at least I had some work to do which is better than be unemployed” (Woman, 24, 49)

“Since we were three young women and nobody thought that this is going to be a big business” (Woman, 22, 95)

Interestingly, in the female narratives men were also constructed as the active and leading part of the business (the branch, the location etc.) with the logic of the “internalized masculinity” by Forbes (2002).

“My boyfriend was interested about entrepreneurship and his experiences in the branch encouraged us to start our own business” (Woman, 21, 14)

Women constructed themselves here also as needing help and constant encouragement from the relatives and from their husbands/boyfriends which was seen also in the preliminary narrative:

”Luckily my family and especially my boyfriend were very supporting in everything so it was easier for me to take a part” (Woman, 22, 3)

”My relatives helped me by giving me a little sum of money in the start-up phase” (Woman, 24, 79)

Thinking about the literary spaces women located themselves mainly to the traditional feminine business areas like clothes shops and different beauty services. These business ideas were presented as “familiar” or “small”, also related to family-type of entrepreneurship. In the preparing stage there existed couple of close friends, parents or relatives which might then become business partners later on. Women still establish their companies in the traditional female areas like clothing and different “caring services” (Päällysaho 1997).

Considering the characterization it seemed that female and polytechnics students had more flat characters (Forster 1976) in their descriptions. Typical to these descriptions were that the character remained quite static along the narrative. Especially in the male university narratives there existed round characters. With Veijola’s (1997) words: men produced for themselves “strong subjects” related to entrepreneurship. In these narratives the “entrepreneurial learning” (Rae 2002) was processual or cumulative in the narratives.

This processual way of seeing the entrepreneurship tolerates also mistakes and changing directions along the path – this seemed to be possible for the males. This idea reminds the one that has been found for instance in the “real live experiences” where the business idea changes its content and focus, according to learning and feedback during the trip (Ylikerälä 2005). If there is somekind of change in the “literary space” in this sense, it is usually in the form of increasing the amount of workers around the subject and other key actors.

In the concluding narrative the narrator/subject had almost done “the journey” – the problem was somehow fixed. Then the narrator/subject could give space for other tasks helping the workers or focusing on the leadership. This position is possible also since the subject moved from the positions of the main narrative to a “*knowledgeable*” and “*capable*” subject position as seen through modalities. Subject was now more experienced and the subject position contained the idea of power and capabilities – especially for males, but also for some females. The differences between the genders were not so different anymore like in the preliminary and main narrative.

7.2.4 *The model narrative of entrepreneurship*

According to the constructed frame for model narrative I have collected different pieces together. From the narratological point of view there is the idea of different

phases or “tests” along the trip. As said, the preliminary narrative contained here one event called orientation/motivation” to entrepreneurship. In *the preliminary narrative* the subject (narrator) is introduced and the task is taken by the subject to build up a new business. The reader is told what the motivation is behind this start-up – why he/she decided to do the task.

“Everything started when we did not have a real job but we wanted to work after graduation. Together with friends we got this idea but first it appeared to be a crazy one. As a woman I did not know what to do, as a man I was capable of starting since I saw the market opportunities and trusted my skills when starting the business planning”

In *the main narrative* the different stages from beginning to some kind of trouble or climax is presented: the narrator/subject or other actors face task to solve and bring up somekind of solutions.

“Before starting the business the risks were analyzed and calculations made thoroughly. There was a lot of paperwar in the beginning. In the beginning it was a very small size business, and no big steps were taken. After some time there appeared some problems and difficulties but with the help of our friends and with hard work we managed. It was mostly about the working hard. As a man I was an active business developer, as a woman a contemplater or maintainer. There was a big fight for the survival. We hired more workers for us to make our life little bit easier”

In the concluding narrative there is a description what happens after the climax – what is the follow-up in the narrative.

“After survival I or we could take it easier and leave the hard work behind. Now there are possibilities to concentrate on leading the business. Independency and competency is achieved; one can even retire from the work and give space for others in the company”

When still packing this narrative it could be put as such:

“to become independent and competent entrepreneur by labouring”

In the discursive level I call this “trip” from preliminary narrative to concluding narrative as “labouring to retirement”; in the metaphor level I consider this as “trip” from strangeness (crazy, dream) to independency (Master of Myself) and in the context of subject positioning I call this a “trip” to insecurity (women)/capability (men) to competency. And even if there existed some differences between men and women, and polytechnic and university students, I consider this as a summing up of the narrative identities and narratologies in the level of model narrative. In this context I stress especially differences in the subject positions and

first and foremost related to the preliminary and main narrative where the differences appeared the biggest between men and women.

Below the model narrative based on the students' narratives in the visual version.

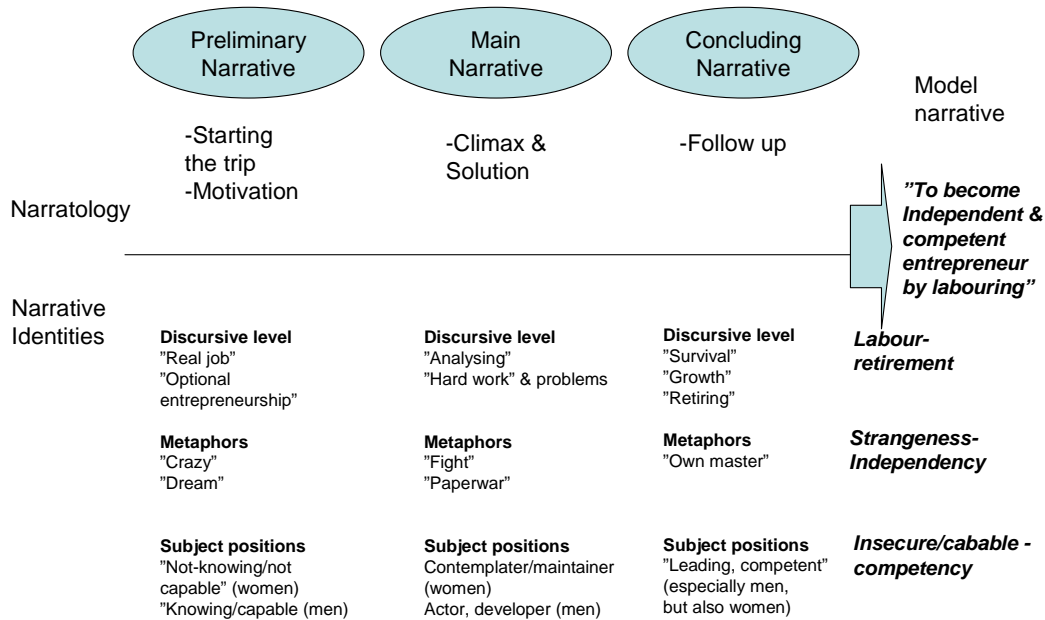


Figure 7. The model narrative of entrepreneurship in students' narratives

What does this “*becoming competent and independent entrepreneur by labouring*” then mean if seen in the semiotic terms? How entrepreneurship became to have these connotations? Even if this model narrative is a construction done by the researcher, I will argue that this construction contains the layered, dominant voices from the past. I will reflect these thoughts more detailed in the final chapter of the thesis.

7.3 The deconstruction of entrepreneurship

The *deconstruction of entrepreneurship* is the operation of the altering and challenging the constructive phase of entrepreneurship. Clearly, the role of this deconstruction is to unmask the construction and make the construction even more visible. And again the deconstruction makes the construction “empty” and opens up the reconstructive entrepreneurship as part of the process.

This counter-narrative, the different story, can also be made by using the binarity principle. And like said it is not “The” narrative, instead “A” narrative. This

means that there can be different kind of narratives, variety of narratives set up against the model narrative or dominant narrative. It is the process of finding the Derridean “other” available in the signification “turning around” the model narrative.

Before making the counter narrative, I will first sum up different key words from the constructive phase which could be identified in the model narrative. These I have named as elements of the constructed identities such as:

Being, one, vertical

-the idea of the entrepreneurial identity signifying being (not becoming), one and vertically moving identity (developing into competence within the named area)

Individual, related to substance

-the idea of the entrepreneurial identity signifying individual, person who works within the substance area (artisan identity)

Hard, rational and disciplined

-the idea of the entrepreneurial identity signifying hard, rational and disciplined working (labouring identity)

Based on these the counter-terms or binarities of entrepreneurial identities could be identified. I have named these deconstructions as:

Becoming, multiple, horizontal

-the idea of entrepreneurial identity in a state of becoming with multiple and horizontal movements

Social and non-substance

-the idea of entrepreneurial identity as interactive and social with not holding the specific/named substance

Easy, irrational and non-disciplined

-the idea of entrepreneurial identity signifying “easy”, “irrational” and “non-disciplined working

The idea of these deconstructions was to make “empty” the key aspects of the constructions in the model narrative and make them even more visible in order to make reconstructions. The elements of the constructed and deconstructed identities are here in the following table:

Table 4. The elements of the constructed and deconstructed identities

Constructed identity	Deconstructed identity
Being, one, vertical movement	Becoming, multiple, horizontal movement
Individual, related to substance	Social, non-substance
Hard, rational, disciplined	Easy, irrational, non-disciplined

With these elements of deconstruction there is then the possibility to make “A” counter-narrative. One possible counter-narrative could be then put as follows in the syntagmatic structure (preliminary, main, and concluding narrative). In the preliminary narrative:

“In the beginning I had several opportunities to think about my working life. None of them were fixed and I could invent and create many opportunities, not depending on my background or gender. Entrepreneurial way is one possible among the others and these ways could be then mixed along the working life”.

In *the main narrative* the different stages from beginning to some kind of trouble or climax is presented: the narrator/subject or other actors face task to solve and bring up somekind of solutions.

“I started working in several projects with my partners and colleagues and each of us had different competences to add in this venture. The business idea further developed along the process and it was not the same as in the beginning. At every stage we utilized also the different competences from the learning network. All the challenges were faced together with this network. Therefore also our skills enhanced during the process. Therefore we could move and try different positions and directions along the customer’s and our needs. Most of the working was fun and we did not take this as a life time project, instead as one way to learn and work among the other ways. If it gives satisfaction to us and customers it is going to be a nice experience which we can utilize all the time in the operations”

In the concluding narrative there is a description what happens afterwards– what is the follow-up in the narrative.

“After working together for some years we invented new ideas. We gave up the old ideas and started new ones. Some of us are working now part-time

in the company, some moved to other positions. We found that it is important to be flexible with the businessidea and look for new possibilities in the ongoing process, as long as we find it exciting and challenging”

This one possible counter-narrative gives space for movement, changes, multiple orientations instead of individually oriented, labouring, artisan type of identity where for instance the competences and business ideas are fixed. Instead of describing the status of being or gaining the independency (for instance) it is also about the discussion of becoming, the possibilities and processual aspect of entrepreneurship.

But this counter-narrating focuses mostly on finding the binarities. Therefore the reconstructive phase might illustrate more the variety of new creations in the narrative context.

7.4 The reconstructive entrepreneurship

The *reconstructive* moment was then about creativity, change and transformation of the constructed identities through/with deconstructions. It is about enlargening the schemas and frames, opening up “the new roads”, even the possibility of the *new signs*, the new signifier-signified relations.

I have utilized the previously presented ideas of exploratory creativity and lateral thinking combining the different pieces under the syntagmatic structure and paradigmatic contents. The reconstructive moment is a combination of these both aspects. Firstly there is:

Reconstructive moment with “exploratory creativity”

-The act of identifying different concepts based on the deconstructive moments and finding new locations within this space not changing the rules of narrativity (syntagma).

Secondly, there is:

Reconstructive moment with “Lateral thinking”

-The act of changing concepts and perception related to entrepreneurial identities; inventing new concepts and signifier-signified –relations related to paradigmatic contents; searching for different ways of looking at things, relaxation of rigid control of thinking and to encourage other ideas with tools like random entry and provocation.

In the first phase there was a task to create different concepts in different levels (discourse, metaphors, subject positions) based on deconstruction in paradigmatic level such as:

- Projecting
- Networking
- Multiple
- Passion
- Starting
- Learning

And so on. These I call here the *new elements* (text + symbol) in the narrative scheme.

The next phase for the *narrative creation* was then to put the different new elements related to new symbols in the model narrative scheme in order to build up different combinations into coherent narrative(s). This was my “narrative generation system” based on the ideas of Riedl (2004). This could look as follows:

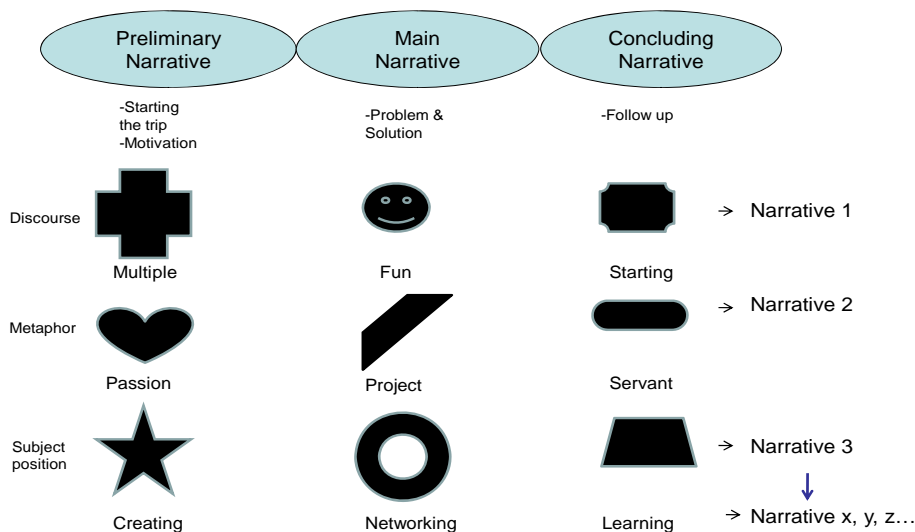


Figure 8. The new elements in the narrative creation

Based on these elements there is a possibility to create narratives x,y,z etc. – there is then a possibility to create multiplicity of narratives. Here I have created some potential narratives and named them as follows:

“Plater-Narrative”

-Combination of the elements multiple, project, learning, starting

“Lazor-Narrative”

-Combination of the elements passion, creating, fun, project

“Mobster-Narrative”

-Combination of the elements multiple, networking, servant, starting

Below these examples of narrative creations in the visual form.

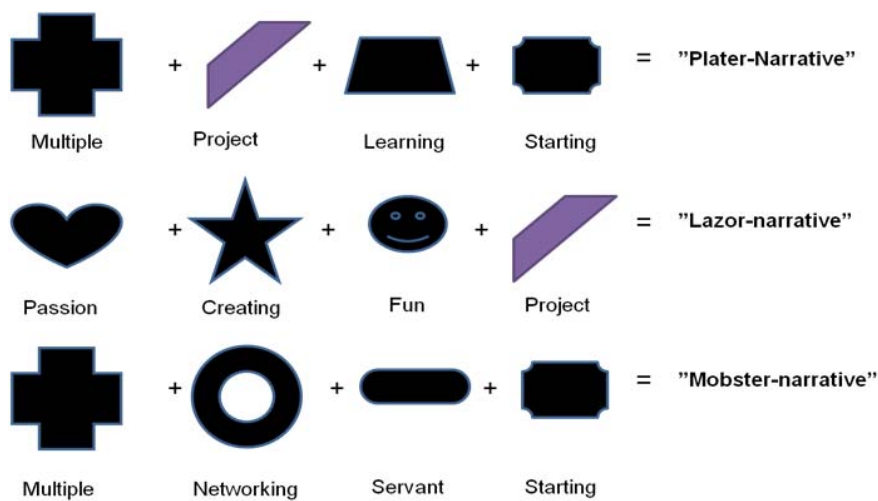


Figure 9. The examples of the narrative creations

In the Plater-Narrative the *“Plater”* is the sign for the person who designs his/her own *“plate”* – *“make his/her own wheel of healthy food”*; collects different tasks from different areas – moves between different fields uniting vertical and horizontal movements, collects different ideas, modify them into different contexts. This entrepreneurial identity collects his/her income from different sources, maybe having one own company, maybe uniting to a cooperative, maybe being active in different clubs or societies – transfers knowledge and experiences from one part of the plate to another. Plater can have different identities, different company cards, different phonenumber, different websites. Plater changes the orientations around the needs of the different customers and people involved. Plater seeks and creates constantly multidisciplinary opportunities. In the career literature this *“plater”* entrepreneurial identity reminds the concepts of *“boundaryless career”* (Arthur and Rousseau 1996) or *“portfolio career”* (Handy 1989) – but in those context these concepts are mainly related to *“paid work”*.

In the other possible narrative the “*Mobster*” is the sign for the entrepreneurial identity which unites the aspects of the individual and the social; the “mobster” is a mobile person “connecting people” “knowing where” and “knowing who” and “who wants what and why”. Like Plater, *Mobster* is not specializing to certain competencies, the substances, instead pendels through different competencies and landscapes. *Mobster* is a social, mobile and adjusting “yellow page” and “Facebook” – knowing where to contact, who knows who, always willing to help in this approach, finding out if he/she doesn’t know. *Mobster* is a reversal of the West-African “*Bumbster*” which might have the same kind of orientation, but which has become a minus word in the common usage. *Mobster* is a service provider of “the social network services” with lots of *social capital* when described like Coleman (1988) and Putnam (2000) as facilitating individual or collective action, generated by the networks of relationships, reciprocity, trust and social norms.

In the modern entrepreneurial language this can also be a more individualistic tone – social capital could be seen as an investment with expected returns in the marketplace (Lin 2001). This approach is close to network entrepreneurship (Koiranen 1993) earlier referred in the reconstructive phase of entrepreneurship within the entrepreneurship readings.

In the “Lazor-Narrative” the reconstruction “*Lazor*” signifies the identity which consists of the words “lazy activator”. *Lazor* is not the “disciplined” and “working” person – he/she is the casual worker, working as much as needed, breaking up the day/night – rhythm, taking a nap during the day, doing “small creative de-structions” in the Schumpeterian means. *Lazor* facilitates the ideas, *Lazor* enhances “lateral thinking”, helps to move the borderlines of the schematic knowledge, goes deep also to substance knowledge. In the modern, Industrial Age means *Lazor* is not “normal”. *Lazor* does not have a “real job”, instead he/she might work as internet journalist or cartoon drawer. *Lazor* has the passion, if not interested the channel changes easily. *Lazor* does not make “psychological contracts” only to certain employees – but can still have many contracts to different employees or businesses. Paradoxically the *Lazor* is usually more “efficient” or “productive”.

In this stage it should be remembered that here these identities are not related to the modern approach of identities – the fixed and stable ones. Here I have only illustrated “possible identities”, or “playing with the identities” (Hjorth 2003).

8 REFLECTING THE STUDY

This aim of this thesis was *to study entrepreneurship as a textual phenomenon using the constructed framework called reflective structuration*. This view applied the theory of structuration by Giddens (1979; 1984) and stressed that the concept entrepreneurship is an outcome of the interplay between societal structures and the subjects in the social setting. This approach saw the concept of entrepreneurship as an inter-textual phenomenon in history containing dominances (model narrative), which could then be deconstructed (counter-narrative) and reconstructed (narrative creation) and based on these further legitimized (narrative presence) into different forms in the social activity by agency.

This study developed a framework called *reflective structuration* by which the constructions of entrepreneurship were discussed. This view stressed that these concepts are an outcome of the interplay between societal structures and the subjects modifying the ideas such as those of the structuration theory of Giddens (1979; 1984). On the other hand this view means to build up an intentional, processual, interdisciplinary and pragmatic relationship to different texts related to entrepreneurship. In this study the constructive phase of entrepreneurship was put in focus (model narrative) even if all the parts of the reflective structuration was introduced in the theoretical background of the study and illustrated also in the seventh chapter of the study.

With this study I connected myself to the *structurationist paradigm*. In the field of entrepreneurship studies I located myself to the European or Nordic Entrepreneurship Research. This tradition has emphasized the narrative, constructionist, semiotic, structural and post-structural views on entrepreneurship. In order to do this I modified ideas from different scientific areas such as philosophy, linguistics, literary studies, history, economics, sociology, psychology, pedagogics, media studies and computer sciences. In the field of entrepreneurship research this study was more specifically linked to *pre-entrepreneurship studies or the pre-intentional* or identification stage of the entrepreneurial process (Kyrö & Carrier 2005; Huuskonen 1992) – the “stage before entrepreneurship” or even before the entrepreneurial intentions.

This reflective structuration approach tried to uncover the dominances of different societal constructions related to entrepreneurship, to build up the *model narrative* of entrepreneurship. Furthermore, it altered these constructions, the deconstruction phase via *counter-narrating*. The third phase was about *creating the narrative(s)*, to find possible alternative constructions (reconstruction). And finally to set up intentional and pragmatic actions for legitimating these different alterna-

tives having in mind the principles of *narrative presence and different legitimating behaviours*.

As an empirical illustration this frame was applied in the context of university and polytechnics students' narratives about entrepreneurship. The research objective was to consider what is this reflective structuration of entrepreneurship as contextualized to the Finnish university and polytechnics students' narratives of entrepreneurship?

In this study I applied multidisciplinary, "tool-box" view using the concepts of semiotics and narrativity as the key theoretical sources. In the first chapters I introduced the scientific background and the reflective approach; the basics of the modern western philosophies and different "critics of the modern". Here I stressed the *interactive, social, constructive human being as having also the agency, the possibilities for change and transformations*. Here for instance the idea of *structuration* was introduced and further developed the "reflective structuration". I also took a short look at the previous and current entrepreneurship research in order to build the "reflective entrepreneurship" also for the purposes of the study.

In order to analyse the student's narratives constructed an own analysis tool from the concepts of semiotics, and the structuralist narratology and post-structuralist narrative research. When analyzing the narrative identities I applied the concepts like *discourse, metaphors, subject positions* deriving from the idea that language and signs are always constructed. I related these concepts of narrative identity also to "model narrative" which was having besides changing, interactive paradigm the structuralist syntagma, in order to get coherence to the variety of narratives. With the concept of model narrative I then identified some repetitive and dominant structures for the "reflective structuration".

Totally 162 narratives were included in the data. They were gathered from the university and polytechnics students in Vaasa, Kauhava and Seinäjoki area during 2004-2005. With the data gathering the role-play method was used. The idea of the method was to tell a imaginary situation (frame story) to students and then ask them to imagine if they are in that imaginary situation and tell or write a little story according to that frame story – what might have happened before and how the story continues. The analysis was done processually interacting, in dialogy with the texts.

8.1 Reflections of the students' narratives

Based on this study I will argue that the modern model narrative of entrepreneurship as universal, a-historical, person and being-related phenomenon is echoing in these students' narratives. As a genealogist a researcher can trace layered voices deriving the definitions for instance from Say (1816) related to entrepreneurship:

“In the course of such complex operations, there are abundance of obstacles to be surmounted, of anxieties to be repressed, of misfortunes to be repaired, and of expedients to be devised”. (Say 1816: 104)

Continuing with the words of Collins and Moore (1964):

“What we have learned is that the way of the entrepreneur is long, lonely and difficult road. The men who follow it are by necessity a special breed...the road they can follow is one that is lined with difficulties, which most of us could not even begin to overcome...In the long and trying way of the entrepreneur such qualities may come to be so much excess baggage. What is necessary to the man who travels this way is great imagination, fortitude, and hardness of purpose... (Collins and Moore 1964, 244)

Further adding something for instance from Schumpeter (1987):

“These promises are strong enough to attract the large majority of supernormal brains and to identify success with business success... They are addressed to ability, energy and supernormal capacity for work (Schumpeter 1987: 73-74)

Ending up to pointing out to some extracts from my own summing up of the modern entrepreneurial narrative:

“Entrepreneurship is a universal, a-historical and positive phenomenon where the west is connotating the whole world...The entrepreneur represents a human being who is naturally thriving for better standards of living. The entrepreneur is an extraordinary person (man) with specific qualities and traits. He is the motor of the economic gain in the society. He acts as the co-ordinator and innovator conquering the new lands and opportunities. He takes risks, thrives for growth and works hard. He works alone and gains the success alone. After success he might be seen as community savior and heroic person”.

In this model narrative *the entrepreneur is an individual who thrives for independency and gains the competence after hard working*. This could be seen for instance in the independency ideal and separation of the entrepreneur(ship) from the other roles in the society. The entrepreneur is a unique type of person having the loner identity. It is about the individual and his (her) gains in the society which

might then benefit also other people. The individual makes analysis, takes risks, works hard etc. There are other people available, but they are in the role of helpers located in “the outer circle of entrepreneurship”. This reminds previously mentioned study by Steier (2003) who brought up the metanarrative called “entrepreneur as a solo actor”.

The entrepreneur is also more static than dynamic “person”. It is *not about becoming*. The identity and position is already there. The identity is not interactive and processual, changing, playful etc. If there is a change, it is about vertical movements related to gaining the competency. The typical identity is the artisan type of identity, where the dynamics come from “harder working”. Therefore *the sign entrepreneur signifies something which is located to person, being and working*. This could be seen as a moral and dominating code of entrepreneurial identity.

When interpreted with the concepts of narrative genre (Frye 1957) the model narrative follow the lines of the *western romance combined with the idea of the Bildungsroman* – the narrative of the “personal development” and “transcendence” to competency and independency. This could be seen in these narratives as “giving space for other tasks helping the workers” or “retiring” and “focusing on the development” when the problems were solved “rising above it all”. And these enterprises “lived happily ever after” without giving up or ending the operations following the genre of the romance. This idea of the Bildungsroman also referred to modern idea about “developing towards the perfection” after hard working.

In sum: the modern model narrative of entrepreneurial identities seem to be alive and kicking, even if many scholars have stressed the coming of the new social order by different “post” – terms such as “postmodern”, “postindustrial”, “post-material” in the new era. In the terms of the concept previously called *possible selves* (Markus & Nurius 1986) these students are imagining themselves in future as disciplined individuals who are driving for better days by hard working where there is no time for resting before the competence is gained. The playfulness, the lightness, the comedies, or the tragedies or satires are not at present in these students’ narratives. They are marked narratives in our narrative warehouse related to entrepreneurship.

This observation of the continuities of the modern narratives brings up the question whether the previously discussed era of modern and its linguistic dominances still exist. Several social theoretists (Beck 1992, Giddens 1991, Lash 1990) do not discuss about post-modernity, instead of late modernity or liquid modernity regarding the continuation of modernity in the current era. For instance Giddens

does not dispute that important changes have occurred in the western societies, but he argues that we have not abandoned the basic ideas and dominances of modernity. Rather, the modernity of contemporary (western) society is a radicalized “late” modernity, but still modernity, not post-modernity when referred to ideas such as Lyotard or Baudrillard.

Some of the post-modernists also have brought up the idea of “nomadism” representing the “post-modern mindset” of human beings as tourists, changing places, jobs, spouses, values and sometimes even more (such as political or sexual orientations) excluded from the traditions and “roots” (Bauman 1992; Maffesoli 1996; Inkinen 1998). However, this study would argue that there are continuities and identifiable “rootednesses” available in these students’ narratives.

In the beginning of the analysing process there was an implicit idea about the variety and differences of the narratives, the uniqueness of the cases (Eneroth 1984), but later on I realized that for instance the “post-modern nomadic” descriptions were only a few in the body of data. The repetition of the modern, fixed, hard working, local, rooted, moderate identities seemed to dominate the data following the story-lines in some previous studies in Finland (Pyöliö & Suopajarvi 2005; Mikkola 2002; Saarela 2004; Ristimäki 2004). The entrepreneurial narrative is not offering “nomadism” but instead idealized versions of the fixed identities having the extraordinary qualities.

At the same time this stereotyped image of the entrepreneur simply leads to idealized versions of the human being which many of us find ourselves incapable to relate to in their possible selves. Hence, stereotypes foster processes of exclusions and, as a result, other connotations towards entrepreneurship are repressed (Berglund & Johansson 2005). This usually leaves entrepreneurship and its different connotations in the position of the “other” in the semiosphere. Entrepreneurship becomes then as a not-real, instead crazy or dream-like of option. It is not the “normal”, but could be admired from the distance.

The aspects of the labouring identity

These modern aspects of entrepreneurship are then mixed to the *labouring identity* in the model narrative. This identity consists then of such dimensions as one linear “life-time” paid job, working individually, doing one part of the working process with disciplined, hard work in the clear work description and position. If there is the aspect of becoming then it is moving vertically within the work description, not horizontally or laterally. And it is about having the substance knowledge, the concrete “doing”, working with hands, the artisan identity kind of de-

scription. Besides that, there is clear distinction with work and leisure; also in the means of career when related to working years and life after “retirement”.

Furthermore, in these narratives the hiring or workers could be seen as part of the labouring conceptualizations. For instance the ideas of renting or networking were not available in any of the narratives. In the main narrative entrepreneurial path started with of “hard work & problems” – including the metaphoric idea of “paperwar” and “being the Master of myself”. Finally, in the concluding narrative there was the survival and retirement after the “problems” – now there was a space for enjoying, taking easy and also possibilities for “growth”.

This retirement discourse could be also seen as a part of the labouring discourse where working and development and enjoyment are divided spaces in entrepreneurship. This “retiring” person becomes non-working and steps aside and can enjoy the “fruits of the labouring” after the career, which has been linear committing to one business-idea and not giving up even if there would be troubles. This idea of retirement as a concept reflects also the moral codes of the industrial era and the Labour movement since 1900’s in Europe.

Here, I refer to the observations of Castells (2000) who stated that this “labouring” principle is referring to the “deep structure” – the legitime identity of the *Industrial Age*. In particular it draws on *employment-related expectations* such as predictability, security, loyalty, a “pathway” to progress along, a long-term, even permanent, mutually rewarding association between an individual and their employer; a progression within this association that is predictable and which involves a series of relatively discrete increases in both responsibilities and remuneration. Here I have modified these ideas also leaning to the findings of Anttila (2005), the moral code of “labouring”, relating them also to the previous writings Weber (1930), the idea of rationalization, to Willis (1977) – the “learning to labour” – approach, and to Foucault (1977) - the idea of discipline and managerial human being (Hjorth 2003).

The discourse other than “blue-collar” is then “the other” when describing the contents of working life. When looking from another perspective one might consider that the language and the concepts of labouring have become ruling the “linguistic markets” as put in the terms of Bourdieu (1986). The person is acceptable and has the “linguistic power” when using these concepts, also related to entrepreneurship.

With other words, and looking this from the CDA –perspective, the *labouring talk* seem to have become “self-evident” and “normal” and “hegemonic”. The term entrepreneur or entrepreneurship might be seen also as marked term when related

it to working life. Or at least – it does not hold the own vocabulary in the students' writings. Instead the concepts of labouring are familiar and this vocabulary is also used when narrated about entrepreneurship. The laboring discourse eats also the entrepreneurial discourse with its own signifier-signified –relations.

What might be the reasons for the dominance of the labouring in these narratives? When having in mind the CDA approach, there is a valuable discussion related to different *discourse practices*, the processes of production and consumption of texts and sociocultural practices behind texts. What might be the processes of production related to labouring?

According to this CDA – approach there are interests and power behind the discourses – the dominating constructs are not just born in social vacuum. The history has its role in the signification like Giddens and Marxist oriented scholars such as Foucault and Bakhtin stated. The history is layered and contains “voices” and “episteme” and “structures”, like Giddens would have stated. And that the signs belong to historical social systems – signs are rooted in the social practices, they have their origins in the social, in the history.

Therefore I consider that labouring is a historical phenomenon which could be related to industrialization and to related movements, such as Labour movement and its specific vocabulary. In Finland the Labour movement started as a marginal social movement in the end of 1800's but spreaded around the nation rapidly during the 1900's because of the fast industrialization (Anttila 2005). Finland became the land of corporations based on the wood and metal industries faster than the other western countries. The moral codes of Finnish Labour movement were first visible, but later on “melted into” the discourses of working-life in the common language usage. In these moral codes the concepts of “holiday” or “free-time” were related to work as counter-terms. First there is work and then there is holiday. They are not parallel and interactive terms, instead exclusive terms. The time is arranged according to this moral coding – also the time of the career. First there is paid work and then one can retire (Anttila 2005).

Ambjörnson (1988) brought up same kind of findings in Sweden where the Labour movement tried to modify the “moral codes” of the everyday living in the Swedish context. The objective of the Labour movement was to create disciplined and civilized labouring (man) who would be at the same time taking care of his family, but radical enough to support Labour movement's political objectives in the society.

Related to these “moral codes” of labouring Kortelainen (2008) made an interesting research of the the Finnish saw mill and its “blue-collar society”. This study

focused on the constructing of the labouring identities in this local society. The labouring identity is done by narratives of industrial spaces: the industrial local society, the working-class homes, the yards of these homes, the saunas and the local bar. In these descriptions the “labouring people” is differentiated from the bourgeoisie, “the better people”. The entrepreneur or the master of the saw-mill represents “the other”. That world is constructed as strange and mystical – it was not even tolerated to go through the fields of the “owner class”. The local society produced and maintained then the linguistic practices which united working class people together. This society even controlled and prevented its members from “not being better than the others”. The local industrial society expected that the collective would stay in the same frontier against the owning class. It was “we” and “the others” through the repetitive linguistic practices.

Besides the linguistic practices, some of these arguments might be related to industrial work itself. When seeing the industrial work through “Labour process theory” (Braverman 1974; Julkunen 2008) the “blue collar work” (besides the dress codes) could be considered as exploitative and alienating containing the ideas of deskilling and routinisation of the worker. According to this theoretical frame the ideal management objective was the removal of all worker control or autonomy, to be achieved through the specialized division and subdivision of tasks. The ideal of productivity is gained through this.

Julkunen (2008) stressed the role of the worker as obeying the rules of the hierarchical power, to be “productive” and just react, not invent something new. In this discourse then, the self-employment is then defined as “unproductive” by this capitalist accumulation system (Braverman 1974). The socialization into self-employment and “entrepreneurial orientation” then refers usually to opposite directions, namely set of proactiveness, risk-taking, alertness, innovativeness, autonomy, creating enhanced competences, creating prior customer or market knowledge or looking for new opportunities beyond the current work, perceptions about positive self-efficacy (Kirzner 1973; Lumpkin and Dess 1997; Shane 2000). The discourse of labouring might then reject these aspects as “abnormal” or “unproductive”. The discourse of labouring makes the other areas of work then as marginal – only the industrial is productive representing the rational way of being.

But how the idea of labouring then could be seen so powerful especially in Finnish life? Could it manage as a “movement” during the times of history? I think it could but not as powerful as it is nowadays. One explanation behind the power of labouring might lie in the union of Labour movement and capitalist owner and production structures of these corporations. Paradoxically, these traditionally op-

posite parties have found eachothers in this “labouring talk”. Industry has needed disciplined, hard working individuals. And labour movement has needed these big factories and there labour force to get its political followers. This could be seen as a perfect match when considering the “discursive practices” of labouring talk in the means of CDA.

According to Michelsen (2005) the specific Finnish social history, the rapid change of the structure of society during 1960-70’s in Finland have made this even stronger and powerful trend. Most of the Finns moved from agricultural surroundings to big factories. The key driver in the Finnish industry was “big paper and metal factories”. The big factories needed labour force and when there was a perfect match with the old moral codes about puritan “hard work” and new labour skills needed in the factories. At the same time for instance then the “small entrepreneurship” was left to the marginal. The entrepreneurship slipped away from the life-sphere of the majority of people.

And it seems, when referred to Kyrö (1997), that the industrialism has produced (especially locally in Finland) quite strong connotations “getting rid of the entrepreneurship” in the means of mainly focusing on efficiency of large organizations focusing more on management producing the managerial discourse. The industrialism brought up the biggest towns in Finland and more and more people became to acquire the codes of labouring. And this happened within a relatively short time. Therefore the working-life became to connote the same as labouring (Havusela 1999). So, in order to understand this marginality of entrepreneurship we need to take a look at how the industrial structure rapidly evolved in Finland after the Second World War.

And according to Julkunen (2000) this union has become even stronger in the late capitalism since the working life of factories does not demand only your body and hands, but also your “spirit and soul”. The role of work (paradoxically) becomes even more important in these conditions. In the Foucauldian terms this means that power and control of the work is moving from the concrete supervisors in the factories to inner psychic processes of the workers – one needs to do more, better, innovate and even enjoy while fulfilling itself in the working life. And this seems to be a quite global trend also, not anymore just a western trend (Julkunen 2000). And of course – one might think that disciplined and committed labourers are in the interest of owners of these late-industrial structures. But usually this coalition stays hidden from the public. And sometimes (in the global economy) the traditional positions of the labourers and owners are not clear, but the discursive practices still might stay uniting these parties.

When digging more deep into the discussions of industrialization and labouring one might ask what are the basis for them then? There might not be only one basis or “origin” but according to many scholars (Siltala 2004; Moilanen 2008; Sintonen 1999; Stark 2006) one might look for the answers from the time before rapid industrialization in Finland. The industrial era utilized the concepts from the *agrarian culture*. According to Siltala (2004) the Finnish “ethos of working” holds the strong ideal of independency and “survival” which is then derived from the old agrarian culture where the peasant is the concrete outcome of that ideal.

He also discussed about “territories” related to working which – according to him - have been more explicit in Finland than in other European countries. This hunger for territories then refers to remains of this peasant culture. According to him, the mindset of Finnish ethos of working has been gaining the freedom and the subjectivity from the despotism of the early rulers. Stark (2006) also reminded that during the last years of 1800’s and in the beginning of 1900’s the owning a piece of land and to become “Master of myself” by agrarian landowning represented the ideal life in the unsure circumstances of those years. And these people who did not own a land or had just a small piece of it were also building the majority of Labour Movement in the late years of 1800’s and in the early years of 1900’s.

The Labour Movement represented the hope of the better life and gaining something through collective action in the society. According to Stark (2006) the urban working class increased from 40 000 to 400 000 within 70 years during 1850-1920. It is hard to imagine that this rapid life-sphere change into Labouring would not have affected the Finnish narrative warehouse with the stories of labouring brought also to later generations. This builds then the continuity and coherence to these named narratives from university and polytechnics students.

Siltala (2004) also argued that the *labouring* in the ages of industrialism has offered these “safety territories” where the worker on the other hand gains (paradoxically) gains the freedom, the “own place” and on the other hand gains the safety and predictable incomes in the working life. By these mechanisms the mentality of labouring has gained its monopoly when constructing the working identities in the recent times of history. In this mindset the agrarian codes fitted well to the industrial labouring.

These same themes could be identified in the wider Finnish narrative warehouse which reflects these mindsets. Moilanen (2008) found in her historical study concerning Finnish novels through 1800’s and 1900’s that the repetitive story-line contained the idea of poor and hard-working human being (man) gaining the livelihood, independence and respect in the society through (his) own work. Here, the

most valuable thing in life was *gaining something by working*. Stark (2006) reported in her study of the 1800`s biographies of the Finnish peasants and industrial workers that “life is a fight for survival” and in this life one can manage when being hard-working.

Likewise Sintonen (1999) tried to describe the Finnish culture by studying the narratives of Finnish emigrants living in Canada. In these narratives life is constructed as a battle against the rude forces in the surroundings. In this battle then legitimation of the subject comes via getting the job and working hard. And after that one gets his/her place in the community. In both eras work is strongly connected to subjectivities – *the work becomes more than working*. It is a way of getting legitimacy in a social setting. It is a way of constructing the identity and finding the place in the society. In this way this labouring talk is functional in getting part of the legitimated being in society.

The samekind of observations were made in the study of Komulainen et al (2008) considering the Finnish youngsters` images of entrepreneurship. The researchers stressed the historical background of these images: the agrarian moral code of working is transferred via labouring also to the context of entrepreneurship. The images of “other kind of working” are then not available for these youngsters at least in the Finnish narrative warehouse. Or is it so that the agrarian and industrial time might be over but its discourses and metaphors still are the basis when we construct our world – at least in the semiotic and narrative level.

Currently, some of the Finnish researchers have made some critical observations about the lacking role of the different forms of entrepreneurship in the formal school curricula and practices (Mäki & Vafidis 2000). Some have even stressed that currently these practices orientate students to the role of “paid work” – here the labouring identity – not necessarily directly, but indirectly, for instance with the forms of student objectives, student handbooks and guides and different study practices (Ristimäki 1998) in this case in the higher education contexts.

Here it could be also referred to concept of *hidden curriculum* (Jackson 1968) which is a term often used to describe the unwritten social rules and expectations of behavior in schools that we all seem to know, but were never taught – the education seen as a socialization to rules of the society. Students readily adjust their behavior according to those expectations, knowing what the consequences are likely to be, and are prepared to make those choices seemingly without effort. In the higher education context, several scholars have pointed out the nature of the expectations refer to “learning the profession” or learning “the specific ways of thinking” for instance about working life and “career” (Bergenhengouwen 1987; Margolis and Romero 1998).

Or like Archer et al. (1999) stressed the students learn to make distinction between performance goals and learning goals. They learn to do the “studypoints” for somebody else. They learn to make good work for the professor or supervisor. They learn to become good, disciplined labourers where the most “skilled performers” tend to be get the best points. They are not learning the lightness of life, the playfulness, the alternative ways as contrasted to labouring. They are learning to be hard working and disciplined to be socialized to the legitime way of thinking about life. In other words: in the level of hidden-curriculum kids are learning to labour when using the phrase of Willis (1977).

So this particularly applies to the social and moral lessons conveyed by the hidden curriculum, for the moral characteristics and ideologies of the educational system, teachers and other authority figures are translated into their lessons, albeit not necessarily with intention. Yet these unintended learning experiences can result from interactions with not only instructors, but also with peers and other “significant others” (Ristimäki 2004). The fact that different forms of entrepreneurial identities are not available does not make it easier to apply different “beings” and “becomings” when thinking about the possibilities for changing, alternative identities.

Therefore Leskinen (1999), Tonttila (2001) and Ristimäki (1998) stressed that entrepreneurship and its various forms could be at least brought into discussions with students during their studies as one “real” possibility for working, as one possible source of identity/identities. The second objective could be that the variety of entrepreneurial opportunities and identities are put into the scene. Related to this study it could mean that the “labouring identity” or “artisan identity” with “problems” and “risks” is challenged and altered with varieties of entrepreneurial forms. This discussion I will continue in the practical implications of the research later on.

I consider the role of *media and significant others* quite important signification powers. As part of media, newspapers are an important medium to transmit cultural values and ideas, as well as socio-political ideologies (Soothill & Grover 1997). The message and knowledge conveyed by media are crucial in building the role model, the social-attitudes to the entrepreneurial activity and even the systems to foster or to hinder the entrepreneurship (Ristimäki 2004). The idea of significant others refers to any person (or persons) who has great importance to an individual’s life or self-evaluation and which socialize the individual (Andersen et al. 1998). In the literature one could find evidences how these significant others, role models or different sub-cultures might have their own model narratives

which define the good, bad and desirable and non-desirable also related to aspirations in working-life (Gunnarsson and Delmar 2000; Scherer et al. 1989).

Earlier it was mentioned one example of this kind of subculture in the form of “academic culture” (Ylijoki 1998) where different students are socialized to different positions. Besides these mechanisms there exist contextual model narratives which might be situated also in the local cultures. Therefore there might be differences in the local narratives of the towns related to “big factories” (such as Raahe in Finland) and the towns related to high density of small entrepreneurship as a form of gaining income (such as Närpiö in Finland). In his study Havusela (1999) described how the “wage-earners culture” might be located geographically and historically to certain areas which then might restrict the “entrepreneurship discourse” for spreading around. Havusela (1999) did not consider the different social mechanisms and discourses of labouring, but his study implied that there are differences of the local narratives related to working life. Therefore there should be also localized “other form of narratives” available and the different practitioners should be sensitive about finding those to various contexts.

For instance the family might be considered as one crucial *narrative society* which directs the signification processes with repetitive manner from the person’s early years. An example of this kind of analysis was made by Bruner (1987) who listened to stories of only one family in New Jersey identifying the topic of shame uniting the different family members and how this shame was related to different contexts in different narratives. Hennequin (2007) found samekind of “micromechanisms” related to “blue-collar families” – how the discourse of labouring was transferred to next generation in the numerous interactions within the family. The role of these significant others appear to be powerful in the socialization but for instance in Finland there is a lack of similar studies done in the micro-level of analysis.

Doing the entrepreneurial gender

Related to the modern entrepreneurial narratives, one crucial finding based on this research is that our culture still seems to offer females and males very different narrative identities, here related to entrepreneurship. The entrepreneurial gender was done differently when compared to male and female narratives. One could state that these narratives did reproduce very traditional, previously mentioned deeply rooted images about the gender connected to entrepreneurship.

In the level of subject positioning males constructed themselves as knowing and capable, women mostly as “not-knowing” or “not-capable” at least in the beginning of the narratives. In the main narratives males narrated themselves as “actors” or “developers”, and women as “contemplaters” or “maintainers”. Somehow males seemed to be more familiar with the concept of (modern) entrepreneurship in their narratives, the observation found also in many previous studies (Melin 2001; Ristimäki 2004).

Thinking about the characterization it seemed that female and polytechnics students had more flat characters (Forster 1976) in their descriptions. Typical to these descriptions were that the character remained quite static along the narrative. Especially in *the male university narratives the character(s) were mainly round characters: there it was also possible to focus on the development, including reconsidering the business idea*. With Veijola’s (1997) words: men produced for themselves “strong subjects” related to entrepreneurship. In these narratives the “entrepreneurial learning” (Rae 2002) was more processual or cumulative than in female narratives. This processual way of seeing the entrepreneurship tolerates also mistakes and changing directions along the path – this seemed to be possible mostly for the males.

Students still seem to use historical and traditional models when constructing their subject positions in their narratives. The “internalized masculinity” (Forbes 2002) is narrated as powerful, active, capable and developing positions both by females and males. Males represent the growth-oriented “discovering the new lands”, “the Spanish conquistador” and the “frontiersman of the West” –mindset (Connell 1995; Czarniawska-Joerges & Wolff 1991). This finding is in line with the previously presented ideas of Smith & Anderson (2004) related to “e-tales”, the lacking of the feminine aspects in these narratives. Entrepreneurship is still male connotated area of discourse, the masculine imagery and metaphors seem to hold the hegemonic position (Ljunggren and Alsos 2001; Achtenhagen and Welter 2003; Pietiläinen 2001). At least when entrepreneurship is described through the modern and traditional aspects previously discussed.

In these narratives females seemed to see themselves very differently compared to males as local small business entrepreneurs for instance in maintaining, caring and assisting roles in traditional female areas, like they have done for centuries. In this sense, one may conclude that even though all the occupations are “open” for both sexes in official statements and curriculums, Finnish society and its narrative warehouse is still “gendered” at least in the narrative and semiotic level related to entrepreneurship (Aaltio-Marjosola 1994; Vainio-Korhonen 2002). In this way the gender related to entrepreneurship is socially constructed and “done” contain-

ing also the power relationships between females and males, but besides that also contains connotations which are forming power relationships between females and males (Ahl 2002; Calás & Smircich 1990; West & Zimmerman 1987).

Is there space for alternative texts considering gender? Could we put the “women’s way of knowing and discourse” also to the centre strengthening also the feminine voices of entrepreneurship (Belenky 1986)? For instance Kyrö (2004) opened up the discussion that traditional (male) entrepreneurship discourse (containing growth, expansion, success etc.) need not to be self-evident but could be challenged. It could also contain meanings from other areas of life such as “caring”, “smallness”, “lifestyle” etc. According to Mavin and Bryans (2002) the educational institutes should put gender firmly on the agenda and increase the awareness of gender issues through the process of education.

Furthermore, Mahlamäki-Kultanen (2005) claimed that we need to offer critical reflection over the traditional gendered metaphors and narratives related to entrepreneurship in the education system to open up space for new constructions of entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial thinking. In practice, this constructive side of the gendered entrepreneurship could be arranged in the long-term, dialogic type of learning processes, where the educators could provide the students with alternative role-models and time and different tools for them in the need of constructive “self-reflection”. This type of process I will later on develop in the final chapter.

In sum, this model narrative of entrepreneurship constructed in this research (re) produced:

1. the traditional modern entrepreneurial narrative of being and person related entrepreneurship
2. the dominance of the labouring identity related to entrepreneurship
3. the traditional gender images and subject-positions connected to entrepreneurial identities

The combination of this could then be named as signifying *conventions* by Saussure (1983), *objectified and legitimized knowledge* by Berger & Luckmann (1966), *rule and structure according* by Giddens (1979), *schematic knowledge or frame of work* by Piaget (1963), Bartlett (1932), Minsky (1975) or Goffman (1974), “*myth*” or “*third order of signification*” by Barthes (1977), *ideology* by Volosinov (1973) and Bakhtin (1981), *interpretation framework* by van Dijk (1988), *hegemony* by Cramsci, *semiosphere or collective umwelt* by Lotman (2000).

To put it in a Saussurean frame and as a collection of attributes the signifier (word entrepreneur/entrepreneur) refers to signified entrepreneurship (representation/content of the sign):

1. person and being
2. hard working
3. vertical movement by hard work
4. dominance of artisan identity in substance
5. active, round character males, assistant, flat character females

Illustrating alternative entrepreneurial identities

During the reflective structuration process I also de- and reconstructed these dominances and made the legitimation formula for these reconstructions, as an illustration and an opening for discussion. These reconstructions contained the idea about moving between the different areas of thoughts and crossing the borders, exploratory creativity and lateral thinking towards the multiplicity of voices (Bakhtin 1981).

In the first phase there was a task to create different concepts in different levels (discourse, metaphors, subject positions) based on deconstruction in paradigmatic level such as projecting, networking, multiple and passion. These were called as the new elements (text + symbol) in the narrative scheme. The next phase was then for the narrative creation where new elements related to various new symbols were connected into the combinations of coherent narratives based on the ideas of computer sciences and to “narrative generation system” (Riedl 2004). In this process I created three alternative entrepreneurial identities as an illustration of narrative creation. I called them as “Plater-narrative”, “Mobster-narrative” and “Lazor-narrative”.

The “Plater” identity contained the idea of the “multi-identity” making the vertical and horizontal movements creating multidisciplinary opportunities. “Mobster” was then a sign referring to “pendeling identity” offering “social network services” locating itself to the “social capital movement and to networking principle. The third narrative creation was the “Lazor” referring to the passionate, playful, “lateral thinker” making the “small creative destructions” and jumping between the schematic knowledge in the specified areas.

There could be also other constructable identities, but here I reconstructed only few possible. And it should be remembered that these identities were not related to the modern approach of identities – the fixed and stable ones, instead “playful

identities” (Hjorth 2003). The idea of legitimation of these new entrepreneurial identities I am going to handle later on in the practical implications.

8.2 Theoretical implications

This study produced a few areas of possible theoretical implications. Here I have divided these areas to:

1. Implications to current entrepreneurship research
2. Implications to the structuration theory
3. The concept of the model narrative

At first I will make some remarks related to implications in the field of entrepreneurship research.

Implications to current entrepreneurship research

With this study I aimed to make a contribution to the previous and current entrepreneurship research linking it to the European entrepreneurship research (Ahl 2002; Gartner 2001; Jones & Spicer 2005; Steyart & Hjorth 2003) or Nordic Entrepreneurship Research (Hjorth 2008). This approach emphasizes the narrative, constructionist, semiotic views on entrepreneurship. One aim of the study was to open up new theoretical insights to entrepreneurship research and set up new research settings and methodologies for the future.

Thinking about the narrative and semiotic entrepreneurship most of the previous studies have focused on the ongoing/previous entrepreneurial identities done in narratives (Rae 2000; Hytti 2003; Down 2006; Downing 2005; Lindroos 1995). In these studies the narrators seek to make sense of the world via their ongoing or previous enterprising activity. But the pre-entrepreneurship (Kyrö & Carrier 2005), emergent or nascent entrepreneurship has been in focus only in couple of the studies (Leskinen 1999; Komulainen 2009; Ristimäki 2004). And if there have been these studies, the multidisciplinary “voice” seems to be lacking in them. Also the explicit tools going to the social level of analysis utilizing the aspects of the social semiotics seem to be missing.

In this means this study tried to built on theoretical aspects for more layered and detailed semiotic and textual analysis having the idea that texts build up the social worlds and it does matter how the entrepreneurship is signified, for instance in the state of “pre-entrepreneurship”.

Some previous studies have also applied the theory of structuration (Giddens 1979; 1984). In these studies (Bhowmick 2007; Jack and Andersen 2002; Sarason et al. 2006) there is currently remaining the same “lack” related to pre-entrepreneurial studies.

Implications to the theory of structuration

In his theory of structuration Giddens (1979; 1984) tried to make a change towards the mutual relationship of these both – the structure and subject (agency). Even if there was the idea of language as an example of making the “structures”, it was not put in focus in the social analysis. Therefore, in my reflective structuration approach this idea of “structure” is interpreted as locating in language which is a combination of conventions between signifiers and signifieds. And in order to become members of different societies we need to socialize and habituate to these conventions.

In the structuration theory Giddens (1979; 1984) stressed the mutuality and duality of structure and agency stating that structures and agency are working simultaneously and not preceding the agency. However, I followed the ideas of Ilmonen (1994) that linguistic rules precede the action – they have the directing power, but not determining capacity. A human being is born and socialized to linguistic rules, but the idea of the reflective structuration is that he/she has the capability of being aware of these rules (constructions), can build the de/reconstructions and legitimate them through the action. But these are not inborn capacities, like Giddens implicitly stated – instead human beings can produce capacities and skills for them for instance with the help of Narrative Therapies earlier mentioned. These operations happen in reflective spaces, usually not in mutuality but with processual de-centering of thinking and also with the active actions possible for the cognizant and reflective practitioners.

In defining this reflective structuration I also used variety of different philosophical traditions and scholars in line with Giddens. For instance I defined structure here as “a system of signification conventions directing, but not determining the subject (agency) with the linguistic dominances”. I also saw the building identifiable coherences and continuities for making to analysis and identification of them possible in the social setting. Here the combination of philosophers, sociologists and psychologists seemed to offer a wider perspective for defining the idea of structure in the linguistic context. The union between sociology and psychology here in the means of studying the language seems to me also a promising area of further research.

In the same manner I defined the agency differently than Giddens did. Even if Giddens stressed the capacity of the subject to make a change in the linguistic conventions, he did not seem to consider the activeness and intentionality of the subject. For Giddens the subject just “had these capabilities”. In my approach the intentionality and reflectivity is a potential which can develop in the interaction with the beforenamed structures. Here I combined mainly the ideas of phenomenology, pragmatism, psychology educational scientists. Especially action part (legitimation) seemed to be missing in the theoretisations of Giddens. The dynamics of changing the structures “just happen” – there are possibilities of change. But what is lacking in his writings is how do the subject “make the change” as having to role of the agent as part of the society.

This finding/defining the reflective structuration was partly motivated of the search of the “Third” earlier mentioned in this study. Neither structure or agency and the mutuality of structure and agency seemed not to be satisfying in the previous literature, what I had in my mind when starting this research. And of course, this thinking of “Third” did not come “ready” also in this study. Still, this was a start to create alternative approaches parallel to previous ones like “structuration”, “habitus”, “interpretant”, “habit”, “episteme”, “discourse”, “myth”, “schema” etc.

I would like to go to a conceptual direction where there would be structuration kind of synthesis of the ideas of structure/agency, at the same time containing the ideas of the continuation and historicities uniting the aspects of the social and psychological. And that these then could be analyzable in the linguistic, textual level.

One possible continuation for constructing this concept representing this “Third” might be named as “semiotic trace-making”. This idea concept could be described in the metaphoric form of the snow and the trace-makers, a one possible Nordic metaphor.

First, there is snow, where the walking is quite hard, but once one powerful walker (subject) has gone through there appears traces which are easier to follow for the later ones. These traces tend to become “self-evident” (rules, conventions). For a human being it is easier to follow the previous traces, but finding the own routes in the snow is also possible (active, intentional subject). The traces are also subjective and could be memorized building cognitive routes in the brains (schemas). Through the repetition some of these routes might become so powerful that there is not even a discussion of the “other possible ones” (creativity, lateral thinking). And to make way for the new routes there is always somebody who starts the new route, legitimize it in a social setting so that the others could then

follow. This “trace-making” also happens in the semiotic level and in the next studies I am going to further develop this in the theoretical and conceptual level.

The concept of the model narrative

One crucial theoretical application could be seen in the form of the concept model narrative. Here, I united the structural and post-structural aspects of the semiotic traditions. In the previous semiotic or narrative studies, the semiotic approach is usually divided also to certain clear categories – namely structuralism and post-structuralism which do not “discuss”. But here I followed the teachings of Tarasti (1990) who stated that these two traditions cannot be separated, instead they build continuum in the field of semiotics. I argued that there are possibilities of combining different traditions even if they seem to have different ontological backgrounds.

This model narrative was a useful concept of analyzing a large amount of narratives. With this concept it was also possible to make the social analysis, which seem to be lacking from the purely structuralist concepts like those of De Saussure, Propp and Greimas. When combining the ideas of social semiotics, deconstruction and psychosemiotics I find it also possible to make analyses of the structures interacting with the individual related to the idea of reflective structuration.

At the same time this concept of model narrative gave also space for the researcher as an active agent and as part of the entrepreneurship textuality – not stating the truths, but “playing” with the texts uniting both the analytic and creative thinking around different constructions related to entrepreneurship.

8.3 Practical implications

Based on this study several practical implications and different contexts could be identified. Here I have chosen the *entrepreneurship education* and “pre-incubation context” as an illustration of the one possible area of practical implications. This is also because the current work of mine is located to that specific area and I find it interesting area to have more explicit applications also for the further discussions and research. I will call this practical application based on the reflective structuration frame as “*narrative pedagogics in the pre-incubation in the higher education context*”. What might this pre-incubation context then consist of? And what is this implied narrative pedagogics?

Previously, the concept of *pre-incubation* is an example of the higher educational setting related to entrepreneurship education. This concept is already quite widely

utilized for instance in different European countries. It could be also related to *pre-entrepreneurship studies or the pre-intentional* or identification stage of the entrepreneurial process (Kyrö & Carrier 2005; Huuskonen 1992) which is also sometimes referred to as “enterprising education” focusing on the intentions, abilities and competencies “before the entrepreneurship” when seen in the quite traditional division of the entrepreneurship education studies.

The concept of pre-incubation has been brought up in the literature related to concept of business incubation which origin is located in USA and which has spread all over the world (Kahane & Raz 2005). Rice & Matthews (1995) define the business incubation as a practical supporting program for becoming entrepreneurs and acts as center orientating newcomers to other resources needed. According to Hannon (2005) the business incubation has the role of accelerate and support the start-up with defined processes and equipment like office-services. The core of the business incubation could be found in the special guiding resources which could not be attainable without this service in the natural surrounding.

By the late 1990’s it was noticed that especially in the context of universities there was a big gap between students’ business ideas and the current conceptualizations of business incubation. Therefore there was the interest to establish the first European pre-incubation in the University of Bielefeld in 1997. Since that these “pre-incubation activities” have spread fast to other countries and in Finland these practices have become quite familiar, especially in the contexts of polytechnics (Kuvaja & Saurio 2004).

Typical background thought in this pre-incubation process seems to be that the business planning is a long term and dynamic process (Ylikerälä 2005) and the traditional educational settings like classroom are not enough for this purpose (Gorman et al. 1997). Parallel and related to this pre-incubation process there has been developed different methods like “project - and case - learning” (Preshing 1991), simulations of enterprises (Stumpf et al. 1991) and “practice enterprises” (Kauppi 1995). Here again could be identified the pragmatic orientation to entrepreneurship education and the leading idea would be that the more practical the teaching and guiding service is the more efficient the entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial skills are learned (Robertson 2000).

The background of this educational thinking is that entrepreneurship is not a pre-given entity in the human being, but instead something which involves dynamics of identification, learning, and multi-dimensional life-situated processes (Hytti 2003; Koironen & Peltonen 1995). Thinking about the educational policy there is a common shared understanding that entrepreneurship could be seen as a part of educational practices also among the higher education. This means that entrepre-

neurship education and its processes have an accepted and legitimized role in the Finnish universities and polytechnics and shortly this aim seems to be here that entrepreneurship could/should be brought up as a meaningful, realistic and potential opportunity for the students in the different educational practices (Leskinen 1999; Tonttila 2001; Ristimäki 2004).

The traditional, modern western aspect towards entrepreneurial education have tended to be if the entrepreneurship education programs have (or have not) increased the skills related to entrepreneurship (Leitch & Harrison 2001); increased the attractiveness of entrepreneurship (Peterman & Kennedy 2003) or affected/changed the attitudes towards entrepreneurship (Anderson & Jack 2001). In these discussions the universities and polytechnics are considered usually not as merely institutions of higher education and learning but engines of economic growth and development (Chrisman et al.1995). These aspects of the educational purposes have dominated the branch building the “model narrative of entrepreneurship education” in the modern.

However, in this context the aim is to see entrepreneurship education as a reflective space for dialogue, decreasing the normative aspects of education. Then there is not a question about “increasing the skills related to entrepreneurship” but instead building the awarenesses and creative spaces of entrepreneurship – in other words to build up “reflective entrepreneurship”. Here, entrepreneurship is a shared topic offering teachers (counselors, therapists) and students to take part of the reflections about entrepreneurship.

In this sense it is also the source for creativity, to make new connotations, change directions along the way and to “jump to different positions”, play with the idea of entrepreneurship without “fixed” meanings and identities, “no truths or right ways” asked for, without strict borderlines between different concepts, having the being state-of-mind etc. In other words: it is a place for *human agency*. Related to the idea of structuration theory and possibilities for the subject/agent this means that change is not a norm but instead a possibility via dialogy. Change is not about “development” like the modern discourse would say, but it is rather about the play and dialogue containing its possibilities in the reflective operations.

In the processes of reflection the concept of dialogue is holding the centre place. In this context I use the ideas of Bakhtin (1981) and Burbules (1993) stating that dialogue could be seen as a “communicative relationship” between two or different people where the aim is to build up the shared meanings and creativity instead of finding the truths and “right” answers or solutions. Different meanings, thoughts and opinions are instead reflected – the multiple “voices” being encouraged and tolerated. None of the voices are taken-for-granted or as having the

priority amongst different constructions. Like Huttunen (1995) stated this approach opens up the possibility to bring up different conceptualizations about the topics under discussion, such as unknown or already forgotten ideas from the past.

These ideas of this non-teleological dialogue and “communicative relationship” is in line with the zen-buddhist concept of mindfulness stating the importance of the present (not the past, not the future) and the *presence and being and acceptance* as the key mode. In this mode the primary focus is to *de-center* the one’s and the others thoughts and inner processes under the focus whatsoever with the curious minds and reflective attitudes (Hellbom et al 2006). The important part is to become aware of the “borders of the thoughts”, about the “highways of the current thoughts” and to open up way to provocations, moving between the different areas of thoughts and crossing the borders, “lateral thinking” (de Bono 1993), “trial-based learning” (Remes 2003) towards the multiplicity of voices (Bakhtin 1981) or the polyphonic richness and multiplicities of the concept entrepreneurship (Steyart & Hjorth 2003).

These approaches are in line with the ideas of Mezirow, Habermas and Freire. In this context for instance Mezirow’s (1978) theory of *perspective transformation*, or Paulo Freire’s “conscientization” and Jürgen Habermas's “emancipatory action” could be united. As Mezirow explained, perspective transformation is the process of becoming critically aware of how and why our assumptions have come to constrain the way we perceive, understand, and feel about our world; changing these structures of habitual expectation to make possible a more inclusive, discriminating, and integrating perspective. And, finally, making choices or otherwise acting upon these new understandings. The theory posits that for learners to change their *meaning structures* they must engage in critical reflection on their experiences and meaning structures, which in turn leads to a transformation of perspective.

In this way, in the “reflective pre-incubation” the process of building awareness of the constructability of meaningstructures and identities grows, it is not about transferring the knowledge about entrepreneurship. Instead it is about being there, discussing, opening up ways for challenging, stressing the possibilities of agency and acting together.

Considering then the legitimation of entrepreneurship in line with the idea of dialogue and creativity to the entrepreneurship education brings in front the aspects of pragmatism. Usually the modern did not contain these aspects since the education was about transmitting the foundations and essentials in the world (Huttunen 1999). In other words and very broadly interpreted, the structure-agency –

dicotomy mentioned by Gorton (2000) could also be seen in the literature of modern education, here entrepreneurship education. There has not been space - at least in the modern, mainstream readings of education - for the legitimation of entrepreneurship by action since interaction is not relevant in this structure-agency -dicotomy. Seen from the point of view of this reflective structuration model, this education has been related to transfer and socialization of the dominating structures, such as model narratives in the societal context.

On the other hand, the previous traditions related to (de/re)constructive phases of entrepreneurship, stressed that phenomenon of entrepreneurship is constructed and contains signification processes in different levels. The central idea here is that knowledge cannot be transferred from an individual to another as such; instead the learner constructs it in the interaction with the environment (Resnick 1987). It could be here also interpreted as a process of structuration (Giddens 1979, 1984). This contains also the ideas that constructions affect a human being and at the same time they are dynamic and open for change during the interaction. This interactive part then opens up possibilities for action, the make the legitimated part of entrepreneurship. And the interaction is then more possible in the dialogue with different parts of it.

Related to interactive perspective there could be mentioned the concepts of *critical education* or *critical pedagogy*. In the educational field these critical ideas were heavily influenced by the works of Paulo Freire (1921-1997). According to his writings students' ability to think critically about their education situation this way allows them to recognize connections between their individual problems and experiences and the social contexts in which they are embedded. These ideas were further developed in the form of *transformative education* by Mezirow (1991). This involves questioning assumptions, beliefs and values, and considering multiple points of view, acting and legitimizing different forms and contents of entrepreneurship.

Along these approaches there was the principle of *dialogue related to reflectivity principle*. In the modern literature related to pedagogy the concept of dialogue is mainly related to a mode of communication which is directed to certain pedagogic goals such as increasing the knowledge and learning among the learners (Burbules 1993; Huttunen 1999). Related to this the pedagogic terminology contains the terms dialogic learning or dialogic teaching (Huttunen 1999; Sarja 1995). This modern pedagogy is rooted in the cognitive and psycho-dynamic theories of the human mind and the role of teacher is here seen as supporting the learning and arranging the learning environment (Sarja 1995). In the pedagogic context this

concept has taken the connotation of the practical (effective) method of gaining the predetermined goals in the educational settings.

These ideas of Bakhtin (1981), Burbules (1993), Freire (1970) and Mezirow (1991) then are closely related to the Narrative Therapist approach (White 1995) earlier introduced. The Narrative Therapist assists persons to resolve problems by enabling them to de/reconstruct the meaning of the reality of their lives and relationships, and to show the difference between the reality and the internalized stories of self. And the same way The Narrative Therapist forms a communicative relationship with client aiming to enrich or alter dominant narratives, reconstruct new ones and also legitimate them with concepts such as definitional ceremonies (Myerhoff 1986) or reflective teams as outsider-witness –groups as audiences (White 1997).

But as far as the legitimation of entrepreneurship is concerned I find that the current Narrative Therapist approaches are not reaching to the ideas of legitimation far enough. The legitimation needs also the theory of action related to pragmatist traditions. Therefore I find such concepts like *action learning* (Jones-Evans et al. 2000), *experiential learning* (Kolb 1984), *practice oriented learning* (Gibbs 1992) and *entrepreneurial learning* (Rae 2000) valuable additions in the legitimative phase. In the educational context for instance the pre-incubation/incubation research refers to these kinds of practical operations legitimating entrepreneurship.

Even if some studies have been trying to capture the dynamics of legitimation, still the mainstream of these studies tend to focus on how the supporting or guiding mechanisms affect the new venture planning or building up the legal start-ups. The questions of the “becoming”, “acting as if”, the emergence of different forms of entrepreneurship, the legitimative behaviours – in other words the final state of the reflective structuration of entrepreneurship seem to be still missing. Maybe because these kind of study settings would need long term process and many-sided study methods in order to gain accesses to these actions. Also in this study the legitimation phase is more in the illustrative role leaving space for the further studies.

From these sources I am constructing the process of Narrative Pedagogics related to entrepreneurship education consisting of the four different phases:

1. Constructing the narrative(s)
2. Deconstructing the narrative(s)
3. Reconstructing the narrative(s)
4. The legitimation of narratives

In this study, I am going to take a short look on each of these elements of the reflective structuration applied to entrepreneurship education context, especially to pre-incubation in the higher education. The objective of the whole process is to increase the “semiotic power” of the subject in order to affect the societal structures, to legitimate new entrepreneurial identities like earlier presented.

First some aspects of the constructing phase of the narrative.

Constructing the narrative(s)

The objective of this constructive phase is to enable the narrative/narratives to become explicit in the dialogue of the teacher/counselor and the student and to construct the model narrative(s) of the entrepreneurship for further de/reconstruction and legitimation. One crucial success factor here is the “communicative relationship” and “collaboration” mindset between teacher/counselor and student. The model narrative could be constructed during couple of discussions related to entrepreneurship. Here could be used the cultural model narrative (for instance based on this study) and then reflecting this narrative also to “individual narrative” done in a communicative relationship. Constructing this narrative or narratives is not a one time occasion, instead a mixture of few discussions. When constructing the narrative(s) a tool called “narrative story board” (later visualized) could be used.

Deconstructing the narrative(s)

The objective of the deconstructive phase is to create counter-narrative(s) based on the previous constructive phase. The idea is not to criticize the constructed narrative(s), but to de-center, “unmask” or make empty the constructed narrative. The idea in this stage is not to create anything new but to make the counter-narrative(s) explicit in the communicative relationship. The same “narrative board” could be here applied when making the guidelines of the counter-narrative(s).

Reconstructing the narrative(s)

The reconstruction phase of the narratives then creates alternative, new narratives in dialogue with teacher/counselor and student. In sum this phase was about an active combination of new paradigmatic elements within the syntagmatic structure by creative methods generating an explicit narrative or narratives. Here the principles of earlier presented narrative creations could be applied for the pedagogical purposes. In a row the process is as follows:

1. Creation of the new elements of discourses, metaphors, subject positions within the syntagma (alternative paradigmas)
2. Combining the different new elements in paradigm by exploratory creativity
3. Generate an explicit story or stories based on the previous phases

Here again the narrative board could be utilized in the creative session using for instance the principles of Lateral Thinking. For these creations maybe couple of sessions are needed or some examples presented to start the creative thinking. The idea is to see entrepreneurship as a wide concept containing “unusual” areas of life to be further modified.

Below in Figure 10 the summing up this narrative board to be used in these all phases in the visual version.

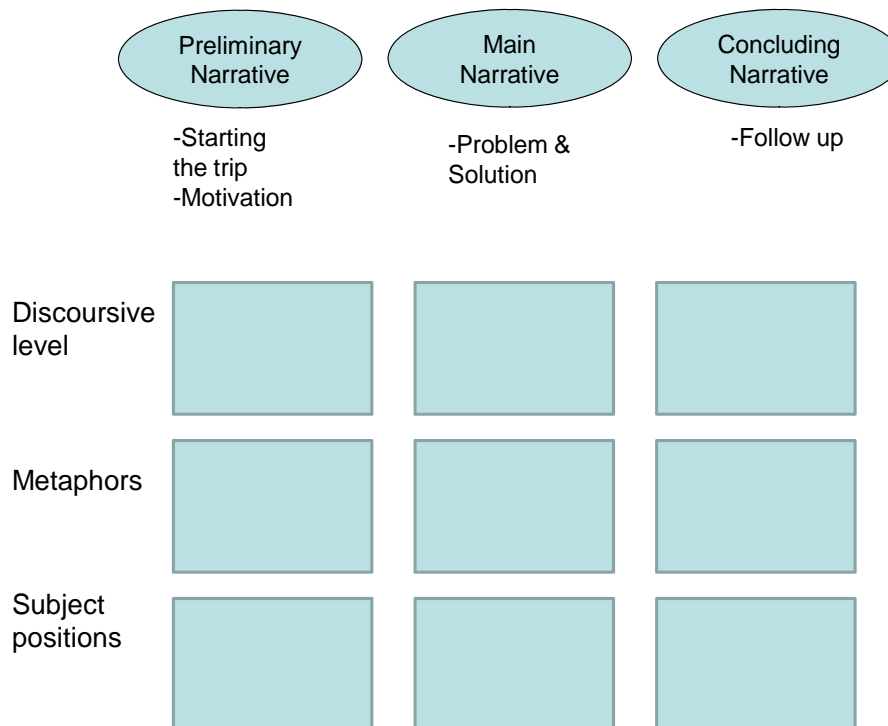


Figure 10. The narrative board for constructing and de/reconstructing the narratives

The legitimation of narratives

Legitimation phase of the narratives is to gain immediate audience(s) to this/these narratives. At the same time legitimation is piloting and putting identities into

action; it is about legitimating behaviours and using different agencies in order to legitimize the reconstructions. In order to gain the audience the narrative has to be *reportable and believable* and gain some sort of the acceptance by audience. It was about involving the audience and making the narrative strong and rich enough to sustain. The normative legitimation process could go like this:

1. Choosing the reconstructed entrepreneurial identity, such as “the Plater” for the process of narrative presence
2. Further modifying the reconstructed narrative with criterias as follows into the reportable and believable forms taking into consideration:
 - a) consistency
 - b) plot coherence
 - c) drama
 - d) predictability
 - e) affect
 - f) motivation
 - g) identification
 - h) character believability
 - i) empathy and involvement
 - j) involvement
3. Applying the modified narrative for instance in the form “definitional ceremonies” or other forums to gain the audience and “outsider-witnesses”, to have the process of telling and re-telling of the modified narrative
4. Strengthening the reconstructive identity for instance with proxy agencies and personal networks holding the transformative capacity power and recourses “to make a difference”
5. Acting as if; making the pre-organisation around reconstructive identity; getting the first “orders”, “customers”
6. Enlargening the social network around the reconstruction or related areas, to gain wider publicity to the narrative creations

As a whole this process happens in the reflective process between the teacher/counselor (the Narrative Therapist) and the student – usually with one student, but could be done also in the small group setting. Like the picture below shows, the Narrative Therapist is acting like a “middle-person” between the structure (society) and agency (student) building bridges to the both directions.

The pedagogy is based on the idea that subject is an *active and intentional human being which can change perspectives, create new narratives and legitimize them in a social setting. Therefore subject can develop the transformative capacity*

power in this communicative relationship aiming to have semiotic power to “make semiotic traces” building new narrative identities in/for the society.

The process is summed up the the following Figure 11 as follows:

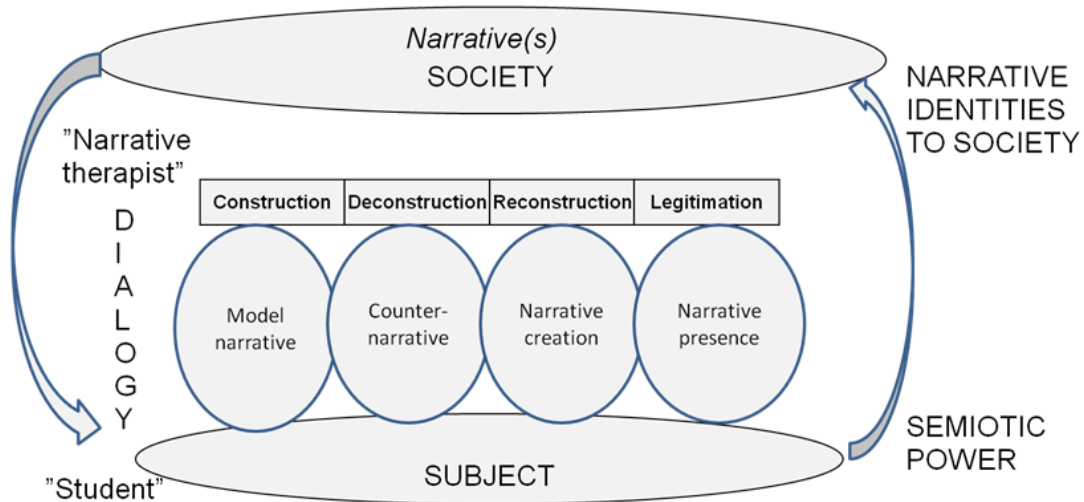


Figure 11. Summing up the reflective structuration application to pre-incubation context

8.4 Evaluating the research

In this chapter I am going to consider some aspects related to the *study results, the research methods and possible alternative ways of doing to the research*. Like said in the beginning, this approach was one alternative amongst the others and – of course – there could have been numerous other ways of doing it.

First of all it could be considered that applying this reflective structuration approach was a *time-demanding effort* when compared to other possible alternatives. In order to build this frame a relatively long introduction to historicities and dominances were needed since the interactivity between them and the students’ narratives where not possible without. The whole research process was based on the discussions with these “milestones” from the past and the data gathered during 2004-2005.

Combining the ideas of the structuralist and post-structuralist thinking in the form of model narrative, other ideas of qualitative research and seeing the researcher as “chef” or “painter” “sawing different” ideas together parallel to “bring up the lifes in the narratives” was not an economic way of doing the research. At least

when considering the months spent in the parallel analysing-reading-writing – process. In the same time i consider this highly parallel approach quite challenging, but still interesting way of doing the semiotic and narrative research. This was also creative process giving space for the researcher as an agent, since textual entrepreneurship was not “out there” just to be acquired. Here I will refer to ideas of Nancy Zeller (1995) who stated that the research (output) narrative is *not a record but a product* done by the researcher interacting with several texts.

But what I consider maybe the most interesting aspect of this approach was the providing of the continuities, the dominances, the interest of the genealogist, clearly attendant. Underlying all stories told by human beings, there is a huge pool of historical and cultural stories, which can be tapped to generate new stories. Jerome Bruner (1996) called this narrative construal of reality as the “canonical script”. This can be repeated without changes, varied or improvised to involve minor differences or, occasionally, even intentionally violated. Here the concept of model narrative formed kind of “canonical script” by which one could also observe the narratives as something located in between the social and the psychological. In this sense this approach was a move to the wanted direction of “The third”, even if not exhaustive, but to be further developed in the later studies for instance in the form of “semiotic trace making”.

This was also one reason why” did not just pick some different narratives, or to search for the “qualities” in the data, but instead of “packing” the variety of narratives into coherent model. Here the common critics is said to be that some researchers suppress the disclosure of certain stories in favour of those that further their own “research agendas” or pre-conceived ideas. I would consider also this “pre-conceiving” quite marginal, since I aimed to consider the grounded theory – approach as crucial in this research. Based on the data, only few stories were “different” holding for instance the ideas of tragedy or satire and the contents of “post-modern identities” available in the post-modern literature. Here I will also follow Tolson (1996) stating that even if this “packing technique” might reduce the uniqueness of single narratives into patterns and that the researcher might lose something in this kind of analysis when dividing the narratives into familiar and regular patterns of expectation, they still provide structure and coherence into analysis. In this respect they are similar to schemas for familiar events in everyday life.

Of course, what constitutes for instance a “function” or “position” is itself a construction: reality cannot be reduced objectively to discrete temporal units; what counts as a “function” or “position” is determined by the purposes of the interpreter trying to find some coherence and sense in the narratives. Secondly, as stated

before I found this “modeling” of narratives more useful in the means of social analysis – the analysis of dominances, which would have been more difficult when just stressing the “differences” between narratives. Thirdly, using the ideas of grounded theory, I found that there seem to be repetitive “structures” in those narratives so I consider I would have missed something in the analysis if I did focus only on the “differences”.

In the beginning of this study I also wrote about the “personal otherness of entrepreneurship” as one area of curiosity for this research. In this sense I can consider that this reflective structuration offered me somekind of understanding of the “layered voices” from the past which might have directed (but not determined) the conceptualizations related to entrepreneurship in my previous life. With this approach it was possible to unite the stories of the “significant others” as part of the narrative warehouse, or even to localized knowledge related to agrarian and labouring ideologies from the previous centuries in Ostrobothnia. In this sense I can claim that at least the personal detective story with the puzzle solving (Alasuutari 1996) was finalized in this intertextual process.

Related to these localized narratives of Ostrobothnia, it should be noticed that there might be certain geographical limitations of this study. This study was mainly about Ostrobothnian young students and their narratives. Still, it could be considered that not all of them came originally from this area (Vaasa, Kauhava, Seinäjoki), but some of the students were also from the Southern cities of Finland, like Helsinki, Tampere and Turku. I believe that the narratives would differ at least somehow if this study would have occurred in the centre of Helsinki, for gathering the localized narratives for more urban areas, not to mention the international context of the possible narratives.

Thinking about the students narratives “as results” there could be brought up some evaluating remarks. One area of discussion would be how “natural” the gathering of narratives was in this research. For instance, it has been said that generally speaking people tend to present themselves “in a good light” (Bruner 1990) and as “moral persons” (Linde 1993). This aspect would be even stronger when narratives are gathered as part of the educational process in the university or polytechnics. Here, the main objective of a moral person is to gain internal integrity and coherence to narratives – personal stories are never told merely for descriptive purposes. They have a performative and rhetorical function of constructing the narrator as an ethical person (Hyvärinen 1998). As noticed for instance in many discourse analytic studies, all language in use, whether spoken or written, is explicitly or implicitly dialogical (Bakhtin 1981); that is, it is addressed to someone, and addresses them and its own thematic content, from some point-of-view.

It does rhetorical and social work, producing role-relationships between author-speaker and reader-hearer with degrees of formality and intimacy, authority and power, discourse rights and obligations. It creates a world of value orientations, defining what is taken to be true or likely, good or desirable, important or obligatory (Lemke 1995).

In other words: the narrators would describe themselves “in a good light” for “the teacher” related to entrepreneurship. But then again, I was here interested about what is “moral person” all about related to entrepreneurship. These moralities came through these narratives and experienced the access to them through this concept of model narrative. In this way, for instance by the role-play method it was possible to produce the stereotypic thinking about the concept entrepreneurship. Therefore this kind of a gathering situation and the role-play method were more like plusses than minuses in this research.

In this sense there could have been also additional material like speech related to entrepreneurship which maybe could have given some strength to the data. Again, it should be remembered that narratives are interpretative accounts and re-interpreted by the narrative analyst – the narrative researchers’ own identity and presumptions play a part in the interpretation, as put in reflexive way. In the end, my analytic interpretations should be treated as partial truths that aim for believability, not certitude. In the narrative analysis we deal with ambiguous representations of identity, expressed as talk, text, interaction and interpretation (Riessman 2002) where there is no point of aiming for the final certitude.

When evaluating the frame of reflective structuration I would consider as highly rewarding its multidisciplinary approach. Like mentioned before, most of the semiotic or narrative research have been applied from one perspective not containing the possibilities of uniting for instance social studies, psychology and educational studies. *To unite the multidisciplinary approach is also very challenging one.* Some may consider it even a risky one when thinking about the coherence of argumentation in the scientific research. But for “minimizing” this risk, I tried to apply the fair argumentation approach to make the different milestones of related theories available for the reader. This approach was also utilized when presenting the aspects from students’ narratives in the empirical part of the research.

The focus of the reflective structuration approach in this research was mainly on the constructive phase of entrepreneurship, namely constructing the model narrative based on the students’ writings. The phases of deconstruction and reconstruction were applied based on the model narrative having the role of illustration. In the same way the legitimation phase was connected more to the chapter of practical implications than to empirical study itself. Therefore it could be argued that

the reflective structuration was more like a frame of study than empirical research formula when looking at the textual entrepreneurship. However, there are possibilities to connect all the aspects of this frame into one study in the later research. But this would demand another kind of research setting. For instance, because the narrative creation is a creative process to study with and since the legitimation of entrepreneurship was said to be highly related to action and praxis. Therefore the methods of action research (for instance) would be valuable to consider the whole frame of reflective structuration.

Aspects of the quality of narrative method

The narrative research has gained a lot of both critics during the years since the “narrative turn” in the academia. The questions of “reliability” and “validity” of this kind of research have been lively discussed. When evaluating these aspects of the narrative research, the traditional criteria, such as reliability and validity, can be replaced by innovative concepts and approaches. Consequently, a large number of new concepts and views have been proposed.

Considering the traditional concept of reliability of the analysis Czarniawska (2004) suggested the criteria of *conformity*. The findings tend to be “true” if several researchers could end up with same kind of findings. Here, I applied the idea of triangulation (Denzin 1978) when using two other researchers verifying some observations in the earlier part of the analysis. However, these researchers’ role was not just to “conform”, but also give ideas for the further reading and analysis for the narratives. This conformity principle was not applied in the later part of analysis when constructing the model narrative, so this becomes then the question of “credibility and the persuasiveness of the research”.

For discussing these matters of “credibility” and “persuasiveness” Riessman (2002) and Czarniawska (2004) suggested that the traditional questions of reliability and validity should be replaced by questions such as: *is it interesting or relevant?* As for the validity of narrative research it would be appropriate to speak about the trustworthiness of the narrative work rather than its truth value, as known from the idea of the modern science. Following Alasuutari’s (1996) ideas this analysing of the narratives was one way of making them “speak in the interesting way” – but this speaking should not be seen as the only one. The results are only some voices in the Bakhtinian means – there could have been others too, for sure. Here, this meant I did aim to search for the “truths” – instead identify textual dominances, layered voices in history with dialogue constructing the concept called entrepreneurship.

The credibility of narrative research is based on how well the informants' voices are heard in the report. The concept of "voice" is closely related to the authenticity of thought. It refers to a personally unique and specific way of telling about things and expressing oneself. Partly, I tried to increase the "voice" of the narrators to the study by "fair argumentation" when having the authentic pieces of texts from their narratives. But then again, the whole idea of "authenticity" could be challenged in this kind of research. Here, I will refer to ideas Bruner (1996) stating that "all narratives are borrowed". Our stories are part of the canon of narratives, the narrative warehouse (Hänninen 1999) in one way or another, and even alternative stories are products of the same cultural pool of stories. All of our stories, down to single words, have been borrowed from the surrounding culture, and it is therefore impossible to find anything genuine and original. But this does not mean the dominance of the structure, instead the idea of these dominances preceding, but not determining the subject.

Also Riessman (2002) offered the other criteria along persuasiveness, namely *correspondence, coherence and pragmatic use*. Correspondence refers to the idea that the study results can be checked through taking the work back to the participants of the study. This was not done in this research, but it could have been one alternative for making depth to the analysis. Coherence criteria may refer to the goals of the narrator, to the linguistic devices the narrator uses in making his or her point or how particular themes arise repeatedly out of the data. This coherence idea was applied when making the analysis process processual: first there was listing of the "repetitive themes" coming out of the data and along came the shape of the model narrative as the "end product". Pragmatic use refers to the constructed nature of science, the extent to which a particular study becomes a basis for further research. In this study I consider the pragmatic use – criteria fulfilled since there came up several ideas for further research.

Polkinghorne (1988) added that the validity should be understood in narrative research as *well-grounded conclusions*, but still the conclusions of narrative research remain open-ended. Were they well-grounded in this research? This is hard to evaluate, since this is (for the most) the question of the reader, not (just) the writer.

As a matter of fact, the other criteria related to narrative research put the reader to the centre. For instance the artistic and evocative criteria by Patton (2002) states that good narrative research awakens and provokes a person to think about things in a new and different way. The evocativeness of a research report is not based exclusively on cognitive-rational thinking, but only touches the readers at an emotional level. In the same manner Heikkinen et al. (2001) referred to the

concept of “verisimilitude” meaning if the reader is convinced by the narrative both logico-cognitively and emotionally. Verisimilitude means that the story reminds the listener or reader about something that s/he has experienced in real life or that if there is the “narrative presence” earlier mentioned. Verisimilitude and simulation, however, do not only mean a chance to re-live one’s experiences, but may also be open new prospects or a completely new way of understanding the world (Heikkinen et al 2001).

Putting the reader to the centre also changes the traditional roles of the research. The researcher is not the only subject, there is agency also at the reader. One consequence of this is that competing interpretations become possible. And there is no way one could assess the validity of these competing interpretations, in the traditional means of science. This is also the idea what Barthes in his later writings formulated as the death of the author considering the essential role of the reading and reader instead of the author, the plurality of interpretation (Belsey 2002). But here should be reminded that readers are not living in social vacuums – they are interactive parts of the textual world where the signifiers and signifieds are belonging together in the social setting sharing the Saussurean conventions affected by the Bakhtinian “voices from the history”.

This centering of reader could be area for further consideration in the later studies. Like said, here the principle of correspondence could have been applied seeing the narrators also as possible readers of this study. There could have been space also for some subject-level of investigation looking in depth how the concrete subject, the interpreter, would interact with these findings. This would further link the conceptualizations of psychosemiotics and the intrapersonal aspects of the “reader” to this study. This would then also stress the aspect of “workability” of the narratives as one part of the quality criteria related to narrative studies (Heikkinen et al. 2001). The workability means that the reader builds an active relation to these texts possibly following the entrance to the action, here referred as legitimization of entrepreneurship.

Alternative approaches for getting the data

Considering the reflective structuration frame and the principles of narrative studies, it could be stated that there would have been also alternative approaches to make this study. Even if I argued that this method was suitable in identifying the “layered voices” from the past and the textual dominances to be acquired. Here I will bring up some of these alternatives.

I consider that identifying these “voices” could have been possible with the fewer amount of narrative, even in case study type of method, in a depth-analysis. The

problem is these approaches are that they might be rooted to steady research traditions “rejecting” the other approaches. For instance the concept of psychobiography states that Freudian perspectives are “normal science” when utilizing the Kuhnian thinking in that tradition. In the discipline of psychobiography the researcher aims to find in a case study setting some psychological, usually hidden aspects of the texts, what might be relevant in interpreting the specific text. Here the researcher is the interpreter of the “deeply rooted” images of the subject deriving from his/her past (Schultz 2005) mainly rooted to the unconscious. The problem is that the concept of unconscious is out of social aspect, not interactive, but still reachable when argued from this perspective.

The other possible approach called *Biographic Narrative Interpretative Method* (Wengraf 2001) considers “narrative expression” as expressions of both of conscious concerns and unconscious cultural, societal and individual presuppositions and processes. Therefore it is argued to be both psychodynamic and sociobiographic in approach. The primary focus is on the particularity of individual experience in unique historical and societal locations and processes. The method starts with the initial narrative question: “tell me the story of your life” following the detailed questions related to the topics coming from the narratives. This reminds quite much the idea of the narrative life-line method applied for instance by Jokiranta (2003). Here the narrator writes very openly a line describing the area of research (for instance life, working career, marriage) to illustrate the narrative. Then these “lines” could be discussed together in order to gather “thick description” (Geertz 1973) out of the concept under discussion. Here it could have been the “entrepreneurship narrative”.

One interesting alternative would have been to “live with these narrators” meaning taking part of these students lives as an ethnographer. *Ethnography oriented research* (Hammersley 1990) is then traditionally more related to social sciences than to psychology. It relies heavily on up-close, personal experience and possible participation, not just observation. Typical ethnographic research employs three kinds of data collection: interviews, observation, and documents. This in turn produces three kinds of data: quotations, descriptions, and excerpts of documents, resulting in one product: narrative description. Ethnographic methods can give shape to new constructs or paradigms, and new variables, for further empirical testing in the field or through traditional, quantitative social science method.

An interesting area of alternative research setting – either separately or additional to other previous approaches could be the use of concept maps when discussing entrepreneurship with these students. Concept maps are graphical tools for organizing and representing knowledge. They include concepts, usually enclosed in

circles or boxes of some type, and relationships between concepts indicated by a connecting line linking two concepts building the semantic networks. Here, for instance the ideas of Maturana & Varela (1980) could be applied with the concepts of “emergentive attractor” and “actionsequence models”. The concept of entrepreneurship could be studied with the idea of “structural tensions” when “attacking” the “common conceptualisations/terms” with “different/latent” ones. By this active operation of the researcher the borderlines and associative relations of the signifiers and signifieds could be studied. But then again, the social analysis of these dominant associative relations would still remain to consider later on.

8.5 Future study possibilities

This study brought some ideas for further research. I have divided them into five bigger groups based on the experiences of this research:

- 1) *Further developing the reflective structuration as a theoretical frame for empirical analysis*

This study introduced this framework and its background. In the following studies one clear possibility is to enrich and further develop this framework, for instance considering the psychosemiotic and intra-personal (not just interpersonal) level of analysis.

- 2) *Combining the different narrative methods to the same group of students*

Here the storytellers were university and polytechnic students. It would be valuable to study these students’ meanings related to entrepreneurship with multiple narrative methods. The correspondence approach earlier mentioned could be here also applied.

- 3) *Long-term study with the same group of students*

One possible implication for further research would be how and do the narratives about entrepreneurship change during the study years and do the different entrepreneurship courses and training any effect on these discourses – for instance in the context of pre-incubation. Here also the whole range of reflective structuration containing the ideas of legitimation could be also applied.

- 4) *The same method, different story-tellers*

The second line of the future studies relating to the meanings of entrepreneurship could be done by using the same constructed method with different story-tellers.

These studies could be done for instance with high-school students and students from different countries having also the possibilities to study these conceptualizations in the international level.

This method could be even applied to “more experienced” people – those who have been interacting with the concept of entrepreneurship and those who are not in their working life. This might include also older, “third age” people with different occupational and social backgrounds to see if these meanings related to entrepreneurship vary across the age-groups, social and occupational groups, cultures and nations.

5) *Empirical research related to practical implications of the study*

One clear area of further research is related to the practical implications of the study, here named as “narrative pedagogics in the pre-incubation in the higher education”. For instance different methods of ethnography or action-research could be applied in the longer-term research-setting in order to gain an understanding about the possible growth of the semiotic power or changing identities in the pedagogical settings and further develop the explicit phases and tools of this pedagogy.

This study focused mainly on the constructing of the several narratives into the one model narrative leaving the other phases of the frame available for the further empirical studies.

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