

Manifestations of Social Class and Agency in Cultural Capital Development Processes: An Empirical Study of Turkish Migrant Women Entrepreneurs in Sweden

Introduction

Migrant women entrepreneurs (MWE) have been studied extensively through the lenses of gender and ethnicity in entrepreneurship and migrant enterprise literature (Chreim, Spence, Crick, Liao, 2018; Essers & Benschop, 2007). Still, emerging studies show that there is room for developing the existing analyses by contextualizing diverse experiences of ethnic groups (Ram, Theodorakopoulos, & Jones, 2008), and intra-ethnic variations (Vershina, Barrett, & Meyer, 2011) to articulate the multiple routes (Collins & Low, 2010) and outcomes of migrant enterprise (Romero & Valdez, 2016). Building on that, this study suggests that the observed diversity of routes, paths and outcomes among migrant women entrepreneurs stems not only from structural powers and resources, but also from the shared patterns of the individual entrepreneur's life trajectories. Therefore, this study brings forward the importance of a focused analysis on the micro-theoretical level of migrant businesses to address the dynamic and interlinked relationship between individual, group and structural imperatives (Ram, Jones, & Villares-Varela, 2017). Taking a step further, the study grasps these relations by going beyond the informal sphere of migrant community, and the formal sphere of markets or the regulatory environment and by linking them with the individual entrepreneur's agency.

The specific focus is on social class that has so far received a scant attention in research of migrant women entrepreneurs (Villares-Varela, 2018). Historically, social class and particularly class resources were considered as being less crucial than ethnicity in migrant entrepreneurship research analysis until 1970s. As Ram et al. (2017) maintain, this is due to the relatively homogenous groups of migrant entrepreneurs with modest educational and financial backgrounds. As of today, diverse effects of social class in shaping thoughts and actions in organizations are well acknowledged (Loignon & Woehr, 2018). One of the most interesting findings of recent migration research are the diversity of resources and associated paths towards different ways of enterprising. For instance, Collins and Low (2010) highlight that, "Some migrants arrive in Australia as successful business migrants with ample start-up capital. Other migrants arrive with high professional and educational qualifications enabling them to fill labour shortages in the corporate sector, though minority migrants often reach an 'accent ceiling' ..." (pp.102).

Gendered nature of migration has also received little attention until very recently (Ram et al., 2017). Since the burgeoning literature in women entrepreneurship did not incorporate migrant women's enterprising experiences, the migrant and ethnic minority literature largely remained limited in documenting women's supportive role in ethnic businesses. These discussions around class, ethno-cultural resources, and gender provide important insights, and they tend to pay greater attention to structural and contextual predicaments and opportunities. There are fewer, but significant empirical studies bringing forward the actors' points of view, agency, and resulting relational strategies to

understand the micro-political and theoretical underpinnings of migrant women's entrepreneurship (Essers & Benschop, 2007; Essers, Doorewaard, & Benschop, 2013; Knight, 2016; Cederberg & Villares-Varela, 2018; Pio, 2005). Accordingly, this study aims to make an intersectional analysis on migrant women's capital development processes on the basis of not only gender and ethnicity, but also class relations. Moving forward, this study primarily examines how social class is manifested in daily practices of migrant women entrepreneurs (MWE), how they experience class often without even talking about it, and how they implicitly talk about it through seeking legitimacy for their diverse cultural formations.

This study draws on class analysis offered by cultural sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1987), and feminist readings of his practice theory (Skeggs, 1997). Such theoretical framework offers a way to address the limitations of existing research and to the diverse societal categories of differences reflected in the cultural and symbolic configuration of social class. Bourdieu viewed social class as a social space where, "the agents who occupy neighbouring positions in this space are placed in similar conditions and are therefore subject to similar conditioning factors" (Bourdieu, 1987, p.5). In his view, cultural production relations are as important as economic and social relations, because the unequal distribution of cultural and social resources is critical to understand a social phenomenon (Townley, 2014) like entrepreneurship.

This study adopts a two-fold conceptualization of class (Bourdieu, 1987). The first dimension encompasses the (un)equal access and (re)distribution of cultural resources and practices causing the actors to have different positions in social space. It manifests itself in different forms and ways of cultural capital development processes (sites of investments as experienced processes, and sites of distinctions as future aspirations). The second one captures women's agency as a socio-culturally mediated capacity to act, which is produced and re-produced through their distinct habitus (a shared history, practices and context(s), which marks and guides the entire process of capital development practices) (Al Ariss & Syed, 2011). Thus, the study focuses on the embodied dispositions of MWE as well as on the institutional contexts (the field) of their encounter with capital development processes in order to pay greater attention to the adjustments they make when they acquire and make use of their cultural capital in different ways (Skeggs, 1997). Accordingly, the following research question is posed: How would the class, and a gendered and/or ethno-centred habitus shape cultural capital development processes of migrant women entrepreneurs?

In order to address this research question, the study draws on empirical insights generated by listening to the life story narratives of 17 MWE with Turkish backgrounds, who lived and owned their own businesses in Sweden. The focus is on capturing the cultural and symbolic capital in these narratives, which span a person's whole life trajectory, her experience (Lamont & Lareau, 1988), and movement across different social fields (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008).

The structure of the paper is as follows. The first part sets the theoretical framework, which not only unpacks the relevant entrepreneurship literature, but also situates the paper vis-a-vis Bourdieu's theory of practice and the relevant entrepreneurship literature. It then proceeds to introduce the methodological approach and the tools used for material generation and analysis. These parts pave the way for a discussion on the legitimacy-gaining activities of MWE, which are imbued with their capital development and conversion practices, and their struggle to gain power ultimately. It concludes by stating the theoretical contributions of the study.

Theoretical Framework: Bourdieu's Practice Theory, Capital Development Approaches and Entrepreneurship

Entrepreneurship studies have increasingly focused on the social, discursive and material effects of social class underpinning entrepreneurial processes (Anderson & Miller, 2003; Gill, 2014; Knight, 2014). As one of the earliest accounts, Schumpeter, for example, suggested that, "class members look out into the same segment of the world, with the same eyes, from the same viewpoint, in the same direction" (Schumpeter, 1955, p.107). Despite having been suspended for a long time, class analysis was recently revived within entrepreneurship studies. Gill (2014) exhibited the implicit and contradictory logic of entrepreneurial discourse underpinned by class in the US. She argued that while entrepreneurial success was examined in terms of individualized resources, their collective and historical transfer mechanisms were ignored. This way, class discourse operated as if entrepreneurship were open to everyone, yet only a few of those who started up their businesses were rewarded. In a similar vein, Anderson and Miller (2003) showed that, chances of acquiring the necessary resources, growth and profitability prospects would vary in relation to their founders' classed positions in the social strata. Also, applying a gender approach, some studies have examined how entrepreneurs' access to certain classed resources, brought different experiences in opportunity recognition (Karataş-Özkan & Chell, 2013), business ownership and performance (Fletschner & Carter, 2008; Shaw, et al., 2009). In a recent study, Villares-Varela (2018) showed that the migrant women's enterprising efforts helped to reproduce, instead of challenge middle- and working-class migrant women's distinctive forms of class-based femininities and inequalities differently. Moreover, Knight (2014) showed that, middle class migrant women entrepreneurs with high cultural, e.g., highly educated and professional ones, found it particularly difficult to legitimate their knowledge intensive and professional businesses in interacting with important resource holders. This study aims to expand these emerging insights basically drawing on Bourdieu's class analysis, adopting concepts such as field, habitus and forms of capital.

Bourdieu suggests that, as people interact in different social fields such as family, workplace, community, institutional environments, etc., they enact strategies to increase their overall value through capital development processes; i.e. the acquisition, conversion, accumulation of rare and valuable resources (Skeggs, 1997). Bourdieu (2008) defined economic capital as income, wealth, financial inheritance and monetary assets; social capital as resources based on connections, group memberships and social relationships; and cultural capital as in three different forms: a) Embodied state: long-lasting dispositions of mind and body like certain manners, attitudes, bodily styles, etc.; b) Objectified state: cultural goods and services, books, buildings, tools/machineries, etc.; c) Institutionalized state: educational and professional qualifications and credentials, etc. Thus, cultural capital not only involves institutionalized forms such as formal education, but also the embodied cultural know-how about how things and systems work, and a sense of taste so that people might fit in the local structure by status and good reputation (Ortner, 2002). Finally, he defines symbolic capital as the form of other types of capital once they are perceived and recognized as legitimate in the practice context.

It is clear that possessing a legitimate form of cultural capital has direct implications on an individual entrepreneur's sense or ability to fit in socially. But still, this aspect is not widely covered in entrepreneurial literature. Cultural capital is the most critical form of capital, because its accumulation and convertibility are the most difficult to achieve due to longer time periods required to acquire and transfer it (Priour & Savage, 2013). Investment in the accumulation of cultural capital is usually made

to maximize one's upward mobility and convert it to legitimacy and prestige (Mohr & DiMaggio, 1995; Prieur & Savage, 2013). As such, it is indispensable for the enactment of social capital, the creation and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities locally (Light & Dana, 2013) and transnationally (Drori, Honig, & Wright, 2009; Terjesen & Elam, 2009), and the capturing of power relations especially pronounced in the legitimizing efforts of entrepreneurial ventures (De Clercq & Voronov, 2009).

The concept of field provides a context-analytic lens to study the capital development practices of migrant women entrepreneurs. Field is "a set of objectives, historical relations between positions anchored in certain forms of power (or capital)" (Wacquant in Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 16), which can be imagined more like market behaviour structured by exchange and competition (Moi, 1991). Actors make sense of their specific situations and associated elements as meaningful, and to follow a course of action that is appropriate to the context (Wacquant, 2014). Yet, this is not given. The concept of habitus is, "a feel for the game makes possible the... production of ...thoughts, perceptions and actions". Habitus also provides a much-nuanced understanding of agency conditioned by social signifiers like ethnicity, class and gender. This way, the concept of habitus shares the basic insights of intersectionality perspective stressing that the entrepreneurs become the physical and metaphorical embodiment of the imagined (future) firm (Marlow & McAdam, 2015). Yet, habitus takes a step forward and materializes the notion of embodiment as a compilation of collective and individual historical trajectories, and a complex interplay between the past and present.

In view of the above, womanhood and being a migrant appear as two socially constructed categories which carry different amounts of symbolic capital in different contexts/fields at different times (Skeggs, 1997). The empirical analysis will show how class and gendered and/or ethno-centred habitus would shape cultural capital development processes of MWE. Such an analysis will bring about the diversity within the sampled group of the migrant women entrepreneurs as often underestimated by the existing analyses.

Methodological Approach

The life stories are considered as keys to open the black boxes of the processual dynamics of MWE's lives, as each life story provides a link between "the migrant agent and the structure of society" (Lutz, 1995, p. 314).

Because the Bourdieu's terminology is unique in many ways, the first task was to translate his conceptual frameworks of habitus, field and forms of capital into the reading of life stories. Due to its plasticity and richness, the concept of habitus has proven to be the most intriguing element of empirical analysis (Reay, 2004), yet it provided a methodological pathway (Wacquant, 1996). Akin to the concept of 'lived experience' in life story accounts, the concept of habitus was useful in extracting narratives around process of making sense while connecting the past with the present (Brah 1991). Definitions and descriptions offered by Bourdieu were used for the remaining concepts of field and forms of capital.

The empirical material was generated by listening to the life stories of 17 women who migrated from Turkey to Sweden for different reasons. The selection of a migrant community with a Turkish background was on purpose. Immigration to Sweden from Turkey encompasses diverse ethnic groups

over a wide span of time from less educated working-class people in the late 1960s to highly educated, elite civic movement leaders after the military coup in 1980s.

The context of Sweden is marked by an egalitarian society where class differentiation is not significant. Yet, there is low mobility between social ranks as displayed in occupational patterns and class homogenous marriages (Bihagen & Hallerod, 2000). Women in Sweden have become their own breadwinners. Today, the Swedish women identify themselves both as mothers and workers without downplaying the importance of each one of them. Women are bound to their field of venturing as mirroring the gendered labour market segmentation in Sweden (Holmquist & Sundin, 1988), and are more confined in their labour market choices (Hedberg, 2009). The migrants in Sweden often share close residential areas, irrespective of their social backgrounds, take on a collective migrant or foreigner identity (Pred, 1997). Migrants in Sweden are employed three times less than native citizens (Ekberg & Hammarstedt, 2002; Valenta & Bunar, 2010). However, migrant women with higher education levels are worse off. These highly educated women coming from non-Western countries experience twice times unemployment as compared to native women with similar educational backgrounds (Rubin et al., 2008). Migrant women's experiences reflect the structural predicaments faced by migrant entrepreneurs and women entrepreneurs in Sweden. They usually take part in women-dominated service sectors where low education levels and low profit margins are common, such as hairdressing, personal and health care, and social services. Moreover, they share a common destiny with women coming from West Asia, where their gains from entrepreneurship are lower compared to other migrant women entrepreneurs from western countries (Hedberg, 2009).

The main characteristics of the MWE in the study are summarized below:

Insert Table. 1 About Here

The women entrepreneurs were accessed by searching contacts via the Ethnic and Business Association, and personal networks. Then, through snowballing, it was possible to access several other women entrepreneurs who migrated from Turkey, who were in the process of establishing or have already established their ventures in Sweden as solo entrepreneurs. The search yielded 17 participants with whom life story interviews were carried out. All interviews were undertaken between November 2011 and December 2012 at women's workplaces, or homes, according to their own preferences. The interviews were conducted in Turkish, the native language of both the interviewees and the author, which were then translated into English. The life story materials were combined with non-participant observations of entrepreneurship practices in several of women's businesses located in three different cities being, Stockholm, Goteborg, and Jonkoping. Also, by-invitation-only networking and special events organized by women were attended during this period. Still the current analysis largely draws upon the life story narratives, while the ethnographic observations form the backdrop of the study.

In generating the life stories, a grounded theory approach (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) was followed in order to develop a deeper understanding of theoretical constructs which address the interpretive realities of migrant women entrepreneurs. Accordingly, the theoretical sampling was adopted through ongoing interpretations of generated data (Suddaby, 2006) and emergent theoretical categories. As Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1984) himself and subsequent accounts (Townley, 2014) rightly insisted, class relations are not confined within the occupational or production domains. Instead, class relations concern more of a cultural exchange than a labour exchange in contrast to how this concept was once

framed (Skeggs, 1997). Therefore, this analysis takes into account all narratives referring to different forms of cultural capital acquisition and conversion practices in which women claimed ownership or investment. Cultural capital (Charmaz, 2014) and its development efforts emerged as a key directing activity in conceptualizing the data in greater detail (Emerson, 2007). This study draws from the positioning analysis. A study of positioning allows for observing different social locations in which entrepreneurs find themselves as well as observing the resources that they either can, or cannot mobilize in the way of articulating their self-constructions upon normative discourses (Bamberg, 1997; Davies & Harré, 1990). This framework was applied primarily in analysing the narratives of women talking about how they positioned themselves within work/labour relations prior to their enterprising and after becoming an entrepreneur (Gill, 2014).

Then it was examined how women entrepreneurs evaluated and used their capital differently under certain conditions. Life stories demonstrated the ways in which MWE relationally defined, and in turn, contested being the right kind of entrepreneur through their constructed habitus and forms of cultural capital within the rules of the game in the specific field of entrepreneurship.

Respectively, the analysis yielded three distinct habitus that emerged from the life story narratives labelled as, 1) Women (Migrant) Entrepreneurs, 2) Migrant (Women) Entrepreneurs, and 3) Hybrid Entrepreneurs.

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

The study brings forward three distinctive habitus of MWE drawn from a synopsis of their life trajectories as described below.

Migrant (women) entrepreneurs: These women come from established families with urban backgrounds. Although migration disrupted some of their existing capital, they nevertheless had a higher economic, social and cultural capital than women with labour backgrounds. Their migration was the product of modernization projects that started in 1920s with a newly founded Turkish Republic in which women were positioned as equals to men in both private and public domains (White, 2004). However, this ideal construct – ‘the daughters of republic’ – was accessible to women who came mostly from middle- and upper-class families (Arat, 1998; Ozbay, 1999).

Before migrating to Sweden in the 1980s, most of them already had higher education and professional occupations. This background provided these entrepreneurs with a legitimate authority position as political activists. Paradoxically, the order-conscious dispositions developed throughout their fighting for a different social order in Turkey forced them into exile as political refugees. All the women said that, they chose Sweden primarily, because it represented a democratic social order. Interestingly, gender relations were slightly mentioned in this group of interviews as if they were not relevant to their experience of themselves and to their lives as migrants.

Women (Migrant) entrepreneurs: These women come from working- or lower-class families and migrated primarily from rural areas or small towns in central and southern Anatolia. In those families, the women’s lives were organized on the basis of patriarchal cultural codes that limited women’s movement between private and public spheres (Arat, 1998; İncirlioğlu, 1998). Their essential place was with the family and they were primarily raised first as daughters and then wives and mothers.

All these women worked following their compulsory education in Sweden. Nevertheless, protecting family honour and their femininity remained essential to live a respectful life and to be a respectful woman. Their sense of sexuality was central to their femininity. Marriage, for them, was the key arena in which they could trade their femininity and gain status and respectability in their communities.

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

Sites of Investments: Acquisition and Conversion of Forms of Cultural Capital

The capital development practices of these women were closely associated with their classed habitus. In realizing their opportunities, various forms of capital played a central role in women's lives in general and in their entrepreneurial efforts in particular.

Education as an allocative mechanism in legitimating and defining the value of the cultural capital of MWE was set as a prerequisite not only for paid or highly qualified jobs, but also for almost any field in which women started their own businesses. However, their habitus greatly shaped the array of choices available to them. Mine comes from an established family. She had a university degree and years of professional experience prior to her migration to Sweden. She says:

I used to work as a dentist in Turkey and had to migrate to Sweden as a political refugee because I was arrested for being involved in a political movement raising consciousness among working women like voicing concerns for an equal pay for equal work, etc. However, in Sweden, my dentistry degree from Turkey was not recognized. I refused to start from the scratch and get another degree exactly in the same subjects. What happened next was that I became a shareholder to a dentistry practice run by the Turkish dentists. However, they treated me like subordinate just because I didn't have a Swedish degree. I couldn't handle that. There were no other available jobs than being a servant or a care-giver as a migrant woman at that time. I decided to set up my own company in personal and health care business. (Mine)

Due to her frustration with the Swedish higher education regulations and her ethnic kin, Mine developed a rather unusual strategy to justify her eligibility for a bank loan by drawing on her house which she has bought after selling her apartment in Istanbul, Turkey. She used her house as a legitimate cultural capital:

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

In order to create a favourable argument to acquire a bank loan, she relied primarily on her class position materialized in her house located in one of the affluent districts of Stockholm. According to her, owning a valuable house would symbolize her wealth and a nice interior design with a library would reflect her cultural capital.

In contrast to the migrant women's frustration with structural disadvantages such as issues around degree validation in a new country, the women migrants who came to Sweden following their male kin consistently mentioned that they knew they would be working as a beautician, as a hairdresser or in a low-profile job in the food sector, etc.

I have never thought of becoming a lawyer, economist or doctor, etc. Actually, here in Sweden, there are all kinds of possibilities; they even give you money if you get higher education. However, we did not because there was no such support from the families, no support, there was also no one like that among people with whom we have been socializing... During my high school education, for example, our Turkish girls used to sit together in the classroom, we did not mingle with the Swedish students, neither did they with us. They did not want to because we could not live the life they did, for instance, they could go out after school and have fun, drink, etc, but we could not do such things, we had to return home to help with house chores.
(Senay)

These narratives showed that they were unable to consider this option not only due to the limits posed by gendered habitus as common to all women, but particularly due to the requirements and responsibilities often forced on them by the ethnic family which would contradict with practical life arrangements. It would not be rare that such contradiction would end up in early marriages and parenthood later in life. These women without higher education often recalled how important it was to have a certain occupational certificate not only to legitimize their skills, and claim expertise in their business, but also as a door opening to new and better social relations and opportunities:

My cousin encouraged me to become a beautician because she knew me and my talent since my childhood. I went to the school for 15 months. Unfortunately, things did not go well with my cousin, she did not pay my salary after a while. I started up my own business just to show my tenacity at work to myself and to her and everybody else that I could do it by myself, too. During this period of getting my certificate I got to know people. They were all Swedish and they were residents of this region. I was 24 years old and I learned this region, the Swedish language all at a later age. I educated myself. Now, all my customers like me, for example, when I moved here, all my former customers followed me. (Senay)

As Senay's account partly shows, language, being one of the fundamental systems of distinction and resource allocation, as Bourdieu (1991) suggested, was the most crucial cultural resource to be converted to symbolic capital. However, the symbolic value of language to the MWE is related to their own sense of classed positions. For example, for women with working-class backgrounds, competence in the Swedish language has been a great concern. The women provided long accounts on how they considered themselves in this regard. Almost all confessed with embarrassment that they had accents. On the contrary, political refugee women with middle-class family backgrounds approached the language proficiency issue in rather instrumental ways. They clearly expressed that their use of Swedish would no way be comparable to that of the natives, yet they had no issues about that. Hybrid entrepreneurs, on the other hand, were proud of their linguistic proficiency in using this form of cultural capital. They thought having a good command of Swedish was important for work, even though at times they were indirectly reminded of their distinct social positions as non-natives. As Ceren said,

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

However, language has never been a sufficient cultural resource in itself even for the women who have mastered the native language. Their experiences make it clear that, in order for the language to work favourably for them, it needs to be backed up with other forms of cultural capital specific to the context such as communicative skills. Such skills are sticky and contextual as the language itself, even if they often remain unarticulated. These interactions require all embodied faculties namely, practical know-how and proper mannerisms acquired through ongoing and time-consuming practices to be brought together, (Rennstam & Ashcraft, 2013, p. 11). The combined skills play a role as gatekeepers, which enable or disable the social interactions with important stakeholders.

Nalan, a knitwear shop owner is the daughter of an enterprising father in Turkey. She came to Sweden following her brothers. She says she was born to an enterprising family and culture. She even taught her husband how to venture following his migration to Sweden from Turkey.

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

Like Nalan, Nurten has also migrated to Sweden following her father and working-class family at very early ages. She had a higher education and professional career as a social worker in Sweden. Like all other hybrid women socialized in the native and ethnic culture, she claims perfect command of Swedish language. At the time of the interview, she was in the process of starting up her retail business in non-alcoholic wine sector with the aim of helping to reduce excessive alcoholic consumption in the Swedish society. She explained that in getting prepared for networking meetings, it was crucial to become aware and to skilfully apply the cultural codes and to exchange signs of status in order to connect with her Swedish and ethnic contacts:

There are visible and invisible rules such as proper code of dress and arriving meetings in time. For example, if you cannot present yourself in 10 minutes your business there is over, i.e. access is denied. For that reason, in starting my presentations I usually let them know that I have a migrant background.

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

Thus, the sites of investment varied according to how women oriented themselves towards acquiring and putting into use certain forms of cultural capital. Migrant women, who were already equipped with a strong cultural capital, claimed legitimacy for their expert knowledge. However, their claims were often denied in the labour market which caused them to start their own businesses. The hybrid women had a relatively broader range of resources due to their familiarity with both of the cultures, and they had access to the required communicative and institutional resources which helped them start up visionary businesses. On the other hand, women coming from working class families had much fewer resources compared to the other two. Their investment patterns developed along with their working class-based trajectories in female and migrant typical jobs, often followed by their frustrations with the employers exploiting their labour, and material difficulties experienced at prior jobs, which formed ground to their starting up motivations. Women’s accounts, thus, show how

gender, ethnicity and class act as the elements of division which define the particular contexts in which MWE interact. These very same lines also work to generate practices and sites of distinction.

Sites of Distinction: Matter of Concerns and Imagined Futures

Almost all women in this study claimed distinctions by attributing certain qualities to themselves—their manners, attitudes and resources or to their customers, products or social relations. The migrant women primarily claimed distinctions in terms of professional or business conducts and ethics. Mine reflects such an approach:

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

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

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

Mine refused to acquire the institutional cultural capital recognized in Sweden, while allegedly, her classed habitus resembled to her customers, her ethnic origin added up to her economic vulnerability.

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

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

They just looked at my 13 years of working life, my being a woman with four children and being a migrant. For example, the Ministry of Trade and even the King said a couple of things. They said, they could not be as successful in another country as I was. These criteria were enough to them, but they were not interested in what I have achieved. It takes a lot of energy and courage. I kept working with honour and never manipulated the market. Later, after me, a few small firms emerged, and they harmed the market. I actually developed human resources for the market and I raised those people for my competitors, too. Actually, I took quite a large burden from the municipalities. Migrants, of whom 90% were getting social support, became qualified translators.

Leyla's family moved to Sweden as a labour force when she was two years old and she had a chance to have a higher education. She set up her first company while she was studying computer sciences at the University.

I started my first company when I was 22 years old. It was during our education that we needed to carry out internship however, the companies were reluctant to hire us, the students coming from non-Swedish ethnic

backgrounds. I and other friends we had to do that. Internship was important and compulsory part of our studies. It suddenly occurred to me that the Swedes were not able to see the value of cultural diversity; people, languages, cultural resources, etc. I saw this as an opportunity to start my own business. I hired all these friends who were denied a placement. We started with translating English manuals to Swedish for big IT companies. Since then I have been working with multicultural human and other resources. Recently, I sent a group of Iraqi engineers in Sweden to work in the Middle-East.

Leyla's case shows, how merit-based understanding of cultural capital would not be sufficient on its own unless structural barriers like racism (Ram et al., 2017) are properly addressed. Such an important insight, however, only helps to tell a part of the story. Therefore, it is worth to account the emergent agency of the migrants facing such struggles and experiences (Kontos, 2003). Obviously, because of this struggle, Leyla was able to formulate her business opportunity by reflecting upon what was missing, or was not utilized in the Swedish labour market.

Indeed, their horizon was influenced by where they came from, and where they were positioned. The accounts of distinction suggest that entrepreneurship provided a ground for revaluing delegitimized cultural resources, and the emergence of alternative cultural formations in a globalized world. Yet, given the strict boundaries drawn around gendered and ethnic divisions, the questions such as whether entrepreneurship has been helpful for correcting the representational denigration of women and for ensuring material security and discursive relief to women entrepreneurs from different classes remain to be discussed at length.

Discussions

This study focuses on the cultural capital development processes of MWE as an important, but often less regarded source of their emancipation. It reveals how class and gendered and/or ethno-centred habitus would shape the process through empirical analysis of 17 MWE. The focus on the life stories of MWE is to capture cultural and symbolic capital that spans a person's whole life trajectory and the experience (Lamont & Lareau, 1988), and movement across different social fields (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008). This way, it allows for a diverse sampled group of MWE as often underestimated (Aygören & Wilinska, 2013). Such a diverse community enabled to record thick descriptions for the cultural configuration of class in the distinctive narratives and vocabularies of MWE. It demonstrates how class, even without being explicitly mentioned, has actually been central to women's migration and entrepreneurship experiences. Additionally, by maintaining different class positions in the social strata they displayed different responses to their circumstances, i.e. what to do and who to be (Bourdieu, 1990).

This study identifies gender, ethnicity and class as shaping major habitus for MWE and opens up the dynamic and emergent nature of capital development processes by attending to MWE's cultural capital accounts (Keating, Geiger, & McLoughlin, 2013). The notion of habitus provided additional space for considering the active presence of individuals in entrepreneurial processes as part and parcel of individual (Watson, 2013) and collective biographies (Vilares-Varilla, 2018). Accommodating individuals this way helped expanding the current theorization of resourcing practices with a context-lens by emphasizing the role of agency (Cederberg & Vilares-Varilla, 2018), such as interpreting what counts as a resource, how to command pertinent socio-cultural and symbolic resources and how to navigate through the demands of the established incumbents (De Clercq & Voronov, 2009; Terjesen & Elam, 2009).

The study suggests that, the strategic fit between resources and opportunities does entail neither an automatic and arbitrary process nor an overly institutional and collective (group based) process (Kloosterman, 2010). Rather, it takes an effort and contestation carried out by the entrepreneurial actors, individual entrepreneur being the primary one. It focuses particularly on the conditions of possibilities for agency in social class terms, and their effects on acquiring and using resources, and on shaping certain opportunities and strategies by linking pre-migration and post-migration lives. Such a linkage between pre-migration and post-migration lives has been rarely considered (Anthias, 2013). Then, the study shows that entrepreneurial resourcing occurs when resources come to be acquired, mobilized and put into specific use by the entrepreneurial actors in the right context(s). Thus, simply possessing a particular type of resource, e.g. human capital, remains limited in explaining entrepreneurial resourcing practices especially in the case of entrepreneurship carried out by women and migrant groups.

This study shares the key insights and concerns raised by critical and feminist entrepreneurship studies reflecting the embeddedness of the field within gender, ethnicity and class relations. Taking these insights to a further step, the study emphasizes the relevance of class as an axis of difference in addition to prevailing focus on gender and ethnicity (Verduijn, & Essers, 2013). It acknowledges the importance of exploring the identity and meaning based struggles of women (Marlow & McAdam, 2015) or migrant women entrepreneurs (Essers et al., 2013) in coping with their disadvantaged position and legitimizing their business. These streams of studies are enriched here by arguing that this agentic capacity is socio-culturally constructed rather than being arbitrary. It maintains that the way the agentic capacity is experienced and practiced displays particular commonalities among entrepreneurs who have/share contextualized dispositions (*habitus*) acquired through longstanding experiences under particular material and socio-cultural conditions pertaining to relations of class, gender and ethnicity. The additional insights offered by Bourdieu's theoretical framework, then, are included to show the source of such agency and how individuals would create remedies when *habitus* and field did not quite fit.

Thus, incorporation of social class with its objective and subjective dimensions highlighted not only the identity and agency aspects of those strategic processes studied by feminist accounts (Chasserio et al., 2014; Essers & Benschop, 2007), but also the equally important material aspect emphasized by the ethnic minority enterprise literature (Cederberg & Villares-Varela, 2018). For instance, empirical material showed that women who maintain positions at relatively higher ends of the class strata, that is, migrant and hybrid women with higher education challenged their positions as minority ethnicities when practicing entrepreneurship. On the other hand, the women migrants who found themselves at lower ends of the class distribution did not attempt to challenge the supremacy of classed subject positions. They were rather more interested in setting themselves free from the authority of contradictory relations where they experienced great dissonance in negotiating their identities according to two very different forms of femininity. While the Swedish context appeared to construct women and men as relatively more independent and equal in the domestic field and many other fields, the indigenous context appeared to construct women within relatively interdependent patriarchal exchange relations. Accordingly, the women from working-class families claimed to stand for themselves, rather than for helping others, or influencing their environments.

Accordingly, the study adds new insights on the role of cultural capital in entrepreneurship and MWE in several ways. First, similar to Karataş-Özkan and Chell's study (2013), the study shows that cultural capital plays a crucial role in the formation of women's individual *habitus* which shapes, facilitates and inhibits access to entrepreneurship well before entrepreneurs are engaged in

entrepreneurship. For instance, migrant women and women migrants whose habitus and capital development chances were disrupted due to structural and cultural requirements found entrepreneurship as a major source of income and recognition. The relatively stable socialization of hybrid women, on the other hand, provided windows for a steady capital accumulation and recognizing particular entrepreneurial opportunities rather than relying on entrepreneurship to survive.

In their review of migrant women's entrepreneurship, Chreim et al. (2018) indicate the need for further research in the ways educational backgrounds of migrant women interact with other contextual or actor-related factors. This study shows that, women with higher education and professional experience had issues in validating their credentials or putting them into use. However, women's choice of an entrepreneurial career has not always been a response to the blocked mobility in the mainstream labour market in Sweden (Pettersson & Hedberg, 2013). As this study shows, the source of discrimination which leaves women with feelings of inferiority does not always have to be the native society. Many of the women migrants' experiences were to the contrary, largely because the level playing field was obviously layered and hierarchically cascaded in relation to the weight of capital women held. As migrant women and hybrid women experienced intolerance mostly from the natives, e.g., from their customers in the mainstream market or institutional bodies, the women migrants were put in a disadvantaged position by their former employees in the highly segregated personal and caring service businesses.

Besides, the study shows the importance of considering entrepreneurs' cultural capital formation strategies as influenced largely by their habitus (Al Ariss & Syed, 2011). In line with Bourdieu's perspective, the study highlighted the role of women's social class identity as an important intervening mechanism for the resources and entrepreneurial resourcing strategies and behaviours. In this respect, it suggests to expand the current framing of cultural capital as delimited with institutional/educational credentials only. The MWE in this study, for example, drew upon heterogeneous forms of cultural capital that could have symbolic currency in a given context and time to the extent of mutual recognition. They utilized their credentials, houses, knowledge of different languages, certain mannerisms and attitudes in order to be able to claim symbolic capital.

Language has also been given a premium attention in studies of migrant (Ram et al, 2017) and migrant women's entrepreneurship (Chreim et al., 2018). Language or lack of language proficiency or an 'accent ceiling' as conceptualized by Collins & Low (2010) have been one of the most critical forms of cultural capital disadvantaging migrant women's enterprising and growth prospects as well as limiting their strategic choices in co-ethnic markets. Narratives of the women provided more nuanced understanding about the question of language in migrant enterprise research which signals the need for further research. First, the analysis highlighted the role of language as one of the most important mechanisms, which would help to maintain ethnic boundaries between the majority and minority ethnic communities and accordingly shape the range of opportunities and growth prospects lead by social capital development efforts. Then, the study further extends the key argument raised by Light and Dana (2013), as cultural capital proved to function as a powerful gatekeeper for claiming membership in various networks for women. Future research can probe into this interface between cultural and social capital and might provide a deeper understanding on the nature of this symbiotic relationship between two forms of capital and its multiple effects on generating particular entrepreneurial practices and strategies in host and co-ethnic and transnational contexts.

This way, MWE introduced suppressed varieties into exchange relations in the dominant context and reinforce their standing and currency (Erel & Lutz, 2012). However, their strategies found limited manoeuvring space in areas where institutionalization of the field has been rather strong such as in the area of education and the conduct of professional practice. They arguably enjoyed more freedom in enacting diverse opportunities aligned with their habitus, and life trajectories to the degree that their cultural and symbolic capitals were put into use.

In view of the above discussions, this study shows how migrant women entrepreneurs generate diverse, yet at times similar, but historically and culturally conditioned responses in actively shaping the relationship between entrepreneurial resources and context specific structural powers and aspects. In particular, it draws attention to the conditions of possibilities for agency as a result of struggle and intersectional power relations: social class, ethnicity and gender which provide a differential degree of powers to the individual entrepreneur.

Conclusion

This study provides important implications for approaching migrant and women entrepreneurship. Attention to women biographies in individual basis proved to be crucial in showing the futility of speaking about the cultural or social capital of an ethnic group such as the Turkish community or a culture as they greatly undermined the intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic hierarchical relations and distinctions (Vershina et al., 2011). It also shows the diversity in women's migration and entrepreneurship experiences and heterogeneity in institutional engagements (Ahl & Marlow, 2012).

Despite such implications, the study comes with certain limitations as well. The first one concerns the sampled participants. They show differences in their migration experiences and biographical histories, but the fact that they come from the same country of origin (Turkey) and are settled in the distinct national context (Sweden) helped to maintain a structure for their experiences discussed in the study. Therefore, future studies taking comparative approach would be encouraged in providing greater insights on the subject matter. The second one concerns the methodological choice of drawing purely on women's experiences. The research tried to remain true and impartial to participants' accounts, but its context is unique and limited in drawing upon participants' ways of representing themselves towards different audiences. Richer ethnographic material diversifying the research contexts in situ would greatly enrich such and similar studies requiring sharp qualitative perspectives (Johns, 2006).

The empirical coverage of this study can be further expanded with the inclusion of immigrant women entrepreneurs enterprising in Sweden who come from other countries of origin than Turkey. Although studies focusing on immigrant women entrepreneurs in Sweden are limited, and the major lines of discussion on immigrant entrepreneurship revolves around questions of integration and inclusion of the migrants to host society, the extant literature sheds light upon the major institutional characteristics, and their impact on immigrant women's entrepreneurial experiences as well as the responses the women generated towards them. As Webster and Haandrikman (2017) suggest, structural and institutional challenges combined with difficulties around gender and race aspects pose greater challenges to immigrant women entrepreneurs in starting up and surviving as small businesses in Sweden. When compared with ethnicity gendered barriers seem to be more pervasive and are more

pressing for all women in Sweden due to highly segregated labour market characteristics which confine women to feminized jobs and opportunities. However, the opportunity structures available to immigrant women seem to be even more shrunken and sort those women into much less diversified and labour-intensive and low-income sectors such as hairdressing, restaurant businesses, health care, cleaning and to a much lesser degree to office jobs like interpretation and administrative consultancy. Yet, the women sampled in this study, like other migrant women living in Sweden and elsewhere (Essers, 2007), also tended to find ways going around power structures by creatively responding to those challenges (Webster & Haandrikman, 2017; Hedberg & Pattersson, 2012). They displayed different family characteristics compared to some other immigrant women entrepreneur groups. For instance, Pio (2010) in discussing the Indian women and Webster and Haandrikman (2017) in bringing forward the Thai immigrant women entrepreneurs' experiences emphasize how women relied on their families and communities as a major resource in attaining different forms of capital required to start up and survive their firms. However, such support was difficult to locate in women's narratives, mainly because only two out of the seventeen women had Swedish partners, and only four of them had a stable marriage and family life. The rest were either divorced or changed their same ethnicity partners in the course of the migration process which is very similar to the immigrant women entrepreneurs studied by Hedberg and Pattersson (2012). Striking enough, similarly, they seemed to be talking about their entrepreneurial efforts as an individual struggle and achievement, and they relied on diverse and cross-cultural customers and employees while much less so on co-ethnic markets and customers. The experiences of the women from Turkey cast serious doubts about the family and community support. This point warrants a further elaboration of family structures and their likely impact on social and cultural capital development processes from intersectional perspectives, i.e., gender, ethnicity and class.

Another methodological concern is about the data generation which has taken place six years ago. Six years might have brought many changes to the women who narrated their stories. This has become clear in the follow-up meetings that were held with some of the women up to this date. Some of the women slowed down or even halted their business endeavours, while others have started up new companies in addition to their earlier start-up. Some others experienced an exponential growth by overcoming start-up hurdles. However, the main purpose of this study is not providing an accurate description of current situation, but rather offering an analysis explaining the emergence of the situation. The time span of research and interviews conducted in this study allowed for the accumulation of a rich contextual data which formed a solid base to identify and understand the processes and practices required to discuss and illuminate the theoretical perspectives and aim of the study.

The study also offers useful insights which may inform the policy. The study shows that policies addressing the aspirations and capital endowments of different groups would be helpful in tackling with the dominant focus on ethnicity and cultural traits of those groups. Intersectional approach to policy making might potentially provide a useful entry point (Ram et al., 2017; Romero & Valdez, 2016). Finally, business and public policies which tend to support migrant and women entrepreneurship as a way out of unemployment should take into account the inequalities and societal divisions experienced within the practice of entrepreneurship. Business and public policy domain should be integrated towards targeting the burgeoning diversity in entrepreneurship.

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Table 1. Main Characteristics of Migrant Women Entrepreneurs

| Life-story narrator | Migration motivation | Age at the time of migration (the year of migration) | Age at the time of start-up | Education Occupation prior to starting up | Type of habitus |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|---|------------------------------------|--|------------------------|
| Ceren | Labour | 2 years old (1968) | 40 | High school Financial accountant and elderly care taker | Hybrid entrepreneurs |
| Leyla | Labour | 2 years old (1968) | 22 | University University student and elderly care taker | Hybrid entrepreneurs |
| Nalan | Labour | 6 years old (1973) | 42 | High school Cook | Hybrid entrepreneurs |
| Nurten | Labour | 10 years old (1966) | 54 | University Social service officer | Hybrid entrepreneurs |

| | | | | | |
|--------|-----------|---|----|---|--------------------------------|
| Sema | Labour | 3 years old (1963) | 28 | High school Public service officer | Hybrid entrepreneurs |
| Zeynep | Labour | 0 years old (born: 1989, migration: 1966) | 21 | University student | Hybrid entrepreneurs |
| Ramize | Political | 23 years old (1982) | 39 | University Nurse | Migrant (women) entrepreneurs |
| Mine | Political | 28 years old (1980) | 40 | University Dentist | Migrant (women) entrepreneurs |
| Muge | Political | 32 years old (2010) | 31 | University Marketing consultant | Migrant (women) entrepreneurs |
| Guler | Political | 26 years old (1983) | 51 | University Psychologist and TV program producer | Migrant (women) entrepreneurs |
| Ayla | Political | 28 years old (1983) | 35 | University Dentist | Migrant (women) entrepreneurs. |
| Aysen | Labour | 2 years old (1963) | 35 | Secondary school Housekeeper | Women (migrant) entrepreneurs |
| Hatis | Labour | 0 years old (born: 1983 migration: 1999) | 26 | High school Housekeeper | Women (migrant) entrepreneurs |
| Merve | Labour | 2 years old (1973) | 27 | High school Hairdresser | Women (migrant) entrepreneurs |

| | | | | | |
|-------|--------|---|----|--|-------------------------------------|
| Nejla | Labour | 0 years old (born: 1979, migration: 1977) | 28 | High school Nurse and elderly care taker | Women (migrant) entrepreneurs |
| Selin | Labour | 22 years old (2002) | 28 | High school Dancer | Women (migrant) entrepreneurs |
| Senay | Labour | 0 years old (born: 1981, migration: 1974) | 27 | High school Beautician and elderly care taker | Women (migrant) entrepreneurs |