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Book section

Original citation:

Originally published in Garcia-Lorenzo, Lucia, Sell-Trujillo, Lucia and Donnelly, Paul (2014) *'I just want a job': the untold stories of entrepreneurship*. In: Izak, Michal, Hitchin, Linda and Anderson, David, (eds.) *Untold Stories in Organizations*. Routledge studies in management, organizations and society. [Routledge](#), London, UK, pp. 143-167. ISBN 9781138790018

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Available in LSE Research Online: November 2014

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'I just want a job': The untold stories of entrepreneurship¹

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Pre-publication copy

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Garcia-Lorenzo, L; Sell, L, and Donnelly, P. (2014) 'I just want a job: The untold stories of entrepreneurship'. In: Izak, M, Hitchen, L. and Anderson, D. (Eds.) *Untold Stories in Organisations*. London: Routledge. Pp 143-167.(Routledge Studies in Management, Organizations and Society) ISBN 9781138790018

Those who do not have power over the stories that dominate their lives, power to retell them, rethink them, deconstruct them, joke about them, and change them as times change, truly are powerless because they cannot think new thoughts. (*Rushdie, 1992: 432*)

Abstract

In this chapter, we explore the untold stories of Spanish and Irish necessity entrepreneurs to better understand the process of becoming an entrepreneur. Working with narratives, media articles, and policy documents, we illustrate how necessity entrepreneurs do not recognize themselves in the institutionalized entrepreneur narrative as empowered, creative and independent individuals. It is necessity, not opportunity that is pushing, not pulling, them to become entrepreneurial. The process is experienced as more fragmented than official narratives outline. In exposing these untold stories, the chapter expands our understanding of entrepreneurship, presenting a more nuanced view of both entrepreneurs and the entrepreneurial process.

1. Introduction.

Despite increasing recognition of entrepreneurship as a diverse phenomenon (Shane and Venkataraman, 2000; Venkataraman, 2002), most research on this area still assumes that entrepreneurship is a positive behavioural quality or state to aspire to (Calás, Smircich and Bourne, 2009; Carland and Carland, 1991; 1992; Dey and Steyard, 2010; 2012). Thus, entrepreneurship is generally portrayed as that positive, elusive competence individuals need to develop, and organizations and institutions need to foster, to increase creativity, innovation and the possibilities of finding employment in times of economic instability (Druker, 1985; Perren and Jennings, 2005).

Recent research has attempted to critically assess the area of entrepreneurship studies (e.g., Imas and Weston, 2012; Ogbor, 2000; Özkazanç-Pan, 2009), providing alternative views on

entrepreneurship that go beyond the wealth and business creation focus of much of the managerial literature. This type of research outlines a view of entrepreneurship more as a process than an ideal state to be reached. Within this tradition, a discursive and narrative approach to entrepreneurship studies has been suggested by a number of scholars (Cornelissen et al, 2012; Garcia and Welter, 2013; Holt and MacPherson, 2010). The aim is to capture the multi-voiced representations of entrepreneurship, as well as to provide more contextualized knowledge of the process, thereby providing an alternative to the predominant ambition in much entrepreneurial research to describe the ideal 'entrepreneur' and to explain and predict individual entrepreneurial behaviour (Cornelissen et al., 2012; Steyaert and Bouwen, 1997). Thus, our aim here is to contribute to this emerging, alternative tradition.

In this chapter, we will focus on a number of situated entrepreneurial stories of people in Spain and Ireland. During 2013, we used qualitative research methods to collect in-depth interviews, documents and digital narratives in the aforementioned countries. We have found that both the Spanish and Irish governments, as well as the media, are encouraging people --- through a particular type of narrative --- to become more entrepreneurial as a possible way out of unemployment. However, our interviewees do not recognize themselves in this institutionalized narrative of entrepreneurship as the empowered, creative and independent individuals who go on a 'quest' to 'put an innovative product in the market'. It is necessity, rather than opportunity (Hessels et al., 2008), that is pushing, rather than pulling (Amit and Muller, 1995; Gilad and Levine, 1986; Storey, 1982), them to become self-employed. This chapter aims to make explicit the untold stories about their transitory state. By collecting these alternative stories of the entrepreneurship process, we hope to "access deeper organiz[ing] realities, closely linked to [people's] experiences" (Gabriel, 1999: 270), as well as to complement the dominant narrative of entrepreneurship as a 'quest' present in most research, institutional and media contexts.

The chapter is structured as follows: The first section explores the concept of entrepreneurship and

the research being done on entrepreneurial narratives. The second section looks at stories, both told and untold, as ways to manage in drifting and ambiguous contexts. The third section explains the methods of data gathering and analysis used to handle the data material. The fourth section describes the dominant narrative in entrepreneurship: the quest. Section five looks into the untold stories that lead to that narrative and that get pushed aside as redundant or not fitting, but that show the struggle of the forced entrepreneurs to find new anchors within a transitory situation.

2. Narratives about entrepreneurship

There does not seem to be a clear agreement among researchers about what 'entrepreneurship' is. The common definition, however, seems to revolve around wealth and business creation by motivated individuals and the factors that might support or enable that process (Gartner, 2010). For instance, Kirzner (1973) defined entrepreneurship as the ability to perceive new opportunities and to exploit them, whereas for Shane and Venkataraman (2000: 218) entrepreneurship is the study of "how, by whom, and with what effects opportunities to create future goods and services are discovered, evaluated, and exploited". Intellectual capital is considered important and factors such as education and previous experience in work are seen as influencing the entrepreneur's capacity to understand, interpret and apply new information in a way that others cannot (Shane and Venkataraman, 2000). Social capital and networks are also considered critical, as they provide and support the entrepreneur's understanding of his 'market' (Cope et al., 2007; De Clercq and Voronov, 2009; Lin et al., 1981; Portes, 1998). Yet, the narrative tends to be very much about an individual, motivated to create wealth and able to discover and exploit new opportunities. Indeed, it was Schumpeter (1939) who first emphasized the role of entrepreneurs in economic theory, endowing them with a drive to power and an intuitive insight that he saw as instinctive.

Yet, as Gartner (2008: 359) suggests, there is not "'an' entrepreneurial type. Variation is, inherently, a fundamental characteristic of entrepreneurship". Mitchell (1997) also describes the shortcomings of this type of research: apparently no 'typical' entrepreneur exists. The array of contradictory

studies only adds to the mythical status of entrepreneurs and to the consequent difficulties that non-entrepreneurs have in understanding the practitioners of this most unique profession (Mitchell, 1997: 123). And yet, most of the stories we hear about entrepreneurs focus on the exemplar individual who, as hero or jester (Anderson and Warren, 2011), achieves success and wealth. This can lead to a sense of failure when potential entrepreneurs struggle to live up to that ideal, especially in economically uncertain times (Tretheway, 2001).

There is, however, an emergent research tradition that sees entrepreneurship as a socially constructed process (Kenny and Scriver, 2012). For instance, Drakopoulou-Dodd and Anderson (2007: 343) strongly criticize the myth of the asocial individual entrepreneur, stressing that the very phenomenon of entrepreneurship is 'socially constructed'. Radu and Redien-Collot (2008) have also illustrated how the public sphere, in the form of the French press, constructs images of French entrepreneurs and how these influence the perception of entrepreneurship's social desirability (entrepreneurship as an attractive career option) and social feasibility (entrepreneurship as an accessible and realistic career option). A similar phenomenon is reported in the British press by Nicholson and Anderson (2005). Anderson et al. (2009) also looked into the different metaphors used to describe entrepreneurship in different business schools in Europe and their potential consequences in shaping entrepreneurship education. All this research indicates a growing interest in the phenomenon of entrepreneurship as a collective process situated in particular historical and social contexts, rather than just dependant on individual motivations, cognitions or behaviours. As Holt and Macpherson (2010) argue, entrepreneurship is not a state, but a process based on the collaborative and on-going reconciliation of multiple views and voices. Going further, Jones and Spicer (2005: 236) have described the 'entrepreneur' concept as an empty signifier, an 'absent centre', whose function is to be constantly articulated. Entrepreneurship might not even be an ideal condition to aspire to, as Marris (1986: 121) indicates, suggesting a different perspective on the process, as "no one would surely undertake so uncertain and stressful endeavour unless they were

excluded from easier ways of realising themselves”.

In line with this perspective, a number of researchers (Cornelissen et al, 2012; Garcia and Welter, 2013; Holt and MacPherson, 2010; Neergaard and Ulhøi, 2007; Steyaert and Bouwen, 1997) have suggested that a narrative approach can make a constructive contribution to entrepreneurship research by introducing enhanced conceptual, epistemological and methodological reflection. In line with this research area, the following section explores the use of stories and narratives during transitional situations, such as the ones necessity entrepreneurs in Spain and Ireland are experiencing.

3. The untold stories of entrepreneurship: Facing anxiety and uncertainty.

The increasing amount of uncertainty and fragmentation in our organizations and communities (Bauman, 2000; Beck, 2000) makes it difficult to generate enduring collective meanings and coherent personal identities. It is an increasing challenge to maintain trust in traditional institutional arrangements, as well as a coherent personal narrative, in a context where risk and uncertainty are the norm (Sennett, 1998; 2006).

When it comes to entrepreneurship, and in the context of the current European financial crisis, increasingly, as Bauman (2013) says, “state functions [have been]... shifted sideways, to the market ... or dropped downwards, onto the shoulders of human individuals, now expected to divine individually, inspired and set in motion by their greed, what they did not manage to produce collectively, inspired and moved by communal spirit”. While this might encourage growth, it also “undermines the basis of trust and reciprocity on which economic relationships rely” (Marris, 1996:145).

And yet, against this incessant fragmentation and becoming, narrative spaces allow us to find and negotiate continuity. As an inherently social psychological endeavour, narratives support our efforts for community building, as well as for developing our personal and social identities. As Bruner

(1990) suggests, narratives help to institutionalize social practices by giving legitimacy to the known and expected. Yet, narratives are also the way in which we are able to incorporate the fragmented, the extraordinary and the unintelligible into the register of the possible. They are, therefore, a favoured tool to cope with change and potential loss (Garcia-Lorenzo, 2010; Marris, 1993). It is partly through the telling of stories that we try to contain uncertainty – by allowing the connection between the unknown and the familiar narratives to provide us with a ‘potential space’ (Winnicott, 1971) where we can safely set new bounds to previously unfamiliar situations.

It is partly this drive for sense making, for the completion of the narrative, for constant re-enactment until the ‘new’ finds itself ‘familiar’ in the configuration of the ‘old’, that might drive away the stories of necessity entrepreneurs, those individuals who are, in employment terms, “neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention and ceremony” (Turner, 1995: 95). There are few stories told about the ‘liminal period’ of forced transition between being an employee and having to create employment. Most necessity entrepreneurs find themselves going through a period where the social and community structure they know is dissolving (Jahoda, 1982), where they are perceived as potentially dangerous or become invisible and are pushed to find ‘structure’ by themselves, since the institutions they used to rely on (e.g., government or employers) find it difficult to provide one for them. Yet, this is also the period where unlimited possibilities for a new structure or narrative also exist (Turner, 1995).

Indeed, in this chapter, we see entrepreneurship as both a storytelling and a story-making process, emphasizing both the communicative and the persuasive, constraining aspect of narratives. Looking at how the stories of entrepreneurs come to be made, we stress the importance of cooperation and reflection, aspects of entrepreneurship that contrast with the idea of entrepreneurship as just storytelling. Yet, both processes shed light on entrepreneurship as a dynamic, on-going process. Indeed, in terms of performative functions, there is a clear role for storytelling in conveying and articulating the entrepreneurial experience. Obviously, storytelling is closely related to how the

entrepreneur makes sense of what s/he does, and how s/he relates to others, recognizes opportunities and gains experience. The identification of the role of storytelling thus enables a richer, fuller understanding of how entrepreneurs learn about themselves and the entrepreneurship process, as well as gain experience.

4. Methodology.

This section describes the research methods used to gather the data for the analysis of the entrepreneur stories. The research strategy involved a qualitative methodology to gather both personal entrepreneur narratives, as well as public sphere representations of entrepreneurs, both in Spain and Ireland.

In our research, we look for both the micro-interaction between the entrepreneurs and their situation (Cornelissen et al, 2012; Holt and MacPherson, 2010), as well as at the macro-representation of entrepreneurs in the institutional and public sphere (Anderson et al, 2009; Radu and Redien-Collot, 2008). As such, we have collected narratives from necessity entrepreneurs through 8 in-depth and face-to-face interviews, as well as employing digital blogs and media in what Murthy (2008) calls 'digital ethnography' to collect media stories illustrative of public narratives of entrepreneurship in Ireland and Spain. We have also used publicly available documents, such as government and international organization reports (e.g., Global Entrepreneurship Monitor) to gain an appreciation for the cultural understanding of entrepreneurship in both countries. Our aim is to straddle the micro-macro boundary, looking at the development of personal narratives of self and entrepreneurial identity within particular social and historical contexts that shape how the individual narratives are developed, told or kept implicit.

Several authors have stressed the importance of the media's effects on entrepreneurial desirability and feasibility (Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998; Swedberg, 2000). Through framing, exposure, and interpretation, the media tends to portray entrepreneurship as a more or less desirable condition. At the same time, media renders entrepreneurship as more or less feasible, due to its impact on i) the

efficient dissemination of information about available institutional support and ii) portrayal of the personal skills required to become a successful entrepreneur. The stories we have collected in the media show positive portrayals of entrepreneurship, considered as vital to stimulating entrepreneurial career choices, as they convey perceptions that obstacles to success can be overcome, and failure can be transformed into a learning opportunity (Nicholson and Anderson, 2005; Radu and Redien-Collot, 2008). The use of different methods enabled the inclusion of different viewpoints to refine our understanding of the phenomenon under study (Flick, 1992).

The narrative analysis followed Parker (2005) in looking for the different story elements (e.g. scene, purpose, actors etc.). The narrative analysis sought to capture the process of entrepreneurship as lived by the necessity entrepreneurs in both Ireland and Spain, as well as the representations of entrepreneurship in the public sphere.

The analysis of the data was accomplished in two different steps. The first step sought to identify the activities, experiences, and transition processes the necessity entrepreneurs go through from employment to unemployment to entrepreneurship. It consisted of multiple readings of the interview transcripts, field notes and documentation for the identification of everyday activities, experiences, and events. These were initially coded according to three main areas: the historical narrative of their transition between employment and creating their own job; their main activities as entrepreneurs; and their self and social image as entrepreneurs.

The second step involved comparing these non-public narratives with the analysis of the public narratives on entrepreneurship. The most common narrative identified has been that of the 'Quest' (Booker, 2004), as exemplified in Homer's *Odyssey* or Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*. When applied to the 'necessity entrepreneurs', we have found that it presents the following abridged structure:

- 1. The call:** Life has become intolerable and the hero realizes he can only change matters through making a long difficult journey, e.g., unemployment and its results.

2. The journey: The hero sets out across hostile terrain, encountering a series of life-threatening ordeals. They include monsters to overcome and temptations to resist (e.g., abandon or accept precarious, but dead end jobs), but also periods of respite with the help of, for example, 'wise old men' (from the point of view of government = particular education, training or funding for entrepreneurs; from the necessity entrepreneurs' point of view = support of friends, family, etc.).

3. The goal: After the last escape from death, the prize, kingdom, treasure, etc. is finally achieved. Renewed life is assured to stretch 'ever-after'. Thus, once the company is set up, employment and salary are ensured.

This was clearly the framework in the public narratives of entrepreneurship both in Ireland and Spain. While our analysis shows that the lived, unstructured experience of necessity entrepreneurs in both countries is not yet as clearly structured or formulated, it also shows that many of the stories of that transitional phase seem to be either 'edited out' or suppressed in the final 'edited' public narrative. The consequence is that the narratives of entrepreneurship circulating in the public sphere, and being used to shape necessity entrepreneurs experiences, represent the entrepreneurship ideal to be attained, rather than the real experience that is being lived. The next two sections contrast the public and private narratives.

Table 1: The necessity entrepreneur's journey: Complete framework for narrative composition.

<i>Transition over time / Story elements</i>	[Un]Finishing employment	Disorientation	Seeking alternatives	The on-going construction of employment position
Scene and purpose (where and why)	Becoming unemployed and initiating the search for paid employment	Trying to understand the recurrent unemployment situation	Looking for possible work alternatives	Working within the unstructured job situation
Who (actors)	The (ex) employee Organizations and institutions	The unemployed	The unemployed/ entrepreneur, family, friends and institutions	The 'necessity entrepreneur' and his/her stakeholder community

Act/Actions (what and how)	Job search in the same area/industry Use of contacts and networks	Continued job search Looking for viable alternatives	Accepting odd jobs Developing a job idea Looking for financial/social support	Generating own jobs Maintaining the network of stakeholders Supporting other with similar needs
Transition	Fighting to maintain the status quo	In betwixt	In betwixt	On-going construction of new employment condition

5. The entrepreneurial narrative in the public sphere: The Quest.

When it comes to unemployment, the critical economic and social situation of southern Europe, as well as Ireland, has been widely publicized (Standing, 2013). One of the solutions suggested to come out of the crisis is the encouragement of entrepreneurial activity among the unemployed. As the most recent Global Entrepreneurship Monitor report for Spain (Hernández et al., 2013: 20) declares, “a quarter of the [entrepreneurial] activity continues to be driven by necessity and the high level of unemployment in Spain”, yet this type of entrepreneurship is still considered of lesser value, resulting in the “composition of the entrepreneurial initiatives [being] more heterogeneous than before the crisis in terms of quality”. This perspective reinforces the narrative of the entrepreneur as a developer of initiatives. Indeed, for the Spanish press, the ‘entrepreneur’ is seen as

a person who perceives the opportunity, has confidence in her/his idea, has a higher than average ability to gather and convince people around her/him, knows how to sell ideas and, overall, has the ability to offer results. Entrepreneurial spirit is synonymous with innovation, change, company start-ups and risk taking. (Marketing Partners, 2013)

Even when traditional portrayals of entrepreneurship are not valid, the press actively transforms the characters into standard entrepreneurial heroes, who, on top of fighting economic adversity, have to overcome cultural defamation and family rejection:

Sitting at the bar, with their jeans and long hair, no one would guess that Pepita Marín and Alberto Bravo are two ruthless businessmen. In full economic wastelands, these two 25 year-olds have achieved €150,000 in funding for their brand “We are knitters”. ... It was 2010. The crisis had already hit Spain. And the families of these two economists could not believe they were about to leave their promising careers to become “grandmother weavers”. Especially

because they had never picked up a needle. “We had to learn on YouTube. In Spain there is no entrepreneurship culture. In the States we would be heroes, but here, they just saw us as crazy or wayward brats”. (Mañana, 2013)

The press works hard to adapt the entrepreneurial language to reflect the cultural repertoire of Catholic Spain. Headlines, such as “Seeking angels to launch businesses” (Fernández, 2013), introduce entrepreneurial activities as short of miraculous deeds in need of divine intervention:

One of the things that is needed is the professionalization of this activity. Most business angels are unaware that they are [angels] and are investing in friends and families' projects, often pressured by the future entrepreneurs themselves. They are unsure they chose the best project to allocate their savings, as they act following emotional ties without analysing the feasibility of the project. (Fernández, 2013)

Becoming an entrepreneur is presented not only as a story of bravery and success, but also as the only way “From the dole to self-employment: The guide out of hell”:

Nearly 12,000 professionals each month are in transit through the uncertain path leading from unemployment to self-employed. Four hundred unemployed people every day are trying to find their own autonomy. It is not easy. When you are burned out, there are two options: resign or start a difficult and arduous journey, passing through the hell of unemployment, but exploring a hypothetical path to exit the tunnel...The only way out of the Spanish labour market debacle. (Mármol, 2013)

Thus, the entrepreneur is portrayed as someone with an innate drive to wealth and power, and an almost intuitive insight to identify ‘opportunity’, while the entrepreneurial process becomes a ‘quest’ (Downing, 2005; Linstead et al., 2004). It is through this journey that the unemployed person becomes an adventurer who challenges a bad situation and a negative personal status quo, and, despite setbacks, ultimately achieves the goal of job creation, achieving freedom. Governmental institutions are expected to support this ‘great adventure’ through a series of financial backings. The Spanish government, for instance, has recently passed the “Law of Entrepreneurs”, taking some steps to increase the ability of Spanish nationals (and foreigners who could be granted nationality) to take the uncertain road of labour emancipation and entrepreneurship.

The public narrative in Ireland presents entrepreneurship as the new frontier in the country's economic development, for the country can no longer rely on foreign direct investment alone, nor on the folly of home-grown property bubbles (*Irish Times*, 2009; O'Keefe, 2013; Ward, 2008):

Thus, “it is necessary to promote indigenous entrepreneurial skills; without entrepreneurs who have the motivation, capacity and resources to establish businesses and who have the courage to take necessary business risks, there can be no economically sustainable long-term jobs” (Power, 2009). Indeed, with one headline heralding “Irish entrepreneurs: Your country needs you” (Hancock, 2013), entrepreneurs are the “heroes” of the hour (*Irish Times*, 2010). Further, according to Ireland’s Minister for Jobs, Enterprise and Innovation, “[e]ntrepreneurs are the heroes of the economy, creating businesses, jobs and growth from which the rest of us benefit” and, while the country “has some amazing entrepreneurs, [there are] not nearly enough” (Newenham, 2014).

Thus it is that promoting entrepreneurship and creating an environment that is “entrepreneur-centric” (Horn, 2010) is high on the government’s agenda (Department of the Taoiseach, 2010; Hancock, 2013; O’Keefe, 2013). In championing entrepreneurship as the country’s potential ‘saviour’, the government is positioning itself as the driver and supporter in chief of this very saviour (Kenny and Scriver, 2012: 623). Its first Action Plan for Jobs (Department of Jobs, Enterprise and Innovation, 2012: 39) asserts:

Creating an indigenous engine of economic growth is central to revitalisation of the Irish economy. Entrepreneurship, and the start-up companies that emerge as a result, provides the feed-stock for future exports and employment. Start-ups are one of the means by which new sectors take root in Ireland. They are the lifeblood of local economies and make an important contribution to regional development. ... In these more challenging times... It is critical that we create an environment that supports entrepreneurs and small businesses in every way possible to ...contribute to our economic growth.

Indeed, as stated by the Taoiseach (Prime Minister), the aim of the government’s annual jobs action plan is “that by 2016 we can make Ireland the best small country in the world in which to do business” (Department of Jobs, Enterprise and Innovation, 2012: 3). It is interesting that this aim coincides, and is explicitly linked, with the centenary of the country’s 1916 Easter Rising (Department of Jobs, Enterprise and Innovation, 2012: 7), which aim was to end British rule in Ireland and establish an independent Irish Republic. Thus, entrepreneurs are cast as the patriots of the present, being called to action to regain the country’s economic independence, and articulated

with the patriots and the nationalist fervour of a century earlier, when the fight was for independence from the British.

Notwithstanding this public narrative, the crisis has dented the public's view of entrepreneurship. While successful entrepreneurs continue to be well regarded in Irish society, the past decade has seen entrepreneurship as a good career choice consistently fall from a high of 70 per cent in 2006 to 45 per cent in 2012 (Fitzsimons and O'Gorman, 2012). This trend has translated into the proportion of the population aspiring to be entrepreneurs falling from a high of 12.6 per cent in 2005 to 8 per cent in 2012, which is lower than the average for the OECD (14.4 per cent) and EU (14.8 per cent) (Fitzsimons and O'Gorman, 2012).

Equally, the perception of media coverage of entrepreneurs being supportive has fallen from a high of 84 per cent in 2006 to 61 per cent in 2012, albeit this is an increase over 2011 and it is higher than the average across the OECD (52 per cent) and EU (50 per cent) (Fitzsimons and O'Gorman, 2012). Paradoxically, the death of the Celtic Tiger coincided with *Dragon's Den* (where budding entrepreneurs pitch their ideas to a panel of potential investors) appearing on national television and capturing the public's imagination, while giving entrepreneurs an increased media profile and making celebrities of the team of 'dragon' investors (*Irish Times*, 2010).

The media narrative largely focuses on the opportunity entrepreneur and on stories of success, albeit there is recognition that "becoming an entrepreneur has always been difficult" (Lynch, 2012) and that the journey involves "self-doubt, failures, successes, self-questioning and more than a few dark nights of the soul" (O'Brien, 2011a). Despite the perception that there are fewer opportunities to start a business in a recession (Fitzsimons and O'Gorman, 2012), "a vibrant entrepreneurial culture is thriving beneath the tough economic reality" (Lynch, 2012), so much so that there are "Celtic Tiger orphans" whose undiminished "entrepreneurial spirit" has them on a quest to go from "bust to boom" (Cunningham, 2009).

The media narrative addresses the "born or made" argument and declares that entrepreneurs are

both, thereby suggesting that anyone can be an entrepreneur (Ahlstrom, 2009; *Irish Times*, 2009; Ward, 2008); all that is needed is “passion” (O’Brien, 2011b). Hence, there are some stories of people who, following redundancy, “see the crisis as an opportunity to reinvent themselves and start new enterprises” (Holmquist, 2010), but these are few and far between. The majority of stories are about people who always seemed destined to start their own business and who are always motivated by opportunity.

Despite necessity being the principal motivator of a sizeable minority of early stage entrepreneurs in recent years – with 28 per cent of those starting a new business in 2012 motivated by perceived necessity, compared with six per cent in 2007, higher than average across the OECD and EU, including Spain (Fitzsimons and O’Gorman, 2012) – necessity entrepreneurs remain relatively invisible in the national narrative. For the few Irish media articles that tell the stories of necessity entrepreneurs (e.g., Kerr, 2013), the narrative is very much one of overcoming adversity, typically linked with redundancy, to carve out one’s own success story as the owner of one’s own business and future.

6. The untold stories: The on-going co-construction of an employment situation.

The narrative analysis of the Irish and Spanish necessity entrepreneur material presents some clear commonalities with the existing media analysis for those respondents who engage in the entrepreneurial ‘Quest’ narrative. They do take on similar institutional/organizational discursive elements: they do take a path and it is a story of strife and struggle. However, as table 1 shows, when they describe their journey as necessity entrepreneurs, the tale becomes less linear, more ambiguous, and less full of hope than the public narratives presented so far.

Furthermore, these stories are difficult to elicit. They come on the ‘asides’, that is, breaks in the talk or interview, or at the end once the recorder is switched off, which is not surprising, as these stories tend to be suppressed and reluctantly told because they generate feelings of shame or ‘difference’.

[Un]finishing employment

The narrative of the necessity entrepreneur's journey rarely starts with a 'call' or a bright idea that needs implementation. It tends to start with a tale of sorrow and regret, with a break down: the unemployment condition. In some cases, this comes as a surprise, in some others it is presented as expected. Yet, the heroine finds herself falling from full employment due to external circumstances, generally outside her control, e.g., the crisis, the market:

My husband ... had his own business and when the crisis came, he was the first to go... A lot of debts and there is no way of finding a job, especially in his area...the building sector [was the first to go], and on top of it ... lots of foreign competition. (Marisa, Spain)

Well, now [there] are ... more consultants... a dentist... solicitors... people that we've never had [asking for support to start their own business] in the last 15 years; they're coming in now from the crash... They find it very hard, very difficult. (Geraldine, Ireland)

In some cases, there is talk of a 'wrong doing', a personalization of the reasons for the fall:

So, the family business was started by my dad when he was very young (...) and that was going well... But, we made the mistake of joining with other partners, and then trouble began. (...) My father still thinks that it was his fault, and he wants to start all over again, but we don't let him. He is very old, we don't have money, and, obviously, we were just unlucky with the partners... (Javier, Spain)

There are, however, a number of similar elements in these stories: there is a great deal of suffering and strife with some hope of success and a potential comeback due to hard work: the journey as 'salaried employee' is still unfinished. There is a desire to retake the path and, therefore, the tale starts recounting the strategies that need to be followed in order to do so --- job searches, activating business networks, and seeking institutional support to be back where they left. Disbelief and pity are the emotions associated with this part of the narrative.

Disorientation

For those who have lost their safe employment and cannot find a similar employment situation, this is a moment of disorientation, as the old structures do not seem to hold, but no new alternatives can be found or thought of. To frame life differently, with a new employment condition and new social and institutional relationships, becomes too disturbing a task to undertake. As Marris (1986:104)

says, “our instinct of survival pulls us the other way, to protect our sense of identity and the setting which has moulded it” thus, to keep on searching for secure, stable employment. It is in this stage of the narrative that necessity entrepreneurs start expressing the loss of a secure situation of full employment. Yet, becoming an entrepreneur is still not seen as ‘real’:

I had a year or two in the wilderness [before becoming an entrepreneur]...18 months with no money. (Tony, Ireland)

We are now trying to get sorted by starting our own company, which right now is not happening – so far I’m just knocking on doors, but no one is answering. ... This thing of being an entrepreneur is not real. Everything is already thought up... (Espe, Spain)

The reaction is to go back to employment, any kind:

People around me would tell me not to even try to work on what I want as a psychologist because there is nothing ... my colleagues who were in the same situation have gone to work on anything... I started to work as a shop assistant; I wanted a salary, to get a paycheck, frankly, with anxiety and shame ... but you need the payslip every month to feel you are OK. (Ines, Spain)

The common themes in this stage of the narrative are the dreams of returning to full employment, while at the same time there is a slow acceptance of the condition of unemployment and the difficulty of finding a job that might maintain the previous status quo. Self-questioning regarding alternatives and considering other people’s views starts, but there is difficulty in seeing beyond the ‘full employment’ possibility.

Seeking alternatives

This is very much a betwixt stage in the narrative, when one is not yet an ‘entrepreneur’, but more ‘odd jobs’ are being accepted as the only way to survive. There is a common element to how the respondents construct and make sense of their struggles in finding a way to gain resources to keep living. They are still in between searching for salaried employment, but also engaging in the entrepreneur journey. As such, most of them struggle when trying to make sense of their position in society. They report feelings of vulnerability, define themselves as being cheated by ‘the system’ or see themselves outside of ‘the normal social expectations’:

I feel alone. I have my family... But, in terms of support, something or somebody to help us

out... because if there are no jobs, you go to the social worker at the town hall and she just says, "there is nothing for you". So, yes, in that sense, I feel alone, at risk... unprotected, that's the word. (Desiré, Spain)

I'm 45, then there's nobody going to give you a job, and if they do it'll be €9 an hour, and if I have, please God, 30 years left in me, I want to have a decent holiday once a year, have a half decent car, nothing extravagant... (Tony, Ireland)

Some of the respondents react by using the small, remaining social benefits they might have as a sort of basic income to start something new within a parallel system of accountability. To explain these endeavours as business or entrepreneurial activities within the black market would be misguided, as the respondents perceive themselves as marginal to a social system that has clearly failed them. Instead of expressing guilt for the violation of widely held norms, respondents express their distrust for institutional and organizational bodies. They are not 'free-riding', but creatively engaging in activities to be able to feed their family or pay their debts. In a social climate where political corruption is becoming visible, the respondents feel empowered by playing outside the system:

Since I finished my degree as an architect... I've been job pecking, here and there. If something as an architect comes out, I take it. If it is as a teacher, or in an association, let's do it... the thing is to keep on moving, never stopping ... Instead of a fixed job, as it does not come out, so I have to look for anything, small jobs through different places. Alone or with others as a company (...) Sometimes they take too long to pay me back, but I know they...are going through a bad patch and... like a nursery school I did up – there are so many illegal nurseries that they are really struggling. To become legal, they have to pay a lot of taxes, and so they have higher fees, so they don't get enough students... so yes, they are a little tight and they are paying little by little. So, well, I just have to wait a bit, no? (Osset, Spain)

And engaging in creative initiatives to overcome fragmentation:

So, at the beginning, I made up a business that was... called Divine-Divine. So, you come because you have an event to go to. I dress you up, you give me some money, go with the clothes and, eventually, you return it. It was a good idea (...) the business had the underlying philosophy of responsible consumerism and I started working with Mercedes, a very honest and hard working person. (...) and then I started another business. See, so from one idea, many others start coming. So, I thought I could start a private cooking school with local products, organic products. I tried to get a space through the town hall, and, well, I was just shooting in the dark, going around and around... but always learning...because there was no other alternative, I have a €1,200 mortgage. (Pilar, Spain)

Yes, I did 33 years of working for 'the man'. So, I thought, "That's it. No more excuses". ... I was laid off on October 23rd, 2009 ... in 2008 I was one of only three employees who were awarded the highest level bonus ... then not 12 months later I'm suddenly surplus to requirements. So, I'd look at P&L for profits and go: "Why I am I doing this for Mr.

[company]? Why am I not doing it for me?" ... So, I decided to go [for it]. (John, Ireland)

And, ultimately, being able to put some food on the table:

The only time that I have asked for food, it's been through the bartering page – I kind of cook meals and keep half of it. So, that is the only thing that I published in the webpage. And then, two ladies brought me one day some food, as a surprise. Because they were surprised that I've offered the service, that I wasn't asking for money or anything, but food – or not even, just my services in exchange for keeping half of it (...) so I cook, I make meals and keep half for my family, that way I have something good to give my kids. (Marisa, Spain)

One of the very strong themes coming out of the stories in this phase of the journey is the lack of 'structural' support from both society and institutions. Indeed, respondents perceive social reciprocity as the means of social exchange that uses economic and/or symbolic currency to maintain social equilibrium – where altruistic and egotistical needs combine (Kets de Vries, 2011). As Marris (1996) claims, people have always understood that a framework for social reciprocity is crucial to maintaining functioning societies. Yet, the stories of entrepreneurship we have uncovered tell of an increasing heavy burden on those with the fewest social and economic resources (Marris, 1996), who are at once marginalized and constrained. Thus, social reciprocity becomes replaced in their tales by a brutal meta-narrative of struggle in an unprotected and extremely uncertain environment.

The on-going construction of a new 'employment' condition

Another common theme in the necessity entrepreneurs' narratives regarding the transition between employment and entrepreneurship is the sense of 'incessant becoming' (McKenna et al, 2010); necessity entrepreneurs seem to be dealing with the constant struggle to define their self and their new 'employment conditions'. The questions are constant: Who am I? What are my skills? What can I sell that makes me different from the rest? These are common questions among all necessity entrepreneurs we interviewed. As Paula says:

When I started to think about setting up my own company, I realized that I had to go to my core, to what makes me different, to my own expertise and my experience. I had to reach there and have a clear plan based on that, building on that. You have to reinvent yourself ...to understand what is it that you can provide... what kind of value can you add? And check that constantly to see if you are able to provide that. (Paula, Spain)

It is what Miller and Rose (1990) call the rise of the 'enterprising self', in which the self has to invest in itself in order to improve its self constantly. For the necessity entrepreneurs, this takes the form of a brutal and constant process of self-evaluation and appraisal:

... the selection process did not come through, so what now? And then I asked myself, "OK, so what do I have? Which path shall I take? Right?" (...) it was then a moment of looking inside myself and saying, "Come on, Pilarita, what do you have, my dear? What do you have, on top of need and want?" So then I started working on the house I have at the beach. I did it up, a beautiful house in front of the beach, and I put it on the Internet. (Pili, Spain)

During this period, in which most of the necessity entrepreneurs we interviewed find themselves, the struggle is to keep on generating jobs and money, to maintain a business network of stakeholders, as well as to support others that have joined the new company or have similar needs. There is no sense of 'Goal' achieved, or sense of 'epiphany or dawning' (Beech, 2010); rather, there is a sense of constantly having to reinvent oneself. The 'Goal' is elusive and the journey continues:

The problem we have now, we've grown to ten employees, we've now reached the threshold for the County Enterprise Boards, so, theoretically, our next point of contact is Enterprise Ireland, and frankly, they are just not interested. We're not sexy... [not] what they call the 'high potential start-up', which can be the next this or that, they get sucked into that 'high potential', whereas I was a bit more, let's be honest, 'plodding', really, by nature, just getting there. We've tried ... [but Enterprise Ireland] are more trouble than they're worth. (John, Ireland)

Look, we have been working for already like three years and I call potential clients and I say we are a company...we even have a name and a website... but we are still getting to become a limited society, etc. ... It is hard. There is not enough volume of businesses to make sense for us to start paying all those taxes. It is coming, but not yet... so it is better to remain as self-employed almost... I don't know. It is a constant conversation among us.... and Kika has a small girl now. I don't know, we'll see.... so, maybe we are not a company yet, but an association? (Patty, Spain)

As in the example above, the classical 'liminal transition' is not completed, as there is no sense of recognition by the 'outside', as Beech (2010:64) outlines. The necessity entrepreneurs find themselves trapped in a constant transition with very few social structures recognising them as entrepreneurs.

7. Conclusions.

The chapter has looked into the stories of necessity entrepreneurs in Spain and Ireland, those that are in the public domain and those that relate experiences of uncertainty and transition, and that are,

to a certain degree, untold.

The interest driving this research was to generate greater insight and understanding into both necessity entrepreneurs and the entrepreneurial process from an empirical perspective, while at the same time contributing to advance theory in the areas of entrepreneurship and work transitions. The chapter contributes to this endeavour in three different ways.

First, necessity entrepreneurs are very much under-researched in academic literature, not to mention practically ignored by the media and policy-makers. We have, through exploring the stories and experiences of those engaging in entrepreneurship out of necessity, tackled an area of study that has remained at the margins of academic research.

Second, in moving away from a focus on static aspects of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship, this chapter has engaged with the problem of representation in extant literature, very much questioning the dominant view inherent in the 'holy trinity' of the entrepreneur (Weiskopf and Steyaert, 2009):, the strong figure of the entrepreneur and the entrepreneurial self; scientific methods to uncover the secret to success; and optimistic policy-making grounded in the entrepreneur's role in economic success. Such questioning opens up further the study of the entrepreneur and the entrepreneurship process and its impact on social change and innovation, while at the same time allowing for the possibility of re-balancing the interpretation of 'who is an entrepreneur' (Imas, Wilson and Weston, 2012) and how to study the phenomenon.

Third, despite the small sample, methodologically, the research has looked at both the micro-interaction between the entrepreneurs and their situation, as well as at their macro-representation in the institutional and public sphere. Our aim was to straddle the micro-macro boundary, looking at the development of personal narratives of self and entrepreneurial identity within particular social and historical contexts, rather than just focus on individual motivations, cognitions or behaviours.

We consider that narratives reach their function primarily within social interaction. Narratives are

constitutive components of on-going relationships, essential for maintaining the intelligibility and coherence of social life, useful in drawing people together, creating distance, and so on. A story, even when 'untold', is itself a situated action, a performance with illocutionary effects. It acts to create, sustain, or alter worlds of social relationships (Donnelly et al, 2013; Garcia-Lorenzo et al, 2008; Gergen, 1994). Our entrepreneurs create their reality through the retrospective stories that they tell about their experience of work and through future-oriented stories that they create as a path for action, for developing their own jobs. These conversations establish the context in which our entrepreneurs act and thereby define themselves and their actions (Schrage, 1989). As such, stories both told and untold, play a vital part in the sense-making process, where apparently disconnected elements become related parts of a whole. It is the concreteness of narratives that allows our entrepreneurs to understand events in a specific context through the organization of their experiences in the form of narrative (Bruner, 1991).

At the same time, we have seen how story lines are powerful frames of reference by which individuals come to rationalize or legitimize what goes on in their work related lives. The media and government narratives provide a clear outline of what an entrepreneur should be. These narratives, however, are not only ways to make sense of the employment-unemployment journey. These are also narratives told with a performative aim, especially in the case of the institutional narratives, so that others might learn from someone else's experience (Garcia-Lorenzo et al, 2007). Thus, they are told to 'educate'. As such, storylines and their plots are, in one form or another, 'vocabularies' or motives in which the descriptions of entrepreneurship behaviour or the path to becoming an entrepreneur are not necessarily derived by the individuals being described, but are imputed to them by the media or those producing the accounts.

These storylines become, then, a 'vocabulary' of power (Linstead et al, 2004: 31). The descriptions of entrepreneurship distributed by institutions and the media, for instance, become a discursive resource or capability that ensures the potential entrepreneurs fit the role. Those who do not

conform run the risk of being excluded from the narrative of success, the story of bravery, and hence they should not rely on institutional backing (such as financial subsidies) and would then be silenced by the media.

And yet, we have seen how a key process is the transition from a stable work identity to an internal on-going search focused on 'identity work', which describes the on-going mental activity that an individual undertakes in constructing an understanding of self that is coherent, distinct and positively valued. We consider identities not as fixed, but as developing through narratives, since individuals constantly engage in creating, testing and living through their stories. Identity thus becomes a product of one's own story making (Bruner, 2003, 2008; Gabriel, 2004). In attempting to make sense of their situation, our individual entrepreneurs are constantly crafting self-narratives, usually by drawing on cultural resources, as well as memories and desires to reproduce or transform their sense of self (Garcia-Lorenzo, 2004; Knights and Willmott, 1989; Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003).

Both the explicit and the untold narratives have consequences, not only for the development of particular identifications and visions of self in terms of entrepreneurship, but also for policy-making. Thus, not only do these necessity entrepreneurs feel inadequate, different and deviant, they are also unable to access the institutional support that is made available for the 'really entrepreneurial' (Druker, 1985).

Our research on necessity entrepreneurs complements mainstream entrepreneurial research focused mainly on business development, adding a narrative/storytelling dimension that enables a richer, fuller understanding of how entrepreneurs experience the journey. With these untold narratives about becoming an entrepreneur (out of necessity), we aim to expand our understanding of a complex and non-linear process. As such, entrepreneurship needs to be explored from a variety of angles and perspectives. Indeed, with governments seeking to encourage unemployed people to become entrepreneurs, and with policy based on the entrepreneur-as-hero trope, we are in need of a

more nuanced view of both entrepreneurs and the entrepreneurial process.

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