

Leni Kuivaniemi

Evaluation and Reasoning in the
Entrepreneurial Opportunity
Process

Narratives from Sex Industry
Entrepreneurs



JYVÄSKYLÄ STUDIES IN BUSINESS AND ECONOMICS 88

Leni Kuivaniemi

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ABSTRACT

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The study in hand focuses on the role of evaluation in the entrepreneurial opportunity process. Its main aim is to find out what types of events are momentous for entrepreneurs to recognize and begin to exploit a business opportunity, how entrepreneurs evaluate and reason such opportunities in various phases of the process, and what the influence of risks is in the evaluation of opportunities.

On the methodological level this research is based on a hermeneutic and constructivist understanding of human beings. The research finds that the macro-level view of a rational homo economicus, which has been the primary focus of entrepreneurship research so far, does not hold true in a micro-level environment. Recently, this 'who-do' paradigm has been gaining increasing attention as part of the philosophy-of-science approach.

The empirical data comprise the narratives of six sex industry entrepreneurs, who recount their experiences and stories of how they discovered and decided to exploit different entrepreneurial opportunities. These accounts are subjected to a narrative analysis based on their form (*how* something is said) and content (*what* is said). The stories are interpreted by exploring the narrative genres and narrative transformations detected in them and by searching for specific meanings attached to the stories. Finally, the findings are discussed from the perspective of opportunity theory.

The study reveals that the evaluation of perceived entrepreneurial opportunities is, in fact, a more complex phenomenon than previously described in opportunity theory. Financial risks are not the only type of entrepreneurial risk to be faced: the entrepreneurs also have to consider legal, social, and physical risks as well as a risk to self. Opportunity evaluation, thus, can be thought to represent a particular case of risk/benefit thinking.

Keywords: entrepreneurial opportunity, narratives, opportunity exploitation, opportunity recognition, risk, sex industry

Author's address Leni Kuivaniemi
University of Jyväskylä
School of Business and Economics
Tel. +358-50-4611 132
e-mail: leni.kuivaniemi@jyu.fi

Supervisor Professor Matti Koiranen
University of Jyväskylä
Jyväskylä School of Business and Economics

Reviewers Professor Alf Rehn
Åbo Akademi University

Professor Saara Taalas
University of Turku, School of Economics
Lund University

Opponent Professor Saara Taalas
University of Turku, School of Economics
Lund University

PREFACE

I began my research journey in 2003 as a lawyer specialized in human rights. The subject of my master's thesis was trafficking in women as a human rights violation, and at the same time I began to wonder about the traffickers' frame of mind: How had they decided to entrepreneur in such a field and in such a way? What was their understanding of the risk involved? I realized that I needed to learn more about entrepreneurship and its theories. With time the scope of my research widened from trafficking to cover the sex industry as a whole. My earlier notions about the nature of the entrepreneurial mindset still persisted in my mind. However, nothing that I thought at the time prepared me for the experience I was to gain when I became an entrepreneurship researcher.

Making this research really went under my skin: my understanding of the subject of this study evolved into something other than mere knowing. The research process affected my way of thinking and behaving as well as my perception of the world. It pushed me on a new path as a human being. Hopefully some of these changes can also be read in the text.

On this journey I have been accompanied by many wonderful and exceptional persons, who have made the journey easier and more fun. I am forever grateful to all of them. Firstly I want to thank the brave entrepreneurs who gave their contribution to this study. Without them, opportunity theory would look different, as would my worldview. My sincere gratitude goes to the examiners of this study, Professors Alf Rehn and Saara Taalas, for their excellent comments and commitment in helping me improve the research. I will always be indebted to Professor Matti Koiranen, my supervisor, who supported my sometimes wild visions and made it possible for me to concentrate on the research. At the most crucial moments he helped me forward. Thank you, Matti.

My colleagues at the University of Jyväskylä inspired me and gave me enthusiasm I needed to keep me going. I particularly want to thank Professor Hannu Niittymäki as well as my fellow colleagues Margit and Päivi for listening and offering encouragement. The administrative personnel of the Faculty of Business and Economics gently guided my entrepreneurial persona throughout the journey. Thank you for your assistance and understanding. Furthermore, I thank Marja Oravainen of Autora Oy for editing the language of the thesis. Important financial support was given by the Faculty of Business and Economics at the University of Jyväskylä, the Central Finland Chamber of Commerce, and the Ellen and Artturi Nyyssönen Foundation.

Now, years later, as a member of the Global Venture Lab I have found new soil for growth – both in terms of business and in my thinking. I look forward to continuing the journey together with the team led by Professor Marko Seppä.

My dear family: thank you for everything. This book is dedicated to my daughter Lumi.

Saariselkä, 4.4.2010

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1 WHAT HAS A PIMP TO DO WITH ENTREPRENEURSHIP?

1.1 The purpose of the study

Arthur grew up in an extremely religious family. As a boy he loved athletics and did well at school. In his twenties Arthur got married and had children. He had a regular job in a state-owned company and, together with his wife, owned a number of investment apartments. I met him eight years and several grasped business opportunities later in prison, where he told me the story of his entrepreneurial career in the sex industry.

The above vignette is from Arthur's story – one of the three that will take us into the world of sex industry entrepreneurs. Aware that this is a 'wild' context for an entrepreneurial study, I am most eager to take the guidelines proposed by Hans-Georg Gadamer as my point of departure. Gadamer suggests that no research should concentrate on self-evidences and harmless subjects, because these are unlikely to lead to anything new but only strengthen our old, prevailing conceptions (Gadamer 2004, 8). I agree with Gadamer that research should do quite the contrary: traditions should be used to yield something new. From this perspective it would be dangerous to try to find answers edited into a widely accepted or expected form, because – again in line with Gadamer's ideas – there seems to be a pressure from within the social sciences to produce results that are considered appropriate in the eyes of authority and tradition. (Ibid.)

The theme has also been discussed by Rehn and Taalas (2004), who suggest that the judicial delimitation of certain subjects should end and that research on entrepreneurship should open up to the phenomenon in its entirety. I had these instructions in mind in building the present study around narratives gathered from sex industry entrepreneurs. With these choices I for my part am challenging the authority and the prevailing tradition in entrepreneurial research. I should add that this very challenge was part of my motivation to conduct the study from the very start.

This is a study of entrepreneurial stories and at the same time a story about an entrepreneurial research process. It is part of the narrative turn that is slowly gaining ground in entrepreneurship studies¹. Gartner (1989, 28) has pointed out that “entrepreneurship researchers have an obligation to extend their ‘research’ beyond the traditional boundaries of entrepreneurship and link their work to current research in other disciplines”, and I feel my choice of the narrative approach supports this end. My job as researcher is to present the entrepreneurial stories collected for the study, examine them through opportunity theory, and offer insights, interpretations and explanations – and perhaps even invite readers to rethink some part of the theory. I also seek to enhance their understanding and trust in this work by exposing the research process itself to ensure that author and reader speak the same language.

Compared with traditional entrepreneurship research contexts and methods, my choices may prove difficult. Using the narrative form within a discipline that may not be used to listening to stories calls for careful justification and reasoning – an aspect I shall return to at length later. At this point it suffices to say that this study builds on the narratives of entrepreneurs for the simple reason that I see us humans as existing through our stories. On the other hand, the narrative approach means placing those who are normally treated as objects in a subject position and, instead of silencing them, giving them voice and letting them be heard. I believe this way we may learn something more about the world, other people and ourselves.

Apart from seeking to offer new insights, fresh thoughts and intriguing stories to the reader, this research was conducted to satisfy my own curiosity. We all have a need to understand the surrounding world and ourselves, and for me scientific thinking is a way to gratify this need for understanding. Through this research I hoped to find tools to understand the world around me and myself as a part of it. In addition to this personal aim my professional goal was to learn to understand deeper the the role of evaluation, recognition and exploitation in opportunity process. This yields two major benefits: firstly, because this view has not been taken before in entrepreneurial research it is bound to create new knowledge about the opportunity process, and secondly, a better understanding of the sex industry can be useful in the fight against unwanted phenomena within the industry, such as trafficking in women. Over and above this, I seek to *understand* more than to *explain*, and to develop propositions that are dependable, credible and transferable, rather than falsifiable hypotheses regarded as truth.

When inquiring into earlier theories I decided to suppress my own narrator’s voice. However, in interpreting those theories and revising them to help me to analyse the entrepreneurs’ narratives and to understand the role of evaluation in the opportunity process, I wanted to make my research procedure as transparent as possible. This meant doing my best to avoid using the passive

¹ For the narrative turn see Phelan & Rabinowitz 2005, 2; especially in entrepreneurial research c.f. Fletcher & Watson 2007; Hytti 2003; Hjort & Stayert 2004; and issue 22 of *The Journal of Business Venturing* 2007.

voice so common in scientific language or referring to myself as 'the author'. Instead, I wanted to do my part to resurrect the implied author as close as possible to the real flesh-and-blood person behind the story². The text came into existence in my head: it is all about my ideas and my words, which situates me inside the text. I did not want to hide behind words, but rather, to reveal my thoughts and the process that led to the words in this text. The purpose is to help the reader to better judge my thinking and this research.

Zahra (2007) comments on the state of entrepreneurial research, noting that "as in silent movies there is action – but readers have to watch carefully to infer what actors say and do. They need to read the actor's lips in order to decipher what is happening. Few entrepreneurship papers give us enough clues about the nature of their research settings and, instead, ask us to use our imagination to appreciate what has been done." I have to confess that for me the narrative perspective is a way to stretch the boundaries of entrepreneurship research in three significant ways: by showing what is researchable in entrepreneurship and what kinds of methods can be used, and finally, by writing the report in a different manner.

I gathered stories from six entrepreneurs who employ themselves within the sex industry. These stories concentrate on their entrepreneurial careers, especially the outset of the career, but also on their life circumstances, networks and personas – all aspects that, as will be learned, has had a tremendous effect on their entrepreneurship. In the narratives they reveal their logic of identifying and utilizing entrepreneurial business opportunities, talk about their reasons for entering the industry and deliberate on their career choices. These elements – the sex industry entrepreneurs, their narratives, the entrepreneurial opportunity process and the evaluation intertwined with it – are the core building blocks of this study. The hermeneutic standpoint together with narrative methodology are used here in an attempt to see how individuals create meanings and make sense of events, their lives and the surrounding world.

Narratives elucidate the logic of individual courses of action and the contextual constraints within which such actions are taken (The Personal Narratives Group 1989, 6), and, in so doing, present a particularly rich source for exploring entrepreneurial opportunities as well as entrepreneurs' experiences and evaluations of opportunities. At the same time they offer a longitudinal perspective both on the evolution of entrepreneurship, the interdependence between the entrepreneur and her socioeconomic environment (Sarason, Dean & Dillard 2006), and the ever changing power relations and social discourses in which narratives are embedded (Riessman 1993, 65). This implies that when interpreted, the stories will reveal the opportunity process and its evaluation, and also show how entrepreneurs recognized and decided to exploit these rarely recognized or exploited opportunities. In addition, the stories will tell something about the social environment in which the evaluation was made in the first place. All these aspects will be studied to gain clarity on

² For implied and real authors, see e.g. Booth 2005.

how the entrepreneurs settled their businesses and evaluated their decision to grasp business opportunities in this controversial industry.

Though this research is about narratives and the sex industry, it is mostly about entrepreneurship. I therefore feel it important at this early stage to describe my understanding on the subject. Earlier research has shifted emphasis between the various factors of entrepreneurship, attempting to nail down its core factors. A brief discussion to clarify the past tendencies is thus in place.

Casson (2003, 19) proposes indicative and functional descriptions by which entrepreneurs can be recognized. The former refers to the legal status or contractual relations of the entrepreneur, while the latter, more abstractive definition refers to her behaviour. The psychological approach that widens this perspective, includes both trait and psychodynamic models and emphasizes the entrepreneurial personality (Kyrö 1997). For a long time the basic questions in entrepreneurship research were particularly concerned with personality traits, especially the features that distinguish entrepreneurs from other people. This view was revised by Gartner (1988), who turned interest from entrepreneurial traits to contextual and process aspects, stating that entrepreneurship research should focus on the actions of the people who build organizations and forget their characteristics. However, this strict view was partly disproved already in the 1930s by Schumpeter (1934, 75), who pointed out that entrepreneurs are not necessarily connected with an individual organization or firm; for Schumpeter, what constitutes an entrepreneur is the carrying out of new combinations. The role of the psychological approach in determining what constitutes an entrepreneur has, thus, been emphasized both before and after Gartner, but the value of the traits discussion has diminished since his remarks.

Successful entrepreneurs, according to Drucker (1985, 31), have both the need and the desire to produce new, distinct value and satisfaction by remodelling materials and resources or by combining already existing resources into something more productive. To counterbalance these needs they have the ability to take risks; a remark, which offers an interesting perspective when discussing entrepreneurial opportunity evaluation. Risk taking can be described as an aspect of personality that “measures people’s willingness to engage in risky activity” (Shane 2003, 103). In the entrepreneurial research tradition risks are associated with uncertainty about how a new product will generate profit (Wu 1989), with the competition the entrepreneur is going to face (Amit, Glosten & Muller 1993), as well as with market behaviour, required resources and the production process (Shane 2003, 103).

If we broaden the portrait of the entrepreneur in her social environment, she might be depicted as a conflicting individual who, at the same time, both builds and tears down social structures, and exploits and denies formal organization – all of which represents the current, usually latent social identity of the entrepreneur (Johannisson 1987a). Thus, the entrepreneur acts as a ‘creative destructor’ (Schumpeter 1934) both in the economy and in the wider social context, influencing those parts of the social environment she assumes she has the power to change. These thoughts portray the entrepreneur almost as

an anarchist, as one who decides on her own future and acts accordingly. (Johannisson 1987a) The social context in which the entrepreneur works can then be approached through network theory. Already in the mid 1980s Thorelli (1986) encouraged more investigation on networks that can have undesirable social outcomes, and Morselli (2001) applied networking theory to interpret networks in illegal industries.

The term 'entrepreneur' has been variably used to refer to individuals who are starting up a business, managing it or developing it, or to small business owners, depending on the situation (Casson 1982, 17). Yet we often hear the claim that not all new businesses are entrepreneurial. This view holds that in order to be truly entrepreneurial, a business venture has to create something new: for example, new satisfaction or new consumer demand (Drucker 1985, 19). It means that not only new ventures but also firms established long ago can act in an entrepreneurial manner; entrepreneurship, therefore, is dependent on something else that solely the age of the business. To help figure out just what that something else is, below are some recent definitions that fit the important features of entrepreneurship and perhaps further explain the various claims about the entrepreneurial individual that have been put forward.

One definition of entrepreneurship that has proved very popular was proposed by Venkataraman (1997), who defined entrepreneurship as the discovery, evaluation and exploitation of future goods and services. Entrepreneurship research, in turn, was later defined by Shane and Venkataraman (2000, 218) as "the scholarly examination of how, by whom, and with what effects opportunities to create future goods and services are discovered, evaluated, and exploited". Kuratko and Hodgetts (2001, 38) termed this line of reasoning as *the opportunity school of thought*, which focuses on identifying the sources and forms of entrepreneurial opportunities. In the early 1990s, definitions of entrepreneurship depicted it as "a process by which individuals - either on their own or inside organizations - pursue opportunities without regard to the resources they currently control" (Stevenson & Jarillo 1990, 23), or as a process involving all functions, activities and actions associated with recognizing and pursuing opportunities (Bygrave & Hofer 1991). Compared with these earlier definitions, the most significant change today seems to be the concentration on the actual opportunity process.

A common feature shared by all the above explications is naming opportunities as the focus of entrepreneurial research. Shane and Venkataraman (2000, 218) go on to argue that the field should study "the sources of opportunities; the processes of discovery, evaluation, and exploitation of opportunities; and the set of individuals who discover, evaluate, and exploit them". These core elements form the basis for understanding and researching entrepreneurship, even though the discussion indicates that the conceptual definitions in the entrepreneurial research tradition are by no means clear or stable and that there is actually no one single and agreed definition of entrepreneurship (Shane & Venkataraman 2000; Kuratko & Hodgetts 2001, 28).

Among all these potential meanings of the concept of entrepreneurship, I prefer to stick here to the scientific discussion that takes into consideration both the entrepreneur, her social environment and industry, and, naturally, her entrepreneurial business opportunities: namely, opportunity thinking (Shane 2003). The opportunity view is well suited for the purposes of this research for a number of reasons. First, it perceives entrepreneurship as a process, which encompasses the development of both the entrepreneur and her business. Secondly, besides recognition and exploitation, evaluation also plays an important part in the opportunity process. Thirdly, the process involves various elements that are assumed to bring out the meaning-making process in evaluating opportunities: these elements include the entrepreneuring individual herself, the opportunity, the industry, the resources and the social context. Finally, the significance of opportunity thinking for this study stems from the fact that the specific characteristics of the opportunity have a great influence on the entrepreneurial process, and that opportunities are evaluated differently by different people (Shane 2003, 18).

The ambiguous nature of the entrepreneurial paradigm leads to a situation where there are many rivalling paradigm proposals, with emphases varying between 'what', 'why' and 'how' (Stevenson & Jarillo 1990). The approach used here appreciates both the multidimensional interpersonal relationships and social settings behind entrepreneurship, and the evaluation intertwined into the opportunity process. I have subjected the opportunity discussion to a microlevel analysis focusing on the entrepreneur as a subject who recognizes and seizes opportunities. I take as my starting point the subjective nature of human beings and a social constructionist view of the world and, thus, of opportunities as well. This view has been brought forth in the opportunity discussion by Sarason et al. (2006), among others.

1.2 What I want to find out

Having so far only provided some general aspects of the research, I now want to explain myself from a new and more precise perspective. The aim of this section is to shed light on the formulation of the research questions.³

Putting together the research questions was not a linear process. It took me almost until the editing phase to finally understand what I had attempted to find out. This does not mean that I had not known what I had been doing; no, it means that, first of all, I could not decide until the very finale what questions were important enough to be raised as research questions, and secondly, the exact phrasing of the questions proved more difficult than I had expected.

With the content and context of my interest in mind I decided to concentrate on finding answers to the following questions:

³ Making my research process transparent includes vignettes from my own story of the research.

1. What types of events are momentous in recognizing and beginning to exploit business opportunities in the sex industry?
2. How do the narrating entrepreneurs evaluate and reason their business opportunities in different phases of the opportunity process?
3. What is the role of risk in the evaluation of opportunities?

My interest in this research is neither normative nor descriptive, but lies in understanding how entrepreneurs evaluate their business opportunities in the recognition and the exploitation phase. The chosen questions help to recognize the different sides of the process and the related theoretical implications. The first question, which is the narrowest of the three, is hoped to reveal the events that led the entrepreneurs to recognize and exploit their opportunities. The answer is sought mainly by analysing the empirics, i.e. by interpreting the narratives, with the goal of introducing an inclusive depiction of the opportunity process and disclosing how the narrators engaged themselves to work as sex industry entrepreneurs. The second question keeps the focus on the empirics, but widens the view by exploring the entrepreneurs' reasoning and the meanings attached to the recognition and exploitation of opportunities. Finally, the third question shifts attention to the development of entrepreneurial opportunity theory by translating the answers to the previous questions into theoretical language. First question is answered in length in the empirical analysis, questions 2 and 3 in the results chapter.

For purposes of clarity I have converted the research questions into phrases that reflect the scope of interest of this study. Thus, the first question refers to the personal recognition and exploitation phases of the opportunity process undergone by the sex industry entrepreneurs, the second one to their evaluation of these phases, and the third one to the meaning of different elements of the opportunity process as seen in this entrepreneurial research.

1.3 The plot

As the best stories always have fabulous plots, it is only fair to attempt to write one here as well. However, to help the reader keep track of my thoughts and perhaps to make the reading experience more interesting, the plot is described here right away. First, chapter 2 introduces the meta story behind the research and describes the ontological and epistemological starting points for this study. Chapters 3 and 4 then contain a thorough view of the entrepreneurial opportunity process in the entrepreneurship literature, reflecting it through the chosen ontological and epistemological views. Chapter 5 takes the research closer to empirics by introducing the narrative methods used. The study context; the sex industry, is described and discussed in chapter 6. Due to the industry's complicated and multifaceted nature, it is characterized here by means of some basic classifications. Chapter 7 gives voice to the interviewed entrepreneurs and presents their stories. Conclusions regarding the entrepreneurial opportunity process are drawn and discussed in chapter 8. The

final chapter 9 is reserved for reflexive contemplation on what and why has been discussed in the text and done during the research.

Often I have reworked the text into figures and tables to show relationships between concepts and also to arrange the text, since it is true that a good picture reveals more than a thousand words. Some readers may also find it easier to read the figures and tables than to try and clarify my meaning solely from the text. Thus it has been my conscious choice to use figures and tables as much as possible.

This chapter concludes with an illustration of the set-up of this study. The figure below describes the hermeneutic circle moving between theory and empirics, thus indicating the abductive character of the study.

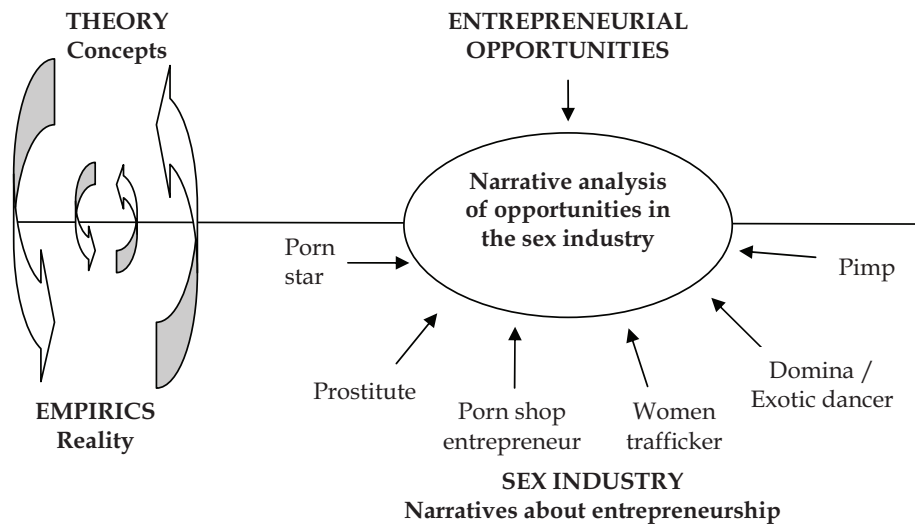


FIGURE 1 The set-up of the study.⁴

⁴ Narratives were obtained from six different kinds of sex industry entrepreneurs; three of these, namely the narratives of two porn/erotic shop entrepreneurs and one procurer, are presented in this study.

2 BEHIND THE RESEARCH

By seeking the specific I find the universal and by wishing to put theory at the service of criticism I put criticism ... at the service of theory. This is the paradox of every poetics, and doubtless of every other activity of knowledge as well: always torn between those two unavoidable commonplaces - that there are no objects except particular ones and no science except of the general. (Genette 1980, 23)

This chapter presents the meta-level of the study. The purpose is to convey my thoughts concerning the philosophy of science, the entrepreneurial paradigm and the research process. The ontological perspective creates the background for my epistemological assumptions and contemplation of the entrepreneurial paradigm, as shown in the Figure 2 below, I nevertheless chose to begin the examination from the paradigm and only then move on to ontological and epistemological questions. In this way my choices can be more easily reflected on the paradigm.

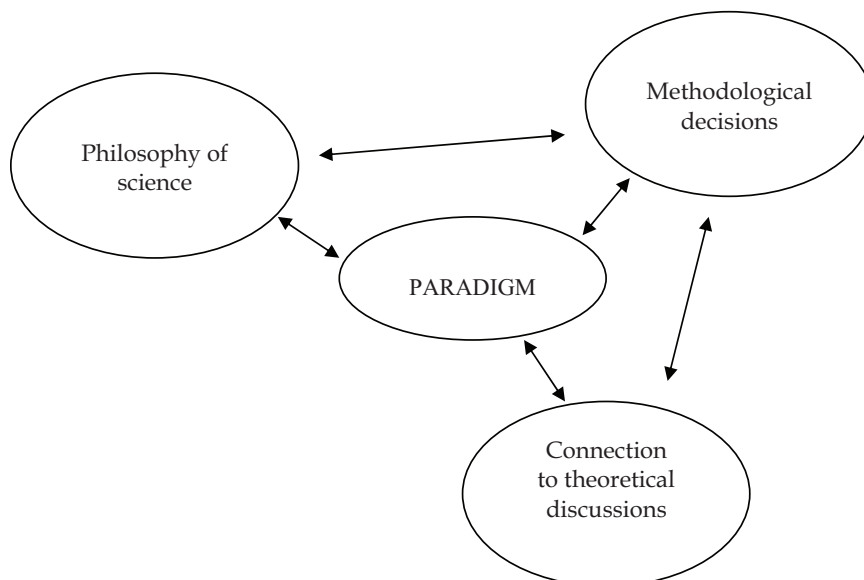


FIGURE 2 Paradigm as a source of choices (modified from Kyrö 2003, 57; Lämsä & Takala 2004).

2.1 The state of entrepreneurship research and the emerging 'Who-Do'

In the first chapter I took some time to consider the ongoing discussion on entrepreneurship research in order to locate my own study in the debate. The following discussion will take one step further into the conversation on paradigms and entrepreneurship, since an understanding of the entrepreneurial paradigm is the key to conducting entrepreneurship research.

The concept of 'normal science' is used to describe the coherent basis on which the scientific community builds its future research. Whenever a theory or collection of theories becomes so significant as to collect a group of followers around it, and at the same time open enough to leave the followers problems to solve, it can be called a paradigm. (Kuhn 1970, 10) Another definition refers to paradigms as generalizations, laws and visions concerning a research objective and as values commonly shared within a discipline's research community (Haaparanta & Niiniluoto 1998, 78).

When a discipline is in the normal-science phase its paradigm is widely accepted and its research concentrates on improving the paradigm itself and molding its theories. The used paradigm thus directs the research to suit itself and forces other interests aside, as it is not the objective of normal science to reveal new phenomena. (Kuhn 1970, 24) In the pre-paradigm phase the absence of the 'best' paradigm leads to a situation in which all the factors in a discipline seem relevant, there is no general agreement on the basis of the discipline, and school thinking emerges (Riggs 1992, 24; Kuhn 1970, 15). Bygrave (1989a, 22) describes this pre-paradigm stage in entrepreneurship research as a "jig-saw puzzle with a framework but most of the pieces missing". The accepted level of consensus separating the normal-science phase from the pre-paradigm phase, however, is not quite clear (Riggs 1992, 58).

A paradigm debate begins when there are two or more proposals for the paradigm (Riggs 1992, 42). This seems relevant in the field of the present study, as there is a vivid conversation going on about the true identity of entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial research⁵. There is consensus merely over the incoherence that dominates entrepreneurship research. In individual studies this state of affairs leaves the researcher with many alternative roads to choose. Bygrave (1989a, 9) suggests that the reason for the ambiguity of the entrepreneurship paradigm lies in its incapability to produce accurate predictions. However, the social sciences, to which entrepreneurship research belongs, do not follow the same logic as the natural sciences⁶, which is why the

5 For more evidence on the disintegration of entrepreneurship research see e.g. Low & MacMillan 1988, Bygrave & Hofer 1991, Cunningham & Lischeron 1991, Davidsson & Wiklund 2001, Gartner 1988 and 2001, Zahra 2007; even whole journal issues have been dedicated to the subject, e.g. *Journal of Business Venturing* 1993 8(3).

6 I presume the comparison of entrepreneurship with physics is due to Bygrave's own background in physics (cf. Bygrave 1989b), which as will be seen later, only

accuracy of entrepreneurial research as a science needs to be rejudged through different ontological assumptions.

Although the Kuhnian paradigm thinking has its origins in the natural sciences and not in the social sciences (Riggs 1992, 22), the pre-paradigm phase seems to describe the current state of entrepreneurial research quite well. That entrepreneurship as a science is still immature and has not reached general methodological or theoretical agreement is a conclusion drawn both by Kyrö (1997, 206; 2002) and by Bygrave (1989a, 14), the latter of whom calls the entrepreneurship paradigm “an infant paradigm trying to imitate the theoretical and empirical methods of an advanced paradigm”. Kyrö (2003, 72) adds that often entrepreneurship is not understood as an autonomous discipline at all, but seen as part of management science – which may be too strong a statement today. Yet, even now, there is some evidence of school thinking, as shown by Kuratko and Hodgetts (2001, 34), who identified such entrepreneurial schools of thought as venture opportunity, strategic formulation and behavioural traits schools on the micro level, and environmental, financial and displacement schools on the macro level.

The question of whether entrepreneurship research is in the pre-paradigm or normal-science phase remains somewhat vague, as there are signs in both directions. Although entrepreneurship researchers still feel a need to open up every concept used in their research, including basic ones like ‘entrepreneur’, they still tend to take off where others have ended and produce articles rather than all-embracing textbooks. According to Kuhn (1970, 20), the former sign suggests the discipline’s immaturity, whereas the latter is a sign of a mature science. On the other hand, the discipline lacks mutual agreement on the reality of the study object as well as on the methods to gain information about it, which Kyrö (2003, 59) regards as determinants of a mature normal science.

This conversation offers two alternative ways to place the present study in the field of entrepreneurship research. The first is to look at the theory of entrepreneurial opportunities as one school of thought among others, which would imply that entrepreneurship research is in the pre-paradigm phase. The second option is to view this study as part of a paradigm that is slowly emerging from school thinking, which suggests a phase where some paradigm proposals are growing stronger than others and the pre-paradigm phase is ending. Thus, although the actual phase of the evolving entrepreneurship paradigm may not be fully determined, its meaning in this study is clear. Whether opportunity theory is regarded as a school of thought or as a key element of a paradigm proposal, it serves here as a basis on which to build an understanding of the main research questions and helps to detect various formal logical connections deriving from the empirical findings.

In the greater context the present competing entrepreneurship paradigms are all typical examples of the ‘homo economicus’ ontology/epistemology thinking prevailing in the business and economics research. There humans are

strengthens the ontological point of departure I have chosen and which then leads to epistemological assumptions. Cf. also Schwandt 2001, 119.

seen as able to optimize decisions, make rational choices and to have individualistic behaviour and independent tastes, while maximizing utility. In entrepreneurship research the utility is regarded financial. These premises have been discussed and challenged by behavioural economics (Kahneman & Tversky 1979; Doucouliagos 1994; Thaler 2000), but the debate has rarely concerned the ontological and epistemological grounds of the entrepreneurship paradigms. In the following chapters one of the aims is to show how humans could be seen in complementary way to homo economicus. This is first done below by presenting shortly the emerging Who-Do paradigm. The following subchapters then present the ontological and epistemological discussions behind the Who-Do and contribute my share on the debate over the nature of the economic actors.

The Who-Do paradigm has its origins in the work of Seppä (2000), who used the paradigm in the theory level studying the strategy logic of the venture capitalist. Later the Who-Do was in the work of Porter (2009). Seppä (2000) tied the concept to serve the ownership and its development through time in order to answer the critical questions of who owns (an entity), why and how, and on the other hand to tie this with the business decisions (the do), which is aimed to understand what is done (the product) and by whom it will be acquired (the customer). In my research the Who-Do appears implicitly throughout the text when talking about the entrepreneurs (who) and their reasoning (why) and on the other hand in the exploitation (do). The figure 4 below depicts the opportunity process and the growth of the Who-Do over time.

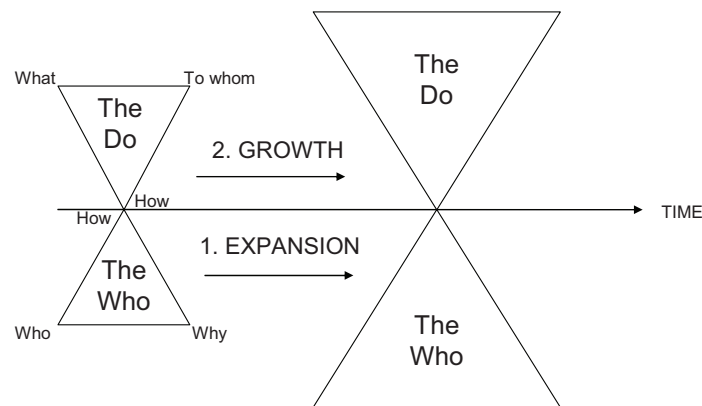


FIGURE 3 The “Who-Do” of growth: Do presenting the usual business science knowledge, and Who the ownership and also the methodological part of the paradigm.

In editing the text I asked myself what was my relationship to the entrepreneurial paradigm. Should the paradigm guide my study or should my thoughts guide the paradigm? Since I have always been terribly poor at respecting authority and have considered it better to listen to my own reasoning – I also hold independent reasoning as one of the cornerstones of scientific thinking – I saw no other option but to follow my own path. This meant that regardless of the present ontological or epistemological beliefs behind entrepreneurial research, I would have to base mine on grounds that I found logical and that fitted my

worldview. Again, this choice meant that as I looked at opportunity theory through my own ontological and epistemological understanding, I would face the danger of being left in the margins of the scientific debate on entrepreneurship. However, being true to oneself ranks higher on my scale than pleasing others, so in the end there was no question about the rightness of the choice.

2.2 In Hermes' footsteps

Research on hermeneutics began in ancient Greece, where Hermes delivered messages from the gods to ordinary mortals and the term *hermeneuo* obtained the meaning 'to announce', 'to translate' and 'to tell'. Of the classical philosophers Plato applied a hermeneutic technique, and Aristoteles' *peri hermeneias* was a doctrine of argumentation and interpretation. (Kusch 1986, 13) Given such a history, it is no wonder that hermeneutics today has a multitude of semantic interpretations and the whole concept is understood differently depending on the adopted research tradition. This implies that the concept of hermeneutics itself has evolved hermeneutically, based on a hermeneutic building of understanding. Besides offering grounds for the ontological and epistemological discussion that follows, hermeneutics also guides my understanding of science discussed later in this study.

In brief, hermeneutics is about interpreting a text in a way that takes into account the influence of historical conditions, the nature of human understanding, and the preconditions of understanding (Ruokanen 1987, 11). A more inclusive definition proposes three ways to understand hermeneutics: first, as rules and methods that enable the right understanding of the text⁷; second, more widely, as existential hermeneutics that explores people's ability to understand themselves and the world, and third, as critical or dialectic hermeneutics that emphasizes the special nature of the social sciences as compared with the nature sciences. Depending on the source, the core problems of hermeneutics are related to interpreting the text, critique of positivism, dialogue, pragmatism and teleological and rational explanation. (Kusch 1986, 11-12; Schwandt 2001, 121)

The first two of the above definitions serve the purposes of this study very well, since the main interest here is on existentiality: on ontological issues and their implications for epistemological questions about the limits of human knowledge. Gadamer (2004, 134) has defined hermeneutics quite poetically as the ability to make something that has been written to speak again. His definition points to both of these interpretations – on one hand, he refers to the human ability to interpret and understand, while the broader definition of hermeneutics would place him as a representative of existential hermeneutics (Kusch 1986, 11).

Hermeneutic understanding is often seen to proceed in a circle: the whole is understood by means of its fragments, and the fragments by means of the

⁷ Here 'text' refers to written as well as spoken texts.

whole. That is, the fragments both determine the whole and are themselves determined by it, and understanding is possible when the parts are compatible with the whole. (Gadamer 2004, 29) And conversely if the parts, which might here be interpreted as one's instant experiences of reality, do not match the whole, which refers to one's preconceptions, the result is either a lack of understanding, a misunderstanding, or a learning experience that alters the existing understanding.

Due to our historical consciousness⁸ as individuals, the hermeneutic circle of understanding usually has a subjective meaning⁹. On the individual level, this limits the circle to one's advance expectations of the whole followed by an inspection of the details (Gadamer 2004, 35). A deeper understanding is reached progressively by moving, time and again, between the whole and the part, between preunderstanding and understanding (Alvesson & Sköldbberg 2000, 53). As Gadamer (2004, 35) further points out, the subjective hermeneutic circle executes the hermeneutical task of giving historical consciousness a concrete form and content. Abstract phenomena are thus made more concrete through hermeneutical thinking (Anttila 1998).

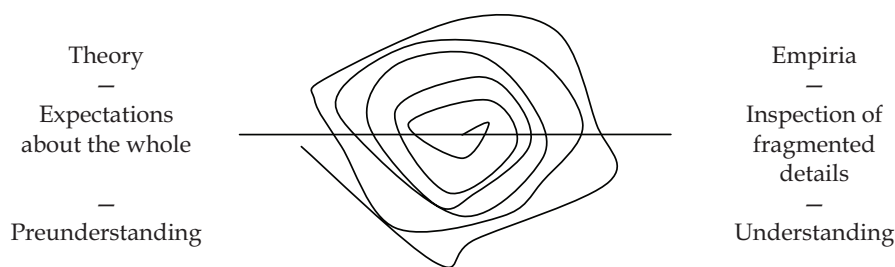


FIGURE 4 My hermeneutic circle.

Hermeneutics helps to make visible the fundamental conditions of human understanding and of life itself (Niiniluoto 1983, 170.) We apply hermeneutic understanding in every situation where meanings are not immediately clear and involve interpretation. Thus the hermeneutical process encompasses both what we already know and what we do not know but strive to understand. (Linge 1977, xi) Ricoeur (2000, 5) describes the close association of hermeneutics with interpretation and understanding by noting that meaning is not a property of the object but a result of subjective hermeneutic interpretation. If we take hermeneutics as a mode of being, not just as a mode of knowing, we can see how interpretation and meaning-making processes actually become the core of our being. In this sense our interpretations, understandings and narrations determine our existence as human beings (Cf. Bruner 1986; Alvesson

⁸ Historical consciousness here means that our human ways of understanding are culturally and historically relative and dependent on time and space; Cf. Burr 1995.

⁹ An objective meaning would mean recognizing that there is an objective world about which we might obtain objective knowledge through the social sciences.

& Sköldbberg 2000, 58), or in other words we create our world by our interpretations and stories.

On the individual level, our subjective interpretation of fragments depends on the whole, which is determined by social elements. The idea that individual and subjective knowing is based on socially constructed categories is referred to as social constructivism (Fletcher 2006). A social constructivist view of the world maintains that reality is a social construction created through human interaction in a subjective and continuous process. The ontological assumptions of social constructivism are embedded in hermeneutics, and its epistemological focus is on analysing the processes through which these interpretations of reality are created. (Morgan & Smircich 1980)

The paramount goal of social constructivism is to understand other people's experiences and their situation-specific meaning making, which eventually reveals different views of the world. Schwandt (2001, 118) condenses this idea as an aim to understand how "particular actors, in particular places, at particular times, fashion meaning out of events and phenomena through prolonged, complex processes of social interaction involving history, language, and action". Social constructivism encourages a critical stance towards our understanding and worldview, because our subjective observations do not give us objective knowledge about reality (Burr 1995, 3). A social constructivist view is therefore relevant if we intend to understand the ontological assumptions in interpretative processes.

Social constructivism has lately gained more space within entrepreneurial opportunity research in conversations on the evolution of opportunities (c.f. Sarason et al. 2006; Fletcher 2006). As Fletcher (2006) points out:

[U]tilizing social constructionist ideas means that the enquirer moves beyond an examination of individual opportunity-seeking processes to consideration of the relationality between peoples' actions and their cultural, societal, economic and political situational context. This enables a distinctive theoretical understanding of opportunity emergence as relationally and communally constituted. It also challenges linear, individualistic and descriptive models of opportunity discovery. Further, it helps to account for the spatial aspects of opportunity recognition and the ways in which cultural/social practices travel and migrate thereby contributing not only to the construction of social reality but also the formation of new opportunities in new contexts.

2.3 Subjective science

The hermeneutic circle, the relationship between the whole and its parts, brings along the scientific problem of subject-object (Alvesson & Sköldbberg 2000, 52-65). Rather than entering this discussion from the bottom up and untangling various possible perspectives on the matter, I begin with the strong statement that, strictly taken, there is no 'objective world' for the social sciences to understand. Scientific theories are products of social processes and should be viewed as a history of who we are, while the study in hand might be thought of

as a path leading to one interpretation of the present and implications of the future (Varto 1995, 90). It is equally impossible to make any objective analysis of entrepreneurship, because the research object is always a part of the subjective meaning making of the researcher, and the resulting meanings are socially constructed. This, again, leads to the claim that reality and knowledge are created, not discovered in our minds, and that in the end both knowledge and 'truth' are more or less a result of an individual perspective (Schwandt 2001, 125). Or, in Bruner's (1986, 95) words: "Contrary to common sense there is no unique 'real world' that pre-exists and is independent of human mental activity and human symbolic language".

The claimed¹⁰ impossibility of objective research seems to lead right into the trap of subjectivity, raising the question whether science can ever reach beyond the subjectivity of the individual researcher. The hermeneutic tradition is assumed to overcome this opposition by accepting the hermeneutical character of existence, which holds that interpretation is the very condition of human inquiry, not merely a method that social scientists may use in an attempt to understand. (Schwandt 2001, 119) When hermeneutic interpretation is so deeply rooted in human life that it partly determines who we are, then science and scientific understanding are actually a part of our human existence (Varto 1995, 65).

The hermeneutic task of giving historical consciousness a concrete content requires that the researcher is aware of her own preconceptions and expectations (Gadamer 2004, 35). Being a biographically situated researcher means entering the research process from a certain interpretative community and incorporating its historical research traditions (Denzin & Lincoln 2001, 11). This brings along an inevitable feature of the hermeneutic circle: the necessity to make choices that are bound to have an effect on the results because the researcher is inseparably attached to the preconditions that her interpretation stems from (Ruokanen 1987, 111). The researcher therefore needs to look deep into her own thinking and preconditions to understand the basis that her conceptual understanding is built on (Lämsä & Takala, 2004).

Apart from its individual and subjective meaning, the hermeneutic process may be understood as a dialogue, between the text¹¹ and the interpreter, through which the interpreter's understanding evolves. In this process the role of the interpreter is as significant as the role of the text. The interpretation does not look for the 'objective' meaning of the text but seeks to understand its underlying traditions and apply them to the current situation. (Haaparanta & Niiniluoto 1998, 66) Belonging to a certain research tradition means holding some texts as more valuable than others, and on the other hand, it means continuing the tradition and at the same time making judgements about it (Kusch 1986, 109).

Thus, by pointing out what discussions are the most relevant, history and tradition simultaneously function as a reflective consciousness: a phenomenon

¹⁰ 'Claimed' because this is my personal interpretation of reality.

¹¹ Whatever form it takes.

that is impossible for the individual researcher to fully recognize and describe. This also means that it is impossible to create science that is objective and free from prejudices (Ricoeur 1981, 73-76). The researcher's own preconceptions and expectations will guide her interpretations and her search for the meaning of the whole. These preconceptions, expectations and meanings are continually reviewed as the understanding progresses and deepens, and rival preconceptions are corrected as the meaning of the whole emerges. Because such preconceptions and expectations can be misleading, it is important that the interpreting researcher is aware of them in order to verify their origins and validity. (Gadamer 2004, 32-33)

Hence, hermeneutics creates a learning process that reveals the researcher's perspectives and prejudices. The dialogue of the interpreter both with texts and with other people tests her own ideas and makes learning possible. The various interpretive horizons play a significant role in this regard. If we take our own ideas as absolute they will prevent the true testing of our perspective. Moreover, the two horizons held by the dialogue participants should not be assimilated but strengthened so as to create a dialogue in which both horizons are tested. (Kusch 1986, 114)

The hermeneutical method examines this dialogue and interprets the communication transmitted through language. As the interpretation moves on, the interpreter's understanding grows and enables her to apply the text to the present situation. (Niiniluoto 1983, 170) The dialogue determines a specific aim for the researcher: to build a discussion between the proposals of different texts in her research community. In practice the researcher gives new meanings to the texts through her understanding. (Haaparanta & Niiniluoto 1998, 64)

Meaning making is an interplay between different elements. The author's and the receivers' institutional position, interests, knowledge, values and intentions contribute to this meaning making on the various levels of the text. The complexity of the process creates diverse meanings and, hence, diverse interpretations of the text, which in itself adds to the making of meaning by carrying both explicit and implicit, or assumed, thoughts. (Fairclough 2003, 10) The scientific nature of a particular study builds on the view that it is always a subjective account of the author's interpretations, and ultimately its scientific value is tested by the research community¹² (Miller 1997). The subjectivity of any interpretation can thus be overcome in scientific dialogue among the research community. Consensus theory holds truth as the result of a mutual understanding: the core of science is social in the sense that knowledge can only be enhanced through scientific debate. (Niiniluoto 1980, 61)

Here I need to expand briefly on the meaning of text in an empirical study. Besides presenting the empiric research material, the text holds other meanings as well. I refer especially to the use of text as a method of conducting research, finding the most believable reasoning paths and reporting them, since writing and producing text is undoubtedly the most important part of conducting a

¹² A dialogue requires some degree of mutual perspective to ontological and epistemological matters in order to be fruitful.

research – not least because the final outcome is in the form of a text. The impression that long prevailed was that writing was purely about reporting facts and results, and that everything else was a matter of rhetoric, not science. (Alasuutari 2001, 280) In an interpretative analysis, however, the production of text is not just the result of the research, but in itself part of the method. Writing and doing the study are in an inextricably manner intertwined: writing should be experienced as an ongoing process which produces new ideas, enables the researcher to make new interpretations, and also to learn. Due to the significance of learning in the research process, the researcher has to be ready to put everything on paper, also thoughts that she may regard as less valuable or even false, because these can prove to be of great help at a later stage of research. (Lämsä & Takala 2004)

Apart from the crucial role of text in thinking, it is also the means to present narratives. People's narratives tell about their lives and the choices they have made; whereas life is lived and real, narratives are composed of stories. The two domains co-exist in 'the world of the reader' and 'the world of the text'. Looked at this way, every text opens up a new world of experiences, a new horizon that is distinct from the world we live in, but at the same time allows the reader temporarily to dive into and experience the world of the text. (Ricoeur 1991, 26) As noted, interpretation is a hermeneutical process in which the world of the text and that of the reader blend together. This kind of integration happens twice in the present study. The first instance is when the story is told to the interviewer and she makes the leap into the world of the interviewee, and the second instance occurs when the narrative is read by a reader. Rée (1991, 74) suggests that a theorist attempting to find metaphysical truth is closer to a storyteller than might seem at first glance.

Interestingly, hermeneutics is said to have the dual aim of understanding reality and seeking truth – truth, which I perceive not as an 'objective' truth but a common understanding of subjective realities. Both goals are fulfilled in a dialogue where the exploration of meanings takes the understanding of all dialogue participants to a higher level. (Miller 1996) Since dialogue builds socially constructed meanings (Lincoln & Denzin 2003, 612), scientific dialogue builds socially constructed truths (Lincoln & Guba 2003, 264). Earlier theories then guide researchers in making scientific assumptions about the world (Silverman 2001, 3). As the falsificationist Popper (1995, 229) has noted, we as social scientists can neither prove our theories true nor claim their probability; we can only criticize them and test them, hoping to have learned from previous mistakes and, if we get lucky, progressing towards better theories. This leads to the statement that the goodness or quality of the results of social science research is not revealed by testing their validity or reliability, but through their trustworthiness and authenticity (Lincoln & Guba 2003, 259).

Before moving forward some brief notions regarding my approach in general are in place. As a relatively new discipline within the social sciences, the methods of entrepreneurship research are still in a stage of development. As new methodological alternatives emerge it will be possible to enhance the

ability of research to describe and understand entrepreneurial behaviour (Kyrö 2002). Bygrave (1989a, 7) has described entrepreneurship as “a disjointed, discontinuous, non-linear (and usually unique) event that cannot be studied successfully with methods developed for examining smooth, continuous, linear (and often repeatable) processes”. This statement offers a good argument for adopting a narrative research approach – which can hardly be described as continuous or linear either.

The following decisions concerning my choice of methods are based on the scientific paradigm, my understanding of the philosophy of science, and the object of this study. Since all methods include some presumptions about the nature of knowledge, the choice should be consistent with the researcher’s view of the nature and philosophy of science, and of reality (Lämsä & Takala 2004). As in the social sciences in general, there is no one method that could be readily adopted for all entrepreneurship research; the selected methods should be compatible with the aim of the study, keeping in mind its characteristic features (Varto 1995, 95).

Right from the start, my keen desire to interpret and understand the individual cases pointed directly to the choice of qualitative methodology and methods that are especially suitable for examining socially organized settings and making sense of different aspects of the social world (Miller 1997). Qualitative methods offer a productive way to conduct research that seeks to understand text or behaviour, as in hermeneutic interpretation (Hirsjärvi, Remes & Sajavaara 1997, 167). Finally, the aim of qualitative methods is to describe and analyse the process that produces social realities and, on the other hand, those relationships that connect people with each other (Miller 1997), which are also the aims of this research.

In the course of this research I understood how theory development and narrative analysis are a simultaneous and dialectic process moving back and forth between theory and practice. This relates my work to abductive reasoning, which is associated with the interpretive tradition (Mason 1996, 142). When I examined different entrepreneurship theories at the outset of this research, I expected them to guide my way in doing the study and help me develop a model that could then be tested against the empirics. But when I actually made the first interviews, the deductive approach – moving from theory to particular situations – had to give way to abductive thinking. The interviews were so tremendously interesting that I could not let theory restrict my interpretation. Moreover, Riessman (1993, 60) reminded me not to specify too tightly the questions I want to find answers to from the narrative accounts, because “analytic induction, by definition, causes questions to change and new ones to emerge”. Thus, abductive reasoning together with interpretative understanding is the starting point on the way to the narrative methods presented later.

3 SOURCES AND RECOGNITION OF ENTREPRENEURIAL BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

I will now move on to explore entrepreneurial business opportunities¹³. Entrepreneurial business opportunities are understood here as the chain of events in which a person has recognized, evaluated, further developed, and then begun to exploit a new business idea by remodelling material into a resource or by combining already existing resources into something more productive to produce distinct value and satisfaction (Drucker 1985, 31).

Because the roots of the opportunity paradigm were already considered above in previous chapters, let us head directly to a discussion of the process character of opportunity recognition and exploitation. I begin by taking a look at the nature of the sources of entrepreneurial opportunities, and then proceed to discuss the two phases of the process: recognition and exploitation. My special interest lies in evaluation, which is an inherent element in the process and affects both the recognition of the opportunity and the decision to exploit it. Although evaluation is present in the opportunity process all along, it is in focus especially in subchapter 4.2.

The opportunity process highlights the role of the individual who recognizes an opportunity and makes the decision to exploit it. This subjective path takes us to explore the nature of entrepreneurial opportunities and the cognitive processes that lead to their recognition, in a search for the main elements that drive a person to exploit the recognized opportunity. The opportunity view has been used for over a decade by numerous researchers¹⁴, producing several branches of theory building. Still, opportunity theory – if it can even be said to exist – is by no means a unanimous concept, but it does have extremely promising features. The individual-opportunity nexus (Shane 2003) offers an excellent starting point for a conversation on entrepreneurial

¹³ Later also referred to as ‘business opportunities’, ‘entrepreneurial opportunities’ or ‘opportunities’.

¹⁴ Cf. e.g. Baron 2004 & 2006; Casson 2003; Casson et al. 2007; Eckhardt & Shane 2003; Krackhardt 1995; Puhakka 2002; Shane & Venkataraman 2000; Shane 2003; Stevenson & Jarillo 1990.

opportunities and their evaluation. It is no longer possible to separate entrepreneurial research from the concept of opportunity, because entrepreneurship would not exist without opportunities (Shane & Venkataraman 2000; Sarason et al. 2006).

3.1 Subjective sources of opportunities

The discussion concerning the sources of business opportunities has so far walled mainly from a perspective which sees opportunities as existing objectively, independent of human thinking. I want to make my contribution to this discussion by claiming and reasoning that opportunities come into existence only when someone gives certain events or states of affairs that meaning. Yet I do not deny that there are some non-subjective preconditions inherent in opportunity existence that have been identified in earlier theory and that advance our understanding of entrepreneurship theory. Whereas in my mind these preconditions are revealed only when someone recognizes an opportunity, I will discuss them next in connection with my interpretation of opportunity theory from a hermeneutic and narrative standpoint.

Change

Opportunities do not develop in a vacuum; they come about as a result of change (Schumpeter 1934). Let us first see what has been regarded as essential change for the emergence of opportunity. A change that leads to opportunity recognition may occur within any given industry or it may refer to a general change involving the whole society (Drucker 1985). The latter kind of change includes technological, political and regulatory changes, and changes in social or demographic relations (Schumpeter 1934). For instance, new knowledge and changes in people's perceptions, moods and meanings pave the way for opportunity recognition (Drucker 1985), as discussed in more detail below.

Technological change as a source of opportunity can occur both inside and outside industries. Situations in which technological advances are found both within and outside an industry offer more entrepreneurial opportunities. Industries differ greatly in how they are able to develop new technology themselves and on what kind of scale they are able to take advantage of technological changes beyond their own scope. In some industries, technology-based opportunities are found outside the value chain, in others within the value chain covering firms, their suppliers and customers. (Klevorick, Levin, Nelson & Winter 1995)

Studies of political and regulatory changes have been more concerned with new firm creation than with opportunity existence. On the firm level, political and regulatory changes have been noted to have a two-way effect: on one hand, they create opportunities and increase the formation of new enterprises, but on the other hand they simultaneously inhibit their survival.

(Delacroix & Carroll 1983; Carroll & Huo 1986) Regulatory changes which increase entrepreneurial activity are usually associated with deregulation, whereas increased regulation is known to reduce the formation of new ventures. However, since regulation does not always discourage new firm formation, it can be assumed that the actual source of opportunities is not deregulation as such, but a change in regulation. (Shane 2003, 27) On the opportunity level, increased regulation can create a new market or increase demand and thus have an effect as a source of opportunity (Baum 1996). Governmental development support has also been found to increase entrepreneurial activity (Davidsson, Lindmark & Olofsson 1994), but again, whether or not this support increases the number of recognized opportunities remains unanswered.

Socio-demographic changes are important sources of opportunities for a number of reasons. Firstly, they create additional demand; secondly, they create the potential for scale economies, thereby opening up new, otherwise non-existent opportunities; and finally, they transfer information on how to allocate resources differently. (Shane 2003, 28) Demographic changes in the population – in its size, composition, age structure, employment, income, and educational status – have tremendous effects on the market due to their power to alter the customer image and customers' needs (Drucker 1985, 80).

Shane (2003, 29) divides socio-demographic changes into three sources: urbanization, educational infrastructure and population dynamics. All of these generate or spread new information and thus create an environment where new insights for opportunities can emerge. Urbanization contributes to opportunity by enabling economies of scale and increasing information (Storey & Tether 1998), by providing role models (Bygrave & Minniti 2000), and by bringing potential customers closer (Shane 2003, 29). Educational institutions conduct research that produces new knowledge, which in turn acts as a source of entrepreneurial innovation and opportunity. These institutions also spread knowledge and information further. (Bull & Winter 1991; Stuart & Sorenson 2003) Population dynamics related to population size, growth and mobility also has an effect on entrepreneurial opportunities. Again the significance of a larger population size is that it enables benefiting from economies of scale (Davidsson et al. 1994; Pennings 1982; Carroll & Huo 1986). Growth both increases the possibility of scale economies and generates a rise in demand, thereby encouraging opportunities (Audretsch & Fritsch 1994; Davidsson et al. 1994; Keeble & Walker 1994; Reynolds 1994). Mobility not only moves people but also moves information about how to exploit opportunities in new areas (Pennings 1982, Shane 1996).

Besides changes in the social environment, changes leading to opportunity could emerge when a sufficient amount of people alter their perception or understanding about some issue, and create different meanings for it. The new meanings and understandings that people carry then become a source of opportunities. (Drucker 1985, 90, 94) A recent example could be the new

understanding about global warming and other environmental issues, and the opportunities this understanding has produced in several industries.

Table 1 describes sources of opportunities that arise independent of specific industries, as proposed by Schumpeter (Schumpeter 1934; Shane 2003, 23, 34) and Drucker (1985, 31).

TABLE 1 Sources of opportunities involving a change outside an industry.

SOURCES OF OPPORTUNITIES PROPOSED BY SCHUMPETER	SOURCES OF OPPORTUNITIES PROPOSED BY DRUCKER
Technological change Political change Regulatory change Social change Demographic change	Change in demographics Change in perceptions, moods and meanings New knowledge

On the other hand, changes within a given industry can lead to the emergence of an opportunity only in that certain industry, one that is perhaps not even recognized outside it (Shane 2000). According to Drucker (1985), industry-specific changes can be related to unexpected situations, incongruities, process needs, or changes in market structure. Unexpected situations can relate to unexpected success or failure or outside events. In the case of unexpected success, opportunity emerges without prior planning, but it can also be revealed through innovation or by asking the right questions about basic changes in the business, market or technology. Unexpected failure refers to situations where a business goes down without observed cause. Studying one's own or somebody else's failure can expose a changed circumstance, which in further analysis can convert the unexpected failure to purposeful innovation and further into a business opportunity. Finally, in the case of unexpected outside events, change is usually detected in the figures used by management, even if outside events are not recorded. (Drucker 1985, 34-50)

Incongruities, which point to a disparity between what is and what ought to be, can also be a source of opportunity within a given industry. They come in many forms and may be related to economic realities or to an incongruity between the actual and the assumed reality in the industry. Incongruous economic realities refer to a situation in which the financial performance and profitability of the actors decline despite an increase in demand. This is a macro-level phenomenon that usually occurs within a whole industry or service sector. Incongruity between actual reality and assumptions about it can offer a second line of opportunities. These incongruities often reveal themselves, but there is a danger that the industry may attempt to mislead. A third possibility for incongruity is between actual and perceived customer values and expectations. Usually the main reasons for such incongruities are related to arrogance and dogmatism on the part of the actors in the industry. Finally,

there may be internal incongruity within the rhythm or logic of a process. These incongruities are not very subtle and insiders will most likely be aware of them, but for an outsider they are almost impossible to notice. (Drucker 1985, 51-61)

The third group of changes listed by Drucker are process needs, which may be based on incongruities in the process itself or in demographics. Basic conditions for these innovations are a self-contained process, a weak or missing link, a clear definition of the objective and specifications for the solution, and high receptivity. (Drucker 1985, 66) The final opportunity source within an industry is a change in the industry itself or in its market structure. Although these opportunities exist inside an industry, they are often exploited by outsiders, because insiders tend to see change as a threat. Indicators of such change include rapid growth of the industry, which can lead to erroneous perceptions about its services and markets. Similarly, when formerly separate technologies are converted, sudden changes are predictable. Lastly, a fundamental structural change is usually evident if the way to do business changes. (Drucker 1985, 75)

TABLE 2 Sources of opportunities involving a change within an industry (Drucker 1985, 31).

SOURCES OF OPPORTUNITIES WITHIN AN INDUSTRY
Unexpected situations
Incongruities
Innovation based on process needs
Change in the industry or market structure

Most, if not all, opportunity sources appear to share a common feature, and that is change (Company & McMullen 2006; Baron 2006; Casson & Wadeson 2007, 286). No matter what the change is like, it opens a window of opportunities for the homo economicus to perceive and grasp. Yet, the above classifications are speculative and by no means exhaustive. It is also worth noting that entrepreneurs themselves are agents of change who constantly create opportunities for themselves as well as for other entrepreneurs (Holcombe 2003; Bygrave & Minniti 2000). Indeed, entrepreneurs influence and change their socioeconomic environment in the same way that the environment influences their actions, creating an interactive relationship between the environment and the entrepreneurs (Sarason et al. 2006). Change, thus, is not necessarily an outside event, but deeply inherent in the entrepreneurial process itself.

Objective or subjective opportunities?

The above discussion on the sources of opportunities raises interesting questions about opportunity existence. As noted previously, my understanding of reality is that it is socially constructed and there is no such thing as objective

truth; instead, our social world – including entrepreneurial research – is a result of human actions. Popper's (1995) three worlds may be used as a foundation for making the point clearer. The first of the worlds distinguished by Popper consists of material entities such as raw materials, humans as physical creatures, demographic traits and human-made physical objects. The second world consists of human mental states such as feelings, knowledge, experiences, etc. The third world, then, is entirely a product of the human mind: theories about markets and opportunities, for example. This is a thoroughly socially constructed world consisting mostly of unsubstantial entities, although in some cases these entities may also belong to the first world of physical entities (books, symphonies, etc.). The second world acts as a transmitter between the first and third worlds – in other words, the third world can affect the first one only through the human mind. In the intersections of the first and third worlds are materialized third-world objects, while in the intersection of the first two worlds are objects from the third world that have been understood by human minds. (Popper 1995)

This brings us back to opportunity thinking – a scientific construction aimed to help us understand the operation of entrepreneurship in the real world we live in. As a scientific construction, opportunity thinking in itself cannot reveal the truth about anything, but only help to understand and explain the processes involved in the entrepreneurial reality. Similarly as opportunity thinking is a product of scientific thinking, the opportunities that researchers observe entrepreneurs grasping are based on entrepreneurs' interpretations of the world. Hence, opportunities are subjective in nature and exist only in the entrepreneurs' minds even after being recognized up until the moment they are acted upon in some way. This view explains why people do not recognize the same opportunities: there are no objective opportunities to recognize, and people's individual interpretations and growing hermeneutic understanding of the whole of each situation lead them to detect their own particular opportunities.

Based on the idea of subjective nature of opportunities, what may we conclude about the sources of opportunities identified earlier? Firstly, as already stated, the presented list of opportunity sources is not comprehensive and covers only the most important situations that push entrepreneurs' imaginations to recognize opportunities. And secondly, most entrepreneurial business opportunities seem to be based on some kind of change. When examining change through Popper's three worlds, it seems that entrepreneurial opportunities can result from changes in any of the given worlds. Although some changes in the physical world occur objectively, without human interference, turning such changes into entrepreneurial opportunities always requires human interpretation giving a new meaning to the change. Thus there is no stock of objective and ready opportunities waiting to be recognized, but instead, every entrepreneur creates her own opportunities. From the perspective of a hermeneutically constructed understanding, the existence of opportunities depends on human conduct: before a change has been given a

meaning and interpreted as an opportunity by an entrepreneur, it does not exist as an opportunity, but merely as a change. Without entrepreneurs as the individuals who recognize and exploit opportunities, they cannot come into existence.¹⁵

The above interpretation agrees with Kirzner's (1997) view that opportunities exist because people hold different beliefs about the relative value of resources. This leads to Schumpeter's (1934) notion that it is because of these different beliefs about value that goods and services can be sold above their marginal production cost. In the same manner that some changes open up possibilities for entrepreneurial opportunities, other changes work in the opposite direction and eventually close the opportunity window for business. In the latter case, interpreting the change as a business opportunity fails to lead to success. Also competition exhausts opportunities when there is no longer an information asymmetry between the entrepreneur and her competitors or between the entrepreneur and the resource owners (Eckhardt & Shane 2003).

It may be concluded that for opportunities to become alive, two factors are needed: 1) a change, which may occur in any of Popper's three worlds, and 2) an entrepreneur who, in a subjective process, either searches for such a change or stumbles upon it accidentally, recognizes it as a possible value-bearing entrepreneurial opportunity, and decides to exploit it. Similarly as the opportunity process is subjective in nature, also the way individuals interpret change and the opportunities it brings are subjective. This is why the same change creates not only one opportunity but as many opportunities as there are entrepreneurs to mold the change. The two domains of entrepreneurs and opportunity are thus not independent but very much interdependent, since opportunities only come into existence through entrepreneurial efforts (Sarason et al. 2006).

Following the hermeneutic and individual path we may also conclude that because each entrepreneur acts through her own history, also the recognized opportunities as products of unique thinking are particular to each individual entrepreneur. From this point of view their recognition can be seen as a new interpretation. It is based on interaction between entrepreneurs and their environment, in which opportunity is seen as "an individually idiosyncratic conceptualization of an instantiated social and economic system" (Sarason et al. 2006). The same line of reasoning is familiar when entrepreneurship and opportunity recognition are examined from a cognitive perspective (Krueger 2000). Thus, though different opportunities may derive from the same change, even then the entrepreneurs' own idiosyncratic views lead them to create unique ventures around their idiosyncratic ideas and interpretations (Sarason et al. 2006).

¹⁵ Companys et al. (2006) have mapped different views in the discussion on opportunity existence as either objective or subjective, naming the sources of opportunities as economic, cultural-cognitive and sociopolitical - which have similarities with Popper's idea of three worlds.

Schumpeter and Kirzner

Before going deeper into a discussion of the recognition process to see how and why opportunities emerge in the entrepreneurial process, I will take part in one more interesting and essential conversation: namely, the ongoing debate between the Schumpeterian and Kirznerian views on opportunities, especially with respect to information and market equilibration.

An issue that often comes up in the opportunity conversation is a different perception of information in the process. The Schumpeterian view explains the existence of opportunities by the arrival of new information, whereas the Kirznerian view only holds that opportunities can emerge when old information is seen from another point of view (Shane 2003, 35): interpreted differently or given a new meaning. In other words, the Kirznerian understanding of opportunities is based on information asymmetry, while Schumpeterian opportunities require new information that causes exogenous shocks in the market (Eckhardt & Shane 2003). One reason for the difference may lie in the source of the information; the Kirznerian entrepreneur makes use of market information, whereas the Schumpeterian applies information from outside the market (Buensdorf 2007, 326). Schumpeterian opportunities in the market are based on entrepreneurs' creation of new information that shocks the market, moving it away from equilibrating competition, whereas Kirznerian opportunities are equilibrating in that they increase the mutual awareness of the actors in the market.

What Schumpeter possibly had in mind was a mega-entrepreneur who aims to grow big and at the same happens to shock the equilibrating process (Bygrave 1989b). However, Kirzner (1997) points out that it is not possible to achieve a market equilibrium where 'sheer ignorance' – that is, our ignorance that we ourselves are unaware of – would be completely absent. Markets may have a tendency to equilibrate, but this position can never be attained because it would require complete information about every actor and circumstances in the market, and already the subjective nature of our thinking hinders us from interpreting the market situation in objective way. In addition, as the previous conversation pointed out, the occurrence of constant changes and entrepreneurial activity make market movement a never-ending process. Entrepreneurs have a key role in the process as they take advantage of external changes and create and promote internal changes in the market.

On the macro level the situation could be depicted by stating that Kirznerian entrepreneurs seize market-borne opportunities, which slowly move a certain market towards the equilibrium until Schumpeterian entrepreneurs give a disequilibrating external shock to the market (Buensdorf 2007, 325). As markets are compound by numerous individual actors, the equilibrating and disequilibrating forces are in continuous and uninterrupted movement, which leads to the logical conclusion that a state of market equilibrium only exists as a tool in economic theories and does not really describe the constantly changing (and socially constructed) world. The following figure sums up the main features of Kirznerian and Schumpeterian opportunities.

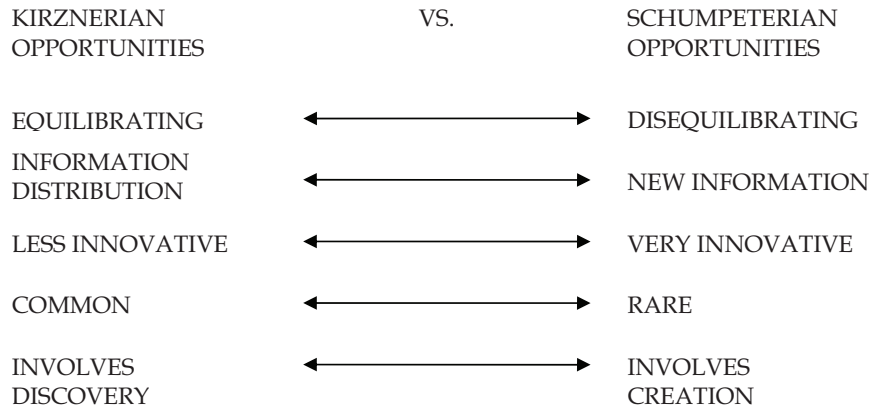


FIGURE 5 Kirznerian versus Schumpeterian opportunities in a nutshell (Shane 2003, 21).

The conversation between Kirznerian and Schumpeterian views has widened further. Baumol (1986), for example, proposed that entrepreneurs should be divided into two types depending on whether they make initiatives themselves or imitate others. According to Baumol, initiating entrepreneurs are products of welfare countries, whereas imitating entrepreneurs, who diffuse innovations after their introduction, are key factors of economic growth in developing countries. The activity of initiating entrepreneurs can be described in Schumpeterian terms as the creation of new products or services, new ways of organizing, new raw materials, new markets, or new production processes, whereas imitating entrepreneurs bring to mind Kirznerian opportunities.

Following the same reasoning, Yu (2001) suggested a division into ordinary entrepreneurs, who bring incremental changes to the economy, and extraordinary entrepreneurs, whose actions cause more revolutionary changes. The same type of division can be made depending on how entrepreneurs employ the information on which they base their opportunity process. This information can be obtained by analysing the economic environment or by studying opportunities that are already in operation. The former choice spurs more innovative entrepreneurial efforts, whereas the latter concentrates on exploiting opportunities that complement existing ones. (Casson & Wadeson 2007) The same phenomenon has been referred to as under-exploited opportunities (Plummer, Haynie & Godesiabois 2007), which replaces the idea that one entrepreneur always fully exploits all of one opportunity (Holcombe 2003). Instead, it is only rarely that an entrepreneur can make full potential of one opportunity, which thus is left under-exploited and for other entrepreneurs to pursue as well (Plummer et al. 2007).

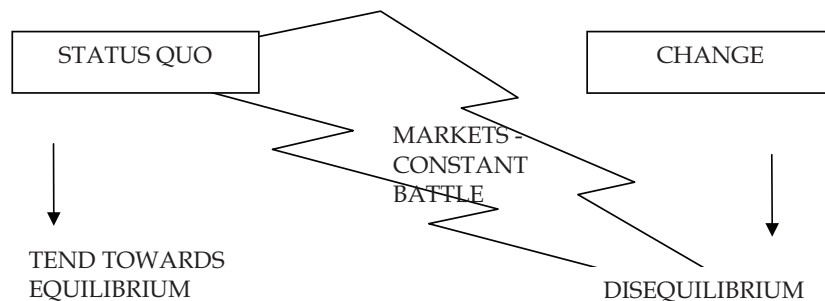


FIGURE 6 Markets are a playfield of constant change and status quo.

3.2 Opportunity recognition

It is time to explore the opportunity process and see what elements have been identified as part of the recognition phase. Opportunity theory gives several suggestions, proposing that factors like information and prior knowledge, entrepreneurial alertness, certain specific traits, social capital and social networks all affect the process. The following discussion focuses especially on the cognitive and network elements of opportunity recognition from a hermeneutic and constructivist point of view, which reminds that all these elements come into being through the subjective interpretations of individual entrepreneurs.

There are many explanatory views about how opportunities are recognized. A social constructivist and narrative approach to opportunity recognition sets the stage for a subjective understanding of the knowledge process in determining both what and how entrepreneurs can know. This approach explains entrepreneurs' individualistic knowledge and life histories as the basis for differences in what kinds of opportunities are discovered and how they are recognized.

Entrepreneurial alertness is sensitive to these views, since the concept is used to describe their receptive attitude to opportunities (Kirzner 1997, 72). The basic claim is that a recognition process takes place when an entrepreneur's heightened alertness reaches a threshold level due to her specific personal traits, social networks, and relevant prior knowledge and experience (Ardichvili, Cardozo & Ray 2003). Gaglio and Katz (2001) further specify entrepreneurial alertness from a psychological perspective as a chronic or habitual schema that activates automatically and unobserved when the entrepreneur enters certain situations.

Baron (2006; 2004, 227, 232) notes that perception¹⁶ may well involve pattern recognition, in which the “identification of a complex array of stimuli, which, together, allow perceivers to recognize an object or a complex pattern of objects or events”. Certain patterns combined with more complex schemas (entrepreneurial alertness) help entrepreneurs to recognize opportunities. What basically differentiates alert from non-alert individuals are their more accurate and valid schemas and, consequently, interpretations of current circumstances. Alert individuals are claimed to be more sensitive to both macro- and microeconomic market signals, and more prepared to change their schemas to match new information rather than dismiss information that is not compatible with their present schemas, as non-alert individuals do. The schemas of alert individuals concerning markets and market processes, industries and social environments are hypothesized to be more complex than those of non-alert entrepreneurs, and they are also assumed to have more linkages between schemas. Alertness means using these schemas in counterfactual thinking that may undo causal sequences, leading to the breaking of existing means-ends frameworks. (Gaglio & Katz 2001) The following figure clarifies the differences between the schemas of alert and non-alert individuals.

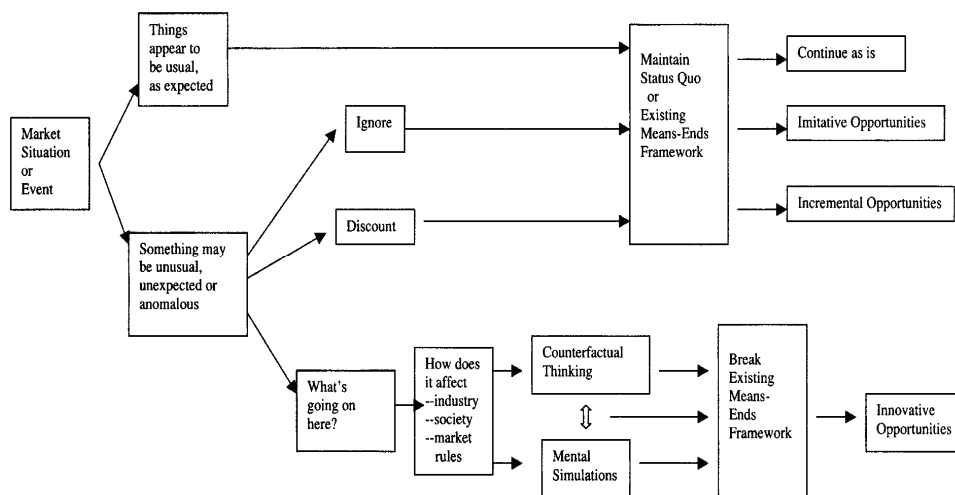


FIGURE 7 Entrepreneurial alertness and the opportunity identification process (Gaglio & Katz 2001).

A means-ends framework refers to the basis for understanding actions and their outcomes on the grounds of which a decision is made. In business, it is prices that usually guide this process and give the framework its ends. In entrepreneurial decision making, however, the ends – prices – are not known, so the entrepreneur herself has to build the framework on which to base her decision. New means-ends frameworks are made when new information arrives about novel technology, new demand, etc. (Shane 2003, 40) Whereas in

¹⁶ Cf. e.g. Ardichvili et al. (2003) about perception as a phase that precedes discovery.

the entrepreneurial opportunities the set of alternatives is unknown and the decision involves creating a new means-ends framework, in profit generation and optimization use is made of an already existing means-ends framework (Eckhardt & Shane 2003).

Entrepreneurial alertness as a perspective on opportunity recognition highlights people's individual interpretations and the socially constructed nature of the process. This view has been stressed in recent theoretical discussion, for example, by Sarason et al. (2006), who regard opportunities as outcomes of dynamic processes in which entrepreneurs use their unique conceptualizations to act on certain changes. These actions produce both intended and unintended consequences that the entrepreneur later reflects on and responds to. Also Gaglio and Katz (2001) claim that the present conversation implicitly holds opportunity identification as a phenomenon that is socially constructed. This is especially evident when entrepreneurs bring new products, services or processes to the market, because such decisions are based on their "opinions about the meaning of an event, trend, an invention, or a new technology" (Gaglio & Katz 2001, 95).

What is often emphasized are peoples' individual histories and life experiences, which turn into individual meanings and interpretations that shape their stock of knowledge and make it idiosyncratic. The idiosyncratic knowledge and information creates an individual knowledge corridor which enables people to recognize opportunities (Venkataraman 1997; Gaglio & Katz 2001). It also explains why people recognize different entrepreneurial opportunities and why only some individuals recognize entrepreneurial opportunities that truly create value. Although alertness describes a credible entrepreneurial schema, it still does not reveal how it develops – that is, what elements have an effect in its emergence. Thus, we need to enter into some more discussions about the circumstances preceding the development of a schema to recognize entrepreneurial opportunities.

Cognitive elements in opportunity recognition

Neoclassical economics long assumed that the entrepreneur was a person in possession of all relevant information about market situations (Casson & Wadeson 2007). This view no longer holds, as entrepreneurial experience and knowledge are today understood as subjective (Yu 2001) and in economics, information is considered a scarce resource (Casson & Wadeson 2007).

Cognitive elements discussed in opportunity theory relate to the uneven distribution of information, prior knowledge (Eckhardt & Shane 2003), and to the processes of learning and obtaining of information – that is, elements referring to a person's cognitive capabilities (Corbett 2007; Shane 2003, 45). The importance of previous knowledge has been emphasized especially by Shane (2000), whose basic claim is that those who possess suitable prior knowledge are more likely than others to recognize entrepreneurial opportunities. This directs attention to the sources of such knowledge and information relevant for opportunity recognition.

As noted above, earlier events and information create patterns, or schemas, in entrepreneurs' minds that are later used in pattern recognition. Schemas enable entrepreneurs to detect connections between certain events, like changes in technology, markets or demographics, which together form patterns that point to entrepreneurial opportunities. (Baron & Ensley 2006) In the recognition process, entrepreneurs perceive new means-ends frameworks to incorporate information for more efficient resource allocation (Eckhardt & Shane 2003), which enable them to create new opportunities that have remained undiscovered due to previous lack of information, wrong information or ineffective use of existing information (Shane 2003, 22).

In broad terms, prior knowledge relates to the entrepreneur's education, work experience and personal events, and may evolve in her different roles in the value chain. Since opportunities exist in the market, an important element in the recognition process is prior possession of or search for knowledge about certain markets and ways to serve them, or about existing customer problems. Market knowledge guides the process so that when a solution to a problem or a need comes along, the entrepreneur will be able to recognize it.

More specifically, relevant prior knowledge may have been gained through education or work experience in a specific industry (Shane 2000, 452-467) or in a field that holds special interest for the entrepreneur (Rae 2007). Puhakka (2002, 203), for example, found formal knowledge to be an important asset in business evaluation and competition situations. Corbett (2007), on the other hand, observed that industry-specific skills often proved more valuable in opportunity recognition than general human capital alone. Puhakka (2002, 203) specified this further by explaining that industry-specific experience helps entrepreneurs to recognize developments in that industry and thereby enhances the recognition of opportunities. He stresses specifically the significance of a dynamic industry, which influences proactive search, knowledge acquisition and competitive scanning. When entrepreneurs working in the industry perceive changes in it, they begin to acquire knowledge about these changes and the markets, and this may lead to opportunity recognition. (Puhakka 2002, 204) Due to this subjective nature of knowledge, opportunities are most often found in a field that is familiar and close to the entrepreneur, rather than in fields generally in vogue (Shane 2000, 452).

Ronstadt's (2007) 'corridor principle' stresses the experience element in the recognition process by treating the initial entrepreneurial opportunity only as a starting point for detecting other, potentially better opportunities that may come along when the first recognized opportunity is being exploited. This view resembles a corridor that the entrepreneur is walking along when she sees something interesting: a new door and a new corridor that lead her to new opportunities. (Ronstadt 2007; Baron 2006) While the corridor principle indicates that new opportunities are often built on old experiences and prior information, it also implies that looking or actually stepping outside the chosen corridor may prove troublesome.

The corridor principle reminds about the role of learning in opportunity recognition. The connection between learning and recognition has been emphasized, for example, by Rae (2005), who defines entrepreneurial learning as “learning to recognize and act on opportunities”. The conversion of information into learning highlights the cognitive side of opportunity recognition and adds a process view to information. This means that apart from differences in their knowledge as such, individuals also differ from each other in how they learn and use information in opportunity recognition. It seems that especially those who are oriented via extension and are used to manipulating their environment are more able to recognize opportunities than those who are more internally operative. (Corbett 2007) These statements also lead to the conclusion that there may be cognitive limitations which prevent people from identifying and comparing opportunities (Aldrich & Zimmer 1986).

It is important to remember that entrepreneurs do not act in a vacuum; quite the contrary, they are often closely involved with various networks (Puhakka 2003, 547). This widening of the perspective brings along the next discussion, which reminds that besides entrepreneurs’ cognitive elements, also their networks are important in enhancing opportunity recognition. I begin the discussion of networks here by briefly exploring the recognition phase from the network point of view. The network discussion continues then in the next subchapter, which turns attention to the exploitation of opportunities.

In the recognition phase, social networks serve as a channel of information (Shane 2003, 46; Powell 1990, 322). Entrepreneurs often use their networks quite actively to gather information and ideas about opportunities (Hoang & Antoncic 2003). Especially persons with many weak ties, social contacts and personal networks appear to have enhanced access to information (Brüderl & Preisendörfer 1998, 214). A wider network base points to a larger amount of gathered information and a proactive search for entrepreneurial opportunities. The most recent information, however, is usually shared only with the circle nearest to the entrepreneur. (Puhakka 2002, 204)

Rae (2005) combines learning and networks in his discussion on the importance of learning in a different context:

[Learning] occurs through participation in community, industry and other networks in which individual experiences are related, compared and shared meaning is constructed. Through these situated experiences and relationships people can develop intuition and the ability to recognize opportunities. Such learning connects personal emergence with the negotiation of the enterprise, as people learn in their social context “who they can become” and “how to work with others to achieve their end” as well as the realism of “what can and cannot be”.

Should we talk about search, discovery or recognition?

Before moving to discuss exploitation, the nature of the recognition process needs to be reviewed. The main question – and the reason for most of the controversy in the debate – is whether opportunities are actively searched for or whether they are discovered or recognized. The latter view is supported, for instance, by Shane (2000, 457), who suggested that recognition of opportunities

carry an element of surprise and come to be through discovery rather than active search. Ardichvili et al. (2003, 115) propose that entrepreneurial alertness works even when opportunities are not actively sought; they refer to this as a passive search in which “the entrepreneur is receptive, though not engaged in a formal, systematic search process”. The notion is somewhere along the continuum, as it carries the possibilities of passive recognition as well as active search. A directly opposite view is suggested by Gaglio and Katz (2001), for example, who have heavily criticized the ‘notice without search’ approach.

The discussion about whether opportunity recognition is more about discovery or search seems to be a gratuitous dispute. In some cases, opportunity may come from a Eureka! moment – but, as the R&D departments of many great companies could tell, an active search often precedes the recognition, and active collection of information and creative brainstorming then result in a Eureka! moment in the discovery of an entrepreneurial opportunity. (C.f. Kirzner 1997; Shane 2000) Thus it may be justified to say that both discovery (surprise) and search (knowledge that there is information missing) can lead the recognition process to the same end: enhanced entrepreneurship.

Figure 8 depicts the opportunity recognition process, but a conceptual clarification of the figure is in place. I take the perspective that opportunity recognition includes both active search, often also called ‘innovating’, and more passive discovery carrying the element of surprise – which, from another perspective, can be seen as two different ways to bring about opportunities. It should be noted, however, that the concepts of recognition and discovery have also been used in other ways in the opportunity literature.

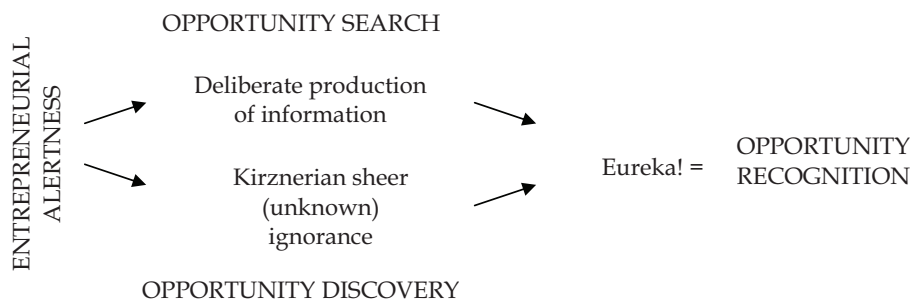


FIGURE 8 Search and discovery can both lead to the recognition of entrepreneurial opportunities.

Recognition as a concept would seem to suggest that opportunities are objective in the sense that they exist even if nobody recognizes them. However, to determine the subsequent path of this study it is good to keep in mind that opportunities are here understood as subjective in nature and, consequently, are not considered to exist until someone recognizes them (Yu 2001).

Since opportunities do not exist objectively, they are rarely ready to be pursued as they are recognized, but need further cultivation and elaboration by

an entrepreneur to grow into a business (Ardichvili et al. 2003). This deepens the notion of entrepreneurial opportunities as a continuous and dynamic process that involves formal, informal and even unarticulated evaluation at every stage. Buensdorf (2007) presented an active and subjective view of entrepreneurial action, suggesting that entrepreneurs sometimes purposely build conditions for entrepreneurial opportunities. These 'higher-order opportunities' are partly self-created and partly recognized. Sarason et al. (2006, 298) take the active role of entrepreneurs in opportunity recognition even further, stating that entrepreneurs are not only alert to static opportunities, but that they actively create opportunities based on their subjective interpretations:

[O]pportunities are not merely *ered* but are created, or instantiated, by entrepreneurial specification, interpretation, and influence. This view implies that the process of discovery is a dynamic interrelated process dependent upon the historically situated and enabled cognitive entrepreneur, the source of opportunities, and the interrelationship between the two.

To support the active and creative vision of entrepreneurs as creators of opportunities, there is an entrepreneurial concept that describes the process of active opportunity creation, namely: innovation. According to Drucker (1985, 30), innovating creates entrepreneurial opportunities by taking advantage of change. Innovations are often social or economic rather than technical in nature. Change, on the other hand, provides a chance to introduce something new and different. With systematic innovating it is possible to recognize and benefit from a crucial change and turn it into an economic or a social opportunity.

4 PROCEEDING IN THE OPPORTUNITY PROCESS

To be realized as entrepreneurial action, two elements are required: Firstly, there has to be a change, and secondly, there has to be a person who recognizes this change, interprets it as having value as an entrepreneurial business opportunity, and finally, makes a decision to exploit it entrepreneurially (Shane 2000). It is only by recognizing and then acting on the change that the entrepreneur has a possibility to create a future market or improve existing markets (Eckhardt & Shane 2003). This means that the recognition of an opportunity is a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition for entrepreneurship to occur, and subsequent to its recognition the opportunity also has to be acted on.

In the exploitation phase, entrepreneurs collect the necessary resources and engage in activities that provide information to others, thereby increasing all parties' information on the opportunity (Venkataraman 1997). Nevertheless, many of the recognized opportunities are left unused and unutilized after their evaluation (Shane & Venkataraman 2000). In continuation of the entrepreneurs' tendency to seek opportunities in industries where profit margins are high (Dunne, Roberts & Samuelson 1988), they usually choose to exploit opportunities that have higher expected value (Schumpeter 1934). Generally this exploitation takes place in situations where the cost of capital is low (Shane 1996) and the density of competition in that particular opportunity space is neither too high nor too low (Hannan & Freeman 1984). In the exploitation phase the entrepreneur also decides on the form that the opportunity will take and the mode in which it will be utilized. Next, let us turn to look at the forms and modes of exploitation from multiple perspectives. The debate on evaluation is left to subchapter 4.2, although evaluation is already present in all these tasks.

4.1 Exploitation of the recognized opportunities

A suitable starting point for viewing different forms of entrepreneurial opportunities is proposed by Schumpeter (1934, 66), who divides opportunities

into five categories of new combinations. These are: 1) a new product or service that consumers are not yet familiar with; 2) a new method of production that can also mean merely handling the commodity in the market in a new way; 3) a new market that the commodity can enter; 4) a new raw material or half-manufactured good, which may already exist or can be created; and 5) a new way of organizing, such as creating or breaking up a monopoly position.

Some remarks need to be made here. Although all new combinations mean eliminating the old ones in a competitive market, this does not mean drawing the new combinations from thin air. Schumpeter (1934, 68) notes that "carrying out of new combinations means, therefore, simply the different employment of the economic system's existing supplies of productive means. [...] Development consists primarily in employing existing resources in a different way, [...] irrespective of whether those resources increase or not." Eventually, after the opportunity has taken its form and the entrepreneur has begun to exploit it, information concerning the opportunity diffuses and imitation begins. The duration of any opportunity depends on a variety of factors – such as patent rights, information diffusion, or the inability of others to imitate. (Shane & Venkataraman 2000)

Exploitation strategies: hierarchies, markets and networks

Part of the exploitation process is deciding on the best strategy for accomplishing the desired results and maximizing the returns from the opportunity, taking into account its characteristics, the environment, and the entrepreneur's individual motives. These choices form the strategy-opportunity-environment fit, including a range of options stemming from the organization structure, flexibility, innovation and search to external factors such as available resources and market positioning (Plummer et al. 2007).

Entrepreneurial opportunities in the economy have traditionally been exploited in two different ways: through the creation of new firms, i.e. hierarchies, or through sale of the opportunity in the market to existing firms. Sometimes opportunities are pursued in already operating firms. The choice depends on the opportunity itself, the suitability of the regime, and the nature of the existing organizations. (Shane & Venkataraman 2000) If capital markets make it difficult for entrepreneurs to gain financing, entrepreneurship is less likely to take the form of a new start-up and the opportunity will be sold in the markets. On the other hand, large organizations may refrain from pursuing opportunities due to their present scale economies or a situation where the first-mover advantage or learning curves do not offer any benefit to existing business. (Cohen & Levin 1989) In such situations the opportunity is usually exploited by new start-ups. Other reasons for creating a new firm include cases when a certain industry has low barriers to entry (Acs & Audretsch 1987), when opportunities destroy competence (Tushman & Anderson 1986), are more uncertain (Casson 1982), or do not require complementary assets (Teece 1986). Also the difficulty of protecting the opportunity by intellectual property rights and the consequent difficulty of selling the opportunity may lead to new start-ups (Cohen & Levin 1989).

However, dividing the forms of exploitation only into new firm creation and sales to existing firms seems inadequate. Some forms of exploitation escape this division, since they are not based on contracts or prices as in markets or routines, or on employment as in hierarchies, but on the kinds of complementary strengths and relationships found in networks (Powell 1990). This means that opportunities can be grasped without having a legally operating organization in place, and still the purpose of the activity is to make money by exploiting entrepreneurial opportunities. In such cases, opportunity recognition does not lead to the establishment of a new firm; instead, opportunities are grasped through networks. Setting up a new firm or attempting to sell the opportunity in the market becomes especially questionable if the opportunity is based on illegal behaviour. This holds true also if the entrepreneur does not wish to pay taxes or take care of other legal obligations – a type of behaviour that can be found in firms as well. These remarks motivate my endeavour to reach a better understanding of the various ways in which opportunities may be seized, both legally and illegally. The following text concentrates on network types of models of opportunity exploitation.

The understanding that individuals do not act independently of the social context, since their actions are embedded in their current social relations, emphasizes the significance of social networks (Granovetter 1985). Networking and personal relationships as a means of gathering and controlling resources are among the most valuable assets in entrepreneuring (Johannisson 1988). The resources required for the development of new organizations are collected through the entrepreneur's network relationships. The entrepreneurial search for resources includes an evaluation of prospective partners, and in the search she establishes 'opportunistic' ties that can be of social/affective or economic/instrumental origin (Larson & Starr 1993, 6). Differences between the three views on opportunity exploitation are presented in table below.

TABLE 3 Forms of opportunity exploitation: markets and hierarchies versus networks (modified from Powell 1990, 300).

FEATURE	MARKETS	HIERARCHIES	NETWORKS
Normative basis	Contracts and property rights	Hierarchical (employment) relationships	Complementary strengths of relationships
Communication	Prices	Routines	Relational
Conflict resolution	Contracts supported by legal sanctions	Supervision	Reciprocity, reputation concerns
Attitudes / approach	Precision / suspicion	Formal, bureaucratic	Open-ended, mutual benefits

Networks can have exchange, information diffusion and normative purposes, combining ties based on instrumentality, affection and morals (Johannisson 1987b). In networks, these turn into flows of money and utilities, knowhow and

trust (Powell 1990, 324; Thorelli 1986). Especially information and trust deserve wider attention here. Whenever there is need for accurate and trustworthy information, a network type of organization presents gains because it offers the right kind of information, which is not communicated through prices or hierarchies but through trust and relationships (Powell 1990, 304; Hoang & Antoncic 2003). Trust plays a particularly significant role in uncertain situations where people's decisions about whom to cooperate with are influenced by their use of collective rationality and their willingness to trust (McCarthy, Hagan & Cohen 1998). In economic life, trust is a product of personal relationships (Granovetter 1985) and serves as a governance mechanism for the network (Hoang & Antoncic 2003). It is based on reputation and past performance and creates confidence in the continuation of the relationship (Thorelli 1986).

There are many ways in which personal networks help in the creation of a business. After a failure, for instance, the entrepreneur's established networks can assist in organizing a new venture. They offer role models and mentors and provide advice in evaluating new opportunities. (Johannisson 1988) Thus, besides playing a part in opportunity recognition, social relations have a crucial role in the exploitation phase as well. The social relations that existed as affective linkages at the beginning of an entrepreneurial career may later provide access to essential resources and turn, at least partly, into instrumental and economic ties (Larson & Starr 1993; Johannisson 1988). Emotional support, in turn, is primarily supplied by family ties (Brüderl & Preisendörfer 1998, 215, 224). At best, personal networks can create new opportunities that are embedded in relationships with family, friends and acquaintances. In addition, the contacts of these direct contacts also entail a latent resource of potential co-participants. (Morselli 2001, 209)

The transformation of dyadic ties into a relationship of socioeconomic exchange often adds a moral component to the relationship that reflects the participants' interests in increasing and protecting their reputation for integrity (Larson & Starr 1993; Johannisson 1987a). Socioeconomic exchanges enhance trust and reciprocity between the partners as they invest more financial and psychological capital into the relationship. Finally these relationships evolve from personal relations into a routine exchange between organizations marked by stability and predictability. (Larson & Starr 1993) On the other hand, getting involved in a network may also create disadvantages as networks enhance dependency between those involved and at the same reduce the ability of the involved to determine their own future. For those outside established networks within which repeated trading occurs, opportunities are foreclosed because of restricted access to the networks. (Powell 1990, 305)

Networks are composed of positions held by different kinds of organizations, households, etc., and links between these positions, which together present a structural/strategic model (Thorelli 1986). The links may be strong or weak, the latter of which include casual acquaintances and act as bridges to a wider pool of information sources not necessarily contained in the strong tie network that includes family and close friends. The strength of a tie

depends on the devoted time, emotional intensity, mutual confiding and reciprocal services in a relationship. (Granovetter 1973) Weak ties, on one hand, offer greater access to information and thereby also to recognizing opportunities, but, on the other hand, the extension of a network increases the risk of being deceived by a weak-link partner (Morselli 2001, 215).

The existence of structural holes between different actors, or positions, gives a chance to gain novel information and a broker position between actors (Hoang & Antoncic 2003; Krackhardt 1995). The information incorporated in networks can offer some participants a brokerage position in which they are able to control the resources needed by others (Morselli 2001, 210). A brokerage position in a network and the possibility to seize information that comes through it opens up opportunities that are rarely visible to those outside the network, and even to others within the network. In illegal networks this means that the broker exerts control through the information that others need, not through the others themselves. The position in which a person ends up in the network depends greatly on weak ties, i.e. on who she knows, and on how well she is able to use her personal network in adapting to the trade (Morselli 2001, 205).

Not all networks are beneficial from a public point of view (Thorelli 1986). A network type of organization is typical particularly in unusual industries like the sex industry, due to the need for tutelage relationships and specialized social networks, and the possibility to accumulate social capital through these two (McCarthy & Hagan 1995). Network-based operations also allow better flexibility and a greater selection of partners, which in turn leads to acceptance by a wider array of groups and finally to more opportunities (McCarthy, Hagan & Cohen 1998).

Basic differences between illegal and legal networks are the formers' secrecy from outsiders and protection from detection (Baker & Faulkner 1993, 843). Information and trust build up social capital in networks, and in illegal networks this capital is gathered in tutelage relationships with those who are already in the business (McCarthy & Hagan 1995). To succeed, a person usually needs to have a central position in the network, whereas in an illegal network, a peripheral position is preferred to reduce the risk of being detected (Baker & Faulkner 1993, 845). Brokers are these peripheral players who control the information needed by other partners, but who themselves remain distant from the actual distribution of goods and services and who are not dependent on any particular player (Morselli 2001, 218). Brokers as intermediary entrepreneurs are central players in the network. Their position reflects both the ability to organize and the power to bypass formal structures, that is, to create disorder. (Johannisson 1987a)

Not all industries provide similar starting points for business

The above ideas lead to the conclusion that not all networks are beneficial for society, and not all opportunities enhance productivity or have social value by making the economy and allocation of resources more efficient. Some opportunities are oriented merely to private rent-seeking and generating of

personal value. (Baumol 1990; Eckhardt & Shane 2003) Entrepreneurs exploiting such opportunities are speculators, who do not increase the real capital in society but simply play with capital and ownership. From the viewpoint of society as a whole, entrepreneurship which increases social wellbeing can well be said to be more ethical than entrepreneurship which speculates at the expense of others. (Koiranen 1993, 56) Examples of the latter include corruption and crime (Baumol 1990; Eckhardt & Shane 2003).

Thus, the conclusion so far is that people tend to engage in entrepreneurship in industries and environments that are familiar to them. However, different industries and environments have different effects for entrepreneurial decision making. For example, some industries seem to be more fruitful for new firm creation than others, and the geographic distribution of different industries also makes it more likely for people to grasp recognized entrepreneurial opportunities in their own areas (Shane 2003, 118). Furthermore, different industries influence the establishment of new firms differently, particularly depending on their degree of innovation. The higher the innovation rate in the industry – that is, the more businesses are based on the development of new opportunities – the lower the survival rates of new entrants (Audretsch 1995).

It has been debated whether entrepreneurs should take into account the ethical considerations brought about by novel technical innovations. On the other hand, it seems that technical innovations are not the only ones to be considered, but that all current changes in society that are exploited by entrepreneurs as business opportunities should also be evaluated from an ethical standpoint. Demographic, economic and social changes, in fact, seem more likely to lead to immoral business decisions than changes in technology. This is especially visible in illegal businesses like trafficking, which uses humans as a resource. Another example can be found in the clothing business, where the demand for cheap and fashionable clothes is met by setting up sweatshops or using child labour.

Apart from referring to the resources used, immorality may be related to the source of the opportunity, the form it takes, or the way the opportunity is exploited in a specific case. An example of the first would be detecting a change in peoples' perceptions – for instance, an interest in child pornography – which would then be exploited entrepreneurially. The change in itself can be understood as immoral or unethical, and its entrepreneurial exploitation would thus mean immoral or unethical business. An example of the second type of immorality would be responding with an immoral form of opportunity to a change or need that already exists but is not moral or immoral *per se*; launching a new dietary product that has not been proved to work towards weight loss would represent this kind of immorality. Lastly, immorality in the exploitation phase can refer to an unethical and immoral way of exploiting the opportunity; for instance, while the waste business in itself is legal, in some parts of Italy it seems to be in the hands of the mafia.

To sum up, ethical consideration of opportunities is seen as a process that progresses through phases. In most cases the steps can be assessed as being either moral or amoral, but perhaps merely an awareness that there is a moral perspective involved helps to enhance an understanding of the evaluation process.

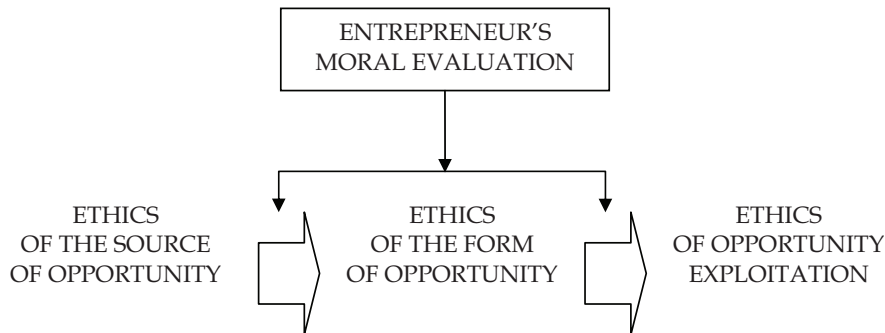


FIGURE 9 Moral evaluation concerning the different steps of the opportunity process: an industry/strategy approach.

4.2 Widening the traditional view on opportunity evaluation

The previously presented views that stress the idea of entrepreneurs as active meaning makers and cultivators of opportunities lead us to the final theoretical theme: namely, evaluation and its role in the opportunity process. The importance of evaluation is in that the decision whether or not to act on the opportunity is dependent on it. However, it should be noted that evaluation is a continuous and partly subconsciously ongoing process that is deeply intertwined with both recognition and exploitation.

The entrepreneurial decision to grasp an opportunity is based on multiple factors. Besides demographic factors (social position) and opportunity costs (Shane 2003, 62), the characteristics of the opportunity and especially its expected monetary value (Shane & Venkataraman 2000) have been stated to influence entrepreneurs' decisions to engage in entrepreneurial activities. Indeed, the main assumption in the traditional view on opportunity evaluation seems to be that since it concerns business opportunities, the evaluation is economic in nature. Thus, economic evaluation serves as the departure point here. Accordingly, a presumption for exploiting an opportunity is that the expected value (profit) of taking the entrepreneurial challenge has to be large enough to compensate for the opportunity cost of alternative actions and also for covering the risk. (Kirzner 1973; Schumpeter 1934)

According to Shane (2000, 452), opportunity evaluation is based on the entrepreneur's personal alternative cost of exploiting the opportunity rather than on other entrepreneurs' alternative costs. This evaluation may be difficult,

because entrepreneurs cannot receive information from the markets due to the non-existence of a ready means-ends framework to produce this information. Instead, the entrepreneur has to create her own framework for assessing the value of the recognized opportunity. (Kirzner 1997; Shane & Venkataraman 2000; Shane 2003, 18) The different frameworks of individual entrepreneurs lead them to distinctive evaluations about what kinds of markets could be created in the future. In individual cases, the economic evaluation of entrepreneurial opportunity is linked with an assessment of whether or not the value of the opportunity exceeds its cost. (Shane & Venkataraman 2000)

Opportunity evaluation thus is usually individual in character: the entrepreneur makes the evaluation by comparing the perceived opportunity with her personal opportunity cost, liquidity and perceived risk – not with those of others (Shane 2000, 467). Besides the need to cover the opportunity cost, other significant factors in economic evaluation include strong social ties to the resource providers, prior experience of the opportunity and prior entrepreneurial experience (Shane & Venkataraman 2000). These are also the main elements involved in the discussion on economic opportunity evaluation.

The discussion has been widened by Lee and Venkataraman (2006), with the aim to clarify why people tend to become entrepreneurs. They suggest that when a person's economic, social and psychological factors differ from what she feels the labour market has to offer, she will turn to entrepreneurship to fulfil her personal aspirations. Although this evaluation concerns the decision whether or not to start as an entrepreneur, it nevertheless brings into discussion the possibility that entrepreneurs also use other elements in the evaluation processes than those of purely economic origin.

Another study which points to other than economic concerns in the evaluation process is the one by Ardichvili et al. (2003). The authors propose a 'stage-gate' procedure, which depicts how entrepreneurs evaluate opportunities by reviewing risks, possible returns, resources, individual responsibilities and personal objectives. They present evaluation as a progressive process involving different stages, each of which poses an evaluative gate that the opportunity has to pass in order to grow into successful business in the end. The process can be aborted at any of the stages if the opportunity is found inappropriate in one way or another. Although Ardichvili et al. (2003) concentrate on economic evaluation, the stage-gate procedure may apply to other types of evaluations as well, since it includes the aspect of individual responsibilities and objectives.

For the most part, the opportunity literature concentrates on the economic assessment of opportunities, attentive to factors that contribute to the evaluation and depicting the evaluation process itself. A major theme in the discussion and in naming such factors is risk evaluation, which seems to function as a component in a variety of other evaluation factors. With this argument in mind, the perspective is next widened further to see whether other kinds of evaluation might be involved in the opportunity process as well.

Risks in seizing opportunities

Perceived risk plays a significant role in the evaluation of recognized entrepreneurial opportunities. Let us first look into the risk tolerance debate, which has traditionally only referred to an assessment of economic risk, and then broaden the picture by considering other kinds of risks that the entrepreneur is faced with.

Although it has not been confirmed that entrepreneurs are more capable of taking bigger risks than non-entrepreneurs, it still seems that they tend to underestimate their risks more than other people (Baron 2004; Simon, Houghton & Aquino 1999). Palich and Bagby (1995) suggest that their underestimation of risk is due to cognitive biases in risk perception and, moreover, that it is this bias in perception rather than a greater risk propensity that leads them to interpret situations as offering an entrepreneurial opportunity. From another point of view, this means that when the risk level is perceived to be low, then opportunity evaluation is often positive.

There are two cognitive biases that especially seem to affect the perception of risk, namely the illusion of control and the belief in the law of small numbers. The former is in question when the entrepreneur does not recognize the limits of her own knowledge, causing her to overestimate the certainty of her facts. The latter concerns the notion that entrepreneurs tend to use only a limited number of information sources in their opportunity evaluation to make firm conclusions. Together these biases lead to lower risk perception and firmer decisions to start a business. (Keh, Foo & Lim 2002; Baron 2004; Simon et al. 1999)

Jones (1991) argues that peoples' inability to conceptualize future events, which is based on a bias in risk perception, also affects their ability to recognize moral issues. Secondly, he suggests that moral recognition may be reduced due to a bias in the person not perceiving herself as an independent moral actor, or due to an illusion of control where the person overestimates her control over the situation. These reflections resemble the cognitive biases that affect the evaluation of entrepreneurial opportunities and entrepreneurial risk, in particular. To re-evaluate the meaning of such biases further, we need to examine them from an entrepreneurial perspective.

The ability to imagine the future is regarded as an essential part of beginning a business and becoming an entrepreneur (Ray 2007). Therefore, Jones's (1991) claim that the inability to see the future predicts an inability to see moral dilemmas seems not to concern entrepreneurs. However, Jones attaches his argument to a bias in risk perception, which suggests that although entrepreneurs have a better ability to imagine the future than other people, they tend to see it too positively and fail to evaluate the risks. Naturally, there is variation in how well entrepreneurs are able to conceptualize the future of their opportunity and the risks involved, but it might still imply that their bias in risk perception prevents them from considering all risks thoroughly – not just economic risks, but also those that have to do with social, moral or legal matters.

While Jones saw lower risk perception only in relation to an inability to estimate the future clearly, other studies have shown that an illusion of control

also paves the way for a bias in risk perception (Palich & Pagby 1995; Keh et al. 2002). The illusion of control seems to describe the entrepreneurial mindset better than the entrepreneur's failure to see herself as an independent actor – especially considering that entrepreneurs are often thought to have an internal locus of control which guides them to act according to their own beliefs rather than those of others (Trevino & Youngblood 1990). As the illusion of control is also regarded as a bias in perceiving moral dilemmas, it would suggest that entrepreneurs on the whole are less perceptive of all types of risks, including moral dilemmas, and that their illusion of control makes them believe that even when a risk is perceived they will also be able to handle it.

Apart from these cognitive biases, entrepreneurs also appear more likely to perceive opportunities and strengths rather than weaknesses and threats (Palich & Bagby 1995). They also tend to take risks as given, as part of entrepreneurial activity. What entrepreneurs are claimed to do is to pick a certain acceptable risk level and then strive to increase their income on this level – in other words, they focus more on controlling the outcomes on each risk level than attempting to avoid risk. In addition, entrepreneurs seem to use their personal values in considering the risks in this process and, hence, assume personal responsibility for the outcomes. (Sarasvathy, Simon & Lave 1998) The situation can be discussed further from an interpretative perspective, reminding us that there is really no objective risk to be perceived, but that the sense of risk is caused by subjective interpretations of certain situations.

The literature has named some other elements that entrepreneurs evaluate and that bear the risk factor. Heyl (1979), for instance, noticed that sex industry entrepreneurs attach more than just financial meaning to risks. She describes how a madam operating a house of prostitution should “also avoid both legal prosecution and ostracism from the members of the prostitution world if she is to be a successful entrepreneur” (Heyl 1979, 89), which indicates that the business involves other kinds of risk evaluation besides economic assessment. Similar risks have also been identified by Kuratko and Hodgetts (2001, 104), who referred to them as legal and social risks. Sarasvathy et al. (1998) propose that entrepreneurship involves environmental risks as well. All in all, it seems possible that a variety of entrepreneurial risks are involved in the evaluation and that different contextual elements can lead to very different views about the meaning of these risks to entrepreneurs operating in different situations and industries. Next I will deepen the view on social risk, and then introduce the final risk; the risk to self.

Social risk and evaluation

Networking and social relationships affect the recognition phase, but they also have a tremendous effect in the evaluation of the opportunity. The social relationships that may influence this evaluation can vary in strength as well as in multiplexity and symmetry. Here strength refers to weak and strong ties, multiplexity to people being connected in more ways than one, say, through business and as neighbours, and symmetry to the trust and emotional involvement of the parties. Such factors as frequency, emotional intensity and

intimacy describe the strength of the relationship. The stronger the relationship as measured by these elements, the stronger the commitment to act in accordance with the group. A symmetrical relationship increases the odds that both parties act in a moral way towards each other, whereas asymmetry in status or in trust and emotional involvement increases the possibility of immoral behaviour. (Brass, Butterfield & Skaggs 1998)

Trust, an important element in social networks, is also significant in opportunity evaluation. Trust is hypothesized as especially meaningful for smaller enterprises that are forced to use help from external sources in making interpretations about opportunities and threats. In such cases the entrepreneur is likely to turn to a social network that shares her interests and maintains her confidence (Lang, Calantone & Gudmundson 1997). This suggests that close social networks should diminish the entrepreneur's perception of the social risk if she decides to exploit the opportunity.

Furthermore, the norms shared by a group or pertaining to a certain context can have a deep impact on opportunity evaluation (Trevino 1992). Differences in the 'socio-moral' atmosphere affect people's reasoning, which, in turn, affects their behaviour. However, the effect is often limited to the situational and institutional context of a specific group. (Kohlberg et al. 1983, 54, 59; Trevino 1992; Jones 1991) Harrington (1997) remarks on this topic that the weaker the social consensus in the group, the more likely people are to follow unethical judgements and intents. These remarks are based on the assumption that all social groups, enterprises among them, have ethical norms, which are followed more or less. Also Brass et al. (1998) base their arguments on the same idea in stating that in larger social structures, those who are central in the network are less likely to act in an unethical way. The authors also found that the density of the network increases ethical behaviour, because more people are observing that behaviour. Ethical behaviour needs to be supported by norms and social consensus, whereas unethical behaviour is suggested to depend on a person's referent group and particularly on the proportion between her contacts with ethical and unethical groups (Brass et al. 1998).

The risk to self

Sarason et al. (2006) once more turn the discussion back to the entrepreneur in stating that the criteria she uses in evaluating opportunities reflect her own values and norms (Sarason et al. 2006). This could also be called a moral evaluation of the opportunity, which involves a risk to the self in the form of cognitive dissonance. Cognitive dissonance refers to an inconsistency between what a person believes or knows about herself and how she behaves (Festinger 1957, 1; Aronson 1997). Especially vulnerable are inconsistencies that jeopardize the consistence of a stable, predictable, competent and morally good sense of self (Aronson 1997). Dissonance affects cognition in many ways; one of these is how dissonance can make us support what we suffer for:

To go through a severe initiation to get into a group is dissonant with all the negative aspects of that group. Thus people who go through a severe initiation are

more motivated to distort the negative aspects of the group (in a positive direction) than people who go through little or no initiation in order to gain admittance to the group. (Aronson 1997)

A risk to self is created when entrepreneurial behaviour is in conflict with the entrepreneur's values and moral understanding, resulting in a cognitive dissonance that must be resolved. Among the suggestions on how cognitive dissonance may be reduced, Festinger (1957, 19) proposes changing a person's behavioural or environmental elements, including both the social and the physical environment, or by adding new cognitive elements. He notes that these attempts may not always lead to an actual reduction in dissonance if there is a lack of social support or a cognitive element missing, or perhaps because the present behaviour is otherwise satisfying (Festinger 1957, 23, 25). Another suggestion is given by Trevino (1992), who states that cognitive dissonance can be reduced by taking separate roles in different life situations and contexts, e.g. at home and at work. Finally, it is possible to avoid cognitive moral dissonance by denying responsibility for the results and thus neutralizing the moral judgement made (Harrington 1997).

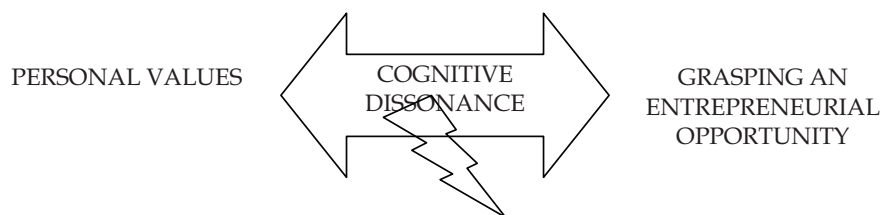


FIGURE 10 Cognitive dissonance between personal values and grasping of entrepreneurial opportunities.

Cognitive dissonance, thus, seems to present still another type of risk taken by entrepreneurs. What separates it from the risks that have been recognized so far - economic, legal and social risks - is that cognitive dissonance represents an inner risk to the self, whereas all the other risks are in this sense external.

5 OUR STORIED NATURE

What should I do with these narratives?

At the beginning of this research, the idea of using narratives seemed relatively clear: I would interview people and they would tell me narratives, which I would then analyse according to my model. How simple that sounds! So I went to the field, obtained some interesting stories, and began the job by analysing one of the interview transcripts which I thought had a good opening. Full of zest and self-confidence I began to read the transcript, expecting to discover hidden meanings in the entrepreneur's choices. After a few pages I was somewhat baffled; by the end, knocked out. I had understood nothing. Absolutely nothing. Perplexed, I asked myself what I was supposed to do, then, if not read? What? Not knowing the answer I reread the text a second time. The result: I hit the Enter key a few times to add a couple of line feeds, thinking they might indicate where a narrative began and where it ended. But other than that - nothing. Obviously this was not the way to analyse anything.

Thinking that if I ever wanted to finish the research, I should try and find more appropriate and practical tools, and so I went back to the literature. It took me days to wander in the vast literature on narratives, puzzling at the meaning of the mess in my head that it seemed to cause, trying to understand what the words in the books meant for me and my research. I read and reread texts about narratology, narratives, narratees, narrators, implied authors and implied readers, real authors and real readers, interpretations, time, structures, plots, discourses, events and their meanings - and felt confused. Every once in a while I went back to the stories I had gathered and tried to view them through what I had just been reading. Here I was, driven back and forth between theories and texts that kept their silence. - And then, one grey morning, the answers were suddenly there.

What I first understood on that morning, staring at my terrible text, was the multilayeredness of the writing process - for the most part my text was as messy as my head, but in parts I felt like the thoughts were too well written to be mine; I was unable to remember the time I had produced the text: what I had thought, how I had felt. Finally, with this distanciation also came the idea of multilayeredness. I noticed that my own text revealed to me the different possible layers of interpretation, leading me to realize what 'narrative' actually means. At that point I also understood the meaning of interpretation through my own narrative and analysis process and, a breath later, that this moment of understanding was actually worth a story; it was a kind of turning point moment in the writing of this research which took my understanding further.

Then I had another insight. I had been concerned about and confused by the different meanings of the 'narrative' concept and the effects that they would have on my work, for none seemed to fit perfectly what I wanted to do in my study. At this brief moment I could see its meaning from another point of view as well: the moment actually had two meanings. It certainly was a turning point for my study, but for my life in general it had no greater meaning whatsoever. Had I not written about it, I would probably have forgotten it altogether. Hence, although the importance of understanding the meaning of multilayeredness, distanciation and narrative analysis was huge for this study and thus for me professionally, the event had very little meaning to my life as a whole. While it did not affect my life story, it definitely had a great impact on this study.

What I understood was that the meaning of a story changes depending on the viewpoint, and what seemed to make the story worth telling was the context. Following this thought and pushing it further, it occurred to me that even though I was not interested in finding out the whole life stories of my narrators or studying them as their autobiographical narratives, I could actually identify and concentrate on those special events that comprised an entrepreneurial life story. Entrepreneurial events might not have been the ones the interviewees would have told me had I asked them to tell about their life, but they were prompted when I asked for their entrepreneurial story. I learned that narratives are neither easily defined, found nor analysed. It requires a proper understanding of the concept itself and all the numerous analysis methods attached to narrative thinking. Thus, what follows is an introduction to the narrative approach and to narratives and their collecting, the meaning of time, and finally, interpretation.

5.1 Definitions and meanings

Are narratives all fiction?

Narratology has its origins in literature research, in the study of fiction with the aim to provide tools for analysing texts. Nowadays, however, these tools are also used to make sense of real-life narratives. The contradiction of using a tool of fiction to understand real life has long obsessed me, and although social scientists before me have rationalized the use of narratives to study real-life phenomena, I still want to address this theme briefly.

In my view, the best way to solve the seeming juxtaposition is to bear in mind that narratives are fundamentally grounded in a hermeneutic understanding of human existence. I agree with Ricoeur (1991, 28), who notes that life without interpretation is mere biology and that fiction plays a mediating part in interpretation. My understanding is further strengthened by Bruner's (1986) ideas of people who are so profoundly attached to the production of narratives that it is seen to construct a part of our cognitive way of thinking. Thus, although the pronominal, temporal and expressive features of narratives have their roots in research on fictive narratives (Fludernik 2005), the same features are also present in the real-life narratives that it is in our nature to create and tell. This leads to the realization that although the origins of narrative analysis are in fiction, it can also help to identify the critical turning points of people's real-life stories – in the case of this study, to identify events that bear special meanings to the participating entrepreneurs – and to organize narratives by their time and place.

This as such does not yet reveal anything about the meanings that the critical events bear for the interviewed entrepreneurs. The meanings they give to their experiences, and the meanings I give to them, involve the kind of interpretation that does not relate to the methods of fictive narratology. It is good to keep in mind the division between the methods by which texts are analysed and arranged, which was borrowed from literature research, and the actual interpretation and meaning-making process, which is based on real-life stories and entrepreneurship theory. Gartner (2007) suggests that a 'science of the imagination' is born when narrative epistemology, theory and methodology

meet entrepreneurial narrative often enough. This offers a way to understand the process of entrepreneurial generation of visions of the future.

Now that I have lightened my heart about fiction, it is time to move on to describe further challenges. I began this subchapter with a story that contained a good deal of concepts and narratology jargon that need to be clarified before entering the world of narratives. Thus, what follows are proposals for a definition of 'narrative', after which attention is turned to narrative meanings and narrative time – both of which play a very specific role in the ensemble. The narrative methods used to aid interpretation are introduced next, and at the end of this chapter I summarize the discussion so far.

Not a definitive definition

The term 'narrative' has been used to describe everything from single sentences to life stories covering all the stories a person has ever told. This variety in the content of the concept allows for the use of several different traditions and gives several possibilities to determine its meaning, starting from the broadest sense which understands a narrative as a life story into which all autobiographical material is blended, to the narrowest sense which sees a narrative as a short, restricted, topically specific story including a specific plot, character(s) and setting and telling about an event experienced by the narrator. (Riessman 2002)

I will review three of the proposed perspectives on narratives, namely those of Labov (1972), Genette (1980) and Riessman (1990, 1993, 2002), and discuss their contribution. My reasons for introducing these three are very practical: I feel they offer the best methods for interpretation. Of the definitions, Labov's (1972, x) is the most restricted. A typical Labovian narrative might be: "I walked in the rain and got wet. I had to spend four days in bed with fever." Labov holds narrative as a specific method that people use to summarize past experiences by matching the sequence of occurred events with the verbal sequence of clauses.

Genette (1980), on the other hand, identifies three separate meanings of the term 'narrative', ranging from Labovian-style narrow interpretation to a wider understanding which he describes as referring to "the succession of events, real or fictional, that are the subjects of this discourse, and to their several relations of linking, opposition, repetition, etc". In this sense, the analysis of a narrative is more comprehensive and takes into account the totality of the narrated actions and situations. The third meaning of narrative refers "once more to an event: not, however, the event that is recounted, but the event that consists of someone recounting something: the act of narrating taken in itself". (Genette 1980, 25) This last definition considers narration as a storytelling act taken to perform one's identity – a view that fits in well with the hermeneutic tradition.

Finally, there is the definition suggested by Riessman (1990, 1993, 2002), who uses the concept of a narrative in two senses: firstly, to describe the whole text and secondly, in a stricter sense, to recognize certain narrative segments within a text that better fit the requirements of temporal order and evaluation

attached to narratives. Although each of the above definitions reveals some important aspects for this research, in the end Riessman's ideas match my perspective best. Thus, in talking about narratives I here refer both to narrative segments¹⁷ within a narrative account, and on the other hand, to a whole narrative account that also includes non-narrative parts. The context will tell in which sense the term is used.

Counter-narratives are depicted as "stories people tell and live which offer resistance, either implicitly or explicitly, to dominant culture narratives" (Andrews 2004, 1). Within entrepreneurship, such widely accepted dominant narratives are recounted about hero enterprises and hero entrepreneurs in almost any industry – except the sex industry. Not being a part of these master narratives adds tension to the narratives of sex industry entrepreneurs. It would be too gross a generalization to claim that all sex industry entrepreneurs tell counter-narratives, but quite likely some of them do. In the eyes of the public they often fail to think or act the way entrepreneurs 'ought to', leaving them no other role than that of the rebel; indeed, in their stories these counter-narratives are often revealed by remarks about their rebelliousness or taboo action (Jones 2004, 175).

Narrative meanings

Let us next address the meanings embedded in narratives. What I hope to achieve here is to argue for the usefulness of the narrative approach in this study and in entrepreneurship research in general. At this point narrative meanings are discussed in broader terms, but since meanings generally are inherently intertwined with interpretation, more specific meanings may be detected throughout the text and between the lines.

The narrative approach is said to reveal details of human thinking and behaviour that cannot be recognized by any other means. In life stories, such meanings are assembled around three themes: subjectivity, social beliefs, and moral reasoning (Burgos 1988, 12). The purpose of narratives from the perspective of subjective meanings, according to Riessman (1993, 2), is to find out "how respondents in interviews impose order on the flow of experience to make sense of events and actions in their lives". Personal meanings have a relevant role not only in building a story, but in creating the self¹⁸. Any experienced crisis is likely to cause a discontinuity in the self; healing from such biographical discontinuity after disruptive events can be done by turning these events into understandable stories (Riessman 1990, 75). It leads to a need for new interpretations of the world, even for novel conclusions to build new structures of meanings and new identity (Riessman 1990, 12). The tendency to create a coherent unity of our diverse and multiple experiences aims at producing a vision of the world which makes sense of lived experiences (Burgos 1988, 23).

¹⁷ These narrative segments partly resemble Labov's explication.

¹⁸ In many entrepreneurship researches, the term 'self' is replaced by 'identity', cf. e.g. Hytti 2003.

Apart from this personal view, narratives as constructs of our lives also “reflect our beliefs about how people fit into society” (Bruner 1986, 39). In their narrative accounts, people create impressions and define themselves, and then test these claims in social interaction (Riessman 1990, 74), which makes narratives a complementary way of understanding social systems (Johansson s.a.). Entrepreneurial identity is created and shaped in social interaction and revealed in narratives that link together entrepreneurs’ personal experiences of the world in an attempt to describe them to the listener in language. However, narratives are not merely descriptions of the world or of experiences: by narrating people also actively make sense of themselves and the world around them (Ochberg 1996).

Moreover, besides personal and social meanings, people also place moral judgements through the meanings they find in the world (Kohlberg et al. 1983, 12). The moral point is identified with the social system that itself is the source of morality (White 1981), and a story’s moral point is found in the breach between ideal and real, self and society (Riessman 1993). Thus, if the entrepreneurial opportunity process has involved evaluation that is moral in nature, it should come up in the entrepreneurs’ stories. Riessman (2002, 707) points out that social settings include a moral density that constrains entrepreneurial decision making, which makes it possible to represent sex industry entrepreneurs through their narratives as “agents acting in life worlds of moral complexity”.

It seems that narratives are, in fact, perhaps the only way to reveal how individuals really build their self-image in the crossfire of different moral tensions (Burgos 1988, 25) and preserve an identity even in situations that carry a social stigma (Riessman 1990, 119). Moral evaluation is present in narratives also in the sense that a story always tries to convince the listener that its teller had the right to do whatever she did. This moral point, hidden or visible, is often placed at the end of the story. (Riessman 1990, 78; 1993, 3; White 1981) Depending on the circumstances of the interview, the history of the narrator and the specific question that the story is intended to answer (Riessman 1990, 77), interviewees will be more or less engaged in explaining and justifying their choice to begin a career in the sex industry. The evidence on the narrator’s moral adequacy is thus offered in their narrative accounts (Riessman 1990, 119).

Let us take a closer look at what narratives have to offer in this entrepreneurship research. Based on the meanings usually attached to narratives I do not hesitate to claim that narratives offer a useful basis here for recognizing the turning points in the entrepreneurial lives of the interviewed sex industry entrepreneurs and for understanding their decisions concerning these events. While the events are interesting enough in themselves, in the end they are also helpful in the quest to understand the evaluation of entrepreneurial choices in the process of recognizing and exploiting opportunities. Together with the cognitive aspect (e.g. skills and knowledge), personal and social aspects mold the emerging entrepreneurial identity and are involved in the production of entrepreneurial experience (Rae 2005).

Listening to the entrepreneurs' experiences open up an interesting possibility to travel into their lives and thoughts, especially given that they belong to a subculture previously unfamiliar both to myself as a researcher as well as to the research community. From the entrepreneurship point of view, the sex industry may indeed be seen to represent a subculture¹⁹ with its own set of (entrepreneurial) norms. Membership of a culture also creates background expectations that play a part in creating meanings for events (Riessman 1990, 18). When other means of understanding prove unsuccessful, stories often help to transmit the reality of another culture. In telling a story the narrator speaks through her own culture (Riessman 1993, 5) and consequently through her own values and morals. If we are to understand the meanings that an entrepreneur attaches to her career and opportunity exploitation, we need to know and understand the social context and personal background behind the whole story. Thus, allowing entrepreneurs to talk freely about their experiences yields stories about their past that highlight the experiences they find meaningful.

The methodological choices made, together with the individual methods, seem to me compatible and appropriate for attaining answers to the research questions. In the light of the study's ontological and epistemological assumptions, the narrating entrepreneurs are active subjects, who create stories by which they interpret and evaluate their life events and actions. The focus is on their own individual accounts of their experiences. My intention is to give voice to individuals who entrepreneur in the industry and listen to their stories in order to understand them, and finally, to interpret the stories in relation to the opportunity process. However, as noted in the story that began this chapter, interpretation does not happen like magic; it requires specific tools, which will be presented in the following.

5.2 Narrative methods

Tools for analysing narratives

The above examination of narrative meanings in general concentrated more on content than form. In real-life narratives, however, form and content are intertwined (Holstein & Gubrium 1995, 57), but there is a difference between *how* the story is told and organized as narratives, or the mode and style of presentation (form), and *what* is told, or the linguistic choices and substance of the narrative (content) (Shen 2005). For interpretation this means that the form of the story should be examined with the same interest as its content and inner logic, taking into account the preconditions and reasons for the choice of the narrated events and themes (Burgos 1988, 13). Hence, interpretation is not merely a question of interpreting the narrative's content, but also the form in

¹⁹ Giddens (1997, 596) defines subculture as "values and norms distinct from those of the majority, held by a group within a wider society".

which it is told. The tools applied for the analysis should also be dual to make it possible to consider both content and form.

The narrative concept was defined at the beginning of this chapter and thus far has been used accordingly. However, at this point I need to make some specifications to enhance interpretation later. When someone tells a story and invites the listener to re-experience an event, she does so because it carries such a strong and special importance to her. The narrator identifies and interprets particular event that has changed her meanings and her understanding for the rest of her life as the moment the change occurred. This makes it possible to tell the story in the past tense – which, according to the strictest view, is the only kind of narrative there is.²⁰ (Labov 1972, 359; Riessman 1990, 75; White 1981)

Were that the case, what should we think of stories which clearly bring up images in our minds of something that has happened to the narrator, but which do not present any specific event or are not told in the past tense? Are these the wrong kinds of stories, impossible to interpret as narratives because they are not told in a certain way? In telling a story the narrator simultaneously creates, organizes and interprets her life, as it has been shaped by her cultural and social history and by genetic time and place. In reality, according to the Personal Narratives Group (1989, 100) of Indiana University, narrators do this by choosing and using different narrative genres that best suit their need and purpose to make sense and to remark on their lives.

The concept of narrative genres was introduced by Riessman (1990, 1993). She presented four genres that open space for interpretation. *A story* invites the listener to re-experience the events with the teller; *a habitual narrative* gives a general picture of the course of actions over time, usually without any striking event, and is also a more distant way of telling a story; *a hypothetical narrative* reveals the narrator's dreams and hopes and is often an excellent rhetorical tool; and *an episodic narrative* concentrates on certain events connected by a theme rather than by time. (Riessman 1990, 76-78, 106; 1993, 18)

All but hypothetical narratives are generally in the past tense, although the time element is more complex than in the Labovian narrative, which here would fall under the story genre. Habitual and episodic narratives often have no clear beginning or end, and they rarely use the past tense exclusively. The reason for this complexity may be that the told fragments of events do not carry such great meaning in the narrator's mind that they would immediately and radically change her understanding – as, on the other hand, is often the case with stories. Habitual and episodic narratives represent a meaning-making process that emerges more slowly and may even be evolving as the narrative is being told. It may well be that the narrator does not fully understand the ongoing process at the moment of narrating, and the narrative's meanings may still be changing without the end result in sight as yet. Such narratives are, nonetheless, just as valuable as those involving an all-changing event because,

²⁰ In *Language in the Inner City: Black English Vernacular* (1972), Labov interprets narratives that tell about near-death experiences, which are easy to understand as events that change the

like stories, they tell about the narrator's meaning-making process. Whereas habitual narratives employ the past tense and the present perfect, hypothetical narratives are directed to the future. They tell about events that never happened; they deal with dreams and hopes, and are frequently used as a rhetorical tool. (Riessman 1993, 18)

Thus, by identifying and structuring narrative genres, interpretation, first of all, helps to distinguish what constitutes a narrative segment: where a narrative begins and ends, and what belongs to another kind of discourse (Riessman 2002). This is particularly important here because my research material comprises only narratives. Secondly, the use of narrative genres helps to organize narrative accounts that can sometimes be extremely messy. Thirdly, placing the narrative into a certain genre reveals the narrator's perspective on the told events. From here on I use the term 'narrative account' to refer to the whole text produced by an individual narrator, and the term 'narrative' to refer to all the various genres. The Labovian narrative is referred to here as a 'story'.

Although Labov's idea of a narrative shrank to one fourth of what we now understand by the term, his analysis of the properties of stories still offers a remarkably important classification. Labov (1972, 350) considers a story as fully formed when it contains six distinct formal elements, each of which has a function of its own. Stories usually begin with an *abstract* that summarizes the whole narrative. What follows is *orientation*, which introduces the listener to the time, the place, the actors involved, and the situation. The *complicating action*, which reveals the sequence of events, is the only one that is de rigueur. *Evaluation* of the action tells the listener the significance of the events; it tells why the story is told and reveals the importance of the events to the narrator as well as the narrator's attitude towards the action. By evaluation the narrator attempts to prevent the listener from saying "So what?" and marking the story as pointless. Due to this important function, evaluation is usually found throughout the story. *Resolution* informs what finally happened, and *coda* takes the perspective to the present signalling the end of the story. The most important of the above features for this study is evaluation, since evaluative clauses are used to shift the interpretation in the direction of the narrator by infusing the story with evaluation and meanings (Attanucci 1991, 323).

Labov's narrative elements remind those of Burke (1962), according to whom a complete narrative offers an answer to five questions: What was done and how it was done (complicating action); when or where it was done and who did it (orientation); and why the act was done (evaluation and resolution) (Burke 1962, xviii). Burke's approach can be used to analyse a variety of narratives (Riessman 1993, 19), and its resemblance with Labov's indicates that although researchers specify concepts from their own point of view, in the end the contents are quite similar.

Todorov (1977, 219) describes the last narrative method presented here, namely narrative transformations, as a tool that intermediates between theory construction and empiric description. His theory examines verbs and changes in their meaning as they are transformed. Simple transformations add or

modify a certain operator to specify the predicate, whereas complex transformations (reaction) introduce a second predicative that cannot exist without the first one (Todorov 1977, 224). A simple transformation occurs, for example, in “I interpret the narrative” → “I’m trying to interpret the narrative”, which, although they have in common the predicate *to interpret*, convey a different sense of the ability of the interpreter to actually do the interpreting. An example of a complex transformation could be → “You think I’m trying to interpret”, in which case you could not be said to think about my interpretation without assuming and stating that it exists.

There are six kinds of simple transformations:

1. *Transformations of mode* concern the possibility, impossibility or necessity of an action and are indicated by modal verbs (must, should) or their substitutes.
2. *Transformations of intention* formulate a proposition to perform an action (try, plan), i.e. they describe a nascent event.
3. *Transformations of result* indicate an action that is already accomplished (perfective form or use of verbs like ‘manage to’ or ‘succeed in’).
4. *Transformations of manner* specify the manner in which the action occurs (eager, dare). This category also includes the indices of intensity (e.g. comparative and superlative).
5. *Transformations of aspect* are inchoative, progressive, terminative, durative, punctual, iterative or suspensive.
6. *Transformations of status* occur when the positive form is replaced by a negative or contrary form. (Todorov 1977, 226)

The simple transformations of mode, manner and status have most significance in interpreting narrative accounts in the present research.

Complex transformations, which indicate mental activity concerning an event and its representation (Todorov 1977, 225), include the following:

1. *Transformations of appearance*, which “indicate the replacement of one predicate by another, the latter being able to pass for the former without actually being it. Based on the difference between being and seeming; the action of the predicative is not realized (Y/X pretends that X is committing a crime)”.
2. *Transformations of knowledge* describe gaining consciousness of the action denoted by another predicate. The subjects of the two verbs can be different or the same, like in the case of unconscious actions (observe, learn, guess, know, ignore).
3. *Transformations of description* unite the actions destined to provoke knowledge (‘verbs of speech’: constative and performative verbs signifying autonomous actions; to recount, to say, to explain).
4. *Transformations of supposition* refer to actions not yet performed and located in the future
5. *Transformations of subjectivation* relate to the attitude of the subject (believe, think, consider; for example, Z believes Y has committed a crime). The initial proposition can be true or false; the narrator and point of view are visible.
6. *Transformations of attitude* consider descriptions of the state provoked in the subject by the main action. Additional information concerns the subject, not the manner of an action as in item 4 of the simple transformations. (Todorov 1977, 227)

Todorov speaks of transformations in relation to their ability to create a synthesis between difference and resemblance in a way similar to Ricoeur’s discordance/concordance. According to Todorov, both elements are required to constitute a narrative. (Todorov 1977, 233)

Figure 11 shows the presented narrative concepts and methods as part of the narrative analysis process and indicates the themes that still need to be addressed.

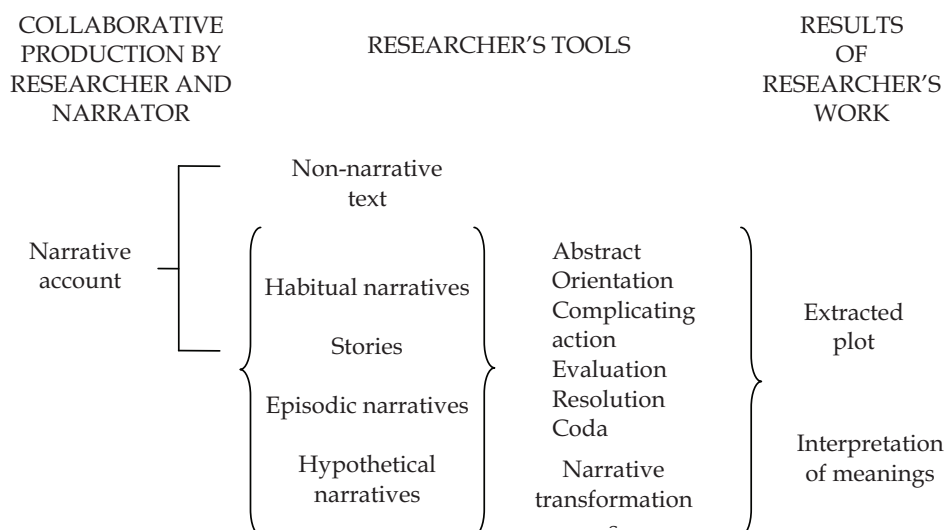


FIGURE 11 Concepts, genres and tools used in this study.

Narrative plot and time

Already Aristoteles taught in his *Poetics* that every narrative has a beginning, a middle, and an end, which together comprise the dramatic arc or the plot. Plot is the element that imposes meaning on the narrated events (White 1981). Ricoeur (1991, 21) sees the plot as a synthesis of various heterogeneous elements, best specified here as those just listed by Labov. The plot is at the same time discordant in the sense that it consists of variable and independent elements that are influenced by the narrator, but also concordant in the sense that all these elements come together and make sense in a narrative. It should be noted that although the plot – what the narrative is about – remains the same, the representation of it may differ greatly in different times and places (Fludernik 2005).

Basically, the plot of a narrative is developed by making events follow each other, giving a meaning and sequence to something that used to be a disordered experience, and placing the events in a particular time and place (Riessman 2002, 698). The meaning of the events is noteworthy because, in order to say that a text constitutes a narrative in the first place, it should represent at least one change in the state of affairs, as well as an element of surprise in the sense that there is an event that mixes the logical and presupposed chain of events (Prince 2005).

One very practical way of interpreting narratives is to compare the plot lines of different stories and examine possible causal sequences that indicate turning points where the ideal and the real differ and where the cultural script occurs. Plot represents 'unexpected shifts', differences that separate the story from the common or usual story of life, where a person is born, gets married, has children, etc. Differences between the normal and the diverse are found both in the content and in the way narrators form their accounts. Especially in studying experiences of diversity, an analysis of plot structures can come in handy. (Riessman 1993, 30, 33)

Narrative genres have a special relation to narrative time. The meaning of time comes out very clear already in the definition offered by Genette (1980). Narrative time is a multilevel concept: firstly, there is the time of producing the story and secondly, the time when the incident in the story actually happened (Ricoeur 1991, 22). However, this duality does not yet reveal the multiple ways in which time may be presented in different kinds of narratives. Episodic narratives include flashbacks and embedded stories that require causal links to tie them into a story. Episodes illustrate to the listener how things were, persuading her to take in the story. Chronological narratives, on the other hand, have everything duly in place. For Riessman this style of telling reveals the "inherent dullness" and likelihood of the events, and can even be seen as lacking emotion. The form of a narrative is not a conscious choice, but is affected both by the narrator's problem and the meaning of the events. "The structure flows from meaning, with subsequent understandings allowing narrators to interpret particular events as turning points in consciousness" (Riessman 1990, 117).

Narratives are often concluded with a broader moral point and with implications of how things should be, which can be regarded as value statements. Also metaphors and comparisons - for instance, between the past and the present, or between what is hoped for and reality - are commonly used to persuade the listener. 'Entrance talk' takes the listener into the world of the story, and 'exit talk' returns her to the present. Time influences storytelling in another way as well. Usually the further in the past the events are, the more rehearsed are the narratives. In the case of more recent events, it may well be that the story has never been told before and is actually being constituted in the telling. Then the story often slides into memories and associations. (Riessman 1990, 91-117) In fact, narratives and their foundations are partly historical in the sense that they tell about events that have taken place in the past. At the same time, they are very much attached to the moment of their telling: "the past is linked with what is being made of the present". (Holstein & Gubrium 1995, 32)

Narrative time with respect to this research is illustrated in the figure below, showing the multiple contexts intertwined in time.

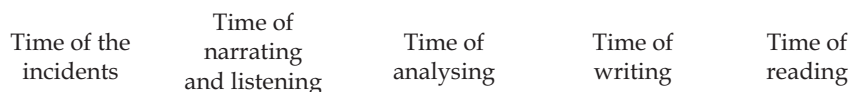


FIGURE 12 Narrative time in this research.

5.3 Digging deeper into narratives

Multiple roles

Ochberg (1996, 97) wrote: "I think that many of us were first drawn to interviewing because it promised to bring us closer to the experience of the people we study." To me, interviewing has a wider meaning that merely posing questions and waiting for answers. In the hermeneutic sense, an interview means participation in a dialogue in which all parties have the possibility to enhance and deepen their understanding. "Dialogue in relationship, with an effort toward hermeneutic interpretations of the participants' narrative, is the central interpersonal and epistemological dynamic of narrative research" (Miller 1996, 137). The collaboration of narrator, listener and reader is crucial to create this dialogue (Riessman 1993, 42). In the methodology literature, however, collaboration in the production of narratives is often considered as failing on two premises: firstly, it has been questioned how well the representations picture the attitudes and behaviour of the interviewees, and secondly, whether the interviewees' main interest is accuracy or just the construction of stories (Silverman 2001, 18).

The active interview method outlined by Holstein and Gubrium (1995) takes these premises into account. The authors regard an interview as a product of active interaction between interviewer and interviewee. They see interviewing as a process in which both parties are actively involved, with the interviewee as an active subject who creates meanings as the interview goes on. This view supports a hermeneutic understanding of human nature, where every person creates her own meanings and interpretations compatible with her own perspective and understanding of the social situation. Since narratives are part of our basic human nature and way of making sense of the world, they offer a natural way to respond to the challenge posed by interviewing.

A point emphasized by critics of active interviewing is that collaboration allows the interviewer to use power in a way that may violate the interviewee's independence and thereby endanger successful narration (Burgos 1988, 17). But since it is impossible to totally remove the interviewer's influence and the interaction between the two parties, the end product - the narrative account - will always be a product of co-operation at some level (Riessman 1990, XI). This is why I acknowledge the existence of the premises of dialogue and collaboration in interviewing.

It is important to recognize that the many levels and forms of narratives call for a compatible interviewing method. The method should naturally be able to reflect contextual shifts in all of the typical narrative features identified above, related to identity, social character and evaluation. The interviewer should, in fact, be prepared to notice, even to encourage the interviewee to make such shifts and reflections, because “respondents’ reflective comments are endogenous guides to their narrative identities” (Holstein & Gubrium 1995, 55).

Reflectivity is also apparent in the way the interview schedules are outlined in active interviewing: they are not tightly scripted and only offer guidelines on themes that should be discussed. This makes it possible to add new topics and questions flexibly according to each interviewee’s narrative as the interview progresses. (Holstein & Gubrium 1995, 56) Yet, the objective of interviewing in the present study must not be forgotten: the obtained narratives should provide information specifically about the opportunity process and on how entrepreneurs interpret and evaluate it in constructing their narratives. According to Holstein and Gubrium (1995, 73), this aim can be achieved through active interviewing, which can bring out the respondents’ meanings and also allows to share in the way those meanings are constructed.

Let us take a closer look at the construction of meanings in the interview process, first from the perspective of the interviewee and then of the interviewer. Since active interviewing treats interviewees as subjects who actively make meanings, the focus is twofold: how does the interviewee build sense in the interview situation, and what is the actual content of the narratives (Silverman 2001, 97).

The different kinds of tensions behind the narrator’s need to narrate are also significant. These may be based, firstly, on situations that threaten the interviewee’s self-identity, in which case the narrative can help to resolve a difficult situation (Burgos 1988, 24); secondly, on the interviewer’s comments that may occasionally create puzzlement or a problem that the interviewee tries to solve by telling the narrative (Riessman 1990, 111); thirdly, on the interviewee’s eagerness to tell her narrative, referred to as ‘the information-giving game’, or on her eagerness to create a relationship with the interviewer, referred to as ‘the ingratiation game’ (Webster 1996, 201); and finally, as Ochberg (1996) proposes, on a need to persuade the interviewer to share a certain view. In this last case, the storyteller’s narrative persuasion arises from a possible contrast between her preferred and her real self – a contrast not spoken out loud but at risk to be recognized. The desirable selves that are sometimes presented in narratives are performed to preserve the self and to manage a potentially tarnished identity. In interviews these desired selves are developed collaboratively, even switching between other roles or identities. (Riessman 2002)

An interviewee has at least three roles in the interview. Besides being the interviewee she is also the narrator of the story and the subject constructed by the story. These three different roles are all placed in the narrative structure. (Burgos 1988, 14) The discussion on narrative linkages and horizons proposed by Holstein and Gubrium (1995, 58) adds to this conversation. Horizons are the

patterns that emerge when interviewees link their stories with issues that are important to themselves, which then provide a context for other narratives and linkages. The same experiential elements may be organized through different patterns – that is, viewed from different horizons. The authors claim that apart from the three recognizable roles, it may well be that the interviewee has additional roles which are dependent on the content, not the form of the narrative, and are thus not immediately apparent. One of the aims of active interviewing is to make the various linkages and horizons visible by capitalizing on “the ways that respondents both develop and use horizons to establish and organise subjective meanings” (Ibid., 59). These horizons are especially relevant to the discussion about the narrator’s identity.

Riessman (2002, 701) discusses the different roles and identities of the interviewee, stating that:

... informants negotiate how they want to be known by the stories they develop collaboratively with audiences. Informants do not ‘reveal’ an essential self as much as they perform a preferred self, selected from the multiplicity of selves or persona that individuals switch between as they go about their lives.

She further impresses upon the fluidity of social positioning in narratives. It can refer to the interviewee positioning herself, for example, as a victim of circumstances, thereby giving the power to others, or as an ‘agentic being’, thereby claiming the power to herself. Similar shifts between active and passive roles seem very common indeed, and, as the categorization suggests, they are expressed by grammatical means. (Ibid.) The use of the active interviewing method helps the interviewee in building a narrative of her experiences. In the act of narrating she consciously chooses experiences that support the story and its relevancy to the interviewer. Recognizing that the roles chosen by the interviewee are drawn from her stock of knowledge and experiences and, thus, influence her narratives (Holstein & Gubrium 1995, 30), it was important for me to construe the interview situation so that it would, above all, support the interviewees’ role as entrepreneurs.

The perspective of the interviewer, for its part, is best examined by looking at the collaborative element included in every interview. This idea is based on the view that narratives are born in collaboration with their audience (Holstein & Gubrium 1995, 28); every narrating act, therefore, needs an audience to listen, to question and to offer comments, which in turn deepens the narration and affects the form in which the narrating is done (Riessman 1990, 118). Although questions are always part of an interview, in active interviews they are not treated merely as stimuli, but as a framework for the respondent to use in narrating her experiences. Besides inviting the interviewee to produce her narrative, the researcher’s task is to define her scope of interest as the interviewer (Holstein & Gubrium 1995, 28). The end result is a collaboratively produced narrative account that provides a glimpse into the interviewee’s horizon.

Kohlberg et al. (1983, 12) further strengthen this view by stating that in making assumptions about the interviewee’s evaluation it is important to be

able to look at the world through her eyes. If the interviewer intends to share the meanings of the interviewee, she needs to organize the world in the same way as the interviewee does, according to the interviewee's framework. From the viewpoint of narrating, the interviewer's role is to activate the production of narratives and occasionally to enhance the interviewee's different ways of understanding, leading her to change her horizons (roles) and orientation (Holstein & Gubrium 1995, 39) and encourages narratives that reveal how she builds meanings from her experiences and events (Ibid., 59). The following figure depicts the collaborative element and the parties' roles in the interview.

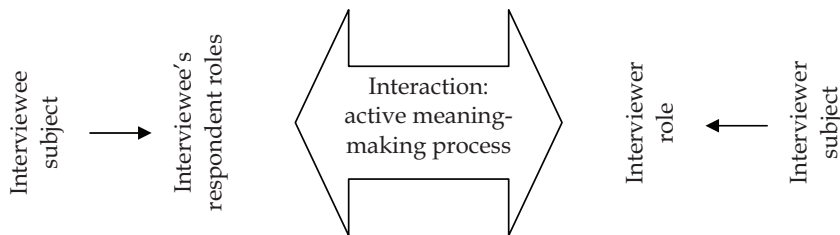


FIGURE 13 Process of interaction and active meaning making (inspired by Holstein & Gubrium 1995, 7).

As I soon found out, the role of an interviewer was not an easy one to adopt. Only after having conducted a few interviews that yielded no narratives at all did I begin to understand what it meant to be the person asking the questions, and also deciding on what to ask. This made me realize that I needed to learn to communicate better with the interviewees; I was part of the process of producing the story and had a crucial role as to what kind of narratives would be told – or whether any would be produced at all. Had someone else been talking with the interviewees, the accounts might have had a different flavouring.

Understanding that the narrated past events at the same time were there but had happened long before the act of narrating, and that this could affect the telling and its form, was the key to my changing tactics in the interviews. I remembered Riessman's (1993, 41) words about how different kinds of interactions produce different kinds of stories. At this point I lacked the ability to persuade narratives forth simply by asking "And then what happened?" Still, I don't believe that there would have been a dramatic change in the plot in any of the cases even if I had been competent to do things right from the very beginning.

Also another, more concrete example forced me to admit that I was terrible at doing interviews. This was proven when I began to transcribe the interview with Arthur. I realized that although I had mostly managed to keep quiet and let him do the talking, I hadn't succeeded in combining my interest in his opportunities with listening to him and guiding him by asking the right questions. The few times that I interrupted him during the two and a half hour talk, I always seemed to ask the wrong question. Always. Wondering why, I recalled that at the time of telling and listening, his narrative account had been very incoherent, and by the time the narrative was finished, having been repeated many times over, I had often got lost and had therefore had to take him back to points I hadn't understood, instead of returning to particular events that would have highlighted the opportunity process.

What about the gathered narratives?

Finding meanings in narratives requires interpretation. Some analysis methods were already presented above, but because the use of these methods is inherently intertwined with interpretation I will next discuss this at length. My interpretative starting point is the view that the aim of narrative analysis is to

create meaning from another perspective – “to turn the attention elsewhere” (Chase 1996, 55) – and thereby to learn to understand other horizons of meaning. My attempt to interpret and understand involves certain elements that need to be considered here.

I want to place special emphasis on five elements of the analysis process: 1) the various phases of interpretation; 2) the relationship between full narrative accounts and the presented segments; 3) the implications of the individuality of narratives to their interpretation; 4) the interrelatedness of the ‘what’ and the ‘how’; and finally, 5) the importance of the text in analysing narrative accounts. However, before moving forward, I will address the question of the value of narratives in academic research. This is my first interpretative task. I claim that the gathered narratives are collaborative and also partly fictional. The starting point in estimating their value is to remind that narratives are not expected to be ‘objective’ or ‘true’; their interestingness lies, instead, in that they reveal the subjective and contextual nature of human thinking (Riessman 2002).

Seeing narratives merely as representations of reality seems like a simplified, positivistic approach to interviewing. I feel that narrative should rather be treated as a display of varying perspectives. This means settling the question about the status of my empirical interview material: should it be treated as “direct access to ‘experience’” or as an “actively constructed ‘narrative’” (Silverman 2001, 112). Deciding on the latter view, I understand narratives as presenting a combination of fiction and fact and holding multiple choices and presentations of the world. Even if a story is improvised it does not mean that the storyteller is making it up; the improvisational narrative is a combination of “experience, emotion, opinion and expectation, connecting disparate parts into a coherent, meaningful whole” (Holstein & Gubrium 1995, 28).

Narratives orientate the researcher to develop a picture of the interviewee as a subject and to recognize that the perspective from which she produces the information is an ongoing process of interaction (Holstein & Gubrium 1995, 15). There is no one ‘truth’ to be found in narratives, because the past is continuously reinterpreted from the vantage point of the person’s present values and realities. Thus, what we may find in narratives are the “shifting connections they forge between past, present, and future” (Riessman 2002, 705). In narrating the interviewee makes choices between many possible positions or views in composing her answer (Holstein & Gubrium 1995, 55). This positioning may be subconscious: beneath the descriptive narrative there may be a subnarrative that the narrator attempts to conceal because she has an agenda and the narrative is told specifically to persuade the listener. A subnarrative is something that is not said out loud, but it implies that there are more than one meanings in the narrative and some of them are concealed. Then it becomes the duty of interpretation to expose those hidden meanings (Ochberg 1996), if possible.

The discussion of narrative time continues with an examination of Riessman’s (1993, 9-15) ideas about the five stages of interpretation. Incidents are experienced at the time they happen, but this experiencing is not objective

in the sense that the experiencing person would take the surrounding context or circumstances as they are. Quite the contrary: experiences are chosen according to their meaningfulness to her, and so already the first phase, “attending to the experience” (level 1 in Figure 14), involves interpretation. Secondly, although most stories are never told, those that are told were born in the situation of their telling as a product of two or more persons communicating (2), and their form and content can vary a great deal depending on the situation and the communicating individuals. Interpretation is also involved in next two phases: transcription (3) and analysis (4) of the narrated experience. Turning spoken words into writing tends to lose the pauses, highlights, smiles, quivers, inflections, rhythm, etc., of the spoken text. Analysis takes the interpretation even further from the moment the events took place, converting the original narrative into a ‘meta story’ that presents the meaning of the experiences, and edits and reshapes them. Finally, the reader encounters the text and takes it into her own world of experiences, giving it an interpretation according to her own meanings (5).

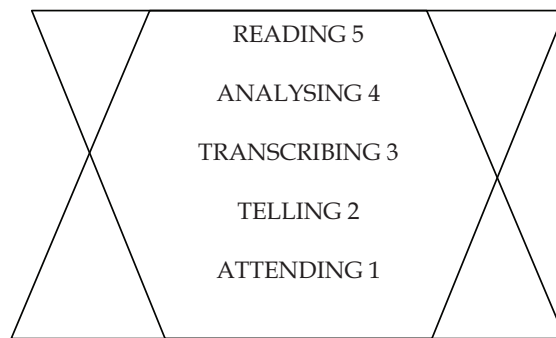


FIGURE 14 Levels of representation of experience in the narrative research process according to Riessman 1993, 10.

Both individual statements and unity play a significant role in the analysis. Narrative analysis reveals the meanings that the narrator attaches to specific events, giving an insight to an interpretation of the whole narrative. The narrative is moved between past and present by its individual statements, stressing events that carry special meanings. These events reveal the power of individual themes as an active force in building the unity of the narrative and compelling the person to interpret it to gain an understanding of it. Only by examining the narrative as an entity which “preserves the subjects’ ways of organizing and making sense of their experience” is it possible to understand distinctive themes and give meanings to individual events. (Riessman 1990, 116)

The reader is also active from the very beginning in attaching meanings to and deriving them from the text. Following this reasoning, the fuller the reader’s understanding of the context – that is, the fuller the narratives offered by the researcher – the better the interpretations can be expected to be. However, Chase (1996, 45) explains that when narratives are presented, only some are picked from a larger collection of narratives and introduced as

examples of the process to demonstrate their relationship with the cultural context and personal meanings. This points to the difference between narrative analysis and more traditional qualitative analysis where individual interviews are broken down into pieces in search of certain patterns throughout the material.

Another difference comes from the fact that in narrative analysis the narrator's words are not dismissed but presented exactly as they are, no matter how messy or ambiguous they might be. The researcher controls meaning to the extent that she selects the features of the discourse that become the subject of her text and her interpretation of the discourse. (Riessman 1993, 42) Besides analysing individual narratives in relation to narrative unity, they should also be analysed in relation to each another. Further, to make visible the process of positioning of the self, interpretation should consider how narrators position the characters, the self and the audience, and how they use grammatical resources to clarify their evaluative points to the listener. (Riessman 2002)

The singular character of each narrative account refers both to its content and its form. The aim of asking 'how' is to reveal the form of the narrative and the interactional procedures of meaning making, whereas the 'what' refers to the content (Holstein & Gubrium 1995, 4). Besides being collaboratively produced together with the interviewer, the narrations' individuality and subjectivity is tested when more than one interviewee is interviewed at the same time.

6 FIRST PEEP INTO SEX INDUSTRY – A NON-TYPICAL CONTEXT TO STUDY ENTREPRENEURSHIP

6.1 The story behind the context

Choosing the sex industry as the context for the study was quite clear to me from the beginning. However, for someone who isn't familiar with me and my history, this context may cause some bewilderment. It all has to do with how I came to the business of researching and writing in the first place.

Before entering entrepreneurship classes at the university I already had a decent profession as a lawyer. In my law studies I had concentrated on international law and human rights, and finally, as a finishing touch to my studies, had written my master's thesis on trafficking in women. Writing the thesis was a horrible, horrible experience. I cried for the women and their heartbreaking fates, felt my soul being torn apart for their sake, and took on their stories as my own to the extent that I refused even to speak to men for weeks.

However, after some time I had grown numb enough to finish the thesis. Then family reasons took me to Central Finland. As the job prospects for a human rights lawyer there were not very bright, I figured I should study some more, and chose politics as my major. I had never really been interested in business science, but I thought it a rational choice to consent to study business as a minor. There, at the basic course in entrepreneurship, I ran into a professor who found my earlier knowledge interesting and recommended that I continue my research on women trafficking as a postgraduate. The choice of the angle was left to me.

For me, being a postgraduate student in entrepreneurship meant that the perspective should be entrepreneurial. However, I had never studied entrepreneurship before, so figuring out the right angle took me quite some time – 14 months and 30 passed courses, to be exact. And even after I had concluded that opportunities should be at the core of my study I ran into various problems both in and outside my head, my fear of violence not being the least among them, that eventually led me to widen the scope of the research from trafficking to the sex business in general. All in all, the route to this point was a curvy one and had lots of uphill and downhill – and to be honest, most of the time even I wasn't quite sure what to expect behind the next twist. But the sex industry is where the road led me.

Knowing the story of how I came to choose the sex industry as the context for my study still does not disclose the reasoning behind this decision in terms of

the aims of the study and the relevance of the context in finding answers to the research questions. The grounds for my decision are therefore discussed next, and only after that will I turn attention to the context itself.

Any social context bears elements that are generalizable across other contexts as well as elements that are found only in that specific setting (Bloor 1997, 37). My choice of context and my interest to explore it lie right at the crossroads of what is regarded as normal and as such generalizable in entrepreneurship research and what its meta-ideology politically excludes from its scope (Rehn 2008). The predicated exceptional nature of the sex industry that has hindered research so far might even prove false in the end. This question becomes especially apparent when interest is turned to those specific settings that are alleged to be outside the scope of the discipline for one reason or another. The outcome remains to be seen, and beforehand it is impossible to say what kinds of details this specific context reveals that other industries would not, or whether this context dismisses some relevant elements that other studies on other industries have revealed or will reveal in the future. Moreover, the available generalizations refer to theoretical explanations regarding entrepreneurial opportunities (Mason 1996, 138), not to contextual ones. The discussion on this issue continues in the last chapter of this study.

Another reason for my choice of context was that, despite having searched time and again, I had not managed to get hold of scientific articles about entrepreneurship or entrepreneurial opportunities in the sex industry, let alone any addressing the evaluation of the perceived opportunities. This observation, I feel, deserves some attention; it is a shortcoming that should be overcome, and surely an industry that raises such intensive public debate over its entrepreneurial nature and its entrepreneurs merits more and deeper analysis.

Baumol (1990, 894) points out that, in reality, entrepreneurs sometimes play other roles besides the conventional role of the constructive and innovative entrepreneur, roles that may have unwanted outcomes to society. The world and our interpretations of it are so profoundly guided by our values and our view of life that other interpretations are not even recognized, leading us to discard other people's perspectives as invalid or unimportant. Holstein and Gubrium (1995, 21, 27) demonstrated this by addressing the point that some interviewees, e.g. children, are not allowed to speak because of their presumed narrative incompetence. The same seems to apply to certain social groups as well. It is therefore relevant to refrain from making any advance assumptions about a group's narrative capability, and let the voices of its members be heard.

The reasoning for the choice of context, thus, has more to do with my worldview, especially my belief in equality and the right of every individual to live their life as they wish, as long as it does not harm others. In my mind this also gives everyone the right to speak, and conversely, the right to be heard. I have attempted to follow this ideal throughout the research process. Further to this discussion, Holstein and Gubrium (1995, 27) have pointed out an interesting and important feature related to categorizing and its effect on whom we allow to speak and decide to hear:

Inasmuch as the words by which we refer to ourselves and others have a way of affecting those to whom we choose to listen, the right to be heard as interpretively active and narratively productive is at stake. Categories and labels can be exclusionary, research categories in particular.

Although the very choice of the sex industry context enables new narratives to be heard, I still had to face the fact that conducting scientific research requires some categorizations at some point. Categorization seemed mostly unintentional and no doubt was going on subconsciously throughout the research. Intentional categorization was done, firstly, in finding the context and secondly, after hearing the narratives of entrepreneurs who were willing to take part in this research. Reflectivity on my own categorizations, especially unintentional ones, is nearly impossible, and is therefore left to later discussion with the research community.

6.2 A portrayal of the sex industry

The context of sex industry entrepreneurs needs to be described more closely to make it more explicit and to determine who belong to it. Since there are no clearcut or 'right' answers to this question, I feel that it is paramount to discuss the specific elements of this industry and also some of my choices concerning the scope of this study.

A wind of change is blowing

The sex industry as a concept usually refers to professions and businesses that have to do with sex in one way or another. Prostitution, also referred to as 'sex work', is what usually first comes to mind. But the industry also includes other businesses: telephone sex lines, pornography in its different forms (magazines, films, internet pornography), striptease, dominas, procuring, and trafficking in women, for instance. Yet, it would be pointless to list all the possible businesses that might be counted as part of the industry. I feel it is better to try and create a deeper understanding of this disparate industry, especially its changes and the new business opportunities that have lately come into existence. I will next briefly discuss the powers that are today molding the sex industry, and see how and why some fields of the industry are currently developing.

The sex industry is in a process of rapid evolution as a result of various technological, demographic, political, regulatory and cultural changes. There are no official or exact statistics concerning the industry, but UN estimations indicate that the illegal business of women trafficking²¹ alone has an annual

²¹ Often trafficking in women leads to the victims working as prostitutes, but trafficking may also be used for providing free or extremely cheap labour e.g. for sweatshops, or for mediating wives; see e.g. Raymond 2001. The UN Palermo Protocol (2000) defines human trafficking in Article 3 as "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the

volume of around seven to twelve billion US dollars, making it the third biggest illegal business after arms and drugs (Organized Crime & Law Enforcement in Europe 2007). Well organized criminal networks earn high profits for trafficking in women and children for commercial sexual exploitation, and the lenient punishments and relatively lower risk compared with other forms of organized crime, such as arms or drugs smuggling, have made trafficking a worldwide and popular form of illegal business (Hughes 2000, 625; Askola 2001, 16). The global economy that has opened up national borders and increased the flow of capital, goods and labour has also made trafficking an international business where rich Western and Asian countries are the destination or transit countries for the trafficked people, while poor countries provide the human resources for this inhumane business (Organized Crime & Law Enforcement in Europe 2007).

The main reason why women end up in the hands of traffickers is their search for a better life – this statement containing such human rights matters as a feminization of poverty, denial of equal rights, women’s deprivation of social power, and their lack of economic opportunities (Askola 2001, 14). Children, on the other hand, usually end up trafficked as a consequence of their relatives’ trading (Skrobanek, Boonpakdee & Jantateero 1997, 73). In the end, the cogent reason why the business of trafficking women and children keeps flourishing is simply the demand for sexual services. However, recent international treaties aimed at fighting against human trafficking²² have also influenced national legislation, and punishments on trafficking have become harsher.

On the macro level, recent regulatory changes in international and national legislations and various political changes are among the institutional elements that have especially molded today’s sex industry business – women trafficking, pimping and prostitution, in particular. One of the aims of such regulatory measures is to draw clearer lines between trafficking, procuring and prostitution²³. Recognizing that not all people who work as prostitutes are victims of trafficking has led to a nuanced debate on prostitution, touching on issues like whether or not prostitution can be seen as work, and generally on the concept of free will, sex workers’ rights and the morality of sex work. Changes in legislation have also brought about some rather interesting new developments regarding sex work and brothels and their legal status.²⁴ These

abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.”

²² These treaties include the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, also known as the Palermo Protocol; Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings; Declaration of the Economic Community of West African States on the Fight against Trafficking in Persons; etc.

²³ The Collins English Dictionary defines a prostitute as a person who engages in sexual intercourse for money, and procuring as obtaining a person to act as a prostitute.

²⁴ I ran into an extremely interesting newspaper article called “If you don’t take a job as a prostitute, we can stop your benefits” by Clare Chapman. She tells the story of a 25-year-old waitress who turned down a job providing ‘sexual services’ at a brothel, and because of it faced possible cuts in her unemployment benefits. All this came down

issues, although interesting and important, are not within the entrepreneurial view taken in this study.

The implications for the sex industry of the development of information and communication technologies have been vast. Markets have become international and the products, whether sexual services, pornography or something else, are just a few mouse clicks or a phone call away. Apart from the aspect of privacy, also the rapidity and ease of reaching such products and services surely determine much of the transactions in the industry these days. These changes have not only affected the behaviour of individual customers but have led to adjustments in practices and workings throughout the sex industry, covering everything from ordering a mail-order bride from Asia to loading pornography onto home computers. (Marttila 2004) Pornography has particularly been influenced by improvements in ICT. Estimates of the magnitude of pornography nowadays range between ten and twenty billion US dollars per year, and its growth is predicted to continue. This means that pornography has turned from an underground enterprise into a multibillion-dollar industry. (Lane 2001, xiv)

Since the old days when magazines such as *Playboy* or *Penthouse* alone ruled the markets, the pornography industry has undergone many changes, mainly due to technological advancement but also because of social changes. New capabilities to create and transmit images have altered our world in general, and the sex industry in specific. Mass production has reduced prices. The worldwide web and other electronic channels have made distribution cheap and easy, not only adding an enormous stock of potential customers for the industry but content providers as well. Amateurs are well accepted: all in all, this growth has brought out multiple business opportunities for amateur photographers, movie producers, actors and home movie makers. All the above reasons, combined with flexible working hours and a chance for increased incomes compared with average pay, have made entrepreneurship in the sex industry a lucrative alternative. (Lane 2001, 111)

The sex industry certainly posits its own preconditions as to what kinds of opportunities emerge and how they are exploited. Having discussed the many changes that are currently molding the industry, I will now take one more peek into the sex business to present some new forms of opportunities that have emerged lately and also to share a few words on divergences between industries.

It appears that sex industry entrepreneurs have developed new opportunities in every one of the categories proposed by Schumpeter (1934, 66)²⁵. Modern technology has especially changed the face of the industry and

to the employment laws introduced in Germany in 2005 and the legalization on prostitution and brothels a few years earlier. The incident, and the bewilderment it raises, point out the complexity of the moral issues surrounding the sex industry and the turmoil it is presently facing. For the full article, see Chapman 2005.

²⁵ Schumpeter's five categories of new combinations: 1) a new product or service; 2) a new production method; 3) a new market; 4) a new raw material or half-manufactured good; and 5) a new way of organizing.

multiplied its entrepreneurial opportunities. Firstly, this is seen in the creation of new products and services, e.g. videos that can be ordered and watched on a mobile phone. Secondly, the change has generated new production processes. Consumption has exploded as a result of the internet, as the customer does not have to step inside a porn shop in broad daylight but can do her shopping online at home any time she pleases; she does not have to buy sex on the street but can contact a prostitute via the internet or by telephone: information on where, what, how and by whom is always within reach. Thirdly, the internet has created a worldwide marketplace for opportunities based on human sexual needs. Internet dating has grown more and more popular. Different forms of cyber sex also seem to be evolving. Fourthly, people – especially children and young women – have become new raw material for some entrepreneurs grasping new global opportunities in the sex industry. This has led to new ways of organizing in some cases, as criminal organizations that used to operate only within national prostitution and pimping have extended their businesses to new markets and turned human trafficking into a globally flourishing business.

Sex industry entrepreneurs also exhibit other distinctive features commonly attached to opportunity exploitation. This is especially apparent if we look at the situation with regard to elements like high expected value of the opportunity, cost of capital, high profit margins and density of competition²⁶. Right now these elements seem to fit certain parts of the developing sex industry particularly well. Especially in women trafficking, opportunities have high expected value and high profit margins: women work for a small salary or without any pay at all, and they are usually also the ones to take the risks – not the criminal entrepreneurs at the top of the hierarchies or networks. The cost of capital is also low in the industry, as legal and illegal businesses support one another and produce a sufficient income to finance the operations. These few examples already reveal just how multifaceted the sex industry is and how the multiple coexistent entrepreneurial efforts and changes are constantly molding it.

Although the opportunity process in the sex industry has lately been guided by technical innovations to a great extent, the industry has not traditionally been innovation-driven. This suggests that the barriers to entry should be relatively low (Audretsch 1995). Nevertheless, as noted above, the intricateness of the sex business, its reach to both legal and illegal entrepreneurship, and the lack of accurate statistics concerning it, make it hard to propose generalizations about sex industry businesses and sex industry entrepreneurship as a whole (Sex Work in Asia 2001). But there may exist other kinds of barriers to entering the sex industry. For example, it might be very risky for an independent prostitute to try and sell her services in an area where prostitution is controlled by a criminal organization.

There is some research available on the reasons that drive or push entrepreneurs to seize opportunities in the sex industry, including industry-based grounds. For example in Asia, prostitution, which is one of the main sex business fields, can be divided according to prevailing income levels. In the

²⁶ For a theoretical discussion on the issue, see chapter 4.

less developed Asian economies there is a larger mass market and also relatively smaller sectors of middle-income and elite sex workers, whereas in the highly developed economies a majority of sex workers operate within the middle-income range. Further changes in urbanization, loosening of traditional social control and new ways of sexual self-expression are expanding the sex markets. In the end, the benefits to prostitutes from selling sex appear to outweigh the social disapproval they may come against. (Sex Work in Asia 2001)

Moral and immoral opportunities

In conducting this research, I spent a long time tackling the question of legal and illegal entrepreneurship and moral and immoral opportunities. I finally came to the conclusion that, although this study is not aimed at finding out what opportunities can be called moral and what cannot, this is still a question that demands an answer. Thus, I will next deepen the view on the categorization of opportunities in the sex industry, basing my analysis on the dichotomies of legal vs. illegal and moral vs. immoral. Kohlberg et al. (1983, 72) argue that despite cultural and individual variation, moral judging seems to remain fundamentally similar from culture to culture. Keeping this in mind I believe it is possible to make some remarks about how the morality and legality of opportunities is usually understood by individuals and societies, while at the same time holding on to moral impartiality to allow the reader to follow her own morals in assessing the morality of individual opportunities.²⁷

The sex industry is a heterogeneous business and includes illegal as well as legal entrepreneurship. This makes it salient to recognize that there is entrepreneurial opportunity recognition and exploitation on both sides of the law, and that illegal opportunities can also be a subject of entrepreneurship research²⁸. It should be borne in mind that the line between legal and illegal has constantly shifted over the decades and that different societies have set the line in different ways. An excellent example of this is given by Lane (2001, xvii), who describes how court decisions on what should be regarded as obscene have affected the businesses of such pioneer sex industry entrepreneurs as Hugh Hefner and Larry Flynt through the 1950s, '60s and '70s.

The dichotomies of legal vs. illegal and moral vs. immoral make it necessary to ponder the relationship between the concepts of morality and legality. Here the relationship is understood so that the line between legal and illegal also represent society's conception of the border between moral and immoral. With this claim I follow Jones' (1991, 367) definition that "an ethical decision is ... a decision that is both legal and morally acceptable to the larger community". In other words, the line between legal and illegal on the morality continuum is the point at which the members of society more or less agree that the morality of an action changes to immorality, and thus legislate that it is illegal and punishable.

²⁷ Moral impartiality does not require value-neutrality. See e.g. Kohlberg et al. 1983.

²⁸ C.f. e.g. Fadahunsi & Rosa 2002; Morselli 2001.

but their ideas and methods prevail and get exploited by others, thereby enhancing societal prosperity; *robber enterprises* create personal gains for the owners but have no value for society, and in the worst case can even be destructive in nature³⁰; and *failed enterprises* neither succeed in business nor produce any catalytic effect.

Sex industry entrepreneurship incorporates several of the above elements. As will be seen, failed businesses and learning from failures appears fairly commonplace in the industry. Hero enterprises are able to create knowledge and information, for example through education on sexuality³¹, and at the same time succeed in business, which distinguishes them from catalyst enterprises. Unfortunately there is fairly little research information currently available on either hero or catalyst enterprises and the opportunities they recognize and create. It is to be expected, however, that new opportunities will also arise if prejudices around the sex industry lessen, first leading to more catalyst and eventually to more hero enterprises that will take the commercialization of sex on new tracks. And finally, robber enterprises, which in the sex business refer to international criminal organizations, today seem to be the most discussed enterprises in the industry due to their international character, their huge profits and, most importantly, their violations of human rights, which often are part of the business (Kuivaniemi 2004).

Examining crimes from an economic or entrepreneurial perspective is not a new idea; in fact, this standpoint has been used from the late 1960s. Although the early studies were cautious about connecting criminal actions to entrepreneurship or economics, the approach has proved successful particularly in depicting organized criminal activity. As in any business, the major goal of organized crime is to maximize the economic gain from business operations conducted through different enterprises and market structures (Schloenhardt 1999, 205). Casson (2003, 204) defines illegal entrepreneurship as business where the opportunity is based on crime, further noting that such entrepreneurship is often very well organized. Organized crime demands entrepreneurial behaviour in that it involves grasping of opportunities that others fail to see, and taking risks that others consider too high. Moreover, it frequently yields huge profits.

Petty crimes seldom fill the criteria of being entrepreneurial. Crimes that require an entrepreneurial mindset can be of many forms and offend many sections of the penal code. Entrepreneurs who use extortion, for instance, can be seen as sellers of protection from theft and as racketeers that organize a whole market and operate at high risk. What makes crime-based entrepreneurship inviting for some people is that it enables them to make a living with no education. (Casson 2003, 204) Thus, even if the opportunities seized by sex industry entrepreneurs were immoral or illegal, this should not warrant researchers to conclude that there is no entrepreneurial behaviour or

³⁰ For examples of this in the business of women trafficking, c.f. Brown 2001.

³¹ More of this later in Richard's narrative.

opportunity recognition, evaluation and exploitation involved that is worth studying.

In summary, sex industry entrepreneurship takes many forms. Some of its legal forms are well accepted, others not too welcomed by society. There is also a group of entrepreneurs who grasp their opportunity from the wrong side of the law and embark on illegal entrepreneurship. As will be seen, the entrepreneurs interviewed for this research had grasped multiple opportunities in their entrepreneurial careers, both legal and illegal.

6.3 Meet Jane, Richard and Arthur

Sex industry entrepreneurship is not a new subject of research, although the subject is perhaps a rare one. Besides Heyl (1979), who offered insights into the life of a prostitute and madam also from an entrepreneurial perspective³², and Lane (2001), whose book gave some entrepreneurial views on pornography, there seems to be a lack of scientific presentations that approach the sex business from an entrepreneurial standpoint.³³ What this means is that there are no ready definitions for sex industry entrepreneurs to allow to determine who they are. If sex industry entrepreneurs are to be treated the same way as entrepreneurs in any other field, we need to stick to the strictly scientific definition of an entrepreneur, independent of the context industry.

In the absence of a ready and applicable definition, I feel it relevant to let the entrepreneurial standpoint of this study – the opportunity process – be the guide in defining sex industry entrepreneurs. This perspective is confined to entrepreneurial opportunities seen and grasped by some and not by others, but it also relates to an individual's self identification as an entrepreneur. The term 'sex industry entrepreneur', thus, is used here to refer to persons who identify themselves as entrepreneurs and act accordingly. Since I view entrepreneurship from the perspective of the opportunity process, then entrepreneurial behaviour in this study refers to the identification, evaluation and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities.

My decision to pursue interviews in a sex industry context offers a chance to give voice to a range of different kinds of entrepreneurs. Bearing in mind the diversity and complexity of entrepreneurship in the sex business, the pool of potential interviewees was enormous. Holstein and Gubrium (1995, 74) have described the process of looking for interviewees as follows:

Sampling for an active interview is an ongoing process; designating a group of respondents is tentative, provisional, and sometimes even spontaneous ... The idea

³² For interesting autobiographies and narratives of sex industry entrepreneurs, see e.g. Rambo Ronai 1992; Penttinen 2004; French & Lee 1992; Almodovar 1994; and for stories of victims of women trafficking, Brown 2001.

³³ C.f. Bakker & Taalas 2007 for related research, e.g. on innovations and new markets driven by pornography.

is not so much to capture a representative segment of the population as it is to continuously solicit and analyse representative horizons of meaning.

In the end, locating interviewees who were willing and interested to speak about their experiences turned into a search for non-reluctant entrepreneurs who might have a story to share. Willingness proved to be an even greater factor in a case like this – considering that business people in general are reluctant to take part in research that has anything to do with morals (Hannafey 2003), not to mention those operating in the sex industry. Table 4 below lists those contacted entrepreneurs who were willing to share their entrepreneurial narratives. In addition I had shorter and longer conversations with other sex industry workers who eventually decided not to participate in this research, some to protect themselves and others because they were either too busy or not interested.

An expression that very well describes the process of locating interviewees for this research is random choice. I identified potential cases one by one by going through the contact information of a number of sex industry entrepreneurs. The first contacts with the interviewees were normally made through the internet, followed by phone conversations and finally meeting face to face. The exception was Arthur, whom I contacted by letter through a prison governor. A meeting would usually last from one and half to three hours, depending on the individual interviewees and their manner of speaking and narrating. Of the six full accounts obtained in the interviews I chose three to be presented in this study; these are the stories of ‘Arthur’, a pimp, ‘Jane’, an erotic shop owner and ‘Richard’, her husband and co-entrepreneur. Each of the three narratives represented a case for study, and each one was explored individually to see what could be learned from that particular case.

There were several reasons why I selected just these three cases – not more and not others. Firstly, the narrative method, which involves interpreting and presenting of narrators’ stories, takes up a lot of space. It cannot be done in a few lines: for example, Arthur’s story and its analysis alone consume over thirty pages. Thus the number of accounts had to be narrowed down. Secondly, I encountered problems in protecting the identity of ‘John’, one of the original six cases. His story was incredibly intriguing, but unfortunately I had to exclude it to avoid getting him into trouble in his personal life. Although he did suggest ways to protect him, I felt they were not in line with my scientific aims. Thirdly, I lost contact with ‘Marie’, who was working as an erotic dancer and domina in different countries; even her friends were unaware of her current whereabouts. And finally there was ‘Lex’, whose story, although interesting, was thin. Weighing the benefits of including his story compared with the available space and the amount of work that presenting the story would take, I decided to leave it out. There was another feature shared by Arthur’s, Jane’s and Richard’s narratives that made me select these three for deeper analysis, namely, the way each of them opened up to me and truly went over their lives, both to understand their own actions better and to explain and interpret them to me.

TABLE 4 The interviewed entrepreneurs and their professions.

PARTICIPANT	TIME OF INTERVIEW	PRESENT PROFESSION
Marie	December 2004	Erotic dancer, domina
Richard	July 2006	Erotic shop owner
Lex	August 2006	Stripper, porn film actor & producer
John	October 2006	Porn journalist, prostitute
Jane	November 2006	Erotic shop owner
Arthur	December 2006	Pimp, among other things

Finally, a few words on why I consider the operations of Arthur, Richard and Jane as entrepreneurial and, hence, as having relevance for this study. The key factor supporting this view is that all of them identified themselves as entrepreneurs. They said they would probably be entrepreneurs even if they were not practicing in the sex industry – besides which at least Arthur had business ideas also outside the industry. My claim is further reinforced when reviewed from the opportunity perspective. All three were either portfolio or serial entrepreneurs; they had begun with one venture and then proceeded to another after recognizing new and interesting opportunities. At the time of the interviews, Jane and Richard were actively growing their business and expanding it to new customer segments, and Arthur's story shows a clear pattern of moving on from one opportunity recognition and exploitation to another.

Searching for and finally finding participants for this research was neither easy nor fun. One phone call quite nicely summarizes my search for interviewees. I called a prostitute whose contact information I had found on the internet. After introducing myself and my study I asked whether she would like to participate. In the same breath I assured her that participation and the whole process would be completely confidential, her name would be altered, etc. At first there was silence. Then she said, "But you already know my number..." and when I was stuttering my response in confusion, she hung up. For her the mere fact that I knew her phone number meant that I had too much information about her, not to mention what the situation would be had she been asked to tell her entrepreneurial career story.

Difficulty in getting interviews was not the only thing that almost contravened the whole research process: In between my first interview with Marie and the second one with Richard I gave birth to my daughter. This led to a ten-month period of rethinking the research, especially its rationality, as well as my personal interest and resources for finishing it. Motherhood and the sex business were, and are, two worlds so widely apart that my skill to be emotionally part of both was heavily tested.

6.4 Some considerations on ethics and research in the sex industry

At this point I need to stress some of the ethical questions I as a researcher faced as I turned from the general and theoretical to the empirical and individual covering the real-life narratives of the participating entrepreneurs.

The sensitivity of the research subject, the open-minded narratives of the persons involved, and my right of interpretation as a researcher, together with all the possible and impossible, known and unknown effects that may follow from this text, pose problems that need to be discussed. Doing narrative research means probing deep into the private lives of those involved and making them public (Bakan 1996, 3). Given that the context of the study is the sex industry and its narrators are sex industry entrepreneurs, ethical questions related to both the context and the conduct of the study become even more apparent.

Firstly, two kinds of implications need to be considered on a general level. The confidentiality and privacy of the individuals taking part in the research must be secured, and the changing contextual situations have to be weighed from an ethical standpoint when conducting the interviews (Mason 1996, 166). Informant consent as part of confidentiality is built, firstly, on sufficient and relevant information on which interviewees may base their decision to participate, and on making sure that they also understand that information. Secondly, informant consent is based on voluntary participation. (Silverman 2000, 201) However, to talk about informant consent is perhaps impractical, for there is no way to communicate to the participant precisely what she is consenting to (Josselson 1996, xii).

Ethical dilemmas have relevance also with respect to the research questions, and ethical aspects have to be considered when framing them (Mason 1996, 29). I had to assess whether the formulated research questions would yield ethical results in the sense of not being offensive in any way or violating the rights of those who consented to participate. I want to stress that the objective here is not to make value statements about the narratives of the interviewed sex industry entrepreneurs or their opportunity process, but to interpret their stories and analyse their processes without appraising whether these are good or bad, or right or wrong.

The more the research questions invade into the private sphere and into emotions, the more difficult it is to retain their 'emotional truth' in writing the narrators' stories (Apter 1996). The researcher needs to be aware that understanding is a process: the narrators' contexts and emphases change over time, and their interpretation of themselves at the time of the interview may not be the same, perhaps not even attainable, at the time they see their story in print (Lauslahti Graves 1996).

A possible excuse for my intrusive and invasive search for interviews and dialogue was my need for self-reflection and interaction between self and other. Miller (1996) suggests that the very thing that makes interviewing ethical is interaction in deep dialogue between interviewer and interviewee, which forms a relational and symmetrical arena. "Interview-based research affords people the opportunity to explore themselves, to increase their awareness, to find meaning, to be understood, and to be understood within the context of a relationship. This work is fundamental and ethical in its own right." (Miller 1996, 133)

In the end, perhaps what bothers me more is what comes *after* the dialogue, namely my interpreting and recognition of hidden meanings – which may quite as well be just that: *my* interpretation. And if it is only my interpretation, where is its value? Even if my intentions as an interpreter were judged as amoral, as neither good nor evil, the interpretation might still be incorrect, and even worse, have damaging consequences for the narrator, implicitly or explicitly. As it goes, I feel I am the beneficiary here, whereas Jane, Richard and Arthur are the true risk takers. To share the risk of exposure I have chosen to expose myself as well, by reporting the interpretation process with all its mistakes, its alternative choices, and its reasoning in as transparent a manner as I am capable.³⁴ Therefore, I want to clarify my aims in the interpretation: besides seeking to understand the expressed meanings, I have also attempted to find and propose possible deeper meanings in the explored narratives.

The above concerns describe the starting point of my researcher's dilemma, but details of the process are sprinkled throughout this work: in my choices, my words, and the presented narratives. While the slow evolution of my own understanding on the question of ethics in narrative research had major implications on this study, most importantly I have tried to bear in mind throughout the research that my purpose here is to empower others – not to misuse their narratives to wield power (Apter 1996, 41).

³⁴ This dialogue is part of a wider discussion in the section on hermeneutics.

7 STEPPING INTO THE WORLD OF THREE SEX INDUSTRY ENTREPRENEURS

7.1 Jane and Richard, erotic shop entrepreneurs

Meeting and analysis

I first contacted Richard, a porn shop owner, in summer 2006. On the telephone he appeared pleasant, outspoken and interested to talk with me, so we arranged a meeting. Entering the shop where the interview was to be done made me nervous. Inside I was first introduced to Richard's wife Jane, and then shown around the shop — and in the next moment I found myself holding a synthetic vagina in my hand. Thinking that Richard was testing me and my commitment to my work I tried to appear professional, but it was not easy. The tour was finally over and the interview could begin. However, because Jane had to fill the shelves in the back, Richard wanted to stay near the cash register in case of customers. Realizing that this would mean interruptions and disturb our concentration, I felt irritated. It was definitely not what I had had in mind, but having no choice I decided to make the best of it and observe how Richard did business.

The first meeting was arranged only with Richard; I had not even thought of interviewing Jane as well, until he told me that he and Jane owned and ran the shop together. Actually this idea came to me later when I had already started to analyse Richard's account and noticed that Jane had already taken part in the first interview: she had made comments on Richard's narrative, clarified some points, and towards the end of the interview had begun to tell her own story. Consequently, I arranged a meeting with Jane. Returning to the shop was now easy and the feeling of shame had vanished. This time the atmosphere was more relaxed, both for myself and apparently also for Richard and Jane. When I entered the shop I was delighted to find that Jane had decided it was best to do the interview in privacy. They also had arranged to have an employee at the cash register, so Richard joined the interview half an hour later.

My original plan had been to conduct each interview individually, but in this case the interviews quite naturally evolved into couple interviews. The will

to participate, to tell and to be understood seemed so strong that it drove both Jane and Richard to join in each other's interviews. Interestingly, they also assumed they were welcome to interfere in each other's narratives. This manner of doing together and participating appeared to be a natural way for them to act and marked their life and business in a broader context as well. The need to participate seemed to carry a twofold meaning. First of all, the short comments made here and there, the added details or clarifications to one another's narratives, were meant to help me in my work in interpreting their narrative(s). Secondly, telling their story together seemed for them to be a way to once more look back on their joint history, to interpret and understand it better, and to use this enhanced understanding as a tool to reinforce their relationship and their feeling of togetherness.

Below is an extract which reveals both meanings. I had asked Richard whether buying the shop had been only an announcement type of thing, to which he first answered from a financial standpoint. In Jane's first line below she guides Richard to understand my question from the viewpoint of their social relationships, as I had intended it. The second meaning appears later in Richard's answer when he refers to Jane: Richard includes Jane in his story at a decisive point to show that she was one of the things that made a difference – an aspect that is apt to increase the feeling of togetherness in a relationship.³⁵

Jane: That was about the money. But were you afraid to tell anyone? Your parents, sister, anyone?

Richard: No, no.

Jane: Relatives, ex-relatives?

Richard: Heh, yes, maybe at first... (tells a story about his ex-wife saying she didn't want to have her husband to be a porn dealer) ...at the time I was, or in some club or something like that (...)

Then after we started off with Jane, I had no... concealing things doesn't take you anywhere. It just makes, like (...) I didn't have any fears, a clear goal after we (...)

That's my thing.

Jane: Mm.

The two interviews with Richard and Jane went on for altogether three hours during which I heard interesting stories about their lives and their entrepreneurial careers in the sex industry. However, before turning to their actual narrative accounts I will present the procedure and methods used to analyse their narratives. Jane's and Richard's narratives are intertwined and independent at the same time, which makes them extremely interesting but also poses challenges to their analysis as well as their presentation. My solution is to first introduce the plots independently, though not in identical manner, and then show them in a joint plot chart. The chosen narrative extracts are also kept apart, but the final conclusions are drawn from them together.

Some practical points about presenting the empirics of this study should be clarified to offer a better understanding of the process and its results. As it would be impossible to include the full accounts here, I concentrate on passages that specifically describe opportunity recognition, exploitation and evaluation. I

³⁵ See appendix 1.

used opportunity theory to help in identifying these core stories. However, my interpretations are based on the whole accounts in order to create a more complete picture of the narrators' situations, because different meanings and insights could be read throughout their narrative accounts, not just in the parts concerning the opportunity process.

The chosen passages were translated into English; the original quotations in Finnish which were used in the interpretation are given as an appendix. Presenting the original accounts offers Finnish-speaking readers a chance to make their own interpretations and better assess those made by me, whereas showing only the translated extracts would have lost this possibility. Readers might have ended up with a conflicting interpretation based on the translated text, because translation itself already adds one interpretation. Translations here are not literally word-for-word, which would be impossible due to basic differences in the specific features of the two languages³⁶. Ultimately, it was my will to keep the voices of the narrators as authentic and my interpretation as transparent as possible which led me to present the extracts in both the original language and in the language of the study.

Analysis tools

I began to analyse Richard's narrative right after the interview. At that time I had relatively little knowledge of the analysis process itself, having never done it before. Although I did have a faint idea of the methods to be used I realized that I did not know how to use them in practice. Initially my analysis consisted mostly of stray observations and scattered remarks inserted into the margins of Richard's transcribed narrative. This first analysis round hardly produced anything more than an awareness that something ought to be done differently. Not knowing what to do with Richard's account I decided to move on to analyse Arthur's. After struggling for four months with Arthur's account – which, compared to Richard's, was disorganized and difficult to comprehend – I went back to Jane's and Richard's narratives, this time knowing what to do. However, because Arthur, Richard and Jane all narrated in their own different ways I realized I should not stick too rigidly to the methods I had tried before, but to choose methods that were compatible with the individual narrative account itself.

My basic study procedure was as follows: 1) going through the account using Labov's model; 2) detecting its plot; 3) identifying the narrative genres used by the narrator; 4) looking for possible narrative transformations; and 5) interpreting all these through opportunity theory. With this procedure and its methods I expected to see how the narrator narrates and describes different issues in her narrative, i.e. what the story is about; what happens when she turns to evaluation, and finally, how she engages into exploitation, i.e. how she reaches her resolution (Attanucci 1991, 323). By extracting the plot I wanted to

³⁶ There are fundamental structural differences between English and Finnish, English belonging to the indo-european and Finnish to the non-indo-european family of languages.

find the turning points and events in the opportunity process that had significance in the mind of the narrator. The events included in the story are those that actually made the narrator see things differently: the crucial incidents that turned the direction of her life or further reinforced her present conviction.

Before proceeding to the narrative plots let me share some interesting observations about Jane's and Dick's accounts which may later help to understand my analysis process and interpretations. Firstly, in Richard's interview my influence on the fabula, or plot, was nearly nonexistent. I had begun with a simple question – "*How did you enter this field?*" – which elicited a ten-minute story about Richard's past and the issues that had had an effect in his entering the sex industry. The form of Richard's narrative was very clear-cut and its events were shared almost literally. His different life phases and their significance to the narrator were well presented as well.

Because of this clarity I began to feel that the stories had been rehearsed, not just for this particular occasion but for the narrator himself as well. Richard appeared to have evaluated and interpreted his entrepreneurial career many times and from many angles, and in so doing had explained to himself what it meant to venture in the sex industry. He had recalled the events and his choices numerous times before, and so my simple question evoked a flood in response.

Riessman (1993, 52) proposes that the narrative form and language chosen by the narrator reveal her subjective experiences. The form of Richard's narrative, thus, shows how he as the narrator understands his life at the moment of telling and what his life and choices mean to him. In this regard I was left with the impression that at the time of the interview Richard was at peace with his past as well as his future. He seems to have interpreted his past so that it supported his present job as a sex industry entrepreneur. The form of the narrative also reflects an element of development or growth, which he interprets into his life story, indicating that this development refers not only to a better understanding of who he is but also to a better awareness of what his life is about: it is about understanding human sexuality and helping others to understand it as well. I will review these themes at a later point in this study.

Jane's account was not as clear-cut as Richard's, but it had a certain feature that caught my attention from the beginning. As I was arranging Jane's account – which, in practice, meant hitting the *Enter* key every now and then – the narrative seemed to take a more or less poetic form. Some sequences of lines had a similar structure, which made me feel they belonged together. Listening to Jane's manner of intoning such lines without hesitating or pausing between them, using the same calm and even rate of speech, I decided to arrange the narrative into stanzas. (Riessman 1990, 134) The impression of poetry was enhanced by Jane's skilful way of opening and concluding each passage by a stanza that states the narrative's meaning to her or her reason for presenting it. Every stanza in her account takes the plot forward. In the narrative passages the first stanza usually introduces the reason to narrate, the next ones reveal actions or events that complicate things, followed by their evaluation, and finally the last stanza presents a resolution and takes the story to its coda. This also means

that there is often only one Labovian category found in a stanza – in other words, a stanza is used for one purpose at a time. As a rule, Jane’s account is arranged episodically, but some of her stories are occasionally told in other genres as well.

The plots

The plots of Jane’s and Richard’s entrepreneurial stories are presented next, followed by a plot chart. As already pointed out, the two accounts are both intertwined and independent, and so the plot begins with each one’s individual perspective in the time before they met. However, after they had fallen in love, their narratives are combined to illustrate the integration of the two plots into one. I begin by presenting the plot of Jane’s narrative. The narratives on which the plots are based are presented and interpreted in the following subchapters.

Jane’s life could easily be divided into two parts: life before and after falling in love with Richard. Jane’s ‘first life’ had at an early stage developed into full measure including marriage, children and eventually a divorce. She had been working for 15 years at different jobs within a large organization. It was at one of these jobs that Jane met Richard and took the first steps of her ‘second life’.

Richard was married at the time Jane and Richard began their relationship. This fact had a dramatic effect on Jane’s life – she experienced a burnout, which made her decide to leave her job and live off unemployment benefit. During this period she used to hang around at the porn shop where Richard was now working, and clean the floors without pay. It was at this time that she also asked the employment authorities for a chance to get enterprise subsidy to start a sex shop, but was refused. She entrepreneured as a domina for a while, but quit to maintain some sex fantasies for herself to enjoy. Another reason for quitting was that Richards’ employer, the old owner of the porn shop, decided to sell the business; an opportunity which Jane and Richard grasped. They were very excited and had plenty of fresh ideas about how to develop the business.

The plot chart illustrates the turmoil in Jane’s life after she fell in love with Richard. Quite possible she had other things worth telling about, experiences from the time before Richard, but she chose not to share them in her narrative. Jane’s narrative really only begins with Richard.

Richard, on the other hand, built his narrative very differently. His entrepreneurial story begins already in his teenage years when his sexual identity started to develop. Certain events, and especially certain people – his mother and a girlfriend of his – made Richard decide to listen to and respect his strong sexual identity. So, for a few years he adventured around Europe exploring his sexuality. After returning home, he got married and started to freelance at multiple jobs. At the same time he was dreaming about entrepreneurship in the sex industry, but such dreams were cut off by the opposition of his first wife.

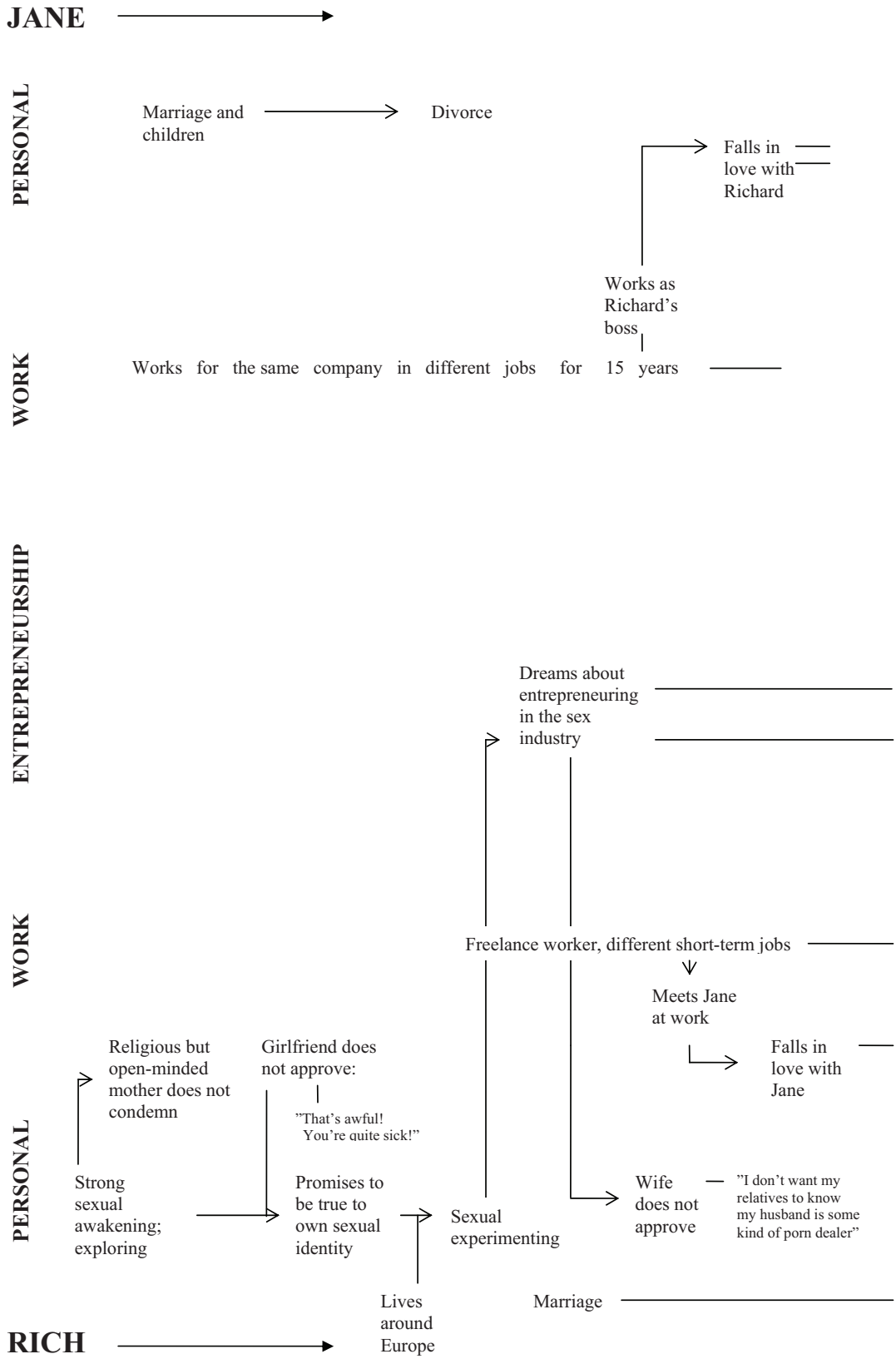
Like Jane’s life, also Richard’s changed after the two fell in love. He first got divorced, and then, at a visit to a porn shop, he saw an advert for a job. The

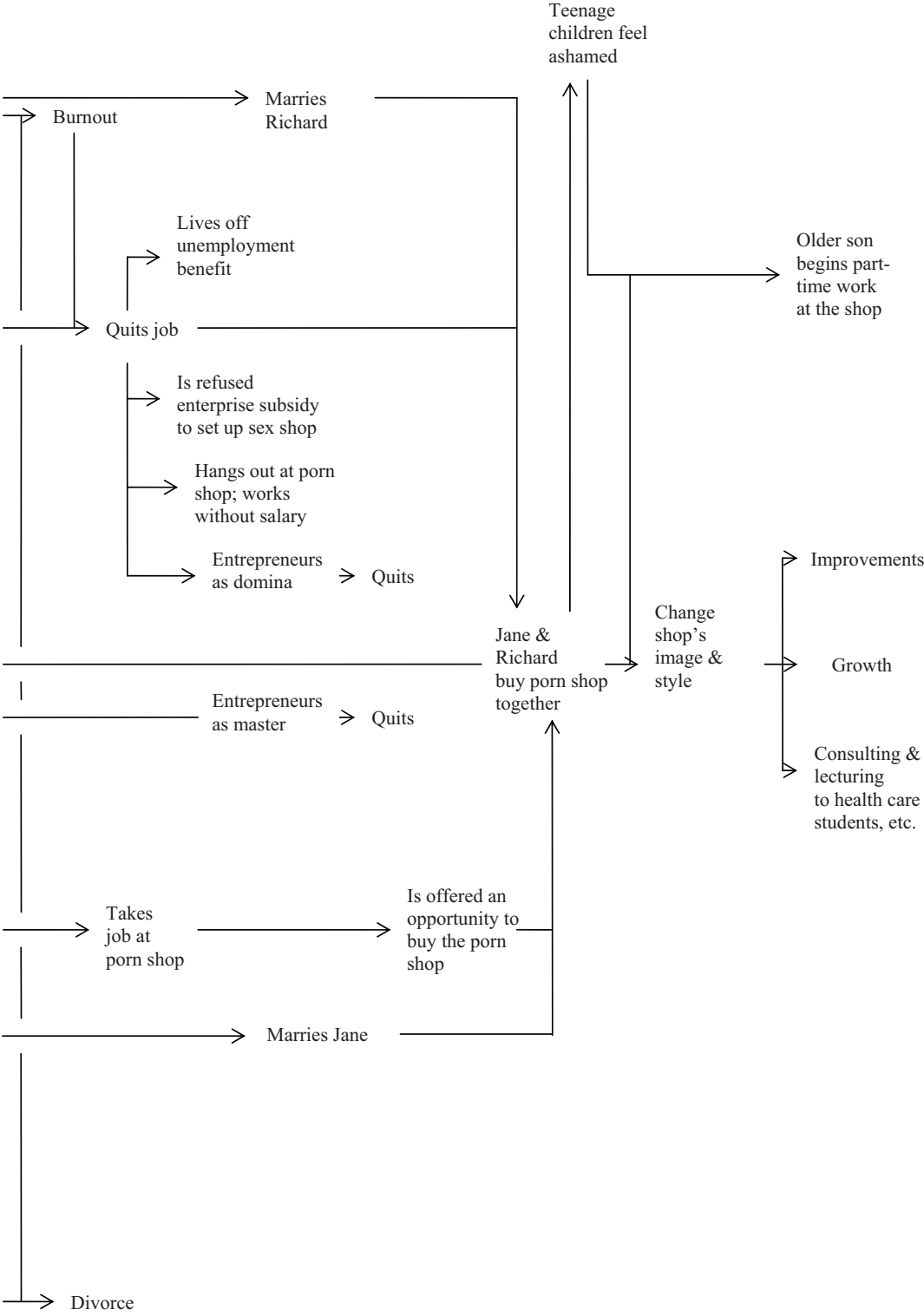
shop was looking for a salesperson. He arranged a meeting with the owner and within five minutes had been hired. Richard had lots of ideas for improving the business, but he was unwilling to implement them to someone else's advantage, and so he and Jane decided to wait. Quite soon the owner began to talk about wanting to sell the firm, saying that if he were to sell it, it would be to Richard. As Jane said, the day came sooner than they had expected, and so finally, after a decade of dreaming about entrepreneuring in the sex industry, Richard was an owner of a porn shop. Since then, Jane and Richard have developed the business by expanding it and changing its image. Today it is no longer called a 'porn shop' but an 'erotic shop'. The firm employs seven people at best, and the couple's older son also works there part-time. Jane and Richard have diversified and enlarged the shop, so that at present it is four times the size it was when they first started the business.

The sequence of Richard's narrative plot is shown below:

- 1) Teenage interest in sex
- 2) Religious but open home atmosphere
- 3) No room for exploration at home
- 4) Moves out
- 5) Girlfriends limit sexual self-expression
- 6) Decides to be honest about sex and express his sexual preferences
- 7) Adventures abroad
- 8) Returns to home country, works as a freelancer
- 9) First marriage
- 10) Wishes to work in erotic business
- 11) Wife dislikes idea of her husband as 'some kind of porn dealer'
- 12) Finds a new relationship
- 13) Divorce
- 14) Visits porn shop
- 15) Job opens at porn shop; gets job in five minutes
- 16) Second marriage
- 17) Makes an offer to buy the shop together with second wife
- 18) Offer accepted
- 19) Makes changes and develops the shop
- 20) Learns to understand 'women's perspective' in sex business

What follows is a plot chart based on Jane's and Richard's narratives. The chart shows the events that Jane and Richard considered so significant on their way to becoming entrepreneurs that they decided to narrate them. Jane's plot thickens when she falls in love with Richard, while Richard's plot progresses from his personal feelings and experiences to entrepreneurship and action.





7.2 Jane's story

First extract: "How did you end up here with Richard?"

I began the interview with Jane by asking her to tell about her life, especially with reference to entrepreneurship. To get the narrative going I asked her how she had ended up there with Richard. Right away she answered simply: "With Richard. Mm. That's it, in principle." Then she began to tell the story in more detail.

1)

Ever since childhood
The message from home was like: [you have to] work.
If you don't do anything
No one's going to provide for you.
Don't you go begging down at the welfare counter...

2)

I've always been able to employ myself,
That is, never gone to schools.
Went to work in a firm straight from comprehensive school,
Stayed there for 15 years.
What line of business?
Bakeries, restaurants, car dealers.
Didn't sell cars myself,
But yes, almost everything else.

3)

Then I'd already like climbed upwards a little,
A little, in those 15 years that I was (some words lost) there.

4)

In fact, that's where we met, at work. (Laughs)
So part of the reason for my burnout was
This new relationship that had begun,
In the sense that he was married,
Which I didn't realize immediately.

...

5)

And that's the first time in my life that I made use of social benefits,
Used up the 500 days³⁷ quite intentionally.
Didn't even apply for a job.
Or well, you were forced to apply, of course,
But I applied for jobs that I knew weren't available.
And meanwhile Richard already came to work here.

6)

But well, I thought it was quite a good idea to go into this industry,
Because the interest sort of has been there, always.

7)

But well, in the first place, like, the idea was
That if we manage to buy this [business]
Then we'd make it a workplace for two
So that it would employ me, too.

³⁷ Time limit for unconditional unemployment benefit

8)
 And well, now I'm terribly proud
 That this employs as many as seven at best,
 So we've really managed to make this grow,
 And we're not totally off track here.

9)
 But [the thing is] that you have to work. Mm.
 You don't get anything unless you do something.

This first passage from Jane's narrative is quite clear in structure. Even though it is not a story in the Labovian sense, various elements of a Labovian story can still be recognized: 1) orientation, which introduces the time, place, people and situation of the narrative; 2) complicating action, which reveals the sequence of events; 3) evaluation, which gives the narrator's own interpretation of what happened; 4) resolution, which tells how the situation was settled, and 5) coda, which points out the conclusion of the story. Jane's words are rephrased below to summarize the content of the stanzas. Her account proceeds episodically, but she also uses the hypothetical narrative genre in stanza 7.

- 1) Valuation of work (orientation)
- 2) "I have always worked" (complicating action)
- 3) "I had advanced in my career" (evaluation)
- 4) "I experienced a burnout and quit my job because I fell for Richard, who was married" (complicating action and evaluation)
- 5) "I was unemployed" (complicating action)
- 6) Entry to the industry (evaluation)
- 7) *Hypothetical narrative*: "I was hoping to employ myself and Richard" (evaluation)
- 8) The wish is more than fulfilled: shop now employs up to seven people (resolution)
- 9) Back to valuation of work (coda)

Sometimes it is hard to decide where a passage begins and where it ends, but in this case it is quite easy since Jane marks its beginning and end by starting and concluding the passage with the same theme: valuation of work. The first stanza introduces the theme, stanzas 2- 7 present both complicating actions and evaluation, stanza 8 offers a resolution, and the final stanza then takes the episodically ordered story to its coda and closes the narrative by returning to the work theme introduced in the first stanza.

Although the passage contains more themes than one, the fact that it begins and ends with the same theme – the value of work – means this is intended as the strongest theme and main moral in this passage. From the first stanza on, Jane tells how ever since childhood she was taught to make it on her own, without asking for help from others. The theme of independency, thus, emerges from the work theme. For Jane, these two issues seem to be very closely connected.

The second stanza continues with the meaning of work, as Jane tells about not 'going to schools' after comprehensive school; work and the independency that came along with it were more important. In this stanza Jane also takes an active, almost entrepreneurial role in recounting how she has always managed to employ herself, adding even more weight to her claim of the value of work.

Later the story acquires a strong twist when Jane tells about falling in love with Richard and its consequences – her burnout and use of unemployment benefits –: she deserts her former life and values. Here the contrast between her respect for the value of work and her actions is striking. Obviously, falling in love was one of the crucial events in Jane’s life.

What is interesting in this extract is how little, after all, Jane tells about meeting Richard and falling in love with the man who seems to have changed her life so completely. She names the new relationship and the fact that Richard was married as part of the reason for her burnout. This illustrates how deep the event of falling in love was for Jane. Because of her feelings, she quit her job and for the first time made use of social benefits – something totally against her values. At first glance it might seem that she changed her whole existence because of this man. Still, she places this incident in the middle of the story about her working career, perhaps because she is telling about her entrepreneurial, not her personal life. Or perhaps she wished to indicate that although the event changed everything on the outside, it really did not change who she was inside. Jane remained the same person with same values despite the radical change in her work environment, first from a regular job to unemployment and further to entrepreneurship in the sex industry. The change may even have reflected some kind of deliberation, a break from her old life. From all aspects, falling in love with Richard was the point at which Jane’s life took a dramatic and unexpected turn and which appears to have resulted in a transformation or shift in her identity.

The created conflict is then explained and interpreted in stanzas 6-8, as Jane mentions her own interest in the sex industry and talks about the dreams and ideas that she and Richard had for the shop, and finally their success in realizing them. Jane’s intention in relating her journey to become an erotic shop owner is ultimately to tell a story about the value of work and independency. Her story is intended to show how an irrational decision that appears to go against her values turned out to be the right thing to do to enhance those very values. The same explanation seems to be made on the relationship level as well: falling in love with a married man is interpreted from the current point of view as the right thing to have happened.

Besides being a story about the appreciation of work, the extract includes another value that is typically entrepreneurial: namely, risk taking. Falling in love with a married man led Jane to suffer a burnout, leave her regular job and live off unemployment benefit – all things that seemed to violate both her economic principles and her personal morals. In the beginning there was no way of telling whether she and Richard would have a chance to buy the shop, let alone to make it happen for both of them. In other words, what Jane did was to take risks both in social and financial matters, which, in the end, she interprets as having been worth taking since they now own the shop and it even employs several other people besides themselves.

From the perspective of opportunity recognition and exploitation, this extract – and Jane’s account as a whole – emphasizes the latter. Again the same

event, falling in love, was for her the impulse that began a series of events that finally led to her and Richard buying the porn shop. The recognition of an opportunity emerged only after she met Richard; before this incident, Jane had not thought of the sex industry as a source of opportunities. However, it seems that when the idea came up, Jane was in favour of it right away: her valuation of work translated easily into entrepreneurship. The relationship with Richard gave her a new insight into an unfamiliar industry, which otherwise would not have been possible. This means that the close relationship – a strong tie – with Richard was probably the main element of Jane’s opportunity recognition process. Without this relationship Jane would hardly have ventured into the sex industry.

The next passage sheds more light on Jane’s moral judgement and her interpretation of the industry.

Second extract: About the industry and its effect on Jane and others

When asked to tell about events that made her sceptical about the business idea, Jane first replied that there were none, but then rethought it from a mother’s point of view. She briefly told me about her sons, for whom the shop had at first been something to be ashamed of. But later on, as they grew older, the shop actually became something to tell their friends about. Nowadays Jane’s older son also works at the shop occasionally – which makes a very strong point for the normality of running an erotic shop. In the following extract, which came right after Jane’s story about her son, she evaluates the industry and her own relationship to it.

1)

But no,
I’ve never thought about this industry like
That it was any worse than any other.

2)

Rather, the way I see it is
That as long as I can make a living for myself
Then it’s all the same to me whether I’m selling bread
Or whether I’m here selling these products.

3)

I haven’t felt it was something to be ashamed of in any way.
Or, there’s never been anything to prevent telling anyone
What we’re doing.
Or, mm... [no more than] a matter of announcement to our relatives and
friends
That we’re buying this firm or anything.
There’s never been like it was something to be ashamed of.

4)

Quite the opposite, I always want to bring it out in the open,
Because this field continues to be thought of as a dubious and sordid and
dirty business somehow,
So I think it’s always a good move to say
That this is a firm that’s over 20 years old,
So how can they think that if this was something dubious and weird and
shady, malpractices and such,
Then this wouldn’t work.

Certainly in Finland the tax authorities and all control these things so strictly that if there was something illegal, This firm wouldn't be on its feet.

5)
I want to bring it out, like, to the majority population that this is a shop like any other shop, that... this is what we live on... must keep trying

Jane evaluation proceeds in a clear way:

- 1) "As good an industry as any other"
- 2) "Proud of making a living for myself"
- 3) "There's been nothing shameful"
- 4) "Nothing dubious in the business"
- 5) "A shop like any other, and it's giving us a living"

Jane's evaluation of the industry's normality and her own entrepreneurship in it rests on four judgements. In stanzas 1 and 2 she justifies this normality by means of two comparisons. In the first stanza she compares different industries on a very general level, and in the second stanza says she sees no difference between sex industry products and products from other industries – in her story, between selling sex products or bread. It should be noted that Jane here interprets the sex business specifically through her own entrepreneurship without seeming to refer to the entire industry.

The second justification appears in stanzas 2 and 5. As in the previous extract, Jane builds it by referring to her personal motives: she entrepreneurs in the sex industry to earn a living – which certainly is as normal as anything. In stanza 3 she interprets all this through the feeling of shame, claiming to have never felt ashamed of entrepreneuring in the industry. This interpretation represents the third justification of the normality of the business. The idea is taken further in stanza 4 as Jane explains that working in the sex industry is actually something that she likes to tell people about, thereby justifying its normality once again. Here she invokes their firm's 20-year long tradition, the legality of the business, and governmental control over the industry to assure everyone of its normality. The fourth and final justification, thus, is a legal one.

Third extract: negative experience from working in the industry

After a while Jane returned to my original question concerning any doubts about sex industry entrepreneurship by recounting a story of the negative sides of working in the industry. The following extract tells about a friend who ended their relationship after hearing from Jane that Richard worked in a porn shop.

1)
And, to be perfectly honest,
It seems that some people do think it's a dreadful, dreadful thing.

2)
Because I have a girlfriend
Whom I've known since we were five.
We used to be thick as thieves.

- 3)
So when I told her
That Richard would be working in this kind of shop,
She broke up with me.
- 4)
And it stuns me still
That such a young person, younger than myself,
Can be so narrow-minded,
That [after] all we had together
You'd think that she knows me so well and all, but...
- 5)
Well... then the story continues,
That is, she contacted me some two and a half years ago
And invited me for coffee, the address was the same as before.
So I just sent her a message
Saying thanks, but let's skip the coffee,
And a nice life to you, too.
- 6)
I can do without people like that who can turn their backs
So totally because of a thing like that.
Hm. I may forgive, but I'll never forget.
That is, I won't have coffee with her again.
Have some kind of pride.
- 7)
Maybe some people just come from such narrow circles or something.
What else (laughs) ...

The extract and its eight stanzas present a single story, a Labovian narrative, which proceeds as follows:

- 1) Abstract
- 2) Close girlfriend (orientation)
- 3) Breaks up (complicating action)
- 4) Feels stunned (evaluation)
- 5) No chance of reconciliation (complicating action)
- 6) What's done is done (resolution)
- 7) Some people just are narrow-minded (coda)

Jane uses the story form to tell about what happened, which suggests that even though these events may have bothered her in the past, her present interpretation of them is quite clear. Also the ease with which the story was told and its clear structure point to a ready interpretation. In the evaluation Jane gives her precise motive for telling the story: she was astounded by her friend's reaction when she told that Richard was going to work in a porn shop. At the same time she implies that she was still the same Jane that she had always been; only the context of being Jane had changed. Since the story was told years after the actual events took place, their interpretation has probably changed somewhat along the way, strengthening some aspects and dropping others. The viewpoint of the present also made it easier for Jane to interpret her actions, because they had proven successful. She was still the same old hardworking Jane.

From the perspective of this study, Jane's third extract and its events very clearly show the social risk attached to entrepreneurship – in this particular

case, a social risk actualized by the specific industry in question. The story also reveals the strength of Jane's conviction of the normality of the sex industry to the extent that she abandons her relationship with a childhood friend whom she considers too narrow-minded.

Fourth extract

The following story emerged when I asked Jane for more details about the beginning of her entrepreneurial career.

1)
So for Richard the problem at first was
That he was afraid to ask me
If he could go and work in a shop like this.

So Richard came to work here and then what happened?

2)
Well, I was quite excited, of course, always helping,
Sure I remember that, ah...
(...)
I hadn't, like, been to this shop much,
Let's say that I'd been more [to shops] in other towns.
So I hadn't been to this shop,
Although to others.

3)
Perhaps what interested me most ah...
It was these strippers.
It was, like,
What, what kind of people are they,
It had some kind of glamour to it in a way, you see,
Like it was something fancy and exciting and all,
And on the other hand, you'd reflect
That, well, it can't be just about her dancing there,
So, what is this thing anyway.

4)
Which is always a good thing to tell everyone...
Because so many women ask, relatives and others,
Their first question is always about these dancegirls.
But [some words unintelligible, probably:] once you get to know them,
So they're quite ordinary,
Some have kids, are married, some are highly educated,
And there's this and that.
So, that is, the scale is wide,
And really, they just dance and strip
And take the money from the stupid customer,
To put it bluntly.
But then there are plenty of people
Who never get to see a naked woman unless they come here.

5)
But take that black girl from Jamaica,
Coming here in the freezing winter cold,
Wearing a wool cap and shoes worn down at the heels,
Well, you have to laugh: what's the glamour in that supposed to be?
So, [its's] very ordinary.

6)
 Perhaps that was what most got me thinking at first,
 But once you get to know them
 Well... let's say that today some of my best friends are these very dance girls,
 That's all there is to it.

7)
 I wanted to be involved so badly
 That I'd mop the floors and clean up
 Just to be able to hang around here, sort of.
 I did a lot of unpaid work
 So the owner wouldn't get upset
 With the bitch always loitering about.
 So, [I had] some kind of interest.

8)
 And we did have lots of ideas already at that time
 But didn't feel like doing everything to benefit someone else,
 To benefit the former owner.
 We had lots of plans and innovations and all in mind,
 So when it began to turn out
 That [the owner] would like to and might retire,
 That he wasn't so interested anymore,
 And... then after a couple of years maybe, it was like
 "If I were to sell [the firm] to someone, I'd sell it to you".
 So Richard [a few words unclear, probably: and I] were chomping at the bit
 For the day to come,
 And it came sooner than we expected,
 But that was quite, quite fine.

9)
 It was, somehow you work so differently when you're doing it for yourself,
 in some way.
 We've always had to explain to the kids
 That the money that jingles the cash register isn't ours,
 It's the firm's money.
 But... it still feels different
 And seeing it grow, [seeing] what becomes of it.

10)
 So we can't be all stupid
 If we've been able to make this grow
 And gained people's... like... trust, in a way,
 So that customers keep coming again.

11)
 And then there's this thing that we boast about,
 That [medical] students come here to learn
 And even doctors come here to learn from us,
 Because they don't have that kind of knowledge about all these things,
 They may know what's related to the physiology,
 But then the things that go on in the customer's mind
 That concern people's sexual problems,
 So we then tell about the things we run into
 And the things that people come to us to find help for
 And so, in a way, there's a mutual exchange of knowledge.

This long extract tells about the beginning of Jane's entrepreneurial career, about opportunity exploitation, and her initial prejudices towards some part of the business. The passage progresses as follows:

- 1) Richard's concerns about working in a porn shop
- 2) Memories of visits to porn shops
- Episodic narrative about strippers:*
- 3) Prejudices towards strippers
- 4) Teaches others about their normality
- 5) "Even the black girl from Jamaica seems so ordinary"
- 6) Prejudices prove false
- Back to the original story:*
- 7) Works in the shop without pay
- 8) The road to entrepreneurship
- Episodic narrative about the meaning of entrepreneurship:*
- 9) Working for one's own benefit
- 10) Pride about growth
- 11) Pride about the educative side of sex industry entrepreneurship.

The story contains two episodic narratives. Stanzas 1, 2, 7 and 8 describe Jane's journey to entrepreneurship in the sex industry. The first episodic narrative about her prejudices towards strippers comprises stanzas 3-6, and the second episode about what entrepreneurship means to her is found in stanzas 9-11. Again Jane's story opens with Richard, who worries about her reaction to his dream of working in a porn shop. The story continues with Jane's description of her experiences as a customer in other erotic shops, which creates a background against which her liberal attitude becomes understandable. This liberal-mindedness together with her love for Richard led her to work in the porn shop without pay. It is in this context that she begins to nurture the idea of entrepreneuring in the porn shop with Richard in the future. Thus, opportunity recognition in Jane's case is a result of her new relationship and his guidance.

Some time later Jane told me in a few words that during the time she was hanging around at the shop, she was also entrepreneuring as a domina but decided to quit because she needed to retain some fantasies of her own. Perhaps this detail was not narrated in the above passage either because at the time there was not yet enough trust between us for her to share it with me, or because she merely forgot it. What makes this an interesting detail is that Jane's entrepreneuring as a domina was actually the only thing she was unable to tell her mother about. This seems to refer to the social risk that Jane felt in this line of entrepreneuring, but also to the risk of losing her own fantasies. Together these risks show the limits that she would not cross as for a career in the sex business. In other words, Jane admits to having had some doubts about the industry, naming her prejudices against strippers as an example.

The first episodic narrative describes how Jane's prejudices prove wrong as she gets to know these women. She remarks that she nowadays tells people about strippers' work to prevent misunderstandings. The second episodic narrative points out the educative side of Jane's and Richard's entrepreneurship. Jane says they are proud to have medical students come over to learn from them about sexuality. Indeed, education is one of the meanings that Jane attaches to their particular entrepreneurship and considers valuable. The other meanings are self-employment, i.e. working for their own benefit, and pride in the growth of the enterprise. Both of these are very traditional

reasons to start as an entrepreneur and also meanings that are frequently associated with entrepreneurship.

There are a few themes to which Jane returns over and over again. A moral lesson she often refers to is that of tolerance. This theme unfolds especially in the story about her friend and in the episode dealing with her own initial prejudices towards strippers, and finally in the episodic narrative about the pride she takes in being able to teach others about sexuality. These narratives also tell about the growth of Jane's own tolerance, beginning when she meets Richard and slowly evolving in the course of time through the above events. Her entrepreneurship in the sex industry plays an important part in this growth.

Another major theme mentioned by Jane repeatedly is trust, especially trust among family members. The whole idea of entrepreneuring in the sex industry actually emerged from the mutual trust and understanding between Richard and Jane, and the only thing that ever seemed to make Jane sceptical about the running a sex business was that her sons criticized it and felt ashamed – did not tell their friends about it, for example. On the other hand, the termination of Jane's relationship with her close friend is indicative of the social risk related to the industry. However, this was no longer an issue of concern at the time of narrating, and Jane seemed to have a ready interpretation for it.

7.3 Richard's narrative

If Jane's form of narrating has a poetic quality to it, Richard's account is pure prose. His narrative account is very straightforward and progresses linearly in time. His story was prompted by a simple question: "How did you enter this industry?" Each of its 15 chapters has a clear theme that takes the narrative forward.

Richard's narrative account is structured into chapters as follows:

- 1) Teenage
- 2) Leaves home as a young adult
- 3) Lives abroad, worldview widens
- 4) Different jobs
- 5) Idea of sex industry entrepreneurship starts to develop
- 6) Divorces first wife and takes a job in a porn shop
- 7) Changes in the sex industry and in people's attitudes
- 8) Develops as a sex industry employee
- 9) Opportunity exploitation begins: becomes an entrepreneur and finds his own entrepreneurial niche
- 10) Business widens to cooperation with medical education, health care, etc.
- 11) Variety of entrepreneurial roles
- 12) Back to opportunity exploitation
- 13) Sex shop clientele
- 14) Development and growth of business
- 15) Competition

Extracts

Richard's narrative account follows the above sequence and its chapters are marked accordingly.

1) Teenage

We have to go still a bit further back to look for the chronology of this matter. The fact is that all people are sexually interested in a lot of things, and so in my case the desire to experiment began in my teens, like it does with everyone, and like, like, that interest, well, just continued, don't know whether it's stronger than average or... (**Jane:** ...runs in the family.) – Well, maybe so... hehe.

But well, there wasn't any negative attitude to sexuality, it was like very normal, neutral, and not restricted, forbidden or something like that. Nudity is normal, and even though my mother is religious and all that, so there's this religious background there too, but still no suppression like whatsoever.

2) Leaves home as a young adult

And well, of course, there wasn't really any room at home, but then moving into adulthood and so on. There was a girlfriend who didn't approve even of things like strings, or, or something like that, like it was "awful", "you're quite sick", and something like that. And and, through these experimentations then came, like, like, [the idea of] what I am. So I don't, like, feel like playing around with people. Whoever you happen to meet, well, if someone just doesn't fancy you, well, I guess so much for that.

I decided back then that all those that I meet, like start dating or begin an affair, I'd tell them right away what I'm after or what I am, what I do. So it's like honest stuff. And not like two people get acquainted, two total strangers get acquainted and then leave things unsaid. So that I've sort of realized that you have to be direct about everything. Rather blurt them out right away, right away, those most important things, so you don't get any surprises later on. So the beginning of the relationship will either continue, or then it'll end there. There's no need to like kid around or stall, or how should I put it. So that, surprise surprise, this thing actually worked better that way.

Since then I've never had any flops, so-called flops or like that, so if a relationship has started, then it's worked out real fine. So, so it has either ended right there, or if it has continued, then the other party has also been interested then, then, like in sexuality or so. So those aren't like insignificant things.

3) Lives abroad, worldview widens

And well, when I was around twenty or thirty I lived abroad for some time. I've toured all the countries of Europe in my own car. Naturally visited these shops and things in this field, and all that like because of my own interest. Of course, of course it was about adventure and getting to know your own sexuality and yourself and Europe, too, of course.

Just... that's how you then learned languages and learned about culture and all this sort of thing. That is, life teaches you that way, and well, like...

The first three chapters of Richard's narrative all concentrate on how he grew to know his own sexuality and lay the grounds for his later development. Apart from Richard's own sexual growth, the main themes of the narrative underline the normality of sexuality, and straightforwardness and honesty as a precondition for a sexual relationship. Richard narrates in the first person singular but also in the monopersonal third person singular form, which he seems to use to turn his own experiences into more objective moral lessons³⁸. In the first chapter he rationalizes his own strong sexual libido with the normality

³⁸ The Finnish monopersonal verb form is translated into English by using 'you' or 'one' as the subject, but in Finnish it is always in the third person singular. This reminds of Labov's (1972, 323) argument that it is usual for the narrator to introduce a third person to evaluate the narrated action.

of sexuality. He reflects on this theme twice as he introduces two characters who affected his growth: his mother and a former girlfriend.

Richard's first reflection concerns his mother, who, although religious, is liberal-minded. Here he also seems to make a moral point by noting that religion and sexuality are not exclusionary. The second reflection is about a girlfriend who thinks that his strong sexuality is 'sick'. Richard names this particular experience as the reason for his decision always to be honest as far as his sexual libido is concerned. He evaluates this to have been the right decision by saying that he has had no sexual failures in his relationships since then. It is Richard's strongest moral lesson in the first three chapters, and his reason to narrate them. At the same time these events tell about his strong internal locus of control in a matter that had begun to evolve through his physical and emotional independence from home and from other people's morals. It may be that his internal locus of control or his decisions in adolescence were not quite as strong as he now describes them, looking back from today's perspective. Yet it is certain that these specific events were so significant that he narrates the whole story through them - to provide the twist that good stories always have. The subsequent chapters of Richard's account also carry the lesson of his internal locus, as will be seen.

4) Different jobs

Of course, I've been versatile at work, like I've worked in a huge amount of different jobs. I have a pile of references one or two centimetres thick, that's how much different stuff I've done. Was a freelancer for seven years after I came back from abroad, so, well, I did all kinds of things for everyone. From one day to a month or two, whatever anyone needed. And always had my calendar full half a year ahead, like, so I had no problem.

Of course I also visited this porn shop as a customer then from the start, whenever I was around these parts, and looked around to see what they had here and things like that.

5) Idea of sex-industry entrepreneurship starts to develop

Then in the year '99, or well, actually I should still, still... In the '90s, already in the early '90s, mid '90s, I'd had the idea that if I myself started to entrepreneur in something, then yes, I could consider the erotic field and something like this, like our 'bizarre club' is now.

So well, my then-wife didn't at all approve. "No no, that type of business won't do." She doesn't want her relatives to know that her husband is some sort of porn dealer. You can say that that's what they were called back then...

6) Divorces first wife and takes a job in a porn shop

But well, then in '99 I got divorced, and at that stage then went to visit this porn shop, and they had a notice there on the desk that, well, they were looking for an employee.

And I thought to myself right there on the spot that this was something I hadn't yet tried, and so let's go ask the then-owner - I knew him, of course - and we agreed on a meeting.

It didn't take more than five minutes and I was already working for the firm, then, so that, that's when I started to learn about this, like, world of erotica and sort of as a job and as work, and so well, it was perfectly natural. Nothing to be ashamed of. No, no, I wasn't thinking what other people would say, because it doesn't matter to me what they say. I'm just working for myself and, like, serving customers, and and, maybe I did have a slightly different picture of this whole sexuality thing after having toured out there for 10 years then exploring all kinds of things, and like like.

7) Changes in the sex industry and in people's attitudes

Ah... when you look at that time period, then in the '70s, '80s, that's when these sex shops arrived, or porn shops as they were called then. And in the '90s I think they were more like sex shops. Of course, they'd talk about porn shops, and somebody may still call it a porn shop and many say a sex shop, but what I call this style that we have here now today, this is an erotic shop.

Sure, in town, somewhere in Kallio [town district] you can also find porn shops – murky, dirty, shabby, that sort. But well, so nowadays they do talk of erotic shops.

8) Develops as a sex industry employee

So well... Sure, I started to get better at that and began to look at the business like with different eyes.

Then I gained experience, knowledge, skills about everything, everything, and kept getting ideas into my head all the time, like what I'd seen there in the outside world, like what could be done and developed and well, I also implemented some [ideas] during my time as an employee there, and then...

Chapters 4-8 tell about Richard's work career, his growth into entrepreneurship, and the opportunity recognition process. Richard claims he has never really had a regular job, describing his career as versatile and crumbled. There is again a glimpse here of his ability to bear uncertainty and financial risk and his desire for independency. In chapter 5 he makes an interesting flashback to his first wife. To add power to his statement he changes roles and uses his first wife's voice to argue that there was no way she would have tolerated her husband being a porn shop entrepreneur. This third female character in Richard's account is comparable to the former girlfriend presented in chapter 2 of his narrative. This girlfriend was depicted as an obstacle to Richard's self-fulfilment, similarly as his first wife is a hinder to his entrepreneurial career in the sex business.

At this point Richard has already dreamed about entrepreneuring in the sex industry and even recognized opportunities that he is thinking of following. However, he cannot proceed to exploit them because the social risk at that time would have been too big: entrepreneuring in the industry could have ended his marriage.

The narrative takes another turn in chapter 6 when Richard divorces and starts to work as a salesperson in the porn shop. As I learned later on from Jane, this event was not as easy as Richard here makes it out to be, but actually involved some doubts and fears on his part as to how Jane would take it all. Although such doubts are not spelled out in Richard's narrative, they can still be inferred from how forcefully he again defends his choice by arguing for the naturalness of the sex business and his working in the shop. This particular incident is what really opened my eyes to the interpretation of narratives, for it shows so clearly that while some things are perhaps not said out loud in the narrative, they may still be present between the lines. Another interesting observation here is how heavily Richard underscores his independence of anyone else's opinions.

Richard makes some evaluative remarks about the sex industry in chapter 7 when he tells about the transformation from porn shops to erotic shops. This change partly reflects a Druckerian change in people's perception, mood and meanings: replacing the word 'porn' by 'erotic' made it easier for people to

accept this kind of shops. Richard makes the point by stressing that theirs is an erotic shop; this to him implies a female perspective as distinguished from porn shops, which have traditionally been targeted to male customers. It is also easier to talk of erotic shops than porn shops and perhaps, for many, eroticism is an easier concept to handle and comprehend than pornography.

This theme is associated with Richard's own statements about the morality of his job and his claim that other people's morals are not a correct measure for his own morals. In the same chapter Richard goes on to justify once more why he sees nothing shameful about working or entrepreneuring in the sex industry. His main justifications are, firstly, that he really does not have to live up to other people's expectations and, secondly, that he is in the customer service business to serve all customers and to help those who are in need of help. Here Richard puts a lot of effort into justifying and explaining the moral aspects of the business. Seen from the perspective of risk this evaluation seems to refer to an attempt to avoid cognitive dissonance and social risk.

Richard's account presents his road to opportunity recognition as a linear process that begins in his teens and ends in chapter 8 when he buys the shop. The main events that affected his opportunity recognition are, firstly, his internal locus of control regarding his sexuality and way of doing things; secondly, his curiosity to explore, which yields the intellectual cognitive capital for opportunity recognition; and thirdly, his relationships, specifically the latest one with Jane, which leads him to recognize this particular opportunity. Still, Richard's entrepreneurship does not appear fully planned and focused. He seizes the opportunity when it fits his social life situation. So, despite his strong claims for independence, it looks like he could grasp the opportunity in the sex industry only after being confident about getting enough social support. In other words, the social risk of entering the industry was reduced after Richard had divorced his first wife and got together with Jane.

There is one final evaluative element in Richard's narrative concerning his own career, namely the change from intrapreneurial to entrepreneurial thinking. This is best seen in chapter 8, with Richard telling about his development in the job. He describes how his sales experience combined with his knowledge and understanding of sexuality in all its varieties produced fresh ideas on how to improve the business. Richard notes that he kept most of his intrapreneurial ideas to himself in order to use them to develop his own business later. And then came the day when he got his chance to exploit the recognized opportunity.

9) Opportunity exploitation begins: Richard becomes an entrepreneur and finds his own entrepreneurial niche

Then I started to grow so interested that I asked the owner if he might sell the shop. Well, got around to making a deal then, and so we bought it for ourselves.

And that's where it started from, then, this pace of change, all this, this [we've put] into this shop. - Well, maybe no more about my personal profile... **(Go right on!)** ...but maybe let's talk about this business thing, too, that we had, we had, because that'll maybe sort of bring out maybe what I represent, or am.

Well then, the old part of the shop was already a somewhat old-fashioned, like, sex shop. Ah... its style targeted more to men than women. But in the '90s women still

started to visit these shops a lot, and well, we pondered what to do [about it]. Like, a change must, we need to make a change here, and and, then two years ago we expanded this. Moved from that old space to the other side of the wall, like, so we obtained... That old space back there was 60 square metres, so we obtained 250, and it felt huge, like, we wonder[ed] how we'd manage and so on.

But we did this purely from a female perspective – open windows, neat, welcoming. Managed to divide these product groups into sections, which, which you can see here, like, it works. And well, it was unbelievable what we achieved with this change of style t, like within a few months half the customers are women. That group grew, the women's group like grew right away, they dared to venture in and, of course, I also appeared a lot in the media.

10) Business widens to cooperation with medical education, health care, etc.

I've... that is, we've done a lot of cooperating, and I give lectures, like, to the health care sector. We've had groups of doctors here, I've visited hospitals in different places, nursing schools. People come here who're studying to be sex therapists. We cooperate this way because this, too, is one part of...

So today's erotic shop is not just about pleasure and sex but we also have plenty of products related to health care. And and, as sexuality is a very broad thi... area, like on the health care side, too, so these nurses, er... or generally, generally, the people who work in that field have to know also about this sector that you find here. Because you find a lot of stuff here that you don't even find in pharmacies today – doctors know to direct [people] straight only to us. (For example?) Vacuum pumps, penis rings. You don't even get geisha balls from all health care shops or pharmacies, but even pharmacies buy them from us.

11) Variety of entrepreneurial roles

So well, people look for lots of different things here. So we're a bit like, sort of psychologists, vendors, listeners, have to be a bit of everything here. Must be open, and and, have it together, be like trustworthy for the customer. So this is a delicate business. Some may be nervous but you have to know how to read them, you have to be able to like react in exactly the right way to how that person reacts to this stuff. And we're talking about such an intimate area that not everyone's talked about it to anyone, if even to their partner, since some people are, like, [they have] sex once a week on Saturday after the sauna under the blanket in the dark. Like, that's all there is to it, and even that for just five minutes.

So well, not to even talk [about sex] or anything, and then come here to look for... Then it's sometimes, it's really like deep inside the person, a kind of lock that you can't seem to know how to... But we always manage to cope with that, just talking, talking frankly and so on, so that's how it works. Well, I'm getting carried away again... Wonder what I was saying there earlier...

12) Back to opportunity exploitation

Well, so when we opened this, so half the customers were women and afterwards it's happened many times that although we are, that is... here in Finland there are like two erotic shops targeted to women, and well, we calculated that it's got to be for men too, that we can't [afford to] miss them, that surely both must have access to this, this field.

So, occasionally there are so many women here that a couple of times a man has come in through the door there and looked horrified: oo-oo! so many women, pew! right back out again! Earlier it was the other way around. So that women would panic when there were many men around. But today it's even the opposite. That's how times change, change, well, so ... Women really dare come here very well, young women just like they'd go to a food store.

13) Sex shop clientele

Like, everybody comes here, both from the church side and from the city hall and that department store. Nobles and knaves – like, there's no, no category [that's not represented] or like that.

Only thing that has changed is that earlier we used to get all kinds of, like, outcasts, drunkards and such, but we've clearly noticed that after this image change was made we also had fewer of those winos. But you always get [them] every now and then, in every shop... (Short interruption) Now where was I...

14) Development and growth of business

So, so, that's how we've made improvements. That is, two and a half years ago we expanded, obtained those 250 square metres here. Now, half a year ago we expanded again, so didn't take more than a year... No, wait a minute, two years in between. We took back that so-called old part over there. So now we got 400 square metres of space here. And there are a few [sex shops] with 400 square metres in [other city], one that's a bit, a bit larger still, but like, in terms of the product range we're certainly among Finland's largest. So that - hello hello there (to a customer) - but even colleagues from there have like visited here, saying that no, nobody has this much, that is, product variety.

Of course, we tour fairs around Europe and are looking for contacts all the time. All the time we're looking to widen the product category, and well yes, people have been happy with it. So if they can't find [a product] elsewhere they come and ask us.

So we have, of course, become known in this business, like around Finland, through marketing the 'bizarre' [club] and sure, a shop this size is too big for a town this size, that's quite obvious. So we didn't, like, we didn't get any growth by expanding in that sense. [But] we get more product range and we get marketing.

Like, people who're on holiday or just passing by, they always stop here, the ones who know these shops, so, so they always come and drop by here and they find - Need any help? (to a customer) - so here they find what they can't find elsewhere. So yes, we can market ourselves that way.

15) Competition

Of course there's this competitive setting - that if a smaller shop arrives it won't make it here, and if someone else sets up a shop of this size here, then that person is crazy. Hehe, that'll end right there. Nobody has that much money to put into this kind of thing. So yes, we do have this setup right, like what we had in mind.

But imagewise this is one of the, one of the, even if I say so myself, what the customers always say, like, there isn't a finer like business system anywhere else in Finland, at the moment. Sure, somebody's naturally going to follow again soon, but well, we do have very, very much our own approach.

From chapter 9 onwards Richard's account concentrates on the exploitation phase. At this point some interesting changes occur in the narrative form, both in the way Richard talks and in what he tells. Up till now he has described his motives in individualistic terms focusing solely on his own persona. But as soon as the narrative turns to the exploitation of the opportunity Richard begins to talk about 'us'. A significant change in the narrative's content occurs right at the start of the ninth chapter, as Richard shifts the focus from himself to the business, the main theme of the story. However, as Richard remarks later, to him the business is a question of who he himself is, so perhaps my interpretation sees the change as more dramatic than how Richard interpreted it.

The chapters up till chapter 15 then describe the entrepreneurial opportunity itself in relation to customers, growth of the business, Richard's own entrepreneurial roles, and competition in the industry. In fact, the business opportunity that Richard recognized is: women. He depicts the old shop as old-fashioned and targeted to men. Then in the '90s something happens in women's awareness and way of thinking, and they begin to approach these male fortresses, step by step. Richard observes this change and decides to turn it into an opportunity. What Richard sees as the shop's competitive advantage today is its wide range and variety of products and services, which Jane is also especially proud of. Moreover, Richard's own roles change after he becomes an entrepreneur. While he had at first been in the role of a customer and then an

employee in the sex industry, his role now changes to that of an entrepreneur, which evolves further into the role of an expert in sexuality.

Although the strongest theme here is opportunity exploitation, Richard stresses some interconnected moral themes as well. The opportunity that he discovers means seeing sexuality as an important part of being human, not as something odd or peculiar. It is also his main claim when he assumes a role as an expert and begins to teach the sexual perspective, e.g. to students of medicine, further expanding the variety of roles that Richard sees himself in. By taking medical students as an example he deepens the argument that sexuality is something that everyone should understand. He strengthens this view by his remark about the change from a regular porn shop into an erotic shop that serves women and men on an equal basis – yet another argument for the normality of the business.

Further observations on Jane's and Richard's combined accounts

Richard's narrative account presents him in several roles that evolve and even intermingle as he approaches the present moment. He starts off as a son and boyfriend, then continues to become an adventurer, husband, freelancer, porn shop salesman, and ultimately an entrepreneur in the sex industry. Through these roles Richard is creating a picture of a continuum but also of change. His sexual liberalism is a major element in the continuum, and he narrates it through relationships with women: with his mother, girlfriend, first wife and finally, with Jane. The role of these women in Richard's story and the course of his working career reflect the gradual change that leads to entrepreneurship: a role that happily combines his marital relationship and his sexually oriented thinking. The events that have a profound impact and actually change his role relate, firstly, to his girlfriend³⁹ and secondly, his first wife⁴⁰. Both women appear in situations where Richard's identity is questioned.

Jane's various roles seem more visible than Richard's, and she also tells about conflicts between them. Although there is no conflict between her most prominent roles as a wife and an entrepreneur – which are, in fact, mutually supportive – Jane's account does describe other role collisions. The first is seen in her not daring to let her mother know she was entrepreneuring as a domina, which represents a conflict between her roles as a domina and a daughter. Jane settles it by ending her domina career. Another role conflict involves her teenage sons who feel ashamed that their mother is an erotic shop entrepreneur. This conflict is settled as her sons grow up and their attitude changes.

Not only social risk but also social support have played an important part in both Richard's and Jane's entrepreneurial careers. Most of the social risk situations in Jane's entrepreneurship were described above in connection with her role conflicts, and it seems these events were not narrated to give them any

³⁹ “There was a girlfriend who didn't approve even of things like strings, or, or something like that, like it was 'awful', 'you're quite sick'.

⁴⁰ “So well, my then-wife didn't at all approve. 'No no, that type of business won't do.' She doesn't want her relatives to know that her husband is some sort of porn dealer.”

specific meaning in the story. But there is one which, to my understanding, does not carry a direct role conflict but is given the meaning of a social risk: namely, the incident with Jane's childhood friend. In Richard's account, on the other hand, social risks and social support are apparent in his chances of pursuing a career in the sex industry during his relationship with his first wife, as compared with his relationship with Jane later on. Indeed, it seems that after his first wife's strong disapproval of his dreams, the final trigger to start pursuing a career in the sex industry was the (social) support offered by Jane.

Another dichotomy emerges when Jane and Richard turn to the recognition and exploitation of the opportunity: Richard's focus is so obviously on its recognition and Jane's on its exploitation. Neither Richard nor Jane tell explicitly about Jane's role in recognizing the opportunity, but something can be inferred from Richard's reference to his life before Jane. Jane had expressed her interest in the sex industry before her relationship with Richard by saying that she "had nothing against it", whereas Richard had actively sought information about the industry. Reading the two accounts side by side reveals many interesting aspects about the opportunity process, as Richard appears to be the one who recognized the opportunity in the first place. He had long dreamed of a business in the sex industry, because to him it represented 'who he was'. Meeting Jane, thus, had almost an emancipatory meaning for him – although Jane mentions that he was initially nervous to ask her opinion about working in a porn shop. The relationship with Jane gave him a better chance for self-expression, and finally opened up a possibility to exploit the entrepreneurial opportunity. Jane, on the other hand, says that although she was interested in sex, she had never really thought of making a living in the industry before meeting Richard. Here Jane's story and her actions acquire a sense of social trust: she does not regard entrepreneurship in the sex industry at all shameful. She trusted Richard's insight, visions and understanding sufficiently to take the major step to exploit the opportunity.

To conclude, the main themes that both Jane and Richard carry in their narratives are about bearing social risk and preventing cognitive dissonance.

7.4 Arthur, a pimp – among other things

Meeting Arthur

I went to meet Arthur in prison, where he was serving his sentence for procuring. To my surprise it was quite easy to obtain permission to meet with him. When I went to see him I was feeling nervous and did not really know what to expect. The welcome at the prison gate was not the warmest that I have had, and the grave questions about my reasons for being there, were asked in a deep voice from behind a one-way glass where I could only see my own reflection, almost making me laugh. I felt as if I had stepped into a Salvador Dali painting.

I tried hard to keep on mind on just exactly why I was there: "I am a researcher. I'm here to meet an interesting person with an unusual story. I only want to hear it. Forget everything else. Interesting story... Let him talk and just listen." Later I understood that Arthur was equally bewildered by the situation as I was. He had a confused expression on his face when we shook hands and I introduced myself. Before I had time to give him any

instructions or ask any questions, he remarked that he didn't know "exactly what to say". I told him I was interested to hear his story and that he could start right from the beginning, from whatever he thought was important. And so he got going and went on – for two and a half hours.

The meeting session with Arthur cannot be called a conversation, since I certainly did not interfere much with his narration, nor can it really be called an interview, since I had not prepared any reasonable questions to ask him. At first our meeting resembled something of a monologue, with Arthur talking and me listening, letting him build his story independently with very little interference. My few attempts to guide his story by asking something failed, and only at the time of transcribing did I realize the reason for this. It seems that I had managed to interrupt Arthur's narration with my questions, instead of taking it forward. I felt like an idiot, but by invoking the confusing and multilayered nature of his story I managed to forgive myself and turn this into a learning experience. In analysing his account I also found that my few questions had been only to clarify something I had not understood at the moment, so they did not influence my analysis or understanding of the narrative later on.

Only when transcribing Arthur's account did I learn to better comprehend Arthur's fragmented story as whole. On many occasions the words and sentences I thought I had heard at the time of the interview turned into something else – both literally and interpretatively – when I transcribed them. The former was due to Arthur's very rapid and indistinct manner of speech and his way of swallowing words. He himself expressed his regrets to me about it quite early in our meeting. This meant that I had to rewind certain spots ten times over in transcribing the tapes, trying to make sense of what I heard. When the transcript was finished I discovered that, besides enhancing my understanding of Arthur's story, the transcription procedure had also given me a better idea of the meaning of interpretation in general and its role in every step of the research process – even in something as mechanical as transcribing. This recognition was reinforced as I found four significant mistakes in the thirty lines that were transcribed for me by my husband. Those were the only lines in any of the interviews transcribed by someone other than myself. I take it that the mistakes were there due to the transcriber's lack of preconception of what the narrative was about: in other words, due to a kind of interpretive misunderstanding.

Attempts to analyse Arthur's account

After this short introduction a few words about what follows are in place. This subchapter focuses on my treatment of Arthur's account to prepare it to be read. The analysis methods used in interpreting Arthur's narrative are then presented in more detail, after which it is time to give the floor to Arthur. I will first introduce the plot to create an understanding of what happened to Arthur and when. Some fragments of his account are given already in this connection, but my interpretation here is limited to arranging the account into chronological order.

After presenting the plot I take a more interpretative approach in the four narrative extracts that follow. The first one describes the beginning of Arthur's career; the second tells about his onetime troubles with a gang; the third is a story of a specific turning point in his career; and the fourth is an episodic narrative showing how Arthur himself interprets his entrepreneurship. Although the plot covers Arthur's life and his entrepreneurial career in its entirety, the narrative extracts are chosen with a focus on one explicit business branch: procuring. In the last subchapter the themes of Arthur's account are placed in a broader context.

Overall, it was fairly difficult to get a grasp of Arthur's narrative account. The transcription was 40 pages long and the narrative was extremely multilayered. The same events were repeated over and over again, and each repetition added a new insight, an evaluative remark or new details, which

expanded the entrepreneurial master narrative. Sometimes a new layer emerged in response to my request to repeat some event; sometimes Arthur added a new layer spontaneously – perhaps because his own interpretation of events evolved as he narrated, or because he grew to trust me more as the interview went on. Especially at the beginning of our meeting Arthur often left his sentences unfinished. This may have been just a manner of speech, indicating that he had so many things to say that he dropped one idea because something more important needed to be said first. Or it may be that Arthur changed his interpretation in the middle of a sentence or just wanted to be careful about what he said.

Arthur's account is approached from two perspectives: firstly, the perspective of the plot, which presents the recognition of opportunities and entering the business, and secondly, the perspective of his evaluation of his motives and reasons to exploit the opportunities, which are interpreted based on the selected four extracts. This division is artificial both on the level of the narrative and the analysis, and the opportunity process might quite well have been presented in some other way. However, I feel that this division is supported by narrative theory and the chosen analysis methods. My interpretation of the extracts is based on an analysis of both the content and form of Arthur's account. Its content is first analysed in relation to opportunity recognition and exploitation, after which it is interpreted in relation to the form of the narrative, *how* it is told, keeping in mind that its form may be used also to hide motives, reasons or explanations for the narrator's behaviour as well as to reveal them.

Analysing the account meant breaking it down into smaller chunks, altering the places of individual narratives, and changing their time sequence from how they were presented to me. I have left out certain matters from the extracts, such as details about what the best women and the best apartments are like, where they can be found, what characterizes a typical customer, or what the women think of them. These matters, although interesting, are irrelevant from the perspective chosen for this study. The account has also been cleared of some of my questions and unnecessary comments as well as most of Arthur's idle filler words and sounds like mm, ah, um, etc., to give a more coherent view of what Arthur actually said.

Analysis tools

My first idea on how to proceed with the analysis was that I should pick out important events and narratives in the account and divide them, firstly, into those that constitute the plot (orientation, complicating action) and, secondly, into those that explain the plot (evaluation, resolution). Thus, my initial idea for the analysis concentrated on two methods: Labov's different components of a story, based on a very strict concept of a narrative, and Riessman's notions concerning narrative genres. As the analysis progressed I recognized the need for still another tool to help me identify Arthur's use of language in more detail. This is when I came across Todorov and his narrative transformations. Together these methodological elements formed the starting point for the analysis.

Given the very complex structure of Arthur's account, my first goal was to make it clearer. I decided to go through the whole account and mark the text in different colours using Labov's distinction into orientation, complicating action, evaluation and resolution. In the first round of analysis I concentrated on the first two, marking orientation in grey and using yellow for complicating action.

Separating orientative text and text with complicating action – which sounds simple in theory – proved more difficult than I had anticipated. Already halfway through the task I felt troubled, because Arthur used language in a way that left him as a passive figure, outside the events he was telling about. I noticed I was marking lot of text in grey indicating orientation: that is, Arthur told about events taking place without his own active participation. Clearly Arthur's skilful way of using certain linguistic forms at first gave the idea that he was not responsible for his actions. I realized that having marked large portions of text in grey, I was led to take a very strong interpretative standpoint. Because I was unable to put my finger on the actual cause of my troubled feeling, I decided to go through the text again.

In the second round I changed the approach. Instead of marking in grey all those sentences where I felt Arthur placed himself as an outsider with expressions like "I *sort of* helped..." or "I *somehow accidentally*...", or by using negative forms, I changed the colour to yellow. I figured that even though it was hard to interpret them as Arthur's own actions, at least as his willing actions, he still may have done them. In other words, I decided to mark in yellow those points in the text where Arthur somehow downplays his action but which still are important because they clearly take the plot forward. In the end, the two analysis rounds revealed the parts of the account that constitute the plot of Arthur's entrepreneurial career story.

I continued the analysis with Labov's ideas, and in the next round marked the evaluative parts of the account in red and used turquoise to mark the resolutions. Evaluative text proved especially important, first of all, by pointing out the significance of certain events to Arthur and, secondly, by exposing the meaning he had attached to them and also his attitude to what had happened. By using evaluative words or phrases Arthur attempted to prevent me from saying "So *what?*", and thereby provided a reason for telling the narrative. Due to its important role, evaluative text occurred throughout the narrative account, but especially towards the end. Whereas the parts involving orientation and complicating action showed where the plot moves on, evaluation revealed where Arthur explains himself and the motives and reasons for his actions.

In summary, Labov's distinction proved difficult to apply because it was specifically developed to analyse narratives told in the form of a story. This made me feel unable to grasp Arthur's intricate narrative account in its entirety. On the other hand, Labov's method not only led me to uncover the plot of Arthur's account, but also showed me where Arthur evaluates his actions and how he interprets the events that had taken place. The discovery of the plot meant that I had, for Arthur's part, found the way to answer the first research question. Moreover, revealing the evaluative text created a basis for answering

the second research question about entrepreneurial justifications for exploiting a perceived opportunity within the sex industry. But the Labovian analysis also raised new questions. Was there a more profound interpretation for sentences like “I *did* this”, “I *sort of* did this”, “*somehow* I did this”, or “this *happened* to me”? As the account kept perplexing me I knew that a Labovian analysis was not enough. There remained questions to be answered.

After finishing with Labov my next task was to analyse the structure of Arthur’s account closer by examining what kind of narrative genres he uses and how he uses them. Overall he employed many different genres in what at first glance seemed a very inconsistent way – mixing, combining and varying them. The result is an account in which all the narrative genres are represented. The account begins with a habitual narrative as Arthur recounts the main events of his career in the sex industry. As the narrative evolves he inserts some stories into the habitual narrative to make the account more worth telling and more interesting, and to invite the listener to re-experience the events with him – and, in some cases, to make a stronger point. Midway through the account Arthur begins to explain his actions. To do this he employs an episodic narrative around the theme of his reasons for getting involved in the industry.

Towards the end of the account Arthur starts to use hypothetical narratives more and more. He often speaks in the conditional and uses sentences that begin with phrases like “*If* I hadn’t”. A major portion of Arthur’s hypothetical narratives have to do with an evaluation of events that have happened and often include a wish that things had turned out differently. It almost seems that he has imagined another life for himself which extends far from the past into the future. He explains the past events as something he has not really done, but has just been a part of, and at the same time offers another version of his life that might have been, if only... His hypothetical narratives thus refer both to the past and the future: the former appearing in the form “*If* I hadn’t...” and the latter unveiling his hopes and dreams for the future.

The four extracts presented here were chosen based on the different genres discovered in the text. The narrative genres gave me an understanding of its structure and helped me to identify the events that Arthur himself emphasizes as having changed not only his perception, but his whole life. Arthur sees these turning points as so significant that he uses the story genre to evoke them. On the other hand, when his interpretations change more gradually in the course of time without any particular events affecting them, Arthur employs the habitual narrative to depict such changes. The habitual narrative also gives the plot its sequence, helping to make the discordant concordant.

Since Arthur first brought me into his world using a habitual narrative, I will follow suit. Thus, the first extract is a habitual narrative introducing the general course of Arthur’s life. This same narrative is repeated later in his account when he returns to it to explain the sequence or to add a point. These later points have affected my interpretation, but the habitual narrative as he

first told it is not broken or altered here⁴¹ because of such later additions. The last extract is entirely devoted to an episodic narrative which Arthur himself pointed out to me by stating, "I will now try to give you the reasons for...". The significance of this final extract is at least twofold. Firstly, it very well illustrates Arthur's way of reasoning, and secondly, it offers excellent material for my attempt to find the answer to the second research question. In any case, dividing a multilayered text like Arthur's into genres and analysing it accordingly involves a large number of decisions on the analyst's part. For example, there is no simple or right answer to where a habitual narrative ends or a story begins, so the decision must be based purely on interpretation.

As noted, Labov left me with some unanswered questions, mostly regarding Arthur's use of verbs that denote thinking about or evaluating an action rather than actually doing it, which seemed to leave him outside the action and, hence, without responsibility for it. Narrative transformations appeared to offer a suitable instrument to explore these structures, as the focus is on how verbs are used and how their meaning changes as they are transformed.

Among the six simple transformations that add or modify a certain operator to specify the predicate, the transformations of *mode*, *intention*, *manner* and *status* proved especially useful in interpreting the account. They helped to see what matters Arthur, the narrator, considers possible, impossible, necessary or unnecessary (mode); how he proposes to perform an action (intention); how he sees an event to occur (manner); and where he uses negative or contradictory forms (status). Complex transformations, which relate to mental operations concerning the relationship and representation of a certain incident in the narrator's experience (Todorov 1977, 225), offer an excellent tool to look closer at Arthur's way of speaking. Transformations of *appearance*, *knowledge*, *description* and *supposition* all indicate the relationship between the narrator's speech or knowledge and its object, whereas transformations of *subjectivation* and *attitude* reveal the narrator's approach or attitude towards the proposition.

Finally, it should be reminded that the same events can be narrated in numerous different ways. The narrator chooses and uses various structures, at least partly subconsciously, to mold the narrative to correspond to her own meanings and intentions. Verb transformations specify and signify the narrator's way of interpreting and experiencing events and situations, and her way of using them to match events and meanings together. Transformations are part of form-level analysis, which affects the interpretation of the narrative's content. For me, finding out about narrative transformations was a key to understanding the simple fact that Arthur was molding his narrative because he felt a need to transform it somehow. I have marked the transformations in the extracts in *italics*. In most cases their meanings are so obvious that making the reader aware of them merely by marking them suffices to bring about their interpretation, which is why I have not always included my interpretation of their meanings.

⁴¹ Except for idle filler words and hesitation sounds.

Plot

Both Labov and Riessman helped me in extracting the plot from Arthur's rather complex account. While analysing the text it became increasingly evident that, instead of one clear plot, Arthur's narrative included several overlapping and intertwined plots. The events contained within them present Arthur's entrepreneurial career in the sex industry.

The analysis revealed four entrepreneurial plots in Arthur's narrative account. Arthur, in fact, develops plots for procuring both as an illegal and a legal business, which naturally intermingle because the question is about the life of a single person. Still, from the very beginning Arthur makes a clear separation between the various plots and also moves between them. The plots concern procuring, which Arthur himself calls his main line of business, as well as striptease, pornography and other businesses. Arthur differentiates these plots both in terms of their form and content. The latter is seen, for example, in his claims that the different branches of sex business are totally separate, with different women performing different jobs. In the form of the narratives the distinction is obviously more interpretative, as Arthur uses various means to separate his parallel entrepreneurial lives.

At the beginning of the account, Arthur concentrates on procuring, and only at the end turns to his plans concerning the porn and mobile businesses. He uses habitual narratives and stories to tell about procuring, indicating that it belonged in his past, and switches to a hypothetical narrative to describe his future business plans in the porn industry. Arthur also talks about his business associates in a way that from the start gives the sense that different businesses are handled by different individuals. He never offers any clues as to how they might be connected to each other and thus keeps the different plots separate. Finally, the plots differ in Arthur's attitude towards them. Procuring is something that he mostly wants to get rid of, whereas the other plots – especially pornography as a legal business and the opportunities it offers – are what he wishes to develop further.

Arthur's life is presented below in chronological order beginning from his childhood and then concentrating on his adult life and his multiple businesses. To put Arthur's business career in a nutshell, he starts off by buying investment apartments together with his wife, continues with a phone sex line and then slowly moves on to procuring, which he himself names his main line of business. At the same time he establishes connections to strippers and their agents as well as porn business entrepreneurs. He is only just beginning to build a mobile/internet business when he is sentenced to prison for procuring. The plot is summarized into a plot chart following the textual description.

This subchapter is concerned only with the plot. Arthur's reasons and motives for entering the sex industry and my interpretation of them are dealt with later. However, the subconscious reader's interpretation of his reasons begins already with the introduction of the plot. This interpretation is enhanced by the fact that Arthur himself is also interpreting his life in the narrative passages from the perspective of his present situation, not as he actually experienced the events. This is to say that at this point I chose to leave the

interpreting to Arthur and the reader, and to hold back my own interpretation until later. I also decided to give more details about Arthur's life before he entered the sex industry and about his future plans in this connection, because his actual entrepreneurial career, including the opportunity process, will be studied more closely further on in this study.

It's all about Arthur from now on

Arthur grew up in a very religious home and received an extremely strict upbringing. As examples of what this meant Arthur mentions that they had no television and that pork and blood products, for instance, were forbidden. He describes his upbringing as "Jewish-style" and "very protected". Among other things, he was not allowed to visit his friends' secular homes.

As a child I terribly much wanted to have ... I've been... I didn't have much to do with my schoolmates at all. Like at the upper level [of comprehensive school] I had a couple of good pals, but I visited the other one's home once and the other one's home twice in all those three years. I wasn't allowed to associate. After school I'd go to the central sports field, be there for three, four, five hours and then [go] home. Every day I'd spend my time that way. That was my all.

I wasn't allowed to mix with my schoolmates, wasn't allowed to visit other people's, so-called secular people's homes, and not, not one person ever came to visit me at my parents' home or anywhere, and there wasn't anything like that.

Arthur's parents were very protective and, in his own words, tried to prevent him from seeing other than 'good images'.

I had such a well-behaved childhood, and nice, and a sports background and all that kind of thing, so I didn't, like, know anything about anything.

So that my background is terribly, like, kind of innocent and pure. So, like, [I've] gone from one extreme to the other.

At the age of eleven Arthur began to work in a part-time job.

I've always been working, in worklife throughout my life, like done normal jobs. Like, started as a child really, what shall I say... somewhere around age 11 I was distributing advertisements for the first time.

In his early twenties Arthur got married and had children. Together with his wife he began to buy investment apartments.

Well, the background's funny, shall we say that... At 26 there was still only one woman that I'd slept with in all my life. So it was funny that way. The one with whom I then got married and had children and all.

I myself owned five apartments, had my own three-roomer and four one-roomers.

Long before all these, like, any of these businesses, like, paid for [the apartments] with honest work, me and my then-wife, and we paid for them together.

Arthur describes this period of his life in terms of daily routines that never changed.

So before there was nothing in my life besides that... four walls and that same job all the time and the family and the child and five buddies. Well, every day along the same track basically.

And I hadn't probably even been to a bar more than ten times in my life, even anything like a nightclub. (...) So in my childhood there was no such time period at all, so I never went anywhere. And that's really strange. Just been to a bar a couple of times. Like sometime [at age] a little over twenty. So I was already past twenty when I even slept with a woman for the first time.

Although Arthur was already in working life he decided to go back to school to study for a profession. There he made good friends with at least one foreigner whose friends smuggled cigarettes and alcohol.

So those guys were doing everything, like importing, you'd have 1200 litres of booze always arriving somewhere in the structures of a lorry, and then, you know, they'd empty it out there in the countryside and then, you know, they'd have boxes of those [cigarette] cartons arriving in between plywood boards and all that kind of thing. I've, like, been there and seen it. Even though I wasn't as such involved that way, but, like, this guy would unload those boxes into the warehouse, carry them from the van.

It was through his new friends that Arthur little by little also got to know prostitutes and procurers.

So I was like a half-acquaintance. (...) And there was this one guy [same nationality as my friend] living on the same street and one [foreign] acquaintance was using the apartment (...) then, so that's where I first saw these women.

Approximately two years after starting his studies Arthur grew closer to the procuring business. Firstly, he had rented one of his investment apartments to a friend's friend who was a pimp – which Arthur only found out later. He rescinded the lease, but there had already been an incident with the police in the apartment.

And, and then I broke the lease on my own accord then, before any police interrogation, like broke that apartment lease much earlier. And there'd been an incident there in the apartment, it was so that this one guy threw three customers out, like, with a pistol, like, they'd started drinking and making noise and stuff, indoors there, and then it was, then it was like, a help-(...) that is, there was a guy in the kitchen, a so-called security guy in the other room, and he came out from there, you know, and threw the customers out and one of the customers called the police.

After this Arthur started his first business in the sex industry. This was a sex phone line that employed women who were procured by his friends. At some point, the procurers began to ask him for favours, which led to Arthur working for them as an errand boy.

I helped my acquaintances like with the apartments some. I somehow, I don't know, that is, [helped out] a little with renting, with renting, that is.

So were the apartments rented in your name?

Yea, I was sort of like a dummy, the apartments [were rented] in my name or some friend's of mine or like that, so I was a bit like involved in that business that way and arranging it a little and then, well.

Then I'd fetch girls from the harbour quite a lot, strippers and prostitutes, both.

In his personal life Arthur underwent a divorce and had fears of isolation. This made him very active in night life and a regular visitor to strip clubs. He himself says he became more deeply involved in the sex industry after his divorce.

Then somehow it just [went] pshh! (makes downward motion with his hand). The first year was something a little like... or the first months maybe... Quite soon I then reckoned that it, well... I sort of got all dazzled about women or something like that. At first I thought I'd end up a hermit, that I'd end up alone and, and... Well, I started to go out a lot with my brother and then he opened my eyes, like: "Don't you see that woman there is looking at you, and that one's looking", and...

Somewhere in between partying and working Arthur went to a birthday party where he met a famous porn photographer with whom he became friends.

Like, the most famous [porn photographer]. There was something in the paper a few years back about them. He makes these films and takes these photos [for porn magazines]. For many years now he's been a little like outside the limelight. (...) I was somewhere, it was at this photographer's girlfriend's birthday party, and that's where I got to know him.

In the broader context, there was heavy competition between different procuring gangs. After Arthur had started to help some gangs he found himself caught in the middle of their fights. He was arrested by the police for the first time when slightly over a year had passed since his divorce. This arrest set off a chain reaction that resulted in Arthur leaving his pay job to live by procuring. At this point he set up a removal van business and rented furnished apartments for procurers. Eight months from his arrest he was given his first pecuniary penalty. Having left his job he ran into creditworthiness problems, and less than a year from his arrest he had lost all his investment apartments. He was homeless and in debt to the bank, travelling between different towns and living with prostitutes in the apartments that he, as a dummy, had rented for them.

The wider business environment changed when newspapers became reluctant to publish prostitutes' advertisements and the big procuring gangs that Arthur had worked for/with were caught by the police. In response, Arthur came up with the idea of moving the marketing of prostitutes to the internet. Together with some friends he set up web pages where prostitutes could advertise their services. This contextual change made Arthur a more independent and more important actor.

I basically knew all of the 20 pimps that existed, like, you know, basically all who were entrepreneuring. Basically I also knew the girls in every town who worked on their own, didn't work for anyone else. 'Cause I sort of had the advertising channel, like, in hand. So it was an insider thing.

After the major gangs were caught, the procuring business dwindled somewhat and became more amateurish; above all, the women now began to work more independently.

It's sort of like minor and amateurish messing around. Earlier it used to be more, like, professional. It was kind of like a clearcut thing, there was a lot of money in circulation then and some [gangs] made, like, millions. They made a huge amount of money. Just think that you've got some eight, nine girls working all the time. And if each one has six customers average per day and you get something like 50 euros for one, then what does it make... six, eight, fifty, I'm calculating it quickly, it easily makes, well, some 50,000 euros a month. And you know, in a year it makes some, what it makes then. It easily makes half a million even in euros. So you can basic... basically make money out of it if you operate on volume like that and have many people available all the time...

At this point Arthur had his own errand boys, who either worked for him or whom he advised on running the business independently. Arthur himself was in direct collaboration with only a few women, whom he assisted by placing ads on the internet, renting apartments and establishing contacts for them – in other words, he organized the business. But he was growing tired of procuring.

There were a lot of people still who, like, would have wanted to, like “Do you have a place where [I could] set up [a procuring business]”, you know, and other stuff, but... It means a huge lot of work and stressing yourself. I'm somehow, having to arrange for the apartments, and the ads and the girls to work [there]. If you have [a place] then, well, you must have a person there working all the time basically, depending on how much rent you pay for that apartment. So well, if there's someone there working only a week, two weeks per month, then it won't, well... so, then you don't necessarily even earn much. You always have to be sort of, if you have a person there working all the time, then there'll be a lot of traffic, so then that can maybe attract attention. And it isn't, in a way it isn't like an easy business. You need to be terribly involved.

Trying to quit procuring did not mean that Arthur wanted to leave entrepreneuring in the sex industry altogether – quite the contrary. He began to develop some other business opportunities that he had recognized, but his first step was to take a regular job again to pay his fines and his tax debts.

I started to work again, like, in an honest job. I calculated that I didn't have all that much debt left, so I had quite little in proportion to, like, what had come in, so I had some [webt] from the apartments and then some damages from different like, imposed for those crimes and a little from whatever fines were still unpaid and taxes and such. So I reckoned I could pay them off quite well and then I'd, like, fix myself a clean record and everything.

Arthur's first recognized business opportunity after this was to open a striptease bar together with a friend. Eventually, however, he gave up this idea for various reasons.

I remember that in past years there was this idea that I'd set up a strip bar, since in a way I had so many links and contacts and such. But then I would again have had to, like... be so sure about where to find the girls to work and then I'd have had, like, so many other things to take care of, the money, in a way. Like, I don't have the money, and I haven't really started to [look for financing] from anywhere, like... somehow didn't want a financier. And then these stripper jobs, these night

bars, so as far as I've been watching the people [who run them], I've looked on at quite a few, there's not much money to be made from them. (...) Somehow they're like, I don't know, probably so much nudity available everywhere that it's not such an entertaining thing to go [to strip bars] any more.

The next business opportunity recognized by Arthur was to create contacts between strippers, their agents and sex shop owners. Interestingly Arthur uses the present perfect tense in telling about it.

Well, I've visited some of these sex shops and things, like been there to talk about stripper jobs and they also have, well, erotic massaging and stuff, so the girls go to work and, well. (...)

Well, I've really just been a go-between, so I've like exchanged contacts and given those, like, [contact] people that I'm acquainted with or that I know. (...)

Well, in practice I wasn't terribly involved in this. So I myself knew people who, like, own strip clubs, have to do with [clubs], and then I had the phone numbers of a couple of guys, one of them was, like, an agent who acted as an intermediary, and then I've just used my contacts for free, so I haven't like intervened any more than that.

Arthur's latest business idea was to combine internet business and pornography. He had already made friends with people working in the porn industry and also with some having experience in online business, and now believed he might build an organization around these relationships.

A person can, like, well, make an order by text message, so you order [a clip] from somewhere by text message and then you get to watch [it] on those new, sophisticated mobile phones that they have nowadays, so you watch something, you know, some sort of porn clip, you know, or something, like.

So this is what I'd like to do, add that technology there, and then I thought I'd be, like, often you get, like, if you'd make those clips, film them and had those people available who'd [be in the film], like, and then sort of had those people who'd do the technical [tasks] and do those net jobs and who knew how to program and... So if you could get all that together, and I myself would like to be sort of the main organizer there.

We had a kind of joint venture with four guys (...) So we were going to start making [films], had a studio and the filming sets. And all the time we kept getting more models through the net.

These plans were disrupted, however, when Arthur was sentenced to prison for a number of years.

I was now like getting clear of all my debts and money and, like, also otherwise away from these things, this girl [business], something like that, so I thought I'd concentrate only on like building something like... really something like honest trade so I'd get it down on paper.

What does the future hold in store for Arthur? As he himself sees it, he will travel, study, definitely entrepreneur in something legal, and be a business organizer. He describes his future plans as follows:

Quite legal is what I've been [planning], and I'm not thinking of come back here [to prison]. Now everybody's been telling me that they aren't coming back to prison, but I haven't even thought of doing things like that, so it's really up to making your own choice.

It may well be that when I get out then I may still be involved with some prosty, but I need to be very careful and very little involved and then be quite particular not to benefit from it in any way.

But about the future, I don't really know, I have it terribly open, but into the entrepreneurial world for sure. That is, I'll be an entrepreneur, no question. I'll do something but I don't yet know just what that'll be, you know. So I'll go abroad, whether I'll do something there, or import things, products, or whether it'll be about this women stuff.

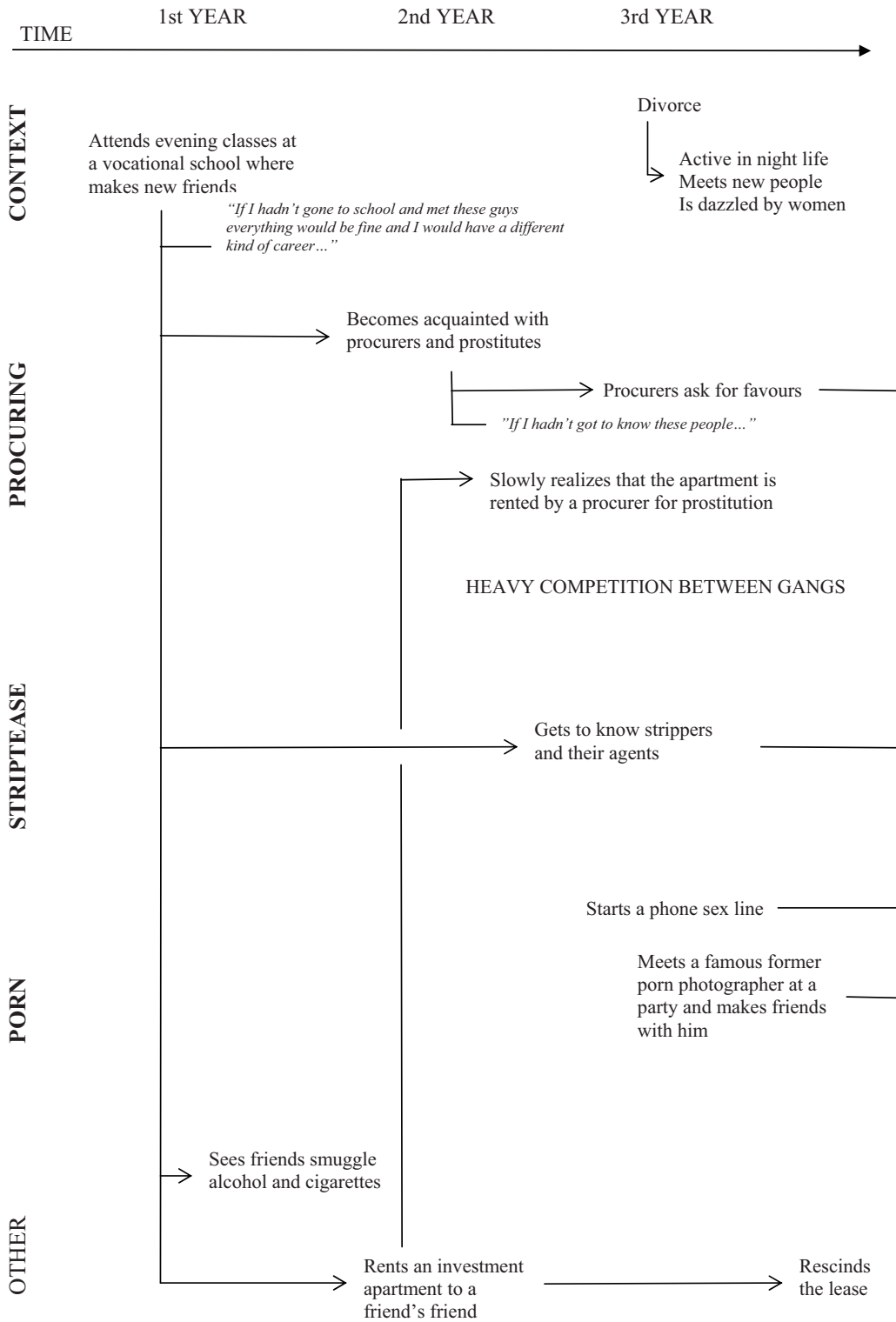
I see myself maybe as a, well, like, I'll have a few people working there, like run a firm with 10 to 30 people and then, well, I'll probably have, when I get out of here then maybe I'll apply to a school of economics, maybe to study international trade or something. I must see, I've got this kind of idea. 'Cause I never finished school, like, so I never studied for [a degree], 'cause I started out so young.

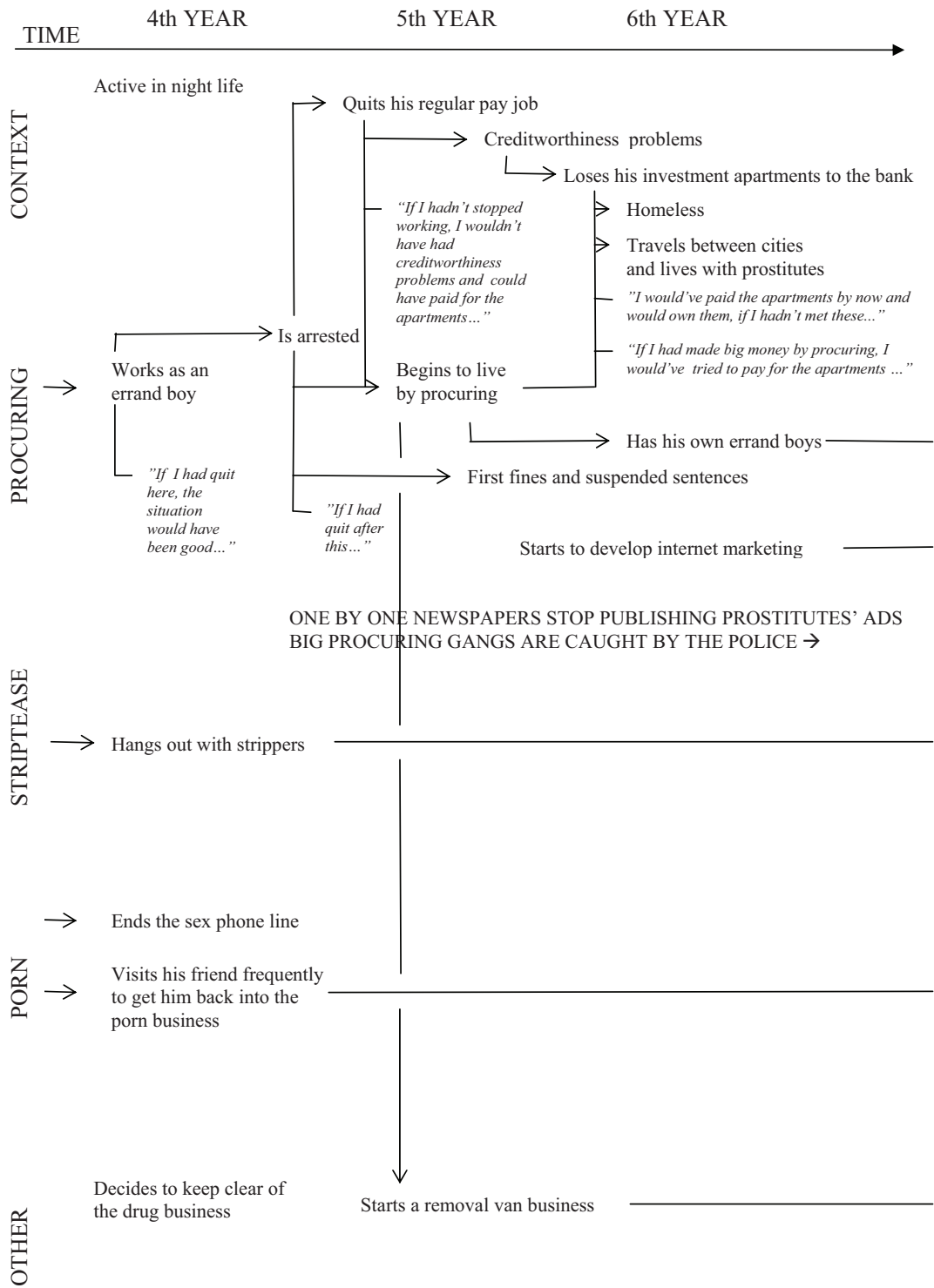
But I thought, to a school of economics or such, or then go and study for a master's degree in engineering and some technoscientific field.

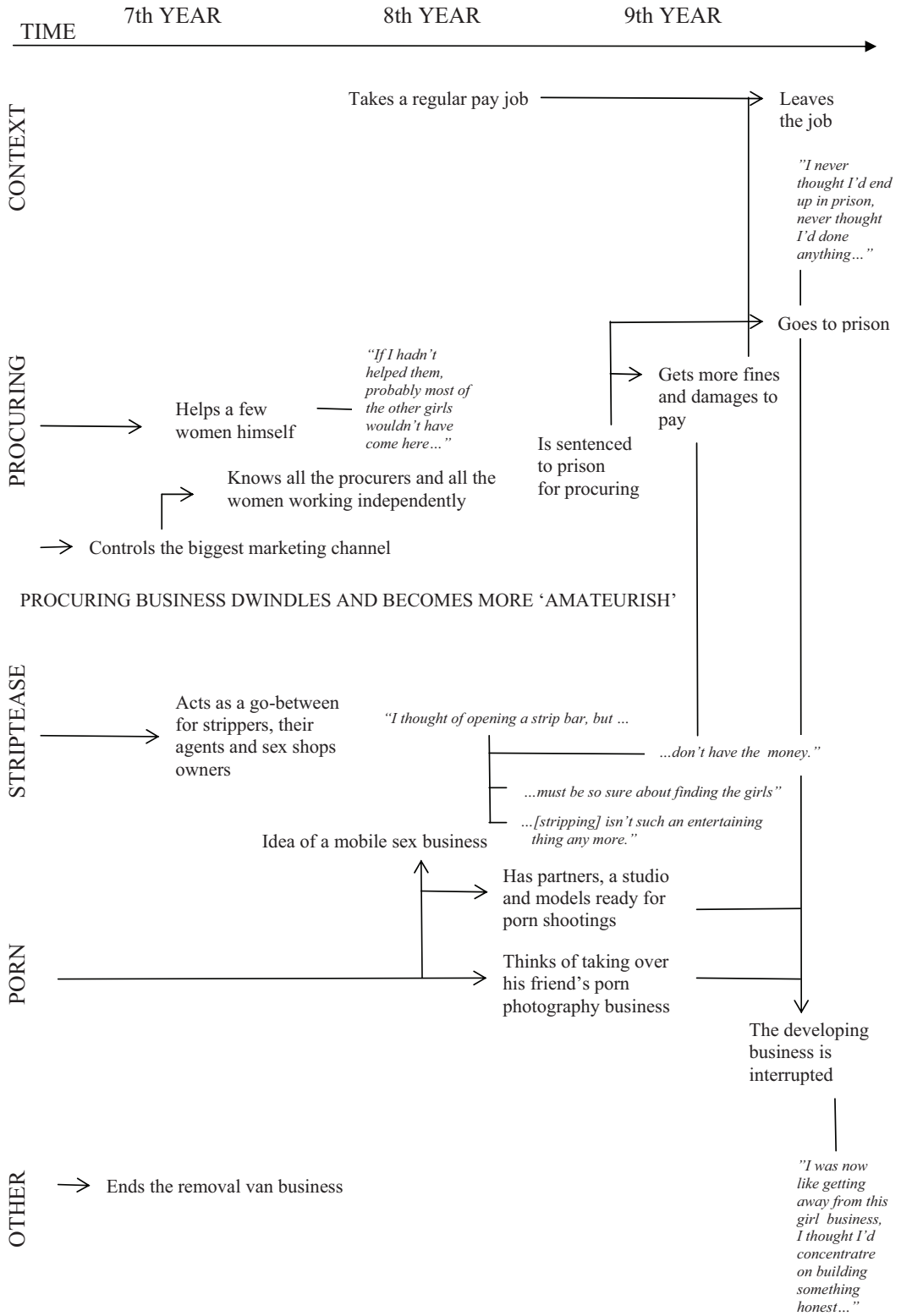
And then there I'd run into people who're like motivated to do something about themselves and their lives. You know, who want to go forward in their lives and that way you'd get networked, there you'll see, get good contacts, people with whom you can build some business. That's what I've been thinking. So probably when I get out then at least I'd get good contacts there.

It would be easier, like, together [with someone], then you'd be able to do something bigger and still, like... from what I've seen when I've run around, like... day and night for seven, eight years now, that has taught me a huge lot. More... I've seen like ten times more of the world now than in my earlier life, because it was so closed and it was so like, well, the scene was so different. In that sense... in a way [it's done] a lot of good, I ought to be really strong now and really, like, know how to do things and having seen, like, every side of it. I've had a perfect family and had, like, my own houses, job and things. Had that all, like children, and I've had everyone around me envious, so things going that way [when] everything was so well. Had that kind of feeling.

Yes, but basically you might get some joy, too, into it if you were doing, like, thinking... I'll have to see. I'll think of something. So if I did this, did it properly, then I could basically build like quite a big business, having seen how these things go, but again that's not like, I'm not interested in that, wish... I know I'm so active myself, I myself am like I want to work like crazy, I'm a workaholic that way. And I don't have the need any more to, like, make debts, like I'll keep on going even if for the next 20 years. Yep.







Extracts

This subchapter contains four extracts from Arthur's narrative account, interpreted from the viewpoint of entrepreneurial opportunities and their evaluation. The focus here is more on latter, and broader conclusions and findings about the opportunity process are also presented in subsequent chapters. Because the chosen extracts differ widely in nature, I have added a brief introduction at the beginning of each.

To make it easier to follow my interpretation I have divided the text into numbered passages. This should not be confused with the division of Jane's account into stanzas and the analysis method used there. In Jane's case the division had to do with the rhythm of her speech and her style of speaking, whereas Arthur's speech resembled nothing like stanzas even if his transcribed account might give such an impression. I have removed the colour codes used to differentiate sentences and phrases having different functions, but have left the narrative stories and evaluative sentences coded in the original version in the appendix to help readers to create their own interpretation and to better judge mine. And lastly, the verbs expressing narrative transformations are given in *italics*.

First extract: How it all began

The following extract is where Arthur actually begins his monologue-style account. In it he opens the narrative about his entrepreneurial career. He employs the habitual genre to explain how he got acquainted with people in the sex industry and later came to work in the industry himself. The description of Arthur's first entrepreneurial effort – the phone sex line – in passage 4 is in the form of a story inserted into the habitual narrative. Thus, this extract explains how Arthur got started in the industry, but its content occurs repeatedly throughout his narrative account in other forms as well.

1)

At first I was involved, it was really [in the second year] and in the summer, *you might say that I wasn't thinking about money or anything, I was just hanging around with that kind of people for no particular reason. It was kind of fun,*

2)

how should I say it... I ran into these guys who had something to do with these things, and then there were fellows who were running those kinds of strip bars or whatever night clubs there are, and then I started going to these. And somebody was procuring women, I got to know that business too,

3)

and... mm... what should I say now, well in [the third year] I got divorced, and after that *I began to be more deeply* involved in those things.

4)

I experimented, set up a firm and put up a phone sex line. I had a couple of girls there to answer [the calls]. I tried that kind of thing. But it was more like of a side business, a friend was operating girls and stuff, and then I thought, a little business there on the side, so in a way... with them being there in any case, and so they'd have something to do, and so I was trying it out a little. But that, too, was such that... Well, it's not an easy business.

So the thing is that I had a pay line, yes, the costs and revenues were more or less plus minus zero, so a lot of money going to the phone company.

I noticed that it ought to be marketed, so that was my first, I'd never sort of run a company, operations, anything. So I was trying it out by putting ads in the papers and they cost and then those phone companies take a certain share and... then you ought to [have someone] answering the phone and ought to get a lot of calls in and then, well...so it was a little tryout, that's what it was.

Did that for half a year.

Was that in the beginning?

That was right at the start. That was towards the very beginning [in the third year]. And then I ended it.

It should have been marketed much more and much more actively, to get a lot of phone calls and to... like, cover the costs.

That kind of tryout.

5)

I guess I mostly hung around with these strippers. I was seeing one of the girls.

Fun.

All those who work in these bars are like... mm... they like to party a lot and have fun and stuff. They're fun to be with.

But I'd never known about them before, never been... tchah, anything.

So probably it was mainly about being left free, sort of, and alone in a way, and [looking for] excitement.

So I sort of liked to hang around with the women.

Did the divorce have something to do with it?

6)

Well I guess it strengthened [the desire for excitement].

So really before the divorce, I got divorced in the summer [of the third year], before that *I'd never really done anything, only had that [phone sex line].*

Practically the only thing I'd had and that was just for that moment.

7)

And then *I'd rented out* an apartment [to some foreigners] and there were people, girls, working there, I myself used to own several one-roomers and apartments, myself. Got income from rentals, like actual rental income.

And then it somehow, well, like accidentally.

I don't know how to put it...

8)

I had a schoolmate and he wasn't [involved] either, but he had friends and then I rented an apartment to one of his friends and... then they started to utilize that apartment that way, and then *I realized there was a little more of that going on* at those guys' apartments, as they were living in council houses and there were always people there,

9)

but then... eight years I've been watching this procuring business, a little longer, eight and a half years, how to put it. This business.

You didn't know at first?

10)

Right, I didn't then... I *became involved in it accidentally*.

So I was like a half-acquaintance. I had no criminal cases for anything. And it was, there was this... one guy living on the same street and one acquaintance was using the apartment then, where I used to live at one time, in the suburb, so that's where I first saw these women. And *I don't know, I somehow... I didn't think about it that much...* I was renting apartments...

Didn't think there was anything, like, bad in it.

That the people who... that's the kind of hunch I had.

Then *I did learn to know* many more all kinds of people, them too somewhat, but the ones I had to do with, *in my opinion those girls were there of their free will*, and they wanted to come and work there and so on.

The sequence of events in the extract are presented below:

- 1) Hangs out with friends
- 2) Gets to know people working and entrepreneuring in the sex industry
- 3) Gets a divorce and becomes more deeply involved
- 4) *Story*: Sets up a phone sex line
- 5) Finds strippers easy and fun to hang around with
- 6) Nothing really happens before the divorce except the phone sex line
- 7) Rents an apartment out to a friend's friend
- 8) Interprets the rental
- 9) Coda
- 10) Repeats the narrative

Since it is equally important to study the form in which the narrative is told as it is to examine its content – not only to look at *what* is said but also at *how* it is said – the following analysis of Arthur's narrative deals with both elements. I will first examine the interesting narrative transformations used in this extract to see what is concealed within them. Narrative transformations occur in nine out of the ten passages, but my focus here is on those that seem most relevant and most interesting.

In the very first passage Arthur uses two transformations in the same sentence. Instead of saying "I wasn't thinking about money" he uses the expression "you might say that I wasn't...", which includes both a simple and a complex transformation. The former, indicated by "might" is a transformation of mode denoting a possibility. What Arthur appears to suggest here is that although at some later stage of his career money had been a reason to pursue opportunities in the sex industry, it was not the motive to enter the industry in the first place. Other factors played a more significant part in his opportunity recognition process; the most influential factor seems to have been his friends, his desire to have fun and hang out with them.

Later on Arthur gives many reasons for entering the sex industry, but in this extract there are two that seem to rise above the others. Firstly, Arthur notes that after the divorce he liked to spend time with people working in the industry, and secondly, he describes his entry into the industry as accidental. He had already made friends with owners of striptease bars and with women

who made their living as strippers, as well as with at least one person who procured women. Knowing these people seem to have led Arthur to his first business opportunity. He started by setting up a phone sex line, which he describes as an extra side business for the women who were working for his friend and only as a minor issue for himself.

However, this first step into the sex business is significant from an entrepreneurial point of view, for it demonstrates how Arthur fairly quickly moved from opportunity recognition to opportunity exploitation. This is the first glimpse of Arthur's entrepreneurial mindset. It reveals that although he claims he was not thinking about money at the beginning, he nevertheless quite soon set up a business to experiment a bit – and to make money on the side. However, the phone sex business ended shortly afterwards, because it proved unprofitable and Arthur lacked the necessary knowhow in marketing and accounting.

Another interesting transformation occurs in passage 4 in the story about Arthur's first business when he describes it as an experiment or a tryout, "a little business there on the side". The impression is that he is attempting to downplay its importance. He gives no clue as to why he describes it this way, but it may be that at the moment of starting the business it felt like an exciting leap into something new, whereas narrating about it now, after all that has happened, makes him interpret it in a different light, as mere experimentation. This implies, first of all, that his entrepreneurial story will continue, and secondly, that in describing his first business as just a tryout carries the idea of learning and future progress. As the story moves forward Arthur turns his failed endeavour into a learning experience of how business should be conducted. Also the fact that the business failed may have led him to depict it as something experimental and not too serious.

In the final four passages Arthur uses narrative transformations mainly to describe how he drifted into the sex industry instead of entering it purposefully to make a career in it. The point made in the content ("I became involved in it accidentally") is thus reinforced by the form of his narrative. Arthur goes on to explain who knew, and especially who did *not* know, about the procuring business to start with, and how he himself little by little found out what was going on. An illustrative example of Arthur's use of form to emphasize content occurs when he repeats the incident of the apartment rental twice in a row. The first time (passage 7) does not seem to carry his intended meaning so he tells it again (8). This time around he stresses that he was not aware of the procuring at first and only later found out what the apartment was actually being used for. The form of the narrative, thus, adds more weight to its content, especially to Arthur's claim that his involvement in procuring was more of an accident than a conscious and deliberate decision – a point he also makes by employing narrative transformations.

Furthermore, Arthur's accidental entry into the sex business seems to refer explicitly to procuring, and once again to the above incident of renting one of his investment apartments to a friend's friend who began procure women there.

Arthur says he was unaware of the fact at the beginning and only gradually learned what was happening around him. He uses expressions like “then it somehow, well, like accidentally...” and “I became involved in it accidentally”. This means that procuring – which he later describes as his main business, his main entrepreneurial opportunity – was initially something he grew to know through his social environment and only afterwards began to exploit himself.

What Arthur has revealed about the evaluation of his actions so far is that he was just having fun and at first was unaware of what he was getting into – and that he therefore cannot be claimed to have acted immorally. Repeating the events in response to my question “*You didn’t know at first?*” Arthur appears to feel obliged to justify his behaviour further. He once again notes that he entered the procuring business by chance and did not really think about it that much: all he did was to rent apartments to procurers. Finally he states that, to his knowledge, the women were working of their own free will. These themes are developed in more detail in the following extracts.

Second extract: Keeping clear of certain businesses

The following extract came quite soon after the first one. In this extract Arthur tells about his relationship with a procuring gang that swindled women and used physical violence against them. The extract has been modified by cutting some text from Arthur’s original account in order to present the episodic narrative hidden within the habitual narrative.

1)

But then I did get to know that kind of people who... well... swindled many, like... quite heavily (...) But one gang, the sort... *I didn’t like*, I had those, *you might say*, acquaintances of acquaintances, so (a few words missing) a girl *might come* to work and then they’d collect all the money, took it from that girl. But so as to keep it safe [for her], the girl believed it. So at the time *I thought* (...) *there was* quite a lot of that, *I don’t rightly know*, was sort of quite a lot of competition. And some would like intimidate (...) the girls who were working for other gangs, and then some people also went and robbed places and so it *was sort of easy to believe* a girl’s pimp [telling her] “I’ll put your money in a safe, I’ll keep it safe”. And when the girl’s been working for two months, then he’d give her the money. Then with the two months gone, nothing but a bus ticket, and back [home]. So I thought that was pretty gross. There was that kind of thing. And *I didn’t like having to do with that sort of* people. (...)

2)

And the way *I myself saw it, if the girls want to come and work...*
Okay, so they make a certain contract, the girls earn some money from it. The pimp, of course, well, he’s a kind of manager, like he offers services, the apartments, and takes care of the ads and the transport and the [whole] system in a way, but still he’s made that contract with the girl, so it’s like, it’s prohibited by law. But in a way he’s, like, a certain kind of organizer, a certain kind of arranger, like a sort of manager. Now what could you call it? Basically, although it’s like...
So that’s why *I didn’t really sort of see it as any major crime*, what I was involved in. *It was easy to be* (...)

3)

By the way, it happened sometime that they [the gang] somehow tried to claim me [for themselves], there was some rivalry between different gangs, so that, and they like *felt I was* an errand boy in one gang, so that I *[ought to] go and work* for them like. So there some conflicts like that.

4)

Then that's where... this scar is, like, a souvenir from my fight [with that gang].

I haven't actually in all my life, I don't think I've fought many times,

I guess the last time was back at school sometime in the mid '80s, but well.

And I'd never had any fights with them [the gang] and then suddenly in the street like that, you know, with brass knuckles, like tchh tchh... so the scar's here to remind of that, so basically *you might say it's from this procuring thing.*

And so it'll always be visible, as a souvenir. I can still feel it like, a little ... (...)

5)

For a while I had some kind of doings with [the gang] too, but I didn't like that business, once when I went to an apartment with a guy, it wasn't their apartment, it was some stranger's apartment, like someone who had only just arrived in town. They had the habit of checking all the [girl ads' phone] numbers in the evening paper every day. If they spotted a number they didn't recognize, they'd call that number... and...

So they called it, asked for the address, went there as a customer, then well, I once went along and *[they] wanted me to make the call.*

Yea. So I went, I phoned the number once and, well, then went to the apartment with this guy and then he attacked her straight away and beat her and tchh tchh and kicked her and stole her phone and (...)

I didn't like that stuff at all, you know.

And then *I never helped them any more in any way, like, at anything.*

Then *I sort of fell out with them.* (...)

6)

And sure, I also got into court with them once, so well, I got into court because, well, it may have happened half a year or so later, a girl I knew was working [as a prostitute], and they went and stole her passport.

So then I went to talk to them a few days later, like *I hadn't had any doings whatsoever with them* for like half a year, to claim the passport back.

Because she was like involved with another gang there. Or actually, the girl was operating on her own, but after the place went to [the hands of] another gang like, a rival gang, then, like, I sort of sold the place, sold it off, like, so she got some support like, and then *I got into a fight* with [the gang], well, there were two other members, too, with me in the fight and a little bit of squabble there somewhere by the roadside and by the field [close to town] and then somebody from one of the houses called the police and then (...) [the others] left and then the police arrived and, you see, I was still there, alone, and I'd been driven there by car, we drove around a little and there were things we had to talk about.

So then I was, in a way felt like, okay, so an assault offence was added to the case which they were sentenced for then.

The narrative progresses as follows:

- 1) Gang's way of doing business
- 2) Arthur's own way of doing business
- 3) Conflicts
- 4) *Story:* Brass knuckles
- 5) *Story:* Control by violence
- 6) *Story:* A second fight

In telling a narrative about the gang that swindled and beat women, Arthur also reveals something about his own evaluation and the limits that he would not cross in his own entrepreneurship. The presented stories were perhaps told for this very reason in the first place. It looks like their main point is to draw a line between Arthur's way and the gang's way of procuring, which he deems wrong or immoral. This juxtaposition is the driving force behind Arthur's argument for his own morality, which is introduced in the first two passages of

the extract. The point is further clarified in the three stories that follow. Like before, Arthur again puts his argument forward by means of both content and form.

In the first passage Arthur notes that the other gang's motive for procuring was money and their course of action was violent and gross. In the next passage he then contrasts his own way of doing business with the way the gang conducts theirs, and thus uses form to justify his own procuring business as moral. He describes himself as an organizer, never mentioning money as his motive to do business: the gang is the greedy one, not he. Arthur explains that because he did not use violence, did not con or intimidate the women, he as an organizer was in fact helping them to do what they of their own free will wanted to do. He thus did not feel he was doing anything immoral – although now, in telling about it, he realizes that he acted against the law.

Another sign that Arthur offers of his higher morality in procuring is his disapproval of the gang's actions and his decision not to be a part of their activities. He underlines this by describing the ease of working with the women in another, more moral context. In summary, Arthur distinguishes himself from this gang by his way of acting, his motives, his disapproval of the gang's actions, and the smooth and easy running of his own business.

Passage 3, which describes the fierce rivalry between the gangs that Arthur worked for, serves as a bridge to the following passages by explaining how he landed in the middle of their fights. The three stories told next together represent a kind of separation story, in which Arthur differentiates himself from the gang both physically and emotionally. The chronological order of the stories is actually 5 → 4 → 6, the second fight happening six months after the brass knuckles incident. Why the stories are not in chronological order is because Arthur told the last two stories five minutes after finishing the first four passages. In other words, he returned to the subject after a moment's thought, which indicates the significance of these events to his meaning making and his own interpretation. In the stories Arthur deepens his evaluation of the gang's operations, again repeating that their action was against his morals.

Passage 4 shows that Arthur is in his mind placing the procuring business into the past. He points out his scar as a souvenir from procuring. While this passage allows to experience the gang's use of violence in their attempt to control Arthur, the next passage (5) is a story about the gang's control by physical violence over the women who worked for them. It presents a special incident that made Arthur decide not to have anything to do with this gang. He reiterates his dislike for their behaviour and tells how this ultimately led to a fight with the gang. Passage 6 describes how Arthur, having fought himself clear of the gang, returned to them to help out a woman. Read together with the preceding passage it is a story about expiation. Arthur had done wrong to help the gang and was now seeking to make things right by helping someone else to get away from the gang. Also, by first depicting the violence used against himself and the women, and then describing how he again exposed himself to the threat of violence to help someone else, Arthur seems to emphasize his

battle against this immoral gang in an attempt to make his own actions appear more moral.

As for narrative transformations, there are much fewer here than in the first extract. Only at the beginning, in passage 1, does Arthur seem to feel the need to explain why and how he came to know the gang, and later on, in passage 6, he stresses that he had not had anything to do with them for a long time: the only reason he contacted the gang was to help a woman whom the gang had swindled.

This extract is much thinner than the first one from the opportunity perspective. Some points are worth noting, however. First of all, in passage 2 where Arthur describes his business, its ease and its pleasant atmosphere, he also gives his view of the different roles of a procurer. He sees a procurer as a manager or organizer who arranges the necessary infrastructure – apartments, transport and advertisements – so that the women have it all ready when they want to start work. Arthur’s focus on the managerial or organizational side of the procuring business, which is the same in procuring as in any other line of business, appears to have had the effect of pushing aside any thoughts about illegality of the entrepreneurial opportunity itself.

Another interesting point is Arthur’s attitude towards risk in its different forms. Arthur is faced with a physical risk that is directly connected to his business. Even when he knows there is a grave danger of physical harm, he goes to face the gang he had already once left behind. This lack of fear of physical risks is even more interesting when compared with his reluctance to take economic risks, such as those involved in opening a strip bar.

Third extract: A turning point

The third extract presents a story about the incident in a little town (‘Smallville’) that Arthur interpreted as a turning point in his life and his entrepreneurial career. The original account from which the extract is taken was extremely tangled, which is why I have cleaned it of unnecessary text – such as Arthur’s opinions about the best types of apartments or customers. The story moves back and forth between the turning point incident, its interpretation and its evaluation, until Arthur finally reveals the meaning of the story in the last passage: these were the events that actually led him to exploit the recognized opportunity and become a pimp.

1)

But then [in the fourth year in ‘Smallville’] I had, I rented [a place] to a guy, like, from a different gang, just an acquaintance, *thought I’d help him out*, he was an errand boy for one of the gangs and so that he’d get to do something,

2)

and then I got some [20 euros] for myself, so I didn’t get any money as such from it, in practice like just a small nominal compensation, in practice. *So I’ve been a fool in the sense that even the police didn’t believe it really, that I’d like done it out of sheer kindness in a way, so I should’ve taken a share for myself (...)*

3)

There was a story in the paper sometime, might have been autumn [of the sixth year]. There were two of my apartments there, that is, *I was actually running* them at the time. I myself *went in a bit deeper*, have actually *also been running* this [procuring] business a little myself and *even made a little money* out of it.

So you rented out directly and...

4)

Yea, *I myself have also been*, so you might say that *I've been quite* a lot...

I wasn't *renting apartments myself any more at that time* [in the sixth year], it was my friends who rented them.

I sort of paid them for renting, for that.

And then *there were other people who sent girls* and then they *were paid*, too, or well, *I paid*.

It was like, at some stage I was like, so I became a little like, *that's where you got your salary from*.

So in that sense, it's me of all these (...) who've been caught, basically I'm the one with the most reason to be held because I've been one of the most active people in the business. But *I'm an honest pimp so to say*, like *I have nothing to do with human trafficking*.

[...]

5)

Yea, I'm now going back [to the fourth year]. Let's continue. [In the fourth year] I had an apartment there [in Smallville].

I rented it to a guy I knew. Was a little involved that way.

And then all of a sudden six policemen, well, raided my place [in my hometown] and picked me up.

That's the only time in my life that I've been arrested before. I was arrested for three days.

And *I was puzzled*, like, *why the police, they were looking for drugs* in my apartment. They *thought I had...*

Well, I did have a gypsy girl whom I'd been involved with [in the big town], an acquaintance, and I don't know, some of her friends must have moved [to Smallville], I realized it afterwards, and they [the police] had been following them and then thought I had something to do with it.

6)

Well, *I was to some extent involved with* that kind of people *who'd had different kinds of drug business*, but I *tried to keep far away* [from them], like. (...)

But the police must have thought I might have something to do with them, so that's where the sort of following started and *then the police accused me of all kinds of stuff that I hadn't done as such and got* and I didn't, well so... *I don't know if I got depressed* from that business somehow, you know.

7)

Then I, well, got a conviction. It was that [Smallville] case [in the fourth year].

These were the first sentences that came, in February [of the fifth year].

So *I guess I just grew depressed somehow when the police accused me* of a lot of things *I hadn't done*. Like *they thought I was a much bigger player, doing a lot more things than what I actually sort of did*.

So I've been a little like a kind of bystander all the time and maybe like assisted a little.

8)

Then the police dug up that case [from the third year], where I had, where [a guy from a gang] had thrown those customers out of the apartment, it, it had sort of been left unfinished then, like nothing came of it.

Well then in February [after the fifth year], that's when I got, was fined for the [Smallville] case, so the police *must have like dug up* that old thing from a few years back and then they like questioned me again and

I got three years probation for it. And then, like, later, I got convicted for a case like two years older, so they thought somehow that, yea, I knew already then, and... and I don't know.

Then they wrote in the paper, well, wrote that he (...), well, my name wasn't mentioned, that he assisted in this and that as the payroll guy.
(...)

9)

That's why I was arrested for three days [in Smallville], because, well, the police said, "Now you just tell us straight out if you've done it" and everything, and that they had snapshots to show I'd been to the apartment, and well, that I wouldn't get anything [for it].

And I was annoyed because I was supposed to go, it was at the turn of the month, July-August, and I was supposed to go (...) to a friend's summer cottage with my daughter, and that sort of annoyed me a little.

So I thought I'd get out as soon as possible but the police held me the maximum limit of three days and so they didn't let me out.

I told them right on the very first day that yea, well, I'd been there twice to pick up money and, and... [...] so nothing more to that. And I didn't have anything to ask them.

They just kept me there to the end, like somehow.

So that's when *I thought that those police interrogations and methods sort of* well, that they should be, a little... *I don't know...* sort of soft or so, *I wasn't any criminal that way and didn't feel like one* and so on, so *they accused me of a lot of things that, well, that I hadn't done.*

But then, the police can't know. The police is, after all, trying. [...]

10)

But I guess I myself had sort of like a bitter [feeling], because then I was fined damages, and *being sort of convicted for it [the Smallville case] I somehow drifted deeper* into that business.

On the contrary, *that's when I did start to do that business, you might say, so.*

As the order of the story is quite complicated and fragmented it is necessary to view its structure in more detail:

- 1) Smallville: the story begins
- 2) Smallville: foolish not to take money
- 3) Actually does make money
- 4) Business in the sixth year
- 5) Smallville: returns to the story
- 6) Smallville: police and sentences
- 7) Smallville: evaluation
- 8) Police inspect an even older case
- 9) Smallville: honesty doesn't pay
- 10) Coda

As mentioned, Arthur named the Smallville episode as a turning point in his career. In the plot this is represented by his arrest in the fourth year. The plot reveals the consequences of that arrest and of the incident in passage 10, which had happened back in the second year when Arthur had rented an apartment to a friend's friend. The key to the story lies in the tension between the first few lines, where Arthur sees himself as a mere helper without financial motives, and the last line of the extract where he acknowledges just what he has become. This forthcoming result is revealed already in passages 3 and 4, but the reason for it and the actual story only unfold in passages 5-9.

Arthur's choice of words in the first passage is interesting. He uses "I thought I'd help..." to start off the Smallville incident. This complex transformation using subjectivization shows the difference in Arthur's attitude between the time of the incident and the present. When he interprets the event from today's perspective he appears to regard it as something other than 'helping'. Perhaps that is what it was from the standpoint of the person he helped, but from Arthur's own point of view it turned out to be something totally different: a mistake. This can be seen in passage 2, as Arthur compares his present and past motives and their rationality. He claims that nobody acts merely to help - especially knowing how risky the business can be - and invokes the disbelief of the police as an excuse to make this point. Now he knows he should have taken his share of the money and concentrated more on the business aspect from the beginning.

Passages 3 and 4 state that he did make money later on from procuring and even earned his living this way. Here Arthur is very careful about the way he speaks, and apparently tries to avoid saying that he actually was procuring and had his own organization. Firstly, he uses phrases like 'a little' to make his actions seem minor; secondly, he 'sort of' paid others to rent apartments; and thirdly, in telling about who paid the errand boys he starts by using the passive, but then switches to active voice. These narrative transformations leave the feeling that Arthur wants to downplay the meaning of his actions, which may imply that at the time of narrating he feels he has done something wrong. At the end of passage 4, Arthur draws a clear line between his actions and women's trafficking, stressing that he has not mistreated women but has been 'an honest pimp'.

In passages 5-9, Arthur returns to Smallville and specifies the role of the police in the story. To start with, his home is raided by six police who arrest him for three days (5) and accuse him of all kinds of things that he had not done (8). Later on, the police dug out an older case that had been put aside earlier and brought Arthur under questioning (9). Arthur describes his own feelings with phrases like "I was puzzled", "I realized it afterwards" and "I guess I grew depressed". He pictures himself not as a criminal nor as an immoral person, but almost as a law-abiding, moral individual who was only helping others a little. He was astonished that the police treated him as a criminal. The next extract sheds more light on Arthur's relationship to the police and the meaning he gives to these events.

Finally, the present extract tells much about Arthur's risk taking and evaluation. First of all, Arthur learned to understand the legal risk involved in his actions gradually in the course of events, mainly as a result of his confrontations with the police. His later interpretation was that this realized risk was not compensated by his financial returns and that he should have earned more. Another risk that seems to have affected Arthur is the risk to self. He uses most of his narrative to explain his fundamental reasons for becoming a pimp. He had assisted procurers in some ways before, and thus knew the basis of how the industry works, but the encounter with the police is presented

as the final trigger that led Arthur to exploit the opportunity. The inner conversation concerning these events depicts well the duality of Arthur's beliefs and action and the cognitive dissonance Arthur experienced is present more and more in his evaluation. The following episodically structured narrative explores the meaning of the dissonance further.

Fourth extract: Episodic narrative about the reasons

The fourth extract consists of three episodic narratives recounted by Arthur about halfway through the interview, right after the Smallville story. These consist almost entirely of Arthur's explanations as to why he started to entrepreneur in the sex industry, more specifically in procuring. It seems that the purpose of this extract was to deepen his own interpretation of his situation as well as to help the listener to understand him better. Between the following episodic narratives Arthur told some habitual and hypothetical narratives as well as stories. However, because these were not relevant from the viewpoint of this study I have not included them but only indicated their place in the extract.

1)

But then [in autumn of the fourth year] *I started to do more of that thing.*

I then quit my decent job, I somehow, you know.

Or rather, there was more than one reason.

I found a Finnish woman whom I also fell for. She didn't know anything about this business,

[I was on the move] all the time, like, from one town to another and it was, like, well, I rented apartments and was a little, like, sort of a real estate agent and did all these things.

And then I had a van and in it the stuff moved quickly from one place to another.

2)

So I like rented furnished apartments, so to speak.

It was like my business, even though it like, well, *I sort of like did know what it was for,* and.

But at the time *I guess it wasn't that forbidden by the law.*

So then the law changed so that, well, also entrepreneuring, [if] you rent an apartment then you're, like, even the idea that you'd profit, why, that's forbidden. They changed the law sometime in 2004 I think, changed quite a few laws, human trafficking and all that stuff was included.

3)

I think that police behaviour also somehow drove me sort of deeper into the business, so I thought that I, because I'd got those damages [to pay], that I'd start doing that [business], that I'd sort of pay [the damages]... by doing the kind of business that I got them for.

(...Habitual narrative...)

4)

So, about the justice system.

I was sentenced to a fine [for the Smallville case], but then I had a similar case [in another town], where *I told them straight off that I rented the apartment [to a gang] and had collected money from there a couple of times.*

I was found not guilty for that.

I just wonder whether it was on account of the counsel being so good, or knowing the judge or what it was about.

Basically I like talked more, but I was found not guilty for it, and for the other case I like got a smaller fine, and then in addition I got [convicted for another case in another town], *a business I sort of didn't know about, like I'd rented an apartment [to a gang], and didn't*

know that what was happening there was that kind of business, that kind of business happening there, *I didn't know*, you see, so then a little later I quit the lease. Then I got the hardest sentence for that, and not one of the girls had said anything yet, like, about selling themselves, or anything like that, so somehow it *felt like* the justice system is somehow, *that it isn't fair*.

(...Habitual narrative about how the court makes its decisions...)

But somehow it, *I don't know*, somehow my trust in the system I guess, in the justice system *was shattered* in a way, and *I don't know*, all these like small details like, like *not being convicted* for one case, for which in principle *I should've sort of been fined*, and then *getting convicted* for the other case, for which I sort of like... like, got the *probation where in principle I shouldn't have* 'cause [I had] nothing to do with it, *you know, I didn't gain a cent* or anything, like I rented the apartment for, like, a normal rent,

5)

and for instance, *there was none of that*, like... *it was often customary* in the market to *find* some drunkard, some guy for instance. Paid him a lump sum of, say, a thousand marks to rent an apartment. Lots of those... winos, junkies, many of them rented apartments. Just that once they'd get a small compensation for doing it. Then they'd rent the apartment, like, as dummies. So those were used a lot.

But *you see, I didn't even get that compensation*.

So I was like sort of still a decent and healthy man, who *should know what he's doing*, so basically *I should've got* a lot, *taken a lot more money* than that kind of people. So, little things like these, so then somehow I went in deeper in there.

And then I guess *I somehow started to fight* against the police and the authorities.

(...Habitual narrative; hypothetical narrative; hypothetical narrative ...)

6)

In a way *it was like the police drove me in a bit deeper*, you know,

7)

then there were [different gangs] that were like *asking me to help*, because I was sort of the one who was sober and always sort of like in condition, and in some way, a person who was able to do things, and perhaps I was too nice, naive, that's, I have been quite nice, so that's one of the biggest reasons, *I haven't, like, known how to [say no], [haven't] refused*.

8)

and then, on the other hand, maybe the excitement and the fun has been, and then *I was lured by the women*, like I was so taken in somehow, you know, *I felt like* somebody when the women admired me and wanted me, and... that kind of women.

But they are, perhaps those women don't have that much, they've experienced more of, sort of like, many have a bad background, like had some money problems, you know, haven't taken care of things properly when young or then they have, quite a few have a drunk husband, or don't have anything, and real many of them are single parents and have sort of like, backgrounds, so if someone treats them a little bit, like, nicely or something, like I did, then right away it's like they love you (...) so either they, I don't know whether they want money from you or, you know, to be [with you], or something or... something like that.

9)

So *I tried to teach* many of the girls, or like *guide* them so that...

Yea, about the girls, so *I tried to help* them somehow, [since I do know] well, quite a lot about the girl business because it's the main thing I've been doing, this procuring is the biggest thing in a way that I've been doing.

Yea, and I tried to [tell] the girls to save some money while they're working.

(... A story about how the girls handled their money and what happened when they went home...)

I myself *felt that I tried*, well, I got a few [to follow my advice].
Well, one girl bought herself an apartment of her own, managed to save the money, (...) so in a way, well *I'm satisfied that she got* something.
Okay, she always had to give a share to those who organized it. But still, what she got was so much work that, well, or so much money that it paid off, that business.

(... A story about a girl who made a month's salary by having three customers...)

10)
The last four years I've had pretty much to do with [procuring].
It's become quite small and there's quite... how should I say it... quite a lot of private entrepreneurs and sort of small [businesses]. So all along had maybe one or two guys working.
While for instance, in just that one town where I was living [in the fourth year] a friend of mine had nine girls working at the same time. So now it hasn't been that [big].
For instance, take this case that went [to court], it's like, it feels funny or strange or ridiculous because it was like a few blokes and a few blokes from another gang, like petty amateurish messing around, just a couple of girls, nothing at all like five years ago. When it was like ten times bigger.

11)
I just a while ago did some counting, some... maybe three hundred prostitutes that I've been involved with or in a kind of, like in a way, like been with or who've been working [for me]. Like, who've been in the business themselves or whom I've helped out or like that, so there's like been a lot [of them].
But *I can't, like, say that I've, like, procured anyone to come and work* here in practice... *Not like that I haven't*. So well, there's always either been someone looking for girls to work, or then it may often be that a girl herself comes to work and then encourages her friends to come and work.

(...Episodic narrative about how women work independently and actively want to work as prostitutes...)

I'm not denying that I've helped out, sure I've done you know... taken care of ads, arranged, well, apartments and a little transport.
But fairly little.
I've been quite little involved like lately.

12)
I don't know,
there was a year or two [from, say, autumn of the fourth year till spring of the sixth].
For a year and a half or two years it was like fulltime, in practice, like I'd race from one town to the next and from one nightlife to another and stayed... and there were many of those.
And [in the fifth or sixth year] I lost my apartments. Then I was sort of *left, like, home... homeless in a way.*
Then *I didn't have a job any more*, because... quit my job also when I got arrested for three days.
I was, like, in working life and then somehow, *I don't know if I was ashamed or discomfited* or what it was I [felt] there.
Then *I didn't go to my workplace at all any more.*
It like changed so radically, that thing. So there were some points that drove me in another direction.

13)
So just the opposite, like, from what the police had in mind, that they'd threaten me and say all kinds of stuff like
"You've done this and that kind of things" and "Now you're heading in a bad direction", and... so quite the opposite, that thing went in just the direction they were saying.
So it was quite funny. But otherwise I can't say why that was. That's about psychology.

14)

Sure, *I'm now trying to figure out, but I don't... I think the biggest thing for me has probably been that I've liked being around, it's kind of fun and easy to be with those girls.*

15)

But in the past few years, in practice *it's been like I haven't been involved* with more than one, two, three girls. And then so, well, no more than that.

Recently, in recent years I've been so little involved in the business with girls, so that in practice I, so they've been free to run around and do whatever they liked and they've been to the hotels on their own and come here on their own and gone to whatever hotel they've wanted, you know. Then they've put in ads on their own and there I've helped out a bit, in placing the ads. Perhaps driven them, you know, from one place to another, but that's all, like haven't made any money from it or anything like that.

16)

And *I would never have imagined being here in prison ever in my life. I thought I wouldn't do anything [that would bring me here].* So at that time, six years ago, five years ago, I should rather have put, *should've put [an end to it], like, at the time I quit my job and started to be active [in the business] and actively renting apartments and arranging and all kinds of furniture and other stuff ...*

Arthur's narrative proceeds as follows:

- 1) Gets deeper into the game and quits his regular job; explains
- 2) Rents furnished apartments
- 3) Is disappointed by the police
 - [Habitual narrative]
- 4) Finds the justice system inconsistent and unfair
 - [Habitual narrative]
- 5) How small details drag him deeper
 - [Habitual narrative]
 - [Hypothetical narrative]
 - [Hypothetical narrative]
- 6) Police again
- 7) Does not refuse when pimps ask him for help
- 8) Finds the women in the sex industry fun to be with
- 9) Helps the girls
 - [Story]
 - [Story]
- 10) How the procuring business has changed
- 11) Used to work with 300 women, now only three
 - [Episodic narrative]
- 12) Repetition and comparison
- 13) Police
- 14) Women
- 15) Nature of his business today
- 16) "Never imagined going to prison"

Some notions concerning Arthur's use of narrative genres in the above extract are in place. Every now and then, Arthur applies the habitual narrative in between his narration, to remind of the context and to prepare for the evaluation in the episodic narratives. The hypothetical narratives, on the other hand, present his ideas about the alternative path that his career might have taken. They give extra tension to the narrative by indicating what Arthur would have wished to happen instead of what actually happened in reality. His hypothetical narratives are shown in the plot chart, including the last one which is presented here as well (in passage 16).

All of the three episodic narratives in this extract concentrate on the same theme: why and how Arthur went in deeper into the procuring business. He begins his explanation in passage 1 by saying why he quit his regular pay job. In the Smallville story, he already told about his arrest and the embarrassment that followed, but here he adds two other reasons: he had fallen in love and had established a rental van business of his own. However, the form in which the stories are told seems to stress the influence of the Smallville events as the major reason as compared with the love affair and the new business, which thus appear to have played a lesser role than the police. This is seen especially in the way Arthur keeps returning to the role of the police in his life.

In passage 2 Arthur tells more about his removal van business. Again what is interesting is that he does not explain how he initially recognized this opportunity. It is likely that with procurers asking him for favours, Arthur decided to turn it into a legal business and not merely act as an errand boy. He distinguishes his own business from actual procuring by noting that he himself was not procuring, he was renting furnished apartments – although he “sort of like” knew what the apartments were being used for.

Here the narrative transformations as well as Arthur’s stuttering with his words point to a possible cognitive dissonance that he has perceived since the time he began his business. Besides adjusting the form of the narrative to explain himself, Arthur also attempts to justify his operations by referring to their legality. In the first episodic narrative he claims that he was under the impression that he was not doing anything *that* illegal because the laws were not changed until later, and it was only then that his operations could be judged as *definitely* illegal. Arthur pictures himself as a real estate agent, which is what he calls himself in the first passage, and as an independent entrepreneur who just happened to have procurers as his customers. Perhaps this is yet another attempt to settle the dissonance between exploiting the opportunity and recognizing its immoral nature. Arthur takes this roundabout route to assert that he was acting morally and entrepreneuring by legitimate means.

Arthur also makes it very clear that the actions of the police had a decisive impact on his becoming a procurer. This is evident when all three episodic narratives are examined together: each one ends up with the police, just as the Smallville story earlier. The content of the narratives explains the influence of the police on Arthur’s deeper involvement in procuring, while the same claim is further reinforced by their narrative form as well. In the second episodic narrative, in passages 4-6, Arthur first describes the contradictions that he has encountered in the justice system and then again returns to the role of the police. His point is very obvious: the whole justice system – not just the police but also the court – is responsible for making him feel immoral. It is possible that Arthur really did not experience any dissonance between his actions and moral judgement before his arrested him and conviction, because his immediate entrepreneurial environment showed understanding for his actions; illegality just happened to be part of this type of entrepreneurship.

It is only after getting into trouble with the broader social environment – that is, with the justice system – that Arthur seems to feel the dissonance. He resolves it by presenting a kind of comparison between himself and the justice system. The fact that the police accused him of things he had not done makes them bad and immoral, while he himself becomes a victim of police action. The justice system is not to be trusted because it has been unable to make consistent judgements in his case – and if it has not known how to judge him coherently, then his actions cannot have been totally immoral.

Arthur concludes that he then began to fight the authorities. He felt disappointed in the system and its flaws, especially in the inability of the police to recognize him for who he really was – that is, who he thought himself to be: a moral individual who was helping the women, himself a victim of procurers. Considering Arthur's background it makes sense that he initially believed in the righteousness and morality of the police. In the end his disappointment made him defy the system by doing what the system forbade him to do, namely procuring. Interestingly, Arthur presents his response to the actions of the police as some kind of primitive reaction, as something he was unable to control.

The third episode begins in a familiar way, by repeating the influence of the police. Then in passage 7 Arthur reflects on his background and his response to the procurers' request for assistance. He concludes that his strict and moral upbringing was perhaps the reason for his inability to refuse when asked for help. Arthur had explained this before as follows:

People would ask for favours, so then I... I don't know... helped out. But I think it had quite a lot to do with my background as well, that I have that... mm... I have a deeply religious background, I come from a religious family. And there, I don't know if they taught me that you have to help people and so on.

Passage 8 introduces a third reason for entering the sex industry: Arthur's desire to take part in something fun and exciting, something totally different from his past. This is another aspect that Arthur explains more than once, and it appears already at the beginning when he compares his married life with his life after marriage.

In passage 9, Arthur strengthens his claim about being a good and moral individual, first by noting that he was actually trying to help the women and then by offering a concrete example to make the point that he did manage to help them in reality. In passage 10 he turns his attention to the nature of the business itself and gives several reasons why his present business is not as immoral as his former doings. Firstly, the women nowadays work more as independent entrepreneurs; secondly, today's procuring is run by amateurs; and thirdly, the current procuring business is small compared to what it used to be. Arthur finds it ridiculous that he was sentenced now and not five years earlier. This statement is further elaborated in the next passage where his previous arguments are seen in relation to the development of his career: having worked with three hundred different women before, Arthur now only

worked with two or three. Also the nature of the work had changed and business was now less professional than it had been in the past.

Passage 12 has features of both the episodic and habitual narrative genres as well as of a story. It is a compilation of quick reviews of past events that affected the radical change in the course of Arthur's life. Then Arthur once again returns to the incident with the police, as if to say that it bore the most meaning in this sense. However, in the next two passages (13 and 14) he appears to place more weight than before on his own actions and choices by proposing that the police were, in fact, trying to warn him from getting deeper involved in the procuring business, and still he failed to take their advice. This new insight leads Arthur to name his liking for the women in the business as the main reason for his own involvement instead of blaming an outside force.

Conclusions about Arthur's entrepreneurial career: opportunity recognition and exploitation

Let us next examine the elements that influenced Arthur's opportunity recognition, exploitation and evaluation, with specific focus on personal, social and contextual matters. Of the numerous businesses that Arthur had been, and continued to be, involved in at the time of narrating, he mostly talked about procuring, but the following analysis nevertheless attempts to grasp some key elements common to all of his businesses.

The first striking facet in Arthur's narrative is that his extremely strict and religious upbringing, early marriage, having children and working in a regular pay job did not prevent him from taking his chance as a sex business entrepreneur. At a very early stage in the narrative Arthur juxtaposes his earlier social life and his life after the divorce. He describes his former life as dull and boring, but all this changed when his new acquaintances entered the picture. Thus, what seems to have affected Arthur's recognition of opportunities in the sex industry was his new social network; indeed, to give it a powerful meaning he actually begins his narrative by describing these new friends and acquaintances who made life interesting and exciting. Hanging out with these people can well be said to have initially sparked off his career in the sex industry.

The only clue as to how Arthur came up with his first business idea, the phone sex line, are his words about the women who worked for his procurer friends having extra free time on their hands. What is not narrated is who originally came up with the idea and saw this extra time as an available resource. But Arthur's opportunity in procuring arose when the procurer network changed in a way that allowed him to take a bigger role in the industry. As a result of this change in the procuring environment, the existing opportunity had suddenly become underexploited and open for him to seize.

Similarly, Arthur's most recent business idea to combine pornography and mobile phone technology is based on activating his networks: a well-known porn photographer friend of his, other friends who own a studio and have models, and still other friends who know information technology. Thus, the opportunity recognition processes described by Arthur certainly seem to follow

the same pattern: he recognized different resources held by different network members and then combines them to create a new business – in a manner that resembles Morselli's (2001) description of the brokerage position in cannabis trade.

Arthur's social networks have affected his entrepreneurial career in other ways as well. The social context, especially the networks that he had managed to build, enhanced his knowledge about the various business alternatives within the sex industry. As he went in deeper into the industry he also learned the right way to operate in it. By getting to know about the social context and by learning from his networks he was able to accumulate a vast amount of information that further improved his ability to detect new opportunities. Without this knowledge, which only seems to be visible to insiders within the industry, Arthur could hardly have recognized the opportunities or exploited them efficiently.

The same elements seemed to have another effect as well, namely an influence on Arthur's morals and thereby his risk taking involving the self. The influence is seen in how he progresses to exploit different kinds of opportunities, starting from legal and moving to illegal. The phone sex line is a beginning, the removal van business to assist procurers is a further move, and proceeding to make a living as a procurer means a final step into illegal business. It is Arthur's social networks and his social environment that appear to have had a crucial impact on his evaluation of the perceived opportunities in this matter. In the end, Arthur's confrontation with the authorities created such a dissonance between his morals and his actions that in his narration he pours it out by analysing and interpreting the reasons for his behaviour over and over again, through many different roles and points of view.

The second extract, however, shows that Arthur did not adopt all the social influences or ways of business conduct in his environment. He compares his operations with those of other entrepreneurs in the same industry and concludes that, when it comes to the procuring business, he is actually a moral entrepreneur. He treats the women better, is less greedy for money, has fewer women working for him, and stays in the background, letting the women work fairly independently. Arthur is also introduced in a new role here: that of a helper who returns to defend a woman despite an imminent threat of gang violence.

Arthur's narrative clearly indicates the importance of social and contextual elements in recognizing and evaluating perceived entrepreneurial opportunities. Yet, in the narrative his ultimate decision to get deeper into the procuring business is built also on his other experiences. The opportunity was probably recognized with the help of the network, but the actual decision to proceed to exploit it had very much to do with the context and with the actions of the police. Arthur explains that the final trigger that moved him to take up procuring was the police – particularly the feeling of being wrongly accused of being a criminal instead of being treated as the moral person that he saw himself as. Arthur claims that his opportunity exploitation was partly a result of

the feelings that the encounters with the police had raised: feelings of puzzlement, shock, rage and revolt.

What Arthur narrates about his own persona and its effect in recognizing and especially in grasping different opportunities is in many ways quite fascinating. Arthur presents himself in favourable terms as a person who willingly helps other people and behaves morally and decently. However, these elements seemed to have had very little, if anything, to do with preventing or advancing his sex phone business or his future plans to combine porn with mobile technology, but they did have a marked influence on his involvement in procuring.

Indeed, Arthur's former life experiences, his desire for the newly recognized fun and wild excitement, and ultimately the incident with the police together seem to add up to a reasonable explanation for how and why Arthur began a career in procuring. He enjoyed being around other sex business entrepreneurs and soon began to have ideas about working with them – which led him to detect new opportunities in the industry.

Risk

Arthur gives a significant part in his narratives to his evaluation of and attitude to risk. On at least two different occasions he decided to forego the pursuit of an opportunity because it would have involved a major economic risk. The first time he had been thinking of setting up an erotic bar with his friend, and the second time he would have had a chance to expand his procuring business. Evidently there was a demand for some of these services, but he seems to have withdrawn partly because it would have meant taking an economic risk. Considering that Arthur had already lost four investment apartments largely due to a lack of the necessary knowhow, it is no wonder that such risks posed an obstacle to taking up a new business. The businesses that Arthur did enter, like the removal van business, appear to have been profitable enough and not too risky for Arthur to seize them.

Arthur's narrative introduces also other than economic risks, one of which has to do with the violence that he encountered. This occasionally realized threat of violence in incidents with a procuring gang is an example of the physical risk he faced as an entrepreneur. Moreover, it is something he regarded as one of the major differences between his and the gangs' way of doing business. The narrative reveals his will to avoid the physical risk, but its imminence did not prevent him from rescuing a woman from the hands of a gang.

Arthur further tells about various types of social risks that his entry into the sex business bore. First of all becoming a sex industry entrepreneur without his wife's knowledge was a major reason for their divorce. Later, especially due to his prison sentence, he also risked losing contact with his parents and his siblings. Thus, the industry that Arthur got involved in dramatically changed his social settings. His new network and the social nature of the business finally led him to take still another kind of risk: a legal one. He took this risk when he seized an illegal opportunity by getting involved in procuring; the risk materialized when he was sentenced to prison.

It is interesting that Arthur seems to downplay the possible social risks of the business and prefers to point out its benefits to his social life. In the same way, the apparent legal risk of participating in an illegal business does not seem to play any major role in Arthur's narrative until the risk is realized. His recognition of the economic risk follows the same pattern as his recognition of legal and social risks: he really understands them only after they are realized. In the case of economic risk this meant the failure of his first business attempt, the phone sex line.

The last risk – and what seems to have been one of the greatest risks in Arthur's career – is the risk to self. This risk arose mainly from the cognitive dissonance between Arthur's claim to morality and his actions as a criminal procurer. Cognitive dissonance arises from a difference between a person's morals and her behaviour and can either lead the person to change her conduct or to explain it to fit the moral standards. In Arthur's case, this dissonance did not make him withdraw from procuring; instead, he resolved the situation by interpreting his behaviour differently. It is apparent how Arthur's explanations vary depending on the opportunity, and he seems to see very little need to explain or interpret the rest of his exploited opportunities other than procuring.

Throughout the narrative account Arthur keeps implying how his procuring business should be understood. Although now, in prison, he is aware that his actions had been illegal, he nevertheless attempts to present various aspects that might confirm that he is, in reality, a moral person who has, in most cases, acted morally. Below is a summary of the reasons Arthur gives along the way:

- He was actually helping the women.
- He made the procuring business softer and more humane.
- Initially it was he himself who was taken advantage of, because he was unable to refuse his assistance.
- The women were working of their own free will.
- The procuring business would have been operated anyway, with or without him.
- He only took money for work that he had done; he did not overcharge.
- The police and the justice system both treated him unfairly, which is why he rebelled against them.
- When he first started his removal van business, such assistance was not judged as so illegal by the law as it is today.

A final look at Arthur from the narrative view point: his many roles

Narratives often present different perspectives to the same action or event. In fact, one way to understand the shifts in Arthur's account is to examine the different roles that he introduces – those of a hero, which in Arthur's case refers to his role as a helper, or a villain, for instance. His roles are inverted when the perspective shifts. The same events can be recounted using various narrative structures chosen according to the interests of some character in the story. (Todorov 1977, 223) Arthur's narrative account is extremely multilayered, and his own interpretation of its events varies throughout the account. Its multilayeredness and Arthur's evaluation of its events can be understood by realizing that the same incidents can trigger different interpretations depending

on the role that he as the narrator has assumed at the moment (Gubrium & Holstein 1995). Arthur's different roles carry different meanings, and he seems to feel the need to interpret and explicate his actions from several, often contradictory perspectives. His various roles also seem to involve different motives which, thus, require a different explanation.

As has been seen, there are a number of roles to be found in Arthur's account. One of his main roles is that of the *Moral Man* who neither fights nor drinks, smokes or uses drugs, and who disapproves of violence. This role stems from his upbringing and his childhood. The moral person's role appears several times in the narratives, and in some cases a narrative is clearly intended to emphasize his role as a moral individual. This is evident, for example, in the second extract as Arthur compares his own way of doing business with the way one of the gangs operates. In contrast to the gang, he treats the women right and is not greedy for money. He also tells about living on the money he earned from procuring, but continues that this was only because his expenses were so minor. In the second extract he further notes that the other gang was mainly thinking of the money to be made by procuring, whereas he himself was not – which goes to prove that he is not a greedy person, quite the opposite. In the first place, this is a narrative about procuring which actually attempts to demonstrate Arthur's virtues.

The second major role that comes along is that of the *Bystander*. This role is introduced in the first extract and is presented both by the content and the form of the narrative, especially by means of narrative transformations. The difference between this role and Arthur's third role, that of the *Helper*, is quite clear: the helper does good things, but bad things happen to the bystander. These roles can also be interpreted based on their activity and passivity. The helper is really an extension of Arthur's first role as the moral man: he helps the women to make the best of their career in prostitution, assisting procurers in their business, and supports his porn photographer friend to get back into business. The helper's role, which appears on many occasions, seems to emerge from Arthur's childhood and upbringing.

As the story evolves, yet another important role develops from the bystander's and helper's roles: the role of the *Victim*. On one hand, Arthur sees himself as a victim of the procurers who took advantage of him and whose requests he was unable to refuse. On the other hand, he is a victim of the police and the whole justice system that did not understand him and judged him unfairly.

The most interesting role from the standpoint of this study is, of course, Arthur's role as an *Entrepreneur*. He calls himself one and acts accordingly. He is clearly very proud of being an entrepreneur and describes his entrepreneurship on many occasions. Arthur the entrepreneur runs many different businesses and travels between towns organizing and managing things. He is a central figure in the network: he knows a lot of people and is capable of making everything happen. Also, it is the entrepreneur's role that Arthur has decided to continue to pursue, which thus expands into the future.

His various former entrepreneurial roles can be divided into sub-roles based on the business they arise from: Arthur has entrepreneured both a *Phone Sex Entrepreneur*, a *Removal Van Entrepreneur* and a *Pimp*.

Finally, there is an interesting detail to Arthur's choice of roles: the *Villain's* role is almost completely missing or denied. It only comes up when Arthur is caught by the police and is given the role of a criminal. This is also the moment when Arthur first appears to feel a cognitive dissonance between the roles he had built for himself and the new role assigned to him by the police. Unable to bear the role of a villain, he has to justify in the narrative that he is not a criminal but the moral human being he believes himself to be. The villain's role that was forced upon him from the outside does not fit him, and so he tries to explain and interpret himself once again to make the cognitive dissonance disappear. This means that most of his narrative account represents an effort to fight this role and to conceal it, even though he rarely even mentions it.

One aspect in which Arthur's various roles differ from each other is the way he talks about them. He assumes both active and passive roles; with the former he uses the form "I did it", giving the impression that the narrator did something himself, while with the latter he says "it happened to me", which implies that the narrator did not take an active part in what took place. This shows how Arthur narrates by using forms and structures that either increase or decrease his active influence and responsibility in the events; that is, the self may either be put in charge of what takes place or tossed in the stream of events without any attempt to control what is happening. From the viewpoint of risk, this implicates a need to avoid cognitive dissonance and risking the self.

Many of Arthur's stories or parts of stories about procuring are told in an orientative form: incidents happen around him while he himself is placed outside the focus of action. Arthur frequently depicts these events meticulously but takes care not to give himself an active role in the story. This form-level phenomenon is repeated as he portrays himself as an outsider who is "just hanging around", "looking on from a distance", etc. Narrative transformations are the key to examining these phenomena in Arthur's speech in more detail. Besides placing himself outside events, Arthur seems to downplay the meaning of his own actions through the use of negative forms and many auxiliary verbs in a row, as well as by varying between active and passive voice. All these effects are intended to convince the listener that Arthur's moral responsibility was only minor: the form of his narration makes it look like he had no other choice and was dragged into the events he is telling about.

Arthur's speech also varies by his different roles. He uses active forms in talking about his roles as the moral man, the helper and the entrepreneur, whereas the bystander's and victim's roles are in passive mode. Arthur's active roles present him as the subject who makes things happen, whereas his passive roles are described with himself as an object: the decision-making power is not his but someone else's. It seems that in Arthur's mind his active roles do not require any explaining in terms of their morality. These are roles that anyone would gladly take on. His passive roles, on the other hand, have a very special

meaning in the narrative: they allow him to explain why a moral individual like himself became involved in the procuring business.

A look at Arthur's narrative account through his passive roles reveals that there is a continuum and role evolution concealed within them. At the start of the continuum, the bystander's assistance is requested by procurers and he does not know how he could refuse. The procurers take advantage of the bystander's kindness, and his role now turns into that of a victim for the first time. The second victimization occurs when the police fail to understand this passive role and treat the victim as a villain. The role of villain or criminal is one that Arthur avoids presenting almost to the end of his narrative account. Both of his passive roles - the bystander's and the victim's - refer to the illegal business of procuring, whereas his other business ventures are never viewed from this perspective.

The development of Arthur's passive roles is, of course, only one part of the picture. When looking at his active roles, the picture changes. To begin with, the moral man's role is meant to describe how Arthur became involved in the procuring business in the first place, and this role is further used to explain how the bystander turns into a helper. The helper is a moral role which is exploited by the procurers. Arthur attempts to stick to this role until he is arrested and again victimized, this time by the police. Yet there are some glimpses of the role of the active entrepreneur, for example in the removal van business, but Arthur tries to separate this role from his role in the procuring business. The events with the police then convert Arthur's passive role as a victim to the active role of a procuring entrepreneur. The next table illustrates Arthur's different roles in his narrative account.

TABLE 5 Arthur's different roles.

ROLE	ASSOCIATED WITH	FORM OF SPEECH	SELF PRESENTED AS
Moral Man	Upbringing, procurers	Active	Subject
Bystander	Procuring	Passive	Object
Helper	Women, friends	Active	Subject
Victim	Procurers, police, justice system	Passive	Object
Entrepreneur	Independency	Active	Subject
Villain	Authorities	Passive	Object, denial

An interesting question is why Arthur goes to all this trouble to explain how he became a procurer. He clearly does not feel the same compulsion to narrate about his other business ventures or to explain how and why he got them started. While the final reason for this may not be established - it is quite obvious that even Arthur himself hardly knows it - some contributing factors can be outlined. Firstly, Arthur's narratives all point to the same claim: the fact that procuring is illegal does not make him immoral, scarcely even criminal. The reason he was in the business was mainly to help others; in other words, this is a narrative about his evaluation and his morality. Another reason why

his narration focuses on procuring might be that it was due to these events that he is in his present situation – that is, imprisoned – and therefore, this is the business branch that aroused the most emotions in him. The cognitive dissonance between his own understanding of himself as a moral person and the police’s claim that he is a criminal created a need to interpret and explain his experiences. No cognitive dissonance of this magnitude is apparent in his legal businesses. Finally, the context of narrating – namely, telling the story to a researcher in prison where he is serving a sentence for procuring – was apt to increase his desire to justify himself.

8 THIS IS HOW FAR WE HAVE COME: THE DEEPENED UNDERSTANDING

At the beginning of this thesis I formulated three research questions to which I thought I should try and find answers. The questions move from specific to general and from empiria to theory as follows:

1. What types of events are momentous in recognizing and beginning to exploit opportunities in the sex industry?
2. How do the narrating entrepreneurs evaluate and reason their business opportunities in different phases of the opportunity process?
3. What is the role of risk in the evaluation of opportunities?

The aim of this chapter is to answer these three questions. The first one was dealt with at length in the previous chapter by presenting answers that were descriptive in nature, and the focus is now on seeing what kind of events were decisive in initiating the entrepreneurial careers of the narrators. The second question probes in deeper into the narrators' reasoning in their evaluation of these events. In response to this question, four entrepreneurial types are formed and discussed, based on the understanding gained from the entrepreneurs' narrative accounts and their entrepreneurial reasoning and evaluation. The answer to the third and final question concentrates on the entrepreneurs' attitude to risk in the opportunity process on the basis of their narratives and theory, in an attempt to contribute novel understanding to the latter.

8.1 The magical moments of recognition and exploitation

Among my main arguments at the start of the research process was one which I did not raise as a research question: This argument has to do with the subjective nature of entrepreneurial opportunities, and it actually set the rationale for the first question concerning the momentous events in

entrepreneurial opportunity recognition and the decision to exploit an opportunity. Had I not taken the subjectivity of opportunities as the starting point, a growing understanding of the separate experiences of individual picture of the opportunity process. Hence, the aim of this subchapter is not only to answer the first research question, but also to point out issues that speak for the chosen premise, i.e. the subjectivity of the opportunity process.

Bygrave (1989b, 10; 1991, 3) has discussed the triggering events that transform people's perception in a way that enables them to recognize entrepreneurial opportunities. Although these events often represent relatively small incidents in the entrepreneurial process as such, they still change the entrepreneur's attitude or perspective in a way that leads to the recognition of a new business opportunity. When these momentous events are placed in a time sequence they form the path for the entrepreneurial journey and show the turning points of the entrepreneur's career.

The triggering events are among the magical moments described in the studied narratives. However, whereas the idea of a triggering effect seems to point to an event that suddenly changes a person's perception, it seems that with the entrepreneurs of this study such events required time to be molded into a clear recognition of an opportunity, which would then lead to an actual change in their behaviour. In a way the entrepreneurial journey reflects the difference between the narrative genre of a story and that of a habitual narrative: where a story concentrates on a certain event, a habitual narrative builds on a slower evolution of perception towards the development of a certain meaning. The entrepreneurs' perception changed in the course of time rather than instantly in one sudden moment, although the triggering moments were distinctly visible in the narratives.

Indeed, Ronstadt's (2007) corridor principle compares entrepreneurship to a journey in the course of which the entrepreneur develops an ability to recognize opportunities as the business evolves. Ronstadt maintains that the entrepreneur learns to detect new opportunities based on her earlier experiences, without which those later opportunities could not be recognized. Venkataraman (1997) and Shane (2000) similarly apply the corridor principle in their theories, but they discuss it mainly in terms of a knowledge corridor: the knowledge that entrepreneurs possess and the knowledge they gain through opportunity exploitation opens up new entrepreneurial opportunities for them. In fact, many of the elements that are seen as crucial for creating opportunities seem to be closely intertwined with learning, with turning isolated factors into a human process. Prior knowledge actually refers to something already learned, and personal development always relates to learning in one way or another.

In a very hermeneutic and subjective sense, the knowledge corridor represents an entrepreneur's evolving understanding. This evolvment is well seen in the narratives of the studied entrepreneurs. Their new perceptions and their learning were based on their different experiences. The circumstances from which they started their careers could hardly have predicted the journey they were to take or the experiences they were to gain. The narratives also show

that the further they went, the more their entrepreneurial alertness towards new opportunities seemed to grow. At the same time it looks like their opportunity seeking also became more active as they gained more experience. In the recognition phase, Richard especially relied on the personal understanding he had accumulated about sex as a business in the recognition phase, while Arthur developed new opportunities at an ever quickening speed the further he went.

Interestingly, both the positive and the negative experiences of the entrepreneurs left traces on their perception and behaviour. This is particularly evident in the case of Arthur, who named his negative encounters with the police and the justice system as a major reason for taking his career in pimping further. Heyl (1979, 85) reports a similar incident in the story of a madam who also indicated a 'formal labelling experience' as the point at which she chose to pursue a prostitute's career. This means that negative experiences do not always prevent the exploitation decision, but may sometimes even expedite the process. Whether this is due to the influence of networks, personal traits or some other factor, remains open. There is more evidence of the role of positive experiences in the narratives of this study: Jane's falling in love with Richard, Arthur's new friends and their support, Richard's going to work in the porn shop after Jane's approval – to mention the most important examples.

Social networks are another element that has been found to affect the opportunity process. Here this was seen in how strongly the entrepreneurs' social networks affected their changing perceptions and enabled their learning processes. Relationships and networks might even be said to be the key to how the entrepreneurs learned about the business and gained the information and knowledge needed to recognize new opportunities, and what gave them the final push to begin to exploit the opportunity. Arthur, for instance, was pushed ahead in the recognition phase of his entrepreneurial career by his close social relationships with his friends and their friends – i.e., by both strong and weak ties – as well as by the political changes that took place in the environment. Jane's interest in the field sprang from her strong-tie relationship with Richard, as did her opportunity recognition. Without this kind of personal interest, prior knowledge and social relationships, the entrepreneurs might not have realized the changes that instigated the recognition process.

A striking feature in Arthur's case is that his business in the sex industry was not based on a network he was familiar with from his earlier life; instead, he had to create it from scratch. This becomes even more interesting since this new network was, in fact, the core and basis of his business from the beginning. Also in the case of Richard and Jane, their mutual relationship launched the events that for Jane meant the recognition, or perhaps we should say, an understanding of the opportunity, and for Richard the possibility to exploit it. The significance of social networks to entrepreneurship has been recognized earlier by Carroll and Mosakowski (1987), for example, who specifically stress the influence of family relations in deciding over entrepreneurial careers. However, as seen above, it was not the entrepreneurs' family ties as such that

mattered in their exploitation decision, but rather, their strong ties with friends and lovers.

The concept of a network incorporates the idea of some players in the net being more crucial than others. Players who hold a brokerage position have more information than other network members both on the network itself and the information it holds. For Arthur as well as for Richard and Jane, their network position gave them opportunities for widening the scope of their business. Richard and Jane used their knowledge to teach medical students and professionals, and to find new customers in women, whereas Arthur combined people representing different professions from his vast network to work in his projects. Arthur's plans, of course, were interrupted by his prison sentence.

Heyl (1979, 103) report a corresponding story in her above-mentioned study from the sex industry. The story describes a madam who successfully ran her business from the centre of a triangle formed by her clients, her pimps and her girls. This resembles Arthur's pivotal position in his own ventures, operating between other agents in the sex industry and bringing them together to create new businesses. Such relationally-based opportunities (Morselli 2001, 231) were also the starting point of Arthur's career as an illegal entrepreneur.

One more key component of opportunity theory relates to the change on which the recognized opportunity is based, and so the final review of the 'magical moments' on the entrepreneurial path is made from that perspective. The sources on which the studied entrepreneurs based their opportunities are clear: these included changes in technologies, policies and regulations, but above all, social changes in people's perceptions, moods and meanings. Arthur's entrepreneurial journey was guided especially by technological change. Firstly, the new IC technology and cell phones enabled easy access to the internet, and videos created a new distribution channel for pornography. Secondly, the newspapers' decision to stop publishing prostitutes' ads is an example of a political change to hinder the business which, together with the spread of the internet, led Arthur to adopt a new way by taking the advertisements online. Here an industry-based change that prevented the old way of doing business was compensated by a development from outside the industry. Finally, the change in the procuring field after the old gangs were demolished by the police, gave Arthur a brokerage position in the network and opened up new ways for him to operate. As far as technology is concerned, the sex industry has not traditionally developed new technologies or created new changes, but in some cases it has been among the first to take advantage of new technologies and to commercialize them in sex industry. Perhaps the everchanging political and regulatory environment surrounding the sex industry drives it towards the peak as a utilizer of new technology - as in the case of prostitutes' advertisements, for instance.

What, then, were the changes that guided Jane and Richard's opportunity recognition? Perhaps the strongest change that they built their opportunity on was the change in people's moods, meanings and perceptions concerning women's sexuality. This simultaneously created a discrepancy between what

the industry offered to women and what it should have offered in view of women's sexual needs. These macro-level phenomena and women's bolder behaviour helped Jane and Richard's business to grow. Looking back to Popper's (1995) three worlds, these types of changes belong to the second world of human mental states: they are very hard to detect and the chance of wrong interpretations is stronger compared with other kinds of changes.

The existence of entrepreneurial opportunities and the question of their objective or subjective nature can now be reviewed based on what the entrepreneurs' narratives have revealed. A developmental path is clearly evident in each one's narrative. They all started out with something different than they finally ended up doing or planned to do. They recognized new opportunities through their strong social ties and widened networks, based on their earlier experiences and knowledge of the industry. Their original perceptions guided their interpretations of different situations and made them see something there that could be developed into entrepreneurial business opportunities – something that others failed to see.

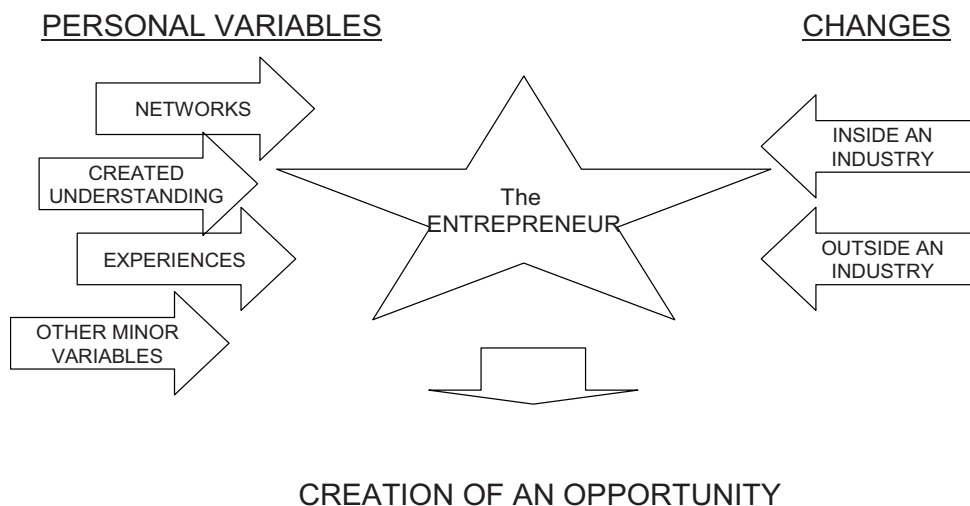


FIGURE 16 Both personal elements and detected change effect the entrepreneur in her opportunity process.

8.2 Evaluation and reasoning in the entrepreneurial opportunity process

After looking at the turning point moments in the entrepreneurs' careers, let us turn to their reasoning and their evaluation underlying these moments. At the start I assumed, in line with the entrepreneurial literature, that entrepreneurial decisions to grasp opportunities are based on demographic factors,

opportunity costs and expected value of the opportunity. However, inquiring into the entrepreneurs' narratives I observed other elements that also seemed to affect their opportunity evaluation. I will next discuss the influence of social networks and individual elements in the overall evaluation of benefits and risks.

Networks

Social networks and social relationships appear to play a major role not only in opportunity recognition and exploitation but in their evaluation as well. Certain norms that are shared by a group or held in a special context can have a deep impact on people's evaluation (Trevino 1992). Differences in the sociomoral atmosphere affect both their reasoning and behaviour, but often this effect is limited to the group's situational and institutional context. (Kohlberg et al. 1983, 54, 59; Trevino 1992) Thus, it seems that particularly when opportunity recognition is based on social networks, these networks also resolve how the opportunity should be evaluated. Tight involvement in a social network means adopting its rules also in the evaluation of different business opportunities. This was the case particularly with Arthur. The impact of his network was so tremendous that it changed his whole worldview and made him entrepreneur and utilize opportunities in the sex industry that led to illegal business. Indeed, the impact of networks in entrepreneurial opportunity evaluation may be greater than has been expected earlier.

The social relationships that affect a person's judgement vary in strength, multiplexity and symmetry. A strong, symmetrical and multiplex relationship within a group has been suggested to encourage people to act in accordance with the group's norms (Brass et al. 1998). This helps to explain Arthur's situation, but also sheds light on the story of Richard and Jane. It seems that especially when a person's entrepreneurship is a continuum of her life and beliefs, and when her opportunity recognition has been supported by a strong, multiplex and symmetric network, her evaluation of the opportunity will be based on the values shared by the network. For instance, one of the elements that Brass et al. (1998) found relevant in determining whether an entrepreneur's behaviour would be ethical or unethical was precisely the proportion of her contacts with ethical and unethical groups. If we think of Arthur, it is clear that the deeper and more intense his relationships with the illegal entrepreneurs became, and the more he disengaged himself from his family and his old life as a father, spouse and son, the more strongly he was influenced by these illegal venturers and the values they carried.

Heyl (1979, 85) also emphasized the importance of networks in the sex industry in her study on prostitution as entrepreneurship. She notes that networks and especially the deep trust within them play a vital role in businesses operating in the sex industry. An entrepreneur looking for social support for her evaluation tends to turn to the kind of network that shares the same interests and one that will maintain mutual confidence to reduce perceived risks (Lang et al. 1997). The narratives of this study similarly reveal that trust had a crucial role in the evolvement of the entrepreneurs' business: it

seems that as the entrepreneurs gained trust in their relationships, they also perceived the risks to be smaller.

Arthur's narrative reveals another angle to the progress of his moral evaluation and the impact of his network. His values changed through his involvement with the network, and eventually his evaluation of what constituted a breach of morals grew less important (Baack, Fogliasso & Harris 2000). Arthur's conflicts within his network obviously made him question the business behaviour of others, but he was otherwise too committed to separate himself from the network. When the network changed as a consequence of police action, Arthur gained a brokerage position in it. Now he was able to distance himself from earlier norm conflicts, but he somehow did not (want to) see just how deep into illegal business the network had already taken him. The network's impact on his values and morals was vast. With his friends, customers and women all supporting his behaviour and with the rewards increasing while the penalties felt small, Arthur's evaluation appeared to deteriorate along with his exploitation of opportunities. As a result he was gradually exploiting more and more illegal entrepreneurial opportunities.

Richard and Jane took a very different path on their entrepreneurial journey. Their network in the sex business had originally formed around their hobby of going to s/m clubs. Richard only entered the sex industry after winning Jane's approval. Both of them told about their present role as professionals, which had taken them to lecture to doctors and medical students as well as to the regulatory authorities on different aspects of sex. Such professional and official networks probably helped to strengthen their confidence in their own evaluation and in their business.

To summarize the discussion so far, the recognition of an opportunity often requires the existence of a relevant network, but at the same time, the network partly defines the kinds of opportunities to be found through it. Whether or not an entrepreneur pursues the opportunity to the exploitation phase depends largely on her evaluation of it. This, again, depends to a great extent on the network and its values, as well as on the social support and approval of her strong ties. In other words, besides helping the entrepreneur to recognize opportunities, her social network influences her evaluation of them. Some form of acceptance from the entrepreneur's strong-tie relationships appears to be necessary for opportunity exploitation to begin.

Individual elements in the evaluation

Earlier research has shown that the locus of control plays a significant role in entrepreneurial decision making. It influences the evaluation both directly and by way of the expected outcome. A strong internal locus of control guides a person to act according to her own beliefs and values regardless of outside expectations. (Trevino & Youngblood 1990) This could be seen in Richard's story, in the way he talked abundantly about his motives in describing his evaluation of opportunities. Self-expression seems to have been his primary motivation: the narrative clearly reveals that, to Richard, the morality of his entrepreneurial actions lay in following his own path and being true to himself,

his own beliefs and values. Nevertheless, in the exploitation phase even Richard, with his strong internal locus, needed the support of a strong social tie.

Arthur's story, on the other hand, shows his continuous wavering between morality and immorality; where he drew the line was largely dependent on the perspective that he took to look at his career. This supports McCuddy and Peery's (1996) remark that people with an external locus of control are more likely to act against their values, because they tend to make excuses for their actions. Where the internal locus held by Richard appeared to protect him from various risks, Arthur's external locus of control exposed him to some.

Other individual characteristics that are known to affect entrepreneurs' evaluation include a need for achievement (Glover, Bumpus, Logan & Ciesla 1997), low rule orientation (Harrington 1997), and a critical approach to their own work (Humphreys, Robin, Reidenbach & Moak 1993). One thing revealed by the narratives was the impact of this specific industry on the need for achievement. It looks like the choice of industry, which was judged by some members of Jane's network as bizarre or even suspicious, actually heightened her desire to make it work. In the end, the negative attitude she faced made her try harder and strengthened her determination to succeed.

Johannisson (1987a) takes the idea of low rule orientation further by proposing that entrepreneurs - whom he describes as individualistic and opportunistic - resemble anarchists in that they decide on their own future and act accordingly. This description applies especially to Richard, whose explicit entrepreneurial goals included changing the prevailing social context to better match his own worldview. It also brings to mind Schumpeter's idea of entrepreneurs as creative destructors, which in Richard's case meant destructing the old perception of sexuality and replacing it by a new understanding reconstructed through his entrepreneurship. All of the studied entrepreneurs narrated about their rebel's role and acting against taboos to a greater or lesser extent. In so doing they provided excellent examples of counternarratives (Jones 2004, 175), in which they intentionally juxtaposed their own manner of entrepreneuring with the conventional norms of entrepreneurial behaviour and action.

The idea of the entrepreneur as an anarchist, with particular reference to entrepreneurial narratives and moral evaluation, requires further attention. Teal and Carroll (1999) suggested that entrepreneurs hold slightly higher than average moral evaluation skills, perhaps due to their independent thinking and rejection of social norms. Since narratives disclose whether the narrator accepts or challenges the given moral norms, they also reveal how she reproduces or undermines those morals (The Personal Narratives Group 1989, 7-8). In fact, often the very willingness to narrate springs from the narrator's rejection of a norm or from a sense of being different (Burgos 1988, 22). Indeed, the narratives of Jane and Richard demonstrate that one of their driving forces in venturing

was to challenge the existing moral norms and to reproduce them to better fit their own views.

Norms and values already entered this conversation when dealing with networks and the components of individual evaluation. Solymossy and Masters (2002) have suggested that the moral evaluation of entrepreneurial opportunities is an ongoing hermeneutic and interpretative process that is associated with their individual characteristics, level of cognitive moral development, social relationships, and various situational elements. Let us therefore take a closer look at the entrepreneurs' moral evaluation of opportunities, which specifically refers to value-based evaluation.

Thus far, the value discussion has shown the significance of the entrepreneurs' personal values when they make moral evaluations on their business (Hornsby et al. 1994, 14). Longenecker et al. (1989a, 70), for instance, found that direct financial gain can drive entrepreneurs to approve actions that maximize their personal rewards even if that gain comes at the expense of others. This remark seems to be especially pivotal in industries which include both legal and illegal venturing, and where networks play a crucial role in opportunity recognition and exploitation. Furthermore, the fact that resources in the sex industry are human-based in a number of ways, means that the maximization of personal rewards may lead to gross violations of human rights.

The ability of individual entrepreneurs to make moral evaluations naturally varies greatly. Part of this variation has been explained by an illusion of control and an inability to see oneself as an independent actor (Palich & Pagby 1995; Keh et al. 2002). In some ways Richard's strong belief in himself implies an illusion of control, but of course, the extent to which this control is an illusion cannot be determined. Nonetheless, it is visible in Richard's desire to teach others about the world of sexuality as he understands it. Arthur also claimed that giving advice to the women in running their business was one of his main interests. This educational view to the sex business was also introduced by Heyl (1979, 104): the madam in Heyl's study felt needed when she helped new girls and taught them how to manage a career in prostitution.

A person's inability to see herself as an independent (moral) actor is probably not regarded as the most entrepreneurial of mindsets – it is rather different traits that are usually regarded as typically entrepreneurial. Still, this description points to an external locus of control and actually describes one of the entrepreneurs fairly well. Arthur's failure to see himself as an independent moral actor is especially apparent when he narrates in the passive voice and uses narrative transformations to minimize his own role in becoming a procurer. Arthur's narrative demonstrates the intertwined nature of these elements, but the interesting question that remains unanswered is how the influence of his network, his external locus of control and his inability to see himself as an independent moral actor come together in his actual entrepreneurial evaluation and behavior.

Three plus one entrepreneurial types

Table 6 below presents four entrepreneurial types based on the understanding gained of the entrepreneurs in the previous discussion. These types are distinguished by their locus of control, basis for opportunity recognition, entrepreneurial aims, and possible cognitive dissonance, and they are named according to the motive that drove them to become entrepreneurs. The fourth entrepreneurial type is built on the basis of my previous understanding on human trafficking, and is included here for the sake of comparison.

In the first type, the motive is *inner compulsion*: the entrepreneur actively seeks the right opportunity to find self-fulfilment by entrepreneuring. There is a harmony between the internal understanding and external behavior of this type of entrepreneurs, because their behavior is designated to meet their inner needs: their actions are guided by a strong personal conviction and not dictated from the outside. In the second type, which I call *emotional adaptation*, the primary source of entrepreneuring is external, but the willingness to adjust is so strong that there is no or only minor inconsistency between the entrepreneur's behavior and her feelings about it. Depending on when this adaptation occurs, opportunities are either searched for or recognized.

The third type is driven by the *flow of circumstances* to recognize opportunities in the network and the situation the entrepreneur has drifted into. In case of a dissonance or conflict between the inner understanding of this type of entrepreneurs and their opportunity exploitation, the solution is either to change their behavior or to find an explanation for and modify their own understanding of the situation and behavior in it (Festinger 1957, 19). The last column presents the 'entrepreneur' who has been forced into entrepreneurship through *coercion*. In reality, entrepreneurs of this type are actually a resource for someone else's opportunity exploitation. These entrepreneurs experience a strong dissonance between their inner understanding of the situation and the behavior they are forced into. They may be coerced into the situation because of unemployment, physical force or intimidation. The four types of entrepreneurs should not be considered as distinctly separate and independent, but rather, as a continuum moving from a harmony to a distinct dissonance between the entrepreneur's internal understanding and her external action.

TABLE 6 Entrepreneurial types found in this study.

TYPES OF MOTIVES	INNER COMPULSION	EMOTIONAL ADAPTATION	FLOW OF CIRCUMSTANCES	COERCION
Locus of control	Strongly internal	External, turns internal	Mostly external	Strongly external
Basis for opportunity recognition	Individuality: active search for opportunities to fulfill oneself	Social relationships: active search for or recognition of opportunities	Situational: recognition of opportunities in the operating environment	External: fulfillment of someone else's opportunity
Entrepreneurial aims	Self-fulfillment	Social existence	Carpe diem; social acceptance	Self-preservation
Cognitive harmony/dissonance	Harmony: behavior guided by inner understanding	Relative harmony: no major conflict between inner understanding and behavior despite adapting to external expectancies	Potentially severe dissonance: inner understanding conflicts with behavior, which leads to cognitive removal or quitting of action	Severe dissonance: submission; possible attempts to cognitive removal of action
Entrepreneur	Richard	Jane	Arthur	E.g. Victims of human trafficking

8.3 Role of risks

Up till now the conversation has dealt with the elements that contribute to opportunity evaluation, but the actual instrument of thought by means of which the evaluation is made has been absent. Although the importance of networks and values is apparent in this regard, it remains unclear just how they impact the decision to exploit the opportunity. The economic evaluation of entrepreneurial opportunities was already addressed earlier, with the remark that it might not be the only kind of evaluation involved in the process. While the traditional research literature discusses risk analysis and points merely to economic risks, the experiences of Jane, Richard and Arthur imply the existence of other types of risks as well. Thus, let us next turn to examine the entrepreneurs' risk/benefit evaluation.

This final subchapter focuses on answering the third research question concerning the role of risk in entrepreneurial opportunity evaluation. The answer draws both on the understanding gained about the risks faced by the entrepreneurs in this study as well as on the theoretical background. A basic assumption here is that the evaluation of the feasibility of different

opportunities is mostly a question of a risk/benefit assessment (Kirzner 1973; Schumpeter 1934; Shane 2000). To get a better understanding of the entrepreneurs' evaluation of business opportunities, especially in the phase when they are to act on it, we need to take a closer look at the concept of risk and its different types. The risk/benefit analysis is an instrument by which entrepreneurs measure the possible gains and losses that acting on the opportunity might involve. In other words, instead of evaluating an opportunity and its exploitation as such, they evaluate the benefits and risks that it holds.

Different kinds of risks

All entrepreneurs confront economic risks in their careers. Yet, the narrative accounts in this study clearly show that sex industry entrepreneurs need to assess other types of risks as well. On one hand, Jane's story about how she lost her childhood friend and had to question the rationality of venturing in the sex industry because of her sons, and on the other hand, the course that Arthur's entrepreneurial career was to take, are especially revealing in this sense. Arthur, in particular, experienced a variety of different risks that actualized during his business career, ranging from losing his investment apartments, going through a divorce, and finally, being sentenced to prison, where he began to question his thinking and behaviour concerning his illegal ventures. A deeper look into these events from the viewpoint of risks is, therefore, in place.

Cognitive dissonance refers to an inconsistency between what a person believes or knows about herself and how she behaves (Festinger 1957, 1; Aronson 1997). Such cognitive dissonance poses a *risk to self*, which in the context of this study may be defined as a situation in which the entrepreneur's values and her entrepreneurial actions are contradictory, making her feel an inner dissonance. This risk affects no one but the entrepreneur herself, causing not only cognitive, but possibly also conative and affective dissonance (Rae 2005).

There are some boundary conditions to the way in which personal values and morals can affect decision making. In order to carry a moral standpoint, the evaluation has to incorporate certain elements. Following Frankena's (1973) definition, a moral point of view is applied: 1) when a person makes normative judgements, which she also universalizes; 2) when she bases her judgements and universalizations on facts about the effects of the actions judged; and 3) when, if the judgements concern herself, she considers the effects that her actions have on others. Moreover, the person's decision making regarding the actions that she is able to influence has to be conscious.

Arthur's entrepreneurial career obviously jeopardized the consistency of a stable, predictable, competent and morally good sense of self in a way that has been described, for instance by Aronson (1997). He seemed to use his entrepreneurship as a tool to ease the tension between his earlier 'homeboy' image and his later 'cocksman' identity, for example. In fact, it looks like he consciously violated his own values by his behaviour. Arthur's cognitive dissonance is well seen in his need to justify his actions. In narrating he tried to

minimize his own influence on the events he was telling about and thereby to reduce his responsibility by making himself an object: a bystander or a victim. These same means of justification have been reported previously by Harrington (1997), who observed that one way of avoiding cognitive dissonance was to deny one's own responsibility, and by Trevino (1992) and Rae (2005), who found that cognitive dissonance could be reduced by assuming separate roles depending on the situation and the context. What Arthur's narrative tells us is that venturing against one's values can lead to dissonance and, hence, presents a risk to self.

Social risks have to do with the entrepreneur's networks. Among the studied entrepreneurs, these risks were more often realized in their strong-tie than in their weak-tie relationships due to the different nature of these ties. Social risks in strong-tie relationships can result from the very change from a regular job to 24/7 entrepreneurship, which may influence family life, for instance by reducing the time spent with the family. In the case of both Richard and Arthur, their entrepreneurial efforts in the 'wrong' industry were the reason for their divorces, and the nature of the business caused Jane to lose her childhood friend. These social risks arose mainly from their tackling of a tabu in their entrepreneurship ventures. It has been assumed that in the case of weak ties, the presence or absence of trust plays a significant role in how the venturing progresses, and also the player's network reputation may have a say in her risk evaluation. However, the narratives of this study did not provide evidence to one way or another, so it is left to future research to investigate these questions in more detail.

Legal risks can refer to intentional criminal activities in entrepreneuring or to a negligence to fulfil legal obligations, for instance by hiding revenues from tax officials. This type of risk usually materializes in the form of fines, probation or imprisonment. It should be easy to avoid the legal risks from actualizing, since legislation usually states quite unambiguously what may and may not be done, and also what concrete punishments will follow from a failure to comply. Interestingly, it seems that Arthur interpreted prison as the only real punishment, whereas he did not see probation as a penalty as such and fines regarded fines as part of the economic risk involved in the business. All this presents a very pragmatic way of understanding legal risks.

Finally, entrepreneurship may entail *physical risks*, either industry-based or those realized due to a work/leisure imbalance: too much work at the cost of the entrepreneur's health. Arthur's narrative shows an example of an industry-based risk when the gangs threatened him with violence and actually used it on him. This is a physical risk that prostitutes face, alongside other risks like the risk of venereal diseases.

Having now only dealt with risks, it is relevant to include benefit thinking into the picture. This is best done by understanding risks and benefits as the two ends of a continuum. The figure below shows the risk-benefit continuum in the case of different risks, with some examples.

	BENEFITS	—————	RISKS
<u>ECONOMIC</u>	Financial profit	—————	Bankruptcy
<u>LEGAL</u>	No punishment	—————	Fines, imprisonment
<u>SOCIAL</u>	Social wellbeing	—————	Social exclusion, damaged reputation
<u>PHYSICAL</u>	Physical wellbeing	—————	Physical injury, death
<u>SELF</u>	Personal wellbeing	—————	Cognitive dissonance

FIGURE 17 Continuums from entrepreneurial benefits to risks.

Since the focus here is on opportunity evaluation, the horizon needs to be broadened to certain cognitive biases that may affect the risk evaluation. The ability of individual entrepreneurs to make risk assessments varies greatly, and part of this variation has been explained by a bias in their risk perception (Jones 1991). Among the studied entrepreneurs, Arthur showed a clear bias in his risk perception. Although he eventually enhanced his evaluations of economic risks to a certain extent, yet when it came to other types of risks – physical, social and legal – it seems he barely recognized them or imagined that he could handle them.

Some earlier studies have explained that entrepreneurs tend to downplay their risks more than non-entrepreneurs, which is interpreted to result from an illusion of control and a belief in the law of small numbers (Keh et al. 2002; Baron 2004; Simon et al. 1999) Thus, when the risk level is estimated to be low in comparison with the benefits, the opportunity is viewed more positively. Arthur, who faced physical as well as legal risks, perhaps failed to recognize them because he was overconfident in himself (i.e., illusion of control), because he had limited knowledge of the legal system (i.e., law of small numbers) or because he misinterpreted the risk. Only after the risks had been realized, did Arthur really perceive them. Arthur’s narrative also demonstrates how a strong social network that shares, or at least accepts, the same values and ways of operating can reduce the entrepreneur’s perceived social risk (Radaev 1994).

Finally, we cannot bypass the influence of the entrepreneurs’ earlier experiences and knowledge in their risk evaluation. The narratives quite clearly indicate that without an understanding of potential risks gained from earlier experiences, some risks might go unnoticed, making the evaluation of the opportunity too optimistic. The entrepreneurs’ personal experiences and knowledge about risks, thus, influenced their assessment.

Sarasvathy et al. (1998, 25) hypothesized that in entrepreneurial decision making “financial issues are subordinated to legal and ethical considerations, and in the case of entrepreneurs personal values are overarching in their implications for every decision”. This idea seems well proven here. Overall, the

narratives in this study indicate that entrepreneurs' individual risk perception, cognitive biases and risk-benefit assessment illustrate the different features of the entrepreneurial opportunity evaluation process fairly well, and thus open up a new direction to entrepreneurship studies.

9 BEFORE THE CURTAIN FALLS

The sex industry as an entrepreneurial context

I never doubted the importance and significance of this research⁴². One incident in particular convinced me that there is indeed a need for the kind of understanding this work represents. Interestingly, it had nothing to do with the academic world. I had eventually managed to get Arthur's contact information after a complicated process, and had sent him a letter inquiring about his interest to talk to me. Then, one grey autumn day when my mother happened to be visiting me, I finally got a short letter. It said: "I have worked as a procurer, in the sex phone line and porn businesses, with whores, strippers and so on. I'd be happy to talk to you about my experiences in the sex business..." As I read it my heart started to race, and when I finished reading I danced around, singing, with a happy smile on my face. What luck! I could hardly believe my good fortune in getting that answer!

I mentioned the letter to my mother and explained its significance to my research. I am not sure just what she heard, but obviously the letter didn't bear the same meaning and importance to her as it did to me. She looked baffled — how could anyone be so thrilled about receiving a letter from a cold-blooded criminal! So I did a bit more explaining and told her what Arthur had told me about his life in the letter. But the words 'procurer' and 'trafficking in women' did nothing to convince my mother — quite the opposite. She grew outraged, yelling at me that people like that should be locked up for good! They didn't deserve to live! How on earth could I go and see him? My mother was convinced that Arthur had no right to speak for himself after what he had done.

Uh-oh, I thought. Ouch! I began to wonder if this would be everyone's first reaction. Yet, this specific incident actually made me believe in my work even harder. I believe that our prejudices too often guide our reactions, preventing us from focusing on what really is important: that is, the attempt to understand. This research has taught me so much understanding, both within and outside the sex business, that I can truly say that this is a significant study — even if its significance at this point was merely personal in nature. Before turning to an academic evaluation of the study's significance, one more thing needs to be clarified: namely, that understanding does not always mean approving.

This farewell chapter proceeds along the pattern already familiar from the previous sections. First, we take a look at the entrepreneurship paradigm and entrepreneurship theory, and then move on to discuss the sex industry as an entrepreneurial context. The journey continues to an examination of the research methodology and the individual methods used, the narratives and their interpretations, and finally the results of the thesis.

⁴² However, for long I questioned my right to call this research 'entrepreneurial', until finally one specific article gave me the confidence to do so. I am grateful to Rehn and Taalas (2004) for their insight and their courage to think differently.

On paradigm and methodology

The opportunity view on entrepreneurship represents only one way of organizing and classifying the social construction of entrepreneurial activity. There are various competing paradigms already available, and others waiting to arise. In a way the situation with competing paradigms resembles the Kirznerian and Schumpeterian views on the entrepreneurial opportunity process where the equilibrating process moves markets towards greater harmony until they face an entrepreneurial shock which makes them change and begin to produce something new. Similarly, there is an equilibrating process in science which moves individual researches towards greater harmony in the normal-science phase until a scientific revolution shocks the science markets and creates a new, competing paradigm.

The fact that the entrepreneurship paradigm is continuously evolving should, according to Bygrave (1989a, 19), lead to an emphasis of “empirical observations with exploratory or, preferably, grounded research rather than testing hypotheses deduced from flimsy theories”. I have attempted in this study to follow Bygrave’s advice by looking at the whole and concentrating on empirics rather than on theoretical models, forgetting statistical analysis, and trying to find the heart of the entrepreneurial process within the descriptive background.

Theories can have many roles in scientific research, as Anttila (1998) has aptly pointed out: they can be seen as possessing absolute value, as objects of research or as instruments to achieve the study objectives. By choosing well, a researcher can create new theoretical thinking and thereby contribute to the academic debate (Kyrö 2003, 67). At the beginning of my research, I did not see the development of the opportunity theory as a goal in itself, but rather as a tool to enhance my understanding about entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship. In the end, however, the results concerning the different types of entrepreneurial risks may be understood from the viewpoint of theory enhancement.

Gartner (1988) has remarked that many studies on entrepreneurship actually fail to define the concept itself. In this study, the concept of entrepreneurship was defined through opportunity theory as the recognition, evaluation and exploitation of future goods and services (Venkataraman 1997). This definition does not enable a distinction between entrepreneurs and, say, small business owners, without more thorough knowledge of the individuals in question. Although the broad definition of entrepreneurship was abandoned already at the beginning of this study, the adopted definition still had to encompass more than just new firm creations. To begin with, it would have been nearly impossible to conduct a research in the sex industry within such a narrow paradigm. On the other hand, the Gartnerian view on entrepreneurship is yet another proof of the current disunified state of the entrepreneurial paradigms. Were entrepreneurial research to concentrate solely on firm creations, for example, it would exclude nascent entrepreneurs because the paradigm would not recognize them.

Bygrave (1989a, 23) has argued for the necessity of qualitative divisions of reality before any quantitative model can be introduced. Miller (1997), in turn,

refers to qualitative research methods as observational standpoints which influence the researcher's construction and interpretation of social worlds. These views indicate the reason for my rather lengthy conversation on the ontological, epistemological and methodological choices that every researcher has to make. My aim has been to contribute to the debate on entrepreneurship research methods, which, according to Kyrö (2002), has suffered from a lack innovativeness and development. I have therefore attempted to carefully reason over and justify the used methods, as well as the ontological and epistemological ideas based on the "Who-Do" thinking underlying the thesis.

The hermeneutic and constructivist perspectives offered adequate tools to create an understanding of the human being and to obtain knowledge about the world we live in. However, a demarcation problem seems to be lurking when a research is built from these qualitative settings. I will probe the demarcation problem – namely, what makes a study scientific – here shortly by means of the usual criteria and later on by assessing the truthfulness of the study. To begin with, does the research produce new information using a specific scientific method that is objective, public and self-repairing? Secondly, is it transparent, autonomous and progressive (Haaparanta & Niiniluoto 1998, 11, 15)? And thirdly, is it truthful and its argumentation valid (Niiniluoto 1980, 148)? In addition, before any new knowledge can be regarded as scientific, it must be subjected to peer criticism: that is, it needs to be discussed within the research community (Uusitalo 1998, 17-19). Hence, until the content and results of this dissertation have been dealt with by the research community, they are nothing more than the thoughts of an individual mind. In Mishler's (1990, 423) words:

Those of us who engaged in inquiry-guided and interpretative forms of research have the task of articulating and clarifying the features and methods of our studies or showing how the work is done... so that together we can develop a community with shared exemplars through which we confirm and validate our collective work.

In the same vein, Gadamer (2004, 11) claims that debate has been the only verification method for qualitative science ever since Socrates' time. The social sciences seldom have any other way to separate truth from untruth but the discussion inside the tradition. Furthermore, reflexivity – the core of narrative research – also made me look into the mirror of my own research story and reveal why and how I have done the research (Gartner 2007).

According to the Kuhnian view, there are certain factors both within and outside science that affect the research process and make the line between science and non-science unsteady (Riggs 1992, 53). I want to suggest some implications which, I feel, allow to call the present study scientific. Firstly, its methodology and the individual methods used are accepted as scientific within entrepreneurship research (c.f. e.g. Hjorth & Steyaert 2004; Hytti 2003). Secondly, the entrepreneurial paradigm underpinning this study has been defined as carefully as possible. Finally, I have explained my choices concerning problem setting, concepts and conclusions as well as my reasons for those choices, to make the work transparent and open to conversation.

Once a study has been determined as scientific, the next logical step is to assess its value as science. Silverman (2000, 57) proposes that one criterion for testing the value of a new research is to see whether it represents independent and critical thinking. He names three conditions for the independency and critical approach of a work: first, it has to develop a concept or methodology; second, the researcher needs to show a critical attitude on her own work; and third, the study has to make good use of earlier appropriate theories (Silverman 2000, 57). Again, the final judgement is left to the research community. Perhaps an even more relevant question concerns the trustworthiness of the research, which I will discuss at the end of the thesis.

The industry and its narratives

Telling other entrepreneurship researchers about my choice of research context roused interesting conversations, and I sometimes had to explain myself at length. In the end, I could always quote Jane's words about the sex business being like any other: others sell bread, she sells these products. The fact that there occurs both legal and illegal venturing inside the industry should not exclude it from research; such unnecessary exclusions may end up preventing any growth in our understanding. For instance, I wonder whether the more convenient industries could have offered me the input needed to understand the various entrepreneurial risks. Moreover, the entrepreneurs of this industry seemed to fit the opportunity paradigm and to illustrate it quite well.

The significance of the sex industry is often regarded as only marginal, but history has shown that it often guides the success of other industries and technologies (Lane 2001). For instance – if a conjecture is allowed here – it is quite likely to be pornography that will lead 3D television to success, due to the similarity between consumers of porn and consumers of new technology⁴³. The sex industry thus plays a relevant role in spreading new technologies and turning them into everyday commodities. In the wider picture, the significance of these, what seem to be pariah industries, is misunderstood, especially in the field of research.

However, I did face some shortcomings due to my choice of industry. My attempts to find more female sex industry entrepreneurs willing to share their experiences failed, which narrowed down the scope of this research. Although I asked several women to participate, and even had inspiring conversations with them, only two finally agreed. Fortunately for me, I managed to talk with Jane about the issues relevant for this study, but this was not the case with Marie, an erotic dancer and domina whom I lost contact with. My long discussions with Marie were not in narrative form and had very little to do with her entrepreneurial choices. Thus, the shortage of female entrepreneurs in this work is perhaps its most disappointing element. Also, my initial plan to do the research solely on illegal entrepreneurs who traffic in women had to be changed already at an early stage. I consider this a limitation because of the main reason why this happened: my lack of courage.

⁴³ Cf. Bakker & Taalas, 2007.

Both the individual and the social context are known to influence the narratives that entrepreneurs tell (Riessman 1990, 17). In this research, the social context was dual: the interviewees belonged to two different social categories as representatives of both entrepreneurs and the sex industry. This dual context no doubt had an effect on the social perspective of the narratives, yielding entrepreneurial as well as sex business speech. The individual entrepreneurial contexts also varied, as my starting point in selecting interviewees for my study was to include as many sex business professions as possible in order to gain a wide repertoire of entrepreneurs in the industry. The outcome was that each of the six narratives represented a different perspective to the sex industry.

I chose a narrative research methodology while keeping in mind my ontological and epistemological assumptions – namely, that all individuals have their own, unique way of constructing their world. The narratives served as a transmitting tool for understanding the various phases of the opportunity evaluation of each entrepreneur. Hjorth and Steyaert (2004), for example, have spoken in favour of the narrative approach as a valid method for interpretive studies of entrepreneurship. Similarly, Dukerich, Waller, George & Huber (2000) emphasized in their work on moral decision making that people should be given a chance to narrate about moral dilemmas of their own accord rather than in response to moral problems formulated by researchers. Thus, one of my guiding principles was to give those who used to be called ‘research objects’ a voice of their own and the possibility to define the opportunity process and its components from their own contexts.

The used narrative methods took me deep into the narrators’ experiences, into their reasoning and evaluations, as revealed by what (substance) was said as much as by how (process) it was said (Holstein & Gubrium 1995, 79). I also let the narrators’ talk lead the conversation within the frames I had decided on beforehand, which resembles Holstein and Gubrium’s (1995, 77) idea of “rather improvisational, yet focused” interviews. On the other hand, this gave the narrators a better chance to link their experiences and meaning horizons to mine and to those of the research.

When multiple interviewees are present in the narrative situation, they help each other to invigorate their stories and horizons, different though they are (Holstein & Gubrium 1995, 66), but this also tends to mix the view on the content and form of the stories and complicate the interpretative process. Despite this I took up the challenge with Jane and Richard, whose narratives were intertwined in a way that presenting one without the other would have given only half an understanding. The interviews also provided several examples of the collaborative nature of narrative production. For instance, Jane’s comments about the questions being ‘weird’ or saying that she was ‘sidetracked’ illustrate how the interview process was built by the two of us in interaction, and how Jane kept building her narrative with the kinds of stories she thought I wanted to hear.

All interviews contain several narratives, but these may actually be violated when located into the narrative text corpus. Riessman (1993, 18) has

noted that the researcher's decisions about where a narrative begins and where it ends can, in fact, shape and alter the story itself. Such shortcomings are always present in an interpretative process and, thus, surely in this research as well. Realizing this, apart from presenting the content of the narratives I have attempted to point out to the reader the form in which they were told, to create a more complete picture of the interpreted account. Yet, presenting the narratives in a manner that would not violate the story and the narrator's purpose in telling it, and would allow for other interpretations besides my own, was not an easy task.

At first, the deductive research tradition guided me to use such extracts from the narrative accounts that might clarify and support my theoretical claims. However, this type of approach felt like a disparagement of the narratives and their tellers, and so I looked for a more proper and perhaps a more respectful way of interpretation and representation that would let the stories speak for themselves (Riessman 1993, 31). Indeed, the transition to abductive thinking gave more room to the narratives and allowed their interpretation to deviate from the theory base, producing what I regard as a genuine dialogue between opportunity theory and the narratives. And finally, I believe that people's behaviour is guided more by the stories they create and the situations they encounter than by theories that predict their behaviour, which explains my decision to take the narratives, not theory, as the starting point. I agree with Bruner (1986, 42), who states that "history is not completely independent of what goes on in the minds of its participants".

The entrepreneur's individual forms of narrating posed a special, but related challenge to the analysis. As I see it, sticking stubbornly to a certain method and the interpretative horizon that it opened, in an attempt to press diverse kinds of narrative accounts into the same mold, would hardly have enhanced our understanding, but might have prevented recognizing other, more appropriate means. Better results could be obtained by choosing the method according to the individual narrative account to be analysed. Although this might at some point lead to problems in comparing the interpretations, I feel that the use of a variety of analysis methods offered more pros than cons: in the end it was possible to accomplish a richer analysis by fitting the method to the account instead of trying to fit an individual, subjective narrative into a certain mold.

An extensive use of narrative methods obviously leaves the narrators more vulnerable as compared with conventional analysis methods (Chase 1996, 45). First of all, this raises the question of how the narrators are protected, and secondly, takes us back to the issue of interpretive authority. These questions can best be weighed by examining my actual experiences with the entrepreneurs of this study. From among the collected narratives I selected Jane's and Richard's because of their openness. Both of them said already at the start that they had nothing to hide and would not mind even if their persons were to be recognizable. This made my interpretative work easier; in fact, I felt that Jane and Richard were both eager to hear what I would find in their stories.

Moreover, their narratives concentrated on themselves or their close relatives, so there was less concern about protecting outsiders.

Arthur's case, on the other hand, presented an extreme contrast to Jane's and Richard's. Arthur mentioned a number of outsiders in his narrative, and on some occasions he remarked that if I were to report any details, some people would be sure to recognize either themselves⁴⁴ or him. In this way he marked the details that he wanted me to exclude from my analysis. After the interview, as I was about to leave, Arthur further speculated whether or not he had divulged any information that might get him or anyone else into deeper trouble, or if he had perhaps revealed something that was not known to the authorities. In so doing he was probably talking as much to himself as to me. When asked, he gave me an example of the kind of information that, had it come out in the narrative, might have posed a risk – even though it would have been a most intriguing detail to present. This statement revealed two matters concerning Arthur's narrative. Firstly, there was certainly more to his story than what he had told. And secondly, although Arthur seemed to be ready to accept that some people might recognize him from the text, he absolutely did not want anyone else to be recognized.

Thus, it was clear from the very first steps of my analysis of Arthur's account that I should concentrate on Arthur himself and leave everything else aside, as far as possible. Interestingly, Arthur's reflections about his own emotions and evaluations were not marked or protected in the same way as matters involving other people. In terms of my work this obliged me to edit his narrative into a form that hurt neither him nor anyone else – that is, I needed to focus on things that had happened to Arthur and on his evaluation of those events. This actually added a second round of evaluation into the interpretation of his narrative account: the first round was achieved by Arthur himself as he made the discordant concordant by leaving details unsaid while still building his story into a whole. The second round of evaluation was my responsibility: in my interpretation I had to evaluate what to include in and what to exclude from the presented narratives.

To Arthur, the process of narrating and having someone listen was a positive experience, judging by his words: "I guess you were a little like a psychologist here." This reminds what Miller (1996) reported about his interviewees: the interviewing process had a deep impact on the participants, some of whom even made a conscious attempt to change themselves as a result. Although assumptions like this would require a longitudinal research, yet it looked like participating in the research and being given a chance to narrate about his life had the effect of organizing Arthur's own understanding, already at the time of the interview.

The implications of my interpretation of the entrepreneurs' evaluations and judgements in their narratives are yet to be discussed. As noted earlier, the voluntary participation and consent of the interviewees may not be adequate

⁴⁴ Chase (1996) also noticed that participants felt most vulnerable about statements that concerned their colleagues or members of their community.

measures to confirm their invulnerability (Chase 1996, 57). For example, my main reason for leaving out the extremely interesting story of John, a porn journalist and prostitute, was that it might have had severe outcomes for him. The fact that John asked me to change several details, which from my viewpoint were significant for his entrepreneurial career and his whole opportunity process, forced me to exclude his narrative from the research.

Besides the content of a narrative, its interpretation may involve aspects which, had they been known at the time of consenting, might have made the interviewee refuse to participate. In contrast to the moments of mutual understanding and interaction during the interviews, the researcher's analysis of the narrations may arouse anxiety in the participants about how their personal stories are turned into science. In this study, distancing myself from the moments shared with the participants, identifying myself as a professional, and keeping in mind my commitment to the theoretical choices made finally helped me to proceed with the interpretation and drawing of conclusions. Whereas it was Jane's, Richard's and Arthur's lives that I was interpreting, still the interpretive framework itself was mine.

Interpretation

Early one Monday morning as I returned to Arthur's account, trying to recall my thoughts about it two days before, it suddenly dawned on me what interpretation was all about. Before that moment I hadn't really understood what was happening in my head when I was interpreting the accounts – and because of this I was having continuous doubts about the results of my interpretation and their rightness. I felt the whole interpretation process was like a 'black box' that I just couldn't open. (Anyone who as a child has wondered what makes a clock tick onwards, what happens inside a camera, or where the image on TV comes from, can understand my frustration in not understanding what happens in interpretation.) What was this process going on inside my head?

I now realize that my new understanding had already begun a few days earlier. I had attended a postgraduate seminar where I had remarked how everyone of the participants was a prisoner of their own history. When I said this outloud, the others seemed to regard my statement as fatalistic, and I was told it sounded like I was saying that our history determines our future. I got confused because this interpretation of my thinking was so far from what I had intended⁴⁵. This incident made me deeply aware that we really are prisoners of our history in the very sense I had meant, because these comments were instigated by a certain understanding of the phrase I had used, by my exact words but not by my thoughts underlying that phrase. As a result I felt the need to explain my standpoint more clearly or, as Gadamer says, to explain my horizon of meaning to my colleagues and take them along with me to see my understanding.

⁴⁵ What I had meant was that our past determines the way we interpret and create meanings based on our experiences from different events of our life – not that our past determines our future.

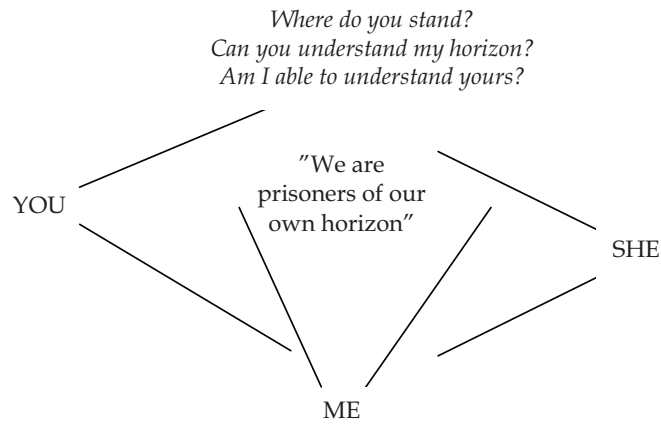


FIGURE 18 Different horizons of meaning.

But then, on that magical Monday morning, reflecting on Arthur's account with this incident in mind, I finally understood just what I was doing in interpreting: that is, I saw inside the black box. If the other seminar participants didn't understand me, I needed to explain my standpoint to them. I had to reveal to them my horizon of meaning, my history, to make them see what I saw, to make them understand. It was this thought that made me see into the interpretation process. If this was what I had to do with my own thinking, was it not exactly what I was doing with the accounts of the entrepreneurs? To put it simply: interpreting meant combining my understanding, my horizon of meaning, with the horizons of meanings in the narrative accounts.

Each of the narrative accounts that I had obtained in the interviews opened up the historical horizon of a certain individual in a certain time and place. My task as a researcher was to interpret these accounts according to the horizon of meaning that I had built up within the theoretical framework on entrepreneurial opportunities. Moreover, I felt that the results of my interpretation were not solely dependent on the theory frame but on my ability to take the horizons of meanings in the narratives as my own. The figure below illustrates this a bit further.

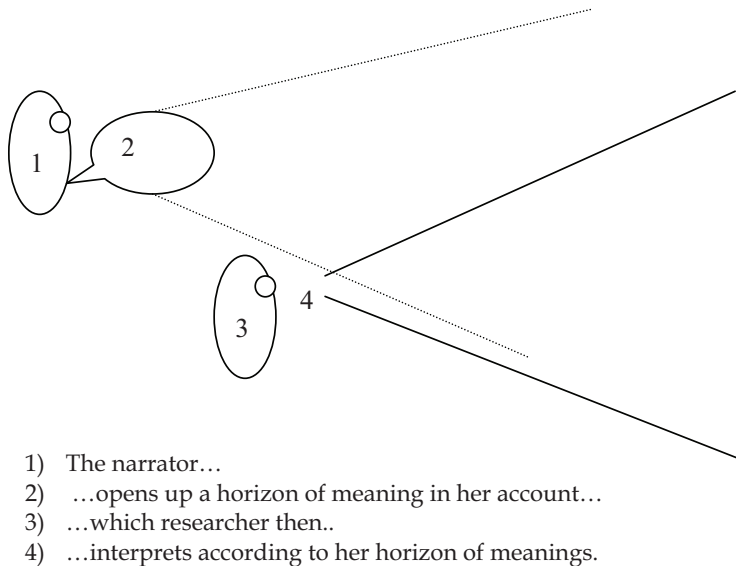


FIGURE 19 Narrators' and researcher's horizons of meanings in interpretation.

The interpretation of narrative accounts presents many pit holes from a researcher's perspective. The gravest mistakes have to do with violating the narratives by making wrong interpretations about their content or context, or misunderstanding the structure of the story. This may mean failing to recognize the individual narratives in the narrative account or to see where a narrative begins and ends, which can result in narratives being altered in a way that destroys their meaning. To overcome such shortcomings I have tried to make my horizon and the whole research process as transparent as possible by narrating my own experiences as a researcher. Indeed, I feel that telling my own story about doing this research and showing how it evolved through various phases from the production of narratives into a scientific work also helped me to handle the stories of these sex industry entrepreneurs in a more respectful and caring manner.

Another worry in interpretation concerned presenting the narratives in the English language. Translating narratives from the language they were originally told in brings an additional round of interpretation into the process. I want to stress that my analysis and interpretation were based on versions in the original language, not on the English versions presented here.

Trustworthiness and truth

Many times in analysing the narratives I stopped to think about the trustworthiness of my interpretation. I knew I had chosen good tools for the analysis, but I nevertheless understood that as a user of those tools I might find or make meanings and interpretations in the narratives that simply weren't there or that hadn't been intended by the narrator. I was deeply conscious of my responsibility to give a correct and justified interpretation – all the more so because these entrepreneurs had shared their lives, their thoughts and their feelings

with me, and I wanted to respect their sincerity and courage in taking part in this study. Realizing that every narrative contains at least a little bit of exaggeration in one way or another, I wanted to diminish its meaning in my own interpretation and, hence, in the narratives of the entrepreneurs.

It is not possible to measure narratives and their interpretations for their reliability or validity to establish scientific truth (The Personal Narratives Group 1989, 262). Instead, attention has to be focused on their construction of meaning, the circumstances of this construction, and the meaning-bearing linkages that are assembled for the occasion (Holstein & Gubrium 1995, 9). The fact that narratives are subjective in nature and present their reality at a textual level means that using falsifiability to test a story's 'goodness' or 'value' would be a total misplacement of verification. The goodness or trueness of a narrative has to be judged by other means than those used for logical arguments. Even if subjective stories and narratives are not supposed to tell the truth, it is still possible to raise a question of their likeliness and their verisimilitude to reality (Bruner 1986, 11).

Bloor (1997, 49) refers to the lack of validation in social sciences and suggests that we ought to speak about a reflexive awareness instead. Reflexivity should not only concern the interpretation of others' narratives: the researcher should also be aware and ready to consider any changes in herself that are bound to occur in the course of the research process (Katz 2004). Looking at my own interpretations and research process side by side with the interviewees' narratives strengthens the view that, no matter how we try to search for objective anchors to overcome the inevitable subjectivity of social science research, it still seems to remain a collection of personal, subjective interpretations. Our interpretations help us to find similarities between our own perspectives and those of other people's narratives. This is the core of verisimilitude: it is through our interpretations that we make the stories recognizable as true, conceivable experience (Bruner 1986, 52). Riessman (1993, 15) speaks about the ambiguity, fluidity and contextual nature of meaning resulting from people's interaction, which leads to limited portraits that are presented partially, selectively and imperfectly in talk and text.

One way of assuring the trustworthiness of a research is responder validation, in which the researcher takes the gathered narratives with some tentative results back to the narrator to find out how they are received (Silverman 2001, 235). Basically this means that researcher's interpretation is tested by the original narrator to see whether it still reflects her original or current understanding. My narrators themselves asked for the possibility to review the text before its publication to correct possible mistakes. After reading the sections that concerned themselves, Richard and Jane gave their short comment: "Well yes, that's the way things were", indicating that they recognized their 'conceivable experience' from my interpretation of it. Arthur, on the other hand, promised to contact me when he left prison - but this never happened.

Further, the trustworthiness of this research also requires analysing the reliability of my interpretation. Booth (2005) judges a narrator as reliable if her

actions and speech are in accordance with the norms of the work – meaning the norms of the implied author. An unreliable narrator is described by Prince (2005) in the dictionary of narratology as:

... a narrator whose norms and behaviour are not in accordance with the implied author's norms; a narrator whose values (tastes, judgements, moral sense) diverge from those of the implied author; a narrator the reliability of whose account is undermined by various features of that account.

On these grounds I chose to make the implied author as visible as possible in order to enhance the reliability of the research and my interpretations. In the end, the impression of the reliability or unreliability of this text derives as much from the reader's expectations and her inherent, pre-existing conceptual models of how a text should be addressed, as from the text itself. The further the reader's worldview and standards of normalcy are from those presented in the text, the more unreliable the text will appear. (Nünning 2005)

Interpreting the narratives about the entrepreneurs' lives forced me to take a stand on the question of subjectivity and objectivity on other levels as well. What narratives reveal are subjective truths about real-life situations; they do not even claim to represent a viewpoint outside the individual experience (The Personal Narrative Group 1989, 263). An interpretation of the complex and confusing worlds embedded in narratives and turning them into an understanding of the narrators' life stories can hardly evoke any objective truth, only several subjective truths. Or, as Bruner (1996, 123) states, "stories are the products of narrators, and narrators have points of view". Denzin and Lincoln (2001, 12) have similarly noted that the inner life of any individual is unreachable, and that others can only observe it through the lens of their personal language, social class, race and ethnicity. Thus, there is no such thing as an objective observation, since individuals are incapable of fully explaining their actions and intentions: all they can do is narrate and tell stories about them.

Part of the challenge of interpretation is deciding the extent to which we are able to generalize the understanding gained from subjective experiences. Yin (1994) suggests that it is legitimate to generalize at the level of process and theory in order to make sense of 'how things happen' by interpreting a limited base of case studies. Accordingly, I have avoided any generalizations about the context of sex industry entrepreneurs; the generalizations that I did make are aimed at building a theoretical understanding of how entrepreneurial opportunities may be assessed from the standpoint of subjective evaluation.

It is apparent that when people narrate, they leave some things unsaid. They tend to exaggerate, lie and remember things incorrectly. Even if a narrative may prove wrong in objective observation, nevertheless it usually presents the truth of the events as experienced by the narrator. Scientific ideals may be objectively verifiable or falsifiable, but personal narratives are not. They are being interpreted from the moment they are created; there is really no other way to learn to understand them than through interpretation. (The Personal Narratives Group 1989, 261)

Palonen (1988, 61-66) has written about the interpretation of texts, especially about the meaning of context in interpretation. He argues that when a text is read and interpreted, its contextual aspects, i.e. the individual and the historical background of its concepts, are as important as its structural or general aspects. The context can be seen as the referential part of the text. Any interpretive strategy should therefore always take into account the fact that all texts carry features of the context in which it was written, despite being used outside their original context. In other words, each text should be understood as an answer to a question, and it is this original question that should be recognized and considered in the interpretation.

The meaning that unfolds in the text's interpretation should be legitimate: it should capture the original context of the text. The interpretation process involves a partial hermeneutic circle between that context and the text itself. In the interpretation, the text's contextual nature is more difficult to control than the actual text itself. Contextual changes may even prove impossible to recognize, and an attempt at control may actually result in a lack of control. Moving ideas or concepts into a new and different context means recontextualizing them, and this requires consideration of both the original context of the concept as well as the new context into which it is taken. It is often difficult to estimate the validity of the meaning of the text in the new context in advance, which may make it necessary to accept unintentional changes in the meanings of the used concepts.

The above views made me consider the manner in which to present the research. I preferred to do it more in the form of a story rather than in the usual academic language. This decision demanded a lot of thought and was only reached after I managed to collect enough self-confidence. Its justification came from my awareness of the individual character of meaning building and acceptance of the fact that no matter how hard I might try to present my findings as an objective picture of the world and as the truth about opportunity ethics, this would never be the case.

To conclude, this study is subjective because it presents the world as seen from my own point of view. My intention is not to create a world that is invariant and independent of human intentions, but it is humanistic in the sense that the purpose is to understand the "world as it changes with the position and stance of the viewer" (Bruner 1986, 50). I posit myself in the role of a viewer, side by side with the other subjects of this research, and tell my story from within. Creating an illusion of objectivism and concealing my subjective role in the study might have given the impression that the story of this research was not sufficiently powerful in itself to make the point. Producing a narrative instead of an objective report hopefully inspires a debate about this study and the alternative ways of doing research.

What should follow?

Baumol (1990) began a discussion about the policies governing entrepreneurship by stating that if society wants to reallocate entrepreneurial efforts from private rent-seeking towards common benefits, this is more easily

done “through changing the rules that determine relative rewards than via modification of the goals of the entrepreneurs”. Changing the rules through legislation or taxation, for instance, would induce entrepreneurs to evaluate their actions and shift their attention to more productive activities than illegal entrepreneurship. The evaluation of different types of risks would seem to offer an especially promising determinant here. I hope this research evokes ideas and conversation on evaluation, particularly on risk-benefit thinking among entrepreneurs – a research subject that needs further study and should be widened to cover growth venturing as well.

In a broader context, Rehn and Taalas (2004) argued for a choice of research subjects in entrepreneurship that are not restricted by methodological assumptions derived from theories of laws and markets, but instead, that take advantage of the potential of social science methodology. I began this journey by exploring the surface of the sex industry, but certainly there are other entrepreneurial fields and contexts that should not be excluded from research merely for their potentially illegal or immoral character. It would indeed be interesting to study how different risks are evaluated throughout a range of industries and how they view the different elements of risk.

The ethical considerations concerning entrepreneurs were present in this research from the perspective of risks to self and the moral evaluation that the entrepreneurs were engaged in. So far business research has mainly tackled problems such as managers’ moral dilemmas or the social responsibilities of corporations (Carroll 1987, 1991, 1995), but business ethics is slowly making its way into entrepreneurship research as well (cf. Freeman & Venkataraman 2002; Morris, Schindehutte, Walton & Allen 2002). However, this road is just beginning and there is a need to develop the process both in terms of empirical findings and theory development.

Another interesting debate breaking into the awareness of entrepreneurship researchers today is that of the relation between family businesses and opportunity thinking (e.g. Kansikas & Puhakka 2007). The concept of risk, which was broken down into its various components in this research, surely merits further investigation. The field of family business research can offer interesting details regarding the decision-making process and the risk analysis itself in relation to the social risk of entrepreneurship to the family. All of the entrepreneurial stories in this study did, as a matter of fact, include elements of social risk.

One of the main claims made in this study is for the subjectivity of entrepreneurial opportunities, which I interpreted through the learning or knowledge corridor. If we agree that entrepreneurial opportunities are subjective and that we can learn to recognize them, then the next logical question is: How can we improve this learning, and how can we teach nascent entrepreneurs or our students to do it? (Cf. Görling & Rehn 2008) Work on these issues is no doubt already in progress on various levels – global, regional, and local – and many entrepreneurial ventures are implementing innovation programmes of their own to enhance this development. Accepting the

subjective nature of opportunities on the ontological and epistemological levels turns also the entrepreneurship paradigm into a new direction. The new paradigm shift is part of new evolving understanding of business and the people who do.

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APPENDICES**Appendix 1.**

J: Se oli tosta rahapuolesta. Mut pelottiks sua sanoo kellekään? Vanhemmille, siskolle, kellekkään?

D: ei , ei

J: Sukulaisille, entisille sukulaisille?

D: Heh, niin, ehkä aluks. (Puuttuu paljon tekstiä, kertoo siitä, kuinka entinen vaimo sanoi, ettei halua että hänen miehensä on joku pornokauppias)

mä olin silloin tai jonku klubin tai tämmöstä. (...)

Sen jälkeen kun Janen kans lähdettiin. Niin eihän mulla ollu mitään.. siis salailuhan ei vie mihkään. Se vaan niinku tekee (..) ei mul ollu mitään pelkoo, selvä päämäärä sen jälkeen ku me (...)

se on mun juttu.

J: mm.

Appendix 2

Jane's story

First extract:

1)
Lapsuudesta asti on niinkun kotoo tullut semmonen että tee töitä.
Jos et sä tee mitään, kukaan ei sua elätä.
Älä mene soppalan luukulle kerjäämään.

2)
Mä oon aina työllistänyt itseni, en oo siis kouluja käyny koskaan.
Suoraan peruskoulusta menin sitte firmaan, mä olin siellä 15 vuotta.

Minkä alan firma?

Leipomotoimintaa, ravintoloita, autokauppaa.
Autoja en myynyt,
Mutta melkein kaikkea muuta kyllä

3)
sit mä olin niinkun periaatteessa vähän jo noussutkin jo vähän siinä 15 vuoden aikana
minkä mä olin (Hukkuu muutama sana) siellä.

4)
Itse asiassa me siellä töissä tavattiin. (Nauraa.)
Että burn outin syynä oli osittain tää alkanut suhde, siis sillai että hän kun hän oli
naimisissa, mitä mä en heti älynny.
(...)

5)
Ja käytin ensimmäistä kertaa elämässäni hyväksi näitä tukiaisia, eli ihan käytin 500
päivää tarkoituksella.
En edes hakenut töitä.
Tai pakkohan oli hakea, mutta hain semmosta työtä, mitä tiesin, ettei ole.
Ja sillä aikaa [Richard] sitten tuli jo tänne töihin.

6)
Mut tota, mun mielestä oli ihan hyvä idea lähtee tälle alalle, koska kiinnostusta sillai on
ollu, aina.

7)
Mut tota, ensisijaisesti oli niinku idea, et jos saadaan ostettua tää, ni tehdään kahelle
työpaikka eli että se työllistäisi myös minut siinä.

8)
Ja tota nyt mä oon kauheen ylpee siitä, että tää työllistää peräti seittemän
parhaimmillaan et kyl me ollaan saatu kasvamaan tää ja ei me ihan hukcateilla olla tän
asian kanssa.

9)
Mut et töitä pitää tehdä. Mm.
Mitään ei saa, jos ei tee jotain.

Second extract:

1)
Mut ei, mä en oo koskaan ajatellut tätä alaa sillai, että tää ois yhtään sen hullumpi ku
mikään muukaan.

2)

Mää ennemmin ajattelen sen sillai, että kunhan mää vaan elätän itseni ni mulle on ihan sama että myynkö mää leipää vai myynkö mä täällä näitä tuotteita.

3)

En mää sillain ole kokenut hävettävänä millään tavalla.
Tai että ei oo mitään kynnystä ollu koskaan kenellekään sanoo, että mitä me tehdään.
Tai mm.. ilmoitusasiana sukulaisille ja tuttaville, että ostetaan tää firma tai mitään.
Ei oo ikinä ollu semmosta, että se ois jotenkin hävettävää.

4)

Päinvastoin, mä haluan aina tuoda ihmisille ulos sen, että koska tätä vieläkin pidetään jotenkin epämääräsenä ja suttusena ja likasena alana jollain tavalla, ni must on hyvä veto aina sanoo, et tää on yli 20 vuotta vanha firma, et miten ne luulee, et jos tää ois epämäärästä ja outoo tai jotain salamyhkästä ja väärinkäyttöksiä ja muuta ni eihän tää toimis.
Kyllä suomessa valvoo verottaja ja kaikki niin tarkkaan, et jos tää ois jotain laitonta touhua niin eihän tää ois pystyssä tää firma.

5)

Mä haluan tuoda sitä niinku ns. suurelle valtaväestölle, että tää on ihan kauppa siinä missä muutkin, että... tällä me eletään... pakko yrittää.

Third extract:

1)

Ja jos ihan totta puhuttaan, niin onhan se toisille näköjään kauhee, kauhee asia

2)

koska mul on tyttökaveri, minkä mä oon viiden vanhasta tuntenu.
Ollaan oltu suunnilleen niinku paita ja perse.

3)

Nii hänelle kun mä ilmoitin,
Et [Richard] tulee töihin tämmöseen liikkeeseen, niin hän laitto välit poikki

4)

Ja sehän tyrmistyttää vieläkin, et voiko olla kuitenkin nuori ihminen, minua nuorempi, ni olla kuitenkin niin ahdasmielinen, että kaikki se yhteinen, luulis että se tuntee mut niin hyvin ja kaikkea, mut..

5)

no.. siitä sitten tarina jatkuu, elikkä hää otti tässä kaks ja puol vuotta sitten yhteyttä, että tuletko kahville, että osote sama ku ennenki.
Niin mä laitoin viestin vaan, että kiitos, jätetään kahvit väliin, hyvää loppuelämää sullekin.

6)

Et mää en kaipaa tommosia ihmisiä enää, jotka pystyy noin totaalisesti kääntämään selkensä mokoman asian takia.
Hm. Anteeks voin antaa, mutta unohda en koskaan.
Eli en juo kahvia enää hänen kanssaan.
Jonkinlainen ylpeys on kuitenkin.

7)

Toiset vaan on ehkä niin pienistä ympyröistä tai jotain.
Mitä muuta (nauraa)...

Fourth extract:

1)

Siis [Richardille] oli kynnyks aiemmin se, että sitä pelotti kysyä multa,

että voiko se tulla töihin tämmöseen liikkeeseen.
No se [Richard] tuli sitten tänne töihin ja mitäs sitten?

2)
No mä olin ihan innoissani aina auttamassa, tietysti.
Kyl mä muistan sen, et aa..
(...)
en oo hirveesti ollu käyny niinku tässä liikkeessä.
Sanotaan et enemmänkin niinku muissa kaupungeissa,
Et en ollu käyny tässä liikkeessä, mut muissa kylläkin.

3)
Että se mikä eniten ehkä kiinnosti aa.. ni tää stripparipuoli.
Se oli semmonen niinku että mitä, mitä porukkaa se niinku on.
Jollain tavalla siihen liittyy semmosta kato glamouria, niinku että se on jotain hienoa ja jännää ja kaikkea ja toisaalta aatteli, että no eihän se nyt pelkästään tanssia siellä voi, et mikä tää juttu niinku on.

4)
Mikä nyt sitte on hyvä aina sanoo kaikille.. ko hirveen monella naisella on, sukulaisista ja muuten, se ensimmäinen kysymys liittyy aina näihin tanssityttöihin, et ku (ei saa selvää muutamasta sanasta, luultavasti ku niihin tutustuu) .. ni ihan tavallisia, että osalla on lapsia, ne on naimisissa, on korkeasti koulutettuja ja on sitä sun tätä.

Et ihan siis skaala on laaja, ja tosiaan ne vaan tanssii ja riisuu ja ottaa ne rahat pois tyhmältä asiakkaalta.
Näin kylmästi sanottuna.
Mut paljonhan niitä ihmisiä on, jotka ei nää alastonta naista muuten ku käymällä täällä.

5)
Mutta kun se musta tyttökin Jamaicalta, kun se tulee tänne talvipakkasella myssy päässä ja kengät lintallaan, ni kyllähän sitä naurattaa, että mitä glamouria tuo muka on, että ihan tavallisia.

6)
Että se oli ehkä se, mikä mua eniten mietitytti alkuun.
Sitte ku niihin tutustuu, ni.. sanotaan, että osa parhaista kavereista on nyt just näitä tanssityttöjä.
Ei siinä sen kummempaa.

7)
Kauheesti halusin olla mukana ja vaikka moppasin lattioita ja siivosin, että sain roikkua täällä, tavallaan.
Palkatonta työtä tein paljon, ettei yhtään omistaja hermostunu, että ku akka pyörii aina nurkissa.
Et jonkunlaista kiinnostusta.

8)
Ja kyllähän sillai ideoita oli paljon jo sillon, mut eihän kaikkee viittiny tehä toisen eteen, sen edellisen omistajan eteen.
Et meil oli paljon suunnitelmia ja uudistuksia ja kaikkee mielessä.. ja sit kun se alko oleen niin että haluais ja vois ehkä luopua, että ei niin oo kiinnostunu enää.. ja.. sitte meni joku vuosi ehkä ni rupes oleen sitä, että jos jollekin myyn, niin sinulle myyn.
Et [Richardin] (muutama sana epäselvä, luult. kanssa).. ootettiin kieli pitkällä et millonka se päivä tulee ja se tule ennemmin ku arvattiinkaan, mutta ihan, ihan hyvä.

9)
Se oli, ihan erilaisella sitä tekee kun sen tekee tavallaan itselleen, jollain tavalla.
Lapsille on pitäny aina selittää, että se raha mikä kassaan kilahtaa ei oo omaa rahaa, se on firman rahaa, mutta.. kuitenkin se tuntuu erilaiselta ja nähä se kasvu, että mitä siitä tulee.

10)

Että ei me ihan tyhmiä voida olla, että jos me ollaan saatu tää niinku kasvatettua ja saatu ihmisten.. niinku.. luottamusta, jollain tavalla, että asiakkaat tulee uudelleen

11)

ja sitten se millä rehvastellaan, että kun nämä opiskelijat käyvät täällä oppimassa ja jopa lääkäritkin käyvät täällä oppia saamassa, koska eihän niillä ole kaikista asioista semmonen tieto, että niillä on ehkä siihen fysiikkaan liittyvää, mutta sitten näitä mitä asiakkaan päässä liikkuu, jotka liittyy seksuaaliongelmiiin, niin me kerrotaan sitten niistä, mihin me törmätään ja mihin meiltä haetaan apua ja vaihetaan sitä tietämystä tavallaan puolin ja toisin

Appendix 3

Richard's story

1)

Vielä vähän kauemmaksi täytyy mennä hakee tätä aikajärjestystä tässä asiassa. Tottahan kaikki ihmiset on seksuaalisesti kiinnostuneita monestakin asiasta ja niin mulla se kokeilunhalu alkoi teini-iässä, niin kuin kaikilla alkaa ja totani nini se kiinnostus vaan pysy. En tiedä sitten onko se keskivertoa voimakkaampana tai... (J : suvussa) no, ehkä niin... hehe.

Mutta tota ei ollut sellainen kielteinen asenne seksuaalisuuteen. Se oli hyvin sellainen normaali, neutraali, eikä sellainen suljettu, kielletty tai jotain tällaista näin. Alastomuus on normaalia, ja vaikka äiti on uskonnollinen ja tällä tavalla että on sitä uskonnollistakin taustaa, mutta siihen ei kumminkaan niinku painettu alas sitten mitään.

2)

Ja no eihän tota tietysti kotona tietenkään oikein mitään tilaa ollut mutta sitkun lähti siihen aikuisuuteen ja muuta. (R) Oli tyttöystävää, joka ei hyväksynyt niinku suurin piirtein stringejä ollenkaan tai jotain tällaista tällaista näin. Et se oli "kauheeta", et "sä oot ihan sairas" ja tämmöstä näin. Ja ja tota tuli niinku sellanen niitten kokeiluiden kautta sit sillai et tota nini se mitä mä oon. Ni mä en jaksa niinku leikkiä ihmisten kanssa. Että kenet sitte sattuu tapaamaan ni jos ei nyt joku miellytä, niin tota ei kai sillä väliä.

Mä päätin aikanaan, että kaikki ihmiset ketkä tulee vastaan, et jotain rupee seurusteleen tai suhdetta alottaan, mä kerron heti mitä mitä mä haen tai mitä mä oon, mitä mä teen.

Et se on niinku suoraa hommaa.

Eikä sit sitä, että että kaks ihmistä tutustuu, ventovierasta tutustuu ja jätetään sanomatta asioita.

Et mä oon sen niinku todennut, että kaikki asiat pitää sanoa suoraan.

Mielummin ne pamauttaa heti heti ne tärkeimmät asiat, ni sit ei tuu yllätyksiä sitten.

Se suhteen alku joko jatkuu siitä tai sitten se loppuu siihen.

Ei tarvi niinku leikkiä tavallaan tai pitkittää tai miten mä sen sanoisin.

Eli eli tota, yllätys yllätys, tää hommahan vaan meni niinku paremmin näin.

Sen jälkeen mulla ei ollu yhtään floppia, niin sanottua floppia tai semmosta ollu että, jossa suhde on alkanu, ni tota se on toiminu tosi hyvin.

Et et joko se on loppunu se homma siihen tai sit jos se on jatkunu, ni toisellakin on ollu kiinnostuksia sit sitten sitten niinku seksuaalisuuteen tai sillai että ne ei oo niinku toisarvosia juttuja.

3)

Ja tota ni sitten pari-kolmekymppisenä mä asuin ulkomailla jonkun aikaa.

Mä oon kiertäny omalla autolla kaikki euroopan maat.

Tietysti kiertänyt sitten näitä alan liikkeitä ja alan juttuja ja kaikkee (CA) niinkun sillai omasta kiinnostuksesta johtuen tietysti tietysti sitten se oli sitä seikkailua ja tutustumista seksuaalisuuteen ja itteensä ja tieteski eurooppaanki. (E)

Ihan ...sillä tavalla sitten oppi kieliä ja ja oppi kulttuuria ja kaikkee tämmöstä.

Eli elämä opettaa sillä tavalla sitten ja totani, nini. .

4)

Mä oon tietysti monialainen ollu työssä että mä oon tehny ihan hirveesti erilaisia hommia.

Mul on sentin parin korkunen työtodistusnippuki olemassa, niin paljon monessa hommaa ollu

Mä oon free lancerina seittemän vuotta sitte kun tulin ulkomailta takasin ni tota mä tein kaikille kaikkee.

Päivästä kuukauteen pariin kuka mitäkin tarvi.

Ja mul oli koko ajan kalenteri täynnä puol vuotta eteenpäin, mul ei o niinku mitään hätää.

Tietysti kävin [pornokaupassakin] silloin asiakkaana sitte aikanaan siitä alusta lähtien, aina kun mä täällä pyörähtelin ja kattelin että onko mitä täällä ja kaikkee tommosta.

5)

Sitten 99 vuonna tuotaniin.

Tai niin no oikeestaan täytyy vielä, vielä.. (O)

Mul oli oli 90 luvulla jo sitten alkupuolella, puolessa välissä ni tota ajatus että jos jotain niinku rupeis itse yrittään ni kyl mä nyt semmosta erotiikkapuolta voisoin ajatella ja jotain tällasta niinku tää meidän bizarrekklubi on

ni tota sen aikainen vaimo ei hyväksynyt ollenkaan. (CA)

Ei ei semmonen homma ei käy. Hän ei halua, että sukulaiset tietää että hänen miehensä on joku semmonen pornokauppias (CA)

Silloin voidaan sanoa, että puhuttiin vielä..

6)

Mutta totanin sitten 99 (O) mä erosin (CA) a kävin [pornokaupassa] sitten siinä vaiheessa (CA) ja siinä oli pöydällä ilmoitus että totani työntekijää haetaan.

Ja mä tuomasin sitten heti siinä että tätähän mä en oo kokeillu vielä että kysytäänpäs silloiselta omistajalta kyllähän mä sen tunsin ja sovittiin tapaaminen. (CA)

Ei se ollu ku 5 minuuttia ni mä olin sitten jo töissä siinä firmassa sitten että, että se opettelu alko sitten siitä niinku tähän erotiikkamaailmaan ja niinku työnä ja työnä ja totani se oli täysin luonnollista.

Ei hävettävää.

Ei, en miettiny mitä muut sanoo, koska eihän mulla ole mitään väliä mitä muut sanoo.

Mähän teen vaan itelleni duunia ja totanini palvelen asiakkaita ja ja ehkä mulla nyt oli vähän erilainen kuvakin tästä koko seksuaalisuudesta ko on kiertäny tuolla yhden 10 vuotta vuotta tutkimassa kaikkee sitte ja totani nini.

7)

Aa.. tätä aikakautta ku katsoo ku silloin 70-80 luvulla silloin tuli näitä seksiliikkeitä tai silloin puhuttiin pornoliikkeistä

Ja sit 90-luvulla oli seksiliikkeitä mun mielestä enemminki

Totta kai puhuttiin pornoliikkeistä tai kyllähän joku voi vieläkin sanoo pornoliike ja monihan sanoo seksiliike, mut kyl mä sanon niinku tätä tyyliä mitä meillä nyt tänäpäivänä on, ni tää on erotiikkaliike

Kyllähän stadista kalliosta jostain sä löydät jostain sitte pornoliikkeitäkin, hämisiä, likasia, nuhruusia, tällasia.

Mutta totani niin niin, tänä päivänä kyllä puhutaan erotiikkaliikkeistä

8)

eli tota.

Tottahan mä rupesin kehittymään siinä asiassa ja mä rupesin sitä businesta niinku katsomaan sitte eri silmällä. (E)

Sitte mä sain kokemusta, tietoo, taitoo kaikesta, kaikesta ja ideoitahan tuli päähän koko ajan, mitä nyt oli niinku nähny tuolla maailmalla (E) et mitä vois tehdä ja *kehittää* ja tota jotain tekiki silloin työntekijäaikana sitten siinä (E) ja sitten

9)

sitten rupesi kiinnostamaan niin paljon että (E) mä kysyin että mahtaisko se omistaja myydä liikkeen sitte. (CA)

No, siitähän päästiin kauppoihin sitten ja totani me ostettiin itelle (R)

ja siit se alko sitten tää muutostahti kaikki tähän tähän mitä mitä totani tähän liikkeeseen (R)

-no ehkä se nyt henkilökuvaa ei sitten sen enempi, (KERRO VAAN) mut ehkä me puhutaan sitte myös tästä liikejutusta sitte mikä meille oli, oli koska kyllähän täs nyt tavallaan tulee sitte ehkä sitä mitä minä ehkä edustan tai olen sitte.

Sitten ni tota toi vanha liikeosio se oli jo vähän vanhanaikainen niinku seksiliike.
 Ää enempi suunnattu niinku tyylyltään miehille ku naisille.
 Mut 90-luvulla kumminki naiset rupes tulee paljon liikkeisiin (O) ja tota mietittiin sitten että mitä tehdään (CA)

niinku ??vaihto pitää, tyylin vaihto saada tähän ja ja kaks puol vuotta sitte tää laajennettiin

sitte, tultiin siit vanhasta tilasta niinku seinän taakse tähän (CA) ni me saatiin
 Tuol se vanha tila oli 60 neliö, ni tähän me saatiin sitte tilaa kakspuol sataa neliö.
 Ja tuntu hurjan isolta et mitenhän tähän ja muuta (E)

mut tää tehtiin ihan naisnäkökulmasta että avoimet ikkunat, siisti, viihtyisän näköinen.
 Saatiin osastoittain jaettua nää tuoteryhmittelyt, mikä, mikä on, näkyy täällä kyllä et se on niinku, se toimii.

Ja totani se oli uskomatonta että täällä meidän tyylinmuutoksella ni me saatiin muutamassa kuukaudessa ni asiakkaista puolet on sitten naisia. Se ryhmä nous, naisryhmä niinku nous heti, ne uskalsi tulla ja tietysti olin paljon esillä medioissa.

10)
 Olen esiin.. siis *me* ollaan paljon yhteistyössä niinkun ja mä pidän luentoja niinku terveydenhoitoalalle. Meil on täällä lääkiriryhmiä käyny, mä oon sairaaloissa eri paikoissa käyny, sairaanhoito-oppilaitoksissa. Ihmisiä käy täällä seksuaaliterapeuteiks opiskelevia.
 Me ollaan yhteistyössä näin koska tääkin on yks osa.

Et tämmönen tän päivän erotiikkaliikehän ei oo mikään pelkkää nautintoo ja seksiä vaan tääl on paljon terveydenhoitoon liittyviä tuotteita.
 Ja ja kun seksuaalisuus on hyvin laaja as.. alue niinku terveydenhuoltopuolellakin, ni nini näitten hoitajien öö..tai yleensä yleensä sillä alalla olevien ihmisten täytyy tietää myöskin tästä osioista mitä meiltä löytyy.

Koska meiltä löytyy paljon semmosta mitä ei ees apteekeista löydä tänäpäivänä - lääkit osaa ohjata suoraan ainoastaan meille. (ESIMERKIKS) Alipainepumput, penisrenkaat. Geishapallojakaan ei enää kaikista instruista eikä apteekeista saa vaan jopa apteekit ostaa meiltä niitä.

11)
 Elikkä tota täältä haetaan paljon, paljon kaikkee

niinku että me ollaan niinku vähän semmosia psykologeja, kauppiaita, kuuntelijoita, vähän niinku kaikkee täs pitää. Pitää olla hyvin semmonen avoin ja ja homma hanskassa oleva, luottavainen niiku asiakasta kohtaan. Että tota tää on herkkä ala.

Toisia voi jännittää, mut sun pitää osata lukee, sun pitää pystyä niinkun reagoimaan just oikeella lailla miten kyseinen henkilö sitten reagoi niinku tämmöseen hommaan.

Ja puhutaan semmosesta intiimistä osa-alueesta, mitä kaikki ei oo puhunu ees hyvä ku kumppanillekaan, ku osa ihmisistä on niin, et seksiä kerran viikossa lauantaina saunan jälkeen pimeessä peiton alla. Et se on niinku siinä ja viis minuuttia sitäkin.

Ni tota et ei ees puhuta tai muuta ja sitten tullaan täältä niinku hakeen. Sit se on välillä se on tosi niinku siellä syvällä ihmisessä semmonen lukko ettei meinaa niinku niinku osata. Aina sitä selvittää niistä, niitä puhuttaa, puhutaan reilusti ja sillai, nini sillai se homma käy.

Niin tota taas lipsuu nää.. Mitähän mä olin sanomassa tossa aikasemmin.

12)
 Niin elikkä siitä kun sitten avattiin tää niin tota asiakkaita oli puolet naisia ja sen jälkeen on monta kertaa käynyt sillä tavalla et tota vaikka me ollaan siis

..tääl on suomessa on tota niinku kaks naisille suunnattua erotiikkaliikettä ja ja tota me laskettiin se et pitäähän miehillekin olla, ettei me voida niinku missata et kyl se pitää olla kummallekin tätä tätä alaa.

Niin tota välillä täällä on niin paljon naisia, et mies on tullut muutamia kertoja tost ovesta sisään ja katsonu kauhistuneena uhuu noin paljon naisia, piuhh, saman tien ulos takasin.

Ennen se oli toisinpäin. Et naiset panikoi kun oli miehiä paljon. Mut tänä päivänä se on jopa toisin päin. Näin se aika muuttuu, muuttuu että totani, nini. Naiset uskaltautuu tuleen tosi hyvin, nuoret käy ihan ku ruokakaupassa.

13)

Täällä käy kaikki niin tuolta kirkon puolelta ku tuosta kaupungintalostaki niinku sokokselta. Käy herrat ja narrit -ei oo niinku mitään, mitään niinku katogoria (??) tai semmosta.

Ainut mikä asia on muuttunut on että aikanaan kaikkia semmosia vähä laitapuolen kulkijoitakin niinku kävi, humalaisia ja semmosia, mutta ihan selvästi me ollaan huomattu, että tää imagomuutos tehtiin, niin ne spugetki jäi sitten vähemmälle. Että tota ainahan nyt joka liikkeessähän käy joskus aina (Pieni keskeytys) Mihis mä jäinkään..

14)

Eliikkä elikkä siis tällä tavalla ollaan sitten kehitetty.

Eli siis silloin kaks ja puol vuotta sitten laajennettiin, se saatiin se kaks ja puolsataa neliötä tähän.

Nyt, puol vuotta sitten laajennettiin uudestaan et ei siinä mennyt ku vuosi.

Eiku hetkinen, kaks vuotta väliä. Otettiin takas toi niin sanottu vanha puoli tuolta. Eli nyt me saatiin 400 neliöä sitten tilaa tähän.

Ja hesassa on muutama 400 neliöinen, yks on vähän, vähän isompi sitten vielä, muttta totani me ollaan tuotevalikoimaltaan kyllä suomen suurimpia. Että on (asiakkaalle tere, tere) mut kollegat on niinku sieltäki käynyt täällä ja sanoo ei, ei kellään oo näin paljon tätä tuotevalikoimaa siis.

Me tietysti kierretään pitkin tuolla eurooppaa messuja ja haetaan kontakteja koko ajan.

Koko ajan haetaan vaan laajempaa tuotekategoriaa ja tota kyllä ihmiset on tyytyväisiä ollu siihen.

Et jos ei muualta löydy, ne kysyy meiltä.

Et me ollaan sit ton bizarren markkinoinnin kautta tietysti tultu tunnetuksi tässä hommassa, että niinku ympäri suomee sitten kyllä ja onhan tän kokonen liike tän kokoseen kaupunkiin liian iso, siis ihan selkeesti.

Eihän tää niinku, eihän tällä kasvu saatu tällä laajenuksella sillä tavalla. Me saadaan sitä tuotevalikoimaa ja me saadaan sitä markkinointia.

Ihmiset niinku loma-aikaan tai ohikulkiessaan pysähtyy aina meille, ketkä niinku näitä liikkeitä tietää, ni ne tulee aina poikkeamaan täällä ja ne löytää täältä (asiakkaalle: tarviiko apua?) ni tota ne löytää täältä sitä mitä ei muualta löydä.

Et kyl me niinku sillai pystytään markkinoimaan itteemme sillai.

15)

Tietysti täs kaikki tää kilpailuasetelma -se et, jos tänne pienempi liike tulee ni se ei pärjää ja jos joku toinen tekee tän kokosen liikkeen tänne, ni se on hullu. Hehe, eli se loppu heti. Ei kellään oo niin paljon laittaa rahaa tämmöseen. Ni kyllähän täs kaikki tämmöset asetelmat on, että sitten tietysti meillä kohdallaan, että mitä ajateltiin.

Mut kyl tää imagollisesti ni tää on niitä, niitä vaikka nyt ite sanonki sen, ni asiakkaat se niin aina sanoo, että tota ei niinku hienompaa liikesysteemiä oo muualla suomessa, tällä hetkellä.

Kyllähän joku tulee perässä taas kohta sitten tietysti, mutta tota kyllä sitä omaa suuntausta on meillä aika paljon, paljon.

Appendix 4

Arthur's story, background

Lapsena mä hirveesti halusin, et mul ois ollu.. oon ollu.. mähän en ollu tekemisissä koulukavereitten kanskaan ollenkaan. Et yläasteella mul oli pari hyvää kaverii, mut toisen luona mä kävin yhen kerran ja toisen luona kaks kertaa, koko sen kolmen vuoden aikana. Mä en saanu olla tekemisissä. Koulun jälkeen mä kävin keskusurheilukentällä, siel olin kolme, neljä, viis tuntia ja sen jälkeen kotia. Joka päivä vietin aikani silleen. Se oli mun kaikki.

Ei saanu seurustella koulukavereitten kans, ei saanu mennä muitten ihmisten, niin sanotusti maallisten ihmisten koteihin ja ei, ei ykskään ihminen koskaan käyny mun luona vanhempien kotona eikä missään, eikä ollu mitään semmosta.

Mul oli niin kiltti lapsuus ja hyvä ja urheilutausta ja kaikkee semmonen, et en mä niinku mistään mitään tienny.

Et mun tausta on hirveen niinko tavallaan sellanen viaton ja puhdas. Et niinko ihan toisesta ääripäästä mennyi ihan toiseen ääripäähän.

Mä oon koko ajan ollu töissä, työelämässä läpi elämän, niinku normaali töitä tehny. Alottanu ihan niinku lapsena, mitä mä sanon.. joskus 11 vuotiaana jakanu mainoksia ensimmäisen kerran

No, tausta on silleen hassu, sanotaanko et... 26-vuotiaana mul oli vielä yks ainoo nainen, kenen kans mä olin eläissäni maannu. Et se oli silleen hassuu. Et se kenen kanssa mä menin sit naimisiin ja tein lapsia ja kaikkee. Mä omistin itte 5 osaketta, ittel oma kolmio ja neljä yksiötä. Paljon ennen kaikkee niinko mitään näit hommiä niinko rehellisellä työllä mä ne maksoin ja mun sen aikaanen vaimo ja me maksettiin yhdessä.

Ennenhän mun elämässä ei ollu mitään muuta ku se.. 4 seinää ja se sama työ koko ajan ja perhe ja lapsi ja viis kaveria. No, joka päivä se sama rata, periaatteessa.

Ja en mä ollu varmaan käyny baarissakaan 10 kertaa enempää elämässäni, ees missään niinku yökerhossa. (...) Et mul ei lapsuudessa oo semmosta aikaa olemassa ollenkaan, et mä en käyny koskaan missään totani. Ja se on tosi outoo. Muutaman kerran käyny vaan baarissa. Niinko joskus vähän yli kaksikymppisenä. Et mä olin jo yli kaksikymppinen ekan kerran ku mä olin naisen kanssaki.

Et kaverit teki kaikkee niinko toi, tuli pirtuu rekassa aina 1200 litraa jossain rakenteissa ja sit tuolla maaseudulla tyhjennettiin se ja sit tiedäksä tuli niit vanerilevyjen välissä laatikoittain noit kartonkeja ja kaikkii tämmöstä. Mä oon niinku ollu mukana ja nähny. Vaikka mä en sinänsä ollu siinä sillä tavalla mukana, mutta niinko kaveri niinko pihalla tyhjensi varastoon niit laatikoita kanto pakettiautosta. Et mä olin niinku puol tuttuja. (...) Ja saman kadun varrella asu yks [samanmaalainen] poika ja yks [ulkomaalainen] tuttu käytti sitä asuntoo (...) sitte ni, sit siellä mä näin ensimmäisen kerran niit naisii.

Ja ja sit mä irtisanoin sen kämpän oma-alotteisesti sitte, ennen mitään poliisikuulusteluun paljon aikasemmin niinku irtisanoin sen asunnon. Ja olihan siel yks välikohtaus siel asunnossa oli sillä lailla et se yks poika heitti niinkö pistoolin kans kolme asiakasta ulos et ne rupes siin niinku juomaan ja pitään meteliä siin sisällä ja muuta ja sit se oli, sit se oli, niinko autta(..) siis keittiössä oli poika, niin sanottu turvamies toisessa huoneessa ja sit se tuli sieltä esiin tiedäksä ja heitti asiakkaat ulos ja joku asiakaista soitti poliisit paikalle.

Mä autoin jonkin verran tuttuja niinko nois asunnoissa. Mä jotenkin, mä en tiedä, vähän siis vuokraamaan, siis vuokraamaan.

Siis vuokrattinks ne asunnot sun nimiin?

Joo, mä olin siis tavallan bulvaani, mun nimiin asunnot tai sitten jonkun mun kaverin nimiin tai tälleen niinku, et mä olin silleen vähäsen niinku mukana siin touhussa ja vähän järjestämässä ja sit toini.

Sit mä aika paljon hain tyttöjä satamasta. strippareita sekä prostituoituja, sekä että.

Siit se jotenki sit tfffs (osoittaa kädellä alaspäin). Ensimmäinen vuosi oli semmosta vähän niinko... tai ensimmäiset kuukaudet ehkä.. aika nopeesti mä sit hogasin että toi ni.. mä jotenki naisis sokaistuini tai silleen, että. Aluks mä ajattelin et mä jään erakoks, et mä jään yksin ja ja.. no veljen kans rupesin käymään ulkona paljon ja sit se avas mun silmät et eks sä nää et toiki nainen kattoo sua ja toi kattoo ja..

Semmonen tunnetuin. Siit oli muutama vuosi sitten lehdessä juttuaki siit niistä. Se tekee näit filmejä ja kuvaa näit juttuja [pornolehtiin]. Nyt se on monta vuotta sitten ollu vähän niinku pimennossa. (...) Mä olin jossain, ne oli sen kuvaajan tyttöystävän synttäreillä ja siel mä tutustuin.

Käytännös mä tunsin kaikki 20 sutenöörii mitkä oli olemassa niinko, tiedäksä, käytännössä kaikki mitkä oli yrittäjii. Mä myös tiesin kaikist kaupungeista käytännös tytöt myös ketkä teki yksin, et ei tehy kellekkään muulle töitä. Ko tavallaan se ilmoituskanava oli silleen niinko hallussa. Et se oli sisäpiirin juttu.

Toi on semmosta niinko pientä ja amatööripuuhasteluu. Et silloin aikasemmin se oli enemmän semmosta niinko ammattilaista. Se oli semmonen selkeä juttu, et silloin niinko liikku paljon rahaa ja jotku [jengit] teki niinko miljoonii. Ne teki hirveesti rahaa. Aattele ku sul on koko ajan joku 8, 9 tyttöä töissä. Ja jos jokaisella on keskimäärin 6 asiakasta päivässä ja saat joku [50 euroo] yhestä, ni mitäs se tekee... 6, 8, 50 täs äkkii lasken, se tekee äkkii totanoini joku [50 000 euroo] kuukaudessa. Se tekee vuodeski jotain tiedäksä mitä se tekee sitte. Se tekee [puol miljoonaa euroissaki] äkkiä. Et kyl siit peri.. periaatteessa saa rahaa jos sä teet sen silleen volyymilla ja sul on koko ajan monta ihmistä olemassa...

Oli ihmisiä paljon vielä niinku ois halunnu että onks sul paikkoi minne laittaa tiedäksä ja muut, mut tos.. Siin on hirveä tekeminen ja stressaaminen. Mä oon jotenki, täytyy järjestää asunnot, ja ilmoitukset ja tytöt kuka on töihin. Jos sul olemassa ni sul pitää olla toini koko ajan ihminen periaatteessa töissä, se riippuu kuin paljon sä maksat vuokraa siitä asunnosta. Et toini jos siel on vaan joku viikon kaksi viikkoo kuukaudessa töissä ihminen, ni ei sit totani.. nii, et sä välttämättä edes tienaa paljon. Sul pitää koko ajan olla tavallaan, jos koko ajan on ihminen töissä taas ni sit tulee paljon liikennettä, ni sit se voi herättää ehkä huomiotaki siihen. Ja se ei oo tavallaan, se ei oo silleen helppo homma. Siinä täytyy hirveesti olla mukana.

Mä alotin uudestaan työt, niinko rehelliset työt. Et mä laskin, et mulle ei jääny velkaa kuitenkaan niin paljon, et mul oli aika vähän silleen et suhteessa mitä niinko tullu, et mul jäi vähän asunnoista ja sit mulle tuli vähän korvauksia eri, ko et näist tuli näist rikoksista ja vähän nyt mitä sakkoja jäi maksamatta ja veroja ja muuta. Ni mä katoin et mä pystyn ne ihan hyvin maksamaan ja mä sit hoidan ittelleni niinko puhtaat paperit ja kaikki.

Mä muistan menneinä vuosina oli ajatuksena, et mä olisin laittanu jonku strippibaarin pystyyn että mul oli niin paljon tavallaan niit linkkejä ja kontakteja ja muita. Mut sit ois pitänyt taas niinko... olla niin varma sit se et, mist tulee tyttöjä töihin ja sit ois pitäny hoitaa se niinko niin monta muuta asiaa, se tavallaan raha. Et ei mul oo rahaa, enkä mä sit oikeen oo mistään lähteny niinkö.. jotenki halunnu sitä rahottajaa. Ja sit noi strippihommatki ni ne, nää mitkä ne iltabaarit on ni mitä mä seurasin ihmisiä, noin niinku sivust seurannu aika monta, ni aika vähän niist saa rahaa. (...) Jotenki ne on silleen, et mä en tiedä, alastomuutta varmaan tulee niin paljon kaikkialta, se ei oo enää semmonen huvittava juttu mennä.

No näis sexshopeis ja tämmösis mä oon jossain käyny, et mä oon niinko käyny puhumassa näist strippihommista ja niis on myös totani, no, eroottist hierontaa ja muuta, et tytöt menee töihin ja totani (...)

No mää on oikeestaan ollu vaan välittämässä et toi ni mä oon niinku vaihtanu kontakteja ja antanu niitä, mitä mul on tuttuja tai mitä mä tiedän niinkö ihmisiä (...)

No mä en hirveesti ollu täs mukana käytännössä. Et mul oli ittel tuttuja ihmisiä ketkä noi ni omistaa strippipaikkoja et on tekemisissä ja sit mul oli toi ni parin kaverin puhelinnumerot et yks oli niinku agentti, ketä välitti ja sit mä oon vaan käyttäny ihan kontakteja ilmasiks, et mä en niinko oo puuttu tähän sen enempää.

Ihminen voi niinko, no tekstiviestillä tilata et tilaat tekstiviestillä jostain ja sit saat kattoo niistä uusista kännyköistä ku mitä nyt on olemassa ne hienot, ni kattoo jotain tiedäksä tommosta, tiedäksä tommosta pornopätkää tai semmosta niinku.

Et tämmösii mä haluaisin tehdä, sitä tekniikkaa siihen mukaan ja sit aattelin, et mä oisin semmosen niinko et monest tulee sit usein hyvin niinko et jos tekis niit pätkii niinko kuvais niit ja ketä toi ni oli ne ihmiset olemassa ja sit oli tavallaan ihmiset ketkä tekee niit tekniikkaan ja tekee niit noi nettihommat ja osaa ohjelmoida ja. Et jos sen kaikki sais yhteen ja mä itte haluaisin olla siin se niinko tavallaan se pääorganisaattori.

Meil oli semmonen neljän pojan yhteenliittymä (...) Et meidän piti ruveta tekemään, et meil oli studio ja kuvauspaikat. Ja meil tuli netin kautta koko ajan lisää malleja.

Mä olin nyt niinko pääsemässä kaikist mun veloista ja rahasta eroon ja muutenki niinko näist asoista poies näist tyttö, jotenki silleen et mä ajattelin, et mä keskityn pelkästään niinko rakentaan jotain niinko... semmosta ihan niinko rehtiä kauppaa et mä saisin niinko paperille.

Kyl mä niinko ihan laillista, enkä mä oo aatellu tänne takas tulla. Kaikki on nyt mulle sanonu ettei tänne takas vankilaan tuu, mut en mä kyl ajatellu mitään semmosii juttui tehäkkään, et se on ihan siit kiinni, et saa itte valita:

Voi olla et ku mä pääsen pois ni mä on ehkä edelleenki jonku prostin kans tekemisissä mut mun pitää olla hyvin varovainen olla ja hyvin vähän tekemisissä ja sit olla aika tarkkana siin just et etten mä mitenkään hyötyis siitä.

Mut tulevaisuudest, ni mä en oikeen tiedä, mul on hirveen avoinna, mutta yritysmaailmaan mä varmasti. Siis must tulee yrittäjä ilman muuta. Mä teen jotain, mut mä en vielä tiedä mitä se on tiedäksä. Et mä meen ulkomaille, että teenksä mä siellä jotain, tuonko mä asioita, tavaroita vai onks se näis naishommissa.

Mä nään itteni ehkä semmosena et toini, et mul on muutama ihminen töissä siinä, et mä oon jossain sillee niinko 10-30 ihmisen firmaa pyöritän ja sit toini, mul on todennäkösesti mä haen täält sit ku mä pääsen ni ehkä kauppakorkeakouluun, ehkä kansainvälisen kaupan linjalle tai jonneki. Mun pitää kattoo, mul on semmonen ajatus. Ku mul on jääny koulut silleen, et mä en oo koskaan lukenu itteeni, ku mä alotin niin nuorena.

Mut mä aattelin et kauppakorkeakouluun tai joku vastaava tai sitte opiskeleen joksku diplomi insinööriks ja joku teknistieteellinen joku ala.

Ja sit siel törmäisin semmosiin ihmisiin, mitkä on niinko motivoituneita tekemään ittelleen jotain ja elämälleen jotain. Tiedäksä, haluu eteenpäin päästä ja sit kautta sit verkostoituis, siel näkee, et saa niinku hyviä kontakteja, niitten kans voi rakentaa jotain businesta. Sitä mä niinko oon aatellu. Et todennäkösesti kun pääsen pois ni siel sais ainakin hyviä kontakteja.

Ois helpompi niinko yhdessä sit pystyis tekeen jotaki suurempaa ja kuitenkin vielä niinko.. se mitä mä oon nähny ku oon juossu niinko... päivät yöt läpi nyt seittemän kaheksan vuotta ni, on se opettanu hirveesti mua. Enemmän.. mähän oon nähny maailmaa nyt niinko kymmenen kertaa enemmän ku aikasemman elämäni aikana, koska se oli niin suljettu ja se oli niin semmosta totani kuviot on ihan erilaiset. Siin mieles.. tietyl tavalla paljon hyvää, et mun pitäis olla nyt tosi vahva ja tosi semmonen, tietää miten asioita tehdä ja ku on nähny sen niinko joka suunnan. Ollu täydellinen perhe ja mul on ollu niinko omat talot, työ ja asiat. Ne on ollu kaikki niinko lapsia ja

mul on ollu kaikki niinko ympärillä olevat niinko kateellisii tyyliin, et meni silleen, et oli kaikki niin hyvin. Semmonen tunne oli.

Niin mut silleen vois siihen periaatteessa toini saada jotain ilooki ku tekis sitä niinko, miettis.. pitää nyt kattoo. Kyl mä keksin jotain.

Et jos mä näin tekis, ois tehny kunnolla ni mä pystyisin periaatteessa rakentaa ni aika isoo juttuu, kun mä oon nähny miten nää menee, mut ei se taas sekään oo niinko, ei mua kiinnosta se, toivomus.. mä tiedän et mä oon itte niin aktiivinen, mä oon itte semmonen, et mä haluan niinko tehdä ihan älyttömästi, mä oon silleen niinko työnarkomaani. Eikä mul oon enää sitä tarvetta enää et niinko tehdä saamisii, et mä voin juosta vaik seuraavat 20 vuotta niinko. Jep.

Appendix 5

Arthur's story, narrative extracts

First extract:

1)

Aluks mä olin mukana, se oli oikeestaan [toisena vuonna] ja kesällä

(E:) *vois sanoa, ni en mä mitään rahaa ajatellu, et mä muuten vaan hengasin* semmosten ihmisten kanssa. Se oli tavallaan hauskaa,

2)

miten mä sanoisin, että... törmäsin poikiin, jotka oli tekemisissä asioiden kanssa ja sit oli kavereita, jotka pyöritti tollasii strippibaareja mitä nyt iltaklubeja on olemassa ja sit mä rupesinkin siellä käymään. Ja joku paritti naisia, mä tutustuin siihen hommaan myös

3)

ja... mm.. mitähän mä nyt sanoisin...no 1999 mä erosin totani ja sen jälkeen mä rupesin yhä syvemmin olemaan niitten asioitten kans tekemisissä.

4)

Mä kokeilin, laitoin toiminimen pystyyn ja 0700-linjankin laitoin. Mul oli siellä muutama tyttö ketä vastas. Mä kokeilin semmosta

(E:) Mut se oli vähän semmonen niinku sivuhomma, et kaveri pyöritti tyttöjä ja muuta

(E:) ja sitten aattelin, et semmonen pikku juttu siihen syrjään, et tavallaan.. kuitenkin on paikalla ja niil on tekemistä ja kokeilin vähän. Mut sek in oli semmosta et... No, ei se mikään helppo homma o.

Et siin on se, et mul oli maksullinen puhelinlinja, niin, noi kulut ja tulot oli suurin piirtein plus miinus nolla, et siin menee puhelinyhtiölle paljon tot rahaa.

Sitä pitäis markkinoida, mä huomasin,

et se oli mun ensimmäisiin, et mä en ollu sillai koskaan pyörittäny yritystä toimintaa mitään. Et mä kokeilin silleen et mä laitoin lehtiin ilmoitukset ja ne makso ja sit noin ni ne puhelinyhtiöt vie tietyn osuuden ja .. sit pitäis vastata puhelimeenki ja tulla soittoja paljon sisään ja sit tota...

(E:) oli se pieni kokeilu, sellanen.

Puol vuotta mä sitä tein

Olikse alussa?

Se oli aivan alussa. Se oli ihan alkupuolella. [Kolmantena vuonna]. Ja sit mä lopetin sen.

(E:) Sitä olis pitänyt markkinoida paljo enemmän ja paljo aktiivisemmin, et olis saanu paljon siihen soittoja ja että... sai niinku kulut pois.

Sellai kokeilu.

5)

Lähinnä mä varmaan liikuin näitten stripparien kanssa. Mä seurustelin semmosen tytön kanssa.

(E:) Hauskaa

Ne kaikki jota on töissä tuolla noissa baareissa on niinku.. mm... ne on aktiivisii juhlimaan ja pitään hauskaa ja muuten.

(E:) Niiden kans on mukava olla

Et en mä ollu niist koskaa ennen tienny, en ikinä ollu.. ttch yhtään mitään.

(E:) Nii kai se oli lähinnä se et jotenki jäi vapaaks ja tavallaan yksin ja jännitystä.

Et niinku mä tykkäsin liikkuu naisten kanssa.

Liittykse ero jotenki siihen?

6)

(E:) No varmaan se voimisti.

Et oikeestaan ennen eroo, kolmannen vuoden kesällä mä erosin, *en mä oikeestaan sitä ennen ollu tehny mitään*, ainoostaan se puhelinlinja oli mulla.
Käytännössä aino, mitä mulla oli ja se oli sen hetken.

7)

Ja sit mä *olin vuokrannu* asunnon [ulkomaalaisille] ja missä oli ihmisii, tyttöjä, töissä. mä itte aikanaan omistin monta yksiötä ja asuntoo, itte. Sain vuokratuloja, niinku ihan vuokratuloja.

(E:) Ja sitte se jotenki, no niinku vahingossa.

Mä *en tiedä miten mä sanoisin..*

8)

mul oli koulukaveri ja ei sekään tehny, mut sil oli kavereita ja sit mä jolleki sen kaverille vuokrasin asunnon ja..sit ne rupes käyttään sit asuntoo silleen hyväks ja sit *huomasin et se tapahtu vähän enemmänki* eri niitten kavereitten asunnoissa kun ne asu kaupungin vuokrataloissa ja siel aina oli ihmisii,

9)

mutta ni... 8 vuotta mä oon seurannu, vähän yli, 8 ja puol vuotta tätä paritushommaa, miten tän sanois. Näit hommia

Sä et alussa tienny?

10)

(E:) Nii, en mä sit silloin.. Mä *vahingossa tulin siihen mukaan.*

Et mä olin niinku puol tuttuja. Et mul *ei ollu* mitään rikosjuttui minkään suhteen. Ja se oli, saman kadun varrella asu toi.. yks poika ja yks tuttu käytti sitä asuntoo sitte mis mä asuin sillon aikanaan lähiössä ni, sit siellä mä näin ensimmäisen kerran niit naisii. Ja *en mä tiedä, mä jotenki.. en mä sitä miettiny sen enempää..* Mä vuokrasin asuntoja...

(E:) *aatellu et se oli* mitenkään niinku pahasta.

Et ne ihmiset ketä... mitä mul oli siis haju.

Sit *mä opin kyl tuntemaan* paljo enemmän kaikkii ihmisii, et jotenki niitäki,

(E:) mut ne kenen kans mä olin tekemisissä ni *mun mielestä ne tytöt oli itte vapaasti*, ja ne halus tulla sinne töihin ja muuta,

Second extract:

1)

Mut sitä mä tutustuin myöhemmin kyl semmisiin ihmisiiin, ketä..no.. aika rankasti huijas.. useit niinku. (...)

Mut yks jengi oli sellanen,

(E:) Mä en tykännny.

mul oli semmosii tavallaan vois sanoo tutun tuttuja, et [jotain sanoja ei kuulu] saatto tulla joku tyttö töihin ja sit ne keräs kaikki rahat, otti, silt tytöltä. Mut sil taval, et ne pidetään niinku tallessa, tyttö usko. Et siihen aikaan mun mielestä (...) oli aika paljon semmosta, mä en tiedä sitte, oli vähän kilpailua aika paljon. Ja toiset niinku pelotteli, muitten (...) jengien tyttöjä ja sit kävi myös jotain ihmisiiä ryöstämässä paikkoja ja ni sit oli helppo uskoo tavallaan et jonkun tytön sutenööri, et mä säilöön sun rahat, et mä pidän talles ne. Ja sit kun tyttö on kaks kuukaut töissä ollu, ni et antaa sit rahat. Sit ku kaks kuukautta on kulunu vaan ei mitään muuta ku bussilippu ja takas [kotiin].

(E:) Et se oli mun mielestä aika törkeetä. Oli semmosta. Ja *en mä semmosten kanssa tykännny olla tekemisissä...*

2)

(E:) Ja itte *mä koin sen silleen, et jos tytöt haluu tulla töihin...*

Okei, no ne tekee tietyn sopimuksen, tytöt hyötyy jotain rahaa siit. Tietty se parittaja, no se on tavallaan tietynlainen manageri, et se tarjoo palveluja, asunnot ja hoitaa ilmoitukset ja kuljetukset ja tavallaan sen systeemin, mut kuitenkin on tehny sen sopimuksen tytön kans, et se on niinku, sehän on laissa kielletty. Mut tavallaanhan se on niinku, tietynlainen organisoija, tietynlainen järjestelijä, ett tommonen manageri. Mikskä nyt *vois sanoo* semmosta. Periaatteessa, vaik se on niinku.

(E:) Ni sen takii *mä en sit oikeestaan sit kokenu jotenki minään suurena rikoksena*, ni siin oli mukana. *Oli helppo olla. (...)*

3)

Siin muuten *kävi silleen välillä, et [se jengi] ne yritti mut omia* jotenki silleen, et niil oli jotain kilpailua eri ryhmillä, että niin ja *tuns että mä oon* niinku yhdessä ryhmässä juoksupoika että mun *menee tekeen* niinku niille hommii. Tuli vähän tämmösii riitoja.

4)

Sit sielt oli.. arpi on toi niin siit muistona, ku tappelin [sen jengin kanssa].

Mä en sinänsä eläissään, en oo varmaan montaa kertaa tapellu.

koulussa varmaan viimeks joskus 80 luvun puolessa välissä, mut toi ni.

Eikä mul ollu niitten [jengi] kans koskaan ollu mitää tappeluita ja yht äkkiä sit kadulla silleen tiedäksä nyrkkiraudan kans silleen tsts.. täs on nyt silleen arpi et se on muistona,

(E:) et periaatteessa *vois sanoa, et se on täst paritusasiasta.*

Ja sen näkee aina sitten, muistona. Se tuntuu pikkasen silleen, vähän. (...)

5)

Mä olin hetken [sen gangin] kanssa myös jonkinmoisissa tekemisissä,

(E:) *mut mä en tykänny siit hommasta*, kun mä menin kerran yhen pojan kanssa yhteen asuntoon, se ei ollu niitten asunto, se oli jonku vieraan asunto, se oli niinku uus tullu kaupunkiin. Et niil oli silleen tapana et ne katto joka päivä päivän iltalehen kaikki numerot läpi. Jos näky joku numero jota ne ei tuntenu, ne soitti sen läpi.. ja..

Ni ne soitti sen läpi, osotteen kysy, meni asiakkaana, sit toinni, mä olin kerran niitten mukana ja *halus et mä soitan.*

Nii. Menin sit, mää soitin numeroon kerran myös ja menin sit sinne totanoini asuntoon pojan kans ja sitte se kävi saman tien tytön kimppuun ja hakkas ja tstsst ja potki ja varasti puhelimen ja (...)

(E:) *mä en tykänny ollenkaan siitä hommasta tiedäksä.*

Ja sit *mä en enää millään tavalla auttanut niitä enää niinku missään asiassa.*

Sit *mä vähän riitauduin niitten kanssa. (...)*

6)

Ja kyl mä jouduin kerran niitten kans käräjille myös,

Totani mä jouduin käräjille sen takia et totani oiskohan se tapahtunu joku puol vuotta myöhemmin ni mun yks tuttu tyttö oli töissä, sit ne siit kävi varastamas passin.

Sit mä menin jutteleen niille pari päivää myöhemmin, et ni *mä en ollu millään tavalla tekemisissä ollu* niinku puol vuoteen, vaatimaan passi takasin.

Koska se oli tavallaan niinko toisessa ryhmässä mukana siinä. Tai siis itse asiassa se tyttö toimi yksin, mut sen jälkeen toi ni se paikka meni niinku muuhun ryhmään, kilpailevaan ryhmään, että tavallaan, mä tietyllä tavalla se paikan myin, möin niinku pois että se sai niinku tukea

ja sit mä *jouduin tappeluuun [jengin] kanssa,*

no siin oli kaks muuta jäsentä kans mä olin siin tappelussa ja pikkasen semmosta nahinaa oli siin jossain tien sivussa ja siin pellon laidassa oli, [lähellä kaupunkii], ja sit joku omakotitalosta soitti poliisit paikalle ja sit (...) lähti poies ja sit poliisit tuli paikalle ja mä olin kato siin viel yksin ja mä olin ollu autokyydil, me ajettiin autolla vähän ja piti vähän jutella asioita.

Ni sit mä olin, tuli tavallaan sillei okei, tuli pahoinpitely siihen juttuun mukaan mist ne sai sitte tuomiot.

Third extract:

1)

Mut sit mul oli [neljäntenä vuonna kaupungissa], ni mä vuokrasin siellä yhdelle pojalle niinku ihan eri ryhmää, oli sellanen tuttu vaan, *aattelin et mä autan sitä,* se oli juoksupoika yhes jengissä ja sit toini se saa siin tehdä jotain

2)

ja sit mä sain siit jonku [20 euroo] ittelle,

(E:) et mä en niinku mitään sinänsä saanu siit rahaa, käytännössä niinku semmosta pientä nimellistä korvausta käytännössä.

(E:) Et mä oon silleen ollu hölmö, et ei poliisikaan sillon oikeen uskonu, et mä oon niinko tavallaan hyvää hyövyttänei tehny, et ois pitäny ottaa omaa osuutta

(...)

3)

Lehdessä oli juttu joskus [kuudentena vuonna] syksyllä, oisko ollu. Siin oli kaks mun asuntoo, siis mä oikeesti pyöritinki sillon niitä. Mä itte menin vähän syvemmälle, mä olen kyl itte ollukki vähän pyörittämässä tätä hommaa ja saanuki vähän rahaa niistä.

Siis että suoraan vuokrasit ja

4)

Niin, mä oon itte myös ollu et voi sanoa, että mä oon paljon.. mä en itte enää vuokrannu asuntoja sillon [kuudentena vuonna] vaan sillon oli kaverit ketä vuokras.

Mä maksoin niille tavallaan siit et ne vuokras, siit hyvästä.

Ja sit toi toiset ihmiset jotka lähetti tyttöjä ja sitte niille maksettiin myös tai no, mä maksoin. Oli semmonen, et mä olin jossain vaiheessa semmonen, et must tuli vähä niinku et palkan saa sieltä.

(E:) Et siin mielest et näist kaikista (...) jotka on kiinni ni mä oon, periaatteessa mun pitäis olla suurimmalla syyllä kiinni, koska mä oon ollu aktiivisimpiä ihmisiä hommassa. Mut mä oon niin sanotusti rehellinen parittaja, et mul ei oo sen ihmiskaupan kans tekemistä.

(...)

5)

Nii, mä palaan nyt [neljänteen vuoteen]. jatketaan. [Neljäntenä vuonna] mul oli siel [kaupungissa] asunto.

Mä vuokrasin yhelle tutulle pojalle. Oli siin vähän silleen mukana.

Ja sit yhtäkkiä hyökkäs no, [kotikaupungissa] mun kämpille 6 poliisia ja otti mut kiinni.

Se on ainoo kerta eläissään ku mä oon aikasemmin ollu pidätettynä. Mä olin kolme päivää pidätettynä.

(E:) Ja mä olin ihmeissäni, et miks toi ni poliisi, ne etti huumeita mun asunnosta. Ne luuli, et mä olin..

no mul oli yks mustalaistyttö kenen kans mä olin tekemisissä [isossa kaupungissa], tuttuja, ja mä en tiedä, jotain sen kavereita oli siirtynyt vissiin [kaupunkiin], mä ymmärsin jälkeen päin ja sit ne oli niit seurannu ja sit ne katto et mul on jotain tekemistä ollu.

6)

No mä olin tekemisissä semmosten ihmisten kanssa jonkin verran, ketä oli eri huume juttujen kans, mut mä yritin olla kaukana pois, niinku. (...)

Mut poliisi varmaan luuli et mul on ehkä tekemisiä niitten kanssa, et siit on lähteny semmonen tavallaan seuranta ja sit poliisi syytti mua paljon kaikista semmosta asioista mitä mä en sinänsä ollu tehny ja saanu

(E:) ja mä en tota nini.. mä en tiedä masennuinksä mä siitä hommasta jotenki tiedäksä.

7)

Sit mä sain totanoini tuomion. Ni se [kaupunki] juttu oli [neljäntenä vuonna].

Nää oli ne ensimmäisen tuomiot jotka tuli [viidennen vuoden] helmikuussa.

(E:) Ni mä varmaan vaan jotenki masennuin ku poliisi syytti mua paljon semmosista asioista mitä mä en oo tehny. Niinku aatteli mä oon aika paljon isompi tekijä mä teen paljon enemmän asioita mitä mä oikeesti tavallaan teen.

(E:) Et mä niinko vähän semmonen sivusta katsoja ollu koko ajan ja vähän niinko ehkä pientä apuu tehny.

8)

Sit poliisi kaivo sen [kolmannen vuoden] jutusta, missä mul oli se missä [jengin tyyppi] oli heittäny ne asiakkaat ulos asunnosta, ni se se oli tavallaan jääny kesken siihen ei niinku tullu mitään.

No sit se [viidennen vuoden], helmikuu, mä sain sit, mä siit [kaupunki] sain sakkoi, ni poliisi *varmaan kaivo* niinko pari vuotta vanhan asian esiin ja uudestaan niinko sit kuulusteli ja sit mä sain sit siitä sen kolme vuotta ehdollista. Ja niinko sit myöhemmin siitä niinko pari vuotta vanhemmasta asiasta.. sit tuomion, et ne kattos sen jotenki et joo, mä tiesin jo silloin ja.. ja sit mä en tiedä.

Sit lehes kirjoitettiin et toi että toini kirjotti et (...) , no ei mun nimeä mainittu, et avitti palkkauksena tekemmään sitä ja sitä.

(...)

9)

Sen takia mä olin kolme päivääki [kaupungissa] kiinni et toi se sano poliisi et sanot suoraan et jos oot tehny, ja kaikkee ja et niil oli valokuvat et mä olin käyny asunnossa ja et toi ni, et mä en saa mitään.

(E:) Ja mua harmitti, ku mun piti mennä, silloin oli se oli heinä elokuun vaihde, ja mun piti mennä (...) tyttären kans mökille yhden kaverin luo

(E:) ja se mua vähän silleen harmitti.

Et mä ajattelin et mä pääsen pois mahdollisimman nopeesti mut poliisi piti mut maksimit kolme päivää eikä päästänykkään pois.

mä sit sanoin heti eka päivänä, et joo, et no mä oon kaks kertaa käyny hakeen sieltä rahaa ja ja.. (...) (E:) ei siin mitään sen enempää. Eikä mul mitään kysyttävää ollu.

Ne piti vaan loppuun saakka kiinni, niinkö jotenki.

(E:) Et silloin mä *aattelin et poliisien niit kuulusteluja ja niit tapoja silleen* et toi ni, niis ois vähän silleen.. *mä en tiedä sitte.. jotenkin pehmeetä tai silleen, et mä en ollu silleen mikään rikollinen enkä kokenu olevani* ja muuta että sit *ne syytti paljon semmosista asioista totani mitä mä en ollu tehny.*

Mut eihän poliisi voi tietää. Poliisihan yrittää. (...)

10)

(E:) Mut sit mul oli ittelläni jotenki silleen vaan niinko kait katkera, ku mä sain sit korvauksia ja *mä sain tavallaan sit siit tuomion ni mä ajauduin jotenki syvemälle* siihen hommaan.

Päinvastoin, mä *rupesin tekemään* sit hommaa sitte, *voi sanoo*, et.

Fourth extract:

1)

Mut siin [neljännen vuoden syksynä] mä *rupesin tekemään* sitä hommaa enemmän.

Mä lopetin sitten kunnon työt, mä jotenkin tiedäksä.

Tai oikeastaan siinä oli useampi syy.

Mä löysin yhen suomalaisen naisen keneen mä ihastuisin myös. Se ei tienny mitää hommista koko ajan välii ko niinko kaupungista toiseen ja oli niinko, no vuokrasin asuntoja ja olin vähän semmonen niinko kiinteistönvälittäjä ja tämmöstä kaikkee tein.

Ja sit mul oli kuorma-auto ja siin liikkus sit tavara nopee paikasta toiseen.

2)

Et mä niinku vuokrasin kalustettuja asuntoja niin sanotusti.

Et se oli niinku mun business,

(E:) vaikka se niiku no, *tavallaanhan mä niinku tiedän mitä varten se meni* ja.

(E:) Mut silloin se ei *laissa ollu sillä tavalla vissiin niin kiellettyä.*

Et sehän muuttu se laki myös silleen et toin ni se yrittäminen, et sä vuokraat asunnon että sä oot niinku, se ajatuskin että sä hyödyt, ni sehän on kielletty. Et nehän muutti sit lakii mun mielest silloin joskus 2004. muuttus lakeja aika paljonki, tuli kaikkee ihmiskauppaa ja nää muut.

3)

(E:) Mä *luulen et se poliisin käyttäytyminen silleen kans jotenki ajo mua sit syvemälle* siihen hommaan, et

(E:) mä *aattelin et mä, kun olin saanu korvauksiin, ni mä rupeen sit tekemään sitä et mä tavallaan maksan* ne mitä.. et sillä työllä ne mist mä oon saanukki.

(...habitual narrative...)

4)

Ni siit oikeussysteemistä.

Mä sain tuomion [kaupungin jutussa], sakkoi, mut sit saman kaltanen tapaus mul oli [toisessa kaupungissa], mis mä *sain ihän suoraan, et mä vuokrasin* [jengille] sen asunnon ja hakenu siel rahaa pari kertaa.

Mut todettiin syyttömäks siihen.

(E:) Mä *mietin vaan, et johtukse asianajajasta*, et se oli hyvä, tuomari tuttu vai mikä siin oli. Periaattees mä niinku puhusin enemmän, mut mut todettiin syyttömäks siihen ja toisest mä sain sakkoi niiku vähemmän ja sit vielä sit mä *sain* [toisesta jutusta toisessa kaupungissa], mist mä *en* niinko tavallaan siit hommasta *tietäny, et mä olin vuokrannu* asunnon [jengille], *enkä tienny et siellä tapahtu* semmosta hommaa, et siel tapahtu semmosta, et mä *en tienny* tiedäks ni vähän aikaa myöhemmin mä irtisanoin asunnon. Ni sit mä sain kaikis kovimman tuomion ja ykskään tytöistä ei ollu puhunu vielä mitään niinkö myy itteään eikä mitään semmosta niinko

(E:) et se jotenki *tuntu*, et se oikeusjuttu on jotenki, *et se ei oo reilua*.

(...habitual narrative on how the court makes its decisions...)

(E:) Mut jotenki se, *mä en tiedä*, se mun usko siihen jotenki järjestelmään kai se oikeusjärjestelmään jotenki *romahti* ja *mä en tiedä*, kaikki tämmöset niinku pikku yksityiskohdat niinku et niinku et toisesta mä *en saanu tuomiota*, et mist tavallaan mun periaatteessa *ois pitäny saada sakkoja* ja toisesta jutust mä *sain*, mist tavallaan niinku et.. sain niinku sen *ehdollisen, mistä periaatteessa mun ei ois pitänyt saada*, ku mitään tekemistä ei *tiedäks en saanu senttiikään hyöttyy* enkä mitään, et mä vuokrasin sen asunnon niinku et ihan niinko et normaalille vuokralle

5)

ja *ei ollu* esimerkiksi *sitä* niinko öö.. *oli tapana* markkinoilla usein *et haettiin* joku juoppo ihminen, joku mies esimerkiks. Maksettiin sille esimerkiks joku tuhat markkaa kertakorvaus, vuokras asunnon. Paljon tommosii.. juopot, narkkarit, monet vuokras asuntoja. Kerran ne sai jonku pienen korvauksen siitä. Sit ne vuokras sen asunnon niinko bulvaanina. Et semmosii käytettiin paljon.

Et mä *en kato saanu sitäkään korvausta* edes.

(E:) Et mä *olin* niinku silleen tavallaan vielä rehti ja terve mies ja *pitäis tietää mitä tekee*, ni periaatteessa mun *pitäsi niinko saada* paljo, *saada ottaa paljo enemmän rahaa* ko semmoset ihmiset. Ni tämmösii pikku juttuja ni jotenki mä menin siinä syvemmälle. Ja sit mä *rupesin tappeleen* jotenki varmaan poliisia ja viranomaisia vastaan.

(...habitual narrative; hypothetical narrative; hypothetical narrative...)

6)

(E:) tavallaan *oli sellanen niinku et poliisi ajo mua vähän syvemmälle* tiedäksä,

7)

(E:) sit oli [ne eri jengit], ketä *oli* niinko, *et kysy mult apua*, koska mä olin tavallaan selvin päin oleva ja aina tavallaan niinko kunnossa ja tavallaan ihminen ketä pystyy tekemään asioita ja ehkä mä olin liian kiltti, naivi, et se on, et mä *oon aika kiltti ollu*, et se on suurimpia syitä, et mä *en oo niinku osannu, sanonu vastaan*

8)

(E:) ja sit toisaalta ehkä se jännitys ja hauskanpito on ollu ja sitten ne *naiset mua houkutteli*, niin mä olin niinko niin otettu jotenkin, tiedäksä, mä *tunsin olevani* jotain ko naiset ihaili mua ja halus mua ja.. semmoset naiset.

Mut ne on, ehkä semmosilla naisilla ei niin paljon, ne on enemmän kokemu silleen et toini, monilla on huono tausta, et niil on joku rahavaikeuksia, et tiedäksä ne on hoitanu asioita huonosti nuorena tai sit niil on, aika useilla on joku juoppo mies tai ei oo mitään olemassa ja tosi moni niist on yksinhuoltajia ja joil on semmonen niinko, et taustat, et jos joku niitä vähänki kohtelee niinko hyvin tai sinne päin niinko mää tein ni ne on heti niin et ne rakastaa sua (...) et joko ne et en tiä haluuksne sult rahaa tai jotenki teidäksä olla tai jotain tai.. jotain semmosta.

9)

Et mua, mä *yrityn* montaa tyttöä *opettaa*, tai silleen *opastaa* et toi..

Niin, ni tyttöistä, ni mä *koitin* niin *et mä jotenki autan* niitä et totani et aika paljon kuitenkin tyttöhomista koska tää on kuitenkin se pääjuttu mitä mä oon tehny nää, tää paritus on tavallaan se suurin juttu, mitä mä oon tehny.

Niin ja, mä *koitin* *et ne tytöt, et ne säästäis* rahaa kun ne on töissä.

(...a story of how the girls handled their money and what happened when they went home...)

(E:) Mää itte *koin* että *yrityn*, no mä sain muutaman.

No yks tyttö osti itelleen oman asunnon, sai sit rahaa säästetty, (...) et sen tavallaan, no mä oon *tyytyväinen* *et se sai* jotain.

Okei, se joutu omasta työstään aina antamaan niille, ketä sen järjestää, oman osuuden. Mut kuitenkin mitä se sai niin paljon töitä ett toi ni tai niin paljon rahaa että se kannatti se homma.

(...a story about a girl who made a month's salary by taking three customers...)

10)

viimeset 4 vuotta mä oon ollu aika paljon tekemisissä.

(E:) Se on aika pieneks menny

ja on aika semmosii... miten mä sanoin.. aika paljon yksityisyrityksiä ja tommosii pienii. Et koko ajan oli ehkä yks kaverii tai kaks töissä.

Ku esimerkiks [neljäntenä vuonna] pelkästään yhdes kaupungissa mis mä asuin ni mun kaverilla oli 9 tyttöä yhtä aikaa töissä. Et toi ni nyt ei oo semmosta ollu että.

Esimerkiks tääki meidän juttu mikä meni [oikeuteen] on sil taval niiku,

(E:) tuntuu hassul tai oudolt tai naurettavalta

ku tää ni ku tää oli niinku parin jätkän ja toisest ryhmästä pari jätkää niinkö sellast pientä amatöörien puuhastelua muutama joku tyttö vaan, ei mitään semmosta niinko oli viis vuotta sitte. Millon se oli niinko 10 kertaa suurempi.

11)

Mä just täs joskus laskeskelin, jonku.. ehkä kolmen sadan prostituoidun kans mä oon ollu tekemisissä tai semmoses niinkö et tavallaan niinkö et ollu mun tai semmosii niinku et töissä. Et ketä niinku itte on alalla tai ollu auttamassa tai silleen niinko et, ollu paljon.

Mut *enhän mä niinko voi sanoa*, ketään niinko *hankkinu* tänne *töihin* käytännössä

En oo silleen. Et totani oon aina joko ollut joku ihmin, ketä etsii niitä tyttöjä töihin tai sit toin ni monesti saatta olla silleen, et joku tyttö tulee töihin itte ja sit se houkuttelee kavereit töihin.

(...episodic narrative on how women work independently and actively want to work as prostitutes...)

en mä kiistä oonhan mä auttanu, oonhan mä tehny tiedäksä.. hoitanu ilmoituksii, hoitanu toini asuntoja ja vähän kuljettanu

(E:) Mut aika vähän.

Mä oon aika vähän ollu tekemisissä tota noin ni nytte.

12)

En mä tiedä,

siel oli semmonen vuosi kaks oli semmosta [neljännen vuoden syksystä sanotaan kuudennen vuoden kevääseen].

Puoltoist kaks vuotta oli semmos niinko et täyspäivästä käytännössä niinko juoksin kaupungista toiseen ja yöelämästä toiseen ja asuin..

ja siin oli monta semmosta.

Ja mä menetin [viidentenä ja kuudentena vuonna] omat asunnot. Sit mä tavallaan *jäin niinko kodit.. tavallaan kodittomaks*.

Sit mul *ei ollu enää töitä*, koska.. työt loppu mul siihen myös ku mut pidätettiin kolme päivää.

(E:) Mä oli niinko työelämässä ja sit jotenki mä *en tiedä hävettikö mua vai nolottiko* tai mikä mul oli semmonen siin juttuun vaan.

Sit mä *en enää menny töihin ollenkaan*.

(E:) Se niinko se muuttu niin radikaalisti se homma. Et siinä oli semmonen pisteitä mitkä ajo mut toiseen suuntaan.

13)

(E:) Eli päinvastoin just niinko poliisit aatteli et ne uhkailee ja ne sanoo mulle kaikkee et semmosii ja

(E:) semmosta sä oot tehny et sul on nyt huono suunta ja.. ni päinvastoin se meni just siihen suuntaan mitä ne sano, se homma.

(E:) Et se oli aika jännä. En mä sit muuten osaa sanoo, mist se sit johtuu. Nää on psykologiaa.

14)

(E:) Kyl mä nyt *yrityn pohtii*, mut en *mä.. mä luulen et mul on suurin juttu ollu varmaan se et mä oon tykänny olla*, niitten kans on jotenki kiva olla ja helppo olla tyttöjen kanssa.

15)

Mut se *on* viime vuodet *ollu* käytännössä silleen, *et en mä oo ollu* ku yhen, kahen, kolmen tytön kans tekemisissä. Ja sit toi ni, ni en mä sen enempää.

(...how he thinks he got caught this time, although he hasn't been doing that much...)

mä oon niin vähän ollu enää viime aikoina, vuosina hommas mitenkään mukana tyttöjen kans

et mä oon käytännössä, etne on niinko itte saanu vapaasti juosta ja tehdä mitä itte huvittaa ja ne on ollu itte hotelleissa ja ne on itte tullu tänne ja ne on menny sinne hotelliin minne on itte halunnu tiedäksä. Sit ne on itte laittanu ilmoituksia ja sit mä oon vähän auttanu niit laittamaan ilmoitusta. Ehkä ajanu tiedäks paikasta toiseen, mut en sen enempää, niinko siit niinko tehny mitään rahaa enkä semmost.

16)

(E:) Ja *en mä ois ikinä kuvitellu et mä oon täällä* istun vankilassa koskaan eläissäni. Mä *aattelin et mä en tee mitään*. Et mielummin mut *ois pitäny panna* silloin kuus vuotta sitte, viis vuot sitte, no viis vuott (E:) sitte *ois pitäny panna totani sillon mä niinku lopetin* hommat ja sit mä *rupesin aktiivisesti tekemään ja aktiivisesti vuokraamaan* asuntoja ja *järjestämään* ja kaikkia huonekaluja ja muita...

Ihmiset pyysi palveluksii, ni sit mä... en mä tiedä.. autoin. Mut mä luulen se johtuu taustastakin aika paljon, et mul on se.. mm.. mul on syvästi uskovainen tausta, et mä oon uskovaisesta perheestä. Ja siel on noi, mä en tiedä et onks siel sit opetettu sillä taval et ihmisii pitää auttaa ja muuta.

no sit se [in the third years' summer] eroin ja sit tavallaan niinko kaikki on menny niinko... sen jälkeen mä rupesin liikkumaan.

Sitä ennenhän mun elämässä ei ollu mitään muuta ku se.. 4 seinää ja se sama työ koko ajan ja perhe ja lapsi ja viis kaveria. No, joka päivä se samaa rataa, periaatteessa.

Ja sen jälkeen mä rupesin käymään sit yöelämässä

ja en mä ollu varmaan käyny baarissakaan 10 kertaa enempää elämässäni, ees missään niinku yökerhossa.

Ennen [the third year] mä oon 27 vuotias ollu, niinku yöelämässäkään, missän. Et mul ei lapsuudessa oo semmosta aikaa olemassa ollenkaan, et mä en käyny koskaan missään totani. Ja se on tosi outoo.

Muutaman kerran käyny vaan baarissa. Niinko joskus vähän yli kaksikymppisenä. Et mä oli jo yli kaksikymppinen ekan kerran ku mä olin naisen kanssaki,

et totani ne on kaikki semmosii, et mun tausta on hirveen niinko tavallaan sellanen viaton ja puhdas. Et niinko ihan toisesta ääripäästä menny ihan toiseen ääripähän.

Voi olla et ku mä pääsen pois ni mä on ehkä edelleenki jonku prostin kans tekemisissä mut mun pitää olla hyvin varovainen olla ja hyvin vähän tekemisissä ja sit olla aika tarkkana siin just et etten mä mitenkään hyötyis siitä.

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