Self-Employment among East African Women in Malmö: An Intersectional Perspective

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ABSTRACT

Self-employment is a popular occupation line among immigrants living in Malmö. East African women are however observed to be particularly absent with this regard. This thesis aims to investigate how East African women perceive self-employment in a bid to understand why few of them are entrepreneurs in Malmö. To this effect, the thesis questions whether East African women experience any barriers with regards to getting self-employed in Malmö. The working of gender and ethnicity in shaping self-employment perceptions among these women is also questioned. Unstructured and semi-structured interviews are used to gather material from the field with Intersectionality Theory picked to make sense of these material. Gender, ethnicity and immigrant status are found to be enmeshed and working recursively in different societal levels to shape East African women perceptions and also bar them from getting self-employed in Malmö. It is concluded that there is need for responsible actors to acknowledge the qualitative difference of immigrants as entrepreneurial Intersectional experiences are dissimilar between immigrant groups. As such, this research recommends a comparative study between various immigrant groups in Malmö. Further, a study that demarcates the working of agency and structure when it comes to self-employment motivation among people in an Intersectionality is also recommended.

Key Words: Self-employment, East African women, Malmö, Intersectionality
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REFERENCE
1. INTRODUCTION
This chapter introduces the reader to the research topic that is broadly self-employment among East African women living in Malmö. It points out the significance of the topic, states the main aim of the study and consequently the research questions posed to achieve this aim. The final part presents the structure the thesis takes up.

1.1 Background of the Study
Self-employment for inactive individuals is a hot issue and an ongoing debate in Sweden with the discussions linked to policy reforms that encourage the unemployed into regular job seeking or self-employment. Core to this study is Malmö; the third largest town in Sweden which is reported to have lower employment figures than the national average if commuters are taken into account. Reports link this to the high immigrant population in the city (Bevelander, 2005; Salonens in Sanandaji, 2013).

Being one of the most cosmopolitan towns in Sweden, and coupled with high rates of unemployment in the mainstream labour market, self-employment has become a popular occupation line among immigrants in the city. Taking a casual walk through the town, a visitor will hardly miss business establishments offering services that are not directly associated with Sweden such as Thai massage parlours, Brazilian hair salons, Middle Eastern travel agencies, to mention just a few.

However in the past 2 years having lived in Malmö, the researcher as an immigrant from East Africa, failed to find or hear of a Kenyan/Ugandan/Tanzanian restaurant, salon or food shop from where she could indulge in traditional cuisine, buy hair products or get her hair fixed; mostly female dominated business niches in her country of origin. The phenomenon thus piqued the interest of this study as from it the researcher inferred inter and intra-group differences in entrepreneurial tendencies among immigrant groups in Malmö.

This is evidenced by a report which shows that, 71.4% of self-employed immigrants in Sweden come from Europe, 49% of this are from Nordic countries. Asia is represented by 22.3% with 84% of this total coming from the Middle East. North and Southern Americans make up 3.3 % while only 2.2% are from Africa, 73% of which come from North Africa. When it comes to intra-group differences, immigrant women have been reported to run 36% of businesses with 63% percent of them being in the service sector (Mason, 2003:226).
Stemming from the above mentioned differences, most municipalities in Sweden have adopted self-employment strategies and projects targeting specific immigrant groups in a bid to get them economically integrated. These projects have however been contrived with bias stereotypes with regards to ethnic and gender markers and have resulted in immigrants and specifically immigrant women being lumped together as a homogenous group; seen as passive and seeking assistance regardless of their human capital or work experience (Mason, 2008).

From this it is assumed that their best bet is to start a business in a realm of traditional women work which involves either cooking, sewing, cleaning, handicraft and other tasks traditionally considered female (Mason, 2008:125). Such projects have not often resulted in self-employment but a row of similar projects to keep immigrant women busy and out of the official unemployment figures consequently breeding passivity amongst them regarding self-employment. Interviews carried on immigrants of both genders have resulted in criticism from both self-employed individuals and ‘experts’ involved in the projects (Mason, 2008).

1.2 Significance of the Research
Immigrant women from Africa and of interest to this study; from East Africa (Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania) have received little or no attention in self-employment research. Most studies that focus on East African immigrants in Sweden have cast their lens on Somali as a result of them being highly represented in official statistical data. Further, studies on self-employment in the country have been longitudinal and descriptive in nature, mostly categorising Africa or Sub-Saharan Africa as a homogenous group (Bevelander, Ohlsson and Bromme, 2012; Hammarstedt, 2006; Vejsiu, 2011).

There are however intra-group differences within these categories that influence how individuals behave; a fact that has not much been considered by studies (Ngoh, 2011). The researcher thus saw the need to reach out to this group (East African women) and understand how they perceive self-employment as their perceptions are most likely to constitute a potential causal link between ethnicity, gender and economic outcomes; in this case self-employment (Bauder,2008:110).

Gender in this thesis is used "... not as a real social difference between men and women but as a mode of discourse that relates to groups of subjects whose social roles are defined by their sexual/biological differences" (Yuval Davis: 2006:201). The use of the term is based not only
on individual women and men but on the system which determines gender roles / responsibilities, access to and control over resources, and decision-making potentials (ibid).

Ethnicity is taken up as a discourse of collectively constructed and permeable boundaries aimed at exclusion or inclusion based on physical and linguistic differences dividing people into 'us' and 'them' (Brass, 2009). According to Brass, there are three ways of defining ethnic groups; In terms of objective attributes, where a distinguishable cultural features like colour, religion, language, territory, dress are used to separate one group from another; with reference to subjective feelings and in relation to behaviour (Brass, 2009:85).

Since majority of Ugandans, Kenyans and Tanzanians are ‘black’ and speak Kiswahili and English, the attributes of colour, language and territory as proposed by Brass (2009) will be used to identify the group as all the 3 countries share territorial borders with each other. The concepts of nationality/nationalism seems novel but is often focused on ideologies, historical projects, political movements, autonomy and territorial sovereignty which this study is not about.

Ethnicity has thus been picked over race and nationality, to connote colour, language and territory respectively, as it is a "common name covering many forms of collective action and thus is able to accommodate all specific labels like 'race', 'religious group' or 'regional continental demarcations" (Malesevic,2004:6). Its main deciding advantage compared to the mentioned competing concepts is its ability to simultaneously allow for sociological categorization without affecting particular instances in it. Further it has a universalist potential which on one hand is decisive for conduct of coherent social research and on the other is sensitive enough to accommodate and appreciate the variety of forms in which cultural differences can be represented (ibid).

Self-employment in this thesis is taken as being engaged in the trade or service industry either as an individual or with a partner for profit purposes. One need not to be engaged directly in the business but derive direct income from it on the basis of having direct ownership of the business (Ress,1986:507).
1.3 Research Aim and Questions
Self-employment among immigrants and this particular case; immigrant women is important as having a source of income enables them to overcome both economic and social barriers (Markova, 2013:6). Given that the thesis conception lies on the researcher’s inability to identify East African, shops/salons or restaurants in Malmö, the research aims to investigate how East African women perceive self-employment in an effort to understand why few of them are represented in mainstream entrepreneurial paths in the city.

According to (Söderback and Osman, 2011:213), individuals perceptions stem from peoples experiences and how they relate to the environment around them. At the backdrop of this, the study seeks to answer the following questions;

1. Do East African women experience any barriers with regards to getting self-employed in Malmö?
2. How does gender and ethnicity shape these women perceptions of self-employment?

1.4. Structure of the Thesis
The thesis seeks to follow a structure that will enable a smooth transition from one section to the next. To this effect, Chapter 2 looks at previous research that has been carried out on self-employment. Sweden and particularly Malmö is looked at in context. Immigrant status, ethnicity, gender and institutions are touched on, on the basis that they underscore studies on self-employment within the group under study. Chapter 3 discusses the theoretical framework that undergirds the thesis. The concept of Intersectionality is extensively looked at with four arenas within the concept singled out as an analytical framework. Finally the limitations of the concept are pointed out and it is discussed how the study overcomes these limitations. Chapter 4 presents the methodology and field experiences of the researcher. The limitations of the method picked (interviews) and ethical issues arising during the gathering of material are discussed to this effect. The participants profiles are presented at the end of the section. Chapter 5 presents and analyses the transcribed material at the backdrops of 4 arenas namely; the organizational arena, experiential arena, subjective arena and representational arena drawn from the theoretical framework. Chapter 6 discusses the findings of the study in relation to previous research carried out on the thesis topic. Chapter 7 summarizes the whole thesis and finishes off with concluding remarks. Chapter 8 presents the recommendation for future research.
2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH
In this section previous research carried out on self-employment is looked at. Since the study is on East African women living in Malmö. The city in the context of immigration is looked at. Literature on ethnicity, gender and institutions and self-employment are also touched upon.

2.1 Self-Employment in Malmö
Malmö is located in the southern part of Sweden (Skåne County) and is the third largest city in the country. Over time, Malmö has acquired an international status majorly because of the different nationalities residing within the city. In 2013, it was reported that among the 300,000 people living in Malmö, there were 170 nationalities (City of Malmö in Markova, 2013:18). Former Yugoslavia, Poland, Iraq, Denmark, Lebanon, Hungary, Finland, Romania, Chile, Germany and Somali in descending order, are reported to be the largest immigrant groups in Malmö (Ngeh, 2011:31).

Individuals of African descent in Malmö constitute a tiny fraction of the total immigrant population (4%) (Ngeh, 2011). The countries of origin are diverse but dominated by Somali, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Morocco. Immigrants from the Eastern part of Africa are predominantly from the Horn of Africa and Great Lakes Region; areas affected by civil wars. Data says little about other East African immigrants unless the year and type of immigration is factored in (ibid).

Despite their low numbers in Malmö, African immigrants still face high unemployment rates within the city with statistics showing that less than half of them are employed (Ngeh, 2013:112). Self-employment thus becomes an alternative source of income as seen with immigrants owned business in the city. The amount of such business in Malmö is reported to have increased at the rate of 131% between the period of 1998 to 2008 (Markova, 2013:8). Numerous studies have been carried out in an attempt to explain why immigrants are highly represented in self-employment as compared to wage employment. It has been found that immigrants face difficulties in getting into the mainstream job market and thus are pushed involuntarily into self-employment (Light, 1972).

Despite this, compared to immigrants, natives still have better access and identification of business opportunities and this places them at an advantage with regards to successful self-employment ventures (Fairlies, 1999). This results in high representation of natives in high profile entrepreneurship ventures while immigrant business are limited to labour-intensive low pay and small scale enterprises (Hong, 2007; Lee and Rendall, 2001). Paradoxically the
risks involved in investing in small enterprises have been found to lead to loan applications being turned down irrespective of ethnic origin. Thus small immigrant firms/ businesses find it hard getting financial capital. There is the perception that banks and other financial institutions discriminate against certain group of immigrants and this further reduces their chances of getting self-employed. This has been cited as one of the major explanation of intergroup difference in the propensity of self-employment between immigrants and natives in specific business sectors (Watson, et.al in Kloosterman, 2010).

2.2 Gender and Self-Employment
Sexual equality has always been a high priority in Swedish politics and programmes with projects always having equality on their agendas. 'Equality above all' is pervasive but some scholars have pitted it as a pitfall for women in that it leads to discrimination in the other direction. "We are bound to the regulation to the point where we structure the social and labour market measures to fit the regulations." (Mason 2003: 230).

There is the feeling that the equality above all policy, though offering women opportunities, is not discriminating enough with regards to quality of opportunities that are afforded to immigrant women. This is evidenced in female run businesses in Sweden either being concentrated in personal service occupation and less profitable markets as compared to men and women from the native population (Lee and Rendall, 2001; Vejsiu, 2011).

According to Langowitz and Minniti (2007), subjective perceptual variables play a crucial role on entrepreneurial propensity among women in various countries and to a larger extent the difference in entrepreneurial activity between men and women. Women are motivated to a higher degree than equally qualified men to become self-employed for non-pecuniary reasons (Vejsiu, 2011; 386). Further women are seen to attend more start up courses than men with studies suggesting that for women such courses provide not only as a means of improving their level of competence but for increasing their credibility as entrepreneurs (Mason, 2003).

Research has further pointed to limited participation of women to; having to take care of children at the family level as they have no kin to help look after the children. A positive correlation has been found between the number of children and limited self-employment probabilities among immigrant women. This has often been interpreted to be as a result of higher flexibility and household responsibilities. Inactive women have therefore been found to be dependent on their partners income and use this as a base in their self-employment decisions. This is unlike male immigrants where having a spouse who works increases self-
employment outcomes (Hammarstedt, 2006; Vejsiu, 2011). Human agency and structures could thus be seen to be linked in a meaningful way where the actor is seen as a reflexive actor who, to some extent, can make his or her own choice but is influenced and acts within a socio-structural context (Kloosterman, 2010; Kloosterman et al., 1999).

2.3 Ethnicity and Self Employment
There is a stereotypical and commonly held opinion in official documents that particular ethnic groups are suited for a specific market niche in Sweden (Mason, 2003). The underlying assumption is that they would not get jobs anyway and the tacit understanding is that they are better off self-employed. However it is much too simplified to claim that some ethnic immigrants groups have entrepreneurship in their genes as there are many factors that influence an individual choice to become self-employed (ibid).

Through various research, self-employment tendencies have been attributed to, among other factors; traditions from home country, existence of ethnic enclaves, different kind of discriminations in the labour market and the opportunity structure in the demand side (Borjas, 1986; Hammarstedt 2001, 2010; Bevelander, 2005; Le, 2000). Female entrepreneurs have been found to be shaped by local "gender cultures" (Bauder, 2008: 113). In the context of migration, this suggests that women socialized in different economic and social rules in their places of origin perceive entrepreneurship differently. Pre-migration origins thus produce gender particular desires (Bauder, 2008 in Mason, 2003).

Intergeneration links have a positive effect and form broader notion of social capital and strongly affect different ethnic and individual's attitude towards risk i.e. availability of specific skills learned from self-employed parents and social networks (Schiller and Crewson in Hammarstedt, 2010). Immigrants from regions with high self-employment rates are more likely to possess small business skills and are thus more likely to be self-employed in Sweden. African and Latin American immigrants have most studies have been reported to have a lower probability compared to other immigrant groups to be self-employed in Sweden (Hammarstedt, 2010).

Recent labour market changes i.e. the slimming of public sector and disappearance of traditional women jobs, requirements of higher education, demand for language and cultural skills have all acted to increase unemployment among immigrants and specifically women
With Swedish women becoming part of the regular workforce, the gap between them and the immigrant woman has grown. The Swedish woman is thus seen as equal and independent and the immigrant woman as dependent, oppressed and isolated. New identities have thus become established through the marginalization and belittlement of immigrant women forming hegemonic power relations. This is not a recent phenomenon as unemployment among immigrant women has always been higher compared to the total female population (Årlund in Mason, 2003: 225).

2.4 Institutions and Self Employment

Influence of government indirectly through subsidies and credit market and directly through entrepreneurship schemes and information based support have been found to be a motivating factors and influence how self-employment is perceived (Vejsiu, 2011; 382). Financial support is thus an important factor in the decision to become self-employed with empirical studies based on the role of capital being spread (Evans and Jovanovic in Vejsiu, 2011). Access to mainstream networks and credit institutions like ALMI also play a role in the success of several businesses (Abbasian, 2013). ALMI is a government owned agency that supports the development of competitive small and medium sized businesses in liaison with the various municipalities in Sweden (ibid).

According to Kloosterman (2001), the entrepreneurship activities of particular immigrant groups depend on intricate interplay between ethnic-social characteristics of the group and socio-economic factors. The opportunity structure includes the market conditions i.e. banking institutions; self-employment programmes and framework of rules and regulations when starting a business. Literature that exist however points to limited participation and differential treatment in banks between men and women, where women face more difficulties in obtaining loans as they are perceived as less creditworthy as compared to men (Statens Offentliga Utreningar [SOU] in Hammarstedt 2001: 151).

Women thus have greater difficulty in raising venture capital through bank loans because of perceptions of gender based behavioural patterns that ultimately affect bank attitudes towards men and women. Discrimination from financial institutions are thus a result of gender based clichés with native born females also refused credit by banks or pay more interest than male counterparts. They however have higher chance of getting bank loans compared to immigrants. Fewer immigrant women thus get into self-employment mostly due to discouragement or concern after being refused financing and with little access to financial
resources within their own ethnic groups (Abbasian and Yazdanfar, 2012). Again, the issue of human agency and structures comes to fore as whilst some women may be too afraid to apply for loans others take the bold step. The actor then still remains reflexive who, to some extent, can make his or her own choice but is influenced and acts within a socio-structural context (Kloosterman, 2010; Kloosterman et al., 1999).

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK
In this section I discuss the theory picked to make sense of the research. Drawing from previous research and the aim, Intersectionality has been picked as a theoretical framework as it looks at different divisions and levels of disadvantage and advantage which constitutively work together in the process of marginalization.

3.1 Intersectionality
The concept of Intersectionality emerged as a critique to feminist theorization and movements which were seen to homogenise women experiences by looking at them with a white lens. Core to this argument was that black women experienced gender disadvantage differently from white women because of other multiple disadvantages. The term was however first used by Kimberley Crenshaw in 1989 when she discussed employment among black women in the United States. She posited that Black women suffered a 'triple oppression'/ disadvantage/ discrimination/ exploitation because they were Blacks, women, and members of the working class. According to Crenshaw’s,

“Intersectionality is what occurs when a woman from a minority group tries to navigate the main crossing in the city....The main highway is 'racism road'. One cross street can be Colonialism, then Patriarchy Street.....She has to deal not only with one form of oppression but with all forms, those named as road signs, which link together to make a double, triple, multiple, a many layered blanket of oppression” (in Yuval- Davis, 2006: 196).

There are different approaches that have been developed within the Intersectional framework both within and across disciplines. There are studies which look at the categories like gender, ethnicity either intra-categorically and inter-categorically. According to McCall, (2005) an inter-categorical approach looks at the way different social categories like ethnicity influence
the distribution of power or at the lower level how these categories influence social behaviour. Intra-categorical studies on the other hand look within the categories specifically their problematic boundaries; i.e. what it means to be ‘black’, or a ‘woman’ as these boundaries are fluid and mean different things in different contexts. The intra-categorical approach is less interested on how social categories are related to each other (Yuval-Davis, 2011: 6).

According to Yuval-Davis, (2011:7), it is not enough to construct intra or inter-categorical tabulations to understand or predict peoples position and attitudes in life, nor is it enough to study a category without looking at the structures that surround it. She calls for an approach that is conscious of the dynamic and sensitive nature of the intra-categorical approach and able to combine it with a macro socio-economic angle that is found in the inter-categorical approach.

3.1.1 Intersectionality as Multiple axes of Oppression
This thesis thus employs Yuval-Davis (2006) conceptualization of Intersectionality which looks at it as multiple axes of oppression. Disadvantage here is not additive as in a crossroad as argued by Crenshaw or limited to categories but multifaceted, diffused and operating simultaneously on multiple levels with its mechanisms flowing recursively across both local, social and structural spheres and in different ways affecting a person’s experiences. Intersectionality in this way casts its lens on how different agents are situated differently and thus are affected by different social, economic and political projects in different ways (Yuval-Davis, 2011: 4).

3.1.2 Social divisions in Intersectionality
At the core of Yuval-Davis (2006) conceptualization of Intersectionality are social divisions. According to her, the list of social divisions used in Intersectionality is limitless and could be gender, sexuality, ethnicity, race, social class, age, ableness, religion, immigration status. These divisions at the individual level exist in the way people subjectively experience their daily lives. This is not limited to how they think of themselves but the community as a whole and their attitude and prejudices towards each other in terms of, inclusion, exclusion discrimination, disadvantage, aspiration and identities (Yuval-Davis, 2006).

Gender as a social division is often used as a starting point for Intersectionality given that the concept arose from feminist theorization. This is not to suggest that it is the most important identity in Intersectionality but that it is the most codified, pervasive and goes across time and
culture (Shield, 2008:307). In as much as the concept is pervasive, its definition is varied and depends on social meaning attached to it and is best understood in the context of power relation that are embedded in social identities (Collins 2000:1290). Different socio-cultural contexts determine what is expected, allowed and valued in a woman/man and girl/boy in these specific contexts (normative values) (Anthias, 2012:7).

Gender in Yuval-Davis (2006) conceptualization of Intersectionality is thus understood to be enmeshed with other social divisions like ethnicity, immigrant status to form multiple layers of oppression. Looked at topsy-turvy, ethnicity too despite being constructed from social material like colour, culture, religion and language, rests’ on gendered and sexualised foundations (Yuval-Davis, 2006). In the same onus, "What it means to be a woman in the context of immigrant status is fundamentally informed by immigrant, ethnic and other (e.g. heterosexual identities)" Mahalingam et.al, (in Warner, 2008:454). Intersecting positions are therefore enmeshed, relationally defined and emergent. They are not 'pop-bead metaphysics' as in a set of discrete identities like beads in a string or independent factors but fully integrated (Shield, 2008:303). According to Yuval Davis

“The point of Intersectionality analysis is not to find 'several identities' under one'.....this would essentialize specific social identities. Instead the point is to analyse the differential ways in which different social divisions are concretely enmeshed and constructed by each other and how they relate to political and subjective constructions of identities” (Yuval- Davis, 2006:130).

Yuval-Davis thus proposes that Intersecting social divisions to be analysed in a constitutive way. She suggests a separation of the different analytical levels like structural and political Intersectionality rather than a conflation of these levels as the latter risks losing the voices of those at the margins who do not necessarily fit set out criteria.

Other than this suggestion, an intersectional analytical framework is not clearly set out by Yuval-Davis. Anthias (2012), however proposes a heuristic tool that buttresses Yuval-Davis proposal. She sets apart four societal arenas of investigation which acts as contexts for an intersectional analysis, enabling an exploration of how the different social divisions are interlinked.
3.2 Societal Arenas of Investigation: Intersectional Analysis Contexts

Social divisions according to Anthias,

“…relate to positionalities and hierarchies as they are embodied and articulated within different societal arenas at particular conjunctures. Each arena acts as a context …for the others and enables an exploration of how they interlink with each other.” (Anthias, 2012:10)

With this regard, she sets apart 4 different societal arenas which she terms as contexts that allow for the operationalization of Intersectionality. Focus here is less on whether the arenas are autonomous or actual social structures but rather how they help organize the issues being investigated and further allow the divisions picked out to be compared across all levels. The societal arenas she identifies as heuristic tools are: experiential arena, intersubjective arena, organisational arena and representational arena (Anthias, 2012:10-13).

3.2.1 Experiential arena (Narratives)

The experiential arena focuses on social meaning making and narrations of identification, specifically peoples definitions of who they are and where they think they belong (Anthias, 2012). The experiential arena looks at the affective, emotional and the physical attributes like colour and gender that are usually touched on by people in the process of social identification. This can be termed as narrations of distinctions and “othering” (Anthias, 2012:11). This process involves interaction, communication, negotiation, agreement and disagreement. Similarity and difference are thus at the heart of identification (Jenkins, 2008).

The narratives people use to explain and understand their lives are socially constructed and are hinged on ‘sameness’ and ‘difference’. The ‘essentialization’ of difference is at the core of these social constructions (Lawler, 2008:3). “The recognition of ‘us’ hinges mainly upon our not being ‘them’” (Jenkins:2008:20) thus “to say who I am is to say who or what I am not, but [sic]is also to say with whom I have things in common” (ibid:21). For example in identifying oneself as a ‘woman’, one dis-identifies herself from the opposing category of ‘man’ and identifies with a wider category of ‘woman’ (Lawler, 2008:3). Social identities thus function as points of attachment and in this way act to exclude or render outside those not considered the ‘same’ (Hall, 1996:5).
3.2.2 Inter-subjective arena (Practices)

The intersubjective arena goes beyond identification narratives to patterns of practices in relation to others. These practices include bonding, friendship, distancing from others with these practices extended to non-person actors like the social security system. This arena consists of mutually constructed meanings between people (subjectivities) that are both implicit and explicit and that contribute to the formation of norms, cultures and the construction of societal structures. This arena dictates how one is supposed to behave in relation to others (Anthias, 2012:11). Language is core to the intersubjective arena as it is through it that meaning is mostly shared between individuals and systems (Reuther, 2014:1002).

Recognition of agency and structure is also of essence in this arena as people choose who they bond with or distance from. Barth in Jenkins (2008), posits that individuals in complex societies can take part in multiple or rather discrepant bonding practices at the same time. The intensity and depth in which this is done may vary as cultural constructions of reality and meaning making does not spring from one source (Barth in Jenkins, 2008:124). Despite these practice being a matter of choice, it does not imply they take place in situations of equality as power undergirds interaction between individuals. This does not mean agency is absent this is illustrated by Barth when he posits that

“Choice is not synonymous with freedom, and men and women rarely make choices under circumstances chosen by themselves[sic]. What is more, the unfortunate circumstances of a gross disadvantage of power does not mean that strategy is unavailing - indeed it may be all the more essential to the actor and all the more pervasive in shaping behaviour” (Barth in Jenkins, 2008:125).

Linking the experiential and inter-subjective arena, it could be said that subjective constructions of identity thus occur by people inter-subjectively experiencing in their daily lives discrimination, disadvantage, aspiration, inclusion and exclusion. This is not limited to how they think of themselves but the community as a whole and their attitude and prejudices towards each other (Yuval Davis, 2006).

3.2.3 Organizational arena (Structural Position)

The organizational arena looks at structural positions; specifically how social divisions are organized within institutions like the family, social networks, political/legal systems and state apparatuses (Anthias, 2012). Most of these institutions are characterized with a uniformity of
standards and established patterns of practise and norms that force “the way things are done”. (Jenkins, 2008:45). For example, the role of a woman in a family structure or the standard procedures for registering new businesses in a state system. With such uniformity of standards come institutional expectations that ignore those at the margins. According to Crenshaw (1991), the expectations shape and limit the opportunities and interventions targeted on the marginalized groups as the structural position of the women of colour is qualitatively different from that of white women.

Crenshaw (1991), further illustrates how various institutions in the organization arena interlink to oppress the woman of colour. She states how gender based responsibilities in the family institution, cultural expectations in social institutions, and the dependency of women (specifically immigrant women) on their husbands on information concerning legal issues (state apparatuses) all interlink to cause the subordination of the woman of colour (ibid). Language barrier too poses as a structural problem as it limits the non-native speakers’ ability to take advantage of various state apparatuses in the absence of a bilingual personnel (Crenshaw, 1991:1249).

3.2.4 Representational arena (Discourses)

This arena focuses on discourses around social divisions and information flow through images and texts found in various institutional frameworks. How these discourses are constructed differs over time and how they manifest themselves in people’s lives varies too over time. To this effect, discourses and categories emanating from social policy and state bodies therefore vary according to political concerns of that particular moment (Anthias, 2012). However, most times these discourses/social representations are not congruent with claims that people make of themselves. Yuval-Davis (2006:130), terms this as the political construction of identity.

According to Jenkins (2008:194) “….The media and politics…each feed each other in the promotion and agitation of public discourses and campaigns focusing upon particular issues and particular categories of the population”. The naturalization and essentialization of social categories/relations is a political project of the hegemonic power groups. According to Foucault (1976), discourse in every society is organized, controlled and distributed by hegemonic power groups as a way of gaining mastery of those it seeks to control.

Included in the representational arena is research that map out how Intersectionality is defined and which aspects of it are given focus. This ultimately influences what is integrated into
government policy. Crenshaw’s (1991), discusses this in political Intersectionality relating it to the manner in which feminists and antiracist politics have functioned together to marginalize the issues women of colour. It is imperative for individuals at an intersection to be able to personally identify that they are in a position of disadvantage, and be aware too of the root of the disadvantage as being unaware solidifies their marginalization (Anthias, 2012, 15).

According to Mahalingam et al., (2008) immigrant women often do not consider patriarchal structures from the cultures of origin as oppressive making it hard to draw them out of this kind of marginalization. It is not clear in which way this awareness can be reached without a kind of representation by those that hold hegemonic power. Spivak (1999), in discussing about marginalized women (subalterns) sees the need for a correct form of resistance, a voice consciousness by women at an intersection.

3.3 A critique to Intersectionality

Different scholarly works on Intersectionality are unclear with what the various intersecting positions should be referred or rather their nature. Some researchers refer to them as social identities, others as social divisions, social categories, social relations or social inequalities. These terms in themselves carry different weights as when one talks of a social category, the focus is on how people are sorted and placed while social identities deal more with how people make meaning of their lives (Anthias, 2012:6; Jenkins, 2008:34). This paper however picks on social divisions as it has an encompassing capacity. By using social divisions, it is possible talk about social categories without having to justifying the borders inherent in categorization or social identities without falling into the pit of essentialization.

Further, in highlighting the marginalization of those in positions of disadvantage, Intersectionality often risks defining individuals as pure oppressors or pure victims. There are poor white women and rich black women thus a person may simultaneously experience privilege and disadvantage because they are white females and poor or rich but black. The concept thus secludes the researcher into focussing on differences and duality. By doing so, the researcher is forced to then use difference as the means of explaining a phenomenon. While this is very useful, difference is not the only explanatory tool that can illuminate a phenomenon and it has the dangerous ‘side effect’ of concretising stereotypes. Using gender as difference equals to difference as explanation which further reaffirms the legitimacy of
gender stereotypes. The same could be said for the other categories (Butler 1990; Treloar, 2014).

The study however found it difficult to dispense with categorization (gender/ethnicity) as they are necessary components in an intersectional analysis. This thesis however specifies in the beginning that they are taken up as social constructions, therefore admitting their fluid boundaries and ultimately opening up the possibility of different positions within the category. Apart from acknowledging this, this study avoids using difference as an explanation by analysing the intersecting divisions not as individual categories but as equally enmeshed and flowing recursively in different analytical levels as proposed by Yuval-Davis. This holistic dimension shifts the focus from individual categories to a constitutive, multifaceted and diffused approach that parts ways with projects of essentialization.

Categories like sexual orientation have been sacrificed in the models that come out of Intersectionality (Shield, 2008:303). Individuals at the margins who do not necessarily fit into gender, ethnicity and immigrant status as picked by the study risk being forgotten as women and men vary on so many dimensions of social categories/identities beyond gender, immigration status, and ethnicity and may differ i.e. in age and religious beliefs. Language as an intersection has also received little attention despite it being a strong agent of inclusion and exclusion. Language hierarchies in a society denote which language is superior to the other (Lutz et al, 2011:6). The study’s inductive approach made open the possibility of bringing in other categories that might have come up in the field as there are a range of social divisions that could be investigated. It was however imperative that the researcher stick to the categories relevant to the study.
4. METHODOLOGY

This chapter begins with a discussion of the research design adopted by the study. This is followed by the discussion of the sample size and the sampling procedure which is then followed by the discussion of the tools used to collect data. The chapter then discusses the way data was analysed and ethical considerations taken up during the whole research process. The section ends with a profile of the respondents in the study.

4.1 Research Design

The study adopted an exploratory research design as it sought to investigate how East African Women in Malmö perceived self-employment. The design was specifically relevant to the aim as according to Given (2008:328), exploratory research works best when a group, activity, process or situation (a) has received little attention by systematic empirical inquiry, (b) has been largely examined using prediction and control rather than flexibility and open mindedness as stated in the problem formulation.

A case based approach though holistic and thorough was shunned because the women in the study did not have a cohesive boundary given that they were from different nationalities with varying time of stay in Sweden. Exploratory research was picked as it provides a better understanding of situations and seeks to provide rich meaningful information and explanations (Given, 2008). Further as in case based research, it involves a relatively small number of people regardless of closed boundaries and is flexible with regard to data collecting methods (ibid).

In choosing this approach, the researcher aimed not to come up with a final answer or decision but to provide insights on the phenomenon under investigation. Being exploratory in nature, the study adopted an inductive approach and all through the research, the study made itself open to new directions the transcribed material led to specifically with the theoretical framework and analysis. This proved a challenge because several patterns that fitted the data were developed. According to Perri 6 and Bellamy (2012:77), starting a research process by posing questions, inductive research risks errors because there are usually several hypothesis that could be developed to fit the data and it is hard to rule out any of them which in a way shakes the reliability of a study. The study however committed to analysing data in connection to the aim of the study and research questions. Despite the challenge of working
with an inductive approach, the conceptualization of Intersectionality which takes up social divisions as fluid and multidimensional made inductive approach more natural and necessary for this research.

4.2 Sampling Criteria
Purposive Sampling was used to pick out 8 East African women from Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania who had Swedish university credentials and had been living in Sweden for at least 7 years. The three countries were chosen for the study because they have been politically stable as compared to other East African countries like Somalia, Rwanda and Burundi which have faced civil unrest hence have particular refugee cohort effects in Sweden. The study picked 7 years minimum lived in Sweden as sampling criteria as it is the estimated waiting period for immigrants to be economically integrated into the Swedish society. The study further chose women with Swedish university credentials to account for human capital which was assumed to influences self-employment decisions (Bevelander, 2005; Bevelander, Ohlsson and Bromme, 2012; Hammarstedt, 2001).

4.2.1 Sampling Technique
The women in the sample were contacted using snowballing with the first contact individuals drawn from International Women Association in Malmö and by attending a local international church. 2 of the respondents were contacted through a mutual friend the researcher had met earlier in Malmö. It was not lost to the researcher that a snowballed sample often falls short of variation along key demographical and theoretical dimensions (Silverman, 2011). This was expected to be a challenge in terms of theoretical analysis as people influence each other when it comes to perceiving things hence diversity of thought would be lost. However given that individuals experience life differently, the researcher expected a variation in the responses.

On the positive, snowballing served well for the research purpose as the study was based on a sample with specific demographical criteria, this technique hence enabled the researcher to enter networks and pick individuals that met the sample criteria and who would have otherwise been hard to get to if random sampling or cluster or random sampling was used (ibid)
With regards to the sample size, having 8 respondents for the study was deemed valid as authenticity rather than sample size drives qualitative research. A thorough examining of a small number of people enables the exploration of in depth contextual dimension that influence social phenomena in the case of self-employment. Further, a small sample enables attention to situational factors which are often downplayed in large scale studies which lose intrinsic characteristics of social processes core to Intersectional analysis (Silverman, 2011, Yuval-Davis, 2006)

4.3 Nature and Source of Data

Both primary and secondary data was used to explore the research topic. Secondary data was derived from previous literature on the study area and was used as a background for the research. Secondary sources were also used in informing the conceptual framework that went all through to the analysing data collected from the field.

Primary data was collected through qualitatively interviews which were unstructured in the first interview meeting with the respondents and semi structured in the follow up interviews with the same respondents. The unstructured interviews took between 45-50 minutes while structured interviews took an average of 30minutes. Interviews were chosen for the study as they yield rich insights into people’s experiences, opinions, attitudes and feelings (Silverman, 2011; Perri 6 and Bellamy, 2012).

Unstructured interviews were specifically chosen at first so as to adequately harness the respondents’ perceptions. Used this way, interviews allows the interviewees own meaning and interpretation of events to be understood in their own terms enabling the interviewees to answer the questions in their own frame of reference without any leading questions from the interviewer (Rosenberg, 2012, 120). Based on the aim of the study which was to investigate perceptions of immigrant women and coupled with an intersectional approach this method was found suitable as according to Byrne,

“…open ended and flexible questions provide better access to interviewees views , interpretation of events, understanding, experiences and opinion.....(Qualitative interviewing) when done well is able to achieve a level of depth and complexity that is not available to other, particularly survey-based approaches” (Byrne in Silverman, 2011:167).
She further states that qualitative research,

“…has been particularly attractive to researchers who want to explore voices and experiences which they believe have been ignored, misinterpreted or suppressed in the past.” (ibid: 168).

This data collection tool was thus relevant for the study as it sought to investigate self-employment perceptions among East-African women, a group that had been given little attention in research.

The study initially planned to use only unstructured interviews but found it problematic relying solely on the data collected from the first interview sessions as some responses were too abstract. The researcher also found it challenging using this approach as at many points during the interview sessions the interviewees digressed from the areas central to the study and the researcher found it hard bringing them back to the key issues without leading them to answer questions in a specific way. In some instances the researcher felt that the key themes like gender, ethnicity were being discussed but not in the context of self-employment.

According to Silverman (2011), open ended interviews often risk making unavailable the situation and contexts to which the subjects refers to in that there can be the perception and the response but no clear reference to the phenomenon that gave rise to the perceptions. The 'phenomenon' often misses in most open ended interviews (ibid). The 3 last unstructured interviews conducted were however less challenging as the researcher had gotten the gist of how to bring the interviewees back to the key areas and contexts.

Due to the challenges faced in the initial stages of the interviewing process, the researcher set up second interview schedules (follow-ups) with the same respondents to clarify on the key themes that were picked out from the unstructured interviews transcripts. These interviews were semi-structured and the interviewer sought to clarify information collected from previous interviews and probe deeper into key areas specific to the aim of the study. Despite this, the researcher made the questions open-ended and was all the time conscious as not to ask leading questions. Signposting was used all through the interview session as a recoup and to ensure the reliability of the respondents' information as proposed by Silverman (2011).
4.4 Interview Setting

The interviews were mostly conducted in the Malmö city library during the first interviewing sessions. The location however became a challenge during the follow-up interviews as the respondents had to squeeze in time to meet the interviewer. The location was then randomly chosen depending on where the respondents were. On some occasions the interviews were conducted in the respondents’ apartments after work and in some instances the children's playground. The latter case became a challenge as there were interruptions now and then from the kids who wanted the mother’s attention. The interviewee had to pause the recording in such cases. This meant the interviews took much longer as the interviewer had to go back to the context in which the interview stopped by asking questions that had already been answered to jog the interviewee’s train of thought before the interruption.

4.4.1 Role of the Researcher

Given that target group was chosen based on ethnicity, time spent in Sweden and that all the respondents had university education in Sweden, the interviewer felt that she did not hold so much power during the interview setting as she was from the same ethnic group with an education level similar to more than half of the respondents. On the contrary, the interviewer in some occasions felt intimidated by some of the older respondents as she is from a cultural background that stresses ultimate respect for elders. To ensure that this did not affect the interview setting, the researcher established a connection by first talking about life back home and asking advice with regards to living in Sweden. Once the rapport was established, the researcher went to asking specific questions tied to the study.

With the rest of the respondents, a connection was created through phone calls, text messages and facebook chats prior to the first interview meeting. The establishment of a rapport in interviews is important given that the method is specifically designed to harness respondents feelings, perspective and experiences which most often are sensitive and not easily expressed to strangers (May, 2011).

During all the interview sessions, the researcher was self-conscious so as not to bring in intersubjective feelings and understanding of the responses. The challenge faced in the initial interviews was controlling the emotional appeals presented in some of the interviewees’ experiences and responses. This was however noted down by the researcher and their possible effects factored in during the interpretation and analysis of data. According to Perri 6 and
Bellamy (2012: 228), the documentation of such challenges in the thesis increases the trustworthiness of the research process ultimately limiting questions that may arise regarding validity of collected data and inferences drawn from it.

4.4.2 Data Recording

Tape recorders were used to record the interview sessions as all the respondents agreed to be recorded once the researcher assured them that the recorded information would be held in high confidentiality and their identities hidden when reporting the research results. The choice to use tape recorders along note taking alone was based on the fact that records capture the whole conversation and enable the researcher to re-run the recording many times when trying to gain a deeper understanding of the responses, pauses, vocal intonation and stresses during transcription and data analysis (Opdenakker, 2006, May, 2011; Silverman, 2011).

The researcher however noticed that in some instances the respondents hesitated to open up and looked at the recorder before responding. Such instances were recorded in the notebook and factored in during data analysis. Taking notes during interview even if it is being tape recorded is important as one notes down facial expressions and gesticulation which miss in recorded interviews. Further taking notes helps in the case of a malfunctioning of the recorder (Opdenakker, 2006).

All interviews were conducted in English. However, there were instances when the respondents’ code switched to Kiswahili being aware that the interviewer understood the language. According to Rosenberg (2012:63, 65), meanings of specific terms in vernacular are crucial to the appreciation of how the social world is viewed by the members. The researcher being a native Swahili speaker was an added advantage in understanding how the self-employment was perceived as language is more than a medium for transferring meaning (ibid).

Problems however arose with regards to transcribing the interviews; a 45 minute interview although thick and rich almost took 5 hours to transcribe setting the researcher back as she had to conduct and transcribe the first set of interviews and the follow up interviews individually.
4.5 Philosophical Underpinnings

The study subscribed to a constructivism standpoint on research which believes that meaning is socially constructed and thus problematic to vet using the terms accurate or truthful. This approach believes that knowledge is not something fixed or objective. According to Hall (in Ngeh, 2013:16), social actors use their culture, and other systems of representation to construct meaning and to communicate that meaning to others in a meaningful way. Put this way, phenomenon can only be discovered in context as knowledge is not something to be objectively discovered but socially constructed (Ngeh, 2013.7).

Limitations however arise with this fluidity of positions in context as presence of the interviewer in an interview setting often influences the respondents answers limiting the reliability of the study. Further in studying the perceptions of someone at an intersection, ambivalence is a fair and common condition where a person can hold conflicting sentiments based on the various social categories they fall in at a given time and in a given situation (Silverman, 2011). The open-ended interview approach in both interview settings however allowed the interviewer to probe further on such statements and make links to already given answers in later conversations. This enabled comparability along and across all the 16 interview sessions thus boosting the validity of the results. Bryman (2008:439), defines this as the "Iterative process of refinement" which enhances the internal validity of the data collected.

It was not lost to the researcher that doing this risked falling into the positivist assumption that interview responses are to be valued based on objectivity and accuracy of statements. Realities are subjective and this influences interview responses either intentionally or unintentionally (Silverman, 2011). The error of adding or taking away facts in interviews is not only evidence of poor reliability but the normality of interpersonal relations (Silverman, 2011). The objective of analysis in qualitative research thus is not to describe what is said in the interview but to relate what is said to the experience and lives of those being studied. We should be able to move beyond identity to the settings from which our respondents draw (ibid: 183).

Having 8 respondents enabled the researcher conduct in-depth interviews making it possible to capture all intrinsic factors within the sample that may have affected the findings and in this way enhanced the validity of the study. According to Perri 6 and Bellamy (2012:19), capturing a significant amount of data is important to the validity of a research because the
better the account, the better the goodness of fit. Goodness of fit is defined as the summary and integration of findings with minimum loss of facts, differences and nuances that might be relevant to the question under study (ibid).

The researcher however faced a challenge in linking perceptions to self-employment tendencies during the analysis of the first interview sessions. According to Silverman (2011:168) people do not attach a single meaning to their experiences thus eliciting perceptions did not give a direct answer to their tendencies to be self-employed. He further states that it is not always that what is said a direct expression of experiences. Interviews offer indirect representations of experiences thus do not give the researcher direct access to facts or events. The researcher however did follow up interviews which were semi-structured based on the themes drawn from the first interview sessions. The themes chosen with this regard were tied to the overarching aim of the study by the researcher.

Finally, the researcher tried to be consciously aware of her subjective feelings when interpreting and analysing the data. According to Foucault (in Rosenberg, 2012: 155), we have unconsciously internalized meaning that act as interpretive instruments that govern how we analyse situations. We cannot free ourselves from this internalized meanings in social science as when it comes to reality people usually go through a double interpretive research process (Rosenberg, 2012) The researcher adopted a reflexive stance all through from the interview sessions to the data analysis by self-reflecting on her cultural and theoretical prejudices to limit the effect of this positions in the study so as to ensure validity and reliability (ibid)

4.6 Presentation and Analysis of Material

The material gathered from the field was presented verbatim using narrative expositions. Meaning and the effects of one’s gender and ethnicity in particular settings calls for scholarship that captures the fluid mechanism of identity, rich descriptive account of contextual nature of peoples lived experiences (Silverman, 2011). Because narrative expositions in data presentation were used, the researcher tried not to fall into anecdotism but instead compared them with different accounts from the interviewees to determine representativeness or general ability of these fragments as espoused by Silverman (2011). Further, the researcher understood the challenge of consistency in categorizing accounts by different respondents, hence research questions were used as themes in data presentation and
this was fused with an intersectional analysis to ensure reliability as proposed by Perri 6 and Bellamy (2012).

4.7 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations in research are defined as those decisions that "arise when we try to decide between one course of action and another not in terms of expediency or efficiency but by reference to standards of what is morally right or wrong" (Barnes in May, 2012: 61). Ethics thus goes beyond efficiency to include principles with regards to participant recruitment, informed consent, privacy of data and compensation (Silverman, 2011:418).

With this in mind, the researcher embarked on the fieldwork by first fully explaining to the interviewees the overarching aim and objectives of the research, why the research was being undertaken and the consequences of the research being published (released to the public domain). The confidentiality and anonymity of the respondents was assured by the researcher and hidden identities were used when reporting the research. Further the researcher ensured the recorded interviews had no real identities assigned to them and kept in private.

The researcher made it clear to the respondents that they would not be compensated in the while setting up the interview dates as she understood monetary compensation or otherwise was likely to make the interviewees distort their responses to please the researcher. With regards to the researcher coming from East Africa and specifically one of the countries picked for the study, the researcher looked out for any biases in the report and her positionality during the whole research period and in writing the research report.

4.8 Profile of the Participants

The interview respondents were East African women from Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda who have been living in Sweden for more than 7 years and have university credentials from Swedish institutions. All the respondents had at least spent 7 years out of school. Some of respondents were married either to Swedes or non-Swedes while some were single. Most of the respondent had children ranging from 1 to 3 in number. The names used are proxies to ensure anonymity of the respondents.
Interview 1 (March 18\textsuperscript{th}, 2014) (Follow-up interview-April, 2\textsuperscript{nd}, 2014)

Respondent one (Eva*) is from Uganda and has lived in Sweden for 8 years. She has university credentials from Spain with technical logistic courses from a Swedish college. She is currently employed, married to a Swede and has 2 children aged four and one. She opened up a small accounting firm but closed down because she found it difficult dealing with the tax and insurance system in Sweden.

Interview 2 (March 18\textsuperscript{th}, 2014) (Follow-up interview-March 29\textsuperscript{th}, 2014)

Respondent two (Rita*) is from Tanzania and has lived in Sweden for 20 years. She has two masters’ degrees from Swedish Universities. She is self-employed and has a gardening company. She is divorced and has 3 children aged 20, 16 and 12 respectively.

Interview 3 (March 19\textsuperscript{th}, 2014) (Follow-up interview-April 2\textsuperscript{nd}, 2014)

Respondent three (Fiona*) is from Kenya has lived in Sweden for 12 years. She holds a bachelor degree from a Swedish University and currently enrolled in a master course. She has considered starting a business in Malmo. She is married to a Swede and has 2 children aged 7 and 3.

Interview 4 (March 21\textsuperscript{st}, 2014) (Follow-up interview-April 2\textsuperscript{nd}, 2014)

Respondent four (Brenda*) from Uganda and has lived in Sweden for 15 years and has a technical college certificate from Sweden. She is employed and has never considered getting self-employed. She is single with one child aged 14.

Interview 5 (March 21\textsuperscript{st}, 2014) (Follow-up interview- March 29\textsuperscript{th}, 2014)

Respondent five (Joanna*) is from Kenya and has lived in Sweden for 7 years. She is currently wage employed but has an online business where she trades clothes when she is off work. She has university credentials from Denmark and is married to a Danish man. She has one child aged 3.
Interview 6 (March 22nd, 2014) (Follow-up interview-April 1st, 2014)

Respondent six (Mercy*) is from Kenya and has lived in Sweden for 19 years. She has university credentials from Sweden and currently unemployed. She has invested in the stock market back in her home country. She is divorced and has 2 children.

Interview 7 (March 23rd, 2014) (Follow-up interview- April 26th, 2014)

Respondent seven (Caro*) is from Tanzania and has lived in Sweden for 13 years and holds both her bachelors and masters degrees from Sweden. She is currently unemployed, married to a Swede and has one child. She is a stay at home mom and has never considered getting self-employed.

Interview 8 (March 23rd, 2014) (Follow-up interview- April 20th, 2014)

Respondent eight (Mary*) is from Uganda and has lived in Sweden for 15 years and attained a technical college certificate in a Swedish institute. She is wage employed, married and has 3 children.
5. PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF FIELD MATERIAL

In this section I present and analyse the material gathered from the interviews conducted between 18th March and 28th April 2014. The responses from the field are reported verbatim and analysed in relation to each other using four intersectional societal arenas as espoused by (Anthias, 2012). Since the study aims to investigate how East African women ‘perceive’ self-employment, subjective experiences of Intersectionality act as a base in the analysis. Operationalization of the theory thus takes the form of the women’s:

- *Narratives of identification* (sameness and difference)
- *Intersubjective practises* (bonding and distancing);
- *Structural* self-positioning in the family, social networks, state apparatuses
- *Discourses* in the media, government documents, programmes they feel represent them

5.1 Identification Narratives (Experiential Arena)

The women in the study were asked about their self-employment experiences in Malmö in a bid to find out if they faced any barriers. Most of the women at one point had considered getting self-employed and said that they did not face any direct structural barriers. Rather, their perceptions on self-employment were hinged on their ethnicity, gender and immigrant status and in various ways acted to bar them from getting self-employed. Drawing from identification narratives of some of the respondents, uncertain feelings emanating from their ‘blackness’ and femininity made them opt out of self-employment despite attending self-employment courses offered by Malmö Municipality. Fiona* who is currently studying and a stay at home mother stated that:

"I went to a certain ten week self-employment course. They give you the benefits of being self-employed in Sweden….but my mind starting to calculate who will be coming to my premise and how much I will be earning. I thought the Swedish people will never step in my salon, I have never had Swedish friend other than my husband’s family. My customers just have to be black so I gave up the idea." (Fiona*)

Brenda* on the other hand who is wage employed thought herself not masculine enough to be self-employed and stated that:
“I think it is more of a masculine thing to be self-employed. I feel that if I were a man people would respect me or they would see my business as serious. There is always the fear that as a woman you will be under-looked, it makes you not 100% secure to start a business. People associate women with home-care not entrepreneurship” (Brenda*).

Despite Fiona* attending self-employment courses, she opts to remain unemployed because of the feeling that only ‘black’ customers would come to her business establishment. Fiona’s assertion is not hinged on a direct experience since she has not tried getting self-employed and failed but rather on her identification narrative of being ‘black’ and the imagination that she would only attract black customers. The same can be said for Brenda who has never considered getting self-employed and rather prefers wage employment because of her gender. Anthias (2012:11), in explaining this posits that Intersectionality in the experiential arena lies in people’s narrations of distinctions and ‘othering’ based on socialization processes. Social identification narratives function as points of attachment and in this way seclude or render outside those who do not consider themselves ‘similar’ to hegemonic power groups (Hall, 1996:5). Most of the respondents identification narratives barred them from getting self-employed as it affected their attitudes and prejudices towards the hegemonic power groups in terms of, disadvantage and aspiration as posited by Yuval-Davis (2006).

Mercy* shades light into this by bringing up gender norms from back home and the ‘naturalness’ of men being entrepreneurs as opposed to women. She states that:

“We are raised with this sort of gender roles, it is not something you can just erase. You grow up with this value, a woman has to be a mother, has to there for the children, you have to wash them and feed them so how do you get self-employed, take business trips abroad and take care of your children at the same time, it is quite problematic to be able to balance the two. It is more natural for men to manage enterprises” (Mercy*).

Interestingly Mercy* acknowledges that such gender norms do not necessarily apply in Sweden. When asked about her perception of gender and self-employment within the Swedish context as a follow up to her response she stated that:

“Sweden is not like Tanzania. I mean here people are almost equal kind of...so if you were to go out there and deal with banks and the government or whatever, they are not going to say you are a woman, in fact they offer more help to women than guys” (Mercy*).
Opting out of self-employment in this sense does not emanate from a structural barrier on the government’s side but from social constructions of identities and the narratives presented to this effect. Gender norms from countries of origin were thus found to influence how East African women perceived self-employment. According to Anthias (2011:7), different socio-cultural contexts determine what is expected, allowed and valued in a woman/man and girl/boy in these specific contexts. This illustrated by some of the respondents positing that getting self-employed would mean they would be away from their children. This was inappropriate in the society they grew up in as taking care of children was the responsibility the mother. Such identification narratives according to Lawler (2008:3) have their roots on social processes/constructions which often essentialise difference between groups and set out normative rules on what is allowed or not between these groups thus ultimately influencing self-identification. When looked at with an Intersectionality lens, ethnicity and gender in the identification narratives of Mercy* and Fiona* are intermeshed as elucidated by Yuval Davis (2006). According to her, ethnicity despite being constructed from social material like colour, culture, religion and language, rests on gendered and sexualised foundations.

It is however difficult to analyse this arena without bringing in the organization arena as is where identity narratives are played and specific to the East-African women case the family structure. The organizational arena casts its lens on structural Intersectionality specifically how social divisions are organized and enmeshed within institutions like the family (Anthias, 2011). According to Yuval-Davis (2006), it is impossible to separate the different arenas in which intersecting social divisions are analysed as they are enmeshed and relationally emergent. This is evidenced by half of the respondents mentioning gender in relation to family as consequently the main reason they preferred being unemployed instead of being self-employed. Wage employment was found to be preferred because of the fixed working hours that enabled one to focus solely on the family when home unlike self-employment which was always around someone with late working hours depending on the business i.e. café or restaurant. According to Mary* who is wage employed:

“I like to be employed so that when it’s time to go home I go home and not have to think of anything else. I do not like to take my work home with me as I am the one responsible for cooking and bathing my kids. When I come home it is family time. My kid comes first. I think having my own business would just need so much of me and I feel am not ready for that.”

(Mary*)
Joanna* who has an online business had this to say:

“Compared to men we women have so much more responsibilities especially when you have a family. I am not saying my husband does not help with the children but basically in terms of having more time somehow he has more time in his hands than I do” (Joanna*)

Having a family and specifically having children cut across as a reason why almost half of the unemployed women opted to be stay at home moms instead of starting their own businesses. This is because children were solely considered a woman’s responsibility and emanated from countries of origin gender norms as earlier stated. Mahalingam, et.al (2008), argue that what it means to be a ‘woman’ in the context of immigrant status is fundamentally informed by ethnic and cultural values from home countries. Immigrant women at an intersection often willingly endorse idealized patriarchal beliefs which further acts to marginalizing them (ibid). Despite migrating to Sweden where equality between men and women is pervasive, East African women carry the gender norms from their countries of origin and apply them in their country of immigration. Logically, the presence of equal childrearing roles between men and women in Sweden should make it easier for these women to get self-employed which in this case does not as most of the East African women chose to be stay-at-home mothers instead. The experiential arena thus becomes an important field of analysing Intersectionality as it is where social constructions of identity take place at a much early stage and thus hard to part ways with.

Self-identity also came up in the interviews where some of the East African women said they have never considered getting self-employed not because of any barriers but that they had never thought of themselves as being entrepreneurs. ‘Not a risk taker’ was a sentence that came up to this effect. According to Mary* who held such a sentiment:

“You know business is not for everyone, first it has to go with passion or else it won't go. You know there are many careers and self-employment is just one of them. You need passion and to be able to succeed which I do not have for entrepreneurship.. I prefer to be employed because in my mind I am educated, my mind is focused on my career.” (Mary)*

Brenda* on the other hand stated that:

“To open a business means you have to be a risk taker because the business may not succeed. I am a coward. I cannot invest the little I have on something I am not sure will work. Let us
just say I like to be employed... Yes Felicity. I like to be employed (laughs) So that when it's the end of the month, I am sure of getting a salary” Brenda*

The two women’s position on self-employment on the surface could be taken as personality traits but it is imperative to go beyond their statements as women in intersectional positions have been found to be oblivious of how their positionality affects their life choices (Crenshaw, 1994; Spivak, 1999). Opting out of self-employment as a matter of choice for some of the women does not necessarily mean it takes place in a neutral and equal situation. Being immigrants or women affect the propensity towards risk taking or the preference to stability in terms of wage employment. “Choice is not synonymous with freedom, and men and women rarely make choices under circumstances chosen by themselves[sic]. What is more, the unfortunate circumstances of a gross disadvantage of power does not mean that strategy is unavailing - indeed it may be all the more essential to the actor and all the more pervasive in shaping behaviour” in Jenkins, 2008:125).

Barth’s position is evidence by one of the respondents who in relation to risk stated that:

“Once you are self-employed you cannot register yourself for unemployment benefits or study benefits. The social benefits snaps regardless of whether the business survives or not, whether you will be earning profit or not, so it’s quite tricky, it is risky. I am alone here, I separated from my husband, I can’t risk being out of social insurance” (Mercy*).

Immigrant status coupled with gender and ethnicity in the experiential arena is thus found to be complicated intersection as within it there are clashing locations of identification and crisscrossing kinds of disadvantage at various levels. Intersectionality here works in a more complex way as there are multifaceted categories that can cause disadvantage. This could be religion, culture, legal status which all together act to form a multiple layer of oppression (Shield, 2008; Crenshaw, 1991). According to Yuval-Davis (2006), the social divisions at the individual level exist in the way people subjectively experience their daily lives knowingly or unknowingly. Human agency and structures are thus linked in a meaningful way where the actor is seen as a reflexive actor who, to some extent, can make his or her own choice but is influenced and acts within a socio-structural context (Kloosterman, 2010; Kloosterman et al., 1999).
5.2 Bonding and Distancing practices (Intersubjective Arena)

The inter-subjective arena goes beyond narratives to look at practices in relation to others. This is not limited to social relationships and instances of bonding and distancing but extends to non-personal actors like the social security system (Anthias, 2011).

a) Non-Personal Actors

From the interviews carried out, respondents felt distanced from the mainstream Swedish society with language coming up as a barrier when dealing with both personal and non-personal actors i.e. tax and insurance systems. Dealing with the state agencies in the Swedish language posed a problem to Joanna* who has an online business. She stated that:

“One time I called the tax office and I wanted them to explain something. It was a lady on the line, I said can you please explain this in English, she was speaking in Swedish and she was like, I will just send you a letter and ask your husband to translate it for you.” (Joanna*)

Her language dilemma is also experienced by Eva* an accountant who owned an accounting firm for small businesses in Malmö with her husband but closed down because of tax backlog. She understands Swedish but did not feel fluent or confident enough to deal with the tax and insurance offices at a professional level and thus delegated that responsibility to her Swedish husband. According to her account,

“…to earn money and pay all the taxes you are obliged to pay, to follow all the rules and regulations, that is what I found difficult. My husband, he is Swedish, he understands the tax and insurance system better and I gave him the responsibility of dealing with the tax office but he works and travels a lot so he forgets and the letters kept piling. We had to close business eventually since I had the time but not the language. He had the language but not the time” (Eva*)

Eva* faces a double marginalization as her husband travels a lot and is rarely home yet she speaks little Swedish. Immigrant status coupled with gender and ethnicity can be seen here as a complicated intersection as within it there are crisscrossing kinds of disadvantage at various levels. These multiple disadvantages of being unable to speak Swedish and having to rely on her ‘absent’ husband for help eventually makes her close down her business. Crenshaw (1991:1249), posits that being non-native speakers, immigrants women are often hindered from taking advantage of various state apparatuses in the absence of a bilingual personnel
since meaning between individuals has language as its core as it is through it that meaning can be verbally exchanged between individuals (Reuther, 2014). Being unable to speak the local language causes a disadvantage that is diffused and operates simultaneously across local (absent husband), social (language) and structural (tax office) spheres which all in different ways cause an Intersectionality (Yuval-Davis, 2006).

\[ b) \quad \text{Interpersonal Practises} \]

Having friends and social connections within the Swedish community, other immigrant groups or within one’s ethnic group was found to influence how East Africans perceived self-employment. From the interviews it came out that the respondents found it difficult bonding and interacting with individuals from the Swedish society which eventually turned out as a barrier to setting up a business in Malmö. Brenda* who is wage employed stated that:

“\text{If you cannot openly talk to people even who are your neighbours how can you openly sell a product to them? This is the reason I have never attempted to get self-employed}” (Brenda*)

Some of the respondents further elaborated that that their immigrant status and ethnicity made it difficult to understand the ethnic Swedes psychologically thus reaching them in terms of product and service marketing posed a challenge. Sweden was particularly seen as a hard market to break into as the society has ‘trust issues’ and thus not open to ‘strangers’. This feeling was not limited to those who had never been self-employed but also those who had established businesses. Eva* who was once self-employed had some experience interacting with Swedish clients for 3 years and explained that:

"\text{Swedes always have trust issues, this is worse when you are an immigrant; they will always do a background check on you and see o.k. you come from here and you have done this and we really can prove that this is true... so it's not easy to break through. Before they buy something they will check on it 20 times and they will ask 100 questions.}” (Eva*)

More than half of the respondents thought that having a partner who is an ethnic Swede made it easier for one to understand and reach out to the Swedes more as one got to learn better the language. Having a Swedish partner thus made bonding with the mainstream society much easier and was attributed to the ability to learn the language and ‘Swedish psychology’. Further it came out from the interviews that having a Swedish husband expanded ones social
networks as one felt more accepted (included). Caro* who is employed and married to a Swede stated that:

“If you are married to a Swede you are more accepted. His family accepts you and you are treated even better in the working place. You get other Swedish friends through him and that means you will have better opportunities in Sweden than other immigrants” (Caro*).

According to Reuther (2014:1002), intersubjective practices contribute to the understanding of norms, cultures and the construction of societal structures which act as an advantage for those with bonds in the mainstream society. Basically being able to understand how Swedes would react/act in different situations is a plus when setting up business and those married to Swedes had an advantage with this regard. Further having a Swedish sounding second name was reported to be helpful in business networking, and in marketing oneself online. As one respondent who sell antiques and second hand designer clothes online (her profile has her husband’s Danish name) mentioned:

“Selling things online is convenient; nobody knows where you are from. All you need is to just take good photos and have a very good story to describe something in Swedish. If your profile has good ratings your products go in seconds. When it’s sold you just send it by post. You do not need to meet the buyers, because of my second Danish name they cannot tell that I am from Kenya.” (Joanna*)

Joanna* perceives that the success of her online business is hinged of her hidden ethnic identity (having a Danish last name). This in her opinion has a lot to do with the nice customer reviews she has. She feels that if she had an African sounding name no one would trust her online business. Despite being married to a non-swede, have a husband who is ‘white’ thus gives her an advantage in terms of inclusion. Having a Danish husband as opposed to a Swedish one however became a disadvantage in terms of understanding the society and language better as an immigrant. Language and social skills still came up as crucial to the success of a business that transcends ones ethnic boundaries to the mainstream society. To this effect Joanna states:

"Let me be honest, I think if I would be married to a Swede the situation would be so different, I would speak the language much better, I feel I would have a better client network,
maybe open a physical shop. You can imagine being married to a Dane, he doesn't speak Swedish, I mean I speak better Swedish than he does.(laughs)….." (Joanna*)

Joanna’s position of advantage;- being married to a ‘white’ and disadvantage;- the husband being an Danish immigrant reiterates Treoler’s (2014), position that a person at an intersection can simultaneously experience privilege and disadvantage. Immigrant status as an intersection is also found to be experienced differently by different ethnic groups. Being a Danish immigrant from Joanna’s’ response can be seen to be more advantageous that being a Kenyan immigrant as her Danish husband’s name accords her trust from the Swedish online customers. The assumption is that if she had a Kenyan name, the level of trust on her online business would be lower. Her husband immigrant status is thus more advantageous than hers.

According to Yuval-Davis (2011), Intersectionality situates individuals differently and thus people at an intersection may experience similar situations differently. Individuals according to her are located in social, economic and political projects in different ways. Consciousness of the dynamic and sensitive nature of intersectional positions thus makes it possible to place people in different axes in the wider socio-economic context when analysing Intersectionality.

Bonding and distancing influence on self-employment was found not to be only limited to East African women perception of the Swedes but other immigrant groups and even between East African women themselves. As one respondent posited,

"Where I stay there is a Ugandan lady, she stays in the next apartment after mine. She is married to a Swede and has only Swedish friends. If I do not say hello she hurriedly gets into her house. I do not understand it because we are from the same country. How is one supposed to have customer base if we behave this way towards each other?" (Brenda*)

Limited interaction with other East Africans was cited by more than half of the respondents as a reason why they had never considered getting self-employed because they would not have a client base. When asked why they rarely interacted with each other many of the respondents cited that they were few in number and that Most East-African preferred interacting with Swedes. Rita* who has been in Sweden for 20 years commented that:

“*There is the fact that most of them after getting married to Swedes take up Swedish culture and forget that they are Africans but you remain an African even if you are married to a white
person. Most of them invest into being Swedish. They segregate themselves from their African side” (Rita*).

Shield (2008:305), shades light into this by stating that there is a unique form of identification created out of immigrant intersections which in various ways affect how people had initially categorized themselves. Brenda’s* neighbour and others East African women as observed by Rita* could be having ambivalent feeling fostered by the need to integrate more into the mainstream society. This in a way needs a kind of distancing from one's country of origin. The concept of hybridity and the inherent ambivalence in it suggests that there are stable new formed identities which are likely to be experienced by immigrants at intersection (Shield, 2008). Identity though falling in the experiential arena is acted in the inter-subjective arena as it influences who we interact with.

Intersectionality can thus be seen to be diffused and operating simultaneously on multiple levels with its mechanisms flowing recursively across local, social and structural spheres and in different ways affecting a person’s experiences as posited by Yuval-Davis (2011). The perception that there were too few East Africans to establish a customer base spills over to the organizational arena as it is where social and ethnic-networks are situated and further shows that social divisions and the societal arenas in which they are located are enmeshed and emergent.

5.3 Structural Self Positioning (Organizational Arena)

The organizational arena casts its lens on structural Intersectionality specifically how social divisions are organized and enmeshed within institutions like the family, social networks, legal frameworks and state apparatuses to marginalize certain groups (Anthias, 2102). From the interviews, various structures were recursively working together to shape how East African women perceive self-employment in Malmö and consequently bar them from starting their own business.

a) Family

Because of their immigrant status, most of the respondents cited a weak support link from their extended family as a barrier to self-employment. Having migrated meant they did not have parents, cousins or aunties to look after their kids if they had to travel or be out late because of business reasons. The respondents who had younger children considered time a challenge when it came to combining self-employment and family. Some of the respondents
further cited that in the occasion that they or their children became sick or wanted to travel, their business would have to be closed. This is because hiring extra labour in Sweden was considered expensive unlike family members who do this pro-bono. Joanna* who has an online business mentioned that

“I do not have any family here so that makes it even more demanding. I would have to be personally present all year round if I am to be successful. You really need to have someone who supports you to go through that. I think so, If you have kids the other people have to be there for you. Otherwise as an immigrant it’s tough, the whole thought is just too much too overwhelming for me. I like to be employed (laughs) So that when it's time to go home I go home. I do not think of anything else that's it. I think having my own business would just need so much of me and I feel am not ready for that you know” (Joanna*).

Still on family support, Mary* who was employed in her home country before coming to Sweden had this to say:

"If you have your family here then you can feel more rooted but if it’s only you and your partner it can be double hard. Because they do not understand... I mean they understand but just that they think it is not a big deal. “you will find something, it's not a big deal, I have a job, I can support you”... but if you have been economically self-sufficient then it is not OK" (Mary*).

Joanna’s* and Marys* narrative illustrates how intersecting divisions of immigrant status and gender construct each other in the organizational arena. Being immigrants meant the East African women had no close family members or friends (social networks) to help them out with the children (family) which ultimately acted to bar them from getting self-employed, leading them to be stay at home moms reliant on social insurance (state institutions). Intersectionality here can be seen to be diffused and operating simultaneously on multiple levels as posited by Yuval Davis (2006). Immigrant status coupled with gender and ethnicity is a complicated intersection as within it there are clashing locations of identification and crisscrossing kinds of disadvantage at various levels (ibid).

b) Ethnic Networks

Most of the respondents thought there was lack of East African networks in Malmö. The few number of Kenyans, Ugandans and Tanzanian was compared to Somali, Gambians, Nigerians,
Moroccans and Middle Easterns’ in Malmö. Their low number shaped how these women perceived self-employment ultimately barring them from opening business establishments as the numbers were related to a customer base. Brenda* who is wage employed and has never considered getting self-employed had this to say

“I mean how many East Africans are in Malmö? Because if you bring stuff mostly found in your region it is most likely that only people from your region will buy. If you meet any black person in Malmö it’s like 8 out of 10 are from West African so the market is quite high for them. I once looked online to find out how many East Africans are in Malmö. I couldn’t find the numbers, only Somalis and Ethiopians” (Brenda*).

Brenda’s position is reiterated by Waldinger (1986), in the Opportunity Structure Theory which emphasizes the essence of specific suitable social conditions that enable ethnic small business to succeed. They include demand for particular cultural products like clothes, ethnic foods and newspapers. Business opportunities like translation services, travel agencies immigration lawyers are identified as one way or the other serving immigrant needs. This study however takes into cognizance the fact that there are groups within Malmö which fulfill the above conditions but still do not get into popular self-employment paths. This includes immigrants from Latin America particularly Chile as stated in the introduction of this thesis.

Intersectionality then becomes a better theory for analyzing this phenomenon as it highlights the qualitative difference of individuals and groups in an Intersectionality. It also highlights the problem of government institutions trying to help different groups get into self-employment using standard procedures. According to Jenkins (2008:45), most institutions are characterized with a uniformity of standards and established patterns of practise, that force “the way things are done”. With such uniformity of standards comes institutional expectations that ignore those at the margins. According to Crenshaw (1991), these expectations shape and limit the opportunities and interventions targeted on the marginalized groups. In this case, the East African women under study could be said to be marginalized because of their limited numbers in Malmo.

It is however interesting to note that Rita* has a different opinion on this. When asked whether she knew of any other East African women in Malmö she stated:
"There are many East Africans in Malmö! Just that East African are a little bit closed when they are here. You see somebody look down when they see you. They are not interested in saying hello, but actually they are so many. So many" (Rita)

Rita’s assertion which is contrary to the rest of the respondents could be attributed to the fact that she has been living in Sweden the longest (20yrs) thus understands the demographics better than the other respondents. This makes it difficult to explain Intersectional experiences at a group level as actors experiences are qualitatively different. Anthias (2012), states that different actors on an intersection have different narrations of their experiences and challenge the everyday understanding of their actions. This simultaneously happens at the backdrop of text and discourse from the mainstream society. Rita* and Brenda’s* conflicting positions are further analysed in the representational arena further down in this paper as the organizational arena explains only a section of it.

c) State Institutions

Picking on the enmeshed social and state levels of Intersectionality, I look at the case of some of the respondents being placed in business networks consisting of Swedish people by the Malmö Municipality programmes. Such a step of mixing the women with Swedes may be considered positive by the municipality since immigrants get networks in the mainstream society ultimately making them socially and economically integrated. However organized this way, the programmes further marginalize the East African women as their experiences are qualitatively different from the Swedes. According to Eva who once owned a business:

“They put you in networks which is almost build by Swedish people and of course they are helpful but sometime as a foreigner you need the support and advice of someone who is also a foreigner so that they can tell you of their experiences. But something I have realized too is that East African immigrants do not have such networks or associations” (Eva*)

Uniform standards of need with the hegemonic society according to Crenshaw (1991:1241), hinders marginalized women from reaching their goals. Intervention on self-employment in this case then must be directly targeted to marginalized groups in order to reach them (ibid). Interventions directed towards East African women aiming to be self-employed in Malmö was found to come from credit institutions like ALMI and banks. From the interviews, these institutions were mostly considered helpful with some of the respondents acknowledging that
women received more help than men in getting financial help when starting a business. This was however hinged on having a 'good' business plans which according to some of the respondents were directed at saturated entrepreneurial areas often considered for immigrants. Interestingly, over half of respondents did not consider being guided towards certain occupation lines as hegemonic domination. This is seen in their willingness to take up self-employment if financed. According to Eva* and Rita* who have both tried their hands on entrepreneurship:

“I think it is possible and easier to start a business in Sweden than to get a job or to be employed by somebody else. It is a matter of having a nice business plan that is what they want. Something convincing and you get help.” (Rita)*

“You do not need to have an education or degree in business to be self-employed in Sweden. You can be self-employed with the help of all those public offices that support you and give you advice. I personally got a lot of help from ALMI” (Eva)*

When asked whether she had always wanted to open a gardening company Rita* responded that she wanted something more in line with the course she pursued in campus; fashion design. She wanted to start her own African inspired clothe line. Her business idea was however turned down by the government’s financing agency. She stated that:

“They are advisers so they check your business plan and your budget and tell you if its viable, if you can go forward with it and if not they give you advice and say maybe you should try something else, maybe you should try to make like a company laboratory where you try with a small amount of money to see if your business works. You can try online for example. Not building a website but selling like on blocket or e-bay or ..... and if it works then you can start big but normally if they see that it is not viable or feasible they say no don't do it.” Rita*

This kind of state intervention can be looked from a positive angle but if looked at under the representational arena, marginalization of the East African women by the hegemonic power group comes to fore. Being immigrants and not having enough capital to start up their own business limits these women to the ideas influenced by financing agencies like ALMI. This is not obvious to the respondents as according to some of them the financial intervention is the best thing about being self-employed in Sweden. Eva* who is pro ALMI forgets that despite her business being endorsed by the institution, she ended up closing it down. Whilst her
accounting business idea may have been termed viable by ALMI, cognisance was not taken of the fact that Eva’ was not a native Swede and thus dealing with insurance and tax government structures would be a challenge after start-up as seen in having to rely on her husband to deal with the tax and insurance offices. Endorsing the financing institutions dictating their business plan marginalizes the E.A women acting as a barrier to them successfully getting self-employed.

According to Anthias (2012:15), It is imperative for individuals at an intersection to be able to personally identify that they are in a position of disadvantage and be aware too of the root of the disadvantage as being unaware solidifies their marginalization. Research however is not clear on which way this awareness can be reached without further representation by those that hold hegemonic power. Spivak (1999), in discussing about marginalized women sees the need for a correct form of resistance a consciousness by women at an intersection. This remains however unresolved as at the end of her work she poses the question "With what voice consciousness can the subaltern can speak" (Spivak, 1999: 272). This spills over to the representational arena which will be the last level of analysis.

5.4 The Representational Arena (Discourses)
This arena focuses on discourses that surround self-employment among immigrant women both perpetuated by feminist scholars, the media, politicians and statistical data. On the feminist level, scholarship on women have been seen to fight for the recognition of marginalized women and in this case immigrant women. Despite being conceived with the immigrant women wellbeing in mind, this research usually further acts to marginalize women as their voices often miss or are included in a superficial way. Women in intersections need to have a consciousness of their marginalization as knowledge is not enough (Spivak, 1999). This is evidenced by the respondents who despite knowing that the Swedish society was equal in terms of gender roles opt to solely take up child and home care indicating lack of consciousness about gender equality. The same is witnessed in the government run programmes and finance institutions.

Representation in research is not only limited on feministic scholarship but policies that are formulated as a result of quantitative studies and government data. The uncertainty of the East African women on their population in Malmö and the implication of this on the success of their business came out as a barrier to self-employment. Most of them believed there were not
enough East-Africans to form a solid customer base in Malmö. Brenda* who is wage employed and never considered self-employment had this to say:

“I mean how many East Africans are in Malmö? Because if you bring stuff mostly found in your region it is most likely that only people from your region will buy...... I once looked online to find out how many East Africans are in Malmö. It was hard to find the numbers. Only Somalis” (Brenda*)

Countries of emigration like Kenya and Tanzania are not explicitly represented in government data or policy documents compared to countries like Somali. This makes the East African women under study fearful and sceptical about starting businesses. This confusion is evidenced by Robbie*s assertion that there are many East Africans in Malmö and on the contrary Brenda* who claims there are hardly any East Africans in Malmö confirmed by her search on the internet which yielded to nothing much.

According to Anthias (2012:7), discourses and categories emanating from social policy and state bodies vary according to political concerns of that particular moment. Intersectionality in this arena could be said to emanate from government treating population data from various countries differently. Discourse in every society is organized, controlled and distributed by hegemonic power groups as a way of gaining mastery of those it seeks to control (Foucault,1976). This is seen by East Africans from Kenya and Tanzania and Uganda being found easily in data search results when variables like the type of migration (labour or humanitarian) were included.

In a different representational context Fiona* who is unemployed and sceptical about starting a business in Malmö * stated:

“They once opened a Kenyan shop in Stockholm, it was advertised even in the newspaper and it didn't last for 6 months they had to close down because they had no customers. You can imagine that maybe in Stockholm there are quite a number of Kenyans compared to Malmö. You think about this things and you get a deep rooted fear” (Fiona)*

From the interviews, discourses from the newspapers and political debates in the media thus influenced how East African subjectively experienced Intersectionality. This is further evidenced by some of the respondents bringing up women from majority immigrant groups focused on by the media with an example being the 'Middle Eastern' woman business success
story that was run repeatedly on the (TV) and featured on a newspaper. According to Mercy’s* account:

"I read on the newspaper another time about a woman from the Middle East who had started her own business and succeeded, it was big news even in the TV. How all immigrants should follow her example. But something they did not say is that there are many Arabs in Sweden. They have a good customer base and huge business networks unlike East Africans who are so few. It is not fair to compare us with them" (Mercy*)

The woman was pitted as a role model for other unemployed immigrant women and political debates were carried out on national TV on the same. The respondents perceived this as unfair with the claim that Middle Eastern women had broader networks because of their large numbers in Sweden as opposed to East Africans. According to (Anthias, 2011), images, text and documents and the information flows around social divisions in different institutional frameworks, in various ways act to cause an intersection. Political debates on immigration and how best to integrate immigrants from the point of view of the ‘Middle Eastern woman’ treats immigrants as a homogenous group despite there being inter and intragroup differences between them.

According to Yuval-Davis (2006: 205), social categories often tend to be homogenized by hegemonic political projects. Such acts of naturalization often lead to people within the same social category (immigrants) to be treated as sharing equally particular attributes. Such homogenised and naturalized boundaries thus act to marginalize and exclude specific groups as it is assumed that since one immigrant woman made it, it is possible for the rest to make it despite being positioned differently in an intersection.

6. DISCUSSION
The findings of this study both affirm and questions previous research carried out on entrepreneurship among immigrants in general and immigrant women in particular. This discussion will highlight some of the interesting research areas at the backdrop of this study’s findings.

The analysis shows that East African women did not experience any direct structural barriers from Malmö Municipality. Government credit institutions like ALMI were cited as particularly helpful in business start-ups with some of the women perceiving self-employment
a more viable option than wage employment. All the respondents acknowledged Sweden to be a gender-equal society with female immigrants perceived to get more help financially even than their male counterparts. Gender as an intersection thus took a backstage in the context of government institutions. These findings are however contrary to a study by Abbasian and Yazdanfar (2012) which found that women in Sweden to have greater difficulty in raising venture capital through financial loans because of perceptions of gender based behavioural patterns that ultimately affected financial institutions attitudes towards men and women. According to their research, fewer immigrant women got into self-employment due to discouragement or little access to financial resources within their own ethnic groups. This discussion however takes note of the fact that the research context is in the South East part of Sweden. This limitation is cited in their study as the region is not populated with immigrants as with other parts of Sweden like Stockholm, Malmö or Göteborg (Abbasian and Yazdanfar, 2012).

A study by Abbasian (2013), however finds ALMI to play an important role in self-employment activities among immigrants. ALMI is a government owned agency that supports the development of competitive small and medium sized businesses in liaison with the various municipalities in Sweden. Vejsiu (2011), in the same onus finds the support of government indirectly through subsidies and credit market and, directly through entrepreneurship schemes, projects and information based support to be motivating factors that influence how self-employment is perceived among women. This is evidenced by most of the women taking up courses provided by the municipality and even further illustrated by Mason (2003), in her study where women attended more business start-up courses than men.

At the backdrop of the representational arena, this kind of financial support is contrarily found to cause an Intersectionality and further increase the marginalization of East African women. This is because the government credit institutions in a way dictate the business ventures. This is illustrated by Rita a fashion designer who wanted to open a boutique with African clothing line but was advised to open a landscape gardening company instead. Mason (2008), highlights this situation in her work on minority entrepreneurs. According to her research, government agencies usually have projects contrived with bias stereotypes with regards to ethnic and gender markers and have resulted in immigrants and specifically immigrant women being lumped together regardless of their human capital or work experience.
In Mason’s work however, interviews resulted in criticism from both self-employed individuals and ‘experts’ involved in the projects (Mason, 2008). This is contrary to the views of respondents in this thesis who rather thought the projects were good. This does not however write off Masons work as East African women in the analysis were found to be unaware that they were in positions of disadvantage. This can be seen in their endorsement of patriarchal structures as with the case of believing children belonged to the mother. A sort of consciousness is thus needed as it is not merely about information as if it were; the women well knew Sweden was an equal society. This study shows that East Africa women are not conscious of their Intersectionality and the barriers to them getting self-employed. There is thus a need for make them aware without further causing a representation. Spivak (1999), however questions the feasibility of this as according to her, awareness coming from hegemonic power groups is a form of representation which further acts to marginalize. The dilemma is evident as despite being a respected scholar on subaltern women she signs off her paper with the question “With what voice consciousness can the subaltern speak?”[Emphasis my own] (Spivak, 1999:272).

Drawing away from the array of government projects and support, this research found that despite being able to get loans to start businesses, less than half of the E.A women had considered getting self-employed. Other kinds of support like family and ethnic networks were found to be more important and salient than having financial support. This is in line with research by Fielden and Davidson (2012), on female immigrant entrepreneurs in Britain where support was found not only to be limited to financial intervention by the state but also social support. They categorise social support as being affective i.e. support through caring, acceptance and instrumental; support which is more intangible and in the form of assistance, information, knowledge or advice. Both the affective and instrumental facets of support came out in the analysis as lack of support from close family members or ethnic networks was found to bar East African women from getting self-employed. According Fielden and Davidson (2012), when there is absence of perceived support women opt out of self-employment. Women’s perception of social support has a greater influence on the business decisions than the actual tangible financial support (ibid).

Looking at the family from a different angle, this thesis finds that children are recurrently cited as a reason for not getting self-employed by the East African women both married and single. Research my Mason (2003), also points limited participation of women in entrepreneurship to; having to take care of children. Cultural norms from country of origin are
found to be a great contributor to the East-African women perceptions. Mason (2003), in her research also finds female entrepreneurship perceptions to be shaped by local "gender cultures". In the context of migration, this suggests that women socialized in different economic and social rules in their places of origin perceive entrepreneurship differently. Pre-migration origins thus produce gender particular desires (Bauder, 2008 in Mason, 2003).

Marriage in economic literature is assumed to provide stability and thus provides a suitable background for self-employment. This is not limited to the legally married as cohabiting couples can put up more support financially and emotionally to start a business as compared to a single individuals (Hammarstedt, 2001:150). Male immigrants married from their ethnic groups are however particularly found to benefit more from this (Bernhardt, 1994; Hammarstedt, 2006; Vejsiu, 2011). This is because their wives take up the sole responsibility of child and home care. The East African women interviewed in this study regardless of being married native Swedes performed poorly when it came to self-employment.

Social support in terms of business and ethnic networks according to the analysis also acted to bar the respondents from trying out entrepreneurship. According to research by Fairlies (1999), availability of networks enables natives to have better access and identification of business opportunities and this places them at an advantage with regards to successful self-employment ventures. This results in high representation of natives in high profile entrepreneurship ventures while immigrant business are limited to labour- intensive low pay and small scale enterprises (Hong, 2007; Lee and Rendall, 2001). This study’s analysis confirms this as the East African women felt they would do better if they had other East African immigrants as their role models or in their business networks. The qualitative difference of experiences by women in an Intersectionality as espoused by Crenshaw (1994), makes it difficult for East African women to learn from Swedish networks. This puts the Swedish women at an advantage of the East African women.

A non-existent customer base also came up with regards to the population of East African in Malmö. The women interviewed compared their population to Gambians, Nigerians, Somalis, in Malmö who were more successful entrepreneurs. Research by Ngeh (2012), tries to shade light to this phenomena by showing that the fore mentioned groups (Gambians, Nigerians etc.) took part in entrepreneurial activities even in their countries of origin. The Cultural Theory further reiterates this by positing that Immigrants from regions with high self-employment rates are more likely to possess small business skills and are thus more likely to
be self-employed in Sweden. This could be an explanation as to why few East African women start businesses but studies from these countries of origin would have to be taken into consideration as the three countries vary in terms of self-employment propensity.

Individual choice and motivation thus becomes a possible explaining factor that cannot be overlooked as it came up in the interviews. Research by Vejsiu (2011), shows that human beings are agents who are self-motivated to different levels when it comes to self-employment. In her study, self-esteem, autonomy, work flexibility and absence of hierarchy are pointed as having an essential influence on individual choice to go into self-employment. Flexibility however came out strongly as a reason why most of the East African women did not consider self-employment as it would mean giving much time to their business rather than children. Personal choice in the case of the respondents is thus implicitly hinged on patriarchal structures.

According to Barth in Jenkins (2008:25), “Choice is not synonymous to freedom”. It is therefore very hard to draw a clear line between agency and structure when it comes to those in intersectional positions. This lends credence to Kloosterman (2010; 1999), assertion that human agency and structures are linked in a meaningful way when it comes to self-employment where the actor is seen as a reflexive actor who, to some extent, can make his or her own choice but is influenced and acts within a socio-structural context. Finding a clear line between agency and structure (if any) at the backdrop of individuals in intersectional positions would be a breath of fresh air to research on self-employment among immigrant women.
7. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

My thesis focused on self-employment among East African women in Malmö; specifically those from Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. The main aim of the study was to investigate how these women perceive self-employment in a bid to understand why few of them are represented in common entrepreneurial paths in Malmö. The research questions raised to this effect were (a) Do East African women face any barriers with regards to getting self-employed in Malmö? (b) How does gender and ethnicity shape how East African women perceive self-employment?

To situate the research, previous studies on self-employment among immigrants was presented. Sweden and particularly Malmö was looked at in context with gender, ethnicity and institutions presented within a self-employment setting. Intersectionality was adopted as a theoretical framework and the tenets relevant to the study discussed. From this, an analytical framework was set apart consisting of 4 societal arenas of investigation. Adopting an exploratory research design, both unstructured and semi-structured interviews were used as data collecting tools.

The findings were analysed using 4 societal arenas namely the experiential arena, intersubjective arena, organizational arena and finally representational arena. A critical look at the 4 arenas revealed that East African women experienced various barriers with regards to getting self-employed in Malmö. These barriers emanated majorly from (a) social constructions of identity that dictated how the women identified themselves in terms of ethnicity and gender (b) feelings of exclusion from the hegemonic group by both non-personal and personal actors with language taking centre stage (c) state apparatuses and programmes that treated East African women equal to other groups therefore failing to attend to the special needs of the group under study (d) discourses from the media and data that gave a generalized impression of various immigrant groups.

Gender, ethnicity and immigrant status were also found to be enmeshed and worked together in multiple intersectional levels to shape how East-African women perceived self-employment. Endorsement of patriarchal and hegemonic government programmes was found to worsen the Intersectionality of the women in terms of getting self-employed. This study also found East African women to be located differently in intersecting positions amongst themselves and when compared to immigrant women from other ethnic groups. The findings were dependent on the social division the analytical lens was cast on with some social
divisions found to be more salient than others in different arenas of investigation. Gender and ethnicity took centre stage in the organizational arena while immigrant status came up frequently in the representational and intersubjective arena.

In the discussion it is revealed that most research that looked at entrepreneurship among immigrants (women) was general and little focus was given to particular groups. Further previous research is found not to be holistic it does not encompass all the societal levels of Intersectionality and their qualitative difference. As such, the findings of this study come in handy as it uses 4 societal arenas to analyse Intersectionality in the context of self-employment and immigration. By looking at a small immigrant group in Malmö which has not adequately been represented in policy documents or data, this research hopes to give a kind of prominence to the marginalization of East African women. It is hoped that this will ultimately lead to the formulation of self-employment programmes that are specially designed to factor all positions of Intersectionality experienced by small immigrant groups and by so doing increase their self-employment chances.

7.1 Future Research
The findings of this study underscore the need for future research to qualitatively investigate the relationship between personal choice (agency) and structure when it comes to self-employment motivation. This will enable the formulation of government programmes that capture the interests of immigrant women.

Since my research was conceived by the observation of limited East African women in common entrepreneurship paths in Malmö, a comparative study based on the four arenas of investigation is called for to line out why other immigrant women are successful in Malmö.
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