

A NARRATIVE PERSPECTIVE OF IMMIGRANT ENTREPRENEURIAL IDENTITY: LITERATURE REVIEW AND IMPLICATIONS FOR STUDIES IN THE POST SOCIALIST SOCIETIES

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to contribute to better understanding of immigrant entrepreneurial identity formation from the perspective of autobiographical narrative analysis. Research on immigrant entrepreneurship identity has been dominated by works of scholars who basically fall into two main streams. The first one deals with such issues as ethnic, female entrepreneurship, and in many cases it reduces immigrant entrepreneurship identity to ethno-cultural phenomenon, which exists outside or at least in the margins of official economy and mainstream society. The second research stream elaborates on rapidly emerging field of transnationalism studies. From the perspective of identity, transnational entrepreneurs are considered as new "nomads" who migrate from one country to another, and they maintain linkages with their former country of origin. The article argues that, in spite of extensive and numerous research studies, little has been said about how individuals identify themselves as immigrant entrepreneurs. The article delivers two main propositions. First, instead of "labelling" immigrant entrepreneurs, such as "ethnic", "female", or "transnational", we should approach identity phenomena from the perspective of opportunity discovery and opportunity realisation. Proposition is based on the assumption that opportunity is the generic theme in entrepreneurial discourse. Second, the article proposes new approach and shows how immigrants construct entrepreneurial identity by narrating opportunity, which lies in the centre of any entrepreneurial story.

JEL CLASSIFICATION & KEYWORDS

■ D78 ■ D83 ■ IMMIGRANT ENTREPRENEURSHIP
■ ENTREPRENEURIAL IDENTITY ■ NARRATIVE ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

S. Dali (2013, 1952) in his autobiography describes childhood impressions about kitchen, a forbidden place in parents' house. "Behind the partly open kitchen door I would hear the scurrying of those bestial women with red hands; I would catch glimpses of their heavy rumps and their hair straggling like manes; and out of the heat and confusion that rose from the conglomeration of sweaty women, scattered grapes, boiling oil, fur plucked from rabbits' armpits, scissors spattered with mayonnaise, kidneys, and the warble of canaries—out of that whole conglomeration the imponderable and inaugural fragrance of the forthcoming meal was wafted to me, mingled with a kind of acrid horse smell" (p. 8). In the beginning of the story we start to anticipate "Freud-style" interpretations, and disclosures of biggest secrets and shocking experiences about early days of surrealism genius. However, then we move ahead through the text, more and more strange fantasies and obviously unrealistic events start to pop out. We realise that the author has no intention even to pretend that the story

he tells is authentic. Dali (2013, 1952) confesses: "Fake reminiscences differ from authentic ones as fake diamonds from real: fake diamonds look more real and shine brighter" (p. 46). Moreover, at the end of the book author states that during his visit to United States he invented.... a device to take photos of human's mind! It becomes obvious that there is no room for any authentic description of autobiographical facts and experiences.

On the other hand, assuming that this book is not a piece of mere nonsense, we have to confess that S. Dali story delivers the message for us. But what kind of message it is? Why the author tells us so bizarre things? In order to understand it, we have to look from completely different angle. First, any autobiographical narrative is subjective. According to Bruner (2004), stories do not happen in real life, but are constructed in people's heads. Based on such approach, we can justify and understand Dali's absurdities. Indeed, it is hard to expect that mundane stories should occur in the head of surrealism genius. Therefore, this text should not be taken as a chronicle of authentic events, but as created, invented life story of very special person. From this perspective, there is no real authentic story hero. Dali's fantasy is hero, and it drives the plot.

Gergen (2001) emphasises that truth and objectivity are not significant in the narrative. According to Gergen (2001), the language we use to describe experience does not mirror the reality, but the language serves as a sign for all practical purposes within a given community. S. Dali autobiographical story is like continuation of his paintings, where we see melting watches and burning giraffes. That's why all odd events are possible in the story, as they are possible in the picture. Moreover, even some very prosaic and plausible events not necessary where happening in a manner the author describes. As Bruner (2004) puts it, the narrator creates an ontological landscape, where the heroes act. The hero or subject might be a person, as well as an artefact. According to Hebert (2011), the subject (hero) may correspond to (1) an anthropomorphic being; (2) a concrete, inanimate element, including things; (3) a concept. The type of subject differs according to narrative category. For example, the subject of stories about high technology business creation and development is not an entrepreneur but the program, the device, the computer ("Microsoft", "Get Jar", "Apple", semiconductors). O'Connor (2002) identifies six basic narratives (founding, visionary, marketing, strategy, historical, and conventional) in three main categories (personal, generic, and situational). Personal narratives represent life history that qualifies the founder as an entrepreneur, and stories are told to the particular audience with the particular purpose. S. Dali tells what people want to hear - he is egocentric and crazy genius. In other words, he plays the role by narrating his life, and vice versus. "Narrative imitates life, life imitates narrative" (Bruner, 2004, p.692). Even the most controversial plot twists endorse Dali's image as an artist with unrestrained fantasy. In this case, we encounter with different perception

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and different explanation of the life. According to traditional logic "world-its reflection in our consciousness-actions" this explanation looks odd and flimsy. However, it is just a question of paradigm, because stories and narratives, whatever they look "unreal", tell us more about the reality rather than an attempts to get as close as possible to objective life.

This paper is organized as follows. First, it is discussed how narrative approach contributes to the analysis of immigrant entrepreneurship, and short overview of Lithuanian emigration is provided. Then entrepreneurial identity formation is discussed focusing on radical life-course alterations, such as changes of social, cultural and economic environments caused by home country leave (emigration). Finally, it is shown how narratives of opportunity discovery and exploitation integrate new immigrant entrepreneurial experiences into the structure of personal identity.

Entrepreneurial narratives

Over the last three decades we have been witnessing a so called "linguistic turn" in social sciences which is inspired by postmodernism. As Spector-Mersel (2010) notes, the narrative, borrowed from humanities, especially from literary scholarship, penetrates many different social disciplines: psychology, anthropology, sociology, sociolinguistics. Acknowledging all difficulties to narrow down the term "postmodernism", one should recognize the key figures of linguistic turn, such as J. F. Lyotard, F. Lacane, M. Foucault, Derrida. In a nutshell, postmodern paradigm stress that language, discourse, and narrative should not be treated as a simple means to provide information but as codes enabling to reveal the relationships between unconsciousness, consciousness, decisions and actions. From the epistemological and ontological point of view, narrative analysis is considered as the most typical form of social life (Czarniawska, 2010), as a form of knowledge, and a form of communication.

The term „narrative“ includes different types of stories, such as personal and family histories, myths, fairy tales, novels or mundane stories, that are used to explain or justify our actions and behaviours (Smith and Anderson, 2004). From the perspective of narrative paradigm, rather than search for cause-effect relationships and seek to explain human actions, we have to look at them through the lenses of interrelatedness of narrative events. Downing (2005) suggests that on subconscious level we always look for the plot because the interrelatedness of actors and events enables us to explain and to make sense of our experience. As Barry and Elmes (1997) put it, the narrative "sees" independent and disconnected elements of existence as related parts of a whole. In process of narration, the person selectively picks up remembered episodes (events) and puts them together into plots. Personal narratives do not replicate the reality, but reinterpret it by creating new plots. Interpretation is done accordingly to personal understanding about which parts or episodes better explain personal experiences. In real life this process of "emplotment" occurs whether or not life story is verbalised (Ricoeur, 1984). Human agency and imagination plays here a crucial role. According to Riessman (1993), it determines how a story is told, what events are included, which are excluded, how events are connected together, and what meanings are attached to them. Time and context are crucial variables in the narrative.

The need for new approaches in entrepreneurship studies is based on the critique of positivistic paradigm, which sees the entrepreneur as de-individualized economic actor, but avoids the question how the individual identifies himself as

an entrepreneur. The personal story of entrepreneur is rarely having been heard in entrepreneurship studies. As Steyaert (2007) emphasises, the field of entrepreneurship studies turned the attention away from the individual entrepreneur, and the story is not focused anymore on the storytelling but on the entrepreneur who becomes admired and attributed with mythical capabilities. But as early as in 1988 Gartner (Garther, 1988) proclaimed that the question "who is an entrepreneur"? is a wrong question, because the focus on the traits and personality characteristics of entrepreneurs did not produce any comprehensive definition of the entrepreneur, nor facilitated the understanding of this phenomenon. Instead, Gartner (Garther, 1988) suggested concentrating on the process of firm creation, rather than on the person who creates the firm. As Stayeart (2007) notes, it has started a long discussion about whether entrepreneurial research should concentrate on internal or external aspects. Since that time there were many attempts to redefine research object and problem, and narrative approach contributes to this discussion by providing new insights about different aspects of entrepreneurship. This approach was successfully integrated into a mainstream entrepreneurship research discourse. Take for example book edited by Hjort and Steyaert *Narrative and Discursive Approaches in Entrepreneurship* (Hjort and Steyaert, 2004), or special issue of *Journal of Business Venturing* (2007). During the last 3-5 years narrative approach has started to gain more and more attention from different scholars. For example, Dawson and Hjort (2012) investigated family business by employing Hernadi's (1987) hermeneutic triad as a narrative analysis framework proposed by Czarniawska (2004). Larty and Hamilton (2011) suggested a new model to analyse entrepreneurship narratives from the perspective of literature critique and structural analysis. Gartner (2010) also joined to "narrative church", proclaiming that one of the key aspects of this approach is the focus on texts, rather than on specific theories or methodologies: "If one is a Shakespearean scholar, the focus is primarily on the texts of Shakespeare, not on what particular methods or approaches or theories one might have about these texts" (p. 12). Finally, even the Academy of Management Review recognized that it would be worthwhile to incorporate this view within a mainstream entrepreneurship research agenda. In the "Dialog about epistemology opportunities and entrepreneurship" Garud and Guliany (2013) spotlight a narrative perspective on understanding entrepreneurial opportunities, and Venkataraman (2013), in response to Garud and Guliany(2013), proposed the idea of narratives as artefacts of the entrepreneurial method.

Immigrant entrepreneurial identity

Emigration or even temporary country leave are extreme experiences in terms of social environment changes, such as broken current relationships with friends and acquaintances, established the new ones, employed new means of communication. According to Down and Warren (2007) in the process of self-identity formation, narratives play very important role, because narratives enable to better comprehend and to make sense of new experiences. Jackson and Warin (2000) emphasise that entry into radically new contexts could be transitional points for identity, requiring a reappraisal of self-beliefs. Emigration is a transition from both perspectives - physical and mental. New experiences have to be interpreted and integrated into the broader context of self-identity narratives. Somers (1994) defines it as ontological narratives, the stories that people use to make sense of their lives. Ontological narratives are used to define who we are; this in turn can be a precondition for knowing what to do.

The formation of personal identity is based on the identification with significant others (parents, later with friends, professional and social groups and etc.), and these others may be so important that person aspires to their behaviour, values and beliefs (Weinreich and Saunderson, 2003). From the psychological point of view, identity relates to self-image, self-esteem and individuality, however from social point of view, identity is inseparable from learning of social roles and from negotiating with society regarding the meaning of these roles. The researches of postmodern society (Foucault, 1982; Taylor, 1989; Dennett, 1993; Giddens, 1991; Jenkins, 1996) agree that identity is a construct, it is not individual's "inside" but "outside"; and it is created in the process of interaction between individual, culture and society. Foucault (1982) states that main discourses associated with religion, state, sport and consumption produce different and often contradictory versions of self. From this perspective, we are white-males, feminists, believers, taxpayers, football fans and etc. However, such point of view leaves very little room for social agency interpretation, because it assumes that persons within similar social categories and with similar experiences will act accordingly to common attribute. Narrative approach shifts away from rigid categorisation and labelling of identities by introducing the dimensions of time, space and relationality. As Sommers put it:

"Narrative identity approach assumes that people act in particular ways because not to do so would fundamentally violate their sense of being at that particular time and place. In another time or place, or in the context of a different set of prevailing narratives, that sense of being could be entirely different because narrative identities are constituted and reconstituted in time and over time." (Sommers, 1994, p. 624).

Narrative approach gives methods and tools to analyse how immigrant entrepreneurs interpret new experiences, what kind of narratives do they construct, and how do they create and re-create their personal identities in response to new time-place-relational settings. Creation and re-creation of entrepreneurial identity has been gaining increasingly attention among scholars. For example, Down and Warren (2008), Anderson and Warren (2011) show how rhetorical tools, such as clichés, metaphors, hyperbolas are employed in order to create entrepreneurial identity, and to adapt it to society needs and requirements. First of all, entrepreneurial identity should be analysed from the perspective of fitting within a framework of popular heroic archetypes (warrior, superman, explorer, fighter). In the eyes of investors, clients and other audiences the entrepreneur has to make image of trustworthy and successful person. That's why researches (Downing 2005; Anderson and Warren 2011) relate entrepreneurial identity to impression management (Goffman, 1959). People play roles according to society expectations and demands. Role selection depends on the context comprised of the network of personal relationships. For example, an entrepreneur attends leadership and young talents contests, takes part in start-up promotion events, communicates with venture capitalists, and he employs "success-story" narrative to create his identity in the eyes of the audience, because for this context the role of "genius-hero" is most wanted and most demanded. Each story he tells is conscious or unconscious message send to audience. As a rule, the entrepreneurs are good story tellers, because they have to communicate the value. First of all, it is product or service value for the client, but also it is a value in broader sense. It is a value of life, a value of success. However, good and interesting plot does not mean that story should be objective, especially in the

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case of autobiographical narratives. Smith (2005) notes that entrepreneurs enact a role fitting self to circumstances, if the truth does not fit, then they fabricate facts.

Narrative not only creates, but also maintains personal identity. It is very human to keep the integrity of identity and to reject everything what threatens it. The world we live has to be clear and understandable in a subjective sense, and we have to make our own explanation about everything what happens in the world. This explanation should include arguments which do not destroy our relationship with ourselves. Secondly, the explanations in a narrative form connect our past, present and future, and the way they do it determines our self-concept. Bruner (2004) calls it rationalizations, or self-explanations.

According to Shane and Venkataraman (2000), the entrepreneurship research is, first of all, an examination of how, by whom, and with what results opportunities are discovered and exploited. However, as Aliaga-Isla and Rialp (2013) note, there is a lack of such research in the field of immigrant entrepreneurship (IE). IE literature is dominated by different aspects of ethnic entrepreneurship (EE) research (Kloosterman et al, 1998; Rath and Kloosterman, 2000; Yinger, 1985; Bonacich, 1972; Light and Gold, 2000; Waldinger et al, 1999). Ethnic entrepreneurs have strong group identity, tied to a common cultural heritage or origin, and they are known to outside members as having such traits (Kloosterman et al, 1998; Rath and Kloosterman, 2000; Yinger, 1985). In many cases immigrants start business because they are not integrated into society, and they have no chances to secure other income sources. A typical example of ethnic business is Indian\Chinese\Greek restaurant somewhere in UK. Noteworthy that in this case, entrepreneurial opportunities are closely related with cultural identity. In other words, entrepreneurs open not just a restaurant, but Indian\Chinese\Greek restaurant, which is recognised by clients as cultural sign. EE maintain strong identity with country of origin, and at the same time they are closely tied with host country. From this perspective, entrepreneurial opportunity is a result of double identity phenomena.

Due to globalisation and recent developments of modern means of communication and transportation, the pattern of migration is changing. People do not identify themselves with particular country, they travel around the world, and new migrants are members of global social networks (Light, 2007; Riddle, 2008). As a result, in recent years such tendencies have drawn considerable attention of entrepreneurship scholars by establishing a new concept of Transnational Entrepreneurs (TE) (Drori et al, 2009; Drori et al, 2006; Terjesen and Elam, 2009; Portes et al, 2002). TE are defined as "individuals who migrate from one country to another, concurrently maintaining business-related linkages with their countries of origin and current adopted countries and communities...travelling both physically and virtually... [to] engage simultaneously in two or more institutional environments" (Drori et al, 2006, p.3). TE "sits on multiple chairs" and it enables them to maintain global relations within multiple institutional settings, as well as to acquire different resources. Global TE identity enables them to discover opportunities by interplaying between physically distant, but for TE mentally very close, cultures and markets.

Becoming an entrepreneur means commitment to minor or major life-course changes. As Foss (2004) put it, these are transitional points of entrepreneurial identity. According to Jackson and Warin (2000): "Entry into a new social context entails a reappraisal of self-beliefs.... there will be certain contexts that will be critical in terms of bringing self-beliefs

to consciousness and making adjustments and changes to them" (p. 378). From the perspective of narrative, changes and experiences have to be integrated into the structure of personal identity. This integration is done by sensemaking in ontological narratives (Somers, 1994), which embed identities in time and spatial relationships. In the following section we give short overview of Lithuanian emigration and we discuss the issue of opportunity as a key concept to analyse immigrant entrepreneurial narratives.

Lithuanian emigrants: from Pennsylvania coal-miners to London City brokers

Lithuania has one of the biggest emigration rates in European Union. According to European Migration Network (2014), since independence restoration in 1990 about 788 thousand people, or one fourth of population, left the country. On average, 30 thousand people have emigrated every year since 1990. However, mass emigration isn't a new phenomenon in Lithuanian history. Lithuanian Emigration Institute (2014) identified four emigration waves from Lithuania:

1. Economic emigration at the end of XIX – the beginning of XX centuries from Tsarist Russia
2. Interwar emigration in 1920 – 1940 from Lithuanian Republic
3. Political refugees after the Second World War (Displaced Persons)
4. New emigration after the restoration of independence in 1990.

Despite the lack of official statistic data it is well known that the first emigration wave from former Russian Empire was impressive. According to unofficial estimations in the period of 1880 – 1914 from 300 to 600 thousand emigrants from Lithuania arrived only to USA. Substantially lower was the second wave with up to 100 thousand people in period of 1918-1940. However, even with these figures Lithuania was one of emigration leaders in the Interwar Europe. The third emigration wave was different. About 60 thousand people fled the country seeking to escape repressions and deportations caused by second Soviet occupation (Lithuanian Emigration Institute, 2014).

The fourth emigration wave started in 1990 after the restoration of independence. Freedom to travel, open borders and relaxed visa issuance procedures encouraged many Lithuanians to consider better employment opportunities outside home country. In the beginning emigration was dominated by non-Lithuanians moving to former soviet republics of Russia, Belorussia and Ukraine, but from the mid of 1990's most of emigrants were Lithuanians moving to EU countries, USA, Canada. For example, the number of registered departures was 25 thousand people in 1995, 26 thousand in 1996, and 25 thousand in 1997 (Lithuanian Demography Report, 2005). On the average, about 30 thousand people emigrated every year from Lithuania. In 2010 emigration to EU countries comprised 84 % of total outflow. The most popular destination is United Kingdom with 50% of total outflows from Lithuania.

The biggest fourth wave emigration community is concentrated in the United Kingdom. According to UK Office for National Statistics (2014) about 135 thousand Lithuanians were registered as UK residents in 2013. Even the British officials doubt these statistics and believe that the true number of Lithuanians may be twice as large (about 200 – 250 thousand). One of the main underrepresentation reasons is the pressure of landlords on immigrants not to

complete census forms. UK Lithuanian Community estimates that more than 200 thousand Lithuanians permanently live and work in UK. London represents highest concentration of ethnic Lithuanian population outside the Lithuania numbering from 40 thousand to 80 thousand people. Other main destination countries are Ireland (16 % of total outflows), Norway (6 %), Germany (4,5 %) and Spain (4%).

Numerous research studies and public policy papers (Sipavičienė, 2002; Gruževskis, 2004; Švareikienė et al, 2005; Kanopienė et al, 2006; Merkys et al, 2006; Motieka et al, 2006; Martinaitis et al, 2007; Urbonavičienė et al, 2008; Butkus et al, 2009; Čarnienė et al, 2009;) show that the majority of Lithuanians emigrate for economic reasons. Big unemployment, especially among young people (35 % in 2010), and low income are main push factors. For example, 85 % of people who left Lithuania in 2010 indicated that they had been unemployed for a year or more. Push factors are reinforced by pull factors, such as three or four times bigger wages in destination countries compare to Lithuanian. Paradoxically, but well established Lithuanian communities in foreign countries also are pull factors for potential emigrants. However, recent studies (Stankūnienė, 2011; Kumpikaitė et al, 2012) indicate that economic factors do not play the key role. In many cases, emigration is motivated by social and psychological motives, for example inefficient and burden bureaucracy, lack of respect and trust, humiliation by employers, lack of self-realisation perspectives.

Although Lithuania is a country with old emigration traditions, emigrant Lithuanians could not be characterized as having high propensity to undertake entrepreneurial activities. However, there are individuals who became the heroes of national entrepreneurial narrative. First is Juozas or Jozeph P. Kazickas, a Lithuanian-American businessman and "self-made multi-billionaire and philanthropist". He was born in Russia, returned to Lithuania in 1922, and in 1944 fled the country to escape Soviet repressions. In 1951 he left professorship at Georgetown University to establish the company Neris International, which very soon became a major coal exporter to post-war Germany and Italy. From 1980's Mr. Kazickas was involved in venture capital business as well as he has consulted many international corporations, such as Exxon, El Paso Natural Gas, Philip Morris, Coca-Cola, Kawasaki Heavy Industries. The second prominent figure is social entrepreneur and politician Antanas Mockus, son of Lithuanian emigrants. In 1993 he resigned as Bogota University President and in 1995 he was elected the Mayor of Bogota. He managed to preside over Bogotá as a mayor for two non-consecutive terms, during which he became known for extravagant and humorous social initiatives upon the city's inhabitants. Finally Ilja Laurus, businessman, the founder of mobile application distribution company GetJar, represents the fourth wave of Lithuanian emigration. As exchange program student he graduated from Jackson high school in Ohio in 1994, and in 1995-2004 he studied Economics at Vilnius University. Serial entrepreneur since 1999, Mr. Laurus launched over 20 successful projects, such as LithuanianHotels.com, MicroPay.lt and Gaxo Interactive. In 2004 Mr. Laurus founded GetJar, one of the largest open mobile application stores. Three life stories seem to have not so much in common except that all heroes are related to Lithuania. However, there is a similarity of messages embodied in the different narratives. This message spins around the opportunity. Mr. Kazickas left Georgetown University to start private business, and Mr. Mockus explored opportunity to end up academic career and take part in political life of

Columbia, while Mr. Laurus founded GetJar and moved to Silicon Valley. As we can see, all three entrepreneurs present their stories retrospectively narrating opportunity to justify radical changes of their lives. In the following section a narrative perspective of entrepreneurial opportunity is elaborated from the theoretical grounds.

Narrating entrepreneurial opportunities

From the narrative perspective, opportunity discovery is a sensemaking process, where, by employing the means of narrative, business victories and losses are integrated into general picture of entrepreneurial identity. Speaking about identity, the main question is: what is the role of entrepreneur in business creation process? However, the answer is not as straightforward as story-tellers try to put it. It is hard to answer the question, whether opportunities were discovered by luck, or it was because of entrepreneurial insight, energy and extraordinary skills. Accidental luck, like winning in the lottery, tells nothing positive about individual, but the audience needs an explicable message about success or failure in business. Accident contradicts the concept of identity (whether it is personal, or corporate), because there is no room for insight, for willpower, for creativity in the structure of accidental events. In other words, there is no role for hero in the narrative. Therefore, most of business creation stories are told in a way that even accidental events fit the "grand plan", and they lead towards predetermined final goal. Kahneman (2011) shows how Google story creates an illusion of understanding why this company is so successful. In fact, a myriad of accidental events rather than wishful actions determined the success of Google. However, here sensemaking comes on the stage. Company success has to be explained with corresponding narrative, regardless of story-tellers private confession, that it was a matter of accidental luck. In the same vein, one of the Lithuanian emigrants, very organized and efficient personality, confessed that "... however, if I had not noticed this ad and had not went to this meeting, it would go in a different way". As Kahneman puts it, "...no story can include a myriad of events that would have caused a different outcome" (p. 200).

Though academic and empirical studies of opportunity discovery are quite diverse in their conceptualisation, methodology and findings (Baron and Ensley, 2006; Corbett, 2007; Gregoire et al, 2010; Haynie et al, 2009; Ko and Butler, 2006; Shane, 2000; Shepherd and DeTienne, 2005), they find problematic to solve two very important problems. First, it is the "elusiveness" of entrepreneurial opportunities, and second – the location of them. Implicitly, the studies are based on a narrative of entrepreneur as a providential hero acting according a hidden linear plot (Dimov, 2010). Entrepreneurial opportunity is theoretically very promising, but empirically unidentifiable. Looking retrospectively, i.e. listening entrepreneurship story, it is obvious that the hero had to see it. However, stories show that opportunity has unfolded from a series of actions and events, and each of them dealt with uncertainties and possibilities of the future. Again, we have the same question: which in particular actions and events have led to opportunity discovery?

The second problem is related to localization of the origins of entrepreneurial opportunities. According to "discovery school" (Alvarez and Barney, 2007; Shane, 2012) opportunities are exogenously given in a world, and the task of individual is to notice and seize them. In contrast, from "creation" school perspective, opportunities are endogenously generated by individual's imagination and intelligence, or through the process of effectuation (Sarasvathy, 2001). Therefore, "discovery" and "creation"

perspectives put us in a position of strict "inside-outside" dichotomy. Garud and Guliany (2013) propose to tackle this issue from a relational approach, based on narrative analysis. From this perspective, there is "context" where entrepreneurs fit in, and there is "subtext" of entrepreneurial imagination and creativity. On the intersection of "context" and "subtext" we have "texts", or, as Garud and Guliany (2013) put it, entrepreneurial narratives. Therefore, entrepreneurial opportunity is distributed into parts – "context", "subtext" and "text". In the "text" as narrative, the interaction between relational and temporal dimensions of opportunity generates meanings as entrepreneurs plot a series of social and material elements from the past, present, and future. Therefore, the future research on immigrant entrepreneurial identity should consider the narration of opportunity as a relational process. The "context" is defined by time and space dimensions, such as different cultures, countries, networks, as well as how "deep" the story goes into the past or into the future. On the other hand, the "subtext" should show how immigrant entrepreneurial aspirations are articulated within particular cultural context of destination country (or countries).

CONCLUSION

The aim of the article was to provide some insights of immigrant entrepreneurial identity formation and to show how narrative approach could contribute to better understanding of this phenomenon. The findings of this paper highlight the intricate connections between narrative and identity and have implications for the study of entrepreneurship in the context of radical life-course changes, and emigration in particular. It is noteworthy to stress that immigrant entrepreneurship field of research has a wide variety of studies contributing to the understanding of this phenomena. However, there is a gap of research and this gap was identified as the lack of studies focused on personal experiences of immigrant entrepreneurs from East Europe, and Lithuania in particular. The article synthesizes theoretical concepts of ethnicity, transnationalism and opportunity discovery, and proposes the narrative approach of immigrant entrepreneurial identity.

The narrative approach enables us to analyse how autobiography connects separate elements of the story, and what elements are picked up to construct the plot. For example, "transnationality" is reflected in a way when author connects different countries, cultures and networks into the narrative plot. Also the narrative analysis reveals how individual explains opportunity discovery, and how it integrates into identity structure. Two dominant themes were identified. In the first theme, opportunity is narrated as the emergence out of the process of studies (school, university), and as the outcome of smooth transformation from Post-Socialist to Western European social environment. The second theme describes opportunity as a result of struggling for excellence under the conditions of harsh competition in new society. Taking into account that entrepreneurial activities of Lithuanian emigrants is still rather unexplored research area, this article focuses on theoretical aspects and provides some prospects for future empirical research. Further extended empirical investigation is necessary to explore how immigrant entrepreneurs narrate opportunity in different social and economic contexts of host countries, to investigate how individuals rationalize different experiences, and to explain how they integrate new identities into the general structure of self-identity.

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